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Interdisciplinary

Memória, identidade, e representações no mundo lusófono

Theme Issue

Editors: José C. Curto
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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

MEMÓRIA, IDENTIDADE, E REPRESENTAÇÕES NO MUNDO LUSÓFONO

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ABSTRACTS

Evangelical Identities in the Brazilian Diaspora: A Sociological Approach (*Donizete Rodrigues*)

One of the most relevant themes in contemporary society, within an the increasingly globalized context, is the complex relationship between immigration and religion. The process of globalization and the enormous transcontinental migratory flows provoke significant social changes. The principal consequence of this migratory phenomenon - of people and religions - is that contemporary societies are progressively plural from the point of view of ethnicity, culture, religion, and identity. Inserted into the general issue of globalization, religion and immigration - and being conscious of its highly complex nature - the aim of this contribution is to discuss from a sociological perspective some aspects of the process of evangelical identity construction, particularly in the Brazilian diasporic context in the United States and in Europe.

Identidade católica, Concordatas Internacionais e ensino religioso: perspectivas e casos do Brasil e Cabo Verde (*Fabio Lanza, Luis G. Patrocino,* and *Vinícus dos S. M. Bustos*)

The trajectory of the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church - ICAR is intertwined with the national history of the former Portuguese colonies between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as with the constitution of the new independent States, public education and local politics. Nevertheless, various expressions of Catholicism and the construction of different Catholic identities stand out in the Lusophone world. From historical, documentary and field research in Brazilian public schools, the problem of Catholic identity in the contemporary context has been identified as running through the political and educational systems of countries that signed with the Vatican or International Concordat, such as Brazil and Cape Verde at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Many questions are raised by the implementation of this international agreement (Vatican - Brazil - Cape Verde), among them the obligation of religious education in schools of basic education and the ongoing debate about secularism.

Is Foreignism an Obstacle for Interculturality between Brazilians and Other Latin Americans? (*Michel M. Machado* and *Maria L.M. Teixeira*)

The purpose of this article is to reflect upon the phenomenon of foreignism as a Brazilian cultural trait. This characteristic is believed to have an important influence on the way that individuals born in Brazil tend to treat foreigners from other Latin-American states, which not only makes relations between the two fragile but, in a sense, also violates the dignity of the latter. It is relatively plausible that the existence of a possible "Latin American foreignism" may become a complicating factor in the construction of intercultural social relations within this socio-geographic-cultural spectrum. Such a point of view arises from the observation of the historical construction of submission emanating from the influence exerted by the countries of the most dynamic global centres. This is what we call "The North of the Global North." This can impose great challenges upon the construction of fraternal relations in a South-South horizon, even within South America. In fact, the process of colonization is known to have left profound marks on the subjectivity of colonized peoples. Along this line of reasoning, it is possible that the local-born reproduce what they have learned historically in relation to the colonizer: that is, they try to "recognize their own knowledge" when they do not recognize the knowledge of others, in this case, other Latin Americans.

Impossible Whiteness, Impossible Miscegenation? Enlightenment, Gender and the Politics of Race in Colonial Angola (c. 1760-1806) (*Catarina Madeira-Santos*)

Miscegenation with the local population and the maintenance of whiteness were held to be mutually exclusive by Portuguese administrations in early colonial Angola. Four generations were sufficient for descendants of white settlers to become completely Africanized both phenotypically and culturally. This article discusses the specificities of race relations in seventeenth and eighteenth century Angola, providing a counterpoint to the dichotomist perspective dominant in the historiography. Colour was not a simple question of the skin: it was also, if not primordially, that of culture. It then dissects the socio-cultural reasons for the darkening of mixed progeny, focusing on the power of the matrilineage in indigenous African societies to make the children "disappear," as opposed to other situations where, although similar phenomena were observed, the offspring kept their patronymic surname. This article closes with an analysis of the specific historical conjuncture of 1760-1806 engendered by the "enlightened" policies of the Portuguese Prime Minister, the Marquis of Pombal (1699-1782), to rectify this aporia. Controlling the evolution of colour in colonial society became one of the greatest challenges for "enlightened" Portuguese administrators.

The Sweet Attraction of One's Native Land. The Sephardic Community in Surinam and the Calls to Return to Portugal and Brazil, 1798-1814 (*Ernst Pijning*)

During the Napoleonic Wars the Portuguese administration sent an expedition from Pará and several letters from Cayenne to the Sephardic community in Surinam, requesting that its members return to their native country, i.e. Portugal. These appeals were received with much praise by the proud community, and although the answers were negative, they reveal a great deal about the changing notions of what it was to be a "Nation."

Symbolical Recreations of "Wholeness": Memory, Mourning, Nostalgia and Counter-Nostalgia of the Colonial in Karen Blixen and Isabela Figueiredo (*Irene Marques*)

This paper addresses some of the tropes of colonial nostalgia present in the memoirs *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* (*Notebook of Colonial Memories*) (2009) by the Portuguese contemporary writer Isabela Figueiredo and *Out of Africa* (1937) by Danish author Karen Blixen. The focus is on how both authors narrate an imagined (utopian) African place (Mozambique and Kenya respectively). I argue that Blixen and Figueiredo are mourning the loss of an "imagined" space that is related to the personal "lack" that all humans tend to feel and their art (the literary memoir), is the medium to recreate a space of wholeness and perfection that never really existed but which they continuously and obsessively yearn and search for. The framework for my analysis is mostly psychoanalytical, but I also rely abundantly on postcolonial theories or reveal how the psychoanalytical often works hand in hand with the postcolonial.

La question des *retornados* dans le débat parlementaire portugais (*Morgane Delaunay*)

With the Constituent Assembly election in 1975, Portugal returned to democratic life after the Carnation Revolution of April 1974 that put an end to the Salazar dictatorial regime. In a context of a revolutionary democratic transition, characterized by a high political instability,

the fresh Portuguese government faced many challenges. Among them was the issue of the re-patriated population from the Portuguese colonies in Africa. About 500,000 individuals, known as *retornados*, suddenly left *en masse* these territories, in particular Angola and Mozambique, and arrived in Portugal after April 1974. The article discusses the ways in which the issues of decolonization and of the repatriated population were addressed within the Portuguese Parliament, between 1975 and 1976.

Le "trabalho escravo" au Brésil à partir des années 1960. Au-delà de la mémoire de l'esclavage : inégalités, droits et citoyenneté périphérique (*Alexis Martig*)

This paper investigates the phenomenon of "trabalho escravo" in Brazil through an analysis of linkages between social structures and inequalities, as well as the effectiveness of rights and citizenship. To that end, it outlines the historical emergence of the phenomenon during the sixties, focusing on rural workers, and examines the socio-historical process of creating citizenship and access to rights for rural workers. This is accomplished, in particular, by mobilizing Jessé Souza's theory on the "naturalization of social inequalities." In doing so, my contribution demonstrates that this form of modern slavery in Brazil is completely linked with, and made possible by, the specific form in which citizenship, the rights related to it and capitalism have been developing within the country, highlighting the fact that such a phenomenon is neither an anomaly nor a mere heritage of slavery.

Fluid Identities: Memory, Origin and Movement in Tatiana Levy's *A chave da casa* and Milton Hatoum's *Relato de um certo Oriente* (*Cecily Raynor*)

Contemporary Brazilian migration narratives often explore fertile zones for cultural contact while exposing the plasticity, inclusivity and flexibility of individual identity. In this way, these texts may serve as a counter-model for confronting the anxiety and flattening out of subjective experience inherent in globalization discourse, providing readers with new strategies for understanding the adaptation and re-territorialization strategies of transnational subjects whose spaces are characterized by variability and movement rather than firm borders. In this article, I examine two migration-themed novels, Tatiana Salem Levy's *A chave de casa* (first published in 2007), as well as a Milton Hatoum's *Relato de um certo Oriente* (1989). In doing so, I discuss how these works provide narrative tactics to aid in the approximation of complex migrant identities, including multi-layered perspectives and dealings with space and time. Simultaneously, migration novels provide a unique vantage point from which to engage larger questions on the disjointed or conflictual binational identities of migrants of the second generation.

Memória, identidade e representações no mundo Lusófono

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O PROCESSO DE GLOBALIZAÇÃO marcou a história do mundo, dividido e classificado em Ocidental e Oriental, Norte e Sul. Sob o prisma da expansão marítima, industrial e comercial, ocorreram, entre os séculos XV e XX, inúmeros processos de colonização e descolonização. Nessa trajetória, destaca-se a constituição de colônias sob a égide do Império Português, com sua língua (portuguesa) e religião (católica) oficiais. Dessa forma, construiu-se a primeira rede mundial lusófona que, a partir de Portugal, expandiu-se por terras africanas, americanas e orientais.[1]

As colônias portuguesas se consolidaram a partir da expansão marítima e mercantil, que criaram rotas comerciais e impuseram a violenta escravização de diferentes povos nativos africanos, sequestrados das suas terras de origem para serem utilizados nos confins coloniais. No entanto, a 'plasticidade do homem português'[2] e a imposição da língua e do catolicismo possibilitaram, do sul da Europa ao hemisfério sul, a constituição do Mundo Lusófono que

atravessa continentes e países. Constituído por Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Guiné Equatorial, Macau, Moçambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, Portugal, e Timor Leste, este mundo transnacional e cosmopolita inclui actualmente

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[1] Fábio Lanza, Donizete Rodrigues & José C. Curto, "Perspectivas contemporâneas sobre o mundo Lusófono," *Mediações – Revista de Ciências Sociais* 21 (2) (2016): 12-25.

[2] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995).

cerca de 250 milhões de falantes de português. Além disso, décadas e mesmo séculos de migrações transnacionais de falantes de português também resultaram em grandes comunidades lusófonas e seus descendentes espalhados por outros espaços, com concentrações consideráveis encontradas principalmente nos Estados Unidos, Canadá, França e África do Sul.[3]

Apesar das inúmeras e diversificadas realidades que compõem a expressiva porção lusófona do globo, existem traços culturais e religiosos com algumas características similares e que motivaram, a partir do século XX, significativos fluxos migratórios entre as diferentes regiões do mundo.

Nos séculos XX e XXI, facilitadas pelas novas tecnologias e meios de transporte, as correntes migratórias dos países lusófonos independentes também se tornaram uma característica da descolonização e da consolidação do processo de globalização. Esse segundo momento pode ser considerado uma nova expansão do Mundo Lusófono, pois inúmeros destinos passaram a receber fluxos migratórios de falantes do português e a constituir novas regiões lusófonas, muitas vezes encravadas em sociedades que estabeleceram relações sociais sob a perspectiva multicultural ou intercultural.

> As relações sociais são sempre culturais (intraculturais ou inter-culturais) e políticas (representam distribuições desiguais de poder). Ao contrário do multicultural-ralismo—que pressupõe a existência de uma cultura dominante que aceita, tolera ou reconhece a existência de outras culturas no espaço cultural onde domina —a interculturalidade pressupõe o reconhecimento recíproco e a disponibilidade para enriquecimento mútuo entre várias culturas que partilham um dado espaço cultural.[4]

Como destaques dessa criação contemporânea do Mundo Lusófono, podemos citar as regiões intituladas "Little Portugal", como, por exemplo, na cidade de Toronto (Ontário, Canadá), Newark (Nova Jersey, Estados Unidos) ou as regiões de predominância de brasileiros, como ocorre em algumas cidades japonesas.

Dentre outros aspectos que compõem a sociedade global, essa nova realidade econômica, política e cultural, do final do século XX e início do XXI, exige das ciências humanas e sociais a emergência de estudos em rede internacional. As reflexões de Octávio Ianni indicam que:

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[3]Lanza, Rodrigues, & Curto, "Perspectivas contemporâneas sobre o mundo Lusófono," 13.

[4]Boaventura de Sousa Santos & Maria Paula Meneses, orgs., *Epistemologias do Sul* (São Paulo: Cortez, 2010), 15-16.

Nesta altura da história, no declínio do século XX e limiar do XXI, as ciências sociais se defrontam com um desafio epistemológico novo. O seu objeto transforma-se de modo visível, em amplas proporções e, sob certos aspectos, espetacularmente. Pela primeira vez, são desafiadas a pensar o mundo como uma sociedade global. As relações, os processos e as estruturas econômicas, políticas, demográficas, geográficas, históricas, culturais e sociais, que se desenvolvem em escala mundial, adquirem preeminência sobre as relações, processos e estruturas que se desenvolvem em escala nacional, O pensamento científico, em suas produções mais notáveis, elaborado primordialmente com base na reflexão sobre a sociedade nacional, não é suficiente para apreender a constituição e os movimentos da sociedade global.[5]

Em um contexto global de intensificação das relações comerciais e culturais entre países de diferentes partes do mundo e do incremento na formação de blocos, determinados por uma diversa gama de afinidades e interesses comuns, os vínculos entre os países de língua portuguesa têm despertado um crescente interesse por parte das pesquisas acadêmicas, no âmbito das Ciências Humanas e Sociais (Antropologia, História, Sociologia, Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais).

Neste seguimento, é justamente esta a proposta do dossiê "Memória, Identidade, e Representações no Mundo Lusófono:" reunir trabalhos, teóricos e práticos, que ajudem na melhor compreensão deste complexo fenômeno global.

A estratégia dos organizadores e da equipe editorial do referido dossiê ultrapassa a demanda acadêmica hegemônica e produtivista, tendo em vista que está em consonância com a abordagem de Boaventura de Souza Santos e Maria Paula Meneses (2010), em que propuseram

uma alternativa, genericamente designada por Epistemologia do Sul. Trata-se do conjunto de intervenções epistemológicas que denunciam a supressão dos saberes levado a cabo, ao longo dos últimos séculos, pela norma epistemológica dominante, valorizam os saberes que resistiram com êxito e as reflexões que estes tem produzido e investigam as condições de um diálogo horizontal entre conhecimentos.[6]

Inseridos na problemática histórica, sociológica e antropológica do complexo processo de (e)(i)migração de escala mundial, os fluxos migratórios

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[5]Octávio Ianni, "Novo paradigma das ciências sociais," *Estudos Avançados* 8 (21) (1994): 147.

[6]Santos & Meneses, *Epistemologias do Sul*, 12.

transnacionais de pessoas - com predominância do sentido do hemisfério Sul para Norte -, é um fenómeno atual e de grande relevância no contexto da globalização, processo onde a diáspora dos imigrantes de língua portuguesa desempenha um papel de relevo, nomeadamente na Europa, Japão, Estados Unidos e Canadá.

Ao longo da história, as trocas populacionais, de experiências e práticas culturais e religiosas entre diferentes países despertaram sempre um enorme interesse acadêmico, na busca de um melhor entendimento deste fenómeno. É neste contexto de trocas e construções culturais-simbólicas e identitárias que se inserem os trabalhos deste dossiê, os quais apresentam novos conhecimentos, sobre as distintas áreas constituídas ao longo do processo histórico, vinculado à matriz de formação lusófona e seus possíveis desdobramentos nas diferentes realidades históricas, sociais, culturais e identitárias. Os artigos selecionados são contribuições originais, teóricas e/ou análises de dados empíricos sobre estes vários eixos temáticos.

De forma especial, vinculada à temática do Dossiê, a ênfase nos fluxos imigratórios é um aspecto central na formação do mundo lusófono, no sentido da identidade, como é o caso do artigo que abre esta coletânea.

Sob a perspectiva das características do mundo lusófono atual e os processos de (e)(i)migração emergente, Donizete Rodrigues, em seu artigo "Evangelical Identities in the Brazilian Diaspora: a sociological approach," explora o fluxo imigratório de brasileiros e, por consequência, a disseminação da adesão religiosa enquanto identidade evangélica. Os estudos apresentados por Rodrigues destacam o processo no final do século XX e início do XXI, que tem como ponto de partida a diáspora brasileira nos Estados Unidos e na Europa, dois importantes centros receptores de imigrantes brasileiros. A presença dos brasileiros evangélicos é analisada a partir da contribuição da Antropologia e da Sociologia da religião e busca elucidar a problemática em torno da temática da globalização, imigração, religião e identidade, aspectos que compõem a agenda pública em inúmeros países ocidentais na contemporaneidade.

A expansão da língua portuguesa e da consolidação de países luso-falantes tem como um dos aspectos centrais a relação direta com a fé cristã-católica e o processo de Contra Reforma (XVI) no continente Europeu e, por decorrência do processo histórico, originaram nos demais continentes (África, América, Ásia, Oceania) países, cidades ou comunidades com essas caracterís-

ticas similares. Neste contexto, o artigo apresentado pela equipe de pesquisadores do Laboratório de Estudos sobre Religiões e Religiosidades da Universidade Estadual de Londrina (Paraná, Brasil), visa perceber como a relação político-social nos países lusófonos está associada, ainda hoje, com a Igreja Católica e as ações do Vaticano. O trabalho, com o título "Identidade Católica, Concordatas Internacionais e Ensino Religioso: perspectivas e casos do Brasil e Cabo Verde," produzido por Fábio Lanza, Luis G. Patrocino e Vinícius dos S. M. Bustos, percebe como Cabo Verde, enquanto novo Estado independente do final do século XX, e o Brasil, estado republicano desde o final do século XIX, possuem relações entre suas políticas nacionais e a ação internacional do Vaticano, a partir da assinatura das Concordatas Internacionais e seus reflexos na Educação Pública. Assim, o fluxo imigratório de fala portuguesa não só disseminou sua língua original como moldou a estrutura social e cultural dos países do mundo lusófono, oriundos do antigo Império colonial português, marcando novas e diferentes identidades religiosas. No estudo de caso apresentado, da assinatura das Concordatas (Vaticano-Brasil-Cabo Verde), testemunha a presença e poder institucional da Igreja Católica, como estratégia de permanência e conservação da influência católica nos respectivos países; por exemplo, com a obrigatoriedade do Ensino Religioso.

A complexidade dos fluxos imigratórios e as diferentes identidades são também exploradas pelos autores Michel Machado, e Maria L. M. Teixeira em seu trabalho "Is Foreignism an Obstacle for Interculturality between Brazilians and Other Latin Americans?," nomeadamente, com estudos a respeito do Brasil enquanto receptor de imigrantes latino-americanos na atualidade. Muitas teses no Brasil debateram o "mito da democracia racial" ou trataram sobre a "hospitalidade brasileira;" os estudos apresentados discutem tais aspectos e a capacidade receptora e de promoção dos direitos dos imigrantes no respectivo país. Os pesquisadores Machado e Teixeira argumentam que os brasileiros e os imigrantes latino-americanos possuem dificuldades de "adaptação" intercultural e, por isso, este trabalho apresenta uma posição política que reconhece as dificuldades impostas aos estrangeiros latino-americanos na sociedade brasileira, em especial na área metropolitana de São Paulo.

O trabalho de Ernst Pijning, "The Sweet Attraction of One's Native Land: The Sephardic community in Surinam and the Calls to Return to Portugal and Brazil, 1798-1814," analisa o caso singular de apelos do governo portu-

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Evangelical Identities in the Brazilian Diaspora:
A Sociological Approach

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Introduction

One of the most relevant themes in contemporary society, characterized by an increasingly globalized world, is the complex relationship between immigration and religion. It is important to highlight that the process of globalization and the enormous migratory flows of peoples that emanate therefrom provoke significant social changes in host societies. The principal consequence of this migratory phenomenon—of people and their respective religious practices—is that contemporary societies are increasingly plural from the points of view of ethnicity, culture, religion, and identity.[1]

To better understand this important issue, innumerable social scientists throughout the world are implementing new methodologies, developing empirical studies and formulating reflective theories. As a consequence, there is presently a huge amount of information coming out of research centres and much academic work produced on this topic. However, this subject, and its study, is far from being well understood. On the contrary, due to the complexity of the phenomenon, there are constantly new inquiries and methodological and theoretical challenges. Thus, there are still many unanswered questions, within a wide field of study, specifically in the domain of Anthropology and the Sociology of Religion.[2]

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[1]Fenggang Yang & Helen R. Ebaugh, "Transformations in New Immigrant Religions and their Global Implications," *American Sociological Review* 66 (2001): 269-288.

[2]Frank Usarski, *Constituintes da Ciência da Religião: cinco ensaios em prol de uma disciplina autônoma* (São Paulo: Paulin, 2006).

Inserted into the complex relationship between immigration and religion within an increasingly globalized world, the purpose of this article is to discuss, from a sociological perspective, some aspects of the construction process of evangelical-pentecostal identity, with a particular focus on the circumstances of the Brazilian diasporic context related to the United States and European countries (Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Germany).[3] Considering that there is some uncertainty over the definitions provided for religious categories and their application, an important question that immediately arises is the distinction between the concepts of evangelical and pentecostal people. From the emic point of view, the faithful call themselves "evangelicals"; they never say—"we are Pentecostals."

In this present work, I propose to use the etic term "evangelical-pentecostal." However, is necessary here to provide a sociological explanation of both concepts. Sociologically, the term evangelical is used, indistinctly, to characterize all Christian members of the Protestant reformation movement (from the sixteenth century and under the leadership of the German theologian Martin Luther) and also the more recent (neo) Pentecostal followers. Nevertheless, to understand what it means to be pentecostal, that is, "faithful Pentecostal," it is necessary to first explain what Pentecostalism is. Pentecostalism is linked closely with the Methodist Church and Holiness Movement, and is traced to Bethel Bible College in Topeka, Kansas, after a group of people, in 1901, received the baptism of the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues (*glossolalia*). Under the leadership of Charles Parham, a white and racist pastor, this religious movement, later spread to California. In 1906, the Azusa Street Mission of Los Angeles, under the leadership of the black pastor, William Seymour, became the centre of Pentecostalism. Neo-Pentecostalism, on the other hand, is a Pentecostal renewal movement, which also emerged in the United States (California), during the 1960s and caught fire in the 1970s. From the United States, (neo) Pentecostalism thereafter quickly expanded worldwide. Within a few years, it was represented in all parts of the world (with exception of Muslim countries where apostasy is

punishable by death). Considering the etic categories under which they fall, the followers of this very fragmented movement are "Pentecostals."[4]

Globalization, Immigration and Identity

Globalization—where there is a close interaction of economic, cultural, religious, and media factors on a worldwide scale—provokes massive migratory fluxes of people and, consequently, a strong dynamic of production, circulation and the consumption of material and spiritual goods. In this complex cultural process, globalization produces multiculturalism, cultural hybridism, transculturality and new identities.[5] Through advanced means of transport and communication, information, cultures, religions, ideas, and ways of life of distinct groups/societies are disseminated and immediately shared in different places that were once faraway and are now not so distant. As Zygmunt Bauman stated in 1997 and 2000, the difference between "near" and "distant" is now disappearing.[6] Within this new world-map, globalization enables and facilitates rapid access to transport and communication and, as a consequence, calls into question local territorial borders and the relationship between places/localities and identities.

The substantial transcontinental migratory flows and the rapid circulation (in real time) of information, ideas and images provoke dissociations between places and cultures,[7] creating new "dis-territorialities" and new sociabilities. In fact, within the context of postmodernity, globalization creates new "transitory" places and even "non-places"[8] and, consequently, new identities. In such a case, the individual does not have one identity, but various identities. Thus, globalization inevitably produces strong diversity in the process of identity (re) construction.[9] In short, and to link these thoughts

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[4]Donizete Rodrigues, *The God of the New Millennium: An Introduction to the Sociology of Religion*. Preface by Bryan Wilson (Lisboa: Colibri, 2002).

[5]Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994); Abdelmaler Sayad, *A imigração e os paradoxos da alteridade* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 1998); Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

[6]Zygmunt Bauman, *Posmodernity and its discontents* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Zygmunt Bauman, *Liquid modernity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000).

[7]Michel Agier, "Distúrbios identitários em tempos de globalização," *Mana* 7 (2001): 7-33.

[8]Marc Augé, *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* (New York: Verso, 1995).

with the process of identity construction and the discussion on evangelical identity, it is relevant to say that:

> Geographic relocation—international migration, a change of residency within one's country or even within one's neighborhood is one way in which changing conditions may have bearing on religious belonging. Studies on migration have often highlighted the prominent role that religious membership may have for the negotiation of personal and collective identities within a new and sometimes hostile environment.[10]

Before turning my focus, specifically, onto evangelical identity, an important question that arises within this discussion is whether we should consider identity or identities? Do we have one identity or multiple identities? The answer is, without any doubt, that we have various identities. According to Amin Maalouf, in 2003, each individual has an identity composed of many affiliations and belongings.[11] For this reason, it is correct to distinguish between individual identities and cultural/social identities and, therefore, collective identities. The reality is that in all societies there is an enormous variety of identity classifications: ethnic-racial (black, white, mestizo), social classes (upper, middle, lower), gender (female, male, undefined), sexual (hetero/homo/bi/transsexual or even the denial of sexuality itself), life cycle (youth, adult, senior), and so on.

A pertinent idea to mention here is what the sociologist Stuart Hall stated in 1992. The individual, who previously lived with an identity that was considered unified and stable, is witnessing his/her identity, as well as culture, become more and more fragmented. Indeed, the individual is composed not of a single, but of several identities, which are sometimes contradictory and unresolved.[12] Therefore, cultural identities are not rigid and much less (so) unchangeable. Rather, they are always transitory results of the identification process. Even general identities, which appear to be more solid—such as ethnic-racial, religious or geographic belonging, whether na-

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[9]For a better understanding of the relationship between modernity and globalization, as well as their effects on societies, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[10]Yonatan Gez, Yvan Droz, Edio Soares & Jeanne Rey, "From Converts to Itinerants Religious Butinage as Dynamic Identity," *Current Anthropology* 58 (2017): 141-159.

[11]Amin Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity* (London: Penguin Books, 2003).

[12]Stuart Hall, *A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade* (Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 1992).

tional (Brazilian, Portuguese) or supranational (African, Latin-American, European, etc.), and even "world citizen,"—conceal negotiations of meaning, games of polysemy, and clashes of temporalities in a constant process of transformation. Identities are, thus, identification works in progress.[13]

Bringing the discussion to a personal level, I myself have multiple identities: Brazilian and Portuguese, for the most part. In fact, the construction of my identity is even more complex: it also includes Jewish (although residual) and Italian influences. Hence the crucial question that all individuals should ask is: Who am I?

Amin Maalouf proposed, in 2003, to understand the identity of each and everyone in terms of what differentiates us from others.[14] It is an identity that is ever-being constructed, step-by-step, transforming the individual throughout her/his existence. Identity implies a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic, cultural, and/or religious group, according to the perception of the difference and similarity between "ego" and "alter," "me and you," between "us" and "others." Identity is a process of historically appropriate identifications that give meaning to the group.[15] Identities emerge through interactive processes that individuals experience in their day-to-day life, created by real and symbolic exchanges. Following this idea, Bauman suggested in 1998 fur us to conceptualize identity in the present time as an interactional notion, rather than the attributive conception dominant in the age of pre-modernity. That is, today, in the post-modernity, identity should be understood as an accomplishment, an outcome of achievements in the (inter) relations between differentiated groups.[16]

The construction of identity, whether individual or social/collective, is neither stable nor unified. It is, rather, changeable, (re) invented, transient and sometimes provisional, not to mention subjective. Identity is effectively (re) negotiated and it is becoming, (re) building over time. In this context, the loss of a stable "sense of self" is considered as displacement or decentralization of the individual, of the "self." Such displacement-decentralization of

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[13]Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Modernidade, identidade e a cultura de fronteira," *Tempo Social* 5 (1994): 31-52.

[14]Maalouf, *In the Name of Identity.*

[15]Rodrigo Díaz Cruz, "Experiencias de la identidad," *Revista Internacional de Filosofía Política* 2 (1993): 63-74.

[16]Bauman, *Posmodernity and its Discontents*.

the place, in its social and cultural contexts, provokes in the individual the so-called "identity crisis."[17]

Based on historic, sociological and anthropological theoretical reflections, the idea being put forth here is that people (and groups) build and reproduce their identities through the constant attachment to their past, including mythological, historical and, in particular, symbolic-religious circumstances. Taking inversely the logic of this issue, it is correct to state that societies are the results of processes (historical, mythological, religious) of contextualization and the (de/re) contextualization of cultural identities over time.

Normally associated with the ethnic factor,[18] religion plays an important role in the process of identity formation-individuation. Moreover, the religious system, in the Durkheimian functionalist sense, is one of the most important means to establish solidarities and identity representations. As we have put forth in another work,[19] all religions, indeed all symbolic-religious systems, imply a specific mobilization of collective memory, which is crucial in the transmission of the culture and for the social reproduction of the group. Moreover, as Peter Berger and Thomas Luckman stated in 1967, religion is a means of "social construction of reality," a referential system where social actors appeal, spontaneously and/or by socialization, to reflect the social, cultural and identity context in which they live.[20] Once the link between the conceptualization of identity (or identities) and the issue of immigration is established in a religious transnational context, religious affiliation can then be seen as enabling immigrants to maintain their sense of identity and to also obtain better social acceptance in the host country and wider society.[21]

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[17]Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay, eds., *Questions of Cutural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996).

[18]Steve Fenton, "Modernidade, etnicidade e religião," in Donizete Rodrigues, ed., *Em Nome de Deus: a religião na sociedade contemporânea* (Porto: Afrontamento, 2004), 53-76.

[19]Danielle Crespo, Donizete Rodrigues & Érica Jorge, "Debatendo identidades," in Keila Pinezi, ed., *Sem Preconceito: conversas sobre religião e ciência* (São Paulo: EdUFABC, 2015), 47-75.

[20]Peter Berger & Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: a treatise in the sociology of knowledge* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1967).

[21]Manuel A. Vásquez & Marie F. Marquardt, *Globalizing the Sacred: Religious across the America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003).

Taking this discussion further, let me now turn to aspects of the role of religion in diasporic contexts, with an emphasis on Brazilian evangelical immigrants, especially in the United States of America and in Europe, where I am carrying out multi-situated ethnographies. Actually, this ongoing anthropological and sociological research is part of a larger project on the presence and activities of Pentecostalism, both Protestant-Evangelical and Catholic-Charismatic, in many parts of the world. The objective of this study is to analyze the specificities of the expressive presence of Brazilian denominations and groups (agencies, churches, missionaries), in particular, in the United States and in Europe, where they carry out an important work of evangelization. The focus is on strong proselytizing, which aims at the conversion and religious revival of immigrants and nationals. [22]

Pentecostalism in the Context of the Brazilian Diaspora

As was noted earlier, the Pentecostal phenomenon, both in its Protestant and Catholic denominations, emerged in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century, with a new revival in the 1960s, labelled Neo-Pentecostalism. Considering that it has been mostly immigrants, ethnic minorities, and people from lower socio-economic strata who have joined it, Pentecostalism quickly expanded to all continents, especially to Latin America[23] and on a particularly large scale to Brazil, where it grew rapidly in the

[22]My ethnographic fieldwork in the United States was conducted between 2008 and 2010, as a visiting scholar in the Department of Religion, Columbia University (New York) and with a scholarship from the Foundation for Science and Technology (Portugal). My ethnographic fieldwork in Europe (with emphasis in Ireland, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Germany), on the other hand, was carried out between 2011 and 2013, as an associate researcher of the Center for the Study of Latin American Pentecostalism at the University of Southern California (USA). Some of the studies that have emerged therefrom include: Donizete Rodrigues, "The Brazilianization of New York City: Brazilian Immigrants and Evangelical Churches in a Pluralized Urban Landscape," in Richard Cimino et al., eds., *Ecologies of Faith in New York: the Evolution of Religious Institutions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 120-142; Donizete Rodrigues, "Ethnic and Religious Diversities in Portugal: The Case of Brazilian Evangelical Immigrants," in Helena Vilaça et al., eds., *The Changing Soul of Europe: Religions and Migrations in Northern and Southern Europe* (London: Ashgate, 2014), 133-148; Donizete Rodrigues, *Jesus in Sacred Gotham: Brazilian Immigrants and Pentecostalism in New York City* (Seattle: Amazon Publishing, 2014); Donizete Rodrigues, *O Evangélico Imigrante: o pentecostalismo brasileiro salvando a América* (São Paulo: Fonte Editorial, 2016).

[23]David Martin, *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

peripheries of large urban centres such as Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. As a consequence, today Pentecostalism is the most rapidly growing and the biggest religious movement in the contemporary world, with approximately 564 million adherents and Brazil as the country with the largest number of followers.

Considering the subject of this topic, it is relevant here to define the concept of diaspora. According to Stuart Hall in 1990 and James Clifford in 1994, diaspora is a dispersed network of people that share common and historical experiences of expropriation, displacement and sociocultural adaptation. Based on this definition, we can understand the term "diaspora" as a set of circumstances and experiences that involve displacements, agenda, social inequalities, cultural hybridism and significance religious, linguistic, and identities changes. [24]

In most studies on the relationship between immigration and religion, specifically in the context of the great expansion of Pentecostalism (Protestant and Catholic), where Brazilian communities have played significant role,[25] there is a central question highlighted by authors: are religious practices in the diaspora context a way of being culturally self-defensive and a means to reinforce ethnic identity? Considering the unfavorable circumstances of the diaspora, religion becomes a particularly crucial need for immigrants. Beyond spiritual support, it plays an important role in the maintenance of ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities. Religion assists immigrants in maintaining their ethnic and religious identities while they are, simultaneously, striving to adapt to a new culture and society where they are now working and residing.[26] Given the great importance of religion for immigrants, the attention of social scientists (especially, sociologist and anthropologist) has since the end of the 1980s returned to the function of religion in conferring identity to individuals and groups in the diaspora. In

[24]Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in Jonathan Rutherford, ed., *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222-237; James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9 (1994): 302-328.

[25]Cristina Rocha & Manuel Vásquez, eds., *The Diaspora of Brazillian Religions* (Boston: Brill, 2013). Alberto da Silva Moreira & Pino Lucá Trombetta, eds., *O Pentecostalismo Globalizado* (Goiânia: Editora da PUC Goiás, 2015).

[26]Helen Ebaugh, "Religion and the New Immigrants," in Michele Dillon, ed., *Handbook of the Sociology of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Portuguese Studies Review

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Identidade católica, Concordatas Internacionais e ensino religioso: perspectivas e casos do Brasil e Cabo Verde

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Introdução

Esta pesquisa foi desenvolvida pela equipe de pesquisadores do Laboratório de Estudos sobre Religiões e Religiosidades (LERR) em parceria com o Programa Observatório da Educação (OBEDUC/CAPES) em Ciências Sociais da Universidade Estadual de Londrina (UEL) no estado do Paraná, região Sul do Brasil. Ao longo do ano de 2017, esta equipe realizou levantamento bibliográfico, histórico, documental e o associou com dados oriundos de pesquisas quantitativas realizadas no início de 2015 em colégios públicos de Londrina-PR e região, nos quais foram coletadas 326 amostras entre estudantes por meio de *surveys,* esta pesquisa foi intitulada Pesquisa LERR/OBEDUC 2016. Também nos valemos de informações produzidas pelos Censos de 2000 e 2010 realizados pelo Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE).[1]

Foi constatada a emergência de um debate a respeito de temas que associam as religiões com o espaço público, neste trabalho em especial, com a Igreja Católica no que tange—contemporaneamente—aos acordos internacionais realizados entre certos países lusófonos (Brasil e Cabo Verde) e o Vaticano. Esses acordos propiciam mudanças no campo legislativo que vão

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[1]Brasil, Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatísticas (IBGE), *Censo demográfico* (Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2010).

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de encontro com a Educação Básica pública. Dessa forma, surgem algumas questões com potencial internacional:

A relação entre religiões e educação pública, especificamente a partir do Ensino Religioso, é marcada pelo respeito às múltiplas religiosidades presentes dentro de cada colégio?

Como é a atuação dos estudantes declaradamente religiosos no ambiente escolar público?

A adesão religiosa dos sujeitos na Escola é um fator que fomenta proselitismo e violência simbólica?

A partir dessas problemáticas, objetivamos apresentar aspectos teóricos e metodológicos que auxiliam na compreensão histórica e sociológica dos catolicismos, das identidades católicas, dos países lusófonos—Brasil e Cabo Verde—e do Ensino Religioso outorgado pelas Concordatas Internacionais.

Aspectos históricos e identidades católicas: Brasil e Cabo Verde

Antes de começarmos o aprofundamento do tema, é relevante explicitar aspectos sobre o mundo lusófono e os seus respectivos países. Quando tratamos do mundo lusófono ou da "Lusofonia," estamos tratando de todos os países, Estados ou comunidades que falam o idioma português. São cerca de 240 milhões de habitantes ao redor do mundo, consequência da expansão do Império Português a partir do século XV e do movimento de populações mais recentes.[2]

A partir da Imagem 1, é evidente que o Brasil se constitui geograficamente como o maior país lusófono entre os demais falantes: Portugal, Angola, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, São Tomé e Príncipe, Moçambique e Timor Leste.

