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Migration and Exile

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Fernando Lemos, *Cada vez somos mais...*, 1978. Litography (85 x 47 cm). Artist's Collection.



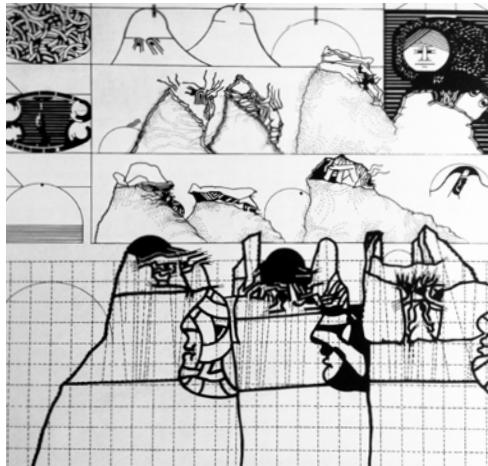
"Progress For Women Is Progress For Everyone" & "We Are All Immigrants", signs at the May Day Immigration Rights Rally (Washington, DC) by takomabibelot or Jim Kuhn.



Family of ruthenian colonists in Prudentópolis (PR), in the beginning of the 20th century. Collection of the Millennium Museum - Prudentópolis.



Fernando Lemos, *Desenho*, 1955 . Ink on paper (63,2 x 44cm) The Museum of Contemporary Art, University of São Paulo collection



Fernando Lemos, *Sem título*, 1984.
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In and Around Life

Biopolitics in the Tropics

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Abstract

This article is a reflection on the concepts of biopower and biopolitics. Mapping some of the main approaches to this topic, the paper highlights a tension between policies that seek to encourage and potentialize life and individuals excluded and left to die. The article involves two main concerns: one that questions the existence of biopolitical frameworks that end up producing bodies and subjectivities as mere fruits of the exercise of power and control, and, thus, are circumscribed by them; and another that questions how to read this scenario in the tropics. While contemplating these concerns, the text then reflects on the possible limits and potentialities of this conceptual framework.

Resumo

Este artigo busca refletir sobre os conceitos de biopoder e biopolítica. Mapeando algumas das principais abordagens sobre o tema, o texto destaca uma tensão entre políticas que incentivam e buscam potencializar a vida e pessoas excluídas e deixadas para morrer. O artigo se volta então para dois tipos de inquietações: uma que indaga sobre a existência de quadros biopolíticos que acabariam por produzir corpos e subjetividades meramente como frutos de exercícios de poder e de controle, sendo, por conseguinte, a eles circunscritos; outra que pergunta de que maneira ler essa história nos trópicos. Em seguida, pensando nessas inquietações, o texto reflete sobre os possíveis limites e as potencialidades desse quadro conceitual.

In and Around Life

Biopolitics in the Tropics

Pedro Paulo Gomes Pereira
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For Otávio Velho

In the last chapter of “*La Volonté de Savoir*” (*The Will to Knowledge*, 1978) Michel Foucault speaks about an era in which death no longer bludgeons life. The “threshold of biological modernity,” he said, lies exactly where life enters history, ushering in “the era of biopower” (p. 140). Foucault describes modernity within the inseparability of biological life and political life – politics directed towards the government of life. Following the connotations conferred by Foucault, the concepts of biopower and biopolitics have become central in the social sciences and humanities; for some though, addressing them has become the most urgent challenge of contemporary thought.

Initially, I will seek to map some of the principal formulations of biopower and biopolitics, without attempting to be exhaustive, a position justified by the large number of commentators on the subject, including Lazzarato (2000), Fassin (2000, 2006a, 2006b), Pelbart (2003), Lemke (2011). Then I will turn to two essential concerns: one that inquires about the existence of biopolitical frameworks that end up producing bodies and subjectivities as mere fruits of the exercise of power and control and, thus, are circumscribed by them; and the other that asks how we should read this scenario in the tropics. While contemplating these concerns, the text reflects on the possible limits and potentialities of this conceptual framework.

Make live and let die

Michel Foucault outlined the main contours of the discussion concerning biopower and established a new way to theoretically explore the tension

between make live and let die (Lemke, 2011). Chronicling the unusual appearance of sex as a founder of identity and hence the intelligibility of the modern individual, Foucault (1978) argues that power, which once struggled to avoid death, begins to focus on the production, regulation and maintenance of life. A productive power emerged that simultaneously controlled and generated that which it regimented. Thus, the power of death related to sovereign power was concealed by the administration of bodies and by the calculative management of life. Mechanisms of power that would eventually be directed toward the body and life, involving everything that helps proliferate and strengthen the species. The concept of biopower marks the moment in which power begins to invest in life. This process occurs through an anatomo-politics of the human body (maximizing its strengths to integrate it into efficient systems) and a biopolitics of the population, focused on the species body. A body that is imbued with the mechanisms of life: birth, morbidity, mortality, longevity, among others (Foucault, 2003 and 2008).¹ The importance given to health, demographic and urban policies in the eighteenth century is the first step towards a biopolitical characterization that penetrates the social spheres, through a process of the “governmentalization” of life.² – a process that extends from pastoral power to its confession techniques; from the reasons of State, to the knowledges of the police. Thus, biopower is a relatively streamlined set of actions developed by authorities to intervene in the sphere of human vitality: birth, development, disease and death. Life, then, assumes strategic importance.

Notwithstanding this history of a modernity that moves away from death and that ruptures with the era of epidemics, Foucault still alerts us to the existence of death practices patrolling this very modernity. Everything occurs

¹ In his book *Society Must Be Defended* (*Il Faut Défendre La Société*), in which he imagines a succession of knowledge-power regimes, Foucault (2003, p. 243) stated, “After the anatomo-politics of the human body, established in the course of the eighteenth century, we have, at the end of that century, the emergence of something that is no longer an anatomo-politics the human body, but what I would call a ‘biopolitics’ of the human race.” For Foucault, the power that emerged was not directed at the individual body, but at the “total mass” affected by the processes of life (birth, death, illness). Biopolitics deals with the population as a political problem and addresses the biological processes of the man-species, seeking to secure over these not discipline, but regulation (Foucault, 2003, pp. 239-264).

² Governmentality is the object of studying forms of government. Foucault intended to encompass several dimensions of the modes of governing: the set of institutions, processes, analyzes, calculations and tactics that permit the exercise of power over the population, the tendency to manage the predominance of this type of power; a process that leads from a legal and administrative status to a state of population control and security (Castro, 2009, p.188-193). Regarding the concept, see Gordon (1991), Mallette (2006), Rabinow (1999b), Rabinow & Dreyfus (1995) and Dean (1999).

as if the proliferation of forms of control and the maintenance of life are simultaneous to the processes of exclusion, of the creation of abject others, and even of attempts to extirpate parts considered undesirable. Thus it is an ambiguous movement: a juncture in a life that must be protected at all costs, the invention of others that threaten life, and the emergence of lives that do not deserve to be lived. Thus we live in a time when there is overvaluation and protection of life, while at the same time there are areas where people are left to die. Thinking on a global scale, it is interesting to recall that together with the growth in health policies, mass vaccination, innovations in science that provide people with quality of life and health, over the last few decades, we have endured conflicts such as Rwanda, Yugoslavia, Liberia and Sudan. The 1990s have come to be known as the decade of large-scale violence, characterized by an excess of anger that produced a creativity of degradation and violation: bodies maimed and tortured, people burned and raped, women disembowelled, children mutilated, sexual humiliation of all types, as Arjun Appadurai (2009) warned us.

Biopolitics, thus, presents irreconcilable aspects: it either produces subjectivities or death; it either turns the subject into its own object or the objective, it is either life politics or politics concerning life (Esposito, 2004). This “ineffability”, as Esposito would have it, led theoreticians to diverse pathways, either signalling that nowadays the concept of biopower signifies its productive character, or highlighting that one of the principal characteristics of contemporary biopolitics is the production of the *homo sacer*. Perhaps it is this tension in and around life that proportions such distinct positions as those observed in the formulations of Agamben (2004a and 2004b) and the criticisms of these formulated by Rabinow and Rose (2006).

The concept of biopower in dispute

Agamben argues for a close relationship between the three figures he considers central: sovereign power, *homo sacer* and the state of exception. Sovereign power establishes the limits between life that deserves to be protected and that which can be killed; life enters the political game, sheltered and empowered, or simply exterminated. The sovereign is simultaneously both within and outside the legal system, since it has the capacity to establish the state of exception. *Homo sacer* – the individual who can be killed without this death

constituting a crime or a sacrifice – emerges from the inversion of the sovereign figure. This relationship between sovereignty, the state of exception and *homo sacer* is the very foundation of the organization of bodies in the West.

The most striking feature of modern life, for Agamben, is that the state of exception is increasingly becoming the rule, making the line that delimits the border between life worth living – and that, therefore, should be protected and encouraged – and bare life, with no guarantees and exposed to death, tenuous and unstable. Unlike Foucault, Agamben affirms that biopolitics did not emerge with modernity, rather it is at least as old as sovereign exception, given that since then, biological life has been placed at the centre of its calculations. The modern State merely clarifies the link between power and bare life, since biopolitics has existed since humans separated themselves from the animals and since biological life extended to political life (Fassin, 2006b). Agamben shows that the core of biopolitics is the distinction between *zoe*, the simple fact of life common to all living beings – biological life – and *bios*, a way of living inherent to an individual or group, in which humans segregate themselves from animals, often qualified as political life. The dualism between *zoe* and *bios* form the fundamental categorical pair of Western politics. A characteristic of modernity is the growing confusion between *zoe* and *bios*.³

If Agamben defines the basis of the relationship between sovereign, *homo sacer* and the capacity of the former to institute the state of exception, Rabinow and Rose (2006) argue that these are extraordinary times, and the fundamental characteristic for defining biopower cannot be determined in the present. Indeed, biopower in contemporary States specifies a relationship between the power to make live and let die; what distinguishes and defines it are “strategies to govern life.” In an attempt to map these strategies, Rabinow and Rose highlight the following dimensions: the appearance of new modes of individualization and conceptions of autonomy associated with the right to health, life, liberty and the possession of forms of happiness (understood in bodily and vital terms), the emergence of new types of patient groups and individuals who define their citizenry in terms of their rights; the outbreak of new circuits of bioeconomy; large-scale capitalization of bioscience and a mobilization of its elements into new relationships of exchange, establishing constitutive connections between life, truth and value.

³ For a critical reading of the work of Agamben, see Lemke (2011).

With these dimensions in mind, Rabinow and Rose define biopower as truth discourses concerning the vital nature of human beings; a set of authorities considered competent to speak that truth; strategies of intervention in collective existence in the name of life and health; modes of subjectivation, in which individuals act on themselves in the name of life or individual or collective health. Rabinow and Rose show us the emergence of biosocialities, new forms of subjectivation, or how science can potentialize life.

In a book on the “The Politics of Life Itself,” Nikolas Rose (2007) defines biopolitics as strategies specifically related to human vitality, morbidity and mortality; the ways in which authorities and interventions are established that are defined and legitimized as the most effective and appropriate. For Rose, biopolitics is currently related to the work of biotechnology laboratories in the creation of new phenomena (and pathologies), to the computational power of devices that link clinical histories with genomic sequences, to the marketing powers of pharmaceutical companies, to the regulatory strategies of research, bioethics, and drugs and food surveillance committees, and to the pursuit of profits involving all of these.⁴

Regardless of these differences, it should be emphasized that a reading of biopower focused only on the potentialities of science, which is not supplemented by other attentive readings of forms of governing life over bodies (Fassin, 2000), can omit frameworks like those I came across in my ethnography. Moreover, there are many moments in which science is called to sustain that which is a biologically better life and how to make it more powerful – a process that makes one life more powerful, but that can be consubstantial with death for lives considered biologically worse (Foucault, 2003). The complexity of the politicization of life and the tension between make live and let die can be accompanied by the quantity and variety of theoretical approaches, which range from, as Fassin duly pointed out (2006a, p.40), the horizon of the laboratory and bioinformatics, clinical immunology and genetic sequencing, assisted reproduction and cancer therapy, studied by Rabinow (1999), Napier (2003), Rapp (2000) and Löwy (1996), to camps of refugees and deportees, to social protection and to welfare programs, as analyzed by Agamben (2004a), Bauman (1998), Malkki (1995) and Agier (2002).

⁴ Rose (2007) closely examines two crucial dimensions of contemporary biopolitics: the biological molecularization of human phenomena, and the centrality of the idea of vitality.

Given this context, how do we perceive situations like those I studied? Is a definition of biopower that obscures moments in which parts considered abject are relegated to death even possible? Is there a way to elude the tension that I perceived in my ethnography which placed that which is the most modern form of prevention and maintenance of life next to people who perceived themselves as the “junk of the world” (Pereira, 2001, 2004, 2008) and for whom health policies have no effect? How can we escape the antinomy that places life that is protected beside excluded lives that circulate around death?

Immunization paradigm

The AIDS epidemic brought significant changes in social relations, in forms of perceiving social differences, in the conceptions of health and illness, making us understand how a virus can transform society. The fear of contagion and the millennial terror of epidemics have intensified. The concept of miasma provided the conditions for the interruption of exchanges, because the metaphor of contagion – which is a trope of circulation – revives aseptic ideals that seek the symbolic cutting of one individual from another in an attempt to avoid possible contamination. The psychic trauma arising from pestilence and epidemics, reactivated by AIDS, encountered the potentially guilty and intensified the need to avoid proximity with likely sources of infection. The operation of locating the contamination in the “other” accrues mainly from the quest to understand the epidemic and to identify the contaminators. The deviant behaviour of the “other” makes the contagion intelligible, providing safety and distance from which to confront the trauma of the AIDS pandemic (Pereira, 2004).

Responses to the epidemic were diverse and it would be extremely simplistic to reduce a complex scenario of State policies, the emergence of laws and norms and the mobilization of civil society in the fight against AIDS to a manifestation of aseptic ideals or fear of contagion (Bastos, 1999). However, there is no way to avoid these aspects, which are embedded in the wider context of biopolitical devices, especially in scenarios like that of Brazil.

AIDS has mainly victimized the disadvantaged sectors of Brazilian society. Structures of inequality and social oppression have been exploited

to leave millions of people in situations of acute vulnerability.⁵ In Brasilia, for example, someone in this situation is referred to the shelter where I developed my research, which I will describe more fully in the next section. In my ethnography (2004), I was able to narrate how the symbolic cut occasioned by the advent of AIDS and extreme poverty drove nearly two hundred people to a process of social asepsis that removes the impure and undesirable parts, making it possible to group the homeless and those who roamed hospital corridors, health services, prisons and other correctional facilities, in one institution.

The centrality of notions like contagion and immunization in understanding the AIDS epidemic in Brazil is what led me to the work of Esposito (1998, 2002 and 2004), which continues to reflect on the “enigma of biopolitics.”⁶ According to the author, we live moments of immediate superposition between politics and *bios* that form a double movement: the politicization of life and the biologization of politics – a process that places life at the centre of the political game, but produces thanatopolitics. Esposito reminds us, for instance, that it was Foucault who asked the question, “Why does a political life threaten to translate into a death practice?” To try to answer this enigma, Esposito formulated the idea of the “immunization paradigm”: a tendency to protect life from risks implicit in the relations between men and women, to the detriment of the extinction of community ties. To defend preemptively against contagion, a portion of evil is injected into the body that you want to protect.

The invasive circumstances of contagion entreat measures of immunization. This configuration forms a key device of modernity: there are risks that must be identified so that protection measures can be developed, such as immunization. Esposito argues that if immunization is common to all eras and societies, only modernity institutes it as structure, establishing the immunization paradigm as central. The immunization device operates on the assumption of confronting the existence of evil and ends, in this movement, by reproducing the very evil that it aims to prevent. In social immunization,

⁵ See Biehl (2005, 2007). João Biehl addresses similar themes to those I have been developing in this article. Among the differences in approach, perhaps the main one is my appropriation of the theory of coloniality in thinking on biopower and biopolitics in the tropics – a question that I intend to develop at another time.

⁶ The journal *Diacritics* devoted a special issue to Esposito (v. 36, no. 2, 2006), with articles that provide an overview of the Italian philosopher’s work, that has hardly been explored in Brazil.

life is guarded in a way that may even deny the possibility of its existence (Campbell, 2006; Castiel, 2010).

The nucleus of Esposito's proposal approximates, for example, that which I recorded in my ethnography: terror contemplated as the interruption of exchanges, the centrality of the fear of contagion in everyday life, the feeling of the impossibility of relationships, occasioned by a certain type of social asepsis, risk as a habitual language (Pereira, 2004); and ultimately, the use of terms such as terror, fear, dread, misgiving as a language of affections to discourse on the impossibility of creating ties and the rupture of exchanges. The fear of contagion segregates, in various spheres, including in hospitals, and the segregation is constituted as terrifying. The differences between what I described and the formulations of the author of *Bios* are numerous; however, the main issue resides in the mode of perceiving biopolitics: while Esposito speaks of an immunization paradigm, i.e. some sort of universal claim, my aspiration was merely to register a grammar that related the interruption of exchanges to a language of affections. Furthermore, I endeavoured to understand what emerged from this tension between the absence of the State, on the one hand, and the medical-therapeutic actions for AIDS patients, on the other.

The theories mapped in this text formulated proposals that when solicited to focus on the reality I had tried to describe and analyze in previous works (Pereira, 2003, 2004, 2008), produced a certain dissonance. This situation generated concerns on which I intend to dwell, albeit briefly, and with no intention of exhausting the issues: 1) the first concerns the idea of a biopower that is exercised over agents, inciting and controlling them in all spheres, i.e. the presupposition of power transcendently acting on overly standardized beings who are perceived homogeneously; 2) the second is related to notions of modernity that are inferred from the authors previously mentioned, as well as possible ways of reading, here in the tropics, this scenario of a time when death begins no longer to bludgeon life.

Wanderings

In 1998 and 1999, I conducted an ethnography in a shelter for AIDS patients in which ex-prisoners, ex-prostitutes, homeless people, transvestites, people abandoned or evicted from their homes, users of injected drugs and alcoholics

lived in a situation of confinement. Throughout the fieldwork, I repeatedly heard the term “terror”: the internees were referring to the life they led between the shelter that received them and the hospitals; even while discussing their illnesses, they repeatedly and insistently used the term and the semantic field that it evoked. The narratives of the internees consisted of enunciates that composed a picture of isolation, loneliness and lack of communication. I suggested in my ethnography (Pereira, 2004) that terror presented itself to internees as a systematic form of the breaking of relationships of gifting: the impossibility of creating ties, due to the disruption of gifting situations, especially in people who needed these ties to survive, evoked a state of stupor. It was the extreme ruptures in these kinds of relationships that could be characterized as one of the most prominent faces of suffering and terror.

I examined the processes through which terror was inscribed on the bodies, and became aware of the consciousness of these internees, occluding the horizon of meaning around them. I sought to present the strategies and methods of discipline used by the authorities in the institution,⁷ placing the focus of exposure on the description and analysis of the bodily manipulation of the internees, and on the examination of discourses in which the constant theme was the imminence of death. The internees presented no forms of resistance regarding the cure, and the medicine and health services produced a field of amplified suffering. This plot ultimately formed a space of suffering, in which everyone was inserted – patients, institution authorities and health professionals.

I also accompanied these internees in their itineraries around hospitals and health services, particularly at the University Hospital of Brasília (HUB). In the hospital environment, I came face to face with public policies directed towards the epidemic, which comprised knowledge of prevention practices, involved the etiology of the disease and drug therapies and culminated in the general dynamics of the epidemic. It was this experience that brought me closer to the structure and methods of the “fight against AIDS” in the country and made me aware of the history of this disease.

If along the Esplanade of Ministries, public policies against AIDS in Brazil were being planned, and if in the city centre, health professionals handled sophisticated forms of management and drug distribution, on the

⁷ I use the terms refuge, shelter and institution interchangeably because these are the expressions most commonly used by my interlocutors (Pereira, 2004).

outskirts, on a farmstead on the margins of a satellite town of Brasilia, lived people for whom the policies had no effect. They were individuals living with HIV whose disease received no follow-up and who survived without assistance or direct intervention from the State. The struggle for forms of protection against the epidemic, policies to prevent contamination, actions in favour of life, like those declared in hospitals and divulged by public policies, stumbled across people excluded and relegated to death.

This abandonment and the exclusion proceedings were perpetrated concomitantly with the actions of State, which formulated and orchestrated preventive practices, adherence to antiretroviral treatment and free medication distribution. The existence of a refuge like this demonstrates that there is a zone where public policy is unable to enter or simply has no effect. When faced with the incapacity of reasonable therapeutic practices for ‘those people’, a doctor once told me: “Since reality cannot be changed, it’s about saving those who can be saved, or taking care of those who can be cared for.” Efforts directed towards ‘those people’ were useless. Not that treatment was refused the internees of the shelter, indeed, they roamed the health services of the Federal District, but, it was known that “they don’t adopt care practices or adhere to the treatments.” Therefore, “nothing can be done.” “They are there to die,” pronounced many health professionals, using a phrase I heard endlessly for more than two years. Performatizing a tension between making live and letting die, prevention policies, medications and forms of management sat side by side with people for whom such measures and actions never arrived, left to fend for themselves in a shelter for AIDS patients.

As I mentioned above, one of the concerns refers to the design of bio-political frameworks that involve all relationships and control everything. Such a view ends up preventing an approximation to the complexity of the lived experience itself. Thus, a homogenization of the variation in individuals occurs, a product of certain design strategies that are merely an exercise of power and control, and which ignore the complexity and historicity of the agents. At least that was what I learned from Eduardo, one of my interlocutors. I want to talk a bit about him, of how I found him in a shelter for AIDS patients and our unexpected meeting not long after my fieldwork ended.

Eduardo told me his story as an internee of the refuge where I did my fieldwork. He was a puny man of 35, with light-coloured eyes, who had

travelled around Brazil, passing through several cities until he arrived at Brasilia. Born in Praia Grande, on the coast of the State of São Paulo, he was raised on the streets, in an unusual situation: he was kidnapped by his father when he was six. His father intended to use him to beg on the streets, because Eduardo was beautiful and had light-coloured eyes, features that facilitated this activity. Moreover, the father taught him petty theft. For six years he travelled around cities and only at the age of twelve did he return to live with his mother in São Paulo.

She put Eduardo in school and started to impose hygiene practices and rigid rules of behaviour. He, did not adapt, however, and returned to live on the streets when he was about 17 years-old. He told me once peremptorily, “That life was not for me.” The mismatch caused constant running away, until he decided not to return. Eduardo described an itinerant life: moving from town to town, roaming the streets, “wandering erringly in the great big world of my God.” And it was during this walking that he became infected with HIV; a contamination he attributed to roadside cabarets and the use of injected drugs. The contours of his life were described at the time as “vagrancy”: as a perennial meandering, enveloped in excesses and errors.

The infirmity eventually weakened him. When I first met him, he was unable to walk, was half his normal weight, a condition aggravated by various opportunistic infections, including tuberculosis that he had contracted at the time. It was as the “junk of the world” that he introduced himself. “I’m the leftovers,” he told me several times, underlining what seemed to be his definition: “human leftovers.” In this same conversation, he insisted on telling me the dramatic story of his first night at the shelter that housed him: other internees eventually made him sleep outdoors, fearful of being contaminated with tuberculosis. He had often slept in the open, but to imagine that his illness and his ailing body would cause so much horror? “I am what the rejects reject,” he concluded.

The story of Eduardo – much more complex than I could hope to describe here – narrates something about exclusion and about intimate relationships between contagion and isolation that enabled his life and practices of exchange (of bodies, fluids) to be transformed into the condition of segregation and distance. Trying to understand biopolitics today involves understanding what processes construct a shelter for AIDS patients like the one that I studied and that enable a story like Eduardo’s. What does it mean to understand

how a country that stands out in the fight against AIDS (public policy, technology, universal and free distribution of antiretroviral drugs, spectacular international fights to break patents, among others) creates these abject others, who see themselves as the “junk of the world.”

However, this is not the entire story of Eduardo. One year after the end of my fieldwork, I bumped into him at the door of the HUB. Although he was in a hurry, I asked him to talk with me. He wove brief remarks concerning the people I had met and with whom I had lived during my research and offered information concerning the progress of the institution that had housed him. That's when I realized that we were walking, away from the hospital, and already crossing the street, toward the blocks of the North Wing. There, an unusual itinerary began, that I had been unable, for various reasons, to follow until then. This itinerary allowed me to perceive dimensions that were unachievable in research focused on institutions (in the refuge or hospitals), like the one I had conducted.