Na Imagem 2, são apresentados dados demográficos sobre cerca de 240 milhões de falantes no mundo lusófono publicados no periódico semanal *Revista Veja*.[3] Deste total, o Brasil é constituído de 190 milhões sendo o ente

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[2] Ver, por exemplo: Fabio Lanza, Donizete Rodrigues & José C. Curto, "Perspectivas contemporâneas sobre o mundo lusófono," *Mediações – Revista de Ciências Sociais* 21 (2) (2016): 12-25, Disponível em: http://www.uel.br/revistas/uel/index.php/mediacoes/article/view/27990, acessado 12 de dezembro de 2017; Andréa Motta, "Quais são os países de língua portuguesa?" *Conversa de Português*. Disponível em: http://conversadeportugues.com.br/2015/01/lusofonia/, acessado 11 de dezembro de 2017.

[3] O dado demográfico apontado sobre o Brasil é compatível com o Censo 2010 do IBGE, para maiores informações ver: https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/noticias-censo?view=noticia&id=3&idnoticia=1766&busca=&t=censo-2010-populacao-brasil-de-190-732-694-pessoas, acessado em 11 de dezembro de 2017.
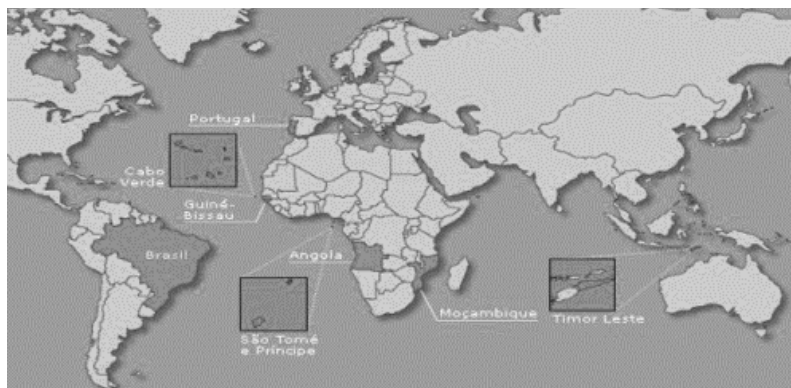
Imagem 1   Localização e Lusofonia

Fonte: Disponível em: http://conversadeportugues.com.br/2015/01/lusofonia/, acesso junho 27, 2017.

majoritário entre os citados. No entanto, existem, em diferentes regiões e continentes, muitas comunidades portuguesas espalhadas por outros países que não compõem os países citados. Portanto, podemos compreender o mundo lusófono como aquele:

> Constituído por Angola, Brasil, Cabo Verde, Guiné-Bissau, Guiné Equatorial, Macau, Moçambique, São Tomé e Príncipe, Portugal, e Timor Leste, este *mundo transnacional e cosmopolita inclui actualmente cerca de 250 milhões de falantes de português.* Além disso, décadas e mesmo séculos de migrações transnacionais de falantes de português também resultaram em grandes comunidades lusófonas e seus descendentes espalhados por outros espaços, com concentrações consideráveis encontradas principalmente nos Estados Unidos, Canadá, França, [Japão] e África do Sul.[4]

Sob uma perspectiva ampla, são apresentados neste trabalho aspectos selecionados de forma intencional sobre Brasil e Cabo Verde. Este último é um arquipélago formado por dez ilhas, todas falantes da língua portuguesa, país onde a Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) se reuniu em 2009 para instaurar o dia 5 de maio[5] como Dia da Língua Portuguesa e da Cultura Lusófona. Sobre a população cabo-verdiana podemos indicar:

[4]Associação de Estudos Lusófonos (AEL). Chamada para Conferência Internacional "O Mundo Lusófono em Movimento: Passado, Presente e Futuro," 2016, 1. Disponível em: http://lsa.apps01.yorku.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/12/LSACFP-2017-PORTUGUESE.pdf, acessado 13 de em dezembro de 2016.

[5]Disponível em: http://conversadeportugues.com.br/2015/01/lusofonia/, acessado em 11 de dezembro de 2017.

Imagem 2   Lusofonia e demografia (aproximada)

Fonte: Mapa da Língua Portuguesa. Disponível em: http://teiaportuguesa.tripod.com/manual/unidade12lusofonia/imagens/mapalingua.jpg, acesso em 27 de junho de 2017.

Quadro 1   Demografia Cabo Verdiana.

População	*Quantidade absoluta*	*Percentual*
População atual	532 625	100%
População masculina atual	264 046	49,3%
População feminina atual	268 579	50,04%
Nascidos neste ano	5 497	1,03%

Fonte: Relógio da População de Cabo Verde. Countrymeters.[6]

A formação histórica de Cabo Verde remete ao processo de expansão portuguesa na costa da África, considerando que eram ilhas desabitadas até 1462. A cidade de Praia (atual capital) foi constituída e serviu de entreposto comercial durante os séculos de exploração colonial. Segundo Ilídio do Amaral, os registros históricos apontam que em 1930 o arquipélago possuía 146.299 habitantes. Após 1960, ocorreu uma nova retomada do crescimento populacional:

> Sem irmos demasiado longe, recordemos que, segundo as estatísticas, no arquipélago, que tinha 146.299 habitantes em 1930, estes passariam a 181.740 em 1940, para depois baixarem a 149.989 em 1950, agora em consequência das graves crises de 1940-1942 e 1946-1947. Foram as últimas que fizeram regredir o vo-

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[6]Disponível em: http://countrymeters.info/pt/Cape_Verde, acesso em 27 de junho de 2017.

lume demográfico, pois a partir de 1960 o crescimento tomou valores acelerados. [...] Naquele ano o recenseamento registou *(sic)* um total de 199.902 habitantes; dez anos depois esse valor já era de 271.992; em 1980, a população cabo-verdiana somava 295.703 pessoas, calculando-se que atingisse 383.717 em 1990 e venha a ser de cerca de 500.00 em 2000![7]

Cabo Verde, segundo o *Relatório 2014: Liberdade Religiosa no mundo* do Departamento de Estado dos EUA – Gabinete de Democracia, Direitos Humanos e Trabalho,[8] possui uma área de 4.033km², com uma população de 538.535 habitantes: 77% de denominação católica, 10% protestantes, 2% islâmicos e 11% classificadas como "outros."

Na Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP),[9] a população de Cabo Verde, em números absolutos,[10] é a segunda menor. A composição do mundo lusófono, porém, tem, no outro extremo, o Brasil como a maior área continental e população absoluta. A partir da mesma fonte, a estimativa atual sobre a população brasileira é:

Quadro 2   Demografia Brasileira

População	Quantidade absoluta	Percentual
População atual	211 664 399	100%
População masculina atual	104 129 382	49.2%
População feminina atual	107 535 016	50.8%
Nascidos neste ano	1 526 012	0,7%

Fonte: Relógio da População Brasileira. Countrymeters.[11]

A formação histórica brasileira ocorreu sob a mesma lógica da expansão do Império Português, mas a invasão das terras americanas, a partir do sécu-

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[7]Ilídio do Amaral, "Cabo Verde: Introdução Geográfica," em Maria Emilia Madeira Santos and Luis de Albuquerque, eds. *História Geral de Cabo Verde*, vol. 1 (Praia & Lisboa: Instituto Nacional de Investigação Cultural & Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1991), 15.

[8]Disponível em: https://www.usembassy.gov/cabo-verde/, acessado em 13 de dezembro de 2017.

[9]Os países que compõem a CPLP são: Angola, Guiné Equatorial, Moçambique, Portugal, São Tomé e Príncipe e Timor-Leste.

[10]A população de São Tomé e Príncipe é a menor população lusófona, em números absolutos, que compõe a Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP): http://countrymeters.info/pt/Cape Verde, acessado em 27 de junho de 2017.

[11]Disponível em: http://countrymeters.info/pt/Brazil, aceso 27 de junho de 2017.

lo XVI, permitiu um contato direto com a população nativa local e práticas econômicas aliadas ao contexto das terras americanas e nas diferentes épocas. A partir do genocídio dos povos indígenas até a ampla utilização da população africana como mão de obra sequestrada e escravizada, houve a constituição da maior referência territorial e populacional dentro do mundo lusófono.

Na atualidade, os fluxos populacionais oriundos do Brasil se direcionam a Portugal e espalham-se, reforçando as comunidades lusófonas em países como Estados Unidos, Canadá, Inglaterra, Irlanda, França, Itália e Japão, entre outros.

Como, em Cabo Verde, a estrutura política portuguesa disseminava também a inserção da Igreja Católica na América, a efetivação dessa ligação ocorreu a partir do Regime do Padroado Régio que se estendeu até a proclamação da República em 1889. Dessa forma, a maioria da população brasileira é de formação religiosa cristã. A partir dos dados dos Censos de 2000 e 2010 do IBGE, podemos evidenciar que a população que se autodeclara católica e evangélica ultrapassa os 85% do todo.

A predominância entre a população brasileira e cabo-verdiana da adesão religiosa cristã, com ênfase na opção católica, não quer dizer homogeneidade
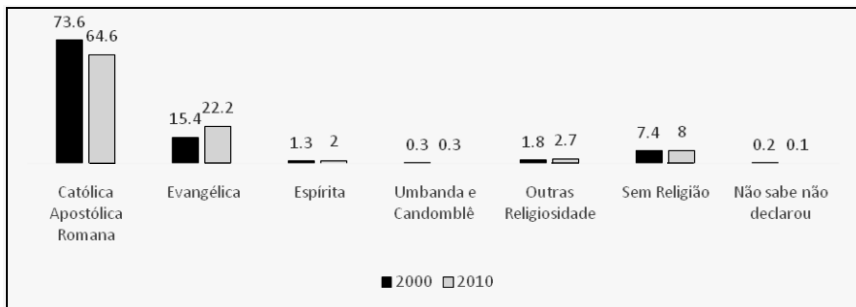
Gráfico 1   Percentual da população residente, segundo os grupos de religião no Brasil – 2000/2010

Fonte: IBGE, 2010. Censos Demográficos 2000/2010.

ou existência de uma identidade católica. Pode-se observar que, de acordo com a *Concepção Dialética da História,* de Antônio Gramsci, ao tratarmos da concepção religiosa e do catolicismo,

toda religião, inclusive a católica (ou antes, notadamente a católica, precisamente pelos seus esforços de permanecer "superficialmente" unitária, a fim de não fragmentar-se em igrejas nacionais e em estratificações sociais), é na realidade uma multidão de religiões distintas, frequentemente contraditórias: há um catolicismo dos camponeses, um catolicismo dos pequeno-burgueses e dos operários urbanos, um catolicismo para mulheres e um catolicismo dos intelectuais, também este variado e desconexo.[12]

Percebemos a formação das diferentes identidades em meio ao universo católico, porque, no processo de colonização implementado por Portugal, ocorreram inúmeras alianças entre a monarquia e os grupos católicos. Isso permitiu a disseminação de formas distintas de vivenciar a fé católica e suas práticas. Dessas alianças, destacam-se a Ordem de Cristo representada pela Cruz de Malta nas Caravelas, a Companhia de Jesus (jesuítas) e os aldeamentos indígenas, a Ordem dos Franciscanos e a celebração da primeira missa em solo americano, dentre outras.

Nesse sentido, poderíamos indicar que a difusão do catolicismo pelas colônias portuguesas permitiu a constituição de diferentes identidades católicas, elemento que expressa a heterogeneidade das mesmas. No entanto, podemos entender que também há uma identidade católica institucional, que é subsidiária das decisões vinculadas à hierarquia clerical, por consequência ao Vaticano e ao Papa, ou garantida pelo Direito Canônico e o livro do Catecismo Católico. Para que haja um aprofundamento sobre as diferentes identidades católicas e a sua dinâmica, a teoria dos campos de Pierre Bourdieu é necessária:

> espaços estruturados de posições (ou de postos) cujas propriedades dependem das posições nestes espaços, podendo ser analisadas independentemente das características de seus ocupantes. Há leis gerais dos campos: campos tão diferentes como o campo da política, o campo da filosofia, o campo da religião possui leis de funcionamento invariantes.[13]

Ao abordar e discutir o tema das identidades católicas, indicamos o distanciamento de temas associados ao campo da Teologia ou da fé que envolve a crença, mas visamos compreender que existem identidades católicas que, inclusive, concorrem entre si dentro do seu próprio campo (universo). As

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[12]Antônio Gramsci, *Concepção dialética da história* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978), 144.

[13]Pierre Bourdieu, *A economia das trocas simbólicas* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1982), 89.

contribuições de Otto Maduro indicam que, para estudarmos uma religião (ou religiões), é necessário estar atento

> a história, a estrutura e a conjuntura de cada sociedade particular e de cada siste-ma religioso específico, [... estudar] uma religião particular em um contexto soci-al concreto e determinado é tomar por base uma investigação empírica dos fenô-menos sociais e socioreligiosos pertinentes.[14]

Com base na abordagem histórica e sociológica, foi identificado que, no Brasil e Cabo Verde, a população é majoritariamente católica e possui suas múltiplas identidades.

Concordatas Internacionais e Ensino Religioso: Vaticano, Brasil e Cabo Verde

A partir da compreensão da formação histórica e social associada dos países Brasil e Cabo Verde, é possível perceber que todos têm uma vinculação dire-ta da formação nacional com a Igreja Católica. Esse aspecto, de forma legal, já foi desvencilhado com a formulação de seus regimes republicanos e com Constituições Federais que adotam algum tipo de laicidade. Tendo isso em vista, apresentamos o seguinte problema que subsidia o artigo: como a Igreja Católica Apostólica Romana busca influenciar os Estados independentes do antigo Império Português no século XXI?

Ao longo dos anos iniciais do século XXI, no entanto, nações que com-põem o mundo lusófono, como Portugal (2004), Brasil (2010) e Cabo Verde (2013), assinaram a Concordata Internacional com a Santa Sé. Essa nova conjuntura produz mudanças sociais, políticas e jurídicas nos diferentes paí-ses. A relação entre educação, concordata internacional e a disciplina de en-sino religioso privilegia aspectos com impacto local, regional, nacional e in-ternacional.

Uma das formas de entendermos as ações políticas da Igreja Católica em nossa contemporaneidade está associada com o reconhecimento e a consoli-dação do Estado Cidade do Vaticano, bem como sua condição internacional e sua característica *sui generis* vinculada à Santa Sé.

> Santa Sé ou Sé Apostólica deriva do latim *Sancta Sedes.* É ela quem personifica a Igreja Católica, por isso que é tida como de natureza religiosa. Trata-se da repre-sentação máxima da Igreja Católica Apostólica Romana, dela emanando todas as decisões sobre a religião cristã católica.

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[14]Otto Maduro, *Religião e luta de classes. Quadro teórico para a análise de suas inter-relações na América Latina*, 2 ed. (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1983), 157.

A sede da Igreja Católica localiza-se dentro da cidade do Vaticano, que, por conseguinte, está encravada na cidade de Roma, capital da Itália. O Estado da Cidade do Vaticano, criado pelos Tratados de Latrão de 1929, possui um território de apenas 0,44 km2, totalmente cercado pelo território italiano, o que se denomina enclave.

Ainda que sejam distintos, é de se reconhecer que um está em função do outro. [...] Do "Estado da Cidade do Vaticano", eis sua denominação completa e formal. Além da criação da cidade-estado em 1929, os Tratados de Latrão também foram responsáveis pelo reconhecimento, em definitivo, ao Sumo Pontífice das duas chefias ora referidas.

O Estado do Vaticano trata-se, na verdade, de um instrumento da Igreja Católica, estando, dessa maneira, a serviço da Santa Sé. Dessa maneira, não haveria outra opção material e juridicamente viável a não ser atribuir ao Chefe da Igreja a chefia também do Estado. Constata-se, com isso, que o Vaticano ostenta delineamentos atípicos, que o distinguem da quase totalidade dos Estados tradicionalmente componentes da sociedade internacional. É um típico exemplo de Estado teocrático.[15]

Tendo em vista a personalidade jurídica e internacional do Estado Cidade do Vaticano e a do Papa, seu chefe maior, é possível a assinatura de acordos com outros países, no caso estudado, as Concordatas Internacionais entre a Santa Sé (Vaticano) e Brasil e Cabo Verde. Cada Concordata tem suas características. A concordata entre o Brasil e a Santa Sé, por exemplo, assinada em 13/11/2008 entre o presidente Lula e o Papa Bento XVI, trata de: Imunidade tributária; casamento religioso com função civil; assistência religiosa aos internados em hospitais, estabelecimentos de saúde, educação, assistência social, prisional ou similar; preservação do Patrimônio da Igreja e organizações eclesiásticas; garantia de segredo do ofício sacerdotal, especialmente da confissão sacramental, definição de representação diplomática (Núncio, CNBB).

Segundo Max Ruben Ramos em Cabo Verde o Sistema de Educação foi, como nos outros países, um recurso fundamental da modernidade para alterar a estrutura social. E a Igreja Católica em Cabo Verde buscou por meio dos termos do acordo internacional manter sua influência, bem como, garantia do ensino religioso:

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[15]Diego Pereira Machado, "Sujeitos do Direito Internacional: Santa Sé e Vaticano," *Revista Jus Navigandi* 18 (3601) (2013). Disponível em: https://jus.com.br/artigos/24424, acessado em 10 de dezembro de 2017.

ACORDO ENTRE A REPÚBLICA DE CABO VERDE E A SANTA SÉ RELATIVO
O ESTATUTO JURÍDICO DA IGREJA CATÓLICA EM CABO VERDE

Assinado na cidade da Praia, aos 10 dias do mês de Junho de 2013, em dois
exemplares autênticos em língua portuguesa e italiana, fazendo igualmente fé
ambos os textos.

Artigo 16

1. A República de Cabo Verde, no âmbito da liberdade religiosa e do dever de o
Estado cooperar com os pais na educação dos filhos, garante as condições neces-
sárias para assegurar, em conformidade com as orientações gerais do Ensino ca-
bo-verdiano, o ensino da religião e moral católicas nos estabelecimentos de ensi-
no público não superior, sem qualquer forma de discriminação.

2. A frequência do ensino da religião e moral católicas nos estabelecimentos de
ensino público não superior depende de declaração do interessado, quando para
tanto tenha capacidade legal, dos pais ou do seu representante legal.

3. Em nenhum caso, o ensino da religião e moral católicas será ministrado por
quem não seja considerado idóneo pela autoridade eclesiástica competente, a
qual certifica a referida idoneidade nos termos previstos pelo sistema de Ensino
cabo-verdiano e pelo direito canónico.

4. Os professores de religião e moral católicas nos estabelecimentos de ensino pú-
bicos são nomeados ou contratados, transferidos e excluídos do exercício da do-
cência da disciplina pelo Estado, de acordo com a autoridade eclesiástica compe-
tente.[16]

Evidenciamos que as denominações religiosas sempre estiveram ligadas
ao ensino, como a Igreja Católica, a Igreja do Nazareno e a Igreja Adventista
do Sétimo Dia. A assinatura da Concordata poderá produzir muitas altera-
ções na conjuntura religiosa e educacional e, nesse sentido, elementos novos
para debate nacional e internacional.

A maioria dos cabo-verdianos se auto identificam como cristãos, mas há
emergência e o crescimento da população islâmica em Cabo Verde, devido à
migração senegalesa e guineense para esse arquipélago, aspecto que estará as-
sociado aos elementos acima e tem promovido mudanças sociais, religiosas e
com reflexos no Sistema de Educação local. Na reportagem abaixo, o Reve-
rendo David Araújo da Igreja do Nazareno se posicionou contrário ao acor-

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[16]Ver Fabio Lanza, *Instituto Nacional de Estudos das Diversidades na Educação – INEDE*: pro-
jeto apresentado ao CNPq. Londrina PR: UEL, UFGD, UFMT, UEA, UBI, UP, UL, 2015.
(mimeo).

do internacional com o Vaticano. Segundo o mesmo, este acordo implicaria um atraso de cinco séculos no que tange a educação confessional no ensino religioso, a figura é a manchete[17] que destaca o conflito decorrente da assinatura do acordo:

Por meio da pesquisa documental e eletrônica, foi possível identificar múltiplos interesses nesta nova conjuntura decorrente da assinatura da Con-

Imagem 3   Notícias do Norte: Concordata com a Igreja Católica[18]

cordata entre o Vaticano e Cabo Verde, alguns dados já emergiram na mídia e nos sítios eletrônicos oficiais:

Governo e Santa Sé avançam parceria no domínio do Ensino Superior. Publicado em 09-06-2015

O Primeiro-Ministro, José Maria Neves, recebeu nesta terça-feira, o representante da Santa Sé, Núncio Apostólico, Luís Mariano Montemayor, tendo os dois abordado a cooperação entre Cabo Verde e o Vaticano nos mais diversos aspectos, em particular no domínio do ensino superior em que já de há alguns meses

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[17]Disponível: http://noticiasdonorte.publ.cv/14674/concordata-com-a-igreja-catolica-uma-concordata-com-cinco-seculos-de-atraso/.

[18]Disponível em: http://noticiasdonorte.publ.cv/14674/concordata-com-a-igreja-catolica-uma-concordata-com-cinco-seculos-de-atraso/, acesso em 14 de dezembro de 2017.

Portuguese Studies Review

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Is Foreignism an Obstacle for Interculturality between Brazilians and Other Latin Americans?

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Introduction

The purpose of this article is to reflect upon the phenomenon of foreignism as a Brazilian cultural trait. This characteristic is believed to have an important influence on the way that individuals born in Brazil tend to treat foreigners from other Latin-American states, which not only makes relations between the two fragile but, in a sense, also violates the dignity of the latter.

The late twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first centuries have seen profound economic, social, political, demographic, and cultural changes globally. Resulting from alterations in the productive restructuring processes, these transformations have had implications for the mobility of capital and of people to different parts of the globe.[1] In this sense, the debate on immigration has become increasingly present and relevant in the national and international media, due mainly to the large movement of African and Syrian refugees into Europe,[2] especially via the Mediterranean,[3] as well

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[1] Saskia Sassen, *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

[2] Clara Magalhães Martins & Rui Décio Martins, "Frontex – Controle e fiscalização das fronteiras externas da União Europeia em relação aos movimentos de refugiados," in Rosana Baeninger & Alejandro Canales, eds., *Migrações fronteiriças* (Campinas SP: Núcleo de Estudos de População "Elza Berquó" – Nepo/Unicamp, 2018), 81; Maria Hylma Alcaraz Salgado, "Los flujos migratórios y el control de las fronteras exteriores de la Unión Europea," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 72.

[3] Rickson R. Figueira, "Desde que for a de minhas fronteiras!" "Controle mediterrâneo e externalização europeia das demandas de refúgio," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 93.

as the controversial speech of the then candidate and now President of the United States, Donald Trump, emphasizing the "Mexican question" in his country.[4] In the case of Brazil, in particular, several issues related to Haitian[5] and Venezuelan[6] immigration have also attracted attention. This is especially the case with regard to the profile and characteristics of these new migration flows, challenges to the public health system, protection of human rights and the increase of xenophobia, among other issues. Thus, whether it is because of the more restrictive/harsh migration policies in countries of the Global North—to the point of the separation of families in the US—or the recent problems with the entry of Venezuelans into Brazil, the subject has aroused great interest among Brazilian authorities and ordinary citizens alike.

This has produced consequences in the contexts of Latin American and Brazilian immigration. From the point of view of Latin American regional economic integration, the permeability of borders has allowed an intensification of population movements along and even across national boundaries.[7] This has, furthermore, transpired within the backdrop of international migration into Latin America and the Caribbean which by 2008 saw Brazil already occupy a prominent position in the region. Indeed, the cities of São

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[4]Rodolfo Cruz Piñeiro & Nancy Landa, "El muro fronterizo de Trump y la política migratória Estadounidense," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 15.

[5]Rosana Baeninger, Roberta Peres, Duval Fernandes, Sidney Antonio da Silva, Gláucia de Oliveira Assis, Maria da Conceição G. Castro & Marília Pimentel Cotinguiba, eds., *Imigração haitiana no Brasil* (Jundiaí SP, Paco Editorial, 2016); Rosana Baeninger, "Migrações transnacionais na fronteira: novos espaços da migração Sul-Sul," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 462; Sidney A. da Silva, "Haitianos no Brasil: meandros e desafios de um processo de inserção sociocultural," in Lúcia Bógus & Rosana Baeninger, eds., *A nova face da emigração internacional no Brasil* (São Paulo SP: EDUC, 2018), 459; Duval Fernandes, Rosita Milesi & Andressa Farias, "Do Haiti para o Brasil: o novo fluxo miratório," *Cadernos de Debates Refúgio, Migrações e Cidadania* 6 (2011): 73-98.

[6]Jordan Tomazelli Lemos & Margareth Vetis Zaganelli, "Crise na fronteira Venezuela – Roraima: desafios para o sistema de saúde pública," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 404; Thiago Oliveira Moreira, "A (necessária) proteção dos direitos humanos dos migrantes venezuelanos pela jurisdição brasileira," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 394; Gustavo da Frota Simões, "A mudança no perfil do imigrante venezuelano em Roraima e o aumento da xenofobia," in Baeninger & Canales, *Migrações fronteiriças*, 386.

[7]Rosana Baeninger, "O Brasil na rota das migrações latino-americanas," in Rosana Baeninger, ed., *Imigração boliviana no Brasil* (Campinas SP: Núcleo de Estudos de População – NEPO/Unicamp; FAPESP; CNPq; Unfpa, 2012).

Paulo and Rio de Janeiro had emerged as the preferred destinations of so-called global workers between 1990 and 2000 and began to be considered by the national urban hierarchy as global metropolises.[8] However, despite the signs of growth of an intra-regional migratory process in Latin America and the Caribbean, which has been ongoing at least for the last thirty years, much of the research involving the phenomenon of expatriation, immigration, migration, and the issue of refugees has placed little emphasis on the reality of countries in Latin America, at least in the field of organizational studies.

For the sake of simplicity in our analysis, our understanding of "agglutination" has been borrowed from the phenomenon of expatriation (from its Latin etymological root, medieval Latin *expatriat*—"gone out from one's country," from the verb *expatriare*, *ex*—"out" + *patria*—"native country"), which affects all individuals who reside temporarily or permanently in a country other than the one in which they were born.[9] Therefore, when considering its root, it can "embrace" other concepts used in various theoretical and empirical contexts. In this sense, we need to be attentive to the resurgence of xenophobia in Brazil, especially toward those whose origins lay in other Latin American states or in Africa, since accounts of extortion and diverse forms of discrimination are rampant, mainly in São Paulo.[10] Such an understanding is important because foreigners face several difficulties (manifesting themselves as intolerance, discrimination, human trafficking, institutional violence, etc.) in different countries, including Brazil: this is especially true of those in situations of greater vulnerability.[11]

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[8]Rosana Baeninger, "O Brasil no contexto das migrações internacionais da América Latina," in Fausto Brito & Rosana Baeninger, eds., *População e políticas sociais no Brasil: os desafios da transição demográfica e das migrações internacionais* (Brasília DF: Centro de Gestão e Estudos Estratégicos – CGEE, 2008), 248-264. Data from the IMILA/CELADE (Investigación de la Migración Internacional en Latinoamérica/Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe), in 2006, already indicated that Brazil, among the countries of the region, had "the fourth largest number of foreigners born in Latin America and the Caribbean (118,525 people)."

[9]Juan Miguel Rosa González & José Arimatés de Oliveira, "Os efeitos da expatriação sobre a identidade: estudo de caso," *Cadernos EBAPE.BR – Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas da Fundação Getúlio Vargas* 9 (4) (2011): 1122-1135.

[10]Rossana Rocha Reis, "A política do Brasil para as migrações internacionais," *Contexto Internacional* 33 (2011): 47-69.

[11]Luciana Veloso Rocha Portolese Baruki, Patrícia Tuma Martins Bertolin & Vivian Cristina Silveira Ferreira Dias, "Migrantes clandestinos na região central de São Paulo: a in-

It is therefore necessary to review the issue of expatriation. But this must now be carried out in an emancipatory sense: that is, to attempt to make visible the invisible, because depending on the concept adopted, historically disadvantaged groups can be made non-existent. In the search for social relations permeated by the idea of interculturality, the perspective of cultural adaptation of the expatriate would not be appropriate since it presupposes, in a certain way, that expatriates should behave in accordance with the host culture, adapting to the culture of the country of destination. According to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, this would, at best, reduce the process to a multicultural dimension,[12] when social relations should cherish "reciprocal recognition and availability for mutual enrichment between various cultures that share a given cultural space, that is, a relation unified in an ecology of knowledges."[13]

Contrary to an intercultural perspective argued here, studies suggest that Brazilians are hospitable to expatriates from Europe and the United States—considered in this work to be from the Global North[14]—but not to expatriates from South American countries[15]—considered in this work to be from the Global South. One way of trying to comprehend this phenomenon, would be to understand the reflection(s) on the process of colonization in the imaginary and in the Brazilian way of being, which have as one of their consequences a fixation for what comes from outside. It is assumed, therefore, that foreignism, as a Brazilian cultural trait, tends to value the "for-

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clusão perversa," in Paulo Sérgio Boggio & Camila Campanhã, eds., *Família, gênero e inclusão social* (São Paulo SP, Memnon, 2009), 107.

[12]Boaventura de Sousa Santos & Maria Paula Meneses, "Introdução," in Boaventura de Sousa Santos & Maria Paula Meneses, eds., *Epistemologias do Sul* (Coimbra: Almedina e CES, 2010), 9. Multiculturalism, in the view of Boaventura de Sousa Santos & Maria Paula Meneses, comes from the presupposed existence of a dominant culture that accepts, tolerates, or recognizes the existence of other cultures in the cultural space where it dominates.

[13]Santos & Meneses, "Introdução," 9.

[14]The Global North corresponds to terms like "developed," "rich countries," "main countries," and "First World." The Global South is referred to as "developing countries," "poor countries," "Peripheral," "Third World" (with each designation oriented by a certain theoretical-conceptual line). In the perspective of Boaventura de Sousa Santos, the South is understood as a metaphor for the human suffering caused by capitalism.

[15]Hélio Arthur Irigaray & Sylvia Constant Vergara, "Expatriados no Brasil: diferentes nacionalidades, diferentes percepções," *Revista Eletrônica de Gestão Organizacional – Gestão.Org* 8 (2010): 49-60.

eigner": but not any foreigner, since what tends to be valued are references to countries considered as "First World" or from the Global North.

Beyond this introduction to the problem, our contribution is divided into three parts. We first reflect on the paths of foreignism and the Brazilian social imaginary. This is followed by a section where we rethink foreignism in the context of organizational studies in Brazil. Our final considerations are summarized in a concluding segment.

Paths of foreignism and the Brazilian social imaginary

The noun "foreignism" is defined in literal terms as "use of a foreign word or idiom."[16] When we consider its fundamental meaning, it is understood as the use of the word or expression that may or may not have a vernacular equivalent.

In Brazil, foreignism has intrigued scholars since the beginning of the last century. Beatriz Christino,[17] for instance, found that intellectuals from the 1920s expressed their disgust of words not originating in the Portuguese language: at the same time, a discussion arose in the country influenced by an effervescent nationalism. According to this author, several intellectuals argued that the closer we were to the cultured language of Portuguese literature, the more protected would be the Portuguese language.

In general, however, scholars from 1920 to 1945 recognized that the national lexicon had been enriched by the contribution of African languages. On the other hand, they also disagreed about the changes brought about by Blacks (and indigenous persons) in the pronunciation, morphology, and syntax of Brazilian Portuguese. Those interested in the description of popular and/or regional sayings accommodated the non-white inheritance, which remained practically excluded from treatises focusing on the cultured norm committed to emphasize the linguistic unity between Brazil and Portugal.[18]

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[16]Antonio Houaiss & Mauro de Salles Villar, *Dicionário Houaiss de língua portuguesa* (Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Objetiva, 2001), 184.

[17]Beatriz Christino, " 'Português de gente branca?': certas relações entre língua e raça na década de 1920," MA thesis (Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas – Universidade de São Paulo, 2001).

[18]Beatriz Christino, "O papel do negro na formação do português brasileiro na visão de estudiosos dos anos 1920 a 1945," *Boletim 7* (Centro de Documentação em Historiografia da Linguística – CEDOCH), http://www.fflch.usp.br/dl/cedoch/downloads/boletim7_45-60.pdf.

Gilberto Freyre, in his classic *Casa-Grande & Senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves*), recognized, in his own way, the decisive contribution made by Black Africans to the Portuguese spoken in Brazil.[19] For Lilian do Rocio Borba, Freyre understood the language spoken in Brazil "as a result of the linguistic interaction that occurred during the colonial period,"[20] in which, according to Freyre, "the process that led to a change in varieties has Black maids and White children as its main agents of linguistic changes and changes in social relations."[21]

Continuing with the question of language, but from another aspect, Rodolfo Ilari[22] confronted the issue of foreignism when discussing the episode of political independence and the construction of a linguistic ideology in nineteenth-century Brazil. From this attempt, one of the dominant themes that emerged was Brazil as a country that speaks its own language, a "mother tongue," a "national language," or even a "Brazilian language."

A discussion of the foreigner's role in the Brazilian social imaginary is not new, with foreignism as an element of concern for authors in the most varied fields of knowledge, such as literature and history,[23] music,[24] and literary criticism.[25] Indeed, several Brazilian thinkers have made some considerations about foreignism, although not always referring to it by that term. Silvio Romero,[26] for instance, pointed out the Brazilian characteristic of imitating the foreigner in the intellectual scope. Freyre[27] similarly alluded to the tendency of Brazilians to mimic what came from outside. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda,[28] in turn, described the Brazilian as "exiled in his own land," in the sense that the Brazilian tended to import his/her way of living

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[19]Lilian do Rocio Borba, "Entre a casa grande e a senzala: enunciados sobre a formação do português fala no Brasil," *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies* 8 (2012): 35-47.

[20]Rocio Borba, "Entre a casa grande."

[21]Rocio Borba, "Entre a casa grande."

[22]Rodolfo Ilari, "Independência política e ideologia linguística no Brasil do século XIX," *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies* 8 (2012): 7-19.

[23]Valdeci Rezende Borges, "Cultura, natureza e história na invenção alencariana de uma identidade da nação brasileira," *Revista Brasileira de História* 26 (2006): 89-114.

[24]Arnaldo Daraya Contier, "Mário de Andrade e a música brasileira," *Revista Música* 5 (1994): 33-47.

[25]Antonio Candido, "Feitos da burguesia," *Opinião* 202 (1976): 125-130.

[26]Silvio Romero, *História da literatura brasileira* (Rio de Janeiro RJ: José Olympio, 1954).

[27]Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (Rio de Janeiro RJ: José Olympio, 1970).

from other countries. And, last but not least, Alberto Guerreiro Ramos[29] addressed the issue of Brazil's adoption of institutional models from the dominant centers in the world as a way of trying to overcome backwardness, and therefore focusing on progress.

Be that as it may, one may say from a historical point of view that the phenomenon of foreignism began with the exploratory and extractive colonization movement undertaken by the Portuguese, transplanting in the process a societal model based on European references. Such transplantation demonstrated, somewhat quickly, the dominating spirit of the white colonizer in relation to: first, the indigenous captives of the land; and later the enslaved African Blacks.[30]

Darcy Ribeiro, when referring to the emergence of the Brazilian, pointed out that he/she came "from the merge, the clash and the combination of the Portuguese invader with Indians who dwell in the forests and on the plains and with Black Africans, both of them taken as slaves."[31] In fact, this civilizational transplantation did not take place within a context of negotiation, but rather through a process of violence and domination. And the "negotiation," if it could be called that, happened between "the balls of the white Portuguese and the womb of the Indian women," giving rise to the first Brazilians or the "no-ones."[32]

An explanatory aspect to understand the origin(s) of foreignism among those born in Brazil is the approach adopted by the Italian psychoanalyst, Contardo Calligaris in the early 1990s. At the time of the first edition of his travel notes to Brazil, this author expressed disbelief and perplexity about the project to migrate of many Brazilians, represented by the "here is no good, let's go to where it is good."[33] From this perspective, disturbed by the

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[28]Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil* 26th edition (São Paulo SP: Companhia das Letras, 1995).

[29]Alberto Guerreiro Ramos, *Administração e contexto brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro RJ: FGV, 1983).

[30]Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil*.

[31]Darcy Ribeiro, *O povo brasileiro: a formação e o sentido do Brasil* (São Paulo SP: Companhia das Letras1995), 19.

[32]Ribeiro, *O povo brasileiro*, 19.

[33]Contardo Calligaris, *Hello Brazil!: notas de um psicanalista europeu viajando ao Brasil* (São Paulo SP: Escuta, 1993), 13.

common expression he heard -"this country is no good!"-, Calligaris reflected that there should be "some reason that put Brazilians, with respect to their own national identity, in a curious internal exclusion […]."[34] What this author did, in a way, was to "touch a sore spot" by pointing to one of our narcissistic wounds, perhaps the deepest: our "inferiority complex," and the "need for a father figure," as represented widely by the expression "this country is no good!" Thus, in search of answers for his concerns, the author proposed that the problem has to do with "onetegration" (*umtegração*), a neologism that refers to "a difficulty related to the ONE, to which a nation refers its children, related to the national signifier in its history and significance."[35] An unfolding of this proposition is that, if Brazilians could speak of Brazil as if they were foreigners, it is because, in some way, "Brazil," "the ONE of their differences should be more or less an identifying trait at the root of national affiliation[…]." Thus, in the absence of this "ONE," according to this Italian thinker, individuals born in Brazil would tend to have a need for external references in their imaginary—paternal, according to Freudian terminology—which could be expressed by both respect and repulsion, love and subalternity in relation to this referential, a process constructed from the relation of two main characters, the colonizer and the settler, who would function as dominant rhetorical figures of the Brazilian discourse.[36] In fact, according to Calligaris, "it would be fair to say that in the discourse of every Brazilian, whatever their history or social position, the colonizer and the settler seem to speak."[37]

Boaventura de Sousa Santos, when reflecting on identity processes in the space-time continuum of the Portuguese language, pointed out that since the seventeenth century, Portugal was a semi-peripheral country in the modern capitalist world system.[38] Therefore, Portuguese colonialism, once carried out by a country, itself semi-peripheral, gave rise to a subaltern colonialism which, in turn, brought colonies into a double colonization: by the Portuguese and by the then major world powers (especially England). This

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[34]Calligaris, *Hello Brazil!*, 14.

[35]Calligaris, *Hello Brazil!*, 15.

[36]Calligaris, *Hello Brazil!*, 16.

[37]Calligaris, *Hello Brazil!*, 16.

[38]Boaventura de Sousa Santos, "Between Prospero and Caliban: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, and Inter-identity," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 32 (2002): 9-43.

view, in a way, disregards in part or as a whole the success of the Lusitanian experience with the Pombaline Companies.[39]

Although the role and legacy of Portuguese colonization are strongly present in Brazil until today, it is evident that during the late colonial period, the Brazilian-born elite (an oligarchy of latifundia), as well as an emerging industrial bourgeoisie (already in the period of industrialization), initiated a "distancing" from Portugal and, at the same time, a search for other foreign reference(s). In this sense, even if already independent, Brazil began a process of colonization, now self-induced, changing the Lusitanian (Portuguese) cycle for a Paris-London cycle, and finally for a US cycle.[40]

As for the Portuguese reference cycle, there is no doubt about the role and legacy of the colonizer in the imaginary and local culture, reflected in the broader fields of Brazilian social life. The transition from a Lusitanian to a Paris-London referential was mostly owing to economic factors, given that the countries of both capitals were great mercantile powers. In the Brazilian case, the predominance of the British was the result of closer economic and commercial relations with Great Britain than with Portugal, especially following political independence in 1822.[41]

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw English predominance in Brazil began to be counterbalanced by the emergence of a new world power, the United States of America. Thus started the US cycle in the Brazilian cultural referential.[42] This cycle reached its zenith between the 1930s and the 1960s, with the United States having a marked influence on Brazil in economic, political, and commercial affairs, foreign relations, as well as in the practice and teaching of management.[43]

According to Octavio Ianni, the United States was successful in claiming a decisive influence in Latin America through its powerful institutional apparatus and cultural industry, thereby obtaining cultural, political, econom-

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[39]Fernand Braudel, *Civilização material, economia e capitalismo: séculos XV – XVIII: o tempo do mundo* (São Paulo SP: Wmf Martins Fontes, 2009).

[40]Miguel P. Caldas, "Santo de casa não faz milagre: condicionantes nacionais e implicações organizacionais da fixação brasileira pela figura do "estrangeiro," in Fernando C. Prestes Motta & Miguel P. Caldas, eds., *Cultura organizacional e cultura brasileira* (São Paulo SP: Atlas, 2007), 73-93.

[41]Caldas, "Santo de casa."

[42]Gerson Moura, *Estados Unidos e América Latina* (São Paulo SP: Contexto, 1990).

[43]Caldas, "Santo de casa."

ic, and ideological hegemony over the region, including, of course, Brazil.[44] The 1964 military coup in Brazil left the state at the service of the (big) bourgeoisie and large-scale capitalist accumulation, an event in which some attribute the United States as playing a contributory role, to say the least, by supporting the local bourgeoisie.[45]

When seeking explanations for the reproduction of the phenomenon of foreignism, even by approaching the determinants of the fixation of the Brazilian mentality regarding foreigners, it would be useful to view this from its historical,[46] economic,[47] cultural,[48] and institutional[49] roots. Be that as it may, we are still under the impression that foreignism as a Brazilian cultural trait could, to some extent, be understood as a deep, invisible element that functions almost "automatically" within each Brazilian-born individual, leading to an attitude of self-inferiority and fixation with the foreigner, especially the foreigner from the Global North.

Rethinking foreignism from the perspective of Brazilian organizational studies

In Brazil, the field of organizational studies has also developed efforts to explain the national determinants of the Brazilian fixation with the figure of the foreigner. In 2007, for example, Miguel P. Caldas, arguing that this research agenda is undoubtedly ambitious and urgent for the study of organiz-

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[44]Octavio Ianni, *Imperialismo e cultura* (Petrópolis RJ: Vozes, 1979). We cannot forget that when American soft power did not work toward its interests in the region, the US did not hesitate in supporting coups in several South and Central American countries, logistically, economically, and/or military (including intelligence).

[45]Octavio Ianni, *Pensamento social no Brasil* (Bauru SP: EDUSC, 2004). After World War II, the geopolitics of the world was divided into First World (rich western countries), Second World (socialist countries), and Third World (underdeveloped countries). Brazil, in this period, was part of the third group of countries: it was a Third World country. During the Cold War between the two great superpowers (USA and USSR), vast areas of the world became the object of direct and/or indirect dispute between these powers. In the case of Brazil, before the coup of 1964, there was an intense social and political polarization, culminating in Goulart's turbulent removal from office and a military coup. There is no doubt that the United States supported local elites in carrying out various military coups in Latin America to maintain or even consolidate its hemispheric dominance.

[46]Caldas, "Santo de casa"; Holanda, *Raízes do Brasil*; Ianni, *Imperialismo e cultura*; Ribeiro, *O povo brasileiro*.

[47]Caldas, "Santo de casa"; Ianni, *Pensamento social*.

[48]Caldas, "Santo de casa"; Ianni, *Pensamento social*; Ribeiro, *O povo brasileiro*.

[49]Caldas, "Santo de casa."

ations in Brazil, tried to reflect on the tendency of Brazilian organizations to target successful cases from outside, as well as, in a broader sense, on the influence of the foreigner in the life of Brazilians and that of their organizations.[50] Fernando C. Prestes Motta, Rafael Alcadipani and Ricardo B. Bresler, on the other hand, have highlighted how Brazilian cultural traits—with an emphasis on foreignism—may influence the way people are seen, managed, and controlled.[51] The main argument of the authors is that, in the context of Brazilian organizations in general and in the human resource management in particular, foreignism plays a strong role in segregation, since "the foreigner always seems superior, more cultured, more civilized." Other studies still have focused on the culture of Brazilian organizations from a postmodern epistemological posture, as part of the national research to understand typical national traits. In general, studies on Brazilian organizations have a predominantly negative view of Brazilian culture in relation to other cultures, such as the US or countries that are considered developed.[52]

At the beginning of the new millennium, although Brazil was increasingly attracting foreign attention, little had still been published on the country's cultural profile, its ambiguities, as well as on its possible future developments in relation to this profile.[53] When, in 2009, Caldas sought to understand the pluralistic and mutating profiles of Brazilians cultures, he thus started with the idea that "what is convenient to call national culture" probably resulted from the co-existence of multiple and different cultures. Here, the author proposed a conceptual model based on a representation of Brazilian contemporary culture from a historical point of view and, at the same time, offered some theoretical propositions regarding the possible displacements of Brazilian cultural texture - what we could call "Brazilian cultural tendencies." From this perspective and following the spectrum of a ho-

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[50]Caldas, "Santo de casa."

[51]Fernando C. Prestes Motta, Rafael Alcadipani, & Ricardo B. Bresler "A valorização do estrangeiro como segregação nas organizações," *RAC – Revista de Administração Contemporânea* 5 (2001): 59–79.

[52]Rafael Alcadipani & João Marcelo Crubellate, "Cultura organizacional: generalizações improváveis e conceituações imprecisas," *RAE – Revista de Administração de Empresas* 43 (2003): 64-77.

[53]Miguel P. Caldas, "Culturas brasileiras: entendendo perfis culturais no plural e em mutação," in Lívia Barbosa, ed., *Cultura e diferença nas organizações: reflexões sobre nós e os outros* (São Paulo SP: Atlas, 2009), 53.

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Impossible Whiteness, Impossible Miscegenation? Enlightenment, Gender and the Politics of Race in Colonial Angola (c. 1760-1806) [1]

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> *Aqui onde o filho he fusco*
> *e quasi negro o neto,*
> *e todo negro o bisneto,*
> *e tudo escuro.*
> [Here where the son is Brown
> And almost Black the grandson,
> And all Black the great-grandson,
> And everything is dark.][2]

> *...a branca raça hé estrangeira no paiz.*
> [The white race are strangers to the country][3]

THE POEM IN THE EPIGRAPH is anonymous, gaining immortality after it was integrated into the *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas* [*General History of the Angolan Wars*] written by the army officer and historian António de Oliveira Cadornega in 1680. It describes, in an exemplary manner, one of the greatest challenges of Angolan colonial society in the seventeenth century: the evolution of colour. Four generations were sufficient for the

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[1] I would like to express my thanks to Joseph C. Miller and Richard Roberts for their comments and suggestions after reading a first version of this article. I am also grateful to the two anonymous reviewers of the *Portuguese Studies Review*.

[2] António de Oliveira Cadornega, *História geral das guerras angolanas,* 3 vols., Annotated and corrected by José Matias Delgado (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972 [1680]), 3: 384.

[3] The author, a native of Bahia, lived in Angola during 1783-89, after which he returned to Brazil and wrote his two volume *History of Angola*: Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola,* 2 vols. (Lisbon: Colecção dos Clássicos da Expansão Portuguesa no Mundo, Série E-Impériom 1937), 1: 214.

descendants of white settlers to become completely Africanized, both phenotypically and culturally. This assessment implied a dual impossibility: first, the maintenance of whiteness; and, second, the stabilized constitution of a population resulting from miscegenation. Indeed, patterns of colonial settlement in Angola were never successful in imposing either a stable white or a mulatto population.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, this observation continued to be relevant. It is thus not surprising that Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, governor of Angola from 1764 to 1772, copied the same poem in his own *Papeis do Governo de Angola*.[4] However, this time its status was not that of a simple observation. He was acting in concert with the administration of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (the future Marquês de Pombal), the Prime Minister of the Portuguese King José I from 1750 to 1777,[5] who, since 1753, had been preparing a reform project, both deeply inspired by the political philosophy of the Enlightenment and anchored on information collected in the field in order to turn Angola into a settlement colony similar to Brazil.[6] The growth of a colonial population, specially a white one, thus became a crucial issue.

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[4]*Papeis do Governo de Angola*, Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa (henceforth, FUP) Mss. 45, R. 5-3-7, fols.101-104.

[5]For the sake of simplicity I shall refer to Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo as Marquis de Pombal, or simply Pombal, throughout this article, specially since the Portuguese expression *Pombalismo* is commonly used to refer to the Enlightenment policy of government during the whole period.

[6]I use "Enlightenment" to translate the word *Luzes* used by Portuguese governors to refer to the political philosophy which underpinned the notion of *policia* (police) or of a *"gouvernement policé"*: government police. This notion can broadly be identified with Michel Foucault, "La 'gouvernementalité'," in *Dits et écrits II, 1976-1988* (Paris: Gallimard, 2001), 635-657. On Pombal's colonial project and its construction, see Catarina Madeira-Santos, "Um governo Polido para Angola: reconfigurar dispositivos de domínio (1750. c.1800)," PhD thesis (Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas/Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2005); Catarina Madeira-Santos, "Entre deux droits, les Lumières en Angola (1750 – v. 1800)," *Annales. Histoire Sciences Sociales* 60 (4) (2005): 817-848; Catarina Madeira-Santos, "Administrative Knowledge in a Colonial Context: Angola in the Eighteenth Century," *British Journal for the History of Science* 43 (2010): 1-18; Catarina Madeira-Santos, "To Round Out this Immense Country: The Circulation of Cartographic and Historiographical Knowledge from Brazil to Angola (18th Century)," in Lazlo Kontler, Antonella Romano, Silvia Sebastiani & Borbála Zsuzsanna Török, eds., *Negotiating Knowledge in Early Modern Empires: A Decentered View* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 153-177.

It is important here to stress that Pombal and the colonial governors under him not only acted in accord with this seventeenth-century diagnosis but also conceived a social policy, indeed a grand project of social engineering, in order to reverse the general trend of the blackening of the colonial population. They wanted to establish communities that would embody and expand European social patterns of life and civility in the seaports of Luanda and Benguela, as well as in their hinterlands.

This article focuses precisely on the racial policy of the Enlightenment period characterized by reformism, broadly from 1753 to 1806, and its results in fostering a white population and metropolitan socio-cultural patterns. To be sure, there is already a vast bibliography on this subject. This, however, is overwhelmingly rooted in the British imperial experience of slavery in North America and has had a hegemonic grip on academic debate around these questions tending, with certain notable exceptions, to reduce race to an ahistorical question of colour.[7] I, on the other hand, am especially interested in highlighting the differences between racial discourses and everyday practices on the ground.[8] Race issues here will thus be considered collectively with gender—contrasting the roles of matrilineage and patrilineage in colonial society—territorialization, and the socio-political framework of African societies. This analysis is focused mainly on the hinterland of

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[7]For exceptions, see for instance Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1998); Philip D. Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth Century in the Chesapeake and Lowcountry* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Roxanne Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth-Century British Culture* (Philadephia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); George M. Fredickson, *Racism, A Short History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002).

[8]This is certainly not the first attempt at attending to the situation on the ground in Africa. See Allen F. Isaacman's classic *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution, the Zambesi Prazos, 1750–1902* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1972); Andreu Martínez D'Alòs-Moner, "Early Portuguese Emigration to the Ethiopian Highlands: Geopolitics, Missions, and Métissage," in Stefan C. A. Halikowski, ed., *Reinterpreting Indian Ocean Worlds: Essays in Honour of Kirti N. Chaudhuri* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), 2-32; Matthew P. Dziennik, "'Till these Experiments be Made': Senegambia and British Imperial Policy in the Eighteenth Century," *English Historical Review* 80(546) (2015): 1132-1161. There is also a recent literature on miscegenation in colonial Africa that brings innovative contributions to this debate, for instance: Hilary Jones, *The Métis of Senegal: Urban Life and Politics in French West Africa* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2013); Rachel Jean-Baptiste, *Conjugal Rights: Marriage, Sexuality and Urban Life in Colonial Libreville, Gabon* (Athens OH: Ohio University Press, 2014).

Benguela (with some references on the hinterland of Luanda) where the Enlightenment policy was notably conspicuous. In passing, it will also throw some light on race in the context of one Romance language in which its usage and evolution differs from that of the English-language context, which unfortunately predominates academic discussion on the subject, overshadowing other significant historical situations.[9]

In particular, I shall examine some key questions on the specificities of racial processes and politics in colonial Angola: How does one explain the recurrent Africanization of the white population? What specific mechanisms drove this phenomenon? What sorts of devices were deployed by Enlightened administrators to engineer a "new society"? And, finally, what was their impact on social organization in the Luanda and Benguela hinterlands at the grass-roots level?

In what follows, I shall start by providing a description of the assessment, both qualitative and quantitative, of the population of Angola made by enlightened administrators during the 1750s. I shall then focus on the political, material and human means marshalled to engineer a new colonial society in the decades that followed, with particular attention to the foundation of a network of colonial "proto-cities" or settlements (*povoações cívis*) in the Benguela countryside. Finally, I shall compare the results of this policy with data from surveys made between 1796 and 1798 upon orders from Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (1755-1812), who was then the Secretary of maritime colonial affairs.

It might however be useful at the start to provide a comparison of the demographic characteristics of other spaces within the Portuguese empire in order to better understand the specificities of the Angolan colony and its multifaceted relationship with other parts of the empire.

In the Portuguese State of India (founded in 1505), the Crown adopted a policy of miscegenation and created a new local social category—the *casados*. This followed a decree from governor Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), aiming to promote interracial marriages between Portuguese soldiers and local women converted to Christianity. The *casados* were supposed to become the new citizens of Goa, acceding to municipal power and landed

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[9]For a discussion of the etymology of "race" in English and its distinctions with other European languages, see Audrey Smedley and Brian D. Smedley, *Race in North America: Origin and Evolution of a Worldview* 4th edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2011), 35-39.

property in the rural communities of the possession. Their offspring would, and indeed did, constitute the demographic contingent of colonial society in Portuguese settlements in Asia. In the space of a single generation, the colonial community thus came to integrate both native Portuguese men and mestizo offspring. But such a policy did not mean the absence of racial prejudice: on the contrary, racial prejudice was expressed through labels differentiating between *castiços* or *indiáticos*—people born in Asia, of Portuguese or European parentage—and *reinóis*, emigrants from Portugal. Contemporaneous sources also mention "white *casados*" and "black *casados*"—sometimes using the latter term to designate the native people of the country (*naturais da terra*).[10] This example points to the at once explicitly political and pragmatic dimension of the policy of "race," meant at the time as "birth," including Catholic sacraments, and not "race" in any modern sense. It aimed to overcome the asymmetry between a colonial minority in the face of an indigenous majority.

In contrast, colonization in Brazil was based on mass emigration from the Iberian Peninsula, a huge slave population imported from Africa, and miscegenation with native Indian populations, as for instance was the case in the Captaincy of São Paulo. As the population grew in Brazil, the native population, as well as its role as an intermediary, declined. Then, with the mass arrival of African slaves and the increase of mulattos, the status of the mixed-blood population declined because of the stigma attributed to Africans. As Stuart Schwartz stresses, all intermediate categories tended to be aggregated under the undifferentiated label of *pardos*. The colonial powers possessed a negative vision of miscegenation between Indians and Africans or between European men and African or Indian women.[11]

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[10]Luís Filipe Thomaz, "Estrutura político-administrativa do Estado da Índia," in *De Ceuta a Timor* (Lisbon: Dífel, 1994), 207-245; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia (1500-1700). A Political and Economic History* (Harlow: Longman, 1993), 219-222.

[11]Stuart Schwartz, "Brazilian Ethnogenesis: *Mestiços, Mamelucos*, and *Pardos*," in S. Gruzinski and N. Wachtel, eds. *Le Nouveau Monde, mondes nouveaux* (Paris: Éditions de l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1996), 7-28; Stuart Schwartz and Frank Salomon, "New Peoples and New Kinds of Peoples: Adaptation, Readjustment, and Ethnogenesis in South American Indigenous Societies (Colonial Era)", in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed. *Cambridge History of Native Peoples of the Americas* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1999), III(2), 467-471; Stuart Schwartz, "Tapanhuns, Negros da Terra e Curibocas, causas comuns e confrontos entre Negros e Indigenas," *Afro-Ásia* 29/30 (2003): 13-40.

The Angolan case, in turn, is characterized by a low level of European im-migration. Luanda was founded *ex nihilo* in the late sixteenth century (1576) by a generation of *conquistadores* who established the first families of the set-tlement but, in contrast to the Asian case, without benefitting from any spe-cial status. The attribution of properties through a land tenure (ownership) system of *sesmarias*, led to the settlement of whites in the river valleys situ-ated in the environs of Luanda. However, as royal power changed from Lis-bon to Madrid (during the Iberian Union), imperial priorities too changed and from 1607 onwards, territorial conquest was no longer a high priority.[12] Even though instructions given by the Crown to governors for their political orientation throughout the seventeenth century continued to promote white settlements for sugar cane and cotton cultivation, the colony of An-gola had by then emerged as a massive slave-market. Besides merchants, mainly slave traders, the only other whites were male officials representing the Crown, mostly soldiers or commanders of military districts acting as ju-diciary and fiscal inspectors. While the slave traders were interested neither in settling nor in agriculture, the latter were present merely as a function of careers advancing through appointments in far-flung posts in an imperial system comprising four continents—they did not by definition count as im-migrants. The demographic majority thus remained African, and the only source of personnel for the revitalization of the white Angolan population was reduced to the import of *degredados* or convicts.

I. The power of matrilineage and the politics of race – Imagining a new Brazil in Angola

With reference to colonial Angola, one must differentiate among at least three types of settlement and society: first, coastal and urban, specific to the seaport towns of Luanda and, after 1617, Benguela; second, neighbouring in-land rural areas under Portuguese control; and, last but not least, a new type of settlement called *presídios* that were organized in the deeper hinterland. These were military-administrative units, established around fortified settle-ments, manned by a small garrison and commanded by a *Capitão-mor*, or Captain-Major, invested with military and judicial powers. Around the *presí-*

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[12]See Beatrix Heintze, *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII. Estudos sobre fontes, métodos e história* (Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2007), 95-114.

dios were various African vassal chiefdoms under the nominal control of the military authorities, as well as a motley population of settlers (*moradores*, mostly *degredados* trying to establish themselves). The *presídios* were predominantly situated along the Kwanza valley corridor in the hinterland of Luanda, whereas the port-city of Benguela's was then a tiny outpost. The area around it being initially largely devoid of colonial administrative structures, hardly worth terming it as hinterland.

The wealthiest merchants or merchant sponsors, *armadores*, lived in the port-cities of Luanda and Benguela. They lent imported trade goods to the *aviados* or *pombeiros* (trading agents) who went deep into the backlands to trade on their behalf. *Armadores* regularly crossed the South Atlantic to the Brazilian cities of Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco. There they and their families merged into the host communities, educating their children and forging an urban sociability within the larger world of the Portuguese empire.[13] In short, as a consequence of the circulation of slave traders, ships' crews, and the slaves themselves, the South Atlantic constituted a cluster of commercial networks and a densely entangled socio-cultural landscape largely independent of Madrid or Lisbon.

In the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the *aviados* or *pombeiros* spread throughout the interior, as representatives of their merchant sponsors, to enter the increasingly lucrative slave trade. However, their movements through the hinterland did not result in permanent settlements or in the spread of the hegemonic cultural patterns of a "colonial society."[14] On the contrary, they used African routes to connect colonial seaports and inland markets, and at times they even entered into matrimonial

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[13]On this topic, see: Charles R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola: 1602–1686* (London: University of London Press, 1952); Charles R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695– 1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Erick R. Seeman, eds. *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000* (London: Pearson Education, 2007); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830* (London: Currey, 1988); Luiz Felipe Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes. Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul. Séculos XVI e XVII* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Luiz Felipe Alencastro, "Le versant brésilien de l'Atlantique-Sud: 1550–1850," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 61 (2) (2006): 339–382; Alberto da Costa e Silva, *Um Rio Chamado Atlântico. A África no Brasil e o Brasil na África* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 2003); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730-1800)," in Adriana Pereira Campos, ed., *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Porto: Campo das Letras, 2006), 66-99.

alliances with the daughters and nieces of local chiefs and dignitaries. They could thus capitalize on their new kinship networks and also sire an African population of Portuguese parentage, or Luso-Africans. The latter could, thanks to their dual-cultural roots, act as go-betweens in the ever-increasing cross-cultural relations. However, *aviados* were not interested in settling into organized establishments regulated by colonial laws and institutions. Their children were thus raised within indigenous African communities. The exceptions to this were the *moradores*, originally and mainly the offspring of residents in the *presídios* settled with women from the surrounding African chiefdoms. The process of Portugueses settlement was also a process of Africanization. Actually, it was the "impossibility" of combining settlement with "whiteness."

In order to illustrate this process of Africanization, let us consider the example of Massangano, a *presídio* in the hinterland of Luanda hinterland founded on the banks of the Kwanza River in 1583. Its soldiers, merchants, convicts and other residents entered into unions with African women, engendering a substantial Luso-African population. This local community, nominally under Portuguese jurisdiction, was mainly engaged in the slave trade and connected with the social and political life of the local chieftaincies. A municipality was established in Massangano during the Dutch occupation (1641-1648), when the residents of Luanda fled the city and took refuge there. This is the only known case of a *presídio* with the legal standing of a municipality, an institution otherwise found only in Luanda (founded in 1576 and recognized as a city in 1605). When, in the wake of the Dutch defeat, the Luandans returned to the port city, the municipality in Massangano remained according to the existing legal framework, but its "function" began to change. Indeed, by the mid seventeenth century, its population had become increasingly Africanized and the links of the township's institutions with Luanda had progressively weakened, both of which led to an increased connection with the indigenous social and political structures of the

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[14]Regarding the city de Benguela and the territories located on the "plateau" it seems inappropriate to classify the Portuguese imperial device as colonial, contrary to what is proposed by Mariana Candido, *An African Slaving port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6, 87, 313, who argues that Angola was already a colonial territory in the XVIIth century. For a similar critique see: Estevam Thompson, "Fontes coloniais para uma história pré-colonial de Benguela, séculos XVII a XIX," *Africana Stvdia* 25 (2015): 53-54.

surrounding African societies. This Africanization led governor Francisco de Távora in 1674 to smother what he perceived as an imminent "conspiracy of *pardos*[15] [brown people] against whites, in Massangano."[16] Ten years later, these already-suspect residents [*moradores*] and the Massangano garrison refused to participate in a war against the Dembo Ambuila (Ndembu Mbwila), a vassal chief who had rebelled against the Portuguese. Reporting on one of his voyages to the interior in 1755, Captain Manuel Correia Leitão confronted the collective memory of a "large population of white people" with his own vision of a depopulated *presídio* where residents were "almost all mulattos and black."[17] Finally, in 1760, the government of Luanda proposed abolishing the municipality of Massangano, by then managed entirely by black people ("*fuscos*" and "*negros*").[18]

The independence of a population with the legal rights of Portuguese subjects but who lived in Massangano's thoroughly African context perfectly illustrates the anxieties that led Pombal's appointed governors in Angola to become increasingly interested in the issue of the dilution of whites, and especially of their mulatto offspring, into African kinship networks. The problem was first raised by António Vasconcelos (governor from 1758 to 1764), when he took stock of the constitution and composition of the population in the city of Luanda and in the *presidios*.[19] Since we are here particularly in-

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[15]On the category of *pardos* see the text supported by note 11 above, as well as note 24 below.

[16]José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a statistica das possessões portuguezas na África Occidental e Oriental, na Ásia Occidental, na China, e na* Oceania (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1846), III, Part I, XXXII.

[17]Manoel Correia Leitão, "Relação e breve sumário da viagem que eu, o sargento-mor dos moradores do Dande fiz às remotas partes de Cassange e Olos, por mandado do Ill.mo e Ex.mo Senhor Governador e capitão general dêstes Reinos, D. António Álvares da Cunha" (1755-1756), in Gastão Sousa Dias, ed., "Uma viagem a Cassange nos meados do século XVIII", *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 56 (1938): 12.

[18]This proposal was even discussed by the Conselho Ultramarino in Lisbon, but no decision was taken to enact the abolition. See Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (henceforth, AHU): Cx. 43, Doc. 90, 04.10.1760; Cx. 49, Doc. 21, 28.03.1765.

[19]When referring to Luanda as a "capital city" we should emphasize that Angola was not a constituted territory. The military governor's palace might be there, but it was more a command post located in a municipality (with the *senado* and with several parishes and lay brotherhoods), as well as the seat of the court of personal and commercial law. The *Tribunal dos Mucanos* was separate, an aspect of the governor's diplomatic relations with the *sobas*.

terested in the population of the hinterland, let us come back to the example of the *presídio* of Massangano to illustrate Vasconcelos's concerns.

In 1759, the estimated population of the municipality, excluding the district under the command of the *capitão-mor*, is presented in Table 1.

Table 1   List of Residents (*moradores*) of Massangano, 1759[20]

Origin	Name	Color	Civil Status	Obs.
Foreign	Bernardo Rebelo da Costa	white	widower	
Foreign	João Fernandes Pereira	white	married[21]	
Foreign[22]	João José de Oliveira	white	married	
Foreign	Matias Rebelo da costa	white	single	Brother of Bernardo Rebelo da Costa
Sons of the land	André Gonçalves Teles	pardo	married	
	António Alvares da Silva	black	married	
	António Correia da Silva	fusco	single	
	António da Cunha	black	married	
	António Esteves de Carvalho	pardo	married	
	António Roiz Fontes	fusco	married	
	António Serrão de Oliveira	fusco	married	
	Bernardo Lopes Feuza	fusco	married	
	Caetano Esteves de Carvalho	pardo	married	
	Caetano Luís	black	widower	
	Diogo Pegado de Oliveira	fusco	married	
	Félix Mendes de Sousa	fusco	married	
	Francisco Alvares da Veiga	pardo	single	
	Francisco Ferreira de Menezes	fusco	married	
	Francisco Ferreira de	black	married	

[20]AHU, Cx. 42, Doc. 65, 22.05.1759.

[21]All presumably African, or luso-African, women.

[22]"*Filhos de mar em fora.*"

	Vasconcelos			
	Francisco Foito Gajão	pardo	single	
	João da Cunha	white	married	
	João Roiz Barros	pardo	single	
	Luís Ferreira de Pontes	fusco	married	
	Mamede Alvares da Guerra	fusco	single	
	Manuel Duarte	pardo	married	
	Manuel Gomes Cortes	black	widower	
	Manuel Pilarte da Silva	fusco	married	
	Manuel Roiz da Vitória	fusco	married	
	Manuel Serrão de Oliveira	fusco	married	Son of António Serrão Oliveira
	Pascoal Fernandes	black	married	
	Pascoal Foito Gajão	black	married	
	Pedro de Oliveira de Carvalho	pardo	married	Brother of António Esteves de Carvalho
	Pedro de Oliveira Pinto	black	married	
	Romão Rodrigues Pontes	pardo	married	
	Simão Gomes Sampaio	fusco	married	
Military Personnel[23]	Ambrósio José da Conceição	white	married	Tenente da companhia
	Caetano Correia da Silva	pardo	married	Capitão da artilharia
	Domingos José da Vitória	pardo	single	Alferes da companhia
	João de Araújo	fusco	married	Ajudante de praça

The data show that there were 39 residents in Massangano. The four from abroad, probably from Portugal and Brazil, were all white. The *filhos da terra* (sons of the land), with the exception of a single white, were distributed in three categories defined by colour: *pardos* or brown (9), *fuscos* or darker than brown (13), and *pretos* or black (8). This scale indicates the progressive darkening of the population recognized under Portuguese law, as subjects of the king. Actually, the diversity of the *moradores* of this *presídio* is a good example of the specificity of the social and racial processes at work at the grassroots level in Angola. It illustrates both the demographic mechan-

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[23]Officers of the line, not counting the *guerra preta* or whatever *tropa* may have been recruited locally.

isms of Africanization and the difficulty in maintaining whiteness. We do not know, precisely, the legal standings created by such distinctions. Nonetheless, the classification into colour categories—white, *pardo*[24] /mulatto, *fusco*, and black— were most likely based on subjective ascriptions. I did not find evidence regarding the social categories actually denoted by these classifications (white, *pardo*, *fusco*, *preto*). Thus, it is the list itself that rendered the social landscape coherent and intelligible, at least for the imperial administration. That was surely the purpose of the "colour-coding."[25] While it is necessary to be cautious with the quantitative data, especially regarding the precision of the categories used, there is no doubt that they can be very useful in our attempt to reconstruct the demographic and social evolution of Massangano (as well as other landscapes).

The diversity of the population surveyed led Vasconcelos to observe, metaphorically, that the children of Portuguese men "almost jumped [directly] from the cradle to the bush," referring to the fact that although the *presídio* and the municipal council formally survived, the residents were closely connected to local African societies.[26] Some years later, governor Sousa Coutinho identified the source of the problem more precisely when

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[24]Concerning *pardos*, the word was used in Brazil as equivalent to mulatto. As Hebbe Maria Mattos *Das cores do silêncio. Os significados da liberdade no Sudeste escravista* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998 [1995]), has demonstrated, *pardo* acquired a new meaning in colonial Brazil with the increase in the number of free blacks. See also Hebbe Maria Mattos, "A Escravidão moderna nos quadros do imperio Português: o Antigo Regime em perspectiva Atlântica," in J. Fragoso, M. F. Bicalho & M. F. Gouveia, eds. *O Antigo Regime nos Tropicos: a dinamica imperial Portuguesa (sec. XVI-XVIII)* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), 155.

[25]On colour as a concept of social construction, see: Deborah Posel, "Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-Century South Africa," *African Studies Review* 44(2) (2001): 87-113. Robert H. Jackson, *Race, Caste and Status. Indians in Colonial Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999); Mara Loveman, "Nation-State Building, 'Race', and the Production of Official Statistics. Brazil in Comparative Perspective," PhD Thesis (University of California, Los Angeles, 2001). On the 1797 Luanda census and the classification of women as "white," see Miller, *Way of Death*, James Currey, 1988, p. 192: "the racial distinction carefully recorded in this census certainly reflected wealth and local prestige more than the physical features of these women.... [They] were probably the influential daughters of Luso-African families evident in other sources, whose wealth lightened their social and legal complexions no less than in Brazil, where as is well known, "money whitened".

[26]AHU, Cx. 42, Doc. 65, 22.05.1759.

observing the accelerated Africanization of families that resulted from unions between white men and African women, and the absence of a significant stable mulatto population within the colonial space. Indeed, as I discussed earlier, most *pardos* and *fuscos* were themselves undergoing an accelerated process of Africanization:

> Because even if they [white men] have children with black women, with whom they live unlawfully outside of religion and civil life, as soon as the fathers die the children go deep into the hinterlands *following their mothers*. [That is why] even if one does find the occasional European or Brazilian scattered across these vast and fertile countries they alone represent colonial society: the state can never benefit from those who are born [in Angola], when it is certain that *if they lived [lawfully] in society,* the same mulattoes, married to each other, would over the span of two centuries form immense settlements (povoações). [27]

More pertinently for my argument, Sousa Coutinho pointed to the power of matrilineal descent—the kinship pattern of the majority of African people with whom the Portuguese were in contact (Mbundu, Kongo, etc.), —when he stressed the role of African women in the raising of children. African mothers—and, implicitly, their matrilineages, to which the children of Portuguese men belonged—are identified as the main reason for the failure of white settlement policy.

The children of European men with African women adopted the cultural pattern of their mothers and spoke Kimbundu or other African languages, depending on the region—but not necessarily Portuguese. They usually lived in their mothers' village, or returned there after their father's death. Sources also report that mulattos who stayed on "in the places of their birth," lived with "their mothers and relatives."[28] According to Sousa Coutinho, they inherited from their fathers a "weak and unfortunate tradition," and never used the Portuguese legal framework or produced a "durable and solid common weal."[29] Confirming this social phenomenon, in 1772, the missionary Fr. João de São Lucas informed the government of An-

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[27]Letter from Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 24.11.1768, in Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos sobre a colonização dos planaltos e litoral sul de Angola* (Lisbon: Agencia Geral das Colónias, 1940), vol. I, doc. 3, 160-162. This passage is freely translated from the original in order to faithfully convey its meaning, with my emphasis.

[28]"Rellação dos moradores e dos Orfaos q. com elles asistem [em Caconda]," 31.12.1797, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (henceforth, IHGB), DI31.05, fols. 8-9^v.

gola that when he was living in Njinga's lands he had baptized the first-born descendants of the whites living there, suggesting that the Njinga polity had a population of unbaptized children of Portuguese paternal descent.[30] Presumably, there were many other children of Portuguese men in a similar situation, that is who were scattered throughout other chieftaincies in the hinterland. Under these conditions of strong loyalties to mothers' kin, the children of settlers could hardly operate as colonial agents.

Furthermore, the failure of the transmission of the Portuguese father's patronym and culture, also had consequences for the transmission of patrimony and the consolidation of commercial enterprises. According to Barão de Moçâmedes, governor of Angola between 1784 and 1790, when white traders died, their estates were distributed among their "black wives" and their "mulatto children," who generally were not able to continue their father's business:

> They [white traders] choose among the young women slaves [who were to be embarked for America] the one that suits them, to become their concubines. When they die their heritage is divided among the "ausentes" [absentee heirs, in Portugal or Brazil], some "fuscos" [dark skins] and the black mother. Thus ends an opulent business house with notable loss for the Angolan market as well as for those of America and Portugal. [31]

In short, I argue here that: I) because of the pull of matrilineariy, interbreeding between individuals from European and African community groups produced a continuous and generalized combination of cultures; II) a mixed Luso-African group was primarily an urban phenomenon, especially amongst the administrative and commercial elites (the *elite crioula*[32] and the

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[29]Letter of Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 18.10.1769, in Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos*, I, 164.