That day, Eduardo walked the streets with resourceful assurance. He obtained money for his immediate needs: asking for money on the street, in bars, at the bakery, modifying his body posture accordingly. Immediately, he acquired a circumspect tone, returning to a peaceful countenance when speaking with me. He knew restaurateurs and, as time passed, he “hustled” two “takeaways,” which were our lunch. He recognized the grammar of the city, walking fluidly in the “between-blocks” of Brasilia, inventing pathways. He wielded a vocabulary of slang with which he developed communication so rapidly and specifically that I got lost in their modulations. And so I spent the day walking through the North Wing, in a sense, cutting it diagonally.

Whoever observed Eduardo on that walk, along that crooked itinerary, could see a “bare life,” relegated to its own devices. But he, despite the penury, was more. Eduardo had found an *“in-between”* that my ethnography, I repeat, concentrated on institutions, could not follow. This invention of a possible precarious *in-between* allowed him to slip away, slide down, seep out. In these itineraries, Eduardo was not just the target of drug therapies, nor exclusively the object of a medical power that controlled everything, nor was he only the “junk of the world” dumped in a shelter for AIDS patients, nor only a denuded life exhibiting its precariousness and irrelevance in a social landscape already overly saturated, much less the simple product of an immunization system that wanted to prevent the contamination and

pollution of abject beings. Perhaps, since he was all of this, he was *more*. A *more* that made him escape that day, conforming to my last image of him: walking the streets, wandering in his intricate and unpredictable itinerary. “Where are you going Eduardo?” I asked. “I’m going where my legs will take me, wandering erringly through this great big world of my God,” he repeated. And smiled.

“The crossing is dangerous,” said Guimarães Rosa, “but it is life.” Ha, it is life, Eduardo seems to teach us, that is crossing, unable to cling exclusively to the powers that conform to it, to the biopolitics that want to achieve everything. Eduardo makes up a crossing with its dangers, uncertainties, escapes, flights, vacillations; in his wanderings. The terms used by him – and by many of my interlocutors⁸ – are significant: go astray, vagrancy, flee, escape and err. If the language of affections was used to describe how AIDS patients are transformed into the “junk of the world,” as I have shown in my ethnography (Pereira, 2004), the terms used to describe these moments of *in-between*, moments of wandering, are those of displacement, of movement. Taking this semantic field seriously could lead us to conclude that subjectivities are also located in that which exceeds and escapes the norms, and that even under the action of biopowers over bodies and souls, something always slips, seeps and escapes.

Modernities

The theories on biopolitics alluded to in this text appear to revolve around the definition of modernity. As we have seen, if Foucault (1978, 2003 and 2008) thinks modernity is linked to the entrance of life in history, for Agamben (2004a and 2004b), modern biopolitics does not arise with modernity, since the modern state only elucidates and highlights the link between power and bare life; the most striking feature of modern life is that the state of exception is becoming the rule. Esposito (1998, 2002 and 2004), in turn, argues that it is precisely in modernity that the immunization paradigm is established as structure. The discussion of biopower and biopolitics is therefore consubstantial with the understanding of what modernity is.

⁸ Only after the fieldwork was I able to understand the importance of mobility and transit for many of my interlocutors, which explains, for example, the population variance in the shelter – which at certain times, meant up to 50 fewer people (Pereira, 2004).

Notwithstanding, who is included and who is outside of these conceptions of modernity? And yet, do not these theories, with their assumptions of modernity, in effect discourse about themselves while universalizing their own theoretical assumptions?

When he related modernity to an age where death no longer bludgeons life in the West, Foucault was aware of the Eurocentric character of his narrative (Butler, 2001).⁹ In the same paragraph that says, “Western man was gradually learning what it means to be a living species in a living world, to have a body, conditions of existence, probabilities of life, an individual and collective welfare,” Foucault (1978, p.142)¹⁰ also remembers that “outside the Western world, famine exists, on a greater scale than ever; and the biological risks confronting the species are perhaps greater, [...]” (p.143). Contemplating these unequal contexts, we may ask: and in Brazil, what are the historical social conditions regarding the era of biopower in the West?

Unable to dwell too much on this historical social context, I would simply like to remember that when it comes to health, Roberto Machado et al. (1978) argued that the Portuguese administration was not characterized by the organization of social space in the pursuit to combat the causes of illness, acting rather negatively. In fact, concludes Machado, health had not formed part of the colonial project. Until the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil, asserted Escorel and Teixeira (2008), the few existing medical doctors attended only the highest strata of the population of large cities. Only from 1808, were the first public health authorities created in the country, tasked primarily with licensing and monitoring the records of those who dedicated themselves to the healing arts and with inspectorships to prevent new diseases from arriving in the coastal towns (Gurgel, 2008). By the mid nineteenth century, faced with several epidemics, a centralization of imperial power occurred that undertook a reform of the health services; during this period, however, state action in health care was limited to the hospitalization of the severely ill in lazarettos and makeshift infirmaries and admission of the insane in the Hospice instituted by the Emperor. Hospitals were the

⁹ Biopower and biopolitics are linked to the idea of governmentality. And, here also, the approaches of Foucault on the theme do not refer to forms of government outside a Western context. Governmentality thus appears as a product of modern Europe (Inda, 2005, p.12). See also Pels (1997).

¹⁰ Butler (2001) challenges this “illusory construction” of death being expelled from Western modernity, left behind as a historical possibility, as something foreign to the West. It is, she says, a “ghost story to liberate modernity from death” (p. 13).

responsibility of philanthropic entities. By the beginning of the twentieth century, nothing much had changed since the end of the Empire.¹¹

However, the most frightening data are those concerning the living conditions of blacks. Richard Miskolci (2012, p.9) indicates that, in 1872, “life expectancy in Brazil was 27 years, but only 18 for slaves.” If a slave, from a group of forty, survived ten years of work, he would notice that all the others had been killed by disease, torture or suicide. In general, official proposals regarding health care for slaves were rare; and fewer still were accompanied by measures that were not even fulfilled (Porto, 2006). Ângela Porto (2006) found that concerns for medical care for the slave labour force were nonexistent. Considering this scenario, in these parts, there was no way of contemplating that which Foucault envisaged for the West when setting out a definition of biopower: probabilities of life and health.¹²

It is true that Foucault was not a historian – though his material and his manner of working were historical – rather he was a genealogist (Rabinow, 2011). However, the juxtaposition of these histories, these disparate frameworks, reminds me of the text by Edward Said on *Mansfield Park*, by Jane Austen.¹³ The narration of the work of Austen is situated between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Said (1989 and 1993) affirms that the narrator in *Mansfield Park* explores the everyday life of a social order imagined to be perfect, depicting the moral landscape that sustains it. The commitment to verisimilitude in the description of English society – with its class divisions, marriages of convenience, futile people and others who are ambitious and of little character – causes slavery to emerge in the narrative, albeit timidly: while the characters discuss how to transform that provincial mansion into an idyllic place, the master of the house has to travel hastily to the Caribbean in order to quell a slave rebellion on one of his plantations. Life in *Mansfield Park* is sustained by slavery. Said then concludes that, even as the holder of supposedly universal values, the colonizers cannot remove what is impure or ugly from their narratives.

¹¹ This article only traces a very general overview of health in the period in question. The characteristics described here, however, are present in virtually all the literature on the period, as observed in: Bertolli Filho (1996), Freire (1989), Miranda (2004), Porto (2006), Gurgel (2008). For a discussion on medicine and medical institutions, see Luz (1982, 1986).

¹² For a more detailed discussion on the slave system health, see Porto (2006) and Figueiredo (2004).

¹³ I owe José Jorge de Carvalho for reminding me about Said's text. Indeed, this entire part of the text, even when not explicitly mentioned, owes something to the instigating article by Carvalho (1998).

The works of the empire, argues Carvalho (1998), “are born monstrous,” because they cannot eliminate the semiotic trail of the dominated group. Proposing an analytic movement similar to Said, we can place the bodies with probabilities of life in the West and juxtapose these with black bodies in the tropics. But to what extent and in what manner are the first bodies related to precarious bodies of the tropics?

Postcolonial studies warn that the historical social framework delineated in the West is a product of the close relationship established with Others not considered modern. This confrontational relationship with their Others is actually constitutive of Western modernity (Mignolo, 2003). Life was able to arise in Western history because the West emerged in a particular conformation: modernity is the product of the possibilities that open to the “centrality” of Europe and the allocation of other cultures as its “periphery” (Dussel, 1992, 2005). Colonial enterprise is a prerequisite for the formation of Western modernity, by conferring cumulative advantages that produce a superiority, largely the fruit of the accumulation of wealth and knowledge (Quijano, 2005).

Thus, the entrance of life in history in the West occurs under, and is a condition of, the colonial action itself. Read from here in the tropics, Western modernity itself arises under the sign of colonization, a dramatic framework in which the emergence of life and the power of producing life in the West were born under the mantle of exploitation. Health and life expectancy in the West are not only simultaneous with precarious bodies of the tropics, but dependent on them.

The history of Foucault concerning the emergence of life in history and formulations that followed it – like those of Agamben, Esposito or Rabinow – do not seem, however, to address closely these connections between Western modernity and colonial practices, accomplishing a systematic silence concerning a fundamental aspect of the constitution of modernity. It is also interesting to note the limited mention of race in the work of these authors, especially if we compare them to Quijano (2005), for example, who assigns race as the central hub of his entire theory, even sustaining the racialized dimension of notions of modernity. This discussion refers us to Stoler’s (1995) assertions on race and colonialism in Foucault, which I will discuss a little later.

However, unless someone creates an inventory of the scant references to the colonial question by these authors, it may be more productive to

perceive this silence as linked to their involvement in their sociocultural contexts; this silence is attributed to the limits of immersing oneself in the dilemmas of western modernity.¹⁴ The perception of these authors intimately tied to their historical social contexts means the manner of understanding the theories is altered, since given this condition the theories appear to be local products, intimately involved in private dilemmas. The concepts of biopower and its presuppositions of modernity, in its various forms, are, despite their universal pretensions, theories anchored in private, local, provincial histories.¹⁵

It is this locality that produces a certain distance from alternative ways of perceiving modernity itself – these are a “privilege of the periphery” that permit the postulation, as Otávio Velho (1997) has sustained, that modernity is produced simultaneously and contemporaneously in several locations, in a multiplicity of modes of relationship between the past and present. “Alternative modernities” arise from these complex production processes that place the relationship between tradition and modernity in question, and that lead to the perception of aspects that are not seen as modern, or are understood as incompletely modern, as specific formations of modernity (Giumbelli, 2006). Viewed from down here, modernities thus appear in a plurality of manifestations, constituting not a singular structure, rather a set of knowledges, of discursive practices with various modes of manifestation, always presenting themselves through their variants and versions (Velho, 1997, 1998 and 2010). This leads us to conclude that: a) a biopolitical configuration, with its assumptions of modernity, is far from being an established given structure, conformation or paradigmatic concept, rather it is an open space that needs to be cartographed; b) discoursing on biopolitics implies always questioning from where you are discussing it, because, though some live modernity under the emblem of triumph, others live under the sign of suspicion and of pursuing (Chatterjee, 2004).

¹⁴ However, it is worth noting that these authors maintained a certain distance from discussions on colonialism, even though a solid post-colonial literature existed.

¹⁵ On this point, Connell (2010) argues that much of what circulates as “universal theory” is strongly rooted in the sociopolitical experience of Europe. The individual experience emerges as a generic concept, acting on spaces conceived as peripheral – such spaces where the universal theory is tested and refined, but that never emerge as a locus of reflection.

Final notes

The concerns – or set of questions and problems – that I have presented in this paper are not intended to signal the inadequacy of the concepts of biopower and biopolitics. Admittedly I have inquired about some of their probable limits: the conception of transcendent power that obliterates the agency of the subjects; Eurocentrism and silencing in the colonial context; the presumption of a single modernity, with universal pretensions. But there also are ways to avoid these traps.

The first way is related to the possibility of contemplating life beyond biopower. Eduardo's story tells us something of modes of inhabiting the world, narrated through powerful metaphors of displacement, of wanderings. Many researchers have invoked Deleuze to indicate that, rather than an exclusive focus on rigid abstract fields, perhaps it would be better to perceive society as something that flows and escapes, composed of “lines of flight” and that turns to subjectivities that exceed, resist and evade. But, even Foucault could be thought of in this sense. In a text in which he comments on the work of Canguilhem, Foucault (1994) makes life appear as something that is capable of error. He removes life from the field of consciousness to encounter it on the edge of the illness and anomaly, “with an intensity against which the course of mundane existence pales” (Giorgi & Rodríguez, 2009, p.33). Contrary to the arrangements of biopower over life, the notion of “life as error” acquires an affirmative sense. And here again, I record the itinerary that I followed with Eduardo and his displacements, between error and wanderings. Wandering is related to displacement and to error. “Erring” means walking aimlessly, peregrinating, roving and making mistakes. Wandering is, according to Aurélio’s Dictionary, the quality, condition, or habit of wandering. Whereas errant is one who errs, who strays; a bum; a vagrant, a nomad, a wanderer. The semantic field that involves transitions between these terms transits between fault, error, deviation and crossing. In the relationship with error and deviation – which is not individual or collective; which is body but exceeds it – the virtuality of the living makes it possible to think of alternative ways of inhabiting the world.

The second form examines about how to relate below the line of the Equator with these theories of biopolitics. Ann Laura Stoler (1995) also signalized Foucault’s Eurocentrism, elaborating a narrative in which sex heralded the end of the era of the reign of death with the emergence of biopower, but

hardly addressed colonial, imperial and racial issues. Stoler makes us aware of the power of Foucault's analysis, despite this silence. Executing a movement similar to that which I tried to accomplish here, she inquires whether the racial and sexual configurations of the empire were constitutive rather than peripheral and responds in the affirmative, concluding that race and sexuality share their emergence with the bourgeois order in the early nineteenth century. Stoler then questions whether, in the context of the Europe of the 1970s, Foucault could have written a history of racism in a political environment in which racial identity had no political force, and in which no strategic space for race existed (p.23). Stoler's movement, therefore, is to provincialize Europe, placing Foucault's formulations (and limits) in their historical social context; and from this place, provincialized, the author of *Discipline and Punish* (*Surveiller et Punir*) helps us contemplate the intricate relationships between race, sexuality and colonial difference.¹⁶ Stoler's movement is that of rupture and recovering Foucault.

Indeed, the challenge that these forms put forward is to break with a thought – the transcendent form of power that controls everything, and that is anchored in a vision of modernity guarded by universal abstracts produced by Western modernity – and simultaneously “recover”¹⁷ its power. Thus, the problem is not that my interlocutors do not have something of *homo sacer*, nor that hyperpreventive practices (Castiel, 2010) do not mimic Esposito's immunization paradigm, much less that we should pay no attention to strategies for governing life or for “emerging forms of life” (Fischer, 2003). The problem is in taking these theories as simply “applicable” to realities other than those that produced them, decontextualizing them from their locale of enunciation. And the great provocation is to utilize these concepts, while subverting them, from shared/interlaced stories originating in the (post) colonial context – the colonial difference as part of the definition of biopolitics. It is, therefore, about breaking with Eurocentric hegemony and making the most of the concepts formulated there.

Biopolitics (and biopower) then emerges as a vast field to be studied through ethnography. Clearly it is not enough to add local stories and stir. It is important that the experiences from down here affect, in the strong sense

¹⁶ On the proposal to provincialize Europe, see Chakrabarty (2000).

¹⁷ I use the terms “rupture/break” and “recover” considering the analysis of Otavio Velho (2012) in the work of Stoler (1995).

of the term, the conceptual framework itself, and thus, it can be modified, transformed. The challenge resides in verifying how these theories with their power and limits, which are being handled by us, can be renewed, rewritten, recreated from the margins and, to use an expression that is dear to us, devoured, here, in the heat of the tropics.

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“All Against Pedophilia”

Ethnographic notes about a contemporary moral crusade

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Abstract

Based on an ethnographic fieldwork carried out within the Brazilian Senate's inquiry committee on Pedophilia and in the Federal Police Department, the aim of this paper is to analyze the strategies and the effects of the conceptualization and the combat of the phenomenon of sexual violence against children as “pedophilia” and with focus on child pornography on the internet. The text consists of a historical approach to the emergence of the problem, an analysis of the political strategies of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Pedophilia and an ethnographic description of the police investigations into child pornography on the internet. The hypothesis is that this “anti-pedophilia crusade” pivoting on the threats of a sexual perversion, is not as effective in the protection of the real child victims of violence as it is in the defense of an ideally innocent childhood.

Keywords: Pedophilia, child pornography, social problem, politics, police

Resumo

Baseado em uma pesquisa etnográfica realizada junto à Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito (CPI) da Pedofilia, no Senado Federal brasileiro, e no Departamento de Polícia Federal, o objetivo deste artigo é analisar as estratégias e os efeitos do enfrentamento à violência sexual contra crianças a partir da noção de “pedofilia” e com o enfoque na pornografia infantil na internet. O texto é composto por uma abordagem histórica da emergência do problema, uma análise das estratégias políticas da Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito da Pedofilia e uma descrição etnográfica das investigações policiais contra a pornografia infantil. A hipótese é que essa “cruzada antipedofilia”, centrada na ameaça de uma perversão sexual, protege menos crianças vítimas de violência do que um ideal de infância inocente.

Palavras-chave: Pedofilia, pornografia infantil, problema social, política, polícia

“All Against Pedophilia”

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“Moral panic crystallizes widespread fears and anxieties, [...] displacing them on to ‘Folk Devils’”. (Weeks, 1981: 14 apud Rubin, 1984)

On 20 December 2007, the Brazilian Federal Police, in partnership with Interpol, started the so called “Operation Carousel” to combat child pornography on the web. It was the first international operation against “pedophilia on the Internet”, planned and executed under the command of a Brazilian police force. The operation prompted the establishment of a Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Pedophilia (“PIC Pedophilia”), in the Brazilian Senate, an inflection point in the national political agenda concerning sexual violence against children both in terms of focus, strategies and vocabulary.

Thousands of disquieting images of very young children being sexually abused had been found in the computers seized by the police during the “Operation Carousel”. However, the so-called “pedophiles” could not be prosecuted because the “possession” or “storage” of child pornography were not illegal in Brazil at the time. The “monstrosity” was unveiled but because public authorities were unable to punish the “monster”, all that was left was a feeling of impotence and moral indignation. Soon law enforcement agencies – the Federal Police and the Public Prosecutors - started to demand new legal tools to combat the problem. A senator, who became the chairman of PIC Pedophilia, embraced the cause.

¹ This text is based on a fieldwork conducted for my PhD thesis entitled “The contemporary monster: the social construction of pedophilia in multiple layers” (Lowenkron, 2012), which received funding from the National Counsel of Technological and Scientific Development (CNPq). A first version of this paper was presented in the workshop “Violence, personhood and emotions”, during the 11th EASA biennial Conference, 24-27th August 2010, Maynooth, Ireland. I would like to thank my PhD supervisor, Adriana Vianna; Stela Oliveira, who helped me with the translation from Portuguese to English of the different versions of this article; Chloe Nahum-Claudel, who edited the first English version of the paper; and Peter Fry, responsible for the final editing of the text.

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Based on ethnographic fieldwork within the Brazilian Senate's inquiry into Pedophilia (from March 2008 to December 2010), and in the Brazilian Federal Police Department (from March 2009 to December 2010), this article will analyze the core political strategies and police practices in the construction of "pedophilia" as a "social problem". I will also discuss some of the mechanisms and effects of this "anti-pedophilia crusade" that has been disseminated worldwide in recent years.

The idea that the social construction of "pedophilia" can be understood by means of the analysis of the efforts of the State to combat the problem is inspired by Michel Foucault's (1988) suggestion according to which it is important to examine the productive effects of repressive practices. This epistemological approach is also based on the premise that social problems and deviant categories can be understood as effects of moral crusades and regulatory practices, as proposed by authors who pioneered *labeling theory*, such as Howard Becker (1973) and Stanley Cohen (1980).

According to Becker (1973), the creation of a deviant group or category usually results from the formation of a moral crusade which starts with the denunciation of a certain behavior as 'problematic'. The aim of such a moral enterprise is to sensitize and gain the support of powerful groups and institutions. Next, new rules and strategies of control are formulated and subsequently applied to specific behaviors and individuals now identified as deviant. Cohen (1980), in turn, made use of this transactional approach to analyze the creation of both *moral panics* and *folk devils*, highlighting the strategies of sensitization which not only lead to the spreading and intensification of the fear and perception of danger, but also to the formation of stereotypical images of those defined as deviant as well as the application and standardization of extreme and exceptional measures in the name of the safety of those who supposedly deserve to be protected.

Combining the analysis of the political debates and the legislative proposals of the PIC on Pedophilia with the Federal Police's criminal accusation procedures it becomes possible to understand two important dimensions of the construction of such a moral crusade, namely the formulation and the application of rules that define certain behaviors and individuals not only as deviant or 'folk devils', but, in this case, also as *monsters*, in Foucauldian

terms³. Besides, exploring the connections between the *politics of fear* (Lancaster, 2011) and the manipulation of emotions used in the construction of the problem as well as the creation of new modalities of crime regulation, the methodology used in the present study demonstrates how a supposedly rational public sphere can also be emotional (Irvine, 2009), and enables to challenge the rational/emotional opposition that is reified by some “sex panic” scholars.

Although “pedophilia on the internet” is presented as a “global problem” that can only be combated through an international effort, the aim here is not to analyze the worldwide crusade against child pornography and pedophilia⁴, but rather to understand one of its local expressions. It is worth remembering that the main focus of the moral crusade analyzed in this paper is not child sexual abuse itself, but the dissemination of images of child pornography on the web. Since this phenomenon takes place in the fluid and de-territorialized space of the internet, the crime here in question escapes the borders and the control of any particular national jurisdiction. That is why, this case study of a local expression of the combat against a transnational crime might hopefully shed light on the international political and law enforcement efforts to which the Brazilian scenario is strongly connected.

The fact that a police operation into “pornography on the Internet” was the precondition for a committee of inquiry into pedophilia, as mentioned above, highlights a common overlap, or confusion, in public discourses between “pedophilia” and “child pornography”. However, neither “pedophilia” nor “child pornography” should be taken for granted. In order to understand how these categories are socially constructed, contextually defined and often blurred, it is important to place their use amongst a series of enunciations and practices that construct the figure of an enemy to be pursued: the pedophile.

It is fundamental to note that “pedophilia” was originally (and continues to be) a medical-psychiatric category. According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, “pedophilia” is defined as “a

³ Foucault’s notion of monstrosity is not restricted to the domain of the illegal or the forbidden. The *monster*, in the foucauldian sense, belongs to the domain of the unintelligible and unnatural, combining the impossible, the forbidden and the unthinkable (Foucault, 2002).

⁴ For a historical approach of the international combat against child pornography before the internet, see Tate (1990). For the analysis of the emergence of child pornography as an internet crime, see Jenkins (1998, 2001).

paraphilia in which a person has intense and recurrent sexual urges towards and fantasies about prepubescent children and on which feelings they have either acted or which cause distress or interpersonal difficulty” (DSM IV-TR, 2000). Although “pedophilia” does not exist officially as a penal category, in the everyday discursive practices of public authorities and in the media the word appears as an umbrella term used simultaneously to refer to a psychological condition and to criminal acts such as rape of “vulnerable” children (under 14 years old); the production, distribution and possession of pornographic images of children and adolescents (under 18 years old); child prostitution and other forms of sexual exploitation of minors.

Social movements related to the Children Rights agenda prefer to avoid pedophilia using other labels such as “child sexual abuse” and “sexual exploitation of children” to conceptualize the phenomenon of sexual violence against children as a problem associated with social inequalities. As I suggested elsewhere (Lowenkron, 2013), the words are not neutral and the social categories chosen to define a social problem are strongly connected to the ways it is morally understood and also to the political strategies used to combat it. In this text I analyze the effects of the conceptualization and the combat of the phenomenon of sexual violence against children as “pedophilia” focusing on child pornography on the internet. The hypothesis is that this “anti-pedophilia crusade” blurs the frontiers between sexual desires and sexual acts, producing a shift in political attention from the inequalities of power to the dangers related to sexual perversion and from the violence perpetrated against real children to the corruption of the modern ideal of childhood.

Sexual violence against children: a contemporary social problem

In what sense can “sexual violence against children” be regarded as a contemporary social and political problem? My starting premise is that the “violence” should not be considered as self-evident, that is, something that could be statistically analyzed, but as a notion that is associated with changes in the historical patterns of sensibility (Vigarello, 1998). My argument is that until the late 1980’s “the sexual violence against children” was not defined as a specific problem (Vigarello, 1998; Landini, 2006; Lowenkron, 2013).