[30]Arquivo Histórico de Angola (henceforth, AHA), Códice (henceforth, Cód.) 80, 1772, fol. 90[v].

[31]AHU, Cód. 1642, 1785, fols. 16-16[v].

[32]Miller, *Way of Death*, 248-249; Jill R. Dias, "Uma questão de identidade: respostas intelectuais às transformações económicas no seio da elite crioula da Angola portuguesa entre 1870 e 1930," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1 (1984): 61-94; Jill R. Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o Liberalismo português (c. 1820-1850)," in Miriam Halpern Pereira, Maria de Fátima Sá, Melo Ferreira & João B. Serra, eds. *O Liberalismo na Península Ibérica na primeira metade do século XIX* (Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 1981), 1: 267-286; Catarina Madeira-Santos, "De antigos conquistadores a angolenses. A elite colonial de Luanda e a cultura das Luzes, entre lugares de memória e conhecimento científico," *Revista de História*

donas[33]). In the rural areas, no similar intermediary mestizo social group appeared. In fact, as long as indigenous society was the main reference, the culturally Portuguese population was limited to the coastal towns, and primarily Luanda.

II. *Engineering a new colonial society: white women, white couples, mulattos and orphans*

During the 1750s and 60s, Pombal's administration planned for the conversion of the interior areas of Angola into a settlement colony. Indeed, this intended transformation and the creation of territoriality aimed to consolidate the Portuguese presence in West Central Africa and ensure a monopoly over access to the internal slave markets. The Brazilian economy urgently needed the labour of Africans, the more so in light of the discovery of gold there in the early eighteenth century. The metropolitan government had realized that without slaves from Angola, there would be no Brazil, and, more vitally, without Brazil there would be no empire. Moreover, the growing presence of other European powers along the coast north of Luanda also justified the strengthening of a territorialized, white colony. Intensified occupation of territory required transformation of the social structure: that is, improvement of the settler population and the reshaping of the politics of race, with the installation of a white population deemed to be the only one able to ensure the continuity of the Portuguese socio-cultural model. It is

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da Cultura e das Ideias Políticas 24 (2007): 55-76; Catarina Madeira-Santos, "Luanda, a Colonial City between Africa and the Atlantic (XVIIth-XVIIIth Centuries)," in L. M. Brockey, ed., *Portuguese Colonial Cities in the Early Modern World* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2008), 249-273.

[33]Concerning Luanda see: Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means: D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva, Mid-Nineteenth Century Luso-African Merchant-Capitalist of Luanda," *Portuguese Studies Review* 3 (1996): 284-297; Selma A. Pantoja "Donas de 'Arimos': um negócio feminino no abastecimento de géneros alimentícios em Luanda (séculos XVIII e XIX)," in Selma A. Pantoja et al., *Entre Áfricas e Brasis* (Brasília, DF: Paralelo 15, 2001), 35-49; Vanessa S. Oliveira, "The *Donas* of Luanda, c. 1770-1867: From Atlantic Slave Trading to 'Legitimate' Commerce,' " PhD Thesis (York University, 2016). With respect to Benguela, see: Mariana P. Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva, une *dona* à Benguela à la fin du XVIII siécle," *Brésil(s). Sciences humaines et sociales* 1 (2012): 33-54; José C. Curto, "The *Donas* of Benguela, 1797: A Preliminary Analysis of a Colonial Female Elite", in Edvaldo Bergamo, Selma Pantoja & Ana Claudia Silva, eds. *Angola e as Angolanas: Memória, Sociedade e Cultura* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2016), 99-120.

thus understandable that the topic of white settlement was central to the planning of these reforms.

In order to restructure and ultimately found a Portuguese settler society, a number of measures were adopted. These included, mainly, the encouragement of white immigration, the social acceptance of mulattos, and the protection of orphans. White settlement was to be boosted through measures to attract white immigrants, especially white women, on the one hand, and to promote marriages between white settlers, on the other. The Marquis had attributed the absence of settlement to the lack of white people, in particular of white women:

> The white people who were transported to that kingdom, are almost extinct. Some die of hunger and poverty in the city and its surroundings. Others end up in the hinterlands, as fugitives and vagabonds. Hence, the blacks eventually prevail. The few whites who remain look at women from Europe strangely, preferring to consort with black women.[34]

The topic of the deficiency of white women cuts across the history of the Portuguese empire and is fundamental to understanding the specificities of Angolan social history. As Charles R. Boxer once remarked, the presence or absence of women determined the quality and type of colonization.[35] And the governors of the second half of the eighteenth century were indeed quick to realize that white women could play a crucial role in the social and racial reshaping of the colonial world.

It was Sousa Coutinho who, as governor, formulated a veritable *gendered* politics of race by claiming that the law could ideally use the services of white women to establish peace and order among men who were by nature corrupt.[36] The involvement of white women would overcome the process of social degeneracy triggered by contact with African females. White women

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[34]AHU, Cód. 555, fols. 56-56ᵛ, § 74.

[35]Charles R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny. Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815. Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities* (London: Duckworth, 1975) 19-30. Broadly on this topic, see: Ann Laura Stoler, "Rethinking Colonial Categories: European Communities and the Boundaries of Rule," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 31 (1) (1989): 134-161; Helen Bradford, "Women, Gender and Colonialism: Rethinking the History of the British Cape Colony and its Frontier Zones, c. 1806-70," *Journal of African History* 37 (1996): 351-370.

[36]Letter of Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 18.10.1769, in Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos*, I, 166.

were thus seen to perform a crucial role as creators of social change in the process of colonization. However, not all women were qualified to play this role. Metropolitan authorities were finally being constrained, not without some skepticism, to deploy *degredadas* — women under 30 arrested for prostitution. These women could certainly "improve colour."[37] But, the question remained as to how to ensure the "regeneration" of colonial society.

Orphaned girls constituted the other principal reproductive resource. They could typically become brides for Portuguese men in the colonies. This was not a new device: the so called "king's orphans" (*órfãs d'el rei*) had been used much earlier in Goa and in Angola itself, for instance, for this very purpose.[38] The Crown thus now sent marriageable young women to Angola to encourage the growth of white colonial families. However, this solution faced the difficulties inherent to the management of the orphans' inherited wealth. Tutors often stole it, thereby preventing the performance of endowed weddings.[39]

At the same time, colonial administrators also elaborated a policy of settling married white couples in Angola. It was Conde da Cunha, governor of the colony between 1753 and 1758, who was the first to propose this solution, advocating the transfer of couples from the Atlantic archipelagos as early as in 1754: "The settlers will be saved only if they come with their wives; many couples could come from the Azores, if His Majesty so commands it."[40] The islanders were to be transported on ships belonging to two royally chartered maritime trading companies—*Grão-Pará e Maranhão* and *Pernambuco e Paraíba*—that called regularly at the ports of Angra and Ponta Delgada in the Azores and Funchal in Madeira. Sources indicate that up to sixty couples were recruited to populate the Angolan hinterlands.[41] At the

[37]Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (henceforth, BNL), Reservados (henceforth, Res.), Cód. 8742, 14..11.1767, fol. 242; BNL, Res. Cód. 8742, 16.11.1767, fols. 274-275,.

[38]On this topic, see Timothy Coates, *Degredados e órfãs: Colonização dirigida pela Coroa no Império Português, 1550-1755* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 1998).

[39]Selma Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de género," in *II Reunião Internacional de História de África: a dimensão atlântica da África* (São Paulo: Museu Naval da Marinha, 1996), 76 and 80.

[40]AHU, Cx. 39, Doc. 96, 8.12.1754.

[41]AHU, Cx. 41, Doc. 120 A, 25.10.1758.

end of the 1760s, Sousa Coutinho was still exolting the virtues of married couples both as settlers and as examples to encourage marriages amongst whites for the growth of a white population and the supply of a skilled colonial work force.[42] He advocated the immediate introduction of 1,000 men (with their families), a contingent to be augmented by a hundred more men on each subsequent trip.[43] In addition, the protection of white couples was reflected in Luanda awarding them business enterprises as incentive for their installation and retention in urban society.[44] With this policy, the intention was, obviously, to fight polygyny and the power of African matriliny, as well as to promote business.

Thus, the immigration of white couples constituted a central strand of the plan to colonize Angola over the decades between 1750 and 1790. But difficulties constantly appeared. The use of Atlantic islanders proved to be ineffective: first, because of the high mortality during the voyage;[45] and, second, upon reaching the African continent, because of malaria.[46] Before the widespread use of quinine, this tropical fever was a major impediment to the survival of Europeans in Africa. Even so, natives from the Azores who managed to survive ensured some continuity in the white population.

Given all the difficulties involved in the engineering of Portuguese society in the tropics, the Pombaline administration needed to rethink the place that mulattos could, and should, occupy. We know that new kinds of racist discourses and practices have in general taken shape in colonial societies, in particular those involved with slavery and the slave trade. As Boxer remarked, a race cannot enslave another systematically without acquiring a feeling, conscious or not, of racial superiority.[47]

What, then, were the racial criteria, which stratified this particular colonial society? Is the trilogy, white, black and mulatto, sufficient to understand racial governmentalities? Given the demography of Angola, for in-

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[42]"Memória…," 1772, BNL, Res., Cód. 8743, fol. 186; AHA, Cod. 79, fol. 38.

[43]AHU, Cx. 54, Doc. 39, 08.06. 1770.

[44]BNL, Res. Cód. 8742, 23.10. 1769, fol. 57ᵛ-59.

[45]AHU, Cx. 41, Doc. 120 A, 25.10. 1758.

[46]AHU, Cód. 408, letter 48, 18.11. 1761.

[47]Charles R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1415-1825)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 84.

stance, the huge asymmetry in numbers between whites and blacks led enlightened governors to produce a discourse on the social and sexual place of mestizos. Legal measures by race were thus designed to make mulattos a distinct social group. The question shifted from importing outsiders to the reinstatement and revalorization of the mixed-race human resources of the resident population, many of whom were the children of enslaved women.

It was soon realized that granting freedom to these slave mulattos or their progeny was the only way to ensure a sustainable colonial settlement. As argued by Sousa Coutinho in 1769, they would either be enlisted into the army or employed in the civil administration.[48] This theme was repeated by succeeding governors and observers.[49] For instance, in a 1792 memoir written upon orders from the Secretary of maritime colonial affairs, Martinho de Melo e Castro (1716-1795), João Victo da Silva presented novel, and admittedly credible, reasons for freeing mulatto slaves. There were, he stated, a significant number of *pardos* (as he called them) in Angola, and they had the capacity to become good soldiers. These aptitudes, he claimed, were recognized by their rich and influential white fathers, as well as their enslaved (black) mothers, who declared them as slaves precisely in order to protect them from military conscription! They thus needed to be set free — of the pretense and of all possibilities of enslaving them. And, in order to prevent fathers from finding spurious reasons for declaring their mulatto sons slaves to save them from the army required that no condition could justify their enslavement. All mulattos thus had to be set free by royal decree.[50] A further advantage, although not explicitly stated, was that their enlistment into the army would also reduce the crown's dependence on indigenous troops (the so called *guerra preta*) drafted from the *sobas* of the *presídios*.

One should emphasize that the legal decree making all mulattos free was not a sufficient condition for its realization in practice. One needed also to prevent mulattos from "going native," so to speak, by joining their mothers' kin or even to produce a mestizo culture. Thus Sousa Coutinho created the institutional conditions to host mulatto orphans either in orphanages (*Cas-*

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[48]"Memória," in Papeis do Governo de Angola, FUP, Mss. 45/1, R. 5-3-7, fol. 8.

[49]AHU, Cód., 1642, fol. 15, 15.12.1784.

[50]João Victor da Silva, "Varias Noções a respeito de Benguela e Angola," 1792, AHU, Cx. 77, doc. 86.

as Pias), where they would be instructed in mechanical skills, or in families.[51] The question thus arises as to whether, in this context, to be Portuguese always meant belonging to the white race. Actually, "race" is a dubious understanding of what color designations meant. To be Portuguese in behavior, associations and loyalty to the king seem more prominent than colour.

Orphans were another group that the colonial government identified as promising potential colonial settlers. In order to counter the Africanization of the family structure and to avoid the dispersal of inheritances, a policy was developed to protect and educate orphans, mostly mulattos. The latter hailed from: the two cities, Luanda and Benguela; the *presídios* of the Kwanza River Valley; and the *novas povoações* (of which we shall speak later) of Benguela's hinterland. "Poor" orphans, who did not have any legacy, were to be hosted in *Casas Pias*, where they would learn mechanical arts.[52] Orphans with means, on the other hand, were to be taken in by guardians and their families. To this end, an Orphans' Court was set up in Benguela.[53] The judge of affairs involving the welfare of orphans had the power to write down an inventory of the orphan's inheritance and make full deposit of all amounts in a specially made account entrusted to a rich inhabitant of the city. Once the inventory was prepared, guardians were officially made responsible for and administrators of all personal property of the orphan pupil(s).

The policy of drawing orphans into the colonial sphere was also intended to ensure that the children of whites and mulattos would be educated within the Portuguese cultural framework. That was why their welfare was associated with the learning of mechanical or artisanal crafts.[54] For example, male orphans living in Benguela were taught how to read and write. When they reached legal age, they became soldiers or skilled workers. Girls, on the other hand, learned the art of sewing.[55] This training was reinforced through

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[51]"Notícias de Benguela e seus destritos," 28.02.1798, IHGB, DL 81.02.14.

[52]"Noticias de Benguela e Seus Districtos," 28.02.1798, IHGB, DL 81.02.14.

[53]*Ordenações Filipinas*, ed. Mário Júlio de Almeida Costa. (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1985 [facsimile of the edition of Rio de Janeiro, 1870]), Vol. I, Título 88, § 31.

[54]"Memória," in *Papeis do Governo de Angola*, FUP, Mss. 45/1, R. 5-3-7, fol. 8.

[55]"Relação dos órfãos [em Benguela]," 17.01.1798, IHGB, DL 32.02, fols. 98-99.

marriages between *mulatto* orphans themselves from the age of 14 onwards.[56] This social policy issue of social policy was one of the most valued by the Pombaline administration[57] and continued to be encouraged even beyond the eighteenth century.[58]

III. A network of new civil settlements: the povoações civis

Alongside the engineering of a new social landscape, the most striking experiment of this period was the founding of civilian settlements — *novas povoações civis* — in two distinct regions: the respective hinterlands of Luanda and Benguela. Conceived of as "proto-cities," it was thought that these settlements would in the medium term multiply and ultimately replace the military outposts and their surrounding Africanized communities.

The conditions under which these *povoações* were created varied greatly. In the hinterland of Luanda – where military occupation started in the late sixteenth century—civilian populations settled alongside pre-existing military structures—the *presídios*—and thus came in contact with a heterogeneous Luso-African population. In the hinterland of Benguela, on the other hand, the *novas povoações* were situated in territories under the sovereignty of African chiefs, totally lacking colonial government support. The intention, in the case of the Luanda hinterland, was thus to transform military outposts into civilian settlements. In the interior of Benguela, on the other hand, the objective was to found a stable and sustainable Portuguese colonial society. It is to this second case that we now turn.

As mentioned earlier, the colonial presence in the central region of Angola was virtually non-existent: the exceptions were, of course, Benguela and the fragile *presídio* of Caconda. In practice, the only Portuguese presence in these parts was marked by the commercial networks of the wealthier and more powerful merchants, or *armadores* (ship owners), of Benguela, who maintained close links with Rio de Janeiro. They were the ones who sent their agents, the *aviados* (trade agents), to the hinterland with trade goods to be exchanged for slaves, wax and ivory. Thus, during the middle of the

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[56]*Papeis do Governo de Angola*, FUP, Mss. 45/1, R. 5-3-7, 12.11.1772, fols. 59-100.

[57]BNL, Res. Cód. 8742, 16.12.1767, fols. 234-234ᵛ and 26.10.1767, fols. 274-275.

[58]AHU, Cx. 92, Doc.1, 04.05.1799.

eighteenth century, from the Portuguese standpoint, the hinterland of Benguela represented an ungoverned social space where only individual commercial agency in collaboration with local populations was operative. From the Africans' point of view, in contrast, these territories were dominated by a multitude of people and rulers, including the powerful Ovimbundu polities (Viyé, Mbailundu and Ngalange) and the more decentralized Ngangela peoples. Each powerful chief was the suzerain of many other chiefs and ruled one or more villages, some of which with large populations.[59] The Mbailundu, Wambo, Ngalange and Kyaka polities were the most militarized and dreaded on the plateau.[60] They regularly raided the Ngangela people in order to enslave them and send them through *aviados* (trade agents) to Benguela, from where they were shipped to the Americas.

It was precisely in order to ensure the security of trade and trade routes that the colonial government of Angola had sporadically sent troops to this region. The 1750s and 60s saw a succession of campaigns, and the 1776 war against the Soba of Mbailundu culminated in a relatively pacified area under indirect Portuguese rule, even if intra-African razzias continued. It was this show of military force that influenced local chiefs to accept the establishment of formalized colonial government structures. The first administrative division of the hinterland of Benguela gave rise to "Seven Provinces" (Benguela, Quilengues, Caconda, Huambo, Galangue, Mbailundo, and Bié), within which twelve civilian settlements (*povoações*) were founded between 1767 and 1769.[61] In each, *regentes* in charge of civil administration and justice replaced the traditional military rule of the *capitães-mores*. Their role was to protect trade, agriculture, industry and to attract Portugueses settlers, thus contributing to the peaceful expansion of the colonial realm.

The construction of an urban Angola in the plateau region east of Benguela was favored for its abundance of cattle and the fertility of its river valleys. It was expected that Benguela would thus become the granary of the

[59]AHU, Cx. 87, Doc. 5, 02.11.1798.

[60]Joseph C. Miller, "Angola central e sul por volta de 1840," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997): 23 and following; Ralph Delgado, *Ao Sul do Cuanza. Ocupação e aproveitamento do antigo reino de Benguela* (Lisboa: Imprensa Beleza,1944), vol. I, 233.

[61]On this topic see Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 136-170; AHU, Cx. 87, Doc. 5, 02.11.1798; AHU, Cód. 169, fol. 146ᵛ, 03.04.1796; AHA, Cód. 440, fol. 60.

colony.[62] On the level of military personnel, population growth would ulti-mately make possible the recruitment of a larger number of troops.[63] The new *povoações* were given Portuguese toponyms. Thus, metropolitan place names overlapped with African ones. The double operation of enforcement of colonial toponymies and the erasure of African ones is doubly suggestive: the renaming of places as a strategy of domination; and the spatial syn-chrony as the epitome of a social and racial symmetry between the metro-politan original and its African avatar. The imposition of imperial rule through the "renaming" of places was a device also used by other European empires, mainly the Spanish and the British.[64] During the same period, new towns and cities were created in Brazil (Amazónia and Minas Gerais) to which Portuguese names were given as well.[65] Following Valentin Mudimbe, "not only was colonial toponymy a radical reorganization of an ancient site and of its political makeup, but more important, generally, it indicated the invention of a new site and body whose routes and movements reflected a new political economy."[66] This operation of "Inscription and Erasure"[67] of toponomy is particularly striking on the plateau of Benguela. It aimed to represent the new social and racial order imposed from the outside. The transformation of indigenous sites into colonial administrative spaces, sup-posed that people had to renounce their earlier socio-cultural and political habits.

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[62]BNL, Res., Cód. 8742, 15.12.1769, fol. 110ᵛ.

[63]Letter from Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 18.10.1769, in Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos*, I, 166.

[64]J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 32-33; Iris Kantor, "Cartografia e diplomacia: usos geopolíticos da informação toponímica (1750-1850)," *Anais do Museu Paulista* [http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/S0101-47142009000200004] 17 (2) (2009): 39-61.

[65]See Ângela Domingues, *Quando os índios eram vassalos. Colonização e relações de poder no Norte do Brasil na segunda metade do século XVIII* (Lisbon: CNCDP, 2000), 158.

[66]Valentin Y. Mudimbe, *The Idea of Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 134; Valentin Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge* (London: James Currey, 1988).

[67]Roger Chartier, *Inscrire et effacer. Culture écrite et littérature (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard et Seuil, 2005).

Table 2   Povoações and parishes in the hinterland of Benguela, 1778

Provinces	Localities	Parishes	Priests
Caconda Nova	Contins	N.S. da Conceição, S. José	Vacant
Luceque	Sarzedas	S. Francisco de Assis e Santo António	Vacant
Gunza Cabolo	Novo Redondo	N.S. da Conceição e Santo António	Vacant
Galangue Grande	Linhares	Santa Anma e S. Francisco de Paula	Vacant
Quipeio	Paço de Sousa	N. S. Mãe dos Homens e São Goar	Vacant
Huíla	Alva Nova	N. S. Das Lágrimas	P. Roque Vieira de Lima
Invagando	Borba	N.S. dos Remédios e S. João Nepomoceno	Vacant
Quilengues	Salvaterra de Magos	N.S. do Desterro e São Gonçalo	Vacant
Bié	Amarante	N.S. da Vida e Santa Rita	Vacant
Finde	Nova Belém	São José	Vacant
Bailundo	Nova Golegã	N.S. das Dores e Santa Ana	P. Fructuoso José Oliveira Rosales
Quitata	Vila Viçosa		Vacant

This operation of "Inscription and Erasure"[68] of toponomy is particularly striking on the plateau of Benguela. It aimed to represent the new social and racial order imposed from the outside. The transformation of indigenous

[68]Roger Chartier, *Inscrire et effacer. Culture écrite et littérature (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Gallimard et Seuil, 2005).

sites into colonial administrative spaces, supposed that people had to re-
nounce their earlier socio-cultural and political habits. The issue of spatial
synchrony, that is, the use of metropolitan toponymy, preceded by the ad-
jective, *novo* or "new", (Nova Golegã, Nova Belém) adds one more layer to
the social engineering at work. The new, in the colonies, and the old, in the
European metropolis, are seen as synchronous, and as coexisting and living
parallel lives within the same imperial space. Historically, these communit-
ies, while following the same nominal trajectory, were destined never to
meet.

In colonial Angola, toponymy established a spatial synchrony and also a
social and racial symmetry. The new settlements were supposed to repro-
duce in Africa the urban, social and racial European model. This is why, in
this context, the separation between white and black people became a cru-
cial issue. The main goal was to make these proto-cities into breeding
grounds for "good settlers."[69]

Each *povoação* was initially to house a population of fifty *moradores*, and
their expansion was expected to give rise to new settlements.[70] The colonial
state ideally planned an urban network expanding to the east, which, in the
medium term, would link Angola with Mozambique. Thus, the program of
povoações civis coincided with the old project of the unification of western
and eastern Africa — with one notable difference, however: not as previ-
ously through the dispersion of a colonial population, but through a territ-
orial project that fed on, and itself fed, a racial program in which interaction
between white and black people was discouraged.[71]

In the Portuguese empire the status of *morador* required performance of
military and administrative functions. Residents could be white, brown or
black.[72] In Angola, the "tricolour" *moradores*, under the jurisdiction of the
presídios of the hinterland of Luanda, lived scattered and responded to re-
cruiting calls when the *capitães-mores* needed to make war, in coalition with

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[69]BNL, Res. Cód. 8742, 9.07.1770, fol. 217.

[70]BNL, Res. Cód. 8742, 9.07.1770, fol. 217.

[71]"Memória," in *Papeis do Governo de Angola*, FUP, Mss. 45/1, R. 5-3-7, fol. 8; BNL, Res.
Cód. 8743, 3.10.1771, fol. 152; BNL, Res., Cód. 8743, 13.11. 1771, fols. 169-169ᵛ.

[72]Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, 221; in the case of Mozambique, see
Maria Eugénia Rodrigues, *Portugueses e Africanos nos Rios de Sena. Os Prazos da Coroa em
Moçambique nos séculos XVII-XVIII* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 2014), 531.

vassal chiefs.[73] In contrast, in the new settlements (*novas povoações*), residents were to be white people. They were to be recruited from amongst white couples from the islands, *degredados*, and also *vagabundos* or individuals who lived scattered not respecting the "rules of living in society."[74] Their status specifically meant living inside an "organized" space, centered on a parish, even if entirely rural, since there was no municipal corporate entity with a charter. Although no information is provided on closure of the settlement perimeter, governors recommended that contact with external people should be limited. In order to ensure their economic autonomy, the main occupation of these residents—the *moradores*—was to be agriculture, favouring European crops, in particular, cotton and sugar cane, in preference to traditional African crops.[75]

These civilian settlements were conceived of as true enclaves, in the etymological sense of the term, that is, as islands set apart from African chieftancies. They were to maintain minimal, but controlled, contact with the outside world, keeping a distance from African communities and the colonial slave trade in the hinterland. It had been shown that colonial society had more to lose than to gain from such contact. African societies rapidly absorbed Europeans and their culture.

The relationship with African chiefdoms had until then been consolidated through war or treaties of vassalage. Now the foundation of *povoações civis* required new charters and accompanying complementary clauses. The most striking stipulation was the enforcement of a territorial separation between chieftancies and the new settlements. Chiefs were supposed to accept and facilitate the establishment of a foreign population in their lands, but they were also supposed to understand the necessity of "non-contact" in the name of preserving Portuguese civilization. Furthermore, they themselves were to regroup their own dispersed populations into similarly organized and closed chieftancies and strictly control the movements of their dependents.[76] In 1769, Governor Sousa Coutinho explicitly stated this policy of "living apart" in a letter addressed to the Soba of Mbailundu:

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[73]AHU, Cx. 77, Doc. 85, 1792.

[74]Letter of Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 18.10. 1769, in Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos*, I, 165.

[75]Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 150 and following.

[76]Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 150 and following.

You will allow the settlement in your land, in places that are fertile, healthy, and removed from your filhos. You must understand that allowing these *povoações* to be constructed will bring benefit to you and the other chiefs, as it will prevent the dispersed whites and vagrants from humiliating, oppressing, or robbing you, thus allowing trade to be practiced in good faith, encouraging industry and agriculture to generate new resources; also, a competent judicial authority will make sure to repress vices, punish robberies, and protect the Blacks from any insults from the Whites.[77]

Obviously, the establishment of the new settlements gave rise to the expropriation of the lands of the *sobas*, leading to resistance and conflicts.[78] On the other hand, the slave trade remained the foremost issue in the relationship between colonial societies and chiefdoms, since the question of agriculture and industry was irrelevant for the latter.

However, it is crucial to note that Pombal's office had in mind the imperial project of an expanding civilization.[79] Hence, while maintaining their segregation from African societies, the new civilian settlements were to function as centres for the convergence and diffusion of civilization. Civilization, knowledge and race thus became inter-connected issues.[80] Gradually, these proto-urban nuclei of civilization would attract those Europeans who lived scattered throughout the hinterland, and ultimately Africans too.[81] In short, the last stage of this process consisted of attracting African themselves to the *povoações* as residents (*moradores*) on condition that they abandon their own cultures to adopt and diffuse the civilized way of Portuguese life. Somehow, the very same Africans who were initially segregated, would ultimately participate in the civilizational program at work.

IV. *Thirty years later, the evolution of colour in the* povoações *civis (white, pardos, fuscos and blacks)*

The fortune of the *povoações civis* can, however, be qualified only as a failure. In 1798-99, the Governor of Benguela, Antonio José Botelho de Vascon-

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[77]BNL, Res., Cód. 8473, 13.10. 1769, fol. 40ᵛ.

[78]This was the case in Quilengues. See, for instance, AHA, Cód. 443, fol. 14v.

[79]I use the term "civilization" as an actor's category. For more information on this use see Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 67-77.

[80]*Arquivos de Angola* I(1) (1933), 18.10.1769, unpaginated.

[81]Letter of Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, 24.11.1768, in Felner, *Angola. Apontamentos*, I, 160-162.

celos, argued for abandoning the original project in favor of the well-worn *presídios* modeled on those of the hinterland of Luanda.[82] This concession was due to the inability to maintain a long-term peace and collaboration with the African chiefs on whose lands the *povoações* had been established. The survival of these settlements thus depended solely on the largely ineffective logistical and armed support from far-away Benguela which was largely obsessed with maintaining the mutually lucrative slave trade with the warlords of the Ovimbundo polities.[83] Indeed, the slave trade was seen to be so strategic for both the Portuguese and the local chiefdoms that all the future development of the *povoações* quickly disappeared from official correspondence by the early 1800s, leaving them to their own varied and obscure fates.

In spite of the overall failure of this highly ambitious civilian settlement scheme, it is quite instructive for the question of racial politics with which this paper is concerned to consider the demographic composition and evolution of the *povoações civis*. Thirty years after their foundation, several surveys were carried out under the administration of Dom Miguel António de Melo (1797-1802) with the aim of ascertaining the general situation of Angola. These surveys were ordered by Dom Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (the son of former governor and author of the scheme, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho) as Secretary of overseas affairs between 1796, and 1802. The information required included the numbers of inhabitants of *presídios* and *povoações*, with their colors, professions, ages, marital and family statuses, and, if possible, information about urban, rural and slave property.[84]

The questionnaires were conceived and printed in Portugal, and then sent out to the whole of the Portuguese Empire. Data were to be collected and standardized using the same criteria for all imperial spaces. The surveys proposed the classification of the population on the basis of colour, with

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[82]AHA, Cód. 443, fol. 60, 20.10.1798.

[83]AHU, Cx 90, Doc. 47, 11.02.1799; AHA, Cód. 443, fol. 60, 20.10.1798.

[84]AHU, Cx 89, Doc. 87, 1798; AHA, Cód. 440, fols. 24-24ᵛ; fols. 57-57ᵛ; AHA, Cód. 443, fol. 30ᵛ. For the context of their production, see José C. Curto, "Sources for the Pre-1900 Population History of Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Angola, 1773-1845", *Annales De Demographie Historique* (1994), 319-338; Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Early Population Charts of Portuguese Angola, 1776-1830: A Preliminary Assessment," *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 16 (2015): 107-124.

white, *pardo* and black as the major categories. The *pardo* category was widely used in colonial Brazil, as well as in metropolitan courts where applications for access to various royal favors were appraised.[85] However, texts produced in colonial Angola added the supplementary category of *fusco* to designate an intermediate generation between *pardos* and blacks, this last label being reserved in principal for Africans living outside of Portuguese jurisdiction.

Thus, the questionnaires did not take account of local categories of ethnic belonging, race, or social status. *Índios*, the only ethnic label taken into consideration, was used exclusively in Brazil. In the case of Angola, a comparison of the terminology of the surveys and the social categories used in local sources reveals a huge gap. On the ground, people were generally identified according to their occupational status, including: in trade as *armadores*, *sertanejos*, *pombeiros*; in relations with African chiefdoms as *sobas*, *macotas*, *tendalas*; in intermediary positions with military, diplomatic and other functions as *quilambas*, *quimbares*, *quissongos*.[86]

The questionnaires were addressed to the governors of the various colonies, who forwarded them to their underlings. In the case of Angola, the governor sent them on to the *capitães-mores* and *regentes* of each *presídio* and *povoação*.[87] These officials in turn deputed their own underlings to actually conduct the inquiry, and the commercial networks played a major role in

[85]On the notion of *pardos* in American societies, as well as in Portugal, see: Schwartz, "Brazilian Ethnogenesis;" Stuart B. Schwartz, "Spaniards, 'Pardos', and the Missing Mestizos: Identities and Racial Categories in the Early Hispanic Caribbean," *NWIG: New West Indian Guide / Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 71 (1/2) (1997): 5-19; Hebe Mattos, "'Pretos' and 'Pardos' between the Cross and the Sword: Racial Categories in Seventeenth Century Brazil," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 80 (2006): 43-55; Fernanda Olival, *As Ordens Militares e o Estado Moderno. Honra, Mercê e Venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)* (Lisboa: Estar Editora Ltda, 2001; João de Figueirôa-Rêgo and Fernanda Olival, "Cor da pele, distinções e cargos: Portugal e espaços atlânticos portugueses (séculos XVI a XVIII)," *Tempo* 16 (30) (2011): 115-145.

[86]The semantics of these words changed all through the colonial period. See, for example: Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 630-631; Catarina Madeira-Santos and Ana Paula Tavares, *Africae Monumenta. A apropriação da escrita pelos africanos*, vol. I, *Arquivo Caculo Cacahenda (introdução, estudos, glossário, edição e índices)* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História e Cartografia Antiga/ Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2002) 434-437.

[87]On this topic, see Madeira-Santos, *Um governo polido*, 137; AHU, Cx. 87, Doc. 48, 13.11.1797.

such undertakings, relying heavily on information provided by older and more experienced trade agents.[88]

It is easy to see that the heterogeneous nature of the participants and informants — some of whom were practically illiterate or simply unprepared to employ proto-statistical methods in the construction of tables — gave rise to a motley array of results of, to say the least, uneven quality.[89] Moreover, governors often insisted on the need to respect the racial classification using the metropolitan tricolour criterion, which the local administrators were not always able to understand—for instance, the *Regente* of Quilengues complained that counting white, *pardos* and black people, was a "confusing" task.[90] And this confusion was true not only in colonial Angola: as Stuart Schwartz has suggested, it also occurred in the Spanish Caribbean where "much colonial legislation specifically sought to force the congruence of legally defined ethnic and racial categories with social realities—often unsuccessfully."[91]

The question of colour was further complicated by the varied use of the terms by different historical agents. When Africans used "white," they could

[88]AHU, Cx. 87, Doc. 5, 02.01. 1798. The *sobas* too were engaged in the process of counting people. For a later period see Linda Heywood and John Thornton, "Demography, Production, and Labour in Central Angola," in Dennis D. Cordell and Joel W. Gregory, eds., *African Population and Capitalism: Historical Perspectives* (London: Westview Press, 1987), 250-254.

[89]"Notícias de Benguela e seus destritos," 28.02.1798, IHGB, DL 81.02.14, fols. 37-38ᵛ and fol. 45; AHA, Cód. 440, 24.10.1799, fols. 117ᵛ-118; AHA, Cód. 443, 26.01.1797, fol. 57. On the use of proto-statistical sources in the History of Angola, see, especially: José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844–1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32 (2–3) (1999): 381–405; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781–1844," *African Economic History* 29 (2001): 1–59; José C. Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population: An Analysis of the 1850 Censuses of Luanda", in Selma Pantoja & Estevam C. Thompson, eds. *Em Torno de Angola: Narrativas, Identidades, Conexões Atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios), 225-247; José C. Curto, "The Population of the Lower Kwanza River Valley, 1792-1796", *Ponta de Lança: Revista Eletrônica de História, Memória & Cultura*, 12 (23): 95-117, José C. Curto and Arshad Desai, "The Demography of Moçâmedes, Angola, 1839-1869: a Preliminary Analysis", *Revista HÍSTÓRIÆ* (2019), forthcoming; José C. Curto, "Marriage in Benguela, 1797-1830: A Serialized Analysis," in Maryann Buri & José C. Curto, eds., *New Perspectives on Angola: From Slaving Colony to Nation State* (volume in preparation). See also Carolina Perpétuo Corrêa, "Cambambe, Angola, no Contexto do Comércio Atlântico de Escravizados (1790-1850)," PhD thesis (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2019).

[90]AHA, Códice 443, fol. 48.

[91]Schwartz "Spaniards, 'Pardos', and the Missing Mestizos," 5.

in some cases be referring to black men who wore shoes (*pretos calçados*)[92] or to mulattos, as the definition of character was determined not by colour but by attributes associated with Portuguese culture. On the other hand, when a white man referred to "white," he would in principle use the physical definition of skin tone and not the cultural one. But when referring to white women in Luanda, the late eighteenth Brazilian military officer and historian of Angola, Silva Corrêa, included mulatto women who were culturally and socially integrated into the colonial world. And then there were the *Ambaquistas*, a category wrought on the ground, who saw themselves as white, independently of the colour of their skin. Having long adopted European cultural codes, these particular Africans constituted a group distinct from rural communities. Being an *Ambaquista* depended on having acquired certain specific skills and social conventions.[93] There is also the case of a soldier from the Benguela region named João Luís Pereira who, in 1806, classified himself "white African."[94] However, in the 1798 survey one notices the presence of a person with the exact same name then classified "black." If this was indeed the same individual, one quickly realizes the chasm between official representations and actual practices of differentiation. All these examples fall into a broader discussion around differences in thinking about "race": while the Portuguese thought primarily in terms of phenotypes, Africans thought more in terms of social status and occupation.

An important caveat is in order here: historical analysis of such phenomena must take account of the significant gap between criteria of classification imposed from afar and those in use on the ground, in the quotidian world. One has to be very careful, especially in colonial Angola, not to get trapped in an account of difference that relies on colour as the sole distinguishing feature, or the only factor that historical agents used in their everyday intercourse.

In spite of the methodological questions that the censuses raise, they have the enormous advantage of being elaborated 30 years after the found-

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[92]Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Estatística*, III, Part I, 63.

[93]Jill R. Dias, "Novas identidades africanas em Angola no contexto do comércio atlântico," in Cristiana Bastos, Miguel Vale de Almeida & Bela Feldman-Bianco, eds. *Trânsitos Coloniais: diálogos críticos luso-brasileiros* (Lisboa: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 2002), 293-320; Beatrix Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos: caravanas de carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental entre 1850 e 1890* (Lisbon: Caminho, 2004), 234-235.

[94]AHU, Cx. 118, Doc. 21.

Portuguese Studies Review

PSR Previews : **End of this article's preview**

The Sweet Attraction of One's Native Land: The Sephardic Community in Surinam and the Calls to Return to Portugal and Brazil, 1798-1814

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Bᴇᴛᴡᴇᴇɴ 1798 ᴀɴᴅ 1814 Luso-Brazilian authorities wrote several letters to the Sephardic Community in Surinam, inviting them back to settle in their former fatherland. The letters and the publications by David Nassy, a prominent member of this community, offer an insight into changing notions of what it was to be a "Nation," during the time when Brazil was moving towards independence and the Sephardic community lost its special status.

> *Nescio que notale solum dulcedine cunctos trahit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.*

> One's native land attracts everyone by a certain sweetness and does not allow him to be unmindful of it.[1]

David Nassy, Secretary of *Parnassim* (Religious Council) of the Sephardic Community of Surinam, used this poetic phrase of Ovid to react to Francisco José Rodrigues Barata, Standard-Bearer of the Seventh Company of the Regiments, on the occasion of Barata's visit to Paramaribo, Dutch Surinam, on 23 September 1798. Barata brought with him a letter from Dom Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, the Portuguese Secretary of State, inviting the Sephardic community, which lived in a self-governing community protected by priv-

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[1]"Diario da Viagem que fez à Colonia Hollandeza de Surinam o Porta Bandeira da Setima Companhia do Regimento da Cidade do Pará, pelos Sertões e Rios d'este Estado, em Diligencia do Real Serviço," *Revista Trimensal de História e Geographica ou Jornal de Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brazileiro* 8 (1846): 163. I would like to thank Joseph Jastrzembski for correcting my English. I would like to thank Gwen E. Jones for this translation from the Latin. All other translations in this text are mine.

ileges, to settle in Portuguese territory. The Portuguese government, wanting to stimulate economic development, hoped to induce the Sephardim to return to a society with which they shared common roots. The question was, were they going to be considered Portuguese with equal rights like all inhabitants, or remain their "Nation": that is, a community separate from Portuguese society?

David Nassy used poetry to point out a new concept of national identity, a notion that was changing by the end of the eighteenth century. People living in one country began increasingly to feel themselves as a "nation." Instead of dynasty, religion and language, now "nation" came to be defined in geographical terms rather than a nostalgia for birthplace or small region. To live in a national territory became as much a part of a collective identity as was the right to hold citizenship.[2] Yet, within newly self-conscious countries, there existed groups that had difficulty in gaining acceptance by the majority or indeed to accept themselves this new, collective, and territorial concept of "nationhood." On the one hand, this secular definition of "nation" abolished the notion of unity of religion, and thus allowed individuals to profess their own faith. On the other hand, all citizens had to give proof of patriotism towards one united country. The Sephardim (i.e. Portuguese Jewish community) in Surinam found difficulty in reconciling their own group identities with this newly emerging definition of nationhood.

David Nassy saw in these changing ideas of "nation" and "nationhood" cause for much concern. In the contest of the ideals for the French Revolution, especially after the French conquest of the Netherlands in 1795, a new concept of national identity had evolved in which all adult males were regarded as equals and were considered compatriots.[3] The Portuguese Jews in Surinam tried to prevent this evolution, as they feared that this new, secular collective identity would not guarantee their former privileges as a religious minority. Yet, these changing definitions of nation and nationality confused the relationships within the colony of Surinam as much as it had in continental Europe.

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[2]See for instance Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto. The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1973), 1.

[3]*Bijdragen Betrekkelijk de Verbetering van den Maatschappelijke Staat der Joden*, (The Hague: Belifante, 1807-1808) which is a journal relating the proceedings of a conference on the position of the Jews in the French Empire held in Paris in 1807 and 1808. One item on the agenda was on the national identity of Jews.

In this article, I discuss Sephardic thought on the changing notions of nationhood as they were revealed in David Nassy's publications. Additionally, I will demonstrate the impact of those ideas by examining an incident in 1798 from which stemmed the above quotation and the correspondence from Luso-Brazilian administrators. This was the delivery of a letter from the Portuguese Secretary of State asking the Sephardic population of Surinam to resettle in their former host country of Portugal. This incident was especially important, as the same discussion of "nation" and "nationhood" reemerged as in David Nassy's publications.

The Sephardim in Surinam had established themselves as an independent community since the beginning of the colonization of the Wild Coast, as the Guyanas were known.[4] In the seventeenth century, many planters there were of Portuguese Jewish origin, and obtained special privileges to live in an oasis, "Joden Savanne," which was ten hours distant downriver by rowboat from the capital, Paramaribo.[5] The Sephardic community had obtained a sort of self-government under the English, Zeeland and Dutch authorities in the seventeenth century.[6] As had been the case in Amsterdam, in *Joden Savanne* they had their own court of justice, their own notary, and they enjoyed freedom of religion. These privileges were similar to those extended to a foreign merchant community in major ports such as Lisbon.[7] This privileged juridical position in the Wild Coast attracted Jewish colonists, who considered these privileges assurance of a quiet existence as observant Jews.

By the end of the eighteenth century, economic, social, and political circumstances both in Surinam and in the Netherlands had changed drastic-

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[4]L. L. E. Rens, "Analysis of Annals Relating to the Early Jewish Settlement in Surinam," *Vox Guyanae* I (1954):19-38. Wieke Vink, *Creole Jews. Negotiatinf Community in Colonial Suriname* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2012), 21-44.

[5]Fred. Oudschants Dentz, *De Kolonisatie van de Portugeesch Joodse Natie in Suriname en de Geschiedenis van de Joden Savanne* (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1975; reprint from 1927 ed.) Aviva Ben-Ur, "Een joods dorp in een slaven-maatschappij: Jodensavanne in de Nederlandse kolonie Suriname," in Julie-Marthe Cohen ed., *Joden in de Cariben* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2015), 130-153.

[6]Robert Cohen, "The Egerton Manuscript," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 62 (1973):333-347; J. A. Schildkamp, *De Geschiedenis van het Notariaat in het Octrooigebied van de West-Indische Compagnie* (The Hague, 1964), 180, 181; Vink, *Creole Jews*, 71-78.

[7]For instance, for the French case in Portugal: Jean-François Labourdette, *La Nation Française à Lisbonne de 1669 à 1790 entre Colbertisme et Libéralisme* (Paris: Fondation Gulbenkian, 1988).

ally. A crisis in the plantation economy of Surinam impoverished both the Dutch and the Sephardic populations.[8] The crisis brought about a fall in the speculative credit system and reduced the number of plantations.[9] Social conditions changed for the Portuguese-Jewish population as they moved to Paramaribo and began to participate in an urban economy and to live in a multicultural community. Politically, there was a struggle between Orangists, who favored the old regime and the Stadholder, and Patriots, who favored the ideas of the French Revolution and the Republic. The Sephardim had taken sides with the Orangists, whereas the Dutch planters were generally Patriots.[10]

Against the background of these political struggles, the Government threatened to curb the power of the Sephardic community. One major argument of those of anti-Jewish mind was that the new ideas of equality were at odds with the notion that there should be groups with a special status. They argued that privileges granted to the Sephardic community in the seventeenth century had become, in principle, unnecessary with the emergence of the concept of collective equality. Nevertheless, the Sephardim were reluctant to accept this new notion as the very persons who suggested that their privileges should be abolished were those most hostile to their community. In short, more urgently than ever, the Sephardic community felt an on-going need for protection by the recognition of special privilege.

The publications on the themes of "nation" and "nationhood" in late eighteenth-century Surinam that have survived stem from one source, David Nassy. During his life, David Nassy had many controversies with the Surinam authorities.[11] He was born in 1747, a descendent of one of the principal

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[8]Robert Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment. Surinam in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991), 66-93.

[9]Alex van Stipriaan, *Surinaams Contrast. Roofbouw en Overleven in een Caraïbische Plantagekolonie 1750-1863* (Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij, 1993), 207-225, 297; Gert Oostindie, *Roosenburg en Mon Bijou. Twee Surinaamse Plantages, 1720-1870* (Dordrecht and Providence, RI: Foris Publications, 1989), 1-5.

[10]See Jozeph Michman, *Dutch Jewry during the Emancipation Period 1787-1850. Gothic Turrets on a Corinthian building* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995).

[11]R. Bijlsma, "David de Is. C. Nassy, Author of the *Essai Historique sur Suriname*," in Robert Cohen, ed., *The Jewish Nation in Surinam Historical Essays* (Amsterdam: S. Emmering, 1982), 65-73; Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment*, passim; José Faur, "David Nassy: On Prejudice and Related Matters," in Lea Dasberg & Jonathan N. Cohen, eds., *Neveh Ya'akov.*

Jewish settlers who entered Surinam via Dutch Brazil in the second part of the seventeenth century.[12] David Nassy's father, Ishak Cohen Nassy, was notary of the Portuguese Jewish community. According to Rens, David Nassy's complaints about the Dutch government of Surinam can be traced back to their negative influences on his professional life, a series of activities that often ended in failure. He started as a planter on the plantation "Tulpenburg." This he lost completely when it went bankrupt in 1773. A year later, his father died, but the Political Council of Surinam prevented his succession to his father's office as notary because David Nassy was charged with selling slaves from the bankrupt estate before probate. Thereupon, David Nassy earned his living as the servant of a physician, and later as a pharmacist. However, his financial position did not become sound until 1778 when the Jewish Council (*Mahamad*) gave him lasting employment as their assistant secretary. Ten years later he was promoted to secretary. These disappointments in Surinam stood in sharp contrast to his successes during his stay in the United States, a country he had more positive views of than Surinam. David Nassy left for the independent Northern American colonies, and he settled in Philadelphia. During his stay in Philadelphia an epidemic of yellow fever occurred, for which his successful treatments led in 1793 to the publication of a pamphlet, *Observations on the Cause, Nature, and Treatment of the Epidemic Disorder prevalent in Philadelphia*. As a result, he became acquainted with Benjamin Rush, a well-known American doctor, and became a proud member of the American Philosophical Society. Personal problems caused him to return to Paramaribo in 1796. There he was reinstalled as secretary of the *Mahamad*, after his title of doctor of medicine was recognized by the Jewish Council, but denied by the Dutch Government.

David Nassy became the principal spokesman of the Sephardic community in the second half of the eighteenth century. His thoughts on the

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Jubilee Volume presented to Dr. Jaap Meijer on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday (Assen: Van Gorkum, 1982), 87-116; P. C. Molhuysen, P. J. Blok & K. H. Kossmann, eds., *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden: A. W. Sijthof, 1924), 6:1056-1057; Natalie Zemon Davis, "Een joodse arts in het achtiende-eeuwse Suriname," in Cohen, ed., *Joden in de Cariben*, 158-173.

[12]Aviva Ben-Ur & Rachel Frankel, *Remnant Stones. The Jewish Cemeteries and Synagogues of Suriname. Essays* (Detroit, MI: Hebrew Union College Press, 2012), 18-19. L. L. Rens, "Analysis of Annals Relating to the Early Jewish Settlement in Surinam," *Vox Guyanae* 1 (1954): 24, 25.

position of the Portuguese Jews in Surinam can be found in two publica-
tions. He wrote a book, *Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam* (1788), and
an essay, *Lettre politico-théologico-morale sur les Juifs* (1798), both which
demonstrated the problems he saw with the integration of the Sephardim
into Surinam society. Both were read by his Portuguese correspondents.[13]

The *Essai Historique* was a reaction to the 1781 work of a German states-
man, C. G. Döhm, who argued that Jews should be allowed to have citizen-
ship if conditions for their "improvement" were created.[14] This was to apply
not only to rights but also to duties, such as army service.[15] Because Jews in
Germany had suffered from deplorable social conditions, Döhm argued that
an improvement for this situation could be reached when people overcame
their prejudices and allowed Jews to exercise their duties. Nassy's *Essai His-
torique* owed its genesis to correspondence between Döhm and the Sephard-
ic community. Nassy claimed that the German statesman had asked for a de-
scription of the situation of the Jewish population in Surinam, and the
answer of the Jewish council evolved into this publication.[16]

According to Nassy, a people is "a conglomerate of individuals of a state,
having one religion and the same laws." A nation would be "the total of this
conglomerate, together with indispensable parts that are applicable to ex-
pand this conglomerate essentially."[17] As a result, the Jews did not form part
of the Dutch People nor the Dutch Nation. Moreover, he stressed that the
Jewish population had not been part of a people, nor of a nation for several
centuries. In other words, David Nassy declared that the Sephardim in Suri-

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[13]David Nassy, *Lettre Politico-Théologico-Morale sur les Juifs* (Paramaribo: A. Soulage,
1798); [David Nassy et al.], *Essai Historique sur la Colonie de Surinam, sa Fondation, ses Révolu-
tions, ses Progrès, depuis son Origine jusqu'à nos Jours; avec l'Histoire de la Nation Juive Portu-
gaise et Allemande y établie, leurs Privilèges* (Paramaribo: A. Soulage, 1788; reprinted Amster-
dam: Emmering, 1976).

[14]See Katz, *Out of the Ghetto*, esp. chapter 5.

[15]C.G. Döhm, *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (Berlin and Stettin: F. Nicolai,
1781). David Nassy used the French translation of M. J. Bernouli, *De la Réforme Politique des
Juifs* (Dessau: Librarie des Auteurs et des Artistes, 1782): *Essai Historique* ix.

[16]*Essai Historique* I: viii; xxii-xxiii.

[17]Nassy, *Lettre* 121. The Dutch translation by the editor: "een Volk is niets dan de
zaamengevoegde hoop van individus van een Staat, welke eene Godsdienst en dezelfde
Wetten heeft"; "een Natie, dan, het geheel van deze zaamengevoegde hoop met de onont-
beerlijke deelen, welke aan dezelfde toepasselijk zyn om deze samenvoeging even wezent-
lyk te vergrooten."

nam, or wherever else they were in the world, were not included as full members of one people or any one nation.

David Nassy also denied that the Jewish population itself was a People or a Nation. He stated that the Jews together may be considered in the abstract as one people or nation, but this was nothing more than imaginary, since there was no location for a Jewish country.[18] He did not deny that some Jews thought about a Jewish Nation in Palestine, in which a state would be established and the Messiah would reappear. Still, he dismissed these ideas as "superstition" and the "foolishness of rabbis."[19]

Though David Nassy's definitions for "people" and "nation" excluded other population groups within the territory of a single state, one of them being Jews, he distinguished between membership in a people or nation, and citizenship. Even if a group was not a member of a "nation," the group could still earn the right of citizenship, namely by being "patriotic" or serving the fatherland, the latter being the country where one was living. He argued that most Jews chose their "fatherland" as the country in which they lived, and not this mythic Palestine.[20] Therefore the Jewish population could, and should, be allowed to serve their fatherland.

The *Essai Historique* stated the historic arguments that later formed the basis for the *Lettre*. In the *Lettre*, David Nassy demonstrated that the Sephardic community in Surinam had fulfilled their duties as compatriots and that the wealth of the colony derived from these early settlers. Because of these contributions, the Jewish community had obtained certain privileges: their own settlement; a limited juridical system; and a recognition of their marriages and wills.[21] Still, he argued, the authorities in Surinam should also allow the Sephardic community to serve the fatherland, by entering military service and by holding offices. Yet the Surinam government, Nassy argued, had put obstacles in the way of the Sephardim keeping their privileges. Several governors took anti-Jewish stances. These included not allowing them and their slaves to work on Sundays, so that they had to rest both on Saturday and Sunday; a prohibition of Jews from holding public office; and a

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[18]David Nassy, *Lettre* 121.

[19]David Nassy, *Lettre* 127, 129.

[20]*Essai Historique* 91.

[21]Robert Cohen, "The Egerton Manuscript," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 62 (1973): 333-347.

prohibition of Jews from street trading. The government even threatened to establish a Jewish ghetto in Paramaribo.[22] The Sephardic community successfully protested against these measures in the Netherlands, and many rulings were withdrawn. One main reason that the Patriots in the Netherlands (pro French revolution) were opposed to Jews having civil rights was that they were not, generally speaking, supporters of the ideas of the French Revolution. In Amsterdam, Jews were accused of being Orangists, and in Surinam the case was no different. Indeed, the Sephardic community in Surinam was so closely related to the House of Orange that they, in 1754, even asked for arbitration by the Princess-Regent Anne to solve an internal dispute.[23] David Nassy explained that a revolution that declared void all historical antecedents and proposed a new beginning from nil was ludicrous.[24] He gave another definition for "patriotism": "I admit that I am a Patriot, but a Patriot in another sense that one gives to it at this moment; I love my Fatherland, despite the injustices it has done to me on several occasions."[25] Thus he declared his individual allegiance to the Netherlands, not his community.

David Nassy's distaste for "patriotism," in the other sense of the word, has been subject to two different interpretations. The American historian José Faur has argued that David Nassy's thoughts, as expressed in his *Lettre*, stemmed from Sephardic notions of prejudice. Prejudice itself was, according to Nassy, inherent to European thought. David Nassy's stay in the United States, where "nations" were living well together without these prejudices, and with all sharing in one fatherland, served as his enlightened example.[26] Robert Cohen, on the other hand, argued that Nassy's ideas about anti-Semitism, tolerance and emancipation were taken from contemporary European gentile Enlightenment literature, and he used those works in order to combat intolerant authors like Voltaire.[27]

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[22]*Essai Historique* 1: 52-54; 2: 193-197; 2: 187; 2: 159-160. J. A. Schildkamp & J. Th. de Smith, eds., *West Indisch Plakaatboek. Plakaten, Ordonantiën en andere Wetten uitgevaardigd in Suriname, 1667-1816* (Amsterdam: Werken der Vereeniging tot Uitgaaf der Bronnen van het Oud-Vaderlandsche Recht, 3e Reeks Nrs 24/1 en 24/2, 1973), 1: 44; 323-324; 341-342; 2: 883-884; 1076.

[23]Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment*, 130-131.

[24]Nassy, *Lettre*, xxvi, xxviii.

[25]Nassy, *Lettre*, xvii.

[26]Faur, "David Nassy: on Prejudice," *passim*.

[27]Cohen, *Jews in Another Environment*, 116.

The key to the problem lies in combining David Nassy's ideas with the realities of political and social life in the Dutch colony. The Jewish community relied on the authorities in the Netherlands to uphold their privileges. Tolerance in the Netherlands, and in Surinam, depended on the Orangist party: that is, the faction which was related to the Stadhouder. Anti-Jewish pressures came from the opposition. In Surinam, the Jewish community actively supported any Orangist governors with their vote in the Police Council. When, in the name of liberty, equality, and fraternity, anti-Jewish measures were taken in Surinam, the revolutionary ideology became suspect.[28] Furthermore, some Patriots in the Netherlands argued that since the Jews were generally not supporters of the ideology of the Revolution, citizenship should not be granted to them. In the heat of this debate, the Patriot society of Dordrecht wrote an anti-Jewish pamphlet, to which the *Lettre* was a reaction. This was the price that the Jews had to pay for not supporting the ideas of the Revolution, but it was a price which went directly against the ideology of equality of the Revolution itself. David Nassy explained:

> The Revolution that has taken place, is not the work of the Jews; thus suffering, they find the consequences and shocks, which the changes of the universal notion [of equality], has given to the Nations. Therefore, it would be an injustice to rob them from this imaginary or actual advantage, which the Revolution has promised.[29]

The French revolutionary ideals allowed all people to become citizens. However, this was dependent on the support of the ideas of the French revolution itself. Given that the House of Orange always protected the privileges, these protections were not easily abandoned. By the time that the *Lettre* was translated into Dutch, the Dutch National Convention in 1795 had already given Dutch Jews rights equal to any Dutch citizen.[30] The change from being a self-ruling community to being part of the Dutch citizenry was taking place at the same time that the correspondence between the Sephardic community and the Luso-Brazilian authorities took place.

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[28]Nassy, *Lettre*, xix, xxi.

[29]Nassy, *Lettre*, xliii.

[30]Nassy, *Lettre*, lxi; S. E. Bloemgarten, "De Amsterdamse Joden Gedurende de Eerste Jaren van de Bataafse Republiek," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 1 (1967): 2, 45.

Portuguese Studies Review

PSR Previews : **End of this article's preview**

Symbolical Recreations of "Wholeness": Memory, Mourning, Nostalgia and Counter-Nostalgia of the Colonial in Karen Blixen and Isabela Figueiredo

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Introduction: setting up the context for analysis

> And so, with a paradoxical mix of pride and self-loathing, humanity tells the same story again and again, about the fallen present and a potential return to paradise past—to Hesiod's idyllic golden age, Confucius's beloved Zhou dynasty, the Hindu Satya Yuga, the Garden of Eden, grandpa's garden, grandma's kitchen—when we were authentic and pure, God's children, noble savages, hunter-gatherers, off-the-grid, on the farm, keeping promises, respecting elders, healthy and happy—back to *the good old days.*[1]

> I am a storyteller. One of my friends said about me that I think all sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story or tell a story about them, and perhaps this is not entirely untrue.[2]

> IFG: In your opinion, what are the roles of forgetting?
> IF: Forgetting protects us, in some cases. Most people prefer to forget, and they do this very well. It is important to move on and forget some events, but it is more important to remember. The ideal would be to always remember a lot, with honesty and humility, so that one day it can be forgotten, if necessary.[3]

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[1]Alan Jay Levinovitz, "It Was Never Gold," https://aeon.co/essays/nostalgia-exerts-a-strong-allure-and-extracts-a-steep-price, accessed 19 December 2017.

[2]"Great European Lives: Karen Blixen," *The New European*, September 10, 2017, http://www.theneweuropean.co.uk/culture/european-lives-karen-blixen-1-5187349.

[3]Isabel Ferreira Gould, "A Daughter's Unsettling Auto/Biography of Colonialism and Uprooting: A Conversation with Isabela Figueiredo," *ellipsis* 8 (2010): 138.

This article addresses tropes of nostalgia, counter-nostalgia, mourning and
memory present in the memoirs *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* by the Por-
tuguese contemporary writer Isabela Figueiredo, first published in 2009 and
then in a revised edition in 2015,[4] and *Out of Africa*[5] by Danish author Karen
Blixen, first published in 1937 under the pen name Isak Dinesen. The focus is
on how both authors narrate an imagined (utopian) African place (Mozam-
bique and Kenya, respectively) and though they may do that for different
reasons, given the context of their respective departure from the colony and
their situation back at "home," I contend that they are both mourning the
loss of an imagined space (a utopia of sorts) that is related to the personal
"lack" that most humans tend to feel, no matter where they are and how
they live. I explore at length what I term "metaphors of junction," which
abound in the memoirs, to reveal how the authors constantly attempt to re-
create wholeness, and exit or suspend personal "lack" and tame the incom-
pletion they feel as adults now away from the imagined idyllic African uni-
verse. As I illustrate, the narrators are via their art (literary writing),
recreating a space of wholeness and perfection that may have never existed
in reality but which they continuously mourn, search for and are drawn to.
Given that both books are written after the writers leave Africa, their writ-
ing is the symbolical space for reconstruction of the once inhabited land,
space and time, which are associated with many good memories or mo-
ments of perfect bliss (more so for Blixen), at least on the surface. In that
sense their writing falls under the category of nostalgic writing. Yet, as I
demonstrate, both authors present ambivalent stances and can qualify as
both nostalgic and counter-nostalgic writers. The term nostalgia[6] is used

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[4]For my analysis, I am relying on the translated version of the 2009 edition published
in 2015 as *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, trans Anna M. Klobucka & Phillip Rothwell
(Dartmouth MA: Luso-Asio-Afro-Brazilian Studies, 2015), http://www.laabst.net/docs/
figueiredo.notebook.text.300dpi.pdf?v=_kDF_WlwE90. The second edition is basically the
same with a few added sections: Isabela Figueiredo, *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* (Lisboa:
Editorial Caminho, 2015).

[5]Karen Blixen, *Out of Africa* (London: Penguin Classics, 2016).

[6]Patricia M. E. Lorcin, *Historicizing Colonial Nostalgia: European Women's Narratives of Al-
geria and Kenya 1900-Present*, Kindle Edition (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 9,
defines "nostalgia" this way: "The term nostalgia, a combination of the Greek *nostos* (re-
turn home) and *algos* (pain), was coined by Johannes Hofer in the seventeenth century (c.
1688) to describe an affliction of Swiss mercenaries serving outside their native land. Those
suffering from the ailment grew despondent, sickened, wasted away and in some cases died

here to denote the general idea that one misses a past, a time and a space that one considered much better than our present, when one felt happy/happier, or even the (deep-seated) belief in our present that we once lived in a state of perfect bliss, which is akin to the idea of utopia. Both Blixen and Figueiredo are nostalgic writers in that sense. The term counter-nostalgia, on the other hand, is used to denote the idea that both Blixen and Figueiredo's memoirs also debunk the very idea of nostalgia by offering critiques of colonialism in their own different ways. To put it differently, they go against the idea of the "good old days" in the sense evoked by Levinovitz's epigraph above.

My theoretical framework relies on psychoanalytical and postcolonial theories, as well as various arguments related to the powers of art as it pertains to the construction of worldviews and symbolical recreations of wholeness. However, given my concentration on the symbolical aspects of the memoirs as stated above, the psychoanalytical lens tends to be privileged in my analysis. Since most analyses of these oeuvres have tended to focus on the links between colonial nostalgia and loss of social status, and have been mostly from a postcolonial theoretical perspective, this study thus presents an innovative approach. It is also important to note that the psychoanalytical and the postcolonial are never very far apart and often appear as intersecting paradigms that address similar matters such as false consciousness, internalized oppression, unconscious vs. conscious self, ideas related to self and other, other and Same, Eurocentric paradigms passing as universalized ones, etc., as the works of Frantz Fanon,[7] for instance, strongly illustrate. Thus my psychoanalytical lens is, in many ways, also deeply postcolonial.

Many postcolonial critics have attacked Blixen by pointing to her colonial ideologies and stances as displayed in *Out of Africa*. Kenyan writer and postcolonial thinker Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o may be one of her strongest critics accusing her of being highly racist in her depictions of Africa and Africans and comparing her with other European colonial writers of the time. In his book, *Moving the Centre*, in the section "Her Cook, Her Dog," wa Thiong'o states that "*Out of Africa* is one of the most dangerous books ever written

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or committed suicide. From the outset, therefore, nostalgia has been associated with dislocation."

[7]See, for example: Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press 1968); Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (London: Paladin, 1970).

about Africa, precisely because this Danish writer was obviously gifted with words and dreams. The racism in the book is catching, because it is persuasively put forward as love. But it is the love of a man for a horse or for a pet."[8]

Others have argued that *Out of Africa* created a stereotypical idyllic image of Africa, highly reinforced and propagated in Sidney Pollack's 1985 film with the same name, a sort of Garden of Eden, with beautiful fauna and flora, a place where Europeans go on tourist expeditions and safaris, an almost empty land waiting to be occupied, explored and enjoyed by outsiders.[9] All this perpetuates the idea of the African landscape as untamed, closer to nature, uncivilized, in an almost pre-historic state, arguments that have all been used to justify colonization, and, in contemporary days, fuel many of the developmental agendas by Western institutions, which many argue are not really working because they continue to disregard local models of development, African epistemologies and are highly Eurocentric and condescending in approach.[10] Moreover, these images of Africa continue present in Western culture in many forms.[11]

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[8]Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre: The Struggle for Cultural Freedoms* (London: James Currey, 1993), 133. For a fuller discussion, see: Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Writers in Politics* (London: Heinemann, 1981); Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Detained: A Writer's Prison Diary* (London: Heinemann, 1982).

[9]Johann Lodewyk Marais, "Karen Blixen in the African Book and Literary Tourism Market," *Tydskrif vir Letterkunde* 52 (1) (2015): 135, uses the expression "major rural poem" to refer to *Out of Africa*. Other literary works that fall under this literature of nostalgia about Africa, written around the same time or shortly after *Out of Africa*, include, among many others: Ernest Hemingway *Green Hills of Africa* (New York: Permabooks, 1956); Elspeth Huxley, *The Flame Trees of Thika: Memories of an African Childhood* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1959); Beryl Markham, *West with the Night* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1942).

[10]See for example: William Easterly, "Can the West Save Africa," *Journal of Economic Literature* 47 (2009): 373-447; Paul Cammack, "Neoliberalism, the World Bank and the New Politics of Development," in Uma Kothari & Martin Minogue, eds. *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives* (Basingstoke [England]: Palgrave, 2002), 157-178. Mia Couto, *O último voo do Flamingo* (Lisboa: Editorial Caminho, 2000), constitutes a good literary account by a Mozambican writer of the failures of modernist developmental agendas in contemporary Mozambique.

[11]See Spencer Kornhaber, "Taylor Swift, 'Wildest Dreams,' and the Perils of Nostalgia," *The Atlantic* 2 September 2015, www.theatlantic.com/entertainment/archive/2015/09/taylor-swift-wildest-dreams-africa-nostalgia-dangers-colonization-video/403435/. The main argument is that Swift's video for the song "Wildest Dreams" released in 2015 replays many of the stereotypes about Africa, acting as a sort of homage to *Out of Africa*, both the

On the other hand, Marianne T. Stecher and Susan Brantly[12] point out that despite displaying colonial ideologies and Eurocentric stereotypes about Africa and Africans common at her time, Blixen's stance in *Out of Africa* was in fact very anti-colonial in some ways—and that her complex narratives, which demand careful literary analysis beyond the surface, are indicative of that and show an ambivalent posture. Stecher notes,

> [G]iven Blixen's privileged status as European settler who occupied land and re-lied on the "conscripted" labor of the indigenous Kikuyu people whom the farm had displaced, her experience falls within the parameters of European colonial-ism. My study presumes that *Out of Africa*, as demonstrated by the significant body of postcolonial criticism, falls within the distinguishing narrative character-istic of "colonialist literature," although it may be shown that the text is often "double-voiced" [and ambivalent] or strategic in terms of both colliding and sub-verting colonialist discourse and ideology.[13]

Wa Thiong'o further criticized Blixen for not having taken a direct stand against the failure of the colonial system to properly condemn the white set-tler whose severe beating of his young native servant cause the latter's death—an incident depicted in *Out of Africa* in the section titled "Kitosch's Story." He refers to Blixen's writing in that story as a "hideous colonialist aesthetic."[14] And yet, if we analyse the story carefully, we could see that Blix-en is clearly pointing to the great failure of the colonial justice system, albeit in a highly metaphorical and circular way that demands careful literary de-

memoir and the film, with mostly white actors, showcasing romantic views of the savan-nah and glamorizing colonial life without addressing the oppressive realities lived by indi-genous peoples as a result of colonialism. Wainaina, Binyavanga, "How to Write About Africa," *Granta* 92 (2005), https://granta.com/how-to-write-about-africa/, accessed 19 Janu-ary 2006, discusses, in a highly satirical way, how these stereotypes continue to be present in western literature (or can even be seen in African writers who write for the West, thus feeding into their fantasies) and in the media in general. Chimamanda Adichie, "The Dangers of a Single Story," (TED. London. July 2009.) addresses similar issues: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs24Izeg. See also Jan N. Pietrse, *White on Black: Images of Afric-ans and Blacks in Western Popular Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

[12]Marianne T. Stecher, *The Creative Dialectic in Karen' Blixen's Essays: On Gender, Nazi Germany, and Colonial Desire* (Copenhagen: Museum of Transcultural Press, 2014); Susan Brantly, "Karen Blixen's Challenges to Postcolonial Criticism," *KULT 11: Made in Denmark*, December (2013): 32-3, http://postkolonial.dk/files/KULT%2010/Brantly_Karen%20Blixen %27s%20challenges.pdf.

[13]Stecher, *The Creative Dialectic in Karen' Blixen's Essays*, 162.

[14]Wa Thiong'o, *Detained*, 36.

coding. This narrative strategy could be related to the pressures from her English editor since the incident does indeed show a very dark side of British colonialism.[15] As Blixen notes in a letter to a friend,

> It was my deepest hope that my race, by handing down a just verdict in the case, would make up for the shame that a single individual—who certainly might have been upset—had brought upon us. But it did not happen that way, and the verdict itself, but particularly the testimony of the two doctors, which to me was so obviously meant to save his skin, was not only a source of sorrow, but filled me with a feeling of deep disgrace. [...] I do not understand how the description of these shocking details could fail to give the reader an impression of my indignation over them. [...] After the book came out, I got a letter from one of the two doctors who had given testimony at the trial. He wrote that my story had gotten him to think more deeply than before about his own conduct in the case.[16]

I tend to agree with Stecher and Brantly and see Blixen as an anti-colonial writer on many levels, despite the fact that she also displayed typical colonial and Eurocentric views of the time as wa Thiong'o has argued.

Many critics have pointed out Figueiredo's strong criticism of Portuguese colonialism in Africa in *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais*. They call attention to how the author debunks the belief that Portuguese colonialism was less racist and more benign when compared to other European colonialisms or the idea that the Portuguese have a natural predisposition to mix with the "other" due to their long lasting relations with "others," which go back at least to the early 1400s when Ceuta, in North Africa, is captured from the Moors. This very belief, one can argue, has a touch of biological racism for it grounds "Portugueseness" in biology. Beliefs in the "difference" of the Portuguese empire are strongly rooted in the pseudo-scientific theories of Luso-tropicalism[17] put forward by Gilberto Freyre in the early and mid 20th cen-

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[15]See Stecher, *The Creative Dialectic in Karen' Blixen's Essays*, 195-7, noting that Blixen said that she would only publish *Out of Africa* if "Kitosch's Story" where to be included upon pressure from her British editor to take it out (197-8), again demonstrating her interest in showing the atrocious abuses perpetrated by colonizers.

[16]Brantly, "Karen Blixen's Challenges to Postcolonial Criticism," 32-3. On this see also "Kitosch's Story"—White Prestige" in Stecher, *The Creative Dialectic in Karen' Blixen's Essays*, 195-202. As argued by Stecher, Blixen openly sees this incident as a very negative one for the relations between the races and a failure to make true the promises of "justice, equality before the law, guilt, and responsibility" (199) which the colonizers, in their mission to "civilize" Africans, spoke of. See also note 15 above.

tury—and still believed and defended by many.[18] In the introduction to the 2009 edition of *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais*, Anna M. Klobucka and Philip Rothwell, the book's translators, also present Figueiredo's volume as an oeuvre that strongly destabilizes ideas of Lusotropicalism, laying bare the harsh and highly oppressive realities of Portuguese colonialism and, in fact, in a manner that had not been done before in a work of literature. Indeed, Figueiredo's book depicts, without any qualms, the crude racist beliefs of Portuguese colonists and the high sexual exploitation of black women by male colonists, and thus shattering the belief in Portuguese colonial exceptionalism. According to Klobucka and Rothwell:

> Freyre under the label of Lusotropicalism—relates its central claim to the alleged propensity of Portuguese colonizers throughout history for racial mixing with the African, South American and Asian populations they encountered and subjugated. From this asserted tendency toward miscegenation between white Portuguese men and women of color—no other sexual configuration ever features in this traditionally drawn picture—the proponents of Lusotropicalism derive a wealth of symbolic and material advantages, the chief of which is held to be the absence of racism and racial segregation in Lusophone colonial and postcolonial settings. The narrator of *Notebook* has no patience for the Lusotropical-

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[17]See Mário de Andrade, "O que é o Lusotropicalismo?" in Aquino de Bragança & Emmanuel Wallerstein, eds. *Quem é o inimigo* (Lisboa: Iniciativas Editoriais, 1978), Vol. 1, 225-40; Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Lisboa: Livros do Brasil, 2003); Gilberto Freyre, O luso e o trópico (Lisboa: Comissão Executiva do V Centenário da Morte do Infante D. Henrique, 1960).