Jenkins (1998) identifies two types of approaches to social problems. The

first is the objectivist approach, which views something as problematic when it causes either damage or disturbance to a sizeable segment of society. The objectivist social scientist aims to quantify the problem, explore its roots, and offer possible solutions to it. The other is the constructionist approach, in which the core question is not about checking if the problem exists or gauging how damaging it is, but investigating how a certain condition starts to be taken as a problem. The present study takes this second perspective.

It is important to highlight that the construction of social problems is part of the dynamics of politics as a whole. As Becker suggests, it consists of a process that includes conflict between different individuals and groups. Each is motivated by various interests to try and persuade the others to obtain official recognition and the support of the authority and power of the state to their particular enterprises (Becker, 1967). In addition, one can see that the construction and the dissolution of social problems are accompanied by a related process of manufacturing and reconfiguration of social characters – as, in this case, the figures of the “aggressor” and “victim”.

It is worth noting that if, on the one hand, the kinds produced are not confused with the people they describe, on the other, they do not fail to affect and, to some extent, create those who are classified as a certain kind of person (Hacking, 2008). It is noteworthy that such taxonomies and classifications do not exist only within the language, but also in the institutions, practices, and within the material interaction with things and with others⁵.

As Hacking points out (2008), most people who use the idea of social construction lay all their enthusiasm in criticism, in the transformation or destruction of what is subject to analysis. We must therefore make it clear that the proposition that the phenomenon of sexual violence against children is a socially constructed problem should not be confused with an attitude of mistrust or with an attempt to relativize its existence.

What is aimed here is to demonstrate how, in the last decades, this problem has been particularized and transformed into a priority agenda in national and international social and political contexts, and discuss how it has been understood and labeled in various ways. In order to understand the emergence of “sexual violence against children” as an alarming problem at

⁵ To elaborate on the theme, Hacking uses the example of “the woman refugee”. As he argues, the refugee woman is not just a sort of person, but a legal and para-legal entity, used by committees, schools, social workers, activists and refugees (Hacking, 2008: 52).

the end of the 20th century, we must first of all consider that it was engendered during a cultural-historical process of building new insights and a new awareness of sex crimes as well as a new concept of childhood in modern Western societies.

“Sexual violence has become the violence of our time”, says Vigarello (1998: 244), arguing that the particularization of this form of violence is closely linked to the emergence of the modern notion of a subject endowed with inferiority, as well as to the incorporation of the “values of modernity” – above all, of “individual freedom” - in the legal regulation of sexual behavior. According to the author, sexual violence was not particularized until the 18th century. Until then, the notion of violence applied only to any form of physical injury.

Upon examining law suits concerned with sexual crimes in the Ancien Régime, in France, Vigarello (1988) suggests that, at the time, the regulation of those offenses focused rather on the immorality of the act than on the violence of the act *per se*. Governed by Divine Law, the so called crimes of lust, such as sodomy, fornication and adultery, were seen as acts of desecration and contagious degradation that merged criminal and victim in the same indignity. In that context, rape against minors did not constitute a specific criminal category. It was considered an aggravation due to the abuse against the victim’s “virginity”, an ornament of the customs about and condition for marriage. On the crime of incest the theme was that of sin and moral infamy with the certainty of the corruption of the child defining the severity of the act.

In the Brazilian Penal Code of 1890, valid until the first half of the 20th century, sex crimes - gathered under the titles of “crimes against the security of the honor and honesty of families and public offense to modesty” - were not defined as acts of violence against the person offended, but as offenses against family honor. The control of women’s sexuality and the maintenance of young girls’ chastity were understood as a means to safeguard the honor of males (husbands, brothers and fathers).

Both in the language of sin and in the language of honor/shame (Peristiany, 1965), sexual offenses were defined as a moral attack against family values (understood as the basic social and moral unit of society) and against the rules of marital conjugality (the only legitimate space for the exercise of sexuality) and not as physical or psychological violence against the person offended. The analysis of the victim’s consent was not object of attention either.

It is in the Enlightenment philosophy of the 18th century that some authors (Vigarello, 1998; Borrillo, 2009) recognize the basis for the decisive axiological change that prompted the upsurge of a new model of legal regulation of sexuality and the basis for the particularization of the concept of “sexual violence”. Centered on the principles of a free and autonomous will, the new legal doctrine based on the modern individualist ideal defines that consent should be the principal criterion for defining the legitimacy and lawfulness of these acts.

“A largely theoretical change, it must be said” (Vigarello, 1998: 93). The author states that shame is still present and the complaints did not increase suddenly with the advent of the French Code of 1791 and neither did it happen in Brazil with the creation of the chapter of “crimes against sexual freedom” in the Brazilian Penal Code of 1940. Therefore, the assessment of historical transformations of gender inequalities is vital for the changes in the perception of sexual violence. “It is because sexual violence definitely confronts two subjects that it can now change direction” (Vigarello, 1998: 218).

Hence, if the value of the autonomy of will and of individual freedom translated into the importance given to “sexual consent” can be located on the philosophical sphere at the end of the 18th century, it was only in the second half of the 20th century that the consensus decision-making model of sexuality gained strength and political and cultural expression. Two social movements were responsible for displacing sexuality from the private (and sacred) family space to the center of political debates related to the rights of the individual: the so-called second wave of the feminist movement in 1960’s, and the homosexual movement, in 1970’s. Their criticisms hit the three main pillars of Western erotic economy up to that time: the institution of marriage, the heterosexual norm and the reproductive purpose of the sexual act.

The politicization of sexuality unleashed a changing process of the moral economy of the use of pleasures, by moving (or, at least, questioning) the main criteria for ordering the hierarchies of sexual legitimacy: from “heterosexual and reproductive sex” to “safe and consensual sex”. In this context, the “responsibility” – which corresponds to the individualist ideal of a modern rational subject, free and master of their own selves -appears as a mediating notion, capable of “balancing the insoluble tension between individual freedom and collective protection” (Vianna, 2005: 3), and of expressing the fundamental duty of care, respect and consideration to the rights of third

parties (Rios, 2006: 19). Hence the liminality of children and the particularity of intergenerational sexual interactions involving children, due to the special condition of these subjects considered *irresponsible* to freely consent in sexual relations. “Whereas the original age of consent laws were conceived as protecting girls’ virginity as property of their fathers, contemporary conflicts over age of consent laws are located in debates over appropriate form of rights for children in relation to sexuality” (Waites, 2005: 218).

Marked by an unprecedented particularity, and by alarming severity, the sexual offences against minors came to be understood as violence against a “subject of rights” in a particular condition of *vulnerability*⁶, applying equally to boys and girls. This is a new understanding of the phenomenon, both in political and ethical terms, that is, “a matter of citizenship and human rights where violation is considered a crime against humanity” (Faleiros and Campos, 2000: 18).

In order to understand how sexual offenses against children appear today as the most dramatic form of “sexual violence”, it is important to analyze its emergence in international and national political agendas in recent decades. To do so, one needs to place the construction of this cause in relation to a broader social process of construction and sacralization of a modern ideal of childhood engendered in the 18th century and reconfigured and given even greater importance in the late 20th century.

According to Ariès (1981), the modern understanding of childhood as a specific phase of life, carefully separated from the adult world and associated with notions of fragility, irrationality and pre-logicism, as well as the ideal of *purity and innocence* arose at the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century. The emergence of this concept of childhood was surely a precondition for the moral condemnation of violence against children, the emergence of philanthropic associations for combating “cruelty to children” at the end of the 19th century (Hacking, 1992), and later, of the movement against domestic ‘child abuse’ in the 1960’s, led by American pediatricians.

However, up to the first half of the 1970’s, sex was not part of the concept of domestic “child abuse”, which was restricted to physical abuse and neglect. The sexual dimension of child abuse gained prominence in the USA

⁶ This special vulnerability is due to a naturalized conception of children and adolescents as ‘people in development’, that is, people who haven’t fully reached the maturity of an adult, either physically or psychologically.

from the encounter between two political agendas, namely: the fight by pediatricians against the “battered child syndrome” in the 1960’s; and the feminist anti-rape movement, in particular the denunciation of the evils of domestic sexual violence. These two movements overlapped in 1975, giving rise to a new political agenda about “child sexual abuse”.

The strong political and emotional appeal of the theme of “child sexual abuse” strengthened the Feminist criticism of the patriarchal family structure, according to which domestic violence is linked to the unequal power between men and women and between adults and children. Despite being triggered by the feminists, the concern with the sexual dimension of “child abuse” also attracted traditional and conservative groups. Concerned about the increasing expansion and acceptance of so-called “sexual deviations” during what was called the libertarian age from the 1960’s to the early 1970’s, they saw in the fight against “child sexual abuse” the chance revive fears about crime and sexual dangers, as Jenkins (1998) has shown.

It is, however, from the emergence of movements in defense of children’s rights in the 1990’s, that the topic of “sexual violence against children” becomes a specific universal priority in the political agenda, which can be associated with the emergence of a new ideal of childhood: the child as *subject of special rights*. The new ideal of the child as *subject of rights* draws political attention to its corollary: *the abused child or the sexually exploited child*, i.e. the child transformed into sexual *object* or *commodity*. More than contradictory, these opposing childhood figures can be understood as interdependent and complementary poles - one representing the childhood politically conceived and the other, the most extreme limit of the deviation from this ideal.

“Child abuse” is then defined as a violation of human rights, along with the other forms of violence and sexual exploitation of children. In this context, the sexual offenses against children gain a new sense: no longer the theft of innocence or of chastity, as they had been formerly represented, but as violence and the violation of rights. In Brazil the problem of “child abuse” has gained visibility as a “human rights violation”.

Under International Law, children and adolescents had their “rights” recognized in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, of 1989, whose principles were implemented in Brazil through art. 227 of the Federal Constitution of 1988 (which incorporated the doctrine of “full protection” which was being discussed at the United Nations). These rights were further

developed in infra-constitutional legislation, the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (ECA) of 1990. Since then, civil society organizations and public authorities have prepared strategies and instruments to combat the various forms of violence against children and adolescents.

While in the movement against “child abuse” led by the US, doctors were the protagonists in the construction of the problem, in Brazil the process of constitution of this political cause was led by psychologists, social workers and lawyers (Méllo, 2006), who were the most involved in the children’s rights movement in the late 1980’s. The social worker Viviane Nogueira de Azevedo and the lawyer and pedagogue Maria Amélia Azevedo organized the first book on the topic with professionals from different areas: “Crianças Vitimizadas: a síndrome do pequeno poder” [Victimized Children: the syndrome of family powers] (Azevedo e Guerra, 1989) - whose title reveals that in Brazil at that time, violence against children was attributed to socio-political features and not to a disease, as in the “battered child syndrome” in the USA (Méllo, 2006).

The sexual dimension of “child abuse” gained wider prominence in Brazil in the late 1990’s. One of the most important measures of the Federal Government and the National Congress for the institutionalization of “abuse” and “sexual exploitation” of children as a social and political problem per se, was the promulgation, in 1999, of Law 9.970 establishing May 18th as the National Day of Combat of Sexual Abuse and Sexual Exploitation of Children and Adolescents (Méllo, 2006: 196). Another important milestone was the elaboration of the “National Plan to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Adolescents” in 2000, in compliance with the political commitment of the Brazilian Government to the Declaration and Agenda for Action, adopted during the First World Congress against the Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children, held in Stockholm (Sweden), in August 1996.

Since then, the Plan has become the national guideline in the framework of public policies for combating sexual violence against children and adolescents (Brazil, 2000). While the “commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents” and “child sexual abuse” were targets of Federal Government campaigns, leading to public policy, NGO projects and parliamentary investigations, “child pornography” began to gain notoriety in Brazil from the half of the first decade of the 21st century, with the growing expansion of commercial internet access in the country. The matter came to

public attention with the dissemination of international police operations to combat “pedophilia on the internet” (as they are most commonly called in the press) in the national news media (Landini, 2007).

In 2005, the Brazilian Federal police in partnership with Interpol began to conduct a series of operations, aiming to combat child pornography on the World Wide Web. In 2005, an important civil society organization appeared: the NGO SaferNet. This NGO was responsible for the creation of a hotline (www.denunciar.org.br), which was officially recognized as the National Central of Complaints of Cyber Crimes against human rights in 2009.

In 2006, the Federal Department of Public Prosecution in partnership with SaferNet, engaged in a long legal battle against one of the largest internet companies in the world, Google, in order to make it comply with the orders of the Brazilian judicial system, providing the data of users suspected of offering child pornography on the Orkut – which was, at the time, the main online social network among Internet users in the country and, consequently, the most frequently used site for the distribution of the greatest amount of child pornography among Brazilians.

Despite these isolated initiatives, it was not until 2008 that the combat of child pornography on the internet became a priority of the political agenda in Brazil, when the topic of “sexual violence against children” resurfaced with renewed strength and through a new approach in the National Congress: the creation of the PIC on Pedophilia. This Committee of Inquiry, which will be examined in more detail in the next part of the article, brought not only a new mode or approach of the phenomenon of “pedophilia on the internet” to the center of national political debates but also brought in actors that had not been previously linked to the social movements in defense of the Rights of Children and Adolescents, such as Senator Magno Malta, one of the leaders of the Evangelical parliamentary front and Chairman of the PIC on pedophilia⁷.

Magno Malta’s leadership as the Chairman of the Committee was decisive in defining the direction that the work of the PIC on Pedophilia took,

⁷ Apart from party political affiliation, some Brazilian parliamentarians also form semi-formal alliances based on common agendas; for example the evangelical representatives together counter the legalization of abortion, civil unions between same sex persons and the criminalization of homophobia. Magno Malta is known as one of the main opponents of these claims associated to the “sexual rights” agenda in the Brazilian National Congress. Musician and evangelical pastor, the senator gained notoriety due to his political combat against organized crime, as the chairman of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Drug Trafficking (1999-2000). He is also a defender of the reduction of the Age of criminal responsibility from 18 to 16 years old.

in particular the way it described, understood, constructed and faced the problem: the shaping of a “anti-pedophilia crusade” (as he himself named it). Based on a religious moral struggle of *good versus evil*, the crusade made use of a strategy of criminalization to address the issue. The criminal concerned would be portrayed as not only malevolent but also sick.

The Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Pedophilia: an emotive public arena

When I decided to set up this Committee and started to collect signatures of support from other senators, many of them refused to sign, claiming that it [pedophilia] did not exist, or that it was rare, that a case was heard of now and then (...). But the Federal Office of Public Prosecutors had sent me images, one of which, the last one, was particularly shocking, and it had helped me come to a definite decision. It showed a man in his seventies having sexual intercourse with a 4-year-old child. So, I would go into my colleagues' offices, I would talk them into signing the request for the creation of the Committee, and whenever I heard a refusal, I would show them that image. So it's a case of “Out of sight, out of mind”, but if you see it before your eyes, then you are moved. They would quail and I would say, “I'll show you what a monster is”.

As it can be noted in the quote above, extracted from an interview with Senator Magno Malta, the chairman of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Pedophilia attributed his political engagement and endeavor to create the Committee to the excruciating distress he experienced when he was exposed to the facts and, above all, to the images of children being sexually abused. Underscoring his emotional response as the determining factor for his commitment to the “crusade against pedophilia”, Magno Malta points out that such an endeavor was motivated by neither personal nor political interests, but by his deep, sincere and generous compassion for all abused children.

What is in question here is not an evaluation of the authenticity of the Senator's emotions or the sincerity of the motives for his political engagement with the cause. The aim is to introduce a question that seems to be fundamental for the consideration of political discussions about childhood in general, and sexual abuse of children in particular: the fact that these discussions are situated in a political field where the display of emotions

is not only a moral obligation (Mauss, 1980), but also a form of government (Fassin, 2012)⁸.

The socially prescribed character of emotions was recognized by social scientists long ago. Mauss (1980[1921]) was a pioneer in drawing attention to the social and ritual dimensions of the expression of feelings which had previously been taken as merely natural and spontaneous. More recently scholars have stressed the political dimensions of emotions and emotional discourses either in everyday interaction (Lutz e Abu-Lughod 1990) or in the public sphere (Goodwin *et al*, 2001). Bailey (1983), for example, suggests that the displays of emotion are devices for persuasion which play a much larger part than reason in governing people. Irvine (2009) points out that overt emotion is not only increasingly acceptable but seemingly required in contemporary politics, since western societies consider feelings not only the core of the self, but also the main field of morality.

So it is important to analyze the central role of the rhetoric of emotions in the Committee's public denunciation and in the construction of the fight against "pedophilia" as a political cause. No sooner had the request for the creation of the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee on Pedophilia been drafted than the necessary signatures of support were collected. In order to achieve his goal, i.e. to harness massive support from other parliamentarians, the Senator had to ignite a process of "emotional contagion" (Boltanski, 1993: 123) in which the emotive impact of child pornography scenes played a central role.

As suggested by Susan Sontag in her book "Regarding the pain of others", photographs serve as privileged totems of causes. She writes that "sentiment is more likely to crystallize around a photograph than around a verbal slogan" (Sontag, 2003: 375). Throughout the PIC on Pedophilia, the exposure of images of child pornography became one of the main strategies used by the committee's chairman to sensitize the public and unite forces to repress the "problem"⁹. It is known that images of violence, suffering and atrocities can

⁸ The author uses the expression "humanitarian government" to designate the deployment of moral sentiments in contemporary politics.

⁹ The attempt to mobilize aversive feelings toward pornography by the public exhibition of images is not an innovative political strategy. A similar strategy was used by the Republican United States Senator Jesse Helms, who advocated an amendment that banned National Endowment of the Arts grants from being used to "promote, disseminate or produce obscene or indecent materials". Analyzing the case, Linda Williams (2004) coined a term to describe this paradoxical movement that brings the obscene to the public scene in order to keep it out of scene: on/scenity. This case study was also analyzed, from a different approach, by Judith Butler (2000).

generate opposing reactions (Boltanski, 1993; Sontag, 2003). As suggested by Miller (1997), the disgusting can attract as well as repel – an idea that is particularly relevant in relation to “child pornography”, since one of the most significant elements in the public hysteria around these images is that their intense circulation on the internet suggests that many people are sexually aroused by this kind of material.

However the inner feelings of the spectators of those scenes are not object of anthropological research. So, the focus of this ethnographic description is to show how certain emotional responses are socially prescribed, morally imposed and publicly displayed (Mauss, 1980) and to analyze the effects of such emotive discourse understood as a form of social action (Lutz e Abu-Lughod 1990). Inspired by the suggestive notion of “the tactical uses of passions” (Bailey, 1983), rather than presenting a reasonable analysis as opposed to a passionate approach, the aim here is to question this dichotomy, stressing the importance of the moral effect of emotive discourse and aesthetic sensitization in the social construction of “pedophilia” as a politically relevant problem.

In the Committee’s public hearings, it was evident that those exposed to the descriptions or direct observation of the photographs and videos of “child pornography” could not react other than through the expression of “shock”, “horror” and “disgust”. The task of the *politicized pedagogy of emotions* (Lowenkron, 2012) of the PIC’s chairman was to convert these individual emotional reactions into a collective feeling of “indignation” and “hatred” against a common enemy: the “pedophile”. Those displays of emotions were interpreted by the committee’s members as political support for the cause and followed by expectations of and demand for political action.

The efficacy of “aesthetic sensitization” or the capacity of an image to incite aversive feelings and to exert persuasive power over other people, increases the younger the child is and the more violent the sex scene. Images of the rape of babies or of young children involved in sexual intercourse with adults were a particularly efficacious “device for persuasion” (Bailey, 1983) which the Senator frequently used in his sensitizing strategy. Not only did the chairman describe the images (which cannot be shown in public) during the committee’s public hearings, but he also displayed them to those he intended to mobilize: judges, representatives of Internet providers and telephone companies, senators, congressmen, and even the President of Brazil.

The Senator argued that the images not only work as a shock device, but also raise people's awareness of "the reality of pedophilia". He said,

When one thinks about 'pedophilia', one imagines an adult man having sex with a 13 or 14-year-old girl. One will never conjure a scene with a one-year-old girl or a boy, or a 6-month baby having sex with two men. Or a father doing that to his own child. Or a priest abusing a child or a pediatrician raping a 22-day-old baby with his own mouth. (Senator Magno Malta, in an interview)

Once confronted with the "reality of pedophilia", the observer of this "spectacle of suffering" seems to have no other alternative than to enlist in the crusade, since, as suggested by Boltanski (1993: 38-39), by omitting to join the cause one might be accused of (or blame oneself for) passive responsibility, indifference, or even, of leniency with the one who inflicted such pain to the "abused children", in other words, complicity with the "pedophile". In that respect, most parliamentarians admitted off the record to feel morally coerced to approve the bills proposed by the committee, an attitude that illustrates one of the most dangerous effects of moral panics, i.e. the power to efface critical perspectives, which is central in any democratic public arena.

Therefore, discursive strategies designed to evoke feelings of aversion were important for the political constitution of the PIC but they were, nonetheless, a dispositive of the legislature and therefore among its outcomes was the proposal of bills to "improve" regulation. In this respect, an achievement of utmost importance was the approval of the Bill that altered the Brazilian Child and Adolescent Statute (ECA/90), criminalizing the possession and storage of pornographic material involving minors below the age of 18. This reveals that the "heat of collective emotion" works as a powerful agent in the legislative process. The same Bill also stiffened the penalties for crimes related to the production, commercialization and distribution of child pornography.

It is also worth mentioning the importance of the technical staff assisting the PIC Pedophilia, composed of Federal Police officers and members of the Federal and State Offices of Public Prosecutors, and the president of the NGO, *Safernet*. The expertise of this team provided the projects with a solid legal base. Consequently, the projects were not rejected for technical reasons, even if some may disagree with the use of legislative means in due course, that is, criminal law as a strategy for addressing the problem. However, the

immediate approval of the Bill should not be understood only in technical terms. It is also important to investigate the moral reasons that justify the regulation of child pornography and of those who produce, distribute and collect images, labeled as “pedophiles”, “sexual offenders” and “monsters”.

According to the clinical and forensic psychologists, Taylor e Quayle (2003: 8), “It is the link between child pornography and sexual abuse that makes child pornography inappropriate and illegal”. This rhetoric effaces the fact that the national and international laws that define and criminalize “child pornography” do not make any distinction (at least, in theory) between scenes of “child sexual abuse” and “non-abusive” images depicting sexual interaction between young people over the age of consent (14-18 years old, in Brazil). In fact, as I will show in the next section, in practice, in Brazil adolescent pornography is not usually the target of law enforcement efforts against “child pornography”, although there is no guarantee that this could not eventually occur¹⁰. The main model of intervention imagined for this age group in the PIC Pedophilia was not criminalization, but family vigilance, the development of technological filters and educative campaigns (very often based on pedagogies of fear).

Nevertheless, it is important to understand the moral justification for the establishment of this legal age criterion. In a private conversation, the president of SaferNet told me that the reason for criminalizing sexual images of adolescents is not its relation with “child sexual abuse” itself, but the conception that a person under 18 years old does not have enough responsibility to understand the consequences of the recording of his/her own sexual activity, specially of the publication of these images on the internet, which may have permanent negative effects on his/her life.

Of course, this discussion was not brought to the public arena of the PIC Pedophilia, since the pornographic images involving adolescents would not have the same emotional appeal as the pictures of sexual abuse of very young children described by the senator Magno Malta. However, the point I want to make in this paper is that the moral, legal and emotional responses toward the different conducts related to pornographic images depicting young children cannot be taken as self-evident. Because this social reaction can easily be

¹⁰ As suggested by some sex panic scholars (Rubin, 1984; Lancaster, 2011), these moral crusades often leave a residue in the form of laws that may affect the way in which sexuality is regulated long after the immediate political context.

naturalized, it must be more carefully analyzed. Since those images were the focus of the public debate of the PIC Pedophilia, the moral justifications for their criminalization were particularly evident in my fieldwork.

With regard to the producer of the images, the relationship with “child sexual abuse” can be established in a more direct way, since “child pornography” is understood to be a permanent record of a scene of “sexual abuse” and the very act of photographing or filming children in interactions or sexual performances is seen as “abusive”. But in what sense are those who distribute and/or collect “child pornography” committed to the process of “sexual abuse of children”? The criminalization of the audience of “child pornography” can be understood as an attempt to control desires and fantasies more than sexual behaviors? How can different ways of relating to the images (production, commercialization, distribution and storage) be articulated to a continuum of violence and framed in the same sexual perversion?

According to the text of the Final Report on the PIC on Pedophilia, “the most serious is that, according to numerous surveys, the dissemination of child pornography on the Internet contributes to the increase of sexual crimes against minors. It is, therefore, an excellent vehicle for expanding that evil” (Federal Senate, 2010: 304). According to the police officers who assisted in the PIC, not only does photographing consist of a form of sexual abuse of an existing child, but it also expands the damage caused to the victim due to the fact that it freezes and preserves the scene and the memory of the “abuse”, which makes the photo or video release a new “privacy violation” of the child and makes each exhibition/display a “re-victimization”.