[18]See for example, Daniel F. Silva, "Imperial Cryptonomy: Colonial Specters and Portuguese Exceptionalism in Isabela Figueiredo's 'Caderno de Memórias Coloniais'," *Portuguese Cultural Studies*, 6 (1) (2017), http://scholarworks.umass.edu/p/vol6/iss1/2; Gould, "A Daughter's Unsettling Auto/Biography of Colonialism and Uprooting," 138; Raquel Ribeiro, "Os retornados estão a abrir o baú," *Público*, supplement *Ípsilon*, 12 August 2010, https://www.publico.pt/2010/08/12/culturaipsilon/noticia/os-retornados-estao-a-abrir-o-bau-263209; Bruno Machado, "Os filhos dos 'retornados': a experiência africana e a criação de memórias, pós-memórias e representações na pós-colonialidade," MA thesis (Universidade de Lisboa, 2011), https://repositorio.ul.pt/bitstream/10451/6868/1/igotul001402_tm.pdf. Joana Gorjão Henriques, *Racismo em Português* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2016), has recently revisited the issue of Lusotropicalism and reveals its fallacies by demonstrating how racism was implemented in various Portuguese colonies, how it still persists today in various forms and how many Portuguese continue to reject such beliefs and are still highly enamoured with Lusotropicalism. Henriques' book is part of a larger project and conversation currently taking place within Portugal (and also involving its former colonies) that aim at confronting racism, its many 'faces' and effects. A similarly recent revisitation of Lusotropicalism is found in a special issue of *Portuguese Studies Review* 26 (1) (2016), co-edited by Michel Cahen & Patrícia Ferraz de Matos.

ist fairy tale reiterated by the colonists and *retornados*—"that old wives' tale," as she calls it in chapter 41.[19]

Figueiredo's memoir falls under the category of what Isabel Ferreira Gould has called:

> narratives of decantation, that is, texts written in the first person about the memories and perspectives of children that are structured by the tension between a critical vision of colonialism and the need to exalt, for better or for worse, the foundational figures of the narrating subjects' identities.[20]

There are several others published in Portugal in recent years[21] that could fall under this category.

Analysis of Out of Africa

Karen Blixen's memoir, *Out of Africa*, recounts her adventures while living in colonial Kenya (then called British East Africa) between 1914 and 1931, where she owned a coffee plantation farm at the foot of the Ngong Hills. Blixen marries Baron Bror von Blixen-Finecke in 1914 and the couple move to Kenya that year. They divorce in 1925 and she operates the farm pretty much by herself after that. Blixen eventually loses the farm, is financially bankrupt and contrary to her desires, moves back to Europe in 1931, the time of the Great Depression. The memoir, written after Blixen left Kenya, details her time living on the Ngong farm and describes her relationship with and views of the different groups of Africans living on or around her farm, and her connection with the African landscape. She generally depicted herself as a generous and kind person toward Africans. *Out of Africa* appears to be a fairly idyllic and romanticized depiction of Kenya, written in a beautiful lyrical language that emphasizes the lush African landscape (the vegetation and the animals) and the friendliness of Africans, who are, in many ways, exotified and appear as one-dimensional, reinforcing the stereotypes about Africa and Africans and which we still find circulating around in different ways. The American writer Truman Capote (1924-1984) has in fact described *Out of Africa* as "one of the most beautiful books of the twentieth

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[19]Anna M. Klobucka & Philip Rothwell, "Introduction," *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 13.

[20]Gould, "A Daughter's Unsettling Auto/Biography of Colonialism and Uprooting," 135.

[21]Amongst which the most popular and widely read may well be Dulce Maria Cardoso, *O Retorno* (Lisboa: Tinta da China, 2012).

century."[22] Yet as discussed above, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o considers *Out of Africa* "one of the most dangerous books ever written"[23] because, written in an apparent language of love, it is, in fact, a very racist and condescending oeuvre as far as he is concerned. This points to the idea that language can create/ make up a reality, fooling the readers into believing in something that it is not true. Blixen's opening epigraph above alludes precisely to that: "I think all sorrows can be borne if you put them into a story or tell a story about them." She is aware that she can create a "world," a way of being and feeling, and seeing reality with her writing, a world that satisfies her aesthetic impulses and conscious or unconscious fancies and desires. The fact that Blixen's language is highly beautiful and lyrical further adds to the danger: we enter a sort of dream world lulled, as it were, by the rhythmic calming effects of a clever literary technique that brings beauty into the world or covers its ugliness and makes us blind to the harsh realities. Theodor Adorno has claimed that "Writing poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric,"[24] highlighting the fact that the aesthetic of the poetic (and by extension literary language) is dangerous for it makes the ugly appear beautiful, transforming the atrocity (whatever it may be) into something beautiful as if the horror has been removed when in fact the horror continues to exist. Thus we can argue that the strikingly beautiful language used by Blixen, focusing on the beauty of the landscape and the people may blind us to the real socio-political problems of the colonial context, which involve the high exploitation of the local people (the so-called "natives").

In that sense then, and when read on a more superficial level, we can say that *Out of Africa* is full of typical stereotypical and racist colonial tropes that are part of what Valentin Mudimbe, in his seminal book *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge*,[25] has termed the colonial library: in other words, the production of knowledge about Africa and Africans by European imperial powers based on Eurocentric paradigms of

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[22]Barbara P. Solomon, ed. *The Reading Room: Writing of the Moment/8* (New York: Great Marsh Press, 2009), 356.

[23]Wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre*, 133.

[24]Terry Eagleton & Drew Milne, eds. *Marxist Literary Theory: A Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 187-103.

[25]Valention Y. Mudimbe, *The Invention of Africa: Gnosis, Philosophy and the Order of Knowledge* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

cognition, ontology and epistemology. In Blixen's memoir, blacks often tend to appear as types, persons who lack individuality, whose minds we cannot quite penetrate ("they" are irrational, "we" are rational), closer to nature, living in synchrony with nature. They are nature: like the trees and the animals, at one with the trees and animals, an amorphous mass of sorts:

> The Natives were Africa in flesh and blood. The tall extinct volcano of Longonot that rises above the Rift Valley, the broad Mimosa trees along the rivers, the Elephant and the Giraffe, were not more truly Africa than the Natives were,—small figures in an immense scenery. All were different expressions of one idea, variations upon the same theme. It was not a congenial upheaping of heterogeneous atoms, but a heterogeneous upheaping of congenial atoms, as in the case of the oakleaf and the acorn and the object made from oak. We ourselves, in boots, and in our constant great hurry, often jar with the landscape. The Natives are in accordance with it, and when the tall, slim, dark, and dark-eyed people travel,—always one by one, so that even the great Native veins of traffic are narrow footpaths,—or work the soil, or herd their cattle, or hold their big dances, or tell you a tale, it is Africa wandering, dancing and entertaining you. In the highlands you remember the Poet's words:

> Noble found I
> ever the Native,
> and insipid the Immigrant.[26]

Here we also see that the white settlers are at odds with this African environment, they are "insipid" immigrants, unlike the Natives who are "Noble"—even though Blixen also tells us at other points in her narrative that this Africa is hers and that she belongs there. The European settler is defining the "Native" African as the noble savage in much the same way the Europeans described Amerindians when they arrived in the Americas in the late 1400's. These are beautiful people, living in a paradise-like land, in unison with nature. They are primitive people, away from the decadence of civilization and technology that is part of European society. They are also depicted as less rational (or irrational), operating more on instinct, guided by what can be termed non-rational intelligences.[27] In that sense, Blixen

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[26]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 20.

[27]I am borrowing the term from Hélène Cixous in her reference to *écriture féminine*: Hélène Cixous & Catherine Clément, *La jeune née* (Paris: Union générale d'éditions, 1975); Hélène Cixous, *Three Steps on the Ladder of Writing*, trans Sarah Cornell & Susan Sellers. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). The term has a positive connotation in Cix-

seems to be describing the Natives in a more positive light than the Europeans who have strayed away from their close contact with nature, and thus have lost their natural, instinctual ways or intelligences and are now transformed by a new world of technology and science that alienates them. And yet she also implies that they are backwards and living in a previous historical moment. As Blixen puts it,

> the white men of the past, indeed of any past, would have been in better understanding and sympathy with the coloured races than we, of our Industrial Age, shall ever be. When the first steam engine was constructed, the roads of the races of the world parted, and we have never found one another since.[28]

The westerner's attachment to the "native" is a way to connect with his/her pre-industrial self when people felt more in touch with themselves, more whole. This sentiment evokes the existential crisis of the *fin-de-siècle* experience in Europe, resulting from the deep social changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution and related scientific advancements, that was characteristic of the Romantic Movement defending a back to nature ideology.

There are many other examples throughout Blixen's book that point out the dichotomies between Africans and Europeans and that generalize about the two groups. It seems fair to say, then, that the way Africans are perceived by Europeans is more related to the latter's own desires, frustrations and "lacks" than to the reality of Africans. In that sense, *Out of Africa* is the site where such desires, frustrations and "lacks" are displayed and mirrored back to readers: perhaps that is why the book appeals so much to Western readership. The Africa displayed in this volume appears as the site that westerners once inhabited but have now lost—for "they" are in the now, in the

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ous's usage and denotes the idea that rationality is only one type of knowledge and that it in fact reflects a one-dimensional way of thinking and apprehending reality leaving out intelligences apprehended through instinct, the body, the unconscious, the spirit, etc., which are in many ways superior and more genuine ways of attaining a holistic cognizance and can see beyond human-made societal impositions which create hierarchies, divisions, dichotomies and oppressions of all kinds. This type of rationality associated with Western thought and the ensuing related scientific methods and technological advancements of the Renaissance and Enlightenment periods was applied to classify all peoples of the globe with the event of European colonization pretty much since the 1400's and was an attempt to universalize knowledge and homogenize the world. For discussions on this see, for example, Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturalism* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

[28]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 202.

historical moment, inside the wheels of history and technological develop-ments. Africans are depicted as the version of westerners' own ancestors in previous and less developed eras. Through Blixen's memoir, westerners see/imagine themselves (their own people) in a past when everything seemed better, a romanticized past, a utopia, "the good old days" as Levi-novitz calls it in the epigraph above.

Following up on the ideas above, the description of Africa and Africans by Blixen has less to do with the continent and its inhabitants and more about her personal "lack" or the idea of utopia. All, or most of us, seem to never experience being in a state of completeness in the here and the now, in the present moment, always missing something, mourning a place or a time. This is what nostalgia is. In Portuguese, it is labelled "*saudade*." Many like to believe, perhaps again as a way to make the Portuguese some sort of exceptional people, that it is a sentiment unique to the Portuguese.[29] But that does not seem to be the case at all. As Mark Epstein explains:

> We are all haunted by the lost perfection of the ego that contained everything, and we measure ourselves and our loves against this standard. We search for a replica in external satisfactions, in food, comfort, sex, or success, but gradually learn, through the process of sublimation, that the best approximation of that lost feeling comes from creative acts that evoke states of being in which self-consciousness is temporarily relinquished. These are the states in which the artist, writer, scientist, or musician, like Freud's da Vinci, dissolves into the act of creation.[30]

I argue then that Blixen uses her memoir to recreate an imagined Africa that did not exist while she lived there, to deal with her personal "lack". The fact that she writes it after leaving the colony (and she did not really want to leave) also demonstrates her desire to return to a past that she now sees as perfect and blissful, even if while there, she may not have always felt that way. Writing about her past stay in Africa after the fact, while already in the West (though she likely relied heavily on notes written while in Kenya), may allow her to be even more romantic about that very past, to re-imagine it ac-

[29]George Monteiro, "Essay: An Anatomy of Saudade," *Portuguese American Journal* 21 July 2013, http://portuguese-american-journal.com/essay-an-anatomy-of-saudade-by-george-monteiro/.

[30]Mark Epstein, *Thoughts Without a Thinker: Psychotherapy From a Buddhist Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1995), 81-2.

cording to what her unconscious drive is actually pushing her to do in the present, which is to symbolically recreate the perfection of the lost ego, as Epstein posits above. This "perfect ego" is associated with a merging with all and everything (the human other and the non-human other): it is what Julia Kristeva, taking after Plato, might call the "chora" or the abject[31]—a state of pre-selfhood, abjection, where all the energy of the cosmos resides, all the elements (fire, water, air, earth) merge to form oneness. It is a state of wholeness, outside of dualistic thinking, dissection and separation, when the self is relinquished and we may feel fully at "home." Buddhists often refer to this as the "all is one."[32]

Blixen's need to constantly recreate this wholeness and symbolically suspend the personal "lack", or to use Epstein's term, recover "the perfection of the lost ego," can be seen in her constant (I would even say obsessive) use of what I term metaphors of junction. These metaphors of junction continuously attempt to dissolve individuals and things into a wholeness (a "chora") that tries to suspend the personal "lack" and make one feel part of everything and everyone. Let us analyse some of these metaphors of junction. In the following passage, from chapter one, we have the Ngong farm described in the following manner:

> I had a farm in Africa, at the foot of the Ngong Hills. [...] The views were immensely wide. Everything that you saw made for greatness and freedom, and unequalled nobility. The chief feature of the landscape, and of your life in it, was the air. Looking back on a sojourn in the African highlands, you are struck by your feeling of having lived for a time up in the air. The sky was rarely more than pale blue or violet, with a profusion of mighty, weightless, ever-changing clouds towering up and sailing on it, but it has a blue vigour in it, and at a short distance it painted the ranges of hills and the woods a fresh deep blue. In the middle of the day the air was alive over the land, like a flame burning; it scintillated, waved and shone like running water, mirrored and doubled all objects, and created great Fata Morgana [mirage]. Up in this high air you breathed eas-

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[31]See Julia Kristeva, *Pouvoirs de l'horreur: essai sur l'abjection* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1980); Dino Felluga, "Modules on Kristeva: On the Abject," in *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory* 31 January 2011, Purdue University, https://www.cla.purdue.edu/englis h/theory/psychoanalysis/kristevaabject.html.

[32]See: Louis Roy, *Mystical Consciousness: Western Perspectives and Dialogue with Japanese Thinkers* (New York: State University of New York, 2003); Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *The Awakening of Zen*, ed. Christmas Humphreys (London: Prajñā Press in Association with the Buddhist Society, 1980).

> ily, drawing in a vital assurance and lightness of heart. In the highlands you
> woke up in the morning and thought: Here I am, where I ought to be.[33]

The farm on the hills and the surrounding setting are described like a para-
dise, an ideal site, a mirage, a place where "the views were immensely wide,"
"made for greatness and freedom and unequalled nobility," as she puts it.
We see a merging of land, sky, water and fire, recalling the Platonic and
Kristevan Chora(s) where all becomes one, all reality, self and other/other-
ness, united in an ontological embrace. There is a sense that one is inhabit-
ing a very large abode of beingness, flying above/outside of oneself, again re-
iterating that one is more than oneself, becoming part of everything. The
self is diffused, becomes grand(er), decentered, merging with the scenery. It
is a relational self that looks outside of itself to find (anchor) itself, to feel
part of the wholeness that exists. The fact that this scenery is associated with
the Fata Morgana (mirage), further points to the idea that we are symbolic-
ally out of the individual self, inhabiting a certain state of being, seeing and
connecting with all reality around us. Through her writing, which is an exer-
cise in the art of the imagination, Blixen is able to recreate wholeness. Art
functions as sublimation for personal "lack." Other writers have indicated
that writing allows for levitation, an out of body experience, that it is a
highly spiritual and holistic experience, which is often referred to as "being
in the zone." There is then a link between creative writing, levitation, dream
and wholeness: one leaves our own individual body to enter all and
everything, to symbolically become whole. On this matter, the Afric-
an-American writer Toni Morrison has stated,

> "I left my body and I was only eyes and mind, that's all," she says. "I could think
> and I could see. I didn't try to speak because I was so fascinated with this experi-
> ence." "The attraction! Ooh, it was better than anything I'd ever felt. It was free,
> it was intelligent and I was in control. And the only other time that happens—
> those three things—is when I write."[34]

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[33]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 3-4.

[34]Pip Cummings, "'I Didn't Want to Come Back': Toni Morrison on Life, Death and
Desdemona," *The Sydney Morning Herald* 7 August 2015, http://www.smh.com.au/entertain-
ment/i-didnt-want-to-come-back-toni-morrison-on-life-death-and-desdemona-20150804-
giqaxu.html#ixzz3joom24EA, accessed 13 August 2015. Being a poet and a novelist, I
identify with this. I have also addressed the links between creative writing/poetic language,
flying, dream, unconscious and wholeness in my work on Mia Couto, Wole Soyinka,
Gaston Bachelard, Léopold Senghor, and others: Irene Marques, "Spaces of Magic: Couto's

This experience felt in and through poetic/literary language is akin to what Gaston Bachelard calls the "phenomenology of roundness" or the "intimate immensity" in his book *The Poetics of Space*.[35] In this book, Bachelard also links the idea of "immensity" with "daydream:"

> One might say that immensity is a philosophical category of daydream. Daydream undoubtedly feeds on all kinds of sights, but through a sort of natural inclination, it contemplates grandeur. And this contemplation produces an attitude that is so special, an inner state that is so unlike any other, that the daydream transports the dreamer outside the immediate world to a world that bears the mark of infinity.[36]

Blixen's description of her farm and the associated metaphor(s) of junction, as I have just explained, is echoed in her descriptions about the importance of dreams in *Out of Africa* once again showing links between creative writing, dream, immensity of being and feeling, openness and freedom,

> People who dream when they sleep at night know of a special kind of happiness which the world of the day holds not, a placid ecstasy, and ease of heart, that are like honey on the tongue. They also know that the real glory of dreams lies in their atmosphere of unlimited freedom. It is not the freedom of the dictator, who enforces his own will on the world, but the freedom of the artist, who has no will, who is free of will. The pleasure of the true dreamer does not lie in the substance of the dream, but in this: that there things happen without any interference from his side, and altogether outside his control. Great landscapes create themselves, long splendid views, rich and delicate colours, roads, houses, which he has never seen or heard of.[37]

Relational Practices," in Grant Hamilton & David Huddart, eds., *A Companion to Mia Couto* (Suffolk: James Currey, 2016), 64-85; Irene Marques, "The Way/s of 'Poetry': The Contracting and Expanding Self in the Writing of Mia Couto," *JALA: Journal of the African Literature Association* 9(2) (2015): 75-111; Irene Marques, "Suspending the 'Lack' in Mia Couto's Writing: Cross-Continental Epistemological and Artistic Intersections," *African Studies* 77 (2018): 127-44. It is important to note here that poetic/lyrical writing, which is fundamental in creative writing, is what allows the writer to experience this wholeness and levitation because poetic language is unstable, multi-perspectival, multi-voiced, always running away from single simplified meanings, undermining dichotomies—and that is why it allows for true "knowledge" and "consciousness expansion," as argued by Owen Barfield, *Poetic Diction: A Study in Meaning* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964), 144.

[35]Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans Maria Jolas. (New York: Orion Press, 1964).

[36]Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 182.

[37]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 82-3.

Dreaming, just like the landscape of the Ngong farm, as depicted by Blix-en, is the way to exit the self, the boundaries of a conscious and rational world and enter an endless freedom, just like Morrison noted above. The dream is controlled by the freedom of the artist: it is therefore the road to attain wholeness and exit the individual self. The dream, associated with un-conscious and irrational intelligences, is parallel to the literary creative act that evades categorization and division to restore wholeness and connection: to suspend individual "lack," incompletion, loneliness. For Blixen, Africans appear closer to this "wholeness" than Westerners, as they are at one with the land, indistinguishable from it, in a state of junction, unchanged by the advances of technology and guided by the non-rational intelligences as dis-cussed previously. Africans are, for Blixen, equated with nature, indistin-guishable from nature and so we could argue that she is, in fact, wanting to become African—to be more at home, at home with the Universe, that is, and thus suspend her "lack." Seen under this light, being compared to nature is something positive, something to strive for. Such a reading is con-trary to the typical postcolonial readings that tend to argue that Blixen is highly racist precisely because she compares Africans with nature. I contend that the latter fall too easily into simplistic dichotomous ideologies of tradi-tional western thought which have tended to privilege a certain type of simplistic rationalistic and dissecting epistemology while minimizing other types of "reasons" or intelligences as noted earlier—and, in fact, can just be seen as reactionary. The Senegalese *Négritude* poet and statesman would not be reactionary in that way and would in fact argue that this way of being African is highly positive and something to aim for:

> [The African] does not begin by distinguishing himself from the object, the tree or stone, the man or animal or social event. He does not keep it at a distance. He does not analyse it. Once he has come under its influence, he takes it like a blind man, still living, into his hands. He does not fix or kill it. He turns it *over* and *over* in his supple hands, he *feels* it. [...] Our subject abandons his I to sympath-ize and identify himself with the THOU. He dies to himself to be reborn in the *Other.* He does not assimilate, he is assimilated. He does not kill the other life, he strengthens his own life through it. He lives with the *Other* in a communal life, lives in *symbiosis*: he is born-with and thereby knows the *Other.* Subject and ob-ject are dialectically confronted in the very act of knowing one another. It is a

long caress in the night, an intimacy of mingled bodies, the act of love, from which the fruit of knowledge is born.[38]

Senghor's ideas as expressed here speak of communion with and respect for the *Other*, with the "other" here to be understood as the one different from oneself, be it human or non-human, such as animals, trees, etc., which I also term as "otherness" in this study. This communion, this junction with and respect for the other is precisely what Blixen seems to continuously be after in her memoir with her constant use of metaphors of junction. Her interest in communion with the other (the African person and the landscape) is, I argue, an act of love, a love for the self and a love for the other, since the "other" is part of the self and, as explained above, is what will permit Blixen to merge with the "all and the everything" of the universe. This insistence on merging with the "other" is akin to an entrance into the cosmic envelope, which generally refers to an idea of God, or total reality. Sean Creaven defines "cosmic envelope" in the following manner:

> [T]he concept of cosmic envelope performs an identical function to the earlier God-concept—i.e. of denoting ultimate categorial reality, absolute spirit, cosmic ingredient, boundless binding force, pure dispositionality, and so on. It refers not simply to the totality of things, nor to the ultimate constituent of being, but to the energy or spirit that binds the differentiated structures of reality together as part of a cosmic whole. Since this force is ingredient in all the emergent forms of reality, and is the ultimate constituent of all being, it follows, according to Bhaskar, that it carries within itself the potential for everything that exists, everything that has existed, or will come into existence.[39]

The "cosmic envelope" is akin to the Platonic and Kristevan choras and it is what literary writing tries to recreate symbolically. There is a link, then, between love (love for self and love for all and everything), God (in the sense explained by Carver above in relation to the idea of "cosmic envelope"), total reality and literary writing. It seems that all we do, all that Blixen does in her writing is try to re-enter the "cosmic envelope," the "chora," the "wholeness," in order to take away or at least suspend our/her existential "lack".

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[38]Léopold S. Senghor, "The African Apprehension of Reality," *Prose and Poetry*, selected and trans by John Reed & Clive Wake. (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 29.

[39]Sean Creaven, *Against the Spiritual Turn: Marxism, Realism and Critical Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 23.

Blixen in fact suggests that the technology of westerners, is, just like the religion of the natives, an attempt to reach wholeness and suspend the individual sense of self, to connect everything and everyone. In the following quotation, full of ironic subtexts, we see precisely that:

> Once, when Denys and I had been up, and were landing on the plain of the farm, a very old Kikuyu came up and talked to us:
>
> "You were up very high today," he said, "we could not see you, only hear the aeroplane sing like a bee."
>
> I agreed that we had been up high.
>
> "Did you see God?" he asked.
>
> "No, Ndwetti," I said, "we did not see God."
>
> "Aha, then you were not up high enough," he said, "but now tell me: do you think that you will be able to get up high enough to see him?"
>
> "I do not know, Ndwetti," I said.
>
> "And you, Bedâr," he said, turning to Denys, "what do you think? Will you get up high enough in your aeroplane to see God?"
>
> "Really I do not know," said Denys.
>
> "Then," said Ndwetti, "I do not know at all why you two go on flying."[40]

Here Ndwetti, is mocking Denys (the Westerner) who may think that he is more advanced than Africans because he flies a plane. Ndwetti, who likely follows an African religion that allows for a holistic perception of reality,[41] is questioning Denys' obsession with flying. Both Westerner and African do in fact crave the same thing—a merging with the whole (or what we night

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[40]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 229-30.

[41]African classical (traditional) religions tend to have a holistic conception of the world with a close link between visible and invisible, material and immaterial, physical and spiritual realms. Within such religious paradigm, it is believed that the order of this balance is disrupted chaos or tragedy will ensue. Non-human entities and objects tend to be seen as having a life and energy and as being an integral part of humans. For discussion on this see Lebisa J. Teffo & Abraham P. J. Roux. "Themes in African Metaphysics," in P. H. Coetzee & A. P. J. Roux, eds. *The African Philosophy Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 161-174. See also Jacob K. Olupona, *African Religions: A Very Short Introduction* (New York: Oxford University Press), 2014. This holistic vision is in fact not much different from current environmental arguments on the interrelation between all things. One only needs to watch David Suzuki's television program *The Nature of Things* on the Canadian Broadcast Corporation (CBC) to see the links.

term loosely as God), but go about it in different ways: technology and reli-
gion. But can we not say that religion is in fact a technology?— Yes, I would
argue, in the sense that both are methods to try and understand reality.
When flying we are between earth and sky, closer to "God", closer to all real-
ity, that is, all immensity of the cosmos, things appear merged, less distinct.
The very invention of technology signals our need to exit from human inca-
pacities, to understand or control things around us. But technology, as
Ndwetti implies above does not seem to allow for an encounter with "God",
to find wholeness: and so, he suggests to Denys that he did not fly high
enough, which implies that the point of flying is to enter the ultimate real-
ity, to merge with greater forces, gain wisdom on a spiritual and mystical
level when human and non-human (the transcendental) join and separation
is suspended. That the technology does not allow Denys to find God suggests
again that the technological advances of European civilization did not bring
all it was thought it would bring, illustrating the disappointment of the *fin-
de-siècle* and the wish to a return to nature. We witness in Europe a move-
ment from a theocentric world view to a humancentric one since the 16th
century where man replaces God and in a sense becomes God as he thinks
he can understand and know everything in rational terms, which has been
proven a fallacy.[42] The irony present in this scene serves to question pre-
cisely the European civilizational ethos and is a critique of the Eurocentric
hubristic belief in rationalist and technological endeavours.

In the chapter "Of the Two Races" we can detect another important
metaphor of junction. Here Blixen relays the importance of communion
(and communication) between self and other and the idea that the self is
highly dependent upon the other to form his/her own identity:

[42]On this Sheryl Sterling, "Race Matters: Cosmopolitanism, Afropolitanism, and Pan-
Africanism via Edward Wilmot Blyden," *Journal of Pan African Studies* 8 (1) (2015): 126, ht-
tps://www.academia.edu/, states "In Western man's exploration and cognitive remapping of
the world, as evident in the voyages of exploration and the development of the physical
sciences, Wynter shows, he defines himself as the other of God, instead of his subordinate
as promoted in the Judeo-Christian tradition. Conceptually, with this definition of himself
as Man, the earthly avatar of God, and the center of creation and agency, he could not
conceive of the peoples "discovered" in these voyages as anything, but other to himself.
Since Euro-man invents himself as the archetypal standard and model of humanity, these
others are not quite human or even the same type of human, and as Wynter further ar-
gues, it results in our present struggles with respect to race, class, gender, sexual orienta-
tion, ethnicity, struggles over the environment, and the sharply unequal distribution of
the earth's resources."

> The relation between the white and the black race in Africa in many ways re-sembles the relation between the two sexes. If the one of the two sexes were told that they did not play any greater part in the life of the other sex, than this oth-er sex plays within their own existence, they would be shocked and hurt. If the lover or the husband were told that he did not play any greater part in the life of his wife or his mistress than she played in his own existence, he would be puzzled and indignant. If a wife or a mistress were told that she did not play any greater part in the life of her husband or her lover, than he played in her life, she would be exasperated.[43]

Blixen is putting forward the idea that both blacks and whites, men and wo-men, need one another to find themselves, to ground their personhood. The white self needs the black self to remind him/her of who she is and vice-versa. The same goes for men and women. Identities are relational. Relation-ships between whites and blacks and men and women need affirmation, re-ciprocal appreciation—and that is love, a love for the self and a love for the other. The self is aware that it is part of the other, that it is incomplete, deeply bound to the other and that it can only be fulfilled ontologically by accepting that reality, by accepting its "lack", its incompletion and finding an expanded personhood in the other, outside of the individual self. Blixen has often voiced how important it was for her to bring the two "races" closer to-gether and in fact saw herself as someone who was able to do that to a cer-tain extent. However, she also knew that the colonial enterprise had failed because it exploited the Africans to an extent that did now allow for recon-ciliation and/or mutual appreciation.[44]

In her description of the oxen, we find a link between the animal's suffer-ing and the oppressor, between black and white, colonized and colonizer, another metaphor of junction although the "junction" in this case is illus-trated in the form of pronounced split, one that causes profound suffering to the "self" (which here can be seen in multiple ways: the self as oxen, the self as writer, the self as nature, the self as human, the self as non-human):

> As in civilized countries all people have a chronic bad conscience towards the slums, and feel uncomfortable when they think of them, so in Africa you have

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[43]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 253.

[44]For detailed discussion on this see Marianne T. Stecher, "On Colonial Desire in "Blacks and White in Africa", *Out of Africa* and *Shadows on the Grass*", *The Creative Dialectic in Karen' Blixen's Essays: On Gender, Nazi Germany, and Colonial Desire* (Copenhagen: Mu-seum of Transcultural Press, 2014), 155-228.

got a bad conscience, and feel a pang, when you think of the oxen. But towards the oxen on the farm, I felt as, I suppose, a king will be feeling towards his slums: "You are I, and I am you." The oxen in Africa have carried the heavy load of the advance of European civilization. Wherever new land has been broken they have broken it, panting and pulling knee-deep in the soil before the ploughs, the long whips in the air over them. Where a road has been made they have made it; and they have trudged the iron and tools through the land to the yelling and shouting of the drivers, by tracks in the dust and the long grass of the plains, before there ever were any roads.[45]

We see here, a deep condemnation of the colonial enterprise and the oxen serves as a metaphor for the black person who is highly exploited by the European colonizer. The colonizer (and Blixen is part of that group, though being Danish she may feel an "other" in relation to English colonial power) knows that he/she is exploiting the "other" and that this "other" is part of his/her self and so one is exploiting the self as well, the greater, whole self that one is part of. As Blixen puts it, "But towards the oxen on the farm, I felt as, I suppose, a king will be feeling towards his slums: 'You are I, and I am you.'" What we also see here is that the colonial power uses the oxen (the animal or the black person) to destroy nature in order to bring "civilization": "wherever new land has been broken they [the oxen/the black person) have broken it, panting and pulling knee-deep in the soil before the ploughs, the long whips in the air over them." The violence of this is akin to the rape of nature and such rape is also the rape of ourselves for we are part of that whole. Blixen seems acutely aware of the violence that "civilization" brings: how it destroys us, even if we think that it makes us more powerful, for it symbolizes a move away from a great part of ourselves. We humans are nature, are animals: and rejecting that is to let go of a fundamental part of ourselves.

   Though *Out of Africa* is full of other metaphors of junction, the nature of this investigation does not allow me to address them all. Hence, I will end my analysis of the book with a discussion of what may be considered the ultimate metaphor of junction in the entire book: the constant use of the *mise-en-abyme*. In generic terms, the *mise-en-abyme* (a French term literally meaning "placed into the abyss," formally coined in 1893 by André Gide, but

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[45]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 251.

likely as old as art itself),[46] is a story within a story that represents the main message (or one of the main messages) of a particular work. It is a story that needs to be carefully decoded or paid attention to in order to understand the main meaning of the entire work. It is also a story that repeats itself in different ways to point to a crucial meaning/message in the book or to the link between the different stories (between the different things). A *mise-en-abyme* is a Russian doll: a doll inside a doll inside a doll, inside a doll, allowing for gradual revelation and demanding constant attention from the reader. A work of literature is in that sense a highly introspective learning exercise, a project in maturity and enlightenment since the reader is to pay close attention so that he/she can be taught (learn) something fundamental. This "fundamental something" to be learned may not be openly disclosed or shown to readers: it is up to them to connect the dots, read covert meanings and metaphors to arrive at the important meaning. I argue that Blixen's "fundamental something" in *Out of Africa* is precisely the idea of endless relationality: the self is part of the many others in an *ad infinitum* manner. The self, like the *mise-en-abyme*, implies endless repetition through its reflection into the many other selves that exist. The self is a reflection of that other and reflected in the other, one is the mirror of the other. The self is literally "placed into an abyss", a never-ending entity that is related to all and everything that exists. If we recall the description that Blixen gives us of the Ngong farm at the foot of the hills, as quoted above, the openness of the place, the sensation of being up in the air as if flying, the merging of colours and the elements, "how in middle of the day the air was alive over the land, like a flame burning; it scintillated, waved and shone like running water, mirrored and doubled all objects, and created great Fata Morgana [mirage]," we see how her self is distended beyond herself merging with the surroundings, with the sky and even attaining wholeness. The mirroring effect, seen here, is, like the *mise-en-abyme,* an endless abyss of a selfhood that is linked to all the "others/otherness." Thus, Blixen says, "Here I am, where I ought to be." The "I am" here symbolizes her feeling of wholeness, her entrance into the "cosmic envelope" and the suspension of her "lack." The Fata Morgana

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[46]For a definition of *mise en abyme* see the entry "Mise en Abyme," in David Herman, Mandfred Jahn & Marie-Laure Ryan, eds. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Narrative Theory* (New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2008), 312-13.

(mirage) is in fact a state of being decentred, a mystical consciousness where one feels part of all that exists.

This decentering of the self and the corresponding and understanding feeling (awareness) that one is part of all that exists, demands responsibility from the self: in this case, responsibility toward changing exploitative systems such as colonialism. Recalling, for instance, the story of the oxen discussed above, we can illustrate the idea of relationality between everything human and non-human. To illustrate my argument, I could translate the story like this: "I am the colonizer beating up and exploiting the oxen. But the oxen is not just the oxen, it is a metaphor for the colonial system, and the oxen (the colonized) exists because I (the colonizer) created it by starting a highly exploitative system that is colonialism. Colonialism exploits the other: the other-animal, the other-African, the other-nature. I, as a conscientious human being need to be self-aware of what I do to people and things around me because those people and things around me are part of me, they are part of that same 'chora' of that same 'cosmic envelope,' the same 'God,' the same cells, the same breathing material, the same spirit … They are part of me, they are me, even if I, using a highly racialized and Eurocentric model have now divided the world between 'us' and 'them,' between 'civilized' and 'uncivilized' between 'human' and 'beast.' "

The chapter "The Roads to Life" is perhaps the section in *Out of Africa* that most clearly points to the idea that the book must be read as a series of *mise(s)-en-abyme*. Here the author seems to be clearly telling the reader, in a sort of meta-fiction manner, to pay close attention to the signals that she has been giving throughout the book and see how they may be connected so that we can arrive at a deep understanding or some sort of enlightenment about what it is that she wants us to understand about her book. The reader (like the writer who is explaining to us her own "roads" to learning/life) must learn from experience and, in this case, I argue that "experience" means "story," the story within the story that Blixen wants us to see. Through the many *mise(s)-en-abyme* (the repeated stories) the reader must learn the fundamental aspect of the entire book:

> When I was a child I was shown a picture,—a kind of moving picture inasmuch as it was created before your eyes and while the artist was telling the story of it. This story was told, every time, in the same words. In a little round house with a round window and a little triangular garden in front there lived a man. Not far

from the house there was a pond with a lot of fish in it. One night the man was woken up by a terrible noise, and set out in the dark to find the cause of it. He took the road to the pond. Here the story-teller began to draw, as upon a map of the movements of an army, a plan of the roads taken by the man. He first ran to the South. Here he stumbled over a big stone in the middle of the road, and a little farther he fell into a ditch, got up, fell into a ditch, got up, fell into a third ditch and got out of that. Then he saw that he had been mistaken, and ran back to the North. […] The man in the story was cruelly deceived, and had obstacles put in his way. He must have thought: "What ups and downs! What a run of bad luck!" He must have wondered what was the idea of all his trials, he could not know that it was a stork.[47]

The very title of this chapter "Roads to Life" implies a progressive learning achieved through trial and error, tribulations, gains and losses, repetition of acts/steps until one is finally illuminated about what it is that we must learn and gain from the experience (story).

I argue that *Out of Africa* is a very complex literary work that needs to be read carefully and demands that we go below the surface to get the many meanings that Blixen is trying to point to. While many, including wa Thiong'o, as discussed above, have said that Blixen is a very racist and colonial writer, it is necessary to go beyond a superficial reading of her work to see that, in fact, Blixen presents many anti-colonial stances. The examples of the metaphors of junction that I have analyzed here, have, I hope, shown some of that. As Susan Brantly notes, "*Out of Africa* has been called a hybrid text and its narrator is also a hybrid, uniting the qualities of male/female, domestic/wild, north/south, European/African. Moreover, Blixen includes episodes that feature hybridity and challenge the notion of a fixed identity."[48] Such an assessment seems effectively appropriate.