During the discussions among the members of the PIC on Pedophilia, I was able to recognize two distinct models of understanding the connection between “child pornography” and “child sexual abuse” that were not situated in the logic of the *damage*, but in the logic of *danger*: an economic one (“supply and demand”); and the other psychological (“it feeds the perversion”). Thiago Tavares, President of SaferNet, supported the first model of explanation, suggesting an understanding of “child pornography” as part of the phenomenon of “commercial sexual exploitation of children and adolescents”. In this sense, he situated the possession of this kind of material at the top of demand, which, in turn, has a direct effect on supply and on the increase of the production of images involving the “abuse” and “sexual exploitation” of children.

Among the Senator members of the PIC on Pedophilia, however, the explanation based on the psychological model prevailed. The distribution and storage of child pornography were considered dangerous because of the presumption that those images could “feed the perversion of the pedophile”, intensifying the risk of the transition from a state of desire or fantasy to action¹¹. According to one of the senators, “the person who has this kind of material stored at home, is a pervert. Given the chance, they will commit the sexual assault”. This was the danger that persuaded parliamentarians to criminalize the possession of child pornographic material.

According to the psychological argument (“it feeds the perversion”), the culprit and his victim are more directly connected, through the notion of *dangerousness*. It is argued that “child pornography” works as fuel for “sexual fantasies” and intensifies and/or normalizes the desire or the “perversion” of the “pedophile” who consumes it for the purpose of sexual arousal. Therefore, the user of these images should be punished for being virtually a “child sex offender” that sooner or later will move from fantasy to reality¹².

On the other hand, in the economic argument (“supply and demand”), the accused and his victim are connected by long chains of causality, since no one assumes that the aggression would be necessarily perpetrated by the same individual who consumes the images. “Perversion”, here, is expressed not through acts of sexual offense, but rather through a (voyeuristic) demand for new visual records of “sexual abuse of children”, treated as an *erotic commodity*. In this way, the pole of demand is blamed for being connected to a wider process of “abuse” and “commercial sexual exploitation of children” and, especially, for offering a consumer market for this type of material.

If on the one hand these two models of understanding can be separated for analytical purposes, or as a means to set the boundaries between political positions, on the other it can be argued that both the arguments seek to

¹¹ According to the psychologists Taylor and Quayle, different psychological theories have been proposed to establish the possible relationship between pornography and sexual assault. Some suggest that masturbation in front of child pornography replace the abuse. Others, on the contrary, consider that pornography may reinforce existing sexual fantasies. Although the second theory is the most influential, the authors consider that “there appears to be little support for the allegation of a direct causal link between viewing pornography and subsequent offending behavior” (Taylor and Quayle, 2003: 72).

¹² It is interesting to note that an inverse theory was proposed by the psychologist and criminologist Berl Kutchinsky, who carried out a research into the effects of the decriminalization of all kinds of pornography in Denmark in the 1970's, i.e. that “hard core pornography, including child pornography, could act as a ‘safety-valve’, allowing would-be sex offenders and child molesters to live out their fantasies through explicit magazines and films without the need for ‘live’ victims” (Tate, 1990, p. 54).

control and punish not only conducts – since “perversions” and “demands” belong to the field of desires. In this sense, the consumption of child pornography is treated as a symptom of “pedophilia”, a psychological disorder characterized by sexual attraction for children, which is understood (and punished) as the cause of “child sexual abuse”.

Besides criminalizing the acts of possession and storage of child pornographic material, the committee also made significant progress in relation to the cooperation of Internet providers and telephone companies who agreed to sign “conduct adjustment terms” (CATs), which determine the duties of international telecommunication companies with branches in Brazil to submit to the demands of the Brazilian authorities, setting deadlines for these terms to be met. The main landmark was the signing by Google of this term, and the subsequent disclosure of the confidential contents of all denounced Orkut albums.

The authorized breach of confidentiality of all denounced Orkut albums gave rise to a new operation by the Federal Police, “Operation Turko” (anagram of Orkut) involving 102 search warrants, in 20 states and in the capital city, Brasilia. Operation Turko was a direct consequence of the work of the Parliamentary Inquiry into Pedophilia and was the first operation in which the Federal Police carried out “red-handed arrests” for the new offence of possession of child pornography material. Once again, the interdependence of the actions of the PIC Pedophilia and those of the Federal Police in the constitution and institutionalization of “pedophilia on the Internet” as a “State problem” is significant. Despite their mutual influence, each of these technologies of government plays a different role and uses different strategies in the combat (and construction) of the “problem”.

In the construction of “pedophilia” as a “political cause” in the public arena of PIC Pedophilia, I emphasized the importance of the notion of “emotional contagion” in the process of mobilizing followers. In the construction of “pedophilia” as a “police case”, on the other hand, emotive reactions must be sidelined to allow for an “objective” analysis of the facts and the identification of the culprit. Moreover, in the process of politicization led by the committee, the “pedophile” emerges as a depersonalized figure, a common enemy against whom all “good men” come together. In the process of criminalization, however, the process is inverted; the generic figure of the “pedophile” is specified, by means of the identification of a “target”, in police jargon, whose acts are subject to prosecution and punishment.

Police Investigation: Identification of evidence and criminals

The purpose of the police inquiry is to investigate the “materiality” and the “authorship” of an alleged criminal act. In other words, to collect evidence and identify the culprit. As proposed by Becker (1973), the process of accusation is central to the passage of transgressive acts to deviant identities. Thus, as an instrument of prosecution, the police investigation is central to the process of social construction of a “pedophile” as a criminal who is legally responsible for acts that designate an unhealthy or abnormal condition.

In Brazil, the Child and Adolescent Statute (ECA/1990) states that crimes perpetrated against children and adolescents will be considered subject to “unconditional public criminal action”, so any citizen can and must report to the public authorities any fact related to child pornography. In most cases, the crime is reported anonymously. Of course, not all denunciations lead to a full inquiry. Selecting the denunciations worth investigating constitutes a painstaking and thorough task. It is important, therefore, to examine the criteria the Federal Police agents use to classify the denouncer and the denunciation, as they evaluate each case.

First, there is a hierarchy of denouncers that the agents cannot ignore. For example, denunciations forwarded by the Federal Office of Public Prosecutors will not be ignored or discharged, even if they seem unfruitful at first sight, and an investigation will be carried out within a deadline. Then, a fundamental criterion consists of verifying the “indices of materiality” of a crime. This means first, checking if the website denounced is still on air; if so, assessing whether there is a “typical fact” (a crime) - in this case, whether the image (photo or video) is pornographic or not, and whether there are children of under 18 years of age participating in the scene.

The definitions of child pornography in the police investigations can therefore be quite complex, as suggested by the forensic psychologists Taylor and Quayle (2003)¹³, based on their experience within the COPINE Project (Combating Pedophile Information Networks in Europe). It is worth mentioning that, according to Brazilian Law, the expression “*explicit or pornographic sex scenes*” comprises any situation involving children or adolescents in explicit sexual intercourse, real or simulated, or the display of a

¹³ “As soon as we examine what we mean by child pornography, we begin to encounter uncertainties and confusions. The terms ‘child’ and ‘pornography’ on their own are themselves contentious, with complex and sometimes contradictory meanings”. (Taylor & Quayle, 2003: 2)

child's or an adolescent's genitalia, for ends that are primarily sexual (art. 241-E, ECA/1990).

Evidently, despite the legislator's attempt to define child pornography, the legal text still leaves gaps for different interpretations of the purpose of the image, which are always contextual, situational and relational. For example, in one of the investigations there were photos of naked children within a set of images of naked adults, in a context of "naturism". Consequently, the sexual purpose of the image was not confirmed and it was not considered "pornographic". Thus, in order to eliminate any remnants of ambiguity, the agents give priority to images of what they call "true abuse", which can either be an image of sexual intercourse with a child, or one of a performance of a sexually explicit nature, as defined by one of the Federal Police agents:

We work really hard on photos of "true abuse". For instance, in an "artistic" photo of a child, the guy can later argue that he finds seven or ten-year old kids' nudity beautiful. There are some stupid parents that do that; they take photos of their naked children and find it beautiful. (...) But the photo of a genitalia, well, that's different ... that is abusive. An "artistic" photo"? Ah, a naked little girl with a hat on.... Okay, it can still be considered "artistic"... Now, when a girl is on her arms and knees, or when she's holding her arms back, or lying in a gynecological position, then we have something characterized as child abuse.

Another key element to characterize "materiality" is to determinate whether the individuals involved in porn scenes are minors, or not. While the legal text stipulates minority as an objective criteria based on chronological age - "under 18" - it is extremely difficult and rare to identify the individuals in internet pornography, i.e. there is no way to check their age¹⁴. In practice therefore, it is not enough for the victims to be under age, they must also look like minors. The *stylization*¹⁵ of bodies and acts is fundamental to the construction and essentialization of age categories, here in question.

¹⁴ "When viewing a picture in the absence of information about the individual photographed, attempting to determine an age may become a matter of complex judgment. Whilst decisions about whether a person photographed is a child are not problematic when the individual is very young; when we move into adolescent years such decisions, when based on visual evidence, are much more difficult to make" (Taylor & Quayle, 2003: 3).

¹⁵ Here, *stylization* is understood as in Judith Butler's formulation: "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being" (Butler, 1990: 33). Although the author refers to the performative dimension of gender and not age, their formulations may be appropriate here to consider the construction processes of age categories.

I now proceed to analyze the process of identification of the distinctive aspects by which police identify a minor. According to the police agents, they use an “objective” criterion. When there is doubt or controversy it is because minority is “subjective”, which is not enough to be used as evidence in legal proceedings. In some cases, there is no doubt. How it is done? They say that it is “common sense”. “With a baby or a child of two, three, five years there can be no doubt”, said one of the agents.

However, there are cases in which the boundaries between fantasy and reality, lawful and unlawful, normal and abnormal are pretty blurred so that, in spite of being a crime, it is difficult to configure the “materiality” in the case of pornographic images involving boys and girls in the cloudy area of adolescence. The officers explain that there are many pornographic sites on the Internet in which young girls simulate the status of minors due to the fact that being a minor is considered a valuable asset in the erotic market catering for “male sexual fantasy”.

Most crime reports received by the police from internet users are links to web pages that display girls and young women with lean bodies, small breasts, few curves, fine or no pubic hair, wearing clothes and acting out childlike performances. According to the agent, a closer analysis will tell the difference between the simulated child pornography and the images that are unquestionably of minors, despite recognizing that it is not always possible to make sure that the young girls are minors or a little over 18 years old.

The aesthetic parameters used by the police officers to characterize minors constitute a set of varied elements and require an expertise that comes with time and much practice of analyzing the images of naked bodies. Despite that, some of the images are dubious and raise discussions about whether or not there are minors involved in the scene. Asian-descendent girls, for example, are considered by federal police officers to be difficult to categorize according to Western age patterns, because they do not have breasts, curves or pubic hair. Not only ethnic attributes, but also gender relations influence the evaluation of the performers’ physical appearance in relation to the criterion of age.

Analyzing an image depicting sexual intercourse between a boy and an adult woman, the detective warns that “in theory, the boy is a victim, although he did not identify himself as such”. Thus, it is possible to suggest that perception of “sexual violence” is crossed by hegemonic conceptions

about the relationship between age, gender, sexuality and violence. As female sexuality is associated with passivity, girls are easily identified as “victim”, but women are rarely seen as “aggressors”. The “boy” is only effectively seen as “sexually abused child” when he plays a passive/feminized role in a homosexual erotic scene.

Still with regard to the characterization of minors in pornographic scenes, it is important to note that, as proposed by Goffman (1985), being a certain kind of person is not merely possessing the necessary attributes, but also keeping the standards of conduct and appearance associated with the social group or category to which the individual belongs. So, especially in the videos, the appearance of “discernment”, “resourcefulness” and “pleasure” in sexual performance is also taken into account for the characterization of “minority” and “violence”.

Taking part in the analysis of a mute video with one of the police officers during fieldwork - a video in which a young girl had sexual intercourse with three young men at the same time - I said she looked like a minor because of her physical appearance. The officer, however, disagreed, arguing that she looked be over 18 years old because not only did she seemed to be perfectly aware of what was going on, but she also knew how to act in the situation, and seemed to be taking pleasure in it.

During a second viewing, though, now with sound on, the agent concluded that the girl did not seem so responsive to what was going on. Although the act didn't seem to be something “forced” or “violent”, the girl looked “a little lost” and “nervous”, giggling anxiously. In addition, with the audio on, it was clear that she had a childlike voice and that she sometimes complained that “it hurt”. Therefore, the agent reconsidered his first impression and wrote in his report that there was evidence that the girl was a minor. He wrote: “at certain points in the video, it is possible to consider that this is an adolescent under the age of 18 years, being *abused*, practicing sex, possibly to please friends”.

By suggesting that the girl in the video seems to be less than 18 years and that she might not be willingly submitting to that situation but rather to please her partners, the agent's report shows that the evidence of “minority” and “violence” (suggested in the expression “*abused*”) and, therefore, the evidence of the materiality of the crime was based, in this case, less on bodily attributes than in certain standards of conduct of gender and age identified in

the sexual performance. From the ethnographic description of the change in the agent's perception of the girl's minority, it was not simply (or mainly) the apparent age of the actors in this pornographic video, but a performance of "inexperience", "nervousness", "submission" and "pain" that offered the officer the elements that might be associated with adolescent female sexuality .

In case of doubt about the pornographic nature of the scene or the status of the people involved as minors, a prosecution procedure is not started. This selection criterion is based on a pragmatic, time saving decision, which leads to giving priority to investigations that are more likely to succeed. After the configuration of the "materiality", the Police Chief starts the police inquiry¹⁶ focusing on identifying the "authorship" of the crime, which consists of a set of technical and bureaucratic procedures whose purpose is to gather the evidence needed to initiate a criminal prosecution process.

The first step is to determine the Internet Protocol ("IP") address used to commit the crime. Next, the Police chief applies to the Federal Justice Court for a warrant of disclosure of confidential contents (a consent for "telematic confidentiality breach") so as to compel the Internet Service Provider ("ISP") that has control over that IP address to identify which of its customers was assigned that IP address at the relevant time, and to provide (if known) the user's physical address, and other identifying information. After the warrant has been issued by a judge, an operation of search and seizure of evidence stored in computers and other electronic media is carried out.

The material seized is then sent for forensic analysis, which is the phase in which conclusive assessment in relation to the "materiality" and the "authorship" is carried out. In case the forensic analysis discovers substantive evidence of criminal activity like child pornography on the hard drive, the suspect is interrogated and indicted by the police chief and, probably, irreversibly stigmatized as a "pedophile". Finally, the police authority writes an end-of-inquiry report which is sent to the Federal Prosecutor's Office for a prosecutor's evaluation. If elements of the violation of a federal law can be substantiated before a Federal Judge, the subject will be prosecuted.

¹⁶ In Brazil, the policy inquiry is not intertwined with the police investigation, as alerts Misso (2011). According to the author, "the inquiry is more than the result of an investigation summary, it is a piece composed of technical reports, depositions taken in registry and a legally-oriented report, signed by a police commissioner" (MISSE, 2011: 19).

Between Monsters and Saviors

Throughout this article, an attempt was made to form an understanding of the social construction of “pedophilia” as a problem in its social, political and criminal contours, involving a dynamic, multi-faceted and unfinished process of production of sensitivities and classifications that are engendered by a combination of political spectacularization and bureaucratic procedures. In the contemporary political and criminal Brazilian contexts, in which the ethnography was conducted, this process took the form of an “anti-pedophilia crusade”, whose main focus was the regulation of the diffusion of images of “child pornography” on the internet.

With the dissemination of horror as a privileged political strategy and the criminalization of pedophilia as the main instrument of combat, the crusade produced an atmosphere of diffuse red danger and the figure of a nebulous enemy, a sneaky and not easily recognized monster, whom it was necessary to monitor, diagnose, identify, unveil and punish. In these final considerations, some of the main effects of the confrontation with the phenomenon of “sexual violence against children” under the notion of “pedophilia” will be discussed, highlighting both what is produced and what escapes or is left out when the monster is exposed through this crusade.

First, it is worth remembering that the term “pedophilia” appears in the Parliamentary Inquiry Committee and in the Federal Police inquiries primarily associated with the phenomenon of child pornography on the internet. However, as pointed out above, it is hardly ever possible to identify the children shown in pornographic images on the Internet, the first step towards stopping the abuses and protecting the child. Therefore, the figure of the “abused child” appears in the “anti-pedophilia crusade” not as a “person” to be protected, but as an “image” that works as a powerful support for denunciation and sensitization out of which two figures emerge; on the one hand, the “pedophile”, and, on the other, the representatives of all “good men,” guardians of the ideal of childhood.

Despite the statement by the most important *moral entrepreneurs* of the crusade that the main reason to criminalize “child pornography” is to combat “sexual abuse of children”, the ones that are most frequently penalized are the consumers and distributers of pornographic material in question. The analysis of the political debates demonstrates that the above mentioned consumers and distributers are accountable not only for what they do (divulguing,

exchanging, distributing, acquiring, possessing and storing pornographic material with children), but also for what their actions reveal about their sexual desires and the dangers they represent - associated both with the logic of “supply and demand” and the risk of their moving from sexual fantasy to action [i.e. sexual abuse]. In my view, the focus on the “dangerous desire” is the main reason why the distinction between “child pornography” and “pedophilia” is blurred.

If the “pedophile” is the most immediate and dangerous “enemy” against whom the denunciation is directed, the pedophile is not the single scapegoat of this crusade, since “omission” and “indifference” are emotional responses just as demonized as the perverse pleasure. Thus, the “anti-pedophilia” crusade did not leave space either for questionings - evident in the slogan “All against pedophilia”, created by Senator Magno Malta to name his public campaign¹⁷ - or to any other reaction different from “shock”, “horror”, “indignation” and “hatred”. The political efforts to shape morally appropriate sensations and emotions ended up restricting the possible emotional responses, leaving out other feelings that these images and reports could incite, such as “pity” and “compassion”.

If feelings of “pity” and “compassion” towards the “abused children” that appear in pornographic scenes make them be viewed as “victims of violence”, the feeling of “horror” that most frequently emerges may generate a representation of the same children as “perverted children”, dangerously sexualized. This idea is suggested in the pronouncement of Senator Magno Malta, when referring to the damage pedophiles caused to the victims who appear in the images: “They’ve created genuine perverts; they’ve made children of 8 or 10 years of age real **monsters**”.

Having been dislocated into an erotic territory, the sexualized child participates, alongside the “pedophile”, in the process of the pollution of the “adult fantasies of childhood as a time of sexual innocence” (Lancaster, 2011: 2). So, the victims of “child pornography” are perceived not only as “children in danger” but also as “dangerous children”, in Donzelot’s (1970) terms. It follows that the “anti-pedophilia crusade” rather than protecting the “abused

¹⁷ The national campaign “All Against Pedophilia”, led by the chairman of the PIC Pedophilia, included the production of a website (www.todoscontraapedofilia.com.br), t-shirts and stickers with the slogan, an educational booklet and the organization of some public events in different Brazilian cities when these materials were distributed to raise awareness in the local population.

children” portrayed in the pornographic scenes, protects the modern ideal of childhood, based on the ideas of purity and innocence, threatened by the monstrous representation of childhood in those images.

However, the historical analysis of the construction of the idea of sexual violence revealed that the offense against “childhood innocence”(or “female chastity’) places the “immorality” of the offense before its “violence”. The notion of “sexual violence” was politically constructed precisely to counter this form of moral regulation of sexuality, shifting attention to the gender and age inequalities and claiming for women and children the recognition as “subjects of rights”.

Thus, as the ideal of innocence has already been problematized by other authors in different ways¹⁸, I believe that the valorization and idealization of “innocence” do not represent the best way to give children the status of “subjects” or to ensure their “rights”. This is rather a mechanism that reinforces their position of “vulnerability” in intergenerational sexual relationships or other asymmetric interactions – either because it excludes those who have already lost the “innocence” of the right to protection, or because it obscures other forms of violence and abuse of power other than through sexual abuse, or because it strengthens the disciplinary dimension of childhood regulation based on techniques of surveillance and punishment.

Because of the alleged threat of “pedophilia”, the political attention shifted from the “domestic problem” of “child sexual abuse” to another “problem”, which is built as “global”, “transnational” and “deterritorialized”: the circulation of child pornography on the internet. With this, there is a weakening of the criticism of hierarchical social and family structures, and of the concern with the internal enemy that attacks from within the family (the “father”, the “step-father”, the “husband”). The political focus and collective fears were then redirected to the menace of a sexual perversion almost always associated to the figure of the Other; the unknown and unrecognizable, to the dangerous stranger that wanders round and round different neighborhoods,

¹⁸ Montgomery (2001) carried out an ethnographic study about child prostitution based on 15 months of fieldwork in a Thai village. She argues that western ideal of innocence that orients the moral and political approach of foreign activists engaged in the combat of the problem in non-western countries distort the lives of these underage victims and lead to unproductive policies. Like Montgomery, O’Connell Davidson (2005) also stresses the limitations of intervention strategies against child prostitution based on the western ideal of the “innocent childhood”. Both authors suggest that it is important to recognize children’s agency to better understand the actor’s motivation and, so, be able to deal with the complexity of the problem in different cultural contexts.

insidiously intruding into children's rooms through the computer connected to the internet; and the threat of the "evil" that proliferates in the web through the circulation of images.

By representing a threat to children and the family in their idealized form, the "problem" of "pedophilia" helps re-mystify the male dimension of State power (embodied in the warlike and persecutory modes of protection played by the State agents and agencies which led the anti-pedophilia crusade) as protector of the "vulnerable", so that "women" and "children" are "cast as requiring protection from the world of male violence while the superior status of men is secured by their supposed ability to offer such protection" (Brown, 2006: 199).

I do not wish to suggest that the mere substitution of words or models is enough to ensure in an immediate and magical way, another view of the phenomenon and much less to transform cultural and historically institutionalized administrative practices. My argument is that the production of classificatory categories is a crucial part of the process of construction and management of "social problems", to the extent that such classifications are, at the same time, produced by and producing representations and administrative practices which, in turn, move sensitivities, impose models of intelligibility, manufacture subjects, reorganize groups, disseminate and settle pleasures.

Finally, I think it is important to point out some ethical limits of the anthropological relativism when the critical eye of a researcher turns to morally disturbing issues such as "sexual violence against children". In this regard, I would like to make it clear that the constructionist perspective adopted in this text should not be confused with a relativistic stance that defines many anthropological analyses. On the one hand, my intention as a researcher is not to propose new strategies better to combat the "problem", as commonly expected from the so-called "experts" (influential agents in the process of production and definition of social problems), but rather to understand the political and moral dynamics that define its construction and the process of institutionalization. On the other hand, it is important to note that, as a moral subject, I share the same cultural codes and values that lead to the repudiation and the repulsion of the various practices that can be defined as "sexual violence against children".

That is why I believe it is relevant to discuss the effects of the conceptualization and the combat of the phenomenon of sexual violence against

children as “pedophilia” and with focus on child pornography on the internet. In this article, I tried to demonstrate how this crusade has not succeeded in protecting “flesh and blood” children against the various forms of domination and violence as much as it has succeeded in disseminating the horror and sense of danger, or the manufacture of stereotyped figures, or the blur between desires/fantasies and sexual acts, not to mention the strengthening of a specific form of regulation of the “problem” (the criminalization) and the emphasis on moral monstrosity. Therefore, I hope that this analysis of the “anti-pedophilia crusade” can help problematize the seemingly easier and more immediate solutions to the “problem”, and understand what is obscured by the *politics of fear*, offering a fresh look on the policies engendered by moral panics.

Translation: Stela Oliveira

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Eduardo Mondlane and the social sciences

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Abstract

Focusing on his life and academic production, especially the long eleven years that he spent in the United States, in this text I explore the complex relation between the first President of the Mozambique Liberation Front Eduardo Mondlane and the social sciences – the academic world of sociology and anthropology. I do so through an analysis of the correspondence between Mondlane and several social scientists, especially Melville Herskovits, the mentor for his master's and doctoral degrees in sociology, and Marvin Harris, who followed his famous study of race relations in Brazil with research in Lourenço Marques in 1958 on the system of social and race relations produced under Portuguese colonialism. My main argument is that his academic training bore on Mondlane's political style more than normally assumed in most biographical accounts.

Keywords: Africanism, Afro-Bahia, candomble, Herskovits, Frazier, Turner

Resumo

Enfocando sua vida e produçao academica, sobretudo os longos onze anos que ele passou nos Estados Unidos, neste texto me debruço sobre a complexa relaçao entre Eduardo Mondlane, o primeiro presidente da Frente de Libertacao de Moçambique, e as ciencias sociais – o mundo academico da sociologia e da antropologia. Para isso analizei a correspondencia entre ele e diversos cientistas sociais, especialmente Melville Herskovits, que foi seu mentor tanto no mestrado quanto no doutorado in sociologia, e Marvin Harris, que apos seu famoso estudo sobre as relaçoes raciais no Brasil, foi fazer pesquisa na cidade de Lourenço Marques sobre o sistema de relaçoes sociais e

raciais que o colonialismo portugues tinha criado. Meu principal argumento é que esta formação acadêmica teve muita mais influência sobre o estilo político de Mondlane do que normalmente indicado em suas biografias.

Palavras-chave: Africanismo, Afro-Bahia, candomblé, Herskovits, Frazier, Turner

Eduardo Mondlane and the social sciences¹

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“Eduardo Mondlane... a professor with the look of a guerrilla fighter and a guerilla fighter who looked more like a university professor” (Shore 1999: 22).

We know that the relationship between anti-colonial thought and the social sciences has been complex on a variety of fronts. On the one hand, the social sciences, especially anthropology, grew and gained power within the academic world thanks to the new fields of investigation opened up by colonialism. On the other hand, there has been what we could call a creolization of the social sciences by natives from various social positions and classes, ranging from field assistants who, soon after independence, became anthropologists of their home country, gaining access to spaces traditionally denied to them in research centers such as the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Pels 1987, Schumaker 2001), to the use of training in social sciences by young scholars who soon after – or even during their university education in the West – were helping to organize the fight for independence in their countries and became leaders of these struggles (among others, Kenyatta, Nkrumah and Mondlane). Hence the anti-colonial narratives of these future leaders made use of hegemonic discourses in the social sciences or some of

¹ For the help received in terms of suggestions, as well as copies of documents and texts not available in Brazilian libraries, I wish to thank Omar Thomaz (Unicamp), Luca Bussotti (U. of Lisbon), Teresa Cruz e Silva (U. E. Mondlane), David Brookshaw (M. Helville Library, Northwestern University), Kevin Yelvington (U. of South Florida), Lorenzo Macagno (UFPR), Dmitri van der Berselaar (U. of Liverpool), Peter Pels (U. van Leiden), William Minter (Africa Focus), Marta Jardim (Unicamp), Severino Ngoenha (U. E. Mondlane), Valdemir Zamparoni (UFBA), Clara Carvalho and the librarians of the Centro de Estudos Africanos in Lisbon. Wilson Trajano (UNB) and Claudio Furtado (UFBA) deserve a special acknowledgement for their careful revision of the text and valuable suggestions. Special thanks also go to the many members of the H-LUSO electronic network who quickly and generously offered suggestions and passed on copies of more inaccessible documents. I am also indebted to the anonymous reviewers for the very valuable suggestions and remarks.

their most popular theories. This was the case, for example, of cultural relativism (employed in the writings and speeches of Kenyatta and Nkrumah) or, two decades later, reference group theory, developed in social psychology, in the formation and manifestation of racial prejudice (used by Eduardo Mondlane in his anti-colonialist discourse, which always remained, we could say, strongly humanist)².

Here my main argument is that training in social sciences was a determining factor in the ‘self-construction’ of several African leaders of independence and that this training, including the day-to-day functioning of academic life in which they were embedded, provided access to social networks, language and various forms of cultural capital that would later help shape the politics and practice of these same leaders. Furthermore, even though in nationalist discourse the emphasis is often much more on the local rootedness of the leader than on his cosmopolitan training, one can argue that, rather than being a contradiction, the homeland/cosmopolitanism polarity suggests a constitutive tension of activism, especially pan-Africanist activism.

While various studies have already been undertaken of the biographies and theoretical genealogies of Kenyatta and Nkrumah, from the hagiographies to the synthetic and national biographies, the case of Eduardo Mondlane is still relatively little researched, although the complexity of his life history could and should have attracted more attention from social scientists. The attempts to reconstruct Mondlane’s biography³ have especially emphasized what were undoubtedly three important moments or aspects of his life: 1. The relation with the Swiss Mission, his contact with the missionaries and the networks that they made available for his training as a leader (Cruz &

² It could be argued that, beyond the colonial situation properly speaking, diverse subaltern groups, each with its own spokespeople and intellectuals, had a similar relation of mutual benefit with the social sciences and above all anthropology – groups including Afro-Americans and, more recently, indigenous peoples in the Americas.

³ Without wishing in any form to downplay the importance of a series of works in this area, cited in the bibliography of the present article, I venture to say that there is still no exhaustive biography of Eduardo Mondlane on the same scale as the biographies of other nationalist African leaders. A quick search on the amazon.com site reveals a series of biographies on Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah, as well as books on their work (with a total of 850 entries for the former and 1,850 for the latter). On the same site Mondlane’s life has attracted much less interest from researchers publishing in English with just 183 entries, many of which refer to publications by the Universidade Eduardo Mondlane – ironic if we take into account that Mondlane left many writings in English and was later in his life accused of ‘excessive’ friendships with the Anglo-Saxon intellectual world. Recently a compilation of available texts was published by Wikipedia in printable format (Russell & Cohn eds. 2012), but it does not amount to a biography.

Silva 1999); 2. His marriage to Janet Rae Mondlane⁴ (Manghezi, 1999); 3. The final period of his life, from 1963 to 1969, when he was based in Dar Es Salaam and his leadership of FRELIMO absorbed all of his time. With few exceptions (Shore 1999 and above all Borges Graça 2000, Cossa 2011 and Duarte de Jesus 2010), much less attention has been given to his training as a social scientist⁵ and to the eleven years spent in the United States studying, researching, giving lectures and, soon after, teaching, publishing and networking⁶. Mondlane himself, still only 25 years old, wrote an autobiography of his youth in partnership with the Swiss missionary Clerc (Chitlango & Clerc 1946), which Mondlane signed, probably to avoid exposing himself to the colonial authorities, under the pseudonym of Khambane. According to Cruz e Silva & Alexandrino (1991), he wrote an autobiographical note on his return to Mozambique in 1961 (FRELIMO 1972: 7-9)⁷. By contrast Mondlane wrote little about his stay in the United States, except in letters to his wife and a few colleagues (Rae Mondlane 2010), in a speech he delivered to the United Nations Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration on April 10, 1962⁸, and, in December 1966, in an interesting but brief biographical note running to two pages⁹.

Obviously, for a variety of reasons, some of which will be dealt with in this text, this academic training and the theoretical grounding that accompanies it has been given little space in the reconstruction of the ‘national biographies’¹⁰ of these political leaders. In these biographies they are presented as,

⁴ Seventeen years younger than Eduardo, Janet, who obtained a master’s degree in anthropology at Boston College, where there was and still is an important African studies program, would become not only a wife and mother of three children, but, especially from 1964 onwards, a close collaborator with Mondlane, responsible among other things for managing and raising funds for the Mozambique Institute in Dar Es Salaam (Mondlane Janet Rae 2007, Duarte 2011, Manghezi 1999).

⁵ As Lorenzo Macagno (2012) illustrates in detail, Mondlane was not the first Mozambican to obtain a Ph.D. in social sciences. Kumba Simango had obtained a doctorate under Franz Boas in the 1920s and was also assisted by the Methodist Church network and support, but does not seem to have returned to Mozambique and his trajectory is primarily interesting in terms of gaining a better understanding of the complex history of the subject-object relation in anthropological practice.

⁶ In his PhD thesis Samuel (2005) deals more in general with Mondlane’s political thinking that he defines as ‘liberal’ – of course in Portuguese this words as a less progressive connotation than in English.

⁷ For a painstaking analysis of these two auto-biographical essays, as well as for a comparison between them and the two biographies of Samora Machel, see the excellent work by Matsinhe (1997 and 2001).

⁸ Reprinted with a brilliant introduction by Colin Darch as “Eduardo Mondlane – Dissent on Mozambique” in the African Yearbook of Rhetoric 2, 3, 2011, ISSN 2220-2188, pp. 45 – 59. I thank the anonymous reviewer of my text for having indicated this source.

⁹ Marvin Harris-Eduardo Mondlane Correspondence, M. Harris Papers, National Anthropological Archive.

¹⁰ Those written to serve the national projects of both governments and opposition forces.

so to speak, more telluric than cosmopolitan – their intelligence, charisma, rhetoric and power are seen to derive more from their almost organic link to the land and its culture than to their intellectual capacities. It is worth emphasizing that more recently new biographies of African leaders have been published, which far from being hagiographic or part of a nationalist project, try to give a more balanced portrayal of these leaders, including explorations of some of their singular contradictions¹¹.

Here I wish to concentrate on the case of Eduardo Mondlane, complex enough by itself, based on an analysis of his life and academic production, especially the long eleven years that he spent in the United States, although, perhaps less intensely, he continued to publish and maintain contacts with researchers after settling in Dar Es Salaam¹². In this text I explore the relation between Mondlane and the social sciences – the academic world of sociology and anthropology. I do so through an analysis of the correspondence between Mondlane and Melville Herskovits, the mentor for his master's and doctoral degrees in sociology, and between Mondlane and Marvin Harris, who followed his famous study of race relations in Brazil with research in Lourenço Marques in 1958 on the system of social and race relations produced under Portuguese colonialism. This research was prematurely interrupted, however, when Harris had to abandon the field early due to pressures from Portugal's International Police and State Defense Agency (PIDE) and the United States Consulate (Macagno 1999)¹³.

¹¹ See, among others, the following biographical essays, all of them dealing with the tension between pan-Africanism and cosmopolitanism: Tomás 2008, Berman & Lonsdale 1998, Gikandi 2000, Araújo 2008.

¹² The continuation of Mondlane's academic activity, especially his editorial work, from Dar Es Salaam onwards will not be explored in this text.

¹³ Here is what Afonso Ferraz de Freitas, a first level administrator, had to say about Marvin Harris' behaviour in Mozambique: "Professor Marvin Harris spent around a year, accompanied by his wife, in the districts of Lourenço Marques and Gaza, in 1956/1957, to conduct anthropological studies on higher recommendation. I knew him personally and at the time of the Presidential visit he came to congratulate me for the enthusiasm and order of the natives during the different manifestations. He invited me more than once to have lunch with him but I never accepted his invitations. As he was inciting some natives to refuse assimilation, the idea was raised to ask him to abandon the Province but the American General Consulate anticipated this plan and ceased to pay him his monthly allowance, forcing him to leave. At the General Assembly of the United Nations last year, via the American Committee on Africa, he launched a vehement attack on Portugal, widely distributing leaflets and pamphlets to the different delegations. I have in my possession one of these pamphlets, offered by the Australian delegation. It seems that he subsequently wrote a book that, last month, was cited several times by the head of the Indian delegation, Krisna Menon, at the United Nations General Assembly", Torre do Tombo National Archive (Lisbon), Mozambique Information Coordination and Centralization Services, Documentation Center, Information processes on subversive organisms (20), ACOA (71), pp. 54-57, SCCIM, [Information], Lourenço Marques, 4 Nov. 1959. My thanks to Fábio Baqueiro for providing me with a copy of the PIDE document in question.

In one of those unexpected twists that occur when browsing through an archive, I first came across Eduardo Mondlane's journey through American universities while I was researching three pioneers of Afro-Brazilian studies in the United States: E. Franklin Frazier, Lorenzo Dow Turner and Melville Herskovits (Sansone 2012). During my research on Bahia I encountered a series of interesting and important documents on Mondlane's journey through the academic world: his master's dissertation and doctoral thesis in sociology, both supervised at Northwestern University by the illustrious anthropologist Melville Herskovits¹⁴; Mondlane's correspondence with the same Herskovits (founder in 1948 of the most important department of African studies and probably the most famous and powerful Africanist anthropologist of his period) and with the equally famous anthropologist Marvin Harris¹⁵; and his correspondence with other American researchers and documents concerning various activities in United States universities. The first correspondence is found in the M. Herskovits Papers, held by the African Collection of the Melville Herskovits Library at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois; the second is found in the Marvin Harris Papers, recently made available to the public, at the National Anthropological Archive, held by the Smithsonian Institute, in Suitland, Virginia¹⁶. Other documents were made available, in a generous spirit of collaboration, by the Oberlin College Archives and the Roosevelt University Archive.

In the middle of this correspondence I encountered interesting newspaper cuttings, pamphlets and a series of letters written by Mondlane to other social scientists. His master's dissertation and doctoral thesis suggest that he was probably the first African researcher to investigate race relations and

¹⁴ It is curious that this doctoral thesis is mentioned neither in Shore's text (1999) nor in the Mondlane bibliography compiled by Sopa (1999) in an appendix to a special issue of the journal *Estudos Moçambicanos* dedicated to Mondlane. The Centro de Estudos Africanos of the Mondlane University acquired a reprinted copy of the thesis from University Microfilm in the early 1980's. I thank one of the unknown reviewers for this piece of information.

¹⁵ Some of the correspondence concerns the voyages made by Melville and Frances Herskovits, and later Marvin Harris, to Mozambique. These researchers, along with Charles Wagley at a later date, had received invitations from Portuguese authorities and academics to visit Mozambique as part of a plan to show the advances made in the government of the colony/province. As can be conferred in the article by Macagno (2012) as well as the correspondence, especially of Marvin Harris and Charles Wagley, but also of Herskovits, the plan backfired. These authors became staunch critics of Portuguese colonialism.

¹⁶ Unfortunately most of the correspondence with Mondlane forms part of the archive under embargo until 2081.

racial prejudice in the United States at the start of the 1950s¹⁷. This experience of research, studying, lecturing and living in Chicago and the nearby region was a determining factor in the formation of Mondlane as a social scientist, of course, but also of his ideals concerning the independence of Mozambique and the emancipation of Africans from lack of formal education¹⁸. The period during which he lived in the United States, in the 1950s until 1962, was decisive because it corresponded to the Cold War period when the US government decided to invest in Area Studies (Peterson 2003) and, as part of this policy, develop African Studies and encourage young Africans to come to the United States universities. This occurred above all during the time when Robert Kennedy was Attorney General (during the presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson) and promoting a new stance on the part of the US government vis-à-vis Africa and Latin America. These were the most intense and turbulent years in the independence processes of the majority of African countries. They were also the years that saw the groundwork laid for the civil rights campaign in the black American community¹⁹. Fertile years, then, that made Chicago and its surrounding region to some extent the second pan-African agora in the United States, after New York.

After being forced prematurely to abandon his studies in social services at Witwatersrand University in South Africa – his visa renewal was refused as the apartheid regime hardened immediately after the National Party won the 1948 elections – and having to spend some time in Maputo without being able to continue his studies²⁰ Mondlane travelled to Lisbon to continue his studies at the Faculty of Literature of the University of

¹⁷ This topic had attracted the attention of many (prestigious) foreign researchers from the 1930s to the 1950s: Gunnar Myrdal, for example, who in 1939, precisely because he was a foreigner, was invited by the Carnegie Foundation to direct the major research project that would result in the classic work *An American Dilemma*, as well as Oracy Nogueira, who conducted research from 1947 to 1952 on prejudice, precisely in Chicago too. Although I have no evidence to the effect, and Oracy studied sociology under Donald Pierson, it is very likely that Oracy and Mondlane had met in the city, perhaps through Herskovits himself who maintained contacts with Brazilian researchers visiting the USA or who had completed doctorates in the country.

¹⁸ The present work represents another offshoot of my ‘traditional’ interest in racial thought and the international circulation of ideas concerning both racism and anti-racism. Without any claim to being exhaustive, the text seeks to complement other recent descriptions of the period during which Mondlane lived in the United States (Cossa 2009, de Jesus 2010), focusing on his academic production.

¹⁹ On the political context in the USA during the 1950s and the impact of this context on the period spent by the Mondlane in Chicago and later New York, see the excellent essay by Minter (forthcoming).

²⁰ In his speech to the UN in 1962 Mondlane complaints that in that period in Maputo he was closely watched by the political police and that the Director of Civil Administration in Mozambique summoned him to warn him personally against nationalistic activities.

Lisbon – with a grant from a New York City non-governmental agency. The political climate left him dissatisfied, though. Moreover he got tired of the special attention police devoted to African students. Through the mediation of the Methodist Church, he applied for and obtained a Phelps Stokes Fund scholarship to study in the USA (Duarte 2010: 82). The option was Oberlin College in Ohio where Mondlane received his BA in Sociology in 1952²¹. This institution, Kevin Yelvington tells me in a personal communication, had the reputation of being a very liberal university. Since 1840 it had encouraged black students to enroll in its courses (Minter in press). For several of them Oberlin was a trampoline to graduate studies in the best known universities. For example, Johannetta Cole studied there as an undergraduate in the Fifties²² Herskovits's friend, George Eaton Simpson, who was one of Cole's teachers, encouraged her to study with Herskovits at Northwestern. Oberlin, moreover, has a long association with Africa. Other African leaders had studied at Oberlin prior to Mondlane, to begin with the Zulu leader and first president of the African National Congress, John Dube, at the end of the nineteenth century (de Barros 2012). He became familiar with the ideas of Booker Washington at the college and later tried to adapt them to the Zulu context in South Africa. All these African leaders came to study at Oberlin College through the intermediation and support of Methodist and Presbyterian Churches, and their networks of international solidarity – a 'Protestant International.' Oberlin was also part of a large network from which an outstanding student such as Mondlane would eventually benefit. Simpson was friendly with Ralph Bunche, with whom he had shared a room at the YMCA at Northwestern University in 1936. Bunche was a representative of the United States at the United Nations. Later Simpson presented Bunche to Mondlane, and the two men would have lengthy conversations (Cruz e Silva & Alexandrino 1991: 102). Bunche, the first black American to have a prominent role at the United Nations,

²¹ According to Kevin Yelvington, a bust of Mondlane exists at this university, an important Black College: a student organization at Oberlin College, CLAWS (Coalition Against Apartheid and White Supremacy), was at the forefront of the campaign to ensure a permanent memorial to Eduardo. On May 23rd 1998, on the occasion of the 45th reunion of his class of 1953, a commemorative sculpture and a plaque were unveiled in his honor in Peter's Hall, Oberlin College. http://www.oberlin.edu/alummag/oampast/oam_spring98/Alum_n_n/eduardo.html Consulted on 2-10-2012.

²² An African-American anthropologist, supervised by Melville Herskovits during her doctorate and at the moment of writing director of the National Museum of African Art of the Smithsonian Institute.

would become the head of the UN Trusteeship Council in the 1950s, where Mondlane came to work in 1957²³.

It was at Northwestern that Melville Herskovits created in 1948 if not the first, then the most powerful and best funded African studies program in the United States, becoming the dean of African Studies and the first president of the African Studies Association. It was also at this university that Mondlane began his master's degree in 1952, completed it in 1955, and began his doctorate in 1956, which he presented in 1960²⁴.

During his master's research, Mondlane, who had little money and even had to work in the summer of 1953 in a cement factory, obtained a job as a teaching instructor for a year at Roosevelt University. This had already become one of the first racially integrated (philanthropic) universities by the end of the 1940s. It was no coincidence that L. Dow Turner moved to Roosevelt at the end of 1948. Turner conducted research in Bahia and later in Africa, and founded the first department of African studies in the USA at Fisk, a black university, soon after returning from his research in Bahia in 1943 (see Sansone 2012). Turner moved to Roosevelt and Chicago, as he admitted, after becoming tired of the segregation in Tennessee. At Roosevelt University, the best-known black anthropologist St. Clair Drake had been trying for a while to develop African studies (Gershernhorn 2009 and 2010). Together with Turner, with little funding available for actual research in Africa, he took advantage of the stay of various African students in Chicago to invite them to give seminars and lectures to students, many of whom were African-American. Mondlane was one of these young Africans. In 1955-56 he also gave classes in African studies at the Garrett Evangelical Theological Seminary of Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois – on the northern outskirts of Chicago. In this second case Mondlane once again benefitted from the Methodist Church network, to which the Seminary in question was associated.

²³ The activism and brilliance of Ralph Bunche, who played a key role in the United Nations' intervention in the Congo under the direction of Dag Hammarskjöld, contributed – especially during the years of the JFK presidency when Robert Kennedy was Attorney General – to generating the idea among African leaders of a third way outside the Cold War blocks. The interesting biography of Bunche by Charles Henry (1999) mentions the fact that Patrice Lumumba himself believed in this third way for a time. It is a shame that this detailed biography make no reference to Mondlane, with whom Bunche must have worked closely in the Trusteeship Council, though many other African leaders appear in the work.

²⁴ Manghezi (1999:98), based on interviews with Janet Rae Mondlane, observes that the fact that Northwestern University had been founded as a Methodist institution must have made obtaining the master's scholarship easier, observing too that Herskovits himself had sent the application.

Concerning the Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture Series, I discovered the following on the wiki page on the Department of African-American Studies at Syracuse University:

The [Eduardo Mondlane Memorial Lecture Series] was named after the founder of Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), Eduardo Mondlane, who was also a former professor at Syracuse University. In recent years, it has become more important in keeping a focus on topical issue on Africa in academia. The lecture series was originally administered by the East African Studies Program at Syracuse University that is now dissolved. For several years, this interactive series has brought scholars, students, and the community together to discuss pertinent issues concerning Africa to the university. It is during one of these lecture series on February 20, 1970, that Guinea-Bissau nationalist Amílcar Cabral delivered his famous speech “National Liberation and Culture” at Syracuse University. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Department_of_African-American_Studies_-_Syracuse_University)

Mondlane really stood out as a researcher and obtained his first job as a full investigator in 1957 – three years prior to completing his doctorate – at the United Nations, where he remained until 1961. There, Mondlane formed part of a team that produced various reports on African countries that had still to gain full independence. This gave him the chance to travel through Africa, especially to Cameroons and the Congo, and to meet interesting people who passed through the United Nations, including a Portuguese mission composed of young people who were more open than Mondlane had anticipated²⁵. But this job, which demanded secrecy and extreme discretion, involving reports to the United Nations, eventually frustrated Mondlane. He therefore left to take up the post of senior lecturer at Syracuse University, where he gave classes on the postgraduate course in anthropology and had the freedom to travel and be absent for long periods²⁶. In 1963 he resigned to move to Dar es Salaam. At Syracuse University, just as at all the other universities where he worked, Mondlane left an excellent impression, so much so

²⁵ It was during this phase that Eduardo and Janet had fairly close contacts with Adriano Moreira, Overseas Minister at the time. As is well-known, in the response to the hardening of Salazar’s regime, Moreira would soon resign his post and this phase of relative political opening would come to an end.

²⁶ Based on the correspondence with former colleagues of Mondlane, Cossa argues that some contemporary academic staff at Syracuse University were proud to belong to the only American university that had employed an African revolutionary leader on its teaching staff.

that the monthly seminar attended by important African intellectuals and leaders, among them Amilcar Cabral in 1970, was dedicated to him and is today called the Mondlane Lecture Series²⁷.

His master's dissertation, 'Ethnocentrism and the Social Definition of Race as In-group Determinants,' was presented in April 1955 for the diploma of Master of Arts, in sociology. The dissertation was the result of quantitative research using a questionnaire Annex 1) through which Mondlane had tested a theoretically well-supported hypothesis. This showed that Mondlane was very well versed in the writings of the most important authors of the time on the theme of racial prejudice and reference groups. The thesis he defended is set out clearly right at the start of the introduction:

In this thesis we want to test the general hypothesis that where there is a conflict between racial in-group loyalty and ethnic or national in-group loyalty, an individual will tend to allow the ethnic loyalty to override the racial one (1955: 1).

Behavioral patterns, Mondlane argued, are dictated by social situations as well as social expectations. For example, the author continues, an American citizen who is at the same time a member of a racial group will frequently face situations in which loyalty to his own racial group could conflict with his loyalty to the United States as a nation. It could be anticipated, therefore, that in a context of conflict or war, loyalty to the nation would be stronger. In discussing this topic, Mondlane describes himself and his own experience: at first sight in the USA, he is frequently considered black (African-American), but as soon as he starts to speak he is taken to be a foreigner and immediately treated as an outsider. Mondlane adds that the terms black and white are used in the dissertation as social rather than biological entities (1955: 4). At the end of the introduction, the author summarizes the dissertation's overall hypothesis: people will manifest different attitudes to the same question when

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Source : http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Department_of_African-American_Studies_-_Syracuse_University

aware of the fact that they are talking to different ethnic or racial groups, or different social categories²⁸.

Mondlane also argues that the American black men or women inhabit two social environments, namely the racial environment (defined in the most social form possible) and the national environment:

As a result of three centuries of differential treatment by the members of the majority group he has developed a strong in-group feeling toward people of his own race, irrespective of their national and cultural backgrounds. Also as a citizen of the United States the American Negro has developed a strong feeling of love, pride for the country, and a sense of loyalty, which he shares with the members of the majority group, his fellow citizens. Social-psychologically, both ethnicity and the social definition of race are strong determinants of the Negro's attitude toward a whole realm of relationships between himself and the world (1955: 15-16).

The research began with a pre-test, selecting twenty black students and an equal number of white students from Northwestern University itself. These informants, called judges, were given an opinion scale to complete concerning the attitudes of African-Americans in relation to their social, economic and political status. The result was a questionnaire that initially should have been administered by investigators from diverse ethnic backgrounds: white, black, African and European. When this proved impossible, the questionnaire was administered in two black colleges close to Chicago by the teachers themselves – also black. The students were presented with four versions of the questionnaire, each one to be used to reply to questions asked by a presumed African-American, white, African or European interviewer – the idea was to measure the differences in tone and style of these four questionnaires. Initially the plan was to administer the same questionnaire in poor and black communities of Chicago, but the survey had such a large repercussion that numerous black churches and associations volunteered and began to impose conditions, such as being told the entire philosophy behind the method – but for this method to work, it was essential that the respondent not know too much about it, argued Mondlane, in line with the

²⁸ Mondlane goes on to state the most important concept in the work will be that of social attitude, first proposed by George Herbert Mead in 1950.

sociological precepts of the time. This phase of research ended up being postponed into the near future (we shall see the extent to which Mondlane's doctorate incorporated this proposal). The survey resulted in 250 questionnaires, 180 of which were selected having answered all the questions.

The main conclusion was that the racial reference group was less important than the national reference group. For the black American, the racial reference group played a significant role in inducing a particular response only when there was no conflict with the values affecting his or her involvement in the main reference group (being an American citizen) (1955: 35). In other words, ethnocentrism (national identification) was found to determine attitudes more than racism (racial identification) (1955: 45). This attitude was even stronger among black people raised in the North of the United States, since they lived in an environment comparatively free of the racial barriers that marked the life of the black population in the South.

As was common in those days, the text is written in first person plural (we) and relatively free of more personal remarks. Even so in two places we can perceive that Mondlane's experience of living and working in the United States was a determining factor in his way of conceiving both the research topic and the method used or the kind of questions raised. This can be noted when he writes of how in the street he is very often perceived to be African-American while in conversations he is considered (and treated) as an African, indeed as a foreigner, by white and black people alike. It is not by accident that one of the questions in the questionnaire was: "In general, are the people in Africa better off than the black Americans in this Country?" Interestingly 36% of female informants answered yes to this question compared to a mere 17% of the men. This personal touch is also noticeable when he refers to the question of the relations between men and women. Mondlane claims that the belief exists among African students that male African-Americans are closer to Africans (students) and Africa than female African-Americans – as we have just seen, the finding of the questionnaire would suggest the inconsistency of this belief²⁹. Elsewhere Mondlane writes that mixed marriages are a polemical issue between white

²⁹ It might be considered that this belief was integral to the behavior of the majority of African students in Chicago at the time, almost all of them men, who, creating a certain frisson in the black community, preferred to look for white partners rather than African-American women – this is a comment that I heard personally in Chicago from African-American colleagues from Northwestern University and the DuSable Museum in 2009 and 2011.

and black people. Indeed one of the items of the questionnaire was included precisely to provoke discussion on this polemical question: "Give your opinion about the following: interracial marriage between blacks and whites is one of the best forms to resolve the racial question in our country."

Here we can turn to a section from the work's conclusion:

While the American Negro may at times consider himself akin of other Negroes in other countries in the world, he may at the same time feel strongly identified with other social groupings which exclude members of the racial group to which he belongs... Just as Americans of the white race were able to engage in a number of wars against nations to which their ancestors, only a few generations back, were members, it is conceivable that American Negroes can participate in a similar activity against African Negroes or other Negroes in spite of racial affinity³⁰ It would be interesting to study the racial attitudes of Negroes living in a country where there is less social isolation. It is likely that their national identification would be even stronger than our findings indicate³¹ In the United States the American Negro will tend to be more and more nationalistic, as he is more and more being integrated in the various social institutions of the country. It would be interesting to study the attitudes of the American Negroes who live in white areas in American cities...Here there is a promising field for social research. Questions such as 'What does the Negro want?' or 'What does the Negro think?', etc., have to be referred to their specific reference points in order to have any meaning at all. ... If there is such a thing as American Negro opinion, as differentiated from the so-called native white opinion, it must be in reference to a specific relationship that is translatable in social terms (1955: 58-59).

For these reasons Mondlane disagrees with the method and conclusions of the major study on the attitudes of American black people organized by Stouffer (1949), since the latter only uses black interviewers in the

³⁰ In this case Mondlane's approach resembles the (oftentimes highly polemical) ideas of sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, for whom African-Americans had not much to contribute to the emancipation of Africa, because they had developed identities and acquired skills that can be useful for the US context, but do not match the needs of Africa in the process of decolonization. Frazier outlined his tough opinions in his contribution to the special issue of the journal *Présence Africaine* devoted to black America's contribution to today's Africa, which was later republished in bookformat (Davis ed. 1958). The issue had intended to be a celebration of international Pan-African solidarity. Frazier's acid comments were so much at odds with all the other contributors, among others Du Bois and Lorenzo Turner, that irritated the editor of the journal Alioune Diop.

³¹ Was he thinking of, among other countries, Brazil?

questionnaires administered to black soldiers – thereby failing to collect valuable information on the attitudes of black soldiers concerning the war³².

His doctoral thesis in sociology, presented in 1960 under the supervision still of Melville Herskovits, continues and widens this interest in the relation between reference group and racially determined behavior, once again examined through a quantitative approach with a theoretical foundation taken primarily from social psychology. Authors like Robert Merton, Paul Lazarsfeld and Leon Festinger, as well as the canonical Talcott Parsons, are widely cited. Once again Mondlane, who during his final years of doctoral research was already working as a consultant at the United Nations³³, initially envisaged a research study that would also be of interest to poor communities, but at the end of the day he opted to concentrate on white and black students at universities in the North and South of the United States. This time the survey group was larger, totaling 650 collected questionnaires without any claim to statistical representativeness. Once again the questionnaires were administered by academic staff as part of their classroom activity. The questionnaire was addressed to four groups of students: white and black students from Northern universities and white and black students from Southern universities – the latter for the most part still racially segregated. The questions centered on a thorny issue: fraud in university exams. They asked what the respondent (white or black) would do if he or she discovered another colleague (white or black) was cheating (copying, for example). The idea of cheating in an exam was something publicly condemned by everyone. However a large difference was discovered between public situations – where others also perceive the fraud – and private situations – where the respondent is the only person to perceive it. In the former case all four groups tended to condemn cheating strongly. In the latter case, especially in the South, the respondents tended to be severe with the other racial group and lenient with their own. It was also noticeable that the students from higher-ranking schools, which tended to be from the North, were usually more severe with cheating in private too and in relation to their own racial group. Students from lower ranking schools, by contrast, tended to be more lenient with cheating, especially when practiced by a member of their own racial group.

³² Later in his career, at Syracuse University from 1961 to 1963, Mondlane would collaborate with Stouffer, a renowned researcher.

³³ Associate Social Affairs Officer, Trusteeship Department, United Nations, New York, 1957 to 1961.

Here again we can turn to an excerpt taken from the conclusion:

...role expectations may be the most reasonable theoretical explanation. That is, as a student enters a school with high academic standards of honesty, he sooner or later learns to internalize the accepted values of the school to the point where they become his own. ... it seems reasonable to conclude that race is an important factor which determines the direction of the choices which an individual is constantly required to make among the many alternative norms of behavior surrounding his life. However, race or caste is important only when it is set against the background of regional or cultural traditions as part of the collective experience of the groups tested. In other words, race or caste is a factor in the kind of bias noted in this study, only as it affects those individuals whose cultural traditions include a special attitude towards members of the white or Negro race, depending on the side of the racial line they belong (1960: 96-97).

Comparing the master's dissertation with the doctoral thesis, the former clearly reflects the first years of study in the United States, as well as the foreignness of a young African intellectual living in Chicago, while the latter already shows a certain familiarity with academic culture in the United States, obtained from years of study at Northwestern University and teaching experience in four American universities from 1953 to 1960.³⁴ In both studies Mondlane concludes emphasizing how pernicious and pervasive racism is and also the danger of putting ethnicity before justice. In my view, these two conclusions will later bear on his ethno-sceptic approach to the liberation struggle of Mozambique, which could be summed up as follows: the fight against colonialism and its racism cannot go together with ethnic identities; for the most part traditional local leadership had been, to use a term of the time, 'tribalized' by the colonial government; regional cultures of the various regions of Mozambique are important but a national culture and identity need to be forged as part of the liberation process (Mondlane in Bragança & Wallerstein 1978: 197-200).

Although this article centers on the eleven years spent by Mondlane in the United States, I would like, without any claim to analytic precision, to suggest a number of avenues for comprehending the complexity of the biography

³⁴ Instructor at the Department of Sociology, Roosevelt University, Chicago 1954-55; lecturer in African Studies at Garrett Theological School 1955-56; lecturer in African Affairs at New York University 1959-60; Associate on the African Seminar at Columbia University 1958-60.

of this intellectual and political leader. Obviously Mondlane, like all of us, accumulated experiences over a period of time – in this case the years spent in the United States – that soon served in the adaptation to a later phase of his life. I would say that we can already perceive changes in these eleven years in relation to two important questions: race relations and political radicalism.

The experience of racism in Mozambique, South Africa, Lisbon and the United States is different, as would be expected. He experienced more severe racial segregation in South Africa, followed by a segregation regime already in crisis, though still in force, in the United States (especially in the South, and it is no coincidence that Mondlane in his studies compares the attitudes of students from Southern and Northern schools), the day-to-day racism from a year spent in Lisbon, still the capital of ‘his Country,’ and finally racism in the colonial context. In relation to the latter, as he personally realized on his return in 1961, Mondlane was able to benefit from a higher status, being one of the first very few black Mozambicans with a Ph.D., but at the same time he felt called, precisely because of his unique status, to assume a leadership role in the struggle for the emancipation of his homeland. In the author’s writings there is a transition from a moderately positive stance, emphasizing the relative absence of racial segregation compared to South Africa, as appears in the first letters to Janet (1950–52), to his disenchantment with the government and the overall Portuguese presence in Mozambique. This disenchantment became radicalized after his voyage to the country with Janet and their children in 1961. His short biographical note from December 1966 already registers a change in tone in relation to the anti-racist fight and the references to his African roots, although he continues to stress his passion for research and academic life:

... My very interest in Western-type education was stimulated by my mother who insisted that I go to school in order to understand the witchcraft of the white man, thus being able to fight against him. My mother said this to me so many times that, even though she died when I was barely 13, I can still hear her voice ringing in my ears.

This desire to fight the white man and liberate my people was intensified after I was expelled from South Africa in 1949. It was during that year that I organised the first Mozambican student union, which still exists today and whose leaders have now been put in prison by the Portuguese fascist government.

Even though I love university life more than anything else in the world, I have decided to dedicate the rest of my life to the liberation struggle until the independence of my country. I believe that because the people of Mozambique are now ready to fight for their freedom, they shall be free, no matter what the Portuguese and their imperialist allies try to impede it.

The correspondence I analyzed includes numerous records that shed light on racial issues as they relate to three dimensions of Mondlane's everyday life: his personal life, the academic world and his work at the United Nations, and political activism, with racial radicalism increasing from the first dimension to the last. The world of activism required of Mondlane a certain 'localism' while the academic world demanded – and rewarded – a certain cosmopolitanism – as well as good handling of the canonical social forms. Private life is, as always, the domain of greatest complexity. For example, in Simpson's letter of presentation to the United Nations in 1957³⁵, the fact that Mondlane was married to Janet, a white American, is mentioned as a bonus indicating the cosmopolitanism of a young African intellectual, but the same marriage, as Duarte de Jesus's study shows (2010), lies at the center of the accusations within FRELIMO of Mondlane being more of a diplomat than a guerrilla fighter, interested in partnerships with the West and little disposed to the 'Africanization' of the Mozambique Institute, a training institute created by FRELIMO in Dar es Salaam – where various non-black academics were invited to give classes and where Janet played a prominent role³⁶.

In terms of radicalism, Mondlane can be said to have always been a patriot, in the sense of being proud of his country and willing to fight for it, but I believe that he was transformed into a nationalist, in the sense of forming a mental project for the nation, much later in his life, during his years in the United States. Now in both phases we can perceive the importance of his Protestant education, his religious creed and his academic training. This training would heavily influence Mondlane's political choices. For example, although Africa itself only appeared in two questions in the questionnaires used in the master's and doctoral research, the emphasis on the importance

³⁵ Oberlin College Archives, George Eaton Simpson Papers, Folder E. Mondlane, Box 2.

³⁶ See the defamatory pamphlet "A Profile of Dr. Eduardo Mondlane," published in English, included in the appendices to Duarte de Jesus 2010 (pages 498–506). According to the latter, the libel was published by Udenamo. In fact, most certainly, it was published by the Secret Committee for the Reorganization of Udenamo, which was made up of Frelimo dissidents and split off very early. The original UDENAMO, which was supported by Nkrumah in Ghana, was the most radical of the constituent movements that founded Frelimo.

of the reference group – and the central role that ethnicity, class and ‘race’ could play in it – would influence both the form of conceiving ethnicity and nation in Mozambique and his concern with the alignment of African countries with one of the two superpowers – which would lead these countries to make decisions in favor of ‘their’ superpower rather than their own interests. Mondlane was an intellectual and a political leader, therefore it is not surprising that even in the obvious process of radicalization of his thought, boosted by the mounting of the independence struggle, the wording of radicalism is characterized by his intellectual sophistication.

This transforms him into a *sui generis* humanist for whom socialism would have an increasing influence, especially later in his life. During his stay in the United States he never lost his aplomb, a certain moderation and sobriety that, in my view, seem to characterize Mondlane: fighting for Africa and identifying himself as black made him highly aware of the nefarious effects of racial discrimination, but do not seem to have created a deep identification with the fight for African-American civil rights. This indeed is one of the harshest criticisms made to him in a report by the Cuban newspaper *Juventud Rebelde* of May 2nd 1968, which compares Che Guevara and Mondlane: the latter had never declared his support for the leaders of Black Power, like Carmichael.³⁷

At this point it is worth returning to some aspects of academic life in the United States. Eduardo Mondlane took his studies very seriously, so much so that he would soon approach academic life, without ceasing to frequent Methodist churches and circles regularly. As soon as he was admitted into Northwestern University, an academic center of excellence, he joined the Kappa-Delta fraternity – which allowed him to socialize with a large number of colleagues, the vast majority white. Soon after this he joined the African Studies Association. In fact I imagine that Mondlane must have frequently been the only black student in the classroom or in meetings during these years, though this does not appear to have bothered him too much.³⁸ Again,

³⁷ Some time at the start of the 1960s, Alioune Diop, editor of the journal *Présence Africaine*, contacted Mondlane to ask for a contribution from him. As far as I know, there are at least two articles by Mondlane in this journal (Mondlane 1963 and 1965). Nonetheless it is worth highlighting that the book edited by Valentin Mudimbe (1992) on the history of this journal from 1947 to 1987 does not contain a single reference to Mondlane, although Nkrumah, Kenyatta, Nyerere and to a lesser extent Amilcar Cabral were given multiple entries in the index. This fact can be linked to the preeminence of Anglophone and Francophone authors, but also to the fact that Mondlane never invested all his energy in this transnational network.

³⁸ On this point he reminds me of when Franz Fanon, in *Black Skin, White Masks*, declares that he simply preferred to study in Grenoble, where he was the only black student on the course, than in Paris, where there

Mondlane was an exception. It is worth recalling that the overwhelming majority of Afro-American students at this time studied in Black Colleges, which were also the destination for most African students, who began to be more numerous in the USA from the start of the 1950s.

It is only with the development of area studies and the consolidation of African studies, from the mid Fifties, that African students come in relatively large numbers to the best universities – which had been thus far almost entirely white. Even though in the US in those days universities were one of the spaces where race mattered less, African students come to confront a new and tense racial climate. Racial politics affected the recruiting of faculty and students as well as the teaching curricula; the relationship between the creation of African studies in the US and African students, especially the very intellectually gifted, was, to say it politely, tense (Rosa 2009; Gershernhorn 2009 and 2010). The reason for the tension was a combination of four factors: gifted African students wanted to study in top quality universities and these were white institutions; the making of African studies in the US was in itself a tense and racialized field because black scholars had tried already in the Forties to create such programs but gained little support from funding agencies when compared with programs in white universities such as Northwestern and Boston College. Outstanding black scholars such as linguist Lorenzo Turner at Fisk, sociologist E. Franklin Frazier at Howard and anthropologist St. Clair Drake at Roosevelt college considered that their effort was not properly rewarded; African studies programs needed (outstanding) African students both as key informants and to legitimize themselves to the Federal government and the private foundations funding their programs, starting in the early Sixties (and sometimes also in the late Fifties); African-American students became interested in African studies because of their renewed interest in the African continent, but also because sometimes they felt that universities gave African students a better treatment they were giving to them. In order to achieve what he wanted – good training, academic experience, and solidarity and support for the struggle for the liberation of Mozambique – Mondlane had to navigate through the perils generated by such racial tension.

were many more black students: his objective was to get to know white society from up close, not to socialize with other young black scholars.

In rallying support for the struggle for Mozambique in the US and Europe, Mondlane was aided by its style and the way he dealt with African identity and culture in the presence of non-Africans. One can conclude that from many letters by colleagues and newspaper reports on Mondlane's activities in the US, which describe him with terms such as charming, polite, well-educated, well-spoken and good-mannered. He seems to have had a tranquil relation with his African 'roots' and identity, seeing no reason to aestheticize them. From his correspondence with Janet (Manghezi 1999: 332) we can deduce that during his stay in Lisbon in 1950, he was little involved in cultural activities centered around the search for 'African roots,' which differentiated him from other young Africans based at the Casa dos Estudantes do Império who would later become leaders in the fight for independence (Cruz e Silva 1999: 95). Perhaps this reluctance stemmed both from his humble social background and from the fact that he had been raised until adolescence not within a creole or assimilated environment, but within what would then have more than likely been defined as a traditional African culture. He spoke and wrote Shangana perfectly, and would show he was proud of this fact during, for example, his return trip to Mozambique in 1961, while the various western languages that he used with extreme fluency he had learnt from his teens onwards³⁹. Years later, in the United States, although he was probably the first African researcher to study in depth the effects of racism in the country, he was not there in search of a (black) identity but in search of solidarity with the cause of Mozambique's independence⁴⁰.

Reading Mondlane's correspondence, what impresses is his humility mixed with cordiality and what I would call, for lack of a better term, good manners. He was without doubt a good, committed and convincing speaker – we know this from Janet Mondlane's letters, as well as those of Herskovits and Simpson. In a letter of recommendation sent to Professor Maxwell at the

³⁹ Mondlane is another intellectual who shows us that language is a means and not an end, and that during someone's life one language may be determinant in the first phase (Shangana) to be replaced later in terms of its centrality by another language (English) and then by another (Portuguese). After all, as Borges Graça reminds us (2000: 262), Mondlane's life was as short as it was varied and he wished to have at least three professions in sequence: Evangelical educator, university teacher and nationalist leader. His trajectory also shows, however, that the fight for national liberation contains as perhaps in the political struggle in general, a politics of language in which there are moments where one language (or lexicon or accent) functions better than another.

⁴⁰ Here Nadja Manghezi's opinion is more direct and harsh than my own: "Perhaps the strangest and most admirable aspect of Eduardo's character was his ability to go beyond his Africanism. He had absolutely nothing to do with *negritude*, and therefore felt no need to hoist a flag to his African ancestors. Without denying his African roots, he had from an early age identified with the human race more than the black race" (1999:332).

University of Ghana 41, dated June 30th 1958, Herskovits describes Mondlane as follows: "I know that he is a good speaker; he gave a number of public addresses while he was here, and was much in demand".

Even so, Mondlane, once again invited to give a talk at Northwestern University, replied to Herskovits, thanked him for the invitation and promised that, though not a good speaker, he would try to say something interesting and had accepted because he knew that giving a talk to the students in question would allow him to learn a lot.

I am sure your students will stimulate me. As you know I am not a good speaker. I will enjoy answering questions more than making a formal speech (EM to MH, 18 April 1952, Melville Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University, Box 56, Folder 48.)

Herskovits later wrote to thank Mondlane on May 6th 1952:

This letter ... is to thank you on behalf of all of us for the excellent talk you gave us. Everyone at the Seminar found it most stimulating. It provided a first rate background for Lord Healey discussion last Friday and the talk by the French Colonial Attaché last night. Our deep appreciation to you for having taken the time to come and give it.

Another case of his discretion, which I imagine to be fairly uncommon among those who would become prominent leaders of African independence, is found in the first letters to Janet where Mondlane declares that, although he has just arrived from Africa, he still knows little about the continent and that the more he learns, the more he realizes that he needs to learn (Manghezi 1999:27-98). His discretion is also evident in a letter to his mentor Herskovits:

I am trying hard to be as objective as possible. The more I speak about Africa the more I feel I need to study the issues involved, because although I am fresh from Africa, as I want to believe, there are many things that I am still not very clear about (EM to MH, 12 December 1952, M. Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University, Box 60, Folder 12.)

⁴¹ One of the few times that an application by Mondlane was unsuccessful. The person appointed to this position was well-known to him: the black American intellectual Saint Claire-Drake, a professor at Roosevelt University and also a friend of Herskovits. Still, Mondlane was eager to work at an African university and got hugely disappointed when failed to obtain the position or receive any explanation.

All the correspondence analyzed reveals that Mondlane knew very well how to move in American academic circles. He gained excellent grades, never missed classes, politely and enthusiastically accepted invitations to give talks on African reality, and had an excellent command of the English language⁴². Colin Darch, in comparing the vigorous and dramatic oratory of Samora Machel, the president of Frelimo who succeeded Mondlane after his assassination, states: “(Mondlane) constructs an argument for an audience presumably ignorant of Mozambican conditions; he neither requires nor expects participation from his listeners. But FRELIMO’s eventual victory depended on garnering support as much among the international community as among the Mozambican masses, and Mondlane’s moderate and reasonable voice was an effective instrument right from the beginning” (Darch 2011:45). Perhaps one can say that Samora Machel’s style was functional for the leader of the armed struggle, whereas Mondlane’s style fitted better the earlier stage of the struggle when it was pivotal to rally international support for the liberation struggle.

The correspondence also indicates that Mondlane spent his eleven happiest years in the United States, apart perhaps from his childhood, which he describes in his autobiography as relatively tranquil (Mondlane 1946): coming from countries ruled by repressive regimes such as Mozambique, South Africa and Portugal, in the United States he breathed the air of liberty (Shore 1999:104), he moved about freely, studied, married, raised children and, in his last years there, had comfortable homes where he liked to receive friends and colleagues. His social standing rose. The final years of his life from 1963 to 1969, about which I know very little, were certainly more intense, but also much harder because leading an armed struggle was emotionally tough and living conditions in Dar es Salaam were more difficult than in New York for him and his family.

During and after his period in the United States, Mondlane maintained a cordial relationship and even friendship with at least three renowned social

⁴² In one of the several letters of recommendation written by Herskovits for Mondlane, he is defined as a ‘linguist’ with an excellent knowledge of – aside from ‘his languages’ of Xangana and Portuguese – French, English, Afrikaans and Zulu (MH to Maxwell, M. Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University, Box 79, Folder 21). José Cossa (2011) goes as far as to argue that Mondlane, at least during his long period of stay in the United States, expressed himself more eloquently in English than in Portuguese. According to Janet, Mondlane himself recognized that during the 1950s he felt more comfortable writing in English than in Portuguese (Manghezi 1999: 109).

scientists⁴³ He continued to correspond with his former mentor Melville Herskovits until the latter's death in 1963⁴⁴. On December 11th 1952 Herskovits asked Mondlane for suggestions and recommendations of interesting people to meet, including members of his family in the rural area, as part of his preparations for a trip to Mozambique.⁴⁵ Their correspondence is obviously more intense during his master's and doctoral studies, but continued even after Mondlane had moved to New York. Herskovits wrote a letter of recommendation on June 20th 1958 for a job at the University of Ghana⁴⁶. In this correspondence the tone was always cordial⁴⁷. For example, there are invitations for the Mondlanes to visits the Herskovits at home and vice-versa, as well as congratulations on the birth of Janet and Eduardo's children. It is worth stressing that while the two men shared a general interest in Africa, they differed quite considerably in terms of their interest in the so-called Africanisms: ample in Herskovits's case and, I would say, marginal for Mondlane. This cordial relation between researchers with different theoretical perspectives and political agendas shows how tolerant the two were, or at least how they knew how to keep things separate.

Mondlane also maintained a lengthy correspondence with Simpson from his time at Oberlin College until his death. Indeed Simpson wrote one of the

43 On the correspondence with the Reverend Clerc, based in Switzerland, who was his tutor and close friend, see Cruz e Silva 1991.

44 Borges Graça (2000:280) shows that who in fact supervised the dissertation and the thesis was the social psychologist Raymond Mack and that Mondlane's preference was for social psychology. Based on a personal interview with Mack, the author adds that Mondlane never worked closely with Herskovits. This information diverges both from my reading of the relation between the two and the recollections of Herskovits's daughter, Jean, with whom I have been in contact for years.

45 MH to EM, 12 December 1952, M. Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University, Box 60, Folder 12.

46 MH to Maxwell, M. Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University, Box 79, Folder 21.

47 Concerning the Herskovits' visit to Mozambique and the general relationship between them and Janet and Eduardo, Jean Herskovits, daughter of Frances and Melville Herskovits and an Africanist researcher, told me the following in a personal communication (January 16th 2013): "Of course my father and mother knew Eduardo Mondlane, as, indeed, did I. My father first met him when he was an undergraduate at Oberlin, and as you must know, he came, with Janet, to Evanston, to do graduate work at Northwestern. And yes, my parents were in Mozambique, as was I, with them, in June or early July of 1953. This trip was because of the Program of African Studies at Northwestern which, as you know, my father started. My parents had started the long trip in Dakar in January and worked their way through West Africa and south through the western Congo and Angola. I joined them once my classes were over in June, in South Africa, and after several weeks there, we continued to Mozambique, where we did meet people via Eduardo, and then on through the Rhodesias, eastern Congo, Ruanda-Urundi, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, returning to the US in early September. The notes of that trip are at the Schomburg. I last saw Eduardo soon after I had moved to New York, when he came by to see me about a month before his tragic death".

most touching obituaries⁴⁸. Simpson was Mondlane's mentor at Oberlin, presented him to Herskovits, provided a letter of recommendation to support Mondlane's application for a position on the Trusteeship Commission and was also very helpful in obtaining the position at Syracuse University.

His relationship with Marvin Harris was different in kind, less a disciple and more a colleague and later friend. Mondlane met Harris, when he finally managed to obtain a relatively established position in the American academic world. Their contact continued until Mondlane's death. Although I have not yet had access to all their correspondence, it is interesting to note that Mondlane sent Harris the manuscripts of his political-academic texts produced after he assumed the presidency of FRELIMO. In a letter to Harris – undated but presumably from 1965 – sent on paper printed with the FRELIMO letterhead, Mondlane wrote a short message in English that gives an idea of how close he and Harris were: "Dear Marvin, apologies, just back from a long trip abroad, this is why I could not answer with the due speed. We are doing good. Letter follows. Cordially, Eduardo"⁴⁹. A closer study of this correspondence, which was undoubtedly also based on Harris's research experience in Lourenço Marques in the mid 1950's, will certainly help to shed light on how much these contacts with researchers continued to be important in the final years of Mondlane's life.

In the correspondence between Harris and Mondlane, kindly made available to me by the Smithsonian's National Anthropological Archive, it becomes clear that immediately after his period at Syracuse University, and prior to the move to Tanzania at the end of 1962, Brazil was on the verge of acquiring a key role in the training of young Mozambicans. Brazil at that time, as we have seen earlier, had already stirred Mondlane's curiosity from the viewpoint of research on race relations; it also signaled a new geopolitical alignment, less dependent on the North, and had become famous for novel approaches in the field of education through the work of leading international figures such as Paulo Freire and Darcy Ribeiro. This new centrality of Brazil owed a lot to the effort of its president Janio Quadros to move the

⁴⁸ The obituaries of great leaders, especially in a context dictated by the Cold War, tended to celebrate their political leadership rather than their qualities as intellectuals or their kindness. The case of Eduardo Mondlane was no exception. Only the reports in the newsletters published by those universities frequented by Mondlane made any reference to his studies, for obvious reasons.

⁴⁹ Marvin Harris Papers, Correspondence with E. Mondlane.

country in the direction of the non-aligned block. The military coup d'état of 1964, in fact, was also meant to curb such change and bring Brazil back in line, to the backyard of the US. Anyway, in those years Brazil was a country one heard a lot of while working at the United Nations. I imagine that it must have been such facts, plus the assessment that democratic Brazil was a good alternative to authoritarian Portugal for those who wanted to study in a Portuguese-speaking country, that persuaded Mondlane to approach the Brazilian Embassy in Washington about the possibility of granting study awards to a first group of five young scholars from the Mozambique Institute in Dar Es Salaam. Baffled by the Embassy's declaration that Brazil did not accept students from Portuguese Africa, Mondlane asked for help from Harris, who was known to have good contacts in Brazil. In a letter dated October 5th 1962⁵⁰, Harris wrote to his friend Darcy Ribeiro, at the time Minister of Education and founder of the University of Brasilia, who found the proposal interesting and asked his wife Berta, also a friend of Harris, to reply positively. In reply to Mondlane, on November 21st 1962.⁵¹ Harris writes that Berta had recommended Agostinho da Silva, a radically anti-Salazarist Portuguese scholar, in exile in Brazil, the creative force behind the foundation in 1959 of the CEAO (Centro de Estudos Afro-Orientais) at the Federal University of Bahia, stating that da Silva was very interested in training African students. Their latter correspondence makes no further mention of this project, probably aborted as a consequence of the military coup in 1964, which interrupted the 'presumptions' of many Brazilian progressives wishing to establish a new South-South orientation in Brazil's international policies – even to the point of considering its transformation into a member of the block of non-aligned countries⁵².

In later years, from 1965 to 1967, Harris and Mondlane exchanged letters on the Mozambique Institute, with which Harris collaborated at a distance, helping to raise funding and support in the USA, but also on publications. In a letter from May 23rd 1967 (M. Harris Papers, Box 1, Off Campus) Mondlane asked Harris to intercede to help a young female researcher from Eastern Africa to obtain a job in the United States. Throughout this correspondence

⁵⁰ M. Harris Papers Box 1, Off Campus

⁵¹ M. Harris Papers, Box 1, Off Campus

⁵² In depth research of this episode in the CEAO archive may help shed light on what actually happened.

Mondlane continues to show great interest in the new trends in the social sciences (apparently he keeps on reading a lot also in Dar Es Salaam), as well as expressing his conviction concerning the importance of academic training for the new African leaders and government officials.

Before concluding I wish to underline how my research on Mondlane and the social sciences revealed a series of actors, foundations and agencies, especially American, that – unsurprisingly – were operating in Brazil and the rest of Latin America and in Africa simultaneously. Ultimately this amounted to a galaxy, rather than a network, composed of diverse contacts who Mondlane met in Chicago (Herskovits and L. Dow Turner) or at the United Nations (Ralph Bunche), or who were present at his lectures and influenced his approach to his research in the USA (E. F. Frazier)⁵³. Sometimes these were contacts made in the United States, as with the Kennedy administration, the Ford Foundation and engaged researchers like Marvin Harris –Mondlane would meet both Robert Kennedy and Marvin Harris again later as president of FRELIMO⁵⁴. This flow of contacts provides further evidence that the fields of African and African-American studies frequently shared the same protagonists, funding sources and research agendas, at least until the mid-1960s – the period that corresponds both to the consolidation of area studies in the US and, of course, to the independence of all African countries with the exception of the Portuguese colonies.

Conclusion: A nationalist and a citizen of the world⁵⁵

The first conclusion is methodological in kind. A more in-depth exploration is needed, among a variety of archives, of a series of entities and actors who

⁵³ Some of the actors from the transnational network that contributed to the creation and later the consolidation or financing of African-American and African studies from the USA spent periods in Brazil, in particular Bahia, at three different moments: 1940-42 (Frazier, Turner and Herskovits), 1950-52 (Harris) and 1965 (Harris, the Ford Foundation and Robert Kennedy).

⁵⁴ In 1965 Marvin Harris organized a meeting in Rio de Janeiro – by now under the military dictatorship – between US senator Robert Kennedy and Anísio Teixeira, one of the mentors of education and research in Brazil. At that time Robert Kennedy was working with Bunche's assistance in the Congo and in Africa more generally, but also in Brazil, trying to alleviate the impact of Portuguese colonialism and the military dictatorship as part of an attempt to redefine US policy towards the Third World.

⁵⁵ In the obituary written by Professor Simpson as a resolution for the general assembly of the Faculty of Art and Sciences of Oberlin College, one day after his assassination on February 3rd 1969, Mondlane is described as: "Dedicated to the cause of freedom for his own country, he was in every sense a citizen of the world" (Oberlin College Archives, E. Simpson Papers, E. Mondlane Folder).

created the field of the social sciences in Africa during the period of decolonization. In many cases these actors and entities were also active in Brazil and in the rest of Latin America: the Ford Foundation, the Kennedys, the CIA. This was when a series of South-South diplomatic projects began to take shape, including in Brazil, but also when the Cold War became more intense. In terms of research, it could be said that now is the time to synthesize, compile and compare data from archives and sources that until very recently have had little or no dialogue between themselves (Dávila 2010).

The second conclusion, more to the point of this article, is that Mondlane's case demonstrates how nationalist, socialist or pan-Africanist activism (and Mondlane combined all three) tends to demand or produce biographic narratives that may be in partial conflict with the effectively transnational or cosmopolitan trajectory of the leader in question. On his return to Mozambique in 1961, for instance, Mondlane wrote a short autobiographical note that, at least in its published version (FRELIMO 1972), omits the entire period covered by his academic training (1948-1961), jumping from his childhood memories to the day of his return to the homeland in 1961. Something similar can be perceived in his book *The Struggle for Mozambique*, which was put together posthumously from other writings, for Penguin Books, by other cadres: the few autobiographical references seem to focus more on childhood than his mature years, the former always mentioned in nostalgic terms. The same applies to the autobiographical reconstruction of Nelson Mandela in his famous book *No Easy Walk to Freedom* (1965): more weight seems to be given to the childhood years when they were closer to their parents, clans and villages – to natural or primary socialization, we could say, when their first name was still African, and Nelson and Eduardo were still called Rolihlahla and Chitlango or Chivambo, respectively – than the teen years and their intellectual training – the years of secondary socialization⁵⁶. In spite of this tendency of overemphasizing locality and 'roots', as stated at the beginning of this text, activism, and even more so Pan-African activism, because it is inherently transnational, seems to develop within a constant tension between performing the rituals of (belonging to) the homeland and the necessity of a cosmopolitan lifestyle.

⁵⁶ On the importance of this 'fully African' childhood before Chitlango became Eduardo for the narratives surrounding Mandela and Mondlane, see the thesis by Araújo (2008).

– with its own social skills, codes, networks and transit of ideas. As the anthropologists' pun goes, these are biographies that need to study not only the roots, but also the routes.

The third conclusion concerns the personality of Eduardo Mondlane, who in some ways had a trajectory similar to Kenyatta and Nkrumah⁵⁷, who also studied in England and the United States respectively, were initially supported by Protestant missions, trained in social sciences, and had more or less long-term relationships with non-black women. However their training abroad came twenty years before Mondlane, prior to the Second World War and the democratization of the social sciences enabled by the G.I. Bill⁵⁸. Another important difference is that Mondlane seemed to be opposed both to the mainstream of Du Boisian pan-Africanism, which posited the existence of a black soul as a great national and international differentiating factor⁵⁹, and to international communism's view of the position of black people in the USA as an oppressed nationality without the right to self-determination – effectively a case of internal colonialism in which the American black was opposed in principle to the foundations of American society (Wilson 1958). Another difference is that Mondlane did not have the chance, which everything suggests that he would have preferred, to pursue a relatively peaceful transition to independence nor the opportunity to see his country free⁶⁰. Mondlane seems to have been a progressive who was

⁵⁷ The former obtained a master's degree in anthropology at the London School of Economics in 1938, which was published in book format under the title *Facing Mount Kenya* with a preface by Malinowski himself. The latter obtained a master's degree in education from the University of Pennsylvania and began a doctorate at the London School of Economics in 1945.

⁵⁸ The scholarship program for university education offered to all war veterans, which democratized and increased access to the study of the social sciences in the United States and the UK (Patterson 2001: 95).

⁵⁹ In this sense too Mondlane mirrors the classicist approach of the sociologist E. Franklin Frazier, whose publications on the black family in the United States were read by Mondlane and cited by him during his research in Chicago and whose (polemical) classic *Black Bourgeoisie* is cited in his review of Hilda Kuper's book on Indians in South Africa (Mondlane 1961). It is not unlikely that Mondlane actually met E. Franklin Frazier, who was based at Howard University in Washington DC but travelled to Chicago regularly, at some point in the United States or during his visits to Paris – where Frazier spent relatively long spells of time during his periods of collaboration with UNESCO. This theoretical similarity with Frazier is curious if we consider that Mondlane was supervised at masters' and doctoral level by Herskovits, who was the spokesman for an approach inspired by the search for Africanisms in the New World. On the difference between the approaches of Frazier and Herskovits, see Sansone 2012.

⁶⁰ Clearly a series of parallels can be traced between Mondlane and Amílcar Cabral, both in terms of perspectives, personal trajectory and the historical moment in which they acted, and in terms of humanism and even their moments of more radical choices (Tomás 2008). Boaventura Souza Santos (2011) signals this comparison, emphasizing the importance of figures like Aquino de Bragança, himself a master of humanism, in the creation of spaces and moments of dialogue between Mondlane and Cabral. However it is worth

obliged to lead an armed struggle for liberation when all other options had been exhausted. Doubtless he did not have time to do what he wanted: to work for the development of Mozambique and its intellectual elite without having to adopt bombastic politics and rhetoric. He could have been a hero of the center (Enzensberger 2006)⁶¹, but history determined otherwise.

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remembering that Cabral came from the creole population, while Mondlane came from the much more recent and proportionally smaller group of assimilated populations – so although both had a Portuguese forename, the former had a Portuguese surname and the latter an African surname.

61 My aim with this text, which is mostly based on documents obtained from US archives and secondary sources, has been to encourage a dialogue with the reconstructions of Eduardo Mondlane's biography based on documents from other places (in Mozambique, the Swiss Mission, etc.) as well as oral sources. The new communication technologies allow us to conceive the socio-historical reconstruction of the complex and multifaceted trajectories of someone like Mondlane as an exercise in crowdsharing and crowdsourcing – group sharing the analysis of documents through, for example, wiki resources, enabling more people to compose a (hyper)text simultaneously. This form of multiple views, perspectives and positionings may contribute to new readings of a document. Interesting experimental work in this direction is being conducted by the Digital Museum of African and Afro-Brazilian Memory – see www.museuafrodigital.ufba.br and Sansone 2012^a.

Figures

Questionnaire for the master's research

APPENDIX	
QUESTIONNAIRE	
<p>I, the author of this questionnaire, came from Europe a short while ago, and I am interested in knowing what you, as an American Negro, feel about the statements presented below.</p>	
<p>I, the author of this questionnaire, am an East African, and I am interested in knowing what you as an American Negro feel about the statements presented below.</p>	
<p>I, the author of this questionnaire, am a white American, and I am interested in knowing what you, as an American Negro, feel about the statements presented below.</p>	
<p>I, the author of this questionnaire, am an American Negro, and I am interested in knowing what you, as an American Negro, feel about the statements presented below.</p>	
<p>This questionnaire is anonymous, so, please, do not sign your name. On the left side of each statement show your agreement by the following sign X; and your disagreement by the following sign O.</p>	
<p>I appreciate your kind cooperation.</p>	
<p>1. Our local Negro community enjoys the same facilities as the other communities around us.</p>	
<p>2. As a Negro in the United States it does not matter where you are you always face the same disadvantages.</p>	
<p>3. In our community there is no hatred between whites and Negroes.</p>	
<p>4. As far as the treatment of Negroes is concerned, the United States is the best country there is.</p>	
<p>5. As a whole the white people of our community do not like Negroes.</p>	
<p>6. There is no better place in the world than the United States.</p>	

Questionnaire for the master's research

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7.
As a Negro in the United States I have practically the same rights and privileges as a white man in my own community.

8.
In our community the Negro is always faced with social barriers wherever he goes.

9.
As far as I am concerned my state has the worst racial policy of all the states of the Union.

10.
Negro and white relations in our community are no worse than any place else in the United States.

11.
As a whole, the North has a better racial policy than the South.

12.
There is no one to blame for the way white people treat the Negro in this country. God made things that way.

13.
All the Negro needs to do in order to get rid of race prejudice is to educate himself.

14.
The Negro in the United States is doing fine. There is hardly any reason for anybody to complain about anything.

15.
It is not easy for a Negro in this country to find a job, while it is comparatively easy for white men.

16.
We Negroes are satisfied with living where we are, let whites live where they are.

17.
Relations between whites and Negroes in this country are as bad as people say they are.

18.
The task of solving the problem of race relations in this country is a very difficult one. Especially because both whites and Negroes have strong prejudices against each other.

19.
Life for us Negroes in this country is unbearable.

Questionnaire for the master's research

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20.

The Negro in the United States has many chances to bettering his condition if only he knew how to take advantage of them.

21.

I prefer to live in the United States than anywhere in the world.

22.

It does not matter what people say to the contrary, I still believe that the Negro is inferior to the white.

23.

As a whole the people of Africa are better off than we American Negroes are here in this country.

24.

The reason why white people in this country discriminate against Negroes is because they feel inferior.

25.

I prefer to live anywhere else in the world but the United States.

26.

The problem of racial prejudice in this country is not goind to be solved until most colored peoples of the world have gained their freedom.

27.

The United States is the example of Democracy in the world, as far as race relations are concerned.

28.

We need other countries to pressure on the United States to change its racial policy.

29.

Intermarriage between whites and Negroes is one of the best ways of solving the problem of race prejudice in this country.

30.

Wherever people of different races live together there is always the problem of racial prejudice.

31.

I love the United States of America, no matter how I suffer from its injustices.

32.

If an opportunity were offered me I would prefer to move to another country than stay in this country.

Questionnaire for the master's research

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Date of birth: month..... year.....

I am a man..... a woman.....

Education (please circle the number of years finished)
1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and more.

Born in the state of

I now live in the state of

My college or university is

Father's occupation

Father's education (indicate your father's finished years of
schooling)

1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, and more

What occupation do you intend to enter?.....

Thank you very much, for cooperating.

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WE ARE
ALL
IMMIGRANTS

DOSSIER

Migration
and Exile

Foreword

Issues related to transnational migration have come to the fore in the current conjuncture of global capitalism. Since the 1990s, with the repositioning of nation-states in the wider political economy and the redirection of the movements of people across the world, an increasing anthropological interest in the study of international migration has emerged in Brazil. This dossier on migration and exile offers an overview of current themes and debates.

Historically, Brazil's population is made up of Portuguese, Africans (brought by force until the middle of the 19th century) and other Europeans who were part of the 'great migrations' that occurred between 1880 and 1930. To a lesser extent the country also received immigrants from Asia and the Middle East. On different occasions, Brazil attracted political activists who escaped from repressive regimes in European and Latin American countries such as Argentina, Uruguay and Chile. During the Brazilian dictatorship (1964-1985). On the other hand, thousands of activists were forced into exile. From the 1980s on Brazilians began to emigrate for economic reasons and the country began to attract immigrants from other Latin American countries, as well as from Asia and Africa, many of whom were seeking political asylum. In the last decade the number of emigrants has fallen and a significant number of Brazilians have begun to return.

All this has led to a renewed interest on international migration focussing both on Brazilian emigration and on the study of specific groups of immigrants to the country. With the internationalization of the discipline Brazilians are now studying international migration issues that are not necessarily related to Brazil

This dossier shows some of the directions these studies are taking. It is divided into four sections:

- 1) Studies on nationhood, colonization and immigration policies, as well as the local historical processes leading either to the reconstitution of ethnicity or assimilation;

- 2) The relation between immigration, labour and nationality in a time of neoliberal policies, flexible labour and capital and the marketing of cultural heritage;
- 3) Anthropological studies of exile in Brazil and the comparison between Brazilian exiles and exiles in Brazil during the period of the Latin American dictatorships at the end of the Cold War, including the importance of studying how the category of ‘exile’ is construed in specific situations; and
- 4) The connections between migration, gender and notions of trafficking of human beings in the construction of current immigration policy, within a context of securitization and the criminalization of transnational migrations.

Taken together, these texts reveal the intrinsic connections between international migration, nationhood and nationality and the ongoing concern of nation states in implementing policies to distinguish between desirable immigrants from undesirable ones. It is no coincidence that issues of nationalism and nationality pervade this dossier.

Due to the differentiation, both past and present, between natives and foreigners, and the debate as to the place of outsiders in any country, international migrations tend to be seen as a ‘social problem’. In the case of those who leave their country due to persecution, the very act of migration is viewed with suspicion, including by the host countries, who separate them from ‘immigrants’ using categories such as ‘exiles’, ‘refugees’ or ‘asylum seekers’, categories that victimize these migrants, implying a transitory status. In the context of contemporary globalization, with the ever greater circulation of people, products and capital, the differentiation between *desirable* and *undesirable* immigrants tends to be defined by dual categories such as ‘legal’ or ‘illegal’, “regular” or “irregular”. Those without documents are most susceptible to punishment. In Europe, the distinction between ‘communitarian citizens’ and ‘extra communitarian citizens’ leads to the decision over who has access to the fortress of the European Union, and has led to a dramatic increase in policing and the construction of border barriers.

Whereas in Europe and the United States immigration falls into the field of criminal law, in Brazil, at least since the dictatorship, is a question of national security concerns and the mistrust of ‘foreigners’. Moreover, the National Congress has not given the necessary priority to the reformulation of the legislation, which has been constantly postponed. Despite the emphasis on human rights in the discussion of new immigration policies, the diffusion of the categories of ‘human trafficking’ and ‘smuggling of immigrants’ has the potential of criminalizing immigrants’ strategies and restricting their rights.

In contemporary global capitalism, characterized by flexible capital and labour and the commercialization of culture, the European and American immigration policies of incorporation and exclusion are increasingly linked to the selective and precarious criteria of the requirement for temporary labour, covering a wide range of segments of the population. Considering, even if indirectly, distinctions of class, race and gender, these immigration policies, designed to serve the needs of companies that use foreign labour, strengthen existing hierarchies and reproduce existing social inequalities. At the same time, the consumption of ‘exotic’ historical heritages has engendered distinct processes of the incorporation of immigrants coming from countries that were previously colonies

Thus immigration policies tend to select migrants, favour specific flows, control displacements and outlaw those considered a threat to national security. In the past, dictatorships subjected certain groups to a terror regime of violence and persecution, labelling them as subversives and criminals and forcing them into exile. More recently, there has been an increasing process of securitization and criminalization of immigrants through the adoption of a restrictive notion of “trafficking of human beings.” The current criminalization of immigrants without documents is indicative of a broader policy to exclude economically vulnerable groups who live outside the major ‘hubs’ of the capitalist system.

Lastly, this dossier has been organized according to the practice of visual anthropology, relating images to text. In addition to the lithograph and the two nankeen kindly lent by the artist and Portuguese exile Fernando Lemos, we also use photographs from Paulo Guérios’ research files, and from the generous photographers Marcello Casal Junior from the Agência Brasil and Jim Kuhn, whose material is kindly made available through

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PART 1

The Meanings of Immigration in Brazilian History

The diverse understandings of foreign migration to the South of Brazil (1818-1950)

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Abstract

In this text I analyze some of the conceptual and subjective meanings of the notion of immigration, observing how these are appropriated in the debates on foreign colonization that influenced immigration policy in Brazil during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. I also discuss everyday representations of immigration contained in writings by German immigrants sent to colonize areas of southern Brazil, exploring the liminal identity that emerges as a result of the difficulty experienced settling in still untamed areas of Brazil. The text examines understandings of immigration more directly associated with the colonization process promoted by the Brazilian state, still included in the 1945 Law of Foreigners, through which large areas of uncultivated lands in the south of the country were occupied by European immigrants (and their descendants) in the form of family small-holdings. Under these circumstances, German immigration preceded other flows of migrants, despite Brazilian nationalistic concerns over assimilation.

Keywords: immigration; foreign colonization; nationalism; identity.

Resumo

Neste trabalho pretendo discutir alguns significados mais gerais da fundamentação conceitual da imigração e as apropriações e substituições do termo que estão presentes nos debates sobre as políticas de colonização estrangeira no Brasil, objeto de polêmicas desde o século XIX. Em contrapartida, a análise contempla as representações de senso comum de

imigrantes alemães acerca da imigração e da consequente identidade liminar produzida pela decisão de se estabelecer, em caráter definitivo, no Brasil. O trabalho aborda os entendimentos da imigração associados mais diretamente ao processo de colonização privilegiado pelo Estado brasileiro, inclusive na legislação correspondente, no longo percurso histórico que vai de 1818 até meados do século XX.

Palavras-chave: Imigração; colonização estrangeira; nacionalismo; Identidade.

The diverse understandings of foreign migration to the South of Brazil (1818-1950)

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Introduction

The word immigration usually indicates a particular dimension of international migration that presupposes the settling of people and groups in a foreign country – the synthesis found in etymological dictionaries and encyclopaedias. This is a basic and apparently fixed definition, enunciated in theory and certainly present in nationalist discourses and the symbolism associated with the new identities that emerge in receiving countries. In this text I discuss some of the more general meanings of the conceptual basis of immigration and the appropriations and substitutions of the term that are present in the debates on foreign colonization policies in Brazil, a polemical subject since the nineteenth century. By contrast the analysis explores the everyday representations of German immigrants concerning immigration and the consequent liminal identity produced by the decision to settle definitively in Brazil. The article explores the understandings of immigration more directly associated with the process of colonization favoured by the Brazilian state, including the corresponding legislation, which occurred primarily in the three southern states during the lengthy historical period spanning from 1818 to the mid-twentieth century.

During this period there was greater government interest in sending European immigrants to new ‘colonial nucleuses’ based around family smallholdings, an idea expressed in the regulations on foreign entry into the country. Under the Brazilian Empire and Republic, the immigration laws successively promulgated until the mid-twentieth century were also colonization laws, with the official designation *colono* (colonist, settler) very often

appearing as a synonym for immigrant. Following the end of slavery in 1888, the state of São Paulo became the biggest receiver of immigrants because of the need for a labour force on the large farm estates, in the expanding industrial sector and in urban services. On the other hand, even in the south, many foreigners preferred to settle in the cities. But this legal format persisted under the Law on Foreigners which came into force in 1945 at the end of the Second World War, despite that these new immigrants had little interest in moving to new rural colonies. After the First World War colonization was mainly undertaken by the descendants of immigrants. These factors explain the periodization adopted in this text.

The empirical grounding to the present text includes two sets of documents and publications examined over a long-term perspective. The analysis of the assertions on immigration/colonization contained in the discourses denoting formal concern with settlement of the national territory is based on the relevant legislation and on official publications (produced by individuals linked to the state apparatus) of an immigrationist or nationalist bent.

Another set of documents and publications provides empirical support to my observations on the understanding of immigration and the formulation of a related new identity by the immigrants themselves. In this case the texts are diverse in kind, narrating the individual experience of transnational movement: letters, memoirs, articles published in local newspapers, biographies, historical accounts and so on, held in public and private archives. Many of these documents were published on the initiative of descendants or scholars of colonization, or through the 'Original Documents' section of the journal *Blumenau em Cadernos*, published by the Blumenau Cultural Foundation. I have discussed the methodological importance of these sources in another text (Seyferth 2005: 13–51). Despite their subjective nature, these documents are useful so long as we look at them within the context in which they were produced (in this case, foreign colonization in the south in Brazil), remembering that they were written by individuals who talk about themselves but also about social processes without any concern with chronology: the time of the accounts is, above all, the time of memory.

In the preface to the collection of texts by A. Sayad on Algerian immigration in France, Pierre Bourdieu defines the immigrant as someone out of place:

Like Socrates, as described by Plato, the immigrant is *atopos*, has no place, and is displaced and unclassifiable. The comparison is not simply intended to ennable the immigrant by virtue of the reference. Neither citizen nor foreigner, not truly on the side of the Same nor really on the side of the Other, he exists within that ‘bastard’ place, of which Plato also speaks, on the frontier between being and social non-being. Displaced, in the sense of being incongruous and inopportune, he is a source of embarrassment. [...] Always in the wrong place, and now as out of place in his society of origin as he is in the host society, the immigrant obliges us to rethink completely the question of the legitimate foundations of citizenship and of relations between citizen and state, nation or nationality. (Bourdieu2004: xiv).

The comments underscore Sayad’s analytic perceptiveness, of course, but also have the virtue of highlighting the immigrant’s imprecise condition, a perturbing element of national identity. The discomfort caused by the liminality surrounding the immigrant’s condition is related to the development of nationalism over a period of approximately one century prior to the First World War, a time also marked by the mass immigration of Europeans provoked by the expansion of colonial empires and the formation of new States, especially in the Americas. As Hannah Arendt (1976) astutely observed, the nation state imagined by nationalism does not easily coexist with the more embarrassing ‘others’, given the former’s primordialist ideal of community that transforms the State into an instrument of the nation, which meant the subordination of citizenship to the principle of nationality. Among the ‘others’ (or ‘non-nationals’) were the undesired immigrants, the stateless, refugees, minorities and other categories organized in political and social fields after 1918, that is, in the post-war context marked by innumerable reconfigurations of international borders and the attempts to consolidate the League of Nations.

The subject ‘embarrassing everywhere’ identified by Bourdieu shapes the very definition of immigration since the immigrant’s social and political condition practically ‘deterritorializes’ him or her, bearing in mind the general principle of national identity forged under modernity.

I have no intention here of entering into the interminable debate on the concept of the nation,¹ suffice to recall that the modern meaning of the term gave a new dimension to the idea of the State, particularly in the nineteenth century (which for many scholars of nationalism only came to an end in 1914). The problem posed by the ideal of the nation state conceived by nationalism resides in the difficulty in defining what a nation is, or, as Hobsbawm (1990: 5) observed:

[...] the chief characteristic of this way of classifying groups of human beings is that, in spite of the claims of those who belong to it that it is in some ways primary and fundamental for the social existence, or even the individual identification, of its members, no satisfactory criterion can be discovered for deciding which of the many human collectivities should be labelled in this way.

The question of the criteria used to recognize national identity is clearly apparent in the political movements of collectivities as part of their demand for autonomy as nation states, while often remaining indefinitely in the condition of national minorities, sometimes in a situation of inequality. At the same time, human mobility over the course of modern history also disrupted the formation of the nation state idealized by nationalism, grounded in the (supposed) cultural, ethnic and linguistic unity of the ‘national community,’ without ignoring the political dimension. According to Gellner (1983), nationalism as a feeling or movement can be best defined via a political principle: it contains a theory of political legitimization. Yet for various reasons nationalism is intolerant of cultural diversity and adverse to legitimizing a pluralist political system. Nationalism engenders the nation through cultural artifices, arbitrary histories and invented traditions, but cannot be considered merely an ideology.

Weber (n.d., 1991) situated the concept of the nation in the sphere of values, emphasizing the importance of ‘national feeling’ and ‘national solidarity,’ the belief in the existence of a ‘national communion’ steeped in references to the community of language and culture. In an unfinished text written at the end of the First World War, Mauss (1969) also calls attention to the principle of nationality (forged in Romanticism) that symbolically expresses

¹ The different ways of conceiving the nation as a political and cultural reality can be observed in the collections edited by Hutchinson & Smith (1994) and Balakrishnan (2000).

the nation's existence. In everyday representations the nation merges with nationality, possessing a negative content – the revolt (or hatred) directed towards the foreigner and expressed in the disease of national consciousness. For Mauss, all the Europeans wars since the Napoleonic era, including the First World War, were nationality wars.

These considerations indicate a series of conceptual problems, identified with a certain irritation by Max Weber (1991), given the symbolism of nationalism and the principle of nationality, which attribute greater importance to the cultural, linguistic and primordial dictates (or naturalized belonging) of the nation's formation than to political reason and citizenship.

The beginning of European emigration to Brazil coincided with the formulation of a kind of ethnic theory of nationality inherent to Romanticism and expressed in its purest form by Herder, who considered the nation a cultural whole associated with a people (*Volk*), and by Fichte, creator of the notion of *Volksgeist* (spirit of the people). The two philosophers were key figures in the initial phase of Romanticism and took as their empirical reference point the 'German nation' based on linguistic and cultural unity without any correspondence to a politically and territorially unified State (finally made concrete in 1871). Ethnic, cultural and linguistic manifestations, reinforced by the notion of folklore (and its links to 'popular culture'), persisted in the formulation of national identities and strengthened the feelings of belonging and xenophobia. Hobsbawm (1990: 131) writes that ethnic nationalism was exacerbated in the second half of the nineteenth century by the increase in geographic migration and racism (which precipitated the convergence of race and nation), as well as linguistic nativism (whose symbolic meaning prevailed over actual use of the language). Indeed the ideal of the nation state proclaimed by nationalism supposes a sovereign territorial and political entity and a univocal national community composed of a people, a culture and a language. The cultural, linguistic and other differences produced by immigration – even when the latter is considered necessary and encouraged – are generally perceived to be a danger: a threat to the unity of the State. This 'naturalized' conception of the nation extols particularism, opposing the foreigner (and strangers in general) to the national. In this liminal situation, the immigrant is a foreigner, or, to invoke the term's etymology, an individual who is not native to the country where he or she is found, pertaining to another nation and requiring naturalization (including to be considered a citizen),

a situation that does not necessarily guarantee equal recognition. The idea of *naturalidade*, nativeness, includes the place of birth. However the term also contains an ambiguity insofar as it suggests that nationality involves sharing an identity linked to an historical and cultural heritage and, sometimes, to a primordialist language of common kinship (or origin). ‘Naturalization’ assures citizenship rights to the immigrant through a form of ‘adoption,’ which does not necessarily include the attribution of a new national identity.

Understandings of the phenomenon of migration have varied over time, including in Brazil. Simplifying from the word’s etymology, migration indicates the relocation of individuals and groups across geographic space. Modern human migration, for its part, concerns the intercontinental movements of people since the sixteenth century, associated with colonialism and, as part of the context of the formation of new states in the nineteenth century, with the emigration of Europeans (and others), initially with some degree of freedom but later increasingly controlled by more restrictive government policies.

As Ferenczi observes (1933), the intercontinental migrations of Europeans during the nineteenth century helped solve problems of unemployment and demographic growth in their home countries. Precisely for this reason, public regulation of emigration and immigration was more relaxed, reflecting the strength of the spontaneous waves of migration. Hence while the colonizing countries exported paupers and convicts to their overseas colonies (and here the reference is almost always to the occupation of Australia), the countries that did not possess colonies would, at moments of economic and political crisis, subsidize emigration, especially of the poor, vagrants, the unemployed, revolutionaries and other problematic social categories – a practice with various repercussions in the countries receiving these immigrants. The abolition of slavery also stimulated emigration, particularly in the period from 1830 to 1870. These observations are important for two reasons: first, they indicate the two complementary processes making up theories of international migration – detailed in encyclopaedia entries²–that refer to leaving a country of birth and entering a receiving country, and second, they emphasize the European historical juncture that favoured emigration, a matter of interest to the Brazilian government since 1824.

² Migration theories were more intensely debated after the First World War and their importance can be observed in the diverse (and lengthy) articles contained in the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, published in 1933 by Macmillan.

The theoretical constructs surrounding migration show the difficulty in formulating a single theory to explain a heterogeneous set of social, economic, demographic and political phenomena that, in diverse ways, interest the different disciplines in the fields of Geography and the Human and Social Sciences. Hence the variety of conceptual expressions used, very often in the form of dyads (internal/international migration, temporary/permanent, colonization/labour migration, legal/illegal), or the adjectives employed to qualify migration, sometimes referring to different historical periods, such as primitive, modern, free, voluntary, forced, mass and so on (see Cohen 1996).

My interest here involves keeping the more general meaning of 'modern migration,' a concept related to multiple forms of mobility, including movements from rural to urban areas (linked to industrial development). However it also includes migrations across international borders, controlled in some form by government policies from the nineteenth century onwards when the nation state became consolidated just as the European diaspora increased to other continents. These policies covered emigration and immigration, both subject to public regulation and, as Ferenczi observed (1933), more relaxed control in the nineteenth century for two reasons: greater freedom to emigrate due to the support and sometimes subsidies granted by some governments for the departure of its unemployed and poor citizens; and the opening up to (European) emigration by some new States, in particular the United States, Argentina and Brazil. Slowly this relative freedom at the two poles of international migration drifted into more restrictive policies which changed how (im)migration was understood, introducing new categories of undesirables. In many ways, migration can be understood as a movement that was voluntary but controlled within the ambit of the nation state, since domestic policy prevailed, even after the creation of international organizations (the League of Nations, the United Nations) in the twentieth century.

According to its initial formulation in the theoretical field, immigration presupposed the entry of people into a foreign country with the intention of forming part of the life of this country and making it their more or less permanent place of residence. Such is the definition given by Ware (1933) in describing European mobility and its economic and cultural implications. This interpretation could be said to align with the nationalist discourse in those countries receiving European immigrants, perceived as a potential element in the formation of the people (and thus the nation), despite the asymmetry that

accompanies this kind of premise, frequently connected to the idea of assimilation. It can also be perceived in the everyday discourse of European immigrants in the modern era, particularly in the period prior to the First World War, divested of the assimilationist ideal sometimes present in the receiving country, indicating the immigrants' liminal social condition and the rupture needed to construct their new identity. Both perceptions can be observed in the discourses and practices concerning European colonization in Brazil.

II

The official understanding of immigration and its potential role in national development varied considerably in Brazil, even taking into account the government's interest in attracting European settlers, a constant aim during the first half of the twentieth century, including within the New State's Immigration and Colonization Council (1937-1945). European colonization began before independence, soon after the promulgation of Ordinance 08/02/1817, which regulated the entry and expulsion of foreigners. In this case 'foreigner' was someone in a temporary situation, not definitively established as worker or trader, and the decree encouraged the expulsion of those without a passport or legitimization card.

In 1818 negotiations involving the Portuguese and Swiss governments cleared the way for the installation of a colony on the Morro Queimado Farmstead in the Cantagalo district of Rio de Janeiro state, later named Nova Friburgo. The official documentation regulating the localization of the Swiss immigrants contains the general principles that guided the colonization system after independence, based on poly-culture (to produce food supplies) on smallholdings employing a family workforce. It is not my intention to analyze the causes of this international migration (basically related to the agrarian crises that affected various European countries at the start of the nineteenth century) since my main focus is on how the migratory process has been perceived.

The word immigration was not part of the official lexicon, although it was presupposed in the principal categories used: *colono* and *civilização*. In Decree 06/05/1818, D. João VI ruled that the civilization of the Kingdom of Brazil should be promoted by augmenting the population with people skilled in various types of work (agricultural and industrial), bringing in Swiss settlers during this first phase. Here settler is synonymous with immigrant,

while civilization evokes Europe. Settlers could be naturalized once established, acquiring the status of vassals of the king (in accordance with Decree 16/05/1818). The arrival of foreigners on a definitive basis, which constitutes the common sense definition of immigration, appears clearly in the legal texts, though these also speak of family-based colonization as part of a civilizing process. At the same time, the only reference to the biological characteristics of the immigrants appeared during the raising of a Swiss militia of 150 men aged between 18 and 40 to form battalions of *whites* alongside the Portuguese contingent.

The reference to skin colour also appears later in the context of a debate on the settling of German migrants in Rio Grande do Sul, in an official document issued on 31/03/1824 which asserted the “superior advantage of employing white and industrious people, both in the arts and in agriculture” (see Rocha 1918, v.1: 182). Colonization was resumed with the foundation of São Leopoldo in July 1824, this time in the southern region, considered demographically ‘empty’ and under threat from Argentina. In the legislation anticipating the immigration processes, including Law 30/10/1823 which instituted Brazil’s provincial governments, colonization was qualified as ‘foreign’ yet the terms immigration and immigrant were absent. The foreigners sent to these starter colonies were identified as *colonos*, settlers, followed by their nationality of origin. The presupposition of staying in the country permanently, for its part, appears clearly in the various naturalization laws promulgated from 1832 onwards that sought to regulate the residential status of the settlers, albeit with some restrictions since naturalization was not available to those who had lost their civil rights in their country of origin. It also involved a lengthy bureaucratic process.

The flow of settlers (in this case German) was interrupted in 1830 and, save for some private initiatives authorized by the province of Santa Catarina that proved unsuccessful, the imperial government only resumed foreign (European) colonization in the mid-1840s during a wide-ranging debate on the new land law and abolition of the African slave trade.³

In 1848 those provinces interested in promoting colonization (both domestic and foreign) received control of some of the unoccupied lands. The

³ The law abolishing the slave trade was promulgated the same year as the Land Law, 1850, a fact equally related to the project of occupying empty lands with immigrants. The existence of the slave trade was considered by the advocates of foreign colonization one of the obstacles to attracting European settlers.

same proposal appears in the Land Law (Law 601, issued 18/09/1850), which among other things defined unoccupied lands and ruled that they could only be granted through sale to private companies and for the establishment of colonies. The law created space for colonization through private companies or associations formed for this purpose and approved by decree by the State Office of Imperial Affairs. Although colonies with Brazilian settlers did exist, colonization remained closely tied to immigration. In this case use of the term *colono*, settler, rather than immigrant is highly significant. The arguments made by the Empire's Ministers in favour of foreign colonization, both before and after the Land Law, included the use of propaganda to encourage emigration to Brazil, yet in the actual legislation the figure of the settler stands out. The expression "import European settlers" was also frequently used during the imperial period, principally when European emigration appeared in progressive discourse as the best way to 'replace' slave labour, recalling here that trading in slaves was sometimes referred to as 'importation.'

The colonization planned by the imperial government focused on the three southern provinces and Espírito Santo, specifically in areas where there were no expanding slave-based plantations. At the same time, though, the possibility of the eventual abolition of the slave trade stimulated the introduction of a partnership system with European settlers in the São Paulo coffee plantations in 1847 – a polemical topic in Europe since it suggested a model of substituting slaves with immigrants that hinted of servitude. In both cases immigration was designed to meet the interests of the Brazilian state in populating unoccupied lands, and in satisfying the demand for labour on the coffee estates (especially in São Paulo). The immigrant was subsumed under the common denominator of *colono*, settler, but with different meaning. In São Paulo the term *colono* indicated an immigrant working to contract (almost always on abusive terms) in coffee cultivation.⁴

The legislation regulating the entry of foreigners during much of the Empire seldom contained the word immigration (or immigrant). The term emerges more frequently from the mid-1860s in the legislative acts approving the statutes of companies wishing to recruit and dispatch settlers to the São

⁴ In the case of São Paulo, immigrants were subordinated to the interests of coffee growing. The unfavourable contractual conditions resulted in various settler revolts. According to Beiguelman (1978), the accumulation of funds by immigrants would often lead them to search for better opportunities in farming (as smallholders) or in the cities.

Paulo estates or to new colonization areas, or in the contracts signed between the imperial government and private agencies.

In summary, during the Empire settler and immigrant are classificatory terms used to designate either a generic European or, sometimes, a specific European nationality and an accompanying hierarchy of preferences in terms of which nationalities were chosen. While in some cases the reference is to ‘European settlers,’ in other cases apparently random nationalities (or regionalities) are specified, significantly associated with the work factor. Two examples shed light on this pattern: in Decree n. 5.663, issued on 17/06/1874, Joaquim Caetano Pinto Junior is contracted to import 100,000 German, Austrian, Swiss, northern Italian, Basque, Swedish, Danish and French immigrants, “healthy, hardworking and moralized farmers” (with up to 20% of them belonging to other professions); in Decree n. 5.699, issued 31/07/1874, Colonel José A. A. Pereira is contracted to introduce 4,000 immigrant in the province of Paraná, the nationalities varying slightly since now Germans, Belgians and Basques are joined by Lombards, Swedes and Slavs. Here we encounter a conception of directed immigration, congruent with the system of foreign colonization, while the 20% of immigrants from other professions was designed to meet the demand for skilled tradesmen in the cities.

The legislation does not detail the nationalities that were given priority. This appears to have been given to those with a vocation for agriculture and the arts/trades. The hierarchy of nationalities is clearly set out in a variety of publications from people linked to the State apparatus, such as the Marquis of Abrantes and the Counsel Menezes e Souza (from the Ministry of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works): in these publications, the Germans invariably appear in first place., a fact not reflecting alphabetic order. As Menezes e Souza specifies (1875: 403), the Germans had a taste and talent for immigration, persevered, loved work, and passed easily from the trade of craftsman to the profession of farmer – in sum, they were the ‘settlers par excellence.’

This kind of evaluation of the settler immigrant was extended to other European nationalities since the initial German flow was numerically supplanted by immigrants from other areas of Europe, notably Italians. The ideal of Brazilian nationhood was shaped within the parameters of western civilization. The civilizing rhetoric, only suggested in some legal texts, appears emphatically in the majority of the writings by advocates of immigration, which contain categorical assertions such as, for example, a phrase

introducing Tavares Bastos's reflections on immigration in a text published in 1867, commissioned by the International Immigration Society:

Emigration ceased to be, like the exodus of the Hebrews, forced exile and became the most effective instrument for civilization on the planet. (Tavares Bastos 1976: 51)

At more or less the same time, the afore mentioned Counsel Menezes e Souza claimed that a 'fertilizing exodus' should leave the Teutonic countries (and other less favoured regions of continental Europe) for Brazil, a fairly unusual way of alluding to European emigration. Here I do not intend to discuss the idea of racial inequality present in this type of argument, which extols the civilizing quality of the European immigrant, emphasized more strongly at the end of the nineteenth century. However we can observe that immigration was linked in racial discourse to the idea of the formation of the people, a key element of assimilationist nationalism. This connection produced another premise that would mark in particular the more radical variants of race-based republican nationalism during the first half of the twentieth century. These in turn influenced the ways of defining which immigrants were desired, despite the almost monolithic acceptance of the civilizing qualities of European immigration. Here I refer to the dual aspect of the assimilation process advocated in the ideal of forming the nation. On one hand, there was the belief that the Brazilian population could be whitened through selective miscegenation with white immigrants. On the other hand, these same immigrants should desist from maintaining any cultural plurality, becoming properly integrated into the Luso-Brazilian organization of the nation.⁵

Assimilation cannot be considered a relevant theme in the discussions of foreign colonization policies during the Empire period, given the greater interest in populating the Brazil's territory as part of its progress. For this reason colonization was criticized by nationalist sectors from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, concerned above all with the multiplication of 'German colonies' in the south. The numerical preponderance of Germans in colonization areas until the start of the 1870s was used to define a certain type of undesirable immigrant, white and civilized but with the tendency to form 'enclaves' due to

⁵ On the importance of this nationalist racial ideal in the discussions on immigration policy, see Seyferth (1991 and 2002).

their distance from Latin cultures. Germans – and later, under the Republic, the Japanese – headed the lists of the ‘unassimilable’ in the two senses cited above. The idea of an unequivocal ‘Latinness’ stands out in the assimilationist arguments made in favour of Italian, Portuguese and Spanish immigration – all nationalities imagined to have the potential to integrate, including racially, due to their linguistic, cultural and religious proximities. Seen in terms of integration, the continuance of German immigration was considered a risk for the principle of nationality and for the security of the territory –hence the fear of an ‘invasion’ of Protestant Germans which became prominent from the 1870s onwards in a discourse brimming with xenophobia from some of the more radical nationalists, and codified at the end of the nineteenth century in the expression ‘the German peril’ in response to Pan-Germanist propaganda.

The data presented, although limited, show different ways of understanding immigration and specifying the particularity of specific immigrants. The ‘enclaved’, ‘unassimilable’ were undesirable and contracted with the ‘Latin’ who were considered more compatible with the formation of the Brazilian nation. The nationalist view was not opposed to foreign colonization: yet, the ideal settler is easily assimilated, placed in contact with Brazilian nationals in mixed colonies.

The principle of nationality also had repercussions for naturalization. On this point, we can note the use of the term foreigner instead immigrant since the first law regulating the attribution of nativeness in 1832. In legal terms, the naturalization card was issued under the Empire to foreign applicants who met certain requirements (aged over 21, possessing civil rights in their country of origin, time of residence in Brazil, declaration of religious and patriotic principles, and so on). In practice naturalization involved a complicated bureaucratic process and many of the foreigners able to apply were settlers located in pioneer areas. Hence one of first measures of the provisional government of the Republic in relation to immigration was to consider as Brazilian citizens all those foreigners residing in Brazil on 15/11/1889, save for a declaration to the contrary in the municipality concerned.

The Republican government sought to regulate the situation of numerous immigrants who had been living in the country for decades without citizenship at a moment of considerable increase in the flows of immigration. But the question of assimilation persisted. It was felt that naturalization gave foreigners civil rights but did not transform them into actual Brazilians. This

led to an interminable debate on ‘nationalization’ or ‘Brazilianization’. The significant increase in European immigration at the turn of the twentieth century, particularly of the desired ‘Latins,’ helped exacerbate the belief in whitening the population, another element considered essential to ensuring that Brazil could become included in western civilization, though as a nation state singularized by its Luso-Brazilianness. In