Analysis of Caderno de Memórias Coloniais

Caderno de Memórias Coloniais, which Isabela Figueiredo wrote much later as an adult, details her life in Mozambique as a child/young girl, her difficulty adjusting to Portugal and her continuous yearning for Mozambique, her lost land. To avoid the violence and insecurity that reigns in the colony after the 1974 Carnation Revolution, which signals the transition to an independent

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[47]Blixen, *Out of Africa*, 234-6.

[48]Brantly, "Karen Blixen's Challenges to Postcolonial Criticism," 29.

Mozambique, Figueiredo is sent to Portugal at the age of 12, while her parents stay behind. Born in Mozambique and never having visited Portugal, the homeland of her parents, she feels disconnected to Portugal and yet like thousands of others, falls under the category of *retornada* (returnee). Her narrative style and tone in *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* are very different from Blixen's in *Out of Africa*. If Blixen's writing qualifies lyrical and polite, even when critical of the British empire, Figueiredo is, on the other hand, very direct and openly critical of the Portuguese empire in Mozambique. By highlighting the exploitative sexual relations of Portuguese men with black women, she specifically debunks, as noted earlier, the Lusotropicalist views of cordial miscegenation supported by the pseudo-scientific postulates put forward by Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre in early and mid 20th century which, following World War II, were subsequently used by the Estado Novo's propagandist machinery to defend and prolong the Portuguese colonial empire in the face of widespread African liberation movements.[49]

Figueiredo's tone and language are very accusatory. She uses vulgar, and for many, shocking language, quite unlike anyone else before her, to describe the predatory sexual relations between Portuguese men (often using as a primary example her own father) and African women to illustrate the unequal power relationship between the two "races" (and sexes) and also perhaps to go against the conservative Portuguese Catholic ethic that has tended to refrain from speaking about sexuality openly and sees carnal acts as basic actions. The excerpt below shows precisely what I will term here Figueiredo's "semantics of denudation" as the author unveils, in coarse language and rhetoric, the realities of Portuguese colonialism and bi-racial sexual relations:

> White men went after darky women. Darky women were all the same, and the men couldn't tell Madalena Xinguile from Emília Cachamba, except for the color of her sarong or the shape of her tit, yet white men went deep into the shantytown, with or without a clear target, to go after some darky cunt. The men were adventurous. Real go-getters. Darky women had loose cunts, said white women on lazy Sunday afternoons, chatting away under a big cashew

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[49]See: Cláudia Castelo, "O luso-tropicalismo e colonialismo português tardio," *BUALA* 5 March 2013, http://www.buala.org/pt/a-ler/o-luso-tropicalismo-e-o-colonialismo-portugues-tardio: João Alberto da Costa Pinto, "Gilberto Freyre e o Lusotropicalismo como ideologia do Colonialismo português (1951–1974)," *Revista UFG* II (6) (2009), https://www.proec.ufg.br/up/694/o/06_gilbertofreire.pdf.

tree, stuffing their bellies with grilled prawns, while their husbands went out for their men's stroll and left them to sharpen their tongues, since women need to sharpen their tongues together. [...] Darky women were not serious, darky women had loose cunts, darky women moaned out loud because the bitches liked that. They were worthless. White ladies were serious women. What threat was a black woman to them? [...] How could a barefoot black woman, who had a tit hanging out, came from the shantytown, and knew only how to say yes sir, of course sir, my money sir, who had no ID card or documentation showing civilized status, prove the boss was the father of her child?[50]

Figueiredo speaks of a truth about colonial Mozambique that ex-settlers (the *retornados*) often like to hide, pretending that they were not racist, that they had been kind with Africans, that life in Africa was wonderful and peaceful. Such idyllic portrayals are often seen in books written about the subject. In an interview given to the national newspaper *Público*[51] in 2009, the year that the first edition of *Caderno* was published, Figueiredo speaks precisely about this "lie" and how her book goes against it by showing a violent colonial reality ridden with racism and oppression. She also tells us how she gets infuriated when she enters a bookstore and sees books that continue to portray this "lie" of Portuguese colonialism and put forward an idyllic image of Africa. She herself had not told the truth before, for as she indicates below, she had not been prepared to face her father, who represented the cruelty of Portuguese colonialism:

Nós, retornados, não falamos disto uns com os outros, por pudor. Eu não tinha com quem falar. Lembro-me do [escritor angolano José Eduardo] Agualusa há 20 anos, depois de eu ter escrito uma coisa muito folclórica, muito suave, sobre Moçambique no "DN Jovem", me ter dito que eu não tinha contado a verdade. Não lhe disse que achava que ele tinha razão, mas tinha. Eu não estava a contar a verdade, não podia contar a verdade porque havia um pacto de fidelidade com o meu pai.[52]

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[50]Figueiredo, *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 29.

[51]"Isabela Figueiredo: 'O colonialismo era o meu pai,'" *Público*, 23 de Dezembro de 2009; https://www.publico.pt/2009/12/23/culturaipsilon/noticia/isabela-figueiredo-quoto-colonialismo-era-o-meu-paiquot-247765. Moreover, the author has told me herself in recent email personal communication, 15 December 2017, that when the book came out she received many emails from people condemning her depiction of Portuguese colonists in Mozambique. She further noted that many people wrote serious threats and insults in the public forum at the time that she gave the interview about the book to *Público*.

[52]"Isabela Figueiredo: "O colonialismo era o meu pai."

This idyllic image of Africa is what Raquel Ribeiro, building on Isabel Ferreira Gould's arguments, has called "o marketing da nostalgia:"

> É provável que o leitor já se tenha deparado com muitos destes livros: capas em tom sépia, postais ilustrados com imagens nostálgicas de uma África que não existe mais. Para a professora Isabel Ferreira Gould, da Universidade de Notre Dame, nos Estados Unidos, estes livros são o resultado de um trabalho de marketing com uma missão concreta: "Criar uma noção de familiaridade, fazer um apelo emocional ao leitor e à sua saudade. As editoras têm claramente um público em vista: pessoas que viveram em África."[53]

And Elsa Peralta has noted,

> [O] livro *Caderno de Memórias Coloniais* de Isabela Figueiredo é particularmente expressivo. Este livro, que resulta da seleção e recomposição das publicações que a autora vinha fazendo no seu blogue O Mundo Perfeito, quebra violentamente o pacto de silêncio mantido em torno do colonialismo português em África e do pânico coletivo gerado pelo repatriamento de parte da população colonial. Ao contrário de outros títulos que abordam diretamente a experiência do retorno, como é o caso do romance *Os Retornados: Um Amor Nunca se Esquece* de Júlio Magalhães, Isabela Figueiredo destabiliza os tropos mais comuns da narrativa quotidiana dos retornados. Estes tropos incluem a «vida paradisíaca» que se levava em África, o «tratar bem os nativos», o sentimento de «traição» e o ressentimento relativamente aos políticos mais associados com os processos de descolonização e de repatriamento, e o trauma do retorno, devido à forma repentina como este sucedeu e às dificuldades de integração na ex-metrópole, geralmente representada como «atrasada» e «escura». [...] O «sonho dourado» de Júlio Magalhães esfuma-se quando confrontado com o relato virulento de Isabela Figueiredo. Mas, tal como Júlio Magalhães, também ela dá conta de um universo onírico, embora bem mais complexo, edipiano, subterrâneo, carnal, a partir do qual procura conferir inteligibilidade tanto à sua experiência íntima como à experiência transpessoal do colonialismo africano e do seu fim depois do 25 de Abril de 1974.[54]

Figueiredo considers *Carderno de Memórias Coloniais* not just an autobiographical piece, a mere "authentic and direct statement of witness and remembrance," but a piece of literature literary writing, comparable to the

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[53]Raquel Ribeiro, "Os retornados estão a abrir o baú," *Público* 12 August 2010, https://www.publico.pt/2010/08/12/culturaipsilon/noticia/os-retornados-estao-a-abrir-o-bau-263209/amp, accessed 12 December 2017.

[54]Elsa Peralta, "Conspirações de silêncio: Portugal e o fim do império colonial," *Le Monde Diplomatique* 2 (52) (2011): 97. The quotation above comes from an unedited version of this article, which I obtained directly from the author on 19 December 2017.

memoirs written by Blixen and Marguerite Duras.[55] As stated in the "Introduction" of the English translation by Klobucka and Rothwell,

> The fact that the author of *Notebook of Colonial Memories* did not belong to Portugal's literary and cultural establishment reinforced the widespread perception of the narrative as an authentic and direct statement of witness and remembrance, although Figueiredo herself has forcefully insisted on her text's literariness. In a 2012 blog post about *Notebook*, [Figueiredo] compares her memoir, which fuses organically autobiography and fiction, with works such as Marguerite Duras's *The Lover* [French colonial Vietnam] and Karen Blixen's *Out of Africa*. Figueiredo complains that, unlike Duras or Blixen, whose belonging to the refined sphere of "literature" is never questioned, she sometimes finds her *Notebook* shelved by bookstores in the history section, as a raw document of Portuguese colonialism and its aftermath.[56]

Caderno is an exercise in catharsis that allows Figueiredo to recapture (recreate) her Mozambicanness, find some sort of identity, deal with unresolved dilemmas and traumas related to her witness of colonialism in all its crude violence, confront the way she feels about her own father who embodies colonialism, a figure she loves and abhors at the same time. Since Figueiredo was a child when she lived in Mozambique, her recalling of life there as it appears in *Caderno* gives the book an extra dimension of nostalgia or even utopia and unreality. The book constitutes "memories" (*memórias*) of life in Mozambique, as the very title indicates, and memories do not necessarily correspond to the reality of what happened. And yet, as noted, the book is also an attack on Portuguese colonialism and the unveiling of its crude nature that many have not wanted to confront: it is counter-nostalgic in that sense. Not only is Figueiredo trying to (re)capture life in a colonial setting, now as an adult, she is also trying to (re)capture her own life as a child, her innocence, an innocence that she no longer has, as an adult who can "read," see into the world, and understand its complexities. The memoir often depicts the colonial space as an idyllic setting, where people eat well and where Figueiredo feels a deep bond with her father, who despite being a racist, is in her eyes, a beautiful and perfect being, at least initially, before she learns how to "read". At the same time, we see in Isabela the child, already a profound awareness of racial division and inequality, making her a keen and intuitive child observer:

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[55]Marguerite Duras, *The Lover,* trans Barbara Bray. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985).

[56]Klobucka & Rothwell, "Introduction," *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 8.

In Lourenço Marques, we would sit outside a beautiful upscale, relaxed restaur-
ant, any time of day, savoring the best whisky and soda on the rocks, nibbling
prawns, just like we now sit here, after work, at a snack bar in the Cais do Sodré
lined with second-rate tiles, swallowing warm beer and picking listlessly at lupini
beans. The servants were darkies and we would leave them a tip if they flashed
their teeth, were quick to serve, and called us boss. I say us because I was there.
No white liked to be served by another white, if only because both expected a
bigger tip.[57]

Here we see a clear difference in the social standing of blacks and whites.
Whites sit, relax, eat and drink well, living in a fairly idyllic space, whereas
blacks serve and are expected to serve and in fact be thankful they can do so.
The higher social standing of whites makes their life very pleasant and easy-
going, much more comfortable than the life of those living in Portugal. Yet,
Isabela seems to be aware that the situation was not as perfect as it seems on
the surface. Even if as a child, she could not quite put into words, or ration-
ally understand, what she saw. The "darkies" (os "pretos") appear as inferior
"others" and Figueiredo seems aware that such classification is wrong, unfair
and goes against her natural sense of justice. She is aware of the social separ-
ation of the "races," of the value that each is given. Her recollection of
events in *Caderno*, though told through the voice of the adult Isabela, tries
to recapture how she felt and viewed the situation as a child, to the extent
that it is possible. In my recent communication with the author about this
subject, she indicates that she was indeed aware of the deep racial injustice
very early on even if she could not vocalize it or rationally understand it.[58]
And in an interview with Isabel Ferreira Gould she states:

Writing *Caderno* required a great effort to go back in time that forced me to visu-
alize places, people, and even relive emotions. I admit that we see the world sub-
jectively, that we reinterpret it, but I tried to be as faithful as possible to the
memory of the girl I was, to what I witnessed . [...] It is a life-experience. It is my
life. What I felt and thought. I closed my eyes in order to return there and reex-
amine my father's face, his voice, the faces of my father's blacks, the calluses of
their hands. I went there in order to bring back, with the greatest degree of au-
thenticity, this past. I have described it with great honesty. The way in which a
child lives the reality that surrounds her is not unworthy of attention. It might

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[57]Figueiredo, *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 35.

[58]Personal email communication with Isabela Figueiredo, 15 September 2017.

even be more accurate than that of an adult, because it is less burdened by prejudices and other mental constructions.[59]

We see the consciousness of the child present at various other points in the narrative. When opening the door to poor wretched black children who would come to her door to ask for work, Figueiredo felt the pangs of injustice even if, as she puts it below, "she could not understand." Intuitively she knew something was not right, could not be right, and so she would retreat to the world of books, where things seem to be better, with better endings:

> From childhood, darky boys and girls would call round at our house looking for work. They would knock at the gate. We would open up, and children in rags would appear, barefoot, snotty, and starving for cassava, addressing us with the few words they knew: work, boss. Children my age or younger. I would open the door to these beggars and stare at them without a word. I couldn't understand. I would call my mother, who quickly shooed them away, "Go away, there's nothing here!" and I would go back to my room and carry on reading Dickens or whatever. I just couldn't understand it. […] The pleasure of reading a book lessened humiliations. It was much greater than the pleasure of playing alone with animals or imagining wars with rosebushes. A book brought a different world into which I could enter. A book was a just land. Because that was the problem. Between the world of books and reality there was a colossal distance. Books could contain sordidness, evil, extreme poverty, but at some point they always offered redemption. Someone rebelled, struggled and died, or was saved. Books showed me that in the land where I lived there was no redemption at all.[60]

This awareness of the wretched social condition (the politics of racial oppression) that Figueiredo seemed to have only known on an instinctual level is clarified when she learns how to read. Learning how to read is becoming aware of how truth and lies are fabricated in society, how power dynamics are constructed; it is to forever lose innocence, to become an adult and, in that sense, perhaps we can suggest that Figueiredo's memoir is a medium to both recapture perfection (a perfect place, a perfect time, a wholeness that existed before "reason" took over and told her about the unpleasant truths of the world) and to confront the loss of that very perfection, of that inno-

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[59]Gould, "A Daughter's Unsettling Auto/Biography of Colonialism and Uprooting," 133-45, 137.

[60]Figueiredo, *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 37.

cence. It is both a symbolical act to suspend the personal "lack" and a realiz-ation that that "lack" will always be there and that the world (the colonial world) is wretched, for it divides, kills and annihilates the "other" and makes a point of separating the self from the other. The image of her brain break-ing the "obstinate tangerine" and opening "up completely," "like an octopus spreading its tentacles" relaying her realization that she could now read, il-lustrated in the passage below, indicates precisely her loss of wholeness:

> The juicy tangerine, an open flower in my brain, was sweet. I said to my father, "I know how to read." He smiled at me: "You're my treasure." He didn't say, but he thought, "You're everything to me.'" My father was wearing a very white thin cotton shirt. Beautifully washed and ironed with devotion by my mother... I told him, "Dad, I now know how to read" […]. My muscles, always tight, re-laxed. There was no more war in me and I could rest. The rules of reading made sense in an instant, simply because the obstinate tangerine had decided to open up completely in my brain, like an octopus spreading its tentacles. There, inside the van on its way to Lourenço Marques, near the power plant, like a first men-struation. […] From that Saturday afternoon onward, although my physical prison didn't change and the walls and iron bars still grew tall all around me, I became freer. Sentences could steal me away from any place and transport me into diverse minds, to listen to what they thought and didn't say—the minds of good people, bad people, and so-so people, which was most of them. I could sit in lost ships, hover over volcanoes, and sleep in gardens filled with roses and del-icate lilac shadows. That was when I slowly began to turn into my father's worst enemy. […] My father had a white shirt, and I, his life and treasure, stained it with dirt forever.[61]

The tangerine was a round, beautiful thing that made the world perfect, but it is now ruptured, forcing her to look at the complicated networks of race, gender and class that construct an unfair world. The tangerine image is her and her worldview before she understood rationally how the world was made. The breaking of the tangerine in her is the very breaking of her inno-cence and belief in a perfect world, a world where there is love, love for all and everything. The un-ruptured tangerine is the equivalent to the "chora," the "cosmic envelope" even, to recall the concepts used above in relation to *Out of Africa*; it is a metaphor of junction in its own way representing the child's non-individuated ego, when she still saw herself as part of her father, part of his body, part of a wonderful wholesome world. In fact, throughout

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[61]Figueiredo, *Notebook of Colonial Memories*, 65, 67.

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La question des *retornados* dans le débat parlementaire portugais (1975-1976)

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Introduction

Avec l'entrée en vigueur de l'Assemblée Constituante en 1975, à la suite de la Révolution des Œillets, qui mit fin le 25 avril 1974 au régime dictatorial salazariste, le Portugal renoua avec la vie démocratique. Dans un contexte de transition révolutionnaire, caractérisé par une grande instabilité politique, qui culmina lors de deux tentatives de coup d'État, le 11 mars 1975, conduite par le général António de Spínola, et le 25 novembre 1975 par une partie des forces armées liées à l'extrême-gauche,[1] de fortes tensions sociales, ainsi que par une crise économique, le Portugal se trouva confronté à de nombreux défis. Parmi eux se trouvait la question des rapatriés de la décolonisation de l'Afrique sous domination portugaise. Le 25 avril 1974, en sonnant la fin des guerres coloniales, qui avaient éclaté en 1961 en Angola, et qui s'étaient par la suite propagées en Guinée-Bissau et au Mozambique, sonna la fin de l'Empire colonial portugais. Se posa alors la question de la population portugaise qui résidait dans ces territoires.[2] Connus sous le nom de *retornados*, ce furent entre 450 000 et 800 000 individus qui arrivèrent de manière soudaine et

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[1]Nous pouvons également souligner qu'entre le 16 mai 1974, date de l'entrée en fonction du premier Gouvernement Provisoire, et le 23 juillet 1976, date de l'entrée en fonction du premier Gouvernement Constitutionnel, six gouvernements provisoires se succédèrent.

[2]Le Portugal reconnut l'indépendance de la Guinée-Bissau le 10 septembre 1974, le PAIGC (Parti Africain pour l'Indépendance de la Guinée et du Cap Vert, *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*) ayant proclamé l'indépendance le 24 septembre 1973 sans que cela ne soit reconnu par le Portugal. Le Mozambique devint indépendant le 25 juin 1975. L'indépendance de la République Populaire d'Angola fut proclamée par le MPLA (Mouvement Populaire de Libération de l'Angola, *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola*) le 11 novembre 1975, mais le Portugal ne reconnut le nouvel État que le 22 février 1976.

massive au Portugal, à partir d'avril 1974, provenant majoritairement d'Angola et du Mozambique.[3]

Alors que la population *retornada* resta longtemps peu étudiée, le travail du sociologue Rui Pena Pires publié en 1987 restant encore aujourd'hui l'unique ouvrage entièrement consacré à cette question,[4] depuis les années 2000 ce sujet tend à être de plus en plus abordé par l'ensemble des sciences sociales.[5] Au cours de ces dernières années on assista à un intérêt grandissant de la part du monde académique, en témoigne notamment l'existence de deux projets pluridisciplinaires actuellement en cours au sein de l'Université de Coimbra (Centro de Estudos Sociais) et de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Lisbonne (Centro de Estudos Comparatistas) qui abordent la population rapatriée : le projet *Memoirs, Filhos de Império e Pós-Memórias Europeias*,[6] et le projet *Narrativas de Perda, Guerra e Trauma : Memória Cultural e o Fim do Império Português*.[7]

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[3]Les estimations varient selon les auteurs. Selon l'étude de Rui Pena Pires, *Migrações e integração* (Oeiras : Celta Editoria, 2003), 189, 61% de la population rapatriée étaient originaires d'Angola et 34% du Mozambique.

[4]Rui Pena Pires, *Os Retornados, um estudio sociográfico* (Lisboa : Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento, 1987).

[5]Voir notamment : Stephen C. Lubkemann, "The Moral Economy of Portuguese Postcolonial Return," *Diaspora* 11 (2) (2002) : 189-213 ; Stephen C. Lubkemann, "Race, Class, and Kin in the Negociation of 'Internal Strangerhood' among Portuguese Retornados, 1975-2000," dans Andrea L. Smith, ed., *Europe's Invisible Migrants* (Amsterdam : Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 75-93 ; Ricardo E. Ovalle-Bahamón, "The Wrinkles of Decolonization and Nationness : White Angolans as *Retornados* in Portugal," dans Smith, *Europe's Invisible Migrants*, 147-168 ; Nelson Clemente Santos Dias Oliveira, "A integração dos 'retornados' no interior de Portugal : o caso do distrito da Guarda," *VI Congresso Português de Sociologia, Mundos Sociais : Saberes e Práticas* (150) (2008) : 2-17 ; Carolina Peixoto, "A mídia portuguesa e o retorno dos nacionais," *O Cabo dos Trabalhos : Revista Electrónica dos Programas de Mestrado e Doutoramento do CES/ FEUC/ FLUC* 6 (28) (2011) : 1-27. Il est également intéressant de souligner que la question de la population rapatriée est également étudiée par le prisme de la littérature produite par les *retornados*, notamment par Isabel Ferreira Gould, "Mulheres coloniais no novo romance português," *Letras de Hoje. Porto Alegre* 42 (2) (2007) : 65-74 ; Patrícia Martinho Ferreira, "O conceito de 'retornado' e a representação da ex-metrópole em O Retorno e Os Pretos de Pousaflores," *ellipsis* 13 (2015) : 95-120 ; ou encore Irene Marques (voir dans ce volume).

[6]Ce projet donna notamment lieu à la publication d'un ouvrage collectif : António Sousa Ribeiro et Margarida Calafate Ribeiro, eds., *Geometrias da memória : configurações pós-coloniais* (Porto : Edições Afrontamento, 2016) ainsi qu'à diverses journées d'études. Pour plus d'informations : http://memoirs.ces.uc.pt/.

[7]Ce projet donna lieu à une exposition intitulée *Retornar Traços de Memória*, à la publication de Elsa Peralta, Bruno Góis & Joana Oliveira, eds., *Retornar. Traços de memória do fim do*

   S'insérant dans cette nouvelle vague de travaux scientifiques sur les *retornados*, cet article a pour objectif d'analyser la manière dont fut débattu au Parlement portugais l'ensemble des questions liées à l'arrivée et à l'installation au Portugal de la population rapatriée des anciennes colonies portugaises d'Afrique. En nous basant sur les archives de l'Assemblée Constituante (AC) et de l'Assemblée de la République (AR),[8] il s'agira de déterminer si le débat autour de ce phénomène migratoire participa à la cristallisation de la compétition politique, au cours duquel se démarqua un ou plusieurs partis politiques, ou si au contraire, il fut l'occasion d'une convergence des différentes forces politiques présentes au Parlement portugais entre 1975 et 1976.[9]

Répartition des interventions parlementaires portant sur les retornados

En ce qui concerne la répartition par parti politique des interventions portant sur les *retornados*, pour la période incluant l'AC et l'AR, le *Partido Socialista* (PS) se trouve en première position, avec trente-neuf interventions, au-

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Império (Lisboa : Edições 70, 2017), ainsi qu'à une conférence le 27 mars 2018 intitulée "Narrativas de perda, guerra e trauma." Pour plus d'informations : http://tracosdememoria.letras.ulisboa.pt/. Nous pouvons également souligner que l'Université de Genève organisa, les 7 et 8 décembre 2017, un colloque intitulé "Retour d'Afrique : perspectives. Fin d'une culture de colons, lieu(x) de mémoire(s), expérience européenne à partir de la décolonisation portugaise."

   [8]Résultats des élections à l'Assemblée Constituante du 25 avril 1975 : Parti Socialiste (*Partido Socialista*, PS) 37,87%, Parti Populaire Démocratique (*Partido Popular Democrático*, PPD), 26,39%, Parti Communiste Portugais (*Partido Comunista Português*, PCP) 12,46%, Centre Démocratique Social (*Centro Democrático Social*, CDS, situé le plus à droite de l'échiquier politique post-25 avril) 7,61%, Mouvement Démocratique Portugais (*Movimento Democrático Português*, MDP/CDE, allié du PCP) 4,14%, Union Démocratique Populaire (*União Democrática Popular*, UDP, regroupant plusieurs groupes maoïstes) 0,79%, Association de Défense des Intérêts de Macau (*Associação de Defesa dos Interesses de Macau*, ADIM) 0,03%. Résultats des élections à l'Assemblée de la République du 25 avril 1976 : PS 34,89%, PSD (anciennement PPD) 24,35%, CDS 15,98%, PCP 14,39%, UDP 1,67%. Résultats disponibles sur http://eleicoes.cne.pt/.

   [9]Nous avons utilisé les archives parlementaires de l'Assemblée Constituante (AC), dont les sessions se déroulèrent entre le 2 juin 1975 et le 2 avril 1976, et de l'Assemblée de la République (AR), pour une période allant du 2 juin 1976 (date de la première session de cette Assemblée) jusqu'au 30 décembre 1976. Au total nous avons été en mesure de réunir un *corpus* composé de cent-vingt-deux interventions (soixante-deux dans le cadre de l'AC et soixante dans le cadre de l'AR). De ces interventions, trente-trois furent entièrement consacrées aux *retornados* (18 AC, 15 AR) et quatre-vingt-neuf les mentionnèrent (44 AC, 45 AR). Les interventions prises en compte dans cette analyse sont de différentes natures : quatre-vingt-quatre interventions de députés (46 AC, 38 AR), onze interventions de membres du gouvernement (0 AC, 11 AR), dix-huit requêtes (16 AC, 2 AR) et pour finir neuf propositions/projets de lois (0 AC, 9 AR). Disponibles sur : http://debates.parlamento.pt/.

trement dit, près d'un tiers du total des interventions formant notre *corpus* (cent-vingt-deux). Le *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD) / *Partido Social Democrata* (PSD) arrive en deuxième position avec trente-sept interventions. En troisième position se trouve le *Centro Democrático Social* (CDS), avec vingt-six interventions, quand en dernière position se trouve le *Movimento Democrático Português* (MDP) / *Comissão Democrática Eleitoral* (CDE), qui comptabilise deux interventions.[10] En termes d'évolution, dans le cas du PS, on note une augmentation du nombre d'interventions qui aborde ces questions, leur nombre passant de seize durant l'AC à vingt-trois pendant la période de l'AR prise en compte. Cette augmentation peut s'expliquer par le fait que le PS forma le I Gouvernement Constitutionnel (GC) (23 juillet 1976 – 23 janvier 1978), qui fut dirigé par Mário Soares. Dans ce cadre, des membres du gouvernement, dont le Premier ministre lui-même, furent amenés à prendre la parole devant le Parlement sur la question de la population rapatriée. Pendant la période de l'AR qui nous concerne, nous avons comptabilisé dix interventions de ce type, sans lesquelles nous aurions assisté à une légère diminution du nombre d'interventions portant sur les *retornados*. Pour ce qui est du PPD/PSD, l'évolution est plus nette, le nombre d'interventions diminuant fortement, en passant de vingt-six pendant l'AC à onze pour la période de l'AR allant jusqu'à la fin de l'année 1976. Une évolution inverse caractérise le CDS et le *Partido Comunista Português* (PCP). Le nombre des interventions du CDS passa de dix à seize, et celles du PCP passèrent de trois durant l'AC à sept durant l'AR.

Figure 1. Nombre d'interventions portant sur les *retornados* par groupe parlementaire

Groupe parlementaire	AC	AR	AC+AR
PS	16	23	39
PPD/PSD	26	11	37
CDS	10	16	26
PCP	3	7	10
UDP	2	2	4
Indep.	3	1	4
MDP/CDE	2	★	2
Total	62	60	122

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[10]Ce parti politique n'est pas représenté au Parlement durant l'AR.

Il est également pertinent de déterminer quel parti fit le plus grand nombre d'interventions entièrement consacrées aux *retornados*. En prenant en compte ce paramètre, on retrouve le CDS en première position, qui comptabilise un tiers des interventions consacrées aux *retornados*. En deuxième position se trouve le PPD/PSD qui comptabilisa dix interventions, quand le PS consacra entièrement six de ses interventions à la population rapatriée. Alors que le PS et le PPD/PSD sont les deux partis qui firent le plus d'interventions dans lesquelles furent abordées les questions liées aux rapatriés, le nombre des interventions de ces deux partis entièrement consacrées à ces problématiques diminua de moitié entre l'AC et l'AR. Une tendance inverse caractérise le CDS et l'UDP, qui multiplièrent ce type d'interventions. Dans le cas du CDS, ce nombre passa de quatre à sept pendant l'AR, nombre qui représente près de la moitié de la totalité de ce type d'interventions. Pour ce qui est de l'*União Democrática Popular* (UDP), ce nombre passa d'une à deux.

Figure 2.   Nombre d'interventions portant uniquement sur les *retornados* par groupe parlementaire

Groupe parlementaire	*AC*	*AR*	*AC+AR*
CDS	4	7	11
PPD/PSD	7	3	10
PS	4	2	6
UDP	1	2	3
PCP	1	1	2
Indep.	1	0	1
MDP/CDE	0	★	0
Total	18	15	33

Il est important de souligner qu'au sein des trois groupes parlementaires qui abordèrent le plus la question des *retornados*, des députés se distinguèrent. En ce qui concerne le PS, Mário Soares comptabilisa à lui seul six interventions. Cependant, cinq de ces interventions furent proférées en tant que Premier ministre du I GC, une seule ayant été proférée en tant que député socialiste de Lisbonne de l'AC. Pour ce qui est du CDS, trois députés se distinguèrent : Carlos Galvão de Melo, représentant de la circonscription de Viseu, Amaro da Costa, de Porto, et Pinto da Cruz. Ce dernier est un député *retornado* d'Angola, élu de Lisbonne à l'AR. Chacun d'entre eux comptabilisa quatre interventions portant sur la population rapatriée. Enfin, dans le cas

du PPD/PSD, le nombre d'interventions sur les *retornados* par député ne dé-passa jamais le nombre de trois. Ainsi, les députés Mota Pinto, de Coimbra, Ruben Raposo, représentant d'Angra do Heroísmo (Açores), et Amândio de Azevedo,[11] député de Vila Real, furent ceux qui abordèrent le plus ces questions, chacun à trois occasions.

Entre 1975 et 1976, la question des *retornados* fut débattue par l'ensemble des forces politiques représentées au Parlement. Si le Parti Socialiste est le parti politique qui aborda le plus souvent ces problématiques, le CDS se distingua en ayant été le groupe parlementaire qui fit le plus grand nombre d'interventions entièrement dédiées aux *retornados*, nombre qui augmenta nettement durant la période de l'AR ici étudiée, alors que l'on note une claire diminution d'interventions portant sur les rapatriés de la décolonisation de la part des députés du PPD/PSD.

Analyse sémantique

Dans notre *corpus*, composé de cent-vingt-deux interventions, nous avons identifié un total de soixante-quinze expressions utilisées pour désigner la population rapatriée. Parmi elles, trois groupes se distinguent : celles qui contiennent le terme *retornado* ou "retour," celles qui contiennent celui de "personnes déplacées" et celles qui contiennent le terme "réfugié."[12] Au-delà

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[11]Ce député fut nommé en janvier 1976 à la tête du Secrétariat d'État aux *Retornados*, qui avait vu le jour en octobre 1975.

[12]Texte original : "retornado," "retorno," "desalojado" et "refugiado." Ces trois groupes d'expressions représentent 71,7% du nombre total des expressions utilisées pour désigner la population rapatriée. En première position, en termes de fréquence d'utilisation, se trouve le premier groupe qui compte les expressions suivantes : "retornado," "retour," "retour des ex-colonies," "retornados des ex-colonies," "retornados des colonies," "retornados de l'Ou-tre-mer," "retornados d'Afrique," "retornados nationaux," "retornados d'Angola," "vulgai-rement connus comme retornados," "nos retornados nationaux des ex-colonies," "nos frères retornados" et enfin "les travailleurs retornados d'Angola." Texte original : "retorno das ex-colónias," "retornados das ex-colónias," "retornados das colónias," "retornados do Ultramar," "retornados de África," "retornados nacionais," "retornados de Angola," "vul-garmente conhecidos por retornados," "nossos nacionais retornados das ex-colónias," "nos-sos irmãos retornados" et "trabalhadores retornados de Angola." En deuxième position se trouvent les expressions contenant le terme "personne déplacée :" "personnes déplacées d'Angola," "personnes déplacées d'Afrique," "personnes déplacées venues de nos anciennes colonies," "personnes déplacées des ex-colonies," "personnes déplacées de l'ex-Outre-mer" et "déplacés nationaux." Texte original : "desalojados de Angola," "desalojados de África," "desalojados vindos das nossas antigas colónias," "desalojados das ex-colónias," "desalojados do ex-ultramar" et "nacionais desalojados." Enfin, en troisième position se trouvent les ex-pressions contenant le terme "réfugié :" "réfugiés d'Angola," "réfugiés d'Afrique," "réfugiés

de ces trois groupes, un ensemble d'expressions mettant en avant la "portu-
galité" de la population rapatriée fut utilisé. C'est par exemple le cas du fon-
dateur et député du CDS, Victor Sá Machado, député d'Aveiro et né en An-
gola, qui présenta les *retornados* comme étant "des Portugais qui reviennent
à la maison."[13] D'autres expressions contenant les termes "citoyens," "compa-
triotes" ou "fils du Portugal" furent utilisées dans les interventions parle-
mentaires, avec le même objectif : insister sur le fait que les *retornados* fai-
saient partie intégrante de la communauté nationale portugaise.[14]

Si nous regardons ces résultats sur l'ensemble de la période étudiée, on re-
marque une diminution claire, entre l'AC et l'AR, de l'utilisation du terme
retornado.[15] Cependant, il est intéressant de noter que le PS et l'UDP sont les
seuls partis qui utilisent plus ce terme durant l'AR que pendant l'AC. Tous
les autres groupes parlementaires délaissent ce terme, l'exemple le plus no-
table étant celui du PPD/PSD qui n'utilise que quatre fois le terme "*retorna-
do*" durant l'AR, contre trente-quatre fois pendant l'AC.

des ex-colonies," "réfugiés angolais, "réfugiés nationaux," "réfugiés portugais" et "réfugiés
des territoires anciennement administrés par le Portugal." Texte original : "refugiados de
Angola," "refugiados de África," "refugiados das ex-colónias," "refugiados angolanos," "re-
fugiados nacionais," "refugiados portugueses" et "refugiados dos territórios anteriormente
administrados por Portugal."

[13]Session parlementaire du 8 août 1975, *Diário da Assembleia da Constituinte* Número 28,
9 août 1975, 699. Disponible sur : http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r3/dac/01/01/01 /
029/1975-08-08, consulté le 04/07/2016. Texte original : "portugueses que regressam à casa."
Ces expressions sont les suivantes : "Portugais," "Portugais revenus de l'Outre-mer," "Portu-
gais des colonies," "Portugais qui reviennent de nos ex-colonies," "Portugais des ex-
colonies," "Portugais provenant des ex-colonies," "Portugais qui reviennent à la maison,"
"Portugais d'Afrique," "Portugais émigrés en terres angolaises," "Portugais blancs," "ci-
toyens portugais," "Portugais partis d'Angola" et "Portugais qui revinrent d'Outre-mer
chassés de leurs foyers et de leurs fermes." Texte original : "Portugueses," "Portugueses re-
gressados do ultramar," "Portugueses regressados das colónias," "Portugueses que regres-
sam das nossas ex-colónias," "Portugueses das ex-colónias," "Portugueses provenientes das
ex-colónias," "Portugueses que regressam à casa," "Portugueses de África," "Portugueses
emigrados em terras angolanas," "Portugueses brancos," "cidadãos portugueses," "Portu-
gueses saídos de Angola" et "Portugueses que de além-mar regressaram escorraçados de
seus lares e de suas fazendas."

[14]On remarque une nette diminution de l'utilisation de ce genre d'expressions au cours
de l'AR.

[15]Lorsque l'on se place à l'échelle des différents groupes parlementaires, le PS se trouve à
la première place quant à l'utilisation de ce terme, représentant plus de 35% de l'utilisation
totale du terme "*retornado*" pendant la totalité de la période analysée. Il est suivi par le
PPD/PSD, avec plus de 29% de l'utilisation totale. À la troisième place se trouvent le CDS
et l'UDP, comptabilisant chacun plus de 10% de l'utilisation de ce terme.

En parallèle de cette diminution brutale de l'utilisation du terme "*retornado*," on remarque, au cours de l'AR, une augmentation nette de l'utilisation du terme "personne déplacée," qui devint le terme le plus utilisé durant l'AR pour désigner la population rapatriée.[16] Cette augmentation fut également accompagnée par une augmentation claire de l'utilisation d'expressions contenant le terme "réfugié."[17]

Cette évolution sémantique peut s'expliquer par un facteur en particulier. En effet, alors que rapidement après l'arrivée des premiers rapatriés de la décolonisation, les termes "*retornados*" et "retour" furent collectivement adoptés, que ce soit par les Portugais qui furent témoins de ce mouvement migratoire, mais aussi par les autorités portugaises, la preuve étant la création le 31 mars 1975 de l'Institut d'Aide au Retour de Nationaux (IARN),[18] une partie de la population rapatriée refusa et critiqua l'utilisation de cette terminologie. Les rapatriés soulignèrent le fait que pour une partie d'entre eux, née dans les anciennes colonies, il ne s'agissait pas à proprement parler d'un "retour" au Portugal.[19] De plus, le terme "*retornado*" acquit rapidement une connotation négative. Nombreux sont les témoignages d'individus venus des anciennes colonies portugaises qui vont dans ce sens,[20] même si dans certains cas, les rapatriés eux-mêmes utilisèrent ce terme, comme par exemple lorsque fut créé, en octobre 1975, le *Jornal o Retornado*. Les rapatriés

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[16]Le PPD/PSD se trouve en tête (vingt-sept fois, contre six pendant l'AC), suivi par le CDS (vingt-six fois contre aucune pendant l'AC). En troisième position se trouve le PS (vingt-six fois contre deux pendant l'AC).

[17]L'exemple le plus révélateur de cette augmentation étant le CDS, qui durant l'AR utilisa trente-quatre fois ce terme, soit plus de 80% du total des utilisations pendant la même période, contre seulement quatre utilisations durant l'AC. Alors que le PS utilisa également des expressions contenant ce terme pendant l'AR (cinq fois contre aucune pendant l'AC), le PPD/PSD cessa presque totalement d'utiliser dans ses interventions le terme "réfugié" pendant l'AR.

[18]*Instituto de Apoio ao Retorno de Nacionais.* Organisme qui fut spécialement créé en mars 1975 pour traiter de l'ensemble des questions liées à l'arrivée et l'installation des Portugais d'Afrique.

[19]63% de la population rapatriée était née au Portugal. Pires, *Migrações e integração*, 200.

[20]Voir notamment le courrier des lecteurs du *Jornal o Retornado*. Biblioteca Nacional du Portugal J. 3548 V : *Jornal o Retornado*. Voir également Lubkemann, "The Moral Economy," 197-198. Cette idée est également exprimée dans divers romans publiés par des individus provenant des anciennes colonies portugaises. Voir par exemple : Júlio Magalhães, *Os Retornados, um amor nunca se esquece* (Lisboa : A esfera dos Livros, 2011) et Dulce Maria Cardoso, *O Retorno* (Lisboa : Tinta-da-China, 2011).

préfèrent que soient utilisés les termes "personnes déplacées" ou "réfugiés." En ce qui concerne les institutions portugaises, la tendance fut également à l'abandon du terme "*retornado*," pour le remplacer par celui de "personnes déplacées," terme présent dans de nombreux textes législatifs, ainsi que dans le nom de l'organisme créé le 10 septembre 1976 afin d'améliorer la gestion des questions liées à la population rapatriée, le Commissariat aux Personnes Déplacées.[21] À ce titre, le Premier ministre Mário Soares déclara le 2 août 1976 : "Le Gouvernement a adopté le terme de personnes déplacées parce que les personnes déplacées que j'ai entendues par le biais de commissions représentatives, nous dirent qu'elles voulaient bannir de notre vocabulaire le terme de 'retornados', qui s'apparente à un stigmate."[22]

En ce qui concerne l'utilisation du terme "réfugié," ce qui peut expliquer que certains groupes parlementaires n'utilisèrent pas, ou moins, ce terme, réside dans sa définition juridique par la Convention de Genève de 1951. Le texte stipule que le statut de réfugié n'est pas "applicable à une personne considérée par les autorités compétentes du pays dans lequel cette personne a établi sa résidence comme ayant les droits et les obligations attachés à la possession de la nationalité de ce pays."[23] Les populations portugaises qui résidaient dans les anciennes colonies portugaises ayant la nationalité portugaise, le terme de "refugié" n'a donc pas de valeur légale. Cependant, comme le souligne l'anthropologue Elsa Peralta, dans l'utilisation du terme "réfugié," ce n'est pas sa validité légale qui importe, mais la reconnaissance du statut de victime inhérent aux individus désignés comme tels, individus reconnus comme étant des "victimes de guerre et de l'Histoire et, dans ce sens, porteurs d'une souffrance légitime."[24] En choisissant d'utiliser le terme

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[21]*Comissariado aos Desalojados*.

[22]Session parlementaire du 2 août 1976, *Diário da Assembleia da República* Número 17, 3 août 1976, 418. Disponible sur http://debates.parlamento.pt/catalogo/r3/dar/01/01/01/017/1976-08-02, consulté le 05/07/2016. Texte original : "O Governo adoptou a designação de desalojados porque os desalojados ouvidos por mim através de comissões representativas, nos disseram que queriam banir do nosso vocabulário o termo de 'retornados,' que tem algo de estigma."

[23]Convention relative au statut de réfugié, article I (1951). Disponible sur http://www.ohchr.org/FR/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/StatusOfRefugees.aspx, consulté le 09/06/2017.

[24]Elsa Peralta, "Introdução. Retornar, ou traços de memória num tempo presente," dans Peralta, Góis & Oliveira, *Retornar: traços de memória do fim do império*, 36. Texte original : "vítimas da guerra e da história e, nessa medida, portadores de um sofrimento legítimo."

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Le "trabalho escravo" au Brésil à partir des années 1960. Au-delà de la mémoire de l'esclavage: inégalités, droits et citoyenneté périphérique

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Introduction

Phénomène polymorphe devenu progressivement un objectif majeur pour les institutions internationales de développement comme l'Organisation Internationale du Travail (OIT) ou l'Organisation des Nations Unies (ONU), l'esclavage moderne[1] est un des plus importants enjeux du développement et de la politique internationale au 21ème siècle. D'après les statistiques colligées par l'OIT avec la Walk Free Foundation,[2] il génère 150 milliard de dollars de profits annuels illégaux et concerne plus de 25 millions de personnes sur la planète. Après des dénonciations d'organisations non-gouvernementales nationales et internationales, de nombreux pays ont adopté des lois et développé des politiques et/ou des plans d'action pour lutter contre ce phénomène.

Le Brésil est un pays qui illustre bien cette considération politique progressive du phénomène à l'échelle nationale, et s'est très tôt distingué dans la lutte contre l'esclavage moderne : l'ONU le qualifie en 2012 de leader dans le domaine.[3] Cette reconnaissance fait suite à des mesures initiées et conduites pendant les années de gouvernance de l'ancien président de la Ré-

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[1]Pour une approche critique sur l'expression "esclavage moderne" en soi, consulter *Anthropologie et sociétés* 41 (1) 2017, numéro spécial "Situations contemporaines de servitude et d'esclavage," et plus particulièrement Alexis Martig & Francine Saillant, "Présentation. L'esclavage moderne: une question anthropologique," *Anthropologie et sociétés* 41 (1) (2017) : 9-27.

[2]Voir "2017, Global Estimates of Modern Slavery," accessible en ligne: http://www. alliance87.org/2017ge/modernslavery#!section=0, page consultée le 26 avril 2018.

[3]http://www.oit.org.br/node/836, page consultée le 26 avril 2018.

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publique, Luis Inacio Lula Da Silva, prolongées par Dilma Roussef, qu'ont remis en cause les gouvernements de Michel Temer et Jair Bolsonaro.[4] Les années Lula ont ainsi vu se développer des plans d'action et des politiques de lutte contre des situations de travail qualifiées d'esclavage moderne ou plutôt, dans le cas brésilien, légalement qualifiées par le code pénal de "conditions analogues à l'esclavage."[5] Néanmoins, celles-ci sont apparues bien plus tôt, dès les années 1960, et ont été dénoncées depuis le début des années 1970 par l'Église catholique, suivie par la société civile, sous la forme de l'expression maintenant officiellement consacrée de *trabalho escravo*.

L'étude de ce phénomène dans le cas du Brésil revêt une signification tout à fait particulière étant donné qu'il s'agit d'une société post-esclavagiste qui a fait perdurer l'esclavage jusqu'en 1888, et qui n'a pas mis en place de politiques d'insertion des ex-esclaves suite à l'abolition. Dans un contexte social marqué par des revendications de réparations quant à l'esclavage passé,[6] l'usage de cette expression a entrainé des débats chez les historiens au sujet de sa pertinence ou de son anachronisme.[7] De même, la contemporanéité d'une forme de travail non-libre, puisque c'est de cela dont il s'agit, n'est pas sans questionner les théories sociologiques qui postulent que celui-ci est une caractéristique des sociétés traditionnelles précapitalistes : le travail libre étant typique du passage vers des sociétés modernes et capitalistes. Le débat sur la nature hybride ou moderne de la société brésilienne, à l'instar des sociétés latino-américaines ou de nombreuses sociétés périphériques, n'est bien sûr pas nouveau. Cependant, les recherches récentes sur le *trabalho escravo*

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[4]En 2017, le Ministère du Travail avait présenté un décret (No. 1,129 / 2017) visant à redéfinir le "travail esclave" en le limitant à une "restriction de la liberté de mouvement de la victim." Au mois d'octobre 2017, ce décret a été annulé par le Tribunal Fédéral Suprême brésilien.

[5]Voir art. 149 du Code pénal.

[6]À ce sujet lire, entre autres, Francine Saillant, *Le mouvement noir au Brésil (2000-2010). Réparations, droits et citoyenneté* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Harmattan, 2014).

[7]À ce sujet lire Angela Gomes, "Trabalho analogo a de escravo : construindo um problema," *Historia oral* 11 (1-2) (2008): 11-41; Angela Gomes, "Repressão e mudanças no trabalho analogo a de escravo: tempo presente e usos do passado," *Revista brasileira de historia* 32 (62) (2012): 167-184; Eduardo França Paiva, "Travail contraint et esclavage. Utilisation et définitions aux différentes époques," *Cahier d'études africaines* 179-180 (2005): 1123-1141; Alexis Martig, "De l'esclavage comme image et métaphore: enjeux sociaux et moraux de la lutte contre le "travail esclave" au Brésil," dans Francine Saillant & Jorge Santiago, eds., *Cultures et mémoires des Afro-amériques: imaginaires visuels et sonores* (Paris: Editions des Archives Contemporaines, 2015), 175-199.

en particulier, et plus globalement d'autres formes d'esclavage moderne, renouvellent singulièrement ces débats.

En effet, plusieurs travaux ont démontré, dans le cas du *trabalho escravo* comme plus largement, que le travail non-libre n'est pas un héritage précapitaliste. La pratique du *trabalho escravo* rural apparue dans les années soixante est principalement liée au modèle de développement agricole de la grande exploitation tournée vers l'exportation et articulée au capitalisme national comme international.[8] Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une survivance ou d'une continuité précapitaliste héritée du passé esclavagiste de la société brésilienne, mais bien d'une caractéristique moderne de celle-ci. Pour autant, cela ne signifie pas que cette forme d'exploitation ne se comprend pas au regard du passé esclavagiste de la société brésilienne. Comment comprendre les possibilités d'émergence et de pérennisation d'une forme contemporaine de travail non-libre dans une société libérale démocratique et capitaliste, telle que la société brésilienne ? Un tel questionnement revient à interroger la nature des sociétés contemporaines dans lesquelles des citoyens sont exploités sous des formes d'esclavage moderne,[9] ainsi que leurs régimes démocratiques libéraux et l'efficacité de l'égalité affirmée via l'accès à la citoyenneté dans ces sociétés. En ce sens, le cas brésilien est particulièrement intéressant car la majorité des cas observés concernent des migrants nationaux, et pas internationaux, c'est-à-dire des citoyens dont les droits ne sont pas respectés, et ce de manière pérenne depuis au moins cinquante ans malgré une lutte engagée et active de la société civile, puis de l'État, contre le *trabalho escravo*.[10]

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[8]José de Souza Martins, "A reprodução do capital na frente pioneira e o renascimento da escravidão no Brasil," *Tempo social* 6 (1) (1994): 1-25; Alexis Martig, "Domination et servitude dans le Brésil rural contemporain. Le "travail esclave" rural migrant," *Anthropologie et sociétés* 41 (1) (2017): 69-90.

[9]Dans 56 % des cas les personnes sont exploitées dans leur place d'origine ou de residence: International Labour Office, *Profits and Poverty. The Economics of Forced Labour.* (Geneva: ILO, 2014). À ces cas, il faut ajouter tous les cas des migrants nationaux, qui ne rentrent pas dans les statistiques des migrants internationaux.

[10]Il existe différentes formes de *trabalho escravo* au Brésil. Il est important ici de préciser que dans le cadre de cet article ce qui nous intéresse est principalement celui qui touche des citoyens brésiliens, car la question de la reconnaissance des droits liés à la citoyenneté pour des migrants internationaux se pose différemment. Nous nous concentrerons sur le *trabalho escravo* rural, car son analyse nous permettra de tirer des conclusions sur les formes de *trabalho escravo* dans d'autres domaines comme la construction civile…qui touchent principalement la même population: les travailleurs ruraux migrants.

L' objectif de cet article est de présenter le cas brésilien et d'essayer de comprendre les raisons spécifiques qui ont permis de voir émerger et se pérenniser des formes (extrêmes) de travail non-libre dans un contexte démocratique formel à partir d'une analyse des spécificités du processus socio-historique de modernisation de la société brésilienne. Après avoir présenté les travaux actant la nature contemporaine et moderne du phénomène, nous chercherons à comprendre son origine et sa pérennité dans la société démocratique libérale brésilienne. Pour cela, nous ferons appel aux travaux du sociologue Jessé Souza sur les liens entre modernisation périphérique, inégalités sociales et (sous-)citoyenneté.[11] Enfin, nous chercherons à voir dans quelle mesure le cas brésilien est singulier, et si les conclusions au sujet de l'esclavage moderne dans ce pays pourraient être élargies à d'autres sociétés périphériques.

Cette réflexion prolonge des recherches postdoctorales menées pendant plusieurs années au Brésil autour de la lutte sociale contre le "travail esclave" et au cours desquelles j'ai rencontré des travailleurs libérés[12] de situations de "travail esclave," ainsi que des membres d'un des acteurs principaux de la lutte contre ce "travail esclave:" l'Église catholique, à travers la Commission Pastorale de la Terre (CPT).[13] Au cours de ces recherches, mes réflexions se sont organisées autour de trois axes: 1) le recours aux revendications de dignité utilisées par la CPT, et les activités développées en termes de conscientisation et de performativité des droits face à l'absence de revendications de leurs droits par les travailleurs, et à leur sentiment de ne pas être

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[11]Jessé Souza, *A construção social da subcidadania. Para uma Sociologia Política da Modernidade Periférica* (Belo Horizonte : Editora UFMG, 2006).

[12]Dans le cas présent, il s'agit d'une libération indirecte où les contremaîtres ont libéré les travailleurs juste avant l'arrivée de la police pour éviter d'être pris en flagrant délit. Néanmoins, nous parlerons ici de libération, du fait que les travailleurs ne se sont pas littéralement enfuis et que l'action de la police est intervenue à la suite d'une dénonciation de leur part.

[13]Nous remercions les différents organismes qui ont soutenu ces recherches postdoctorales en les rendant possibles à travers leur financement, leur environnement intellectuel ainsi que leurs réseaux : le CELAT, Centre interuniversitaire de recherche Cultures. Arts. Sociétés, la région Rhône-Alpes (France), le Harriet Tubman Institute de York University ainsi que le Fonds Gérard Dion et la Faculté des Sciences Sociales de l'Université Laval. Conduites entre septembre 2012 et avril 2015, ces recherches ont permis la réalisation des 3 publications citées au fil du texte, ainsi que la direction d'un numéro spécial de la revue *Anthropologie et sociétés* : voir note #1.

porteurs légitimes de droits;[14] 2) les dimensions économiques et sociales de l'expérience de la servitude de travailleurs libérés, pour mettre en perspective le *trabalho escravo* avec les différentes formes de dominations et d'exploitation du milieu rural brésilien et contribuer, à partir du cas brésilien, à la réflexion globale autour des formes de domination et de servitude contemporaines qualifiées, à juste titre ou non, d'esclavage;[15] 3) et enfin les enjeux du recours à la mémoire de l'esclavage pour qualifier un phénomène contemporain dans une société post-esclavagiste, en montrant que la métaphore du "travail esclave"[16] est utilisée pour construire un intolérable moral dénonçant la tolérance de la société brésilienne face aux négations des droits des travailleurs ruraux, ce qui peut justement être interprété comme une forme de normalisation des inégalités.[17]

Inscrit directement dans le prolongement de ces réflexions, ce texte s'attache à éclaircir les causes socio-historiques de cette "normalisation" de l'exploitation au travail qui touche certains citoyens de la société démocratique libérale brésilienne. Les travaux de Souza sont ici d'un grand apport pour saisir comment a pu se former un sentiment de déni de dignité envers les travailleurs ruraux, et comment, selon l'auteur, ce sentiment résulte d'un processus de modernisation typiquement périphérique qui s'accompagne de ce qu'on pourrait qualifier de "régimes de citoyenneté" spécifiques.

L'apparition du trabalho escravo *au Brésil*

Dans les années 1960, des journaux brésiliens rapportent des cas de travailleurs ruraux esclavagisés ou transportés et vendus par dizaines dans la campagne brésilienne.[18] Ensuite, dans les années 1970, les premières dénonciations de cas de "*trabalho escravo*" rural sont formulées par l'Église catholique et sa CPT. Ces cas apparaissent principalement en Amazonie suite à l'ouverture de fronts agricoles subventionnés par l'État dans le cadre du plan

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[14]Alexis Martig, "Dignité, luttes sociales et religion au Brésil. Réflexions sur l'actualité de la théologie de la libération," dans Sylvia Mancini et Raphaël Rousseleau, eds., *Processus de légitimation entre politique et religion. Approches historico-culturelles* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2016), 235-251.

[15]Martig, "Domination."

[16]Gomes, "Repressão."

[17]Martig, "De l'esclavage."

[18]Neide Esterci, "Imobilização por divida e formas de dominação no brasil de hoje," *Lusotopie* (1996): 124

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Fluid Identities: Memory, Origin and Movement in Tatiana Levy's *A chave da casa* and Milton Hatoum's *Relato de um certo Oriente*

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CONTEMPORARY BRAZILIAN migration narratives often explore fertile zones for cultural contact while exposing the plasticity, inclusivity and flexibility of individual identity.[1] In this way, these texts may serve as a counter-model for confronting the anxiety and flattening out of subjective experience inherent in globalization discourse, providing readers new strategies for understanding the adaptation and re-territorialization of transnational subjects whose spaces are characterized by variability and movement rather than firm borders. In this article, I examine two migration-themed novels, Tatiana Salem Levy's *A chave de casa*,[2] as well as a Milton Hatoum's *Relato de um certo Oriente*.[3] Despite the time gap in the publications of these two texts, nearly two decades, exploring them in tandem is a fruitful exercise. Indeed, both explore the intersection of human subjects in Brazil and the Middle East: in the case of the Levy text, it is via the contemporary tale of a return home to Turkey for a young Brazilian woman; and in the case of

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[1]Contact zones were first introduced by Mary Louise Pratt in order to define spaces in which: "disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of dominance and subordination like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe" (4). These territories become unique areas of engagement, vantage points from which to observe cultural clashes and examine power hierarchies. See Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[2]Tatiana Salem Levy, *A chave de casa* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2007): for the purposes of this contribution, I am using the 4th edition (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2009).

[3]Milton Hatoum, *Relato de um certo Oriente* (São Paulo: Compania das Letras, 1989).

Hatoum, it is through an examination of a Lebanese family who migrates to Manaus in the middle of the twentieth-century. Given Brazil's substantial population of Arab-Brazilians, exploring literary manifestations of two different migration periods of this vital community is critical. In this article, I discuss how these works provide narrative tactics to aid in the approximation of complex migrant identities, including multi-layered perspectives and dealings with space and time, focusing particularly on feminine spaces. Simultaneously, migration novels offer a unique vantage point from which to engage larger questions on the disjointed or conflictual binational identities of migrants of the second generation, those imbedded in the "life-on-the-hyphen" to borrow from Cuban-American intellectual Gustavo Pérez Firmat.[4]

Brazil has a long-standing tradition of migration narratives, which increased in number following the 1808 opening of Brazilian ports of entry to the non-Lusophone world. Recent fictional writing from authors including Luiz Ruffato,[5] Adriana Lisboa,[6] Oscar Nakasato,[7] and Tatiana Salem Levy,[8] consider migration as a non-linear process, and feature the use of flashbacks, ellipsis, and stream-of-consciousness in order to engage and approximate the fragmented nature of the migrant experience. These works also demonstrate that national identity is often as ambiguous and disparate as the nation itself, with its parameters continuously questioned, extended and redefined. Many lessons can be learned from these texts, particularly as one grapples with larger questions about the global experience: the perceived need for cultural preservation, the local/global divide, and how best to understand the nation-state as it tackles progressively transnational problems.

Indeed, migrant subjects regularly straddle two cultural identities even if the second or third generation no longer holds two passports or moves regu-

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[4]Pérez Firmat writes: "The 1.5 individual is unique in that, unlike younger and older compatriots, he or she may actually find it possible to circulate within and through both the old and the new cultures. While one-and-a-halfers may never feel entirely at ease in either one, they are capable of availing themselves of the resources—linguistic, artistic, commercial—that both cultures have to offer. In some ways, they are both first and second generations." Gustavo Pérez Firmat, *Life on the Hyphen: The Cuban-American Way*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 4.

[5]Luis Ruffato, *Estive em Lisboa e Lembrei de Você* (São Paulo: Companhia Das Letras, 2009).

[6]Adriana Lisboa, *Azul Corvo* (Madrid: Alfaguara, 2010).

[7]Oscar Nakasato, *Nihonjin* (São Paulo: Benvirá, 2012).

[8]Levy, *A chave*.

larly between national spaces, making them a quintessential part of what is termed transnational writing. By pushing traditional borders through their connection with global diasporas and reconstituting linguistic and cultural space in their encounters with local (and at times closed) migrant communities, narratives dealing with migration provide a myriad of well-established tools to examine the vitality and flexibility of national experience. In these novels in particular, the Levy text is concerned with literal travel with forays into memory during the protagonist's journey, whereas Hatoum explores migration from the more fixed standpoint of Manaus, exploring movement through interaction with artifacts, family stories and language. These narratives often prove resilient in the face of the financial or cultural processes of globalization. From an economic perspective, globalization often exposes inequalities between countries on the core and those on the periphery, whose divide has been examined extensively by theorists such as Saskia Sassen[9] and Joseph Stiglitz.[10] Others who look more specifically at the movement of migrant subjects, such as Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, find binary models such as the Global North and the Global South to be reductionist in nature, not allowing for the complexity of exchange evident in transnational and translocal encounters.[11] Indeed, contemporary Brazilian migration narratives often exposes the complex give-and-take of ideas, global goods and commodities in the twenty-first century, particularly as they relate to the informal sectors of the economy, and other areas outside of the traditional apparatus of the state. Luiz Ruffato's *Estive em Lisboa e Lembrei de Você*,[12] for example, examines the range of black market professions occupied by Brazilian migrant workers in Lisbon, from trafficking drugs and passports, to filling undocumented positions in local cafes and restaurants. While the global economic system may not always be directly addressed in migration narratives, these texts highlight the many directions of exchange fundamental to tackling the complexity of our globalized experience. These can be seen in the intricate web of diasporic interactions, or the

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[9]Saskia Sassen, *Globalization and Its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money* (New York: New Press, 1998).

[10]Joseph E Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002).

[11]Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*. Trans: Brian Massumi (London: Continuum, 1987).

[12]Ruffato, *Estive em Lisboa*.

return of migrant populations to their homeland, where subjects swap goods and services, as well as cultural capital. What is clear in these texts is that migratory experiences are inherently multiple and malleable, providing a thought-provoking contrast with the rigidity of the nation-state in its historically imagined form. In order to adapt to their many contexts, migrants of multiple generations and countries of origin use systems of resistance and adaptation, which the literary examples I discuss here illuminate.

I. Fragmentation and Return in A chave de casa

Tatiana Salem Levy's debut novel, *A chave de casa*,[13] takes readers on a journey through the auto-fictive world of a young woman of Jewish-Turkish heritage who travels between Turkey, Portugal, Costa Rica, and Brazil. These are themes familiar to Levy, who works as columnist, writer and translator between Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon. Beyond *A chave de casa*, she has published two other novel, *Dois rios* and *Paraíso*, one children's book, *Tanto Mar*,[14] and several short stories. She has also written two book-length works of literary criticism, *O Mundo não vai acabar* and *A experiênica do fora: Blanchot, Foucault e Deleuze*.[15] As the latter work's title implies, Levy's writing frequently deals with issues of identity and belonging in spaces that one might experience as Other. *A chave de casa* is no exception, as it grapples with the complexities of identity for a young, second-generation woman returning to her country of heritage. Levy has long questioned what it means to be the child of Turkish migrants to Brazil, asking in the introduction to her doctoral thesis: "O que significa ser neta de quatro imigrantes, fazer parte de uma família que ao longo dos séculos teve de deixar sua terra natal inúmeras vezes e procurar em terra estranha algum acolhimento possível? Ou ainda: o que significa crescer entre lembranças de viagens e não conseguir sair do

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[13]*A chave de casa* was a finalist for the 2008 Jabuti Prize and the 2009 Zaffari and Bourbon Award and won the 2009 São Paulo de Literatura Award for best debut novel. The work was originally published in Portugal by Cotovia Publishing Press and has been translated into English, Spanish, French and Turkish.

[14]Tatiana Salem Levy, *Dois Rios* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Record, 2010). Tatiana Salem Levy, *Paraíso* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Foz, 2010); Tatiana Salem Levy, *Tanto Mar* (Rio de Janeiro: Galerinha Record, 2013); Tatiana Salem Levy, *O mundo não vai acabar* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 2017).

[15]Tatiana Salem Levy, *O mundo não vai acabar* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 2017); Tatiana Salem Levy, *A experiênica do fora: Blanchot, Foucault e Deleuze* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011).

lugar?"[16] Mirroring the fragmentation of the displacement Levy describes, the novel is structured as a series of short vignettes, ranging from just a few lines to a couple of pages.

Unlike the micronarratives of her regional counterparts, including Patricio Pron[17] (Argentina), or Roberto Bolaño[18] (Chile), whose work often features vignettes separated by short spaces or an asterisk, each fragment in Levy's novel is allotted an entire page regardless of its length. This deliberate organization assigns value to each vignette, prompting readers to pause between them. The bulk of the novel is a meditation on the protagonist's return to her native Turkey from Brazil armed with the key to her family's home, which her grandfather gives her in the hopes that she might reenter it. The journey is peppered with reflections on her mother's death and an abusive lover she takes prior to embarking on her trip. Levy replicates the splintered memory of her protagonist, which follows its own logic of loose associations, crossing temporal, geographical and thematic boundaries. For example, one fragment is written in the form of a stream-of-consciousness, eliminating punctuation marks and other indicators of completed thoughts, while the next thrusts the reader forward to a scene of clashed cultural norms in Turkey. From there, one might return to the intimate domestic space of her abusive lover or even her mother's deathbed. Indeed, feminine spaces play a vital role throughout. Despite the disorder this literary technique evokes for her readers, Levy's aesthetic is well executed, highlighting the nature of memory, which does not adhere to the rigid boundaries of a linear chronology. Rather, there is an internal rationality to the text, which pauses on moments of emotional significance, while letting months pass without lengthy reflection. Certain scenes are thus stretched out or compressed depending on parameters of affect, rather than adhering to a particular timeline.

Throughout the novel, the protagonist manages to cope with the many challenges of return to Turkey such as straddling languages and cultural

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[16]Jessica Sabrina de Oliveira Meneses, "Memória e escrita: A dupla marca do povo judeu, em *A chave de casa*, de Tatiana Salem Levy," *Revista Vértices* 12 (2012), http://revistas.fflch.usp.br/vertices/issue/view/52.

[17]Patricio Pron, *La vida interior de las plantas de interior* (Barcelona: Literatura Mondadori, 2013).

[18]Roberto Bolaño, *2666* (Barcelona: Editorial Anagrama, 2004).

codes. When arriving there, the complexity of her situation becomes imme-
diately clear at the airport:

> Na minha vez: you need a visa. Como assim? É a lei, portugueses precisam de
> visto. Mas não sou portuguesa, sou brasileira. Não, não sou brasileira, sou turca.
> Meus avós vieram daqui, são todos turcos. Eu também. Veja, não pareço turca?
> Olhe o meu nariz comprido, a minha boca pequena, os meus olhos de azeitona.
> Sou turca.[19]

What is interesting in this interaction is her shifted focus on her Turkish
roots, at the moment in which her cultural authenticity is placed into ques-
tion. Born in Portugal to exiled Turkish parents, and then transported to
Brazil at nine months of age, the protagonist (as well as the author whose
life follows the same trajectory) straddles multiple nationalities and identit-
ies. This interaction returns the reader to the permeability of national be-
longing and to a variety of questions: when does a subject cease to belong to
a particular geographical space? Is it when she relinquishes or fails to hold a
passport? Or perhaps when she fails to be raised in the nation in question?
To what extent does ethnicity define one's national experience in an era
when origins are as malleable and dispersed as national identities? As a hy-
brid subject, the protagonist occupies multiple cultural imaginaries simul-
taneously, ones that she must bend and reconfigure depending on context.
This process is not always undertaken with ease, however, as seen in this ini-
tial point of contact.

Mikhail Bahktin's explorations of heteroglossia, or the coexistence of
multiple linguistic codes in a single utterance or text, is a concept considered
foundational to the understanding of hybridity. Heteroglossia is defined as
the undoing of a single authorial voice in a novelistic work, informing Bahk-
tin's assessments of hybridization and underscoring how two systems of au-
thority can be in conflict with one another in a sole narrative voice.[20]
Nowhere are these tensions and multiple subjectivities more apparent than
in *A chave de casa*, which balances multiple linguistic codes, narrative sub-
jectivities and systems of authority. Its use of language and fragmented per-
spectives challenges the possibility of a singular cultural authority or domin-

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[19]Levy, *A chave*, 25.

[20]Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Austin: University of Texas
Press, 1981).

ant discourse. Beyond simply exposing zones of contact, Levy's protagonist operates between and at times above specific cultural or political boundaries. Despite the young woman's connections to Brazil through her upbringing, there is a sense that no one system she traverses is given preference or authority over another. In her journey, she tries to come to terms with her cultural identity, seen in encounters related to her appearance, her dealings with language, or the history of her family. At times her Turkish heritage stands in conflict with her Brazilian upbringing, as seen in her interactions with other Turks, and later in Portugal, when reconsidering her "Brazilian-ness."

   As she navigates a geographical territory to which she can only claim ethnic heritage, the protagonist asserts her hybrid cultural identity in her various assertions of Turkish-ness. Frequently met with surprise, these declarations often provoke a sense of warmth from fellow Turks, who begin to see signs of her national identity in her physical appearance. In the cab on the way to her hotel, she explains her reason for returning to Turkey, to which her driver responds: "Of course, você tem mesmo cara de turca, a pele morena, o nariz grande. Não sei como não reparei antes."[21] This interaction recalls the nebulousness of national identity, seen in how "knowing" a subject's cultural heritage often aids one in "seeing" it. While there may be certain physical traits that imply a subject's Turkish ancestry, those noted here are particularly ambiguous: dark skin, a large nose. These vague indicators highlight anew the haziness of physical appearance as a marker of ethnicity. At the same time, the protagonist's insistence on her Turkishness also underscores the difficulty of life-on-the-hyphen and her continued desire for cultural belonging within many contexts simultaneously. Her journey back to Turkey becomes a type of second-generation "reterritorialization," to borrow from Deleuze and Guattari,[22] or the reoccupying of a cultural or geographical space formerly abandoned-in this case by her forefathers- a process obliging her to confront just what it is that connects her beyond her familiar heritage.

   One strategy Levy's protagonist engages throughout the novel is imitating or performing local cultural practices, often in feminine spaces. After a day spent in a mosque where she performs her perceived role as a traditional

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[21]Levy, *A chave*, 32.

[22]Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus.*

Turkish female, the protagonist returns to the city, and reflects: "Sinto que há em mim algo muito antigo que começa a renascer."[23] Indeed, there is a perception throughout her time in Turkey that what she is experiencing is in fact the recuperation of something deeply imbedded within her, rather than the adoption of an entirely new cultural trait. One of the scenes in which this is perhaps most poignantly explored in the novel is when the protagonist enters a Turkish bath, proceeding through all of the steps of the ritual of bathing with a partner. Cognizant of her own 'Otherness,' she enters the bathhouse with an awareness of her surroundings and how the women perceive her: "me devoram com o olhar."[24] Her Turkish bathing partner, Sahim, with whom she undertakes each step does not share the same cultural background, and the protagonist notes that in their initial encounter there is a "falta de jeito".[25] Interestingly, the feminine spaces of the bath are frequently communal in nature, contrasted with the sense of isolation the young woman feels as a second-generation Turk. As the steps are completed, however, the distance between them, both physical and cultural begins to diminish. Slowly, her hesitation also subsides: "até achei agradável a sensação provocada pelo sabão,"[26] and she eventually submits herself to the process, "Então, decidi terminar o embate."[27] Once surrendered to the ritual, she carefully begins to reproduce the movements of the other women, following their lead, despite some initial trepidation: "Imitei-as com esmero. De repenta, uma delas veio até mim, me entregou sua luva e pediu que esfragasse suas costas. Tremi: não tinha a menor ideia de como fazer aquilo. Tenha medo, só."[28] Swapping the passive role of bath recipient for that of an active caregiver, her mirroring of them has a deeply therapeutic effect, allowing her to perform an identity. This is seen most poignantly towards the end of the fragment when she returns to her partner, Sahim, and tells her story of return to Turkey. In this feminine space, the young woman feels at ease sharing information on her identity struggles. Afterward, Sahim massages her with increasing intensity, which she interprets as intentional: "Depois de eu ter contado os motivos de estar na Turquia, ela intensificou ainda mais a

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[23]Levy, *A chave*, 40.

[24]Levy, *A chave*, 67.

[25]Levy, *A chave*, 67.

[26]Levy, *A chave*, 67.

[27]Levy, *A chave*, 68.

[28]Levy, *A chave*, 68.

massagem, feito para fazer a sua parte na tentativa de me desvencilhar do passado."[29] Rupturing from or reconciling the past and integrating into the dominant local culture is never a complete process, but rather a continuum, with many digressions and points of disjuncture. With that said, the ability to confront and sustain complex identities through maintaining hybrid spaces or performing cultural practices of the country of "origin" is testimony to the chameleon-like nature of many migratory experiences. The nuance of this subset of literature stems from the migrant's ability to adapt or to change while finding moments of solace in the in-between, rather than striving towards a singular, or 'pure' cultural identity. These moments of solace may not represent a state of complete belonging, but they do constitute one of feeling increasingly at ease with the complexities of the migrant identity.

Although cultural differences and identity reconciliation certainly come to the forefront, *A chave de casa* treats physical location with remarkable porosity. Because the protagonist's journey is nonlinear and interwoven with fragments from the past, the binary between country of origin and country of residence breaks down, obliging the reader to question the function of borders in the face of subjective memory. Though she expresses an allegiance to Brazil based upon her upbringing, the narrator's journey is marked by a trend of movement similar to that of her grandparents and parents. When talking about the family's experience as Jewish-Turkish exiles, the young woman's mother emphasizes the many places they have traveled and the precariousness of that process: "Viajávamos sempre: Paris, Florença, Madrid, Atenas, Kiev. Sim, é verdade, a incerteza em relação ao futuro às vezes pesava: será que voltaremos um dia? ... E, no fundo, sabíamos que a situaçao no Brasil mudaria, só não sabíamos quando."[30] Rather than being born into a kin with deep roots in Brazil, the family's historical imaginary, similar to many with Jewish heritage, is marked by dislocation, displacement, and change, contributing to a sense of continuous movement for the young woman. Instead of portraying displacement as a strictly alienating experience, however, Levy's novel shows that travel and changing physical locale can help one distance oneself from the burden of nationalism and place-bound memories.

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[29]Levy, *A chave*, 69.

[30]Levy, *A chave*, 18.

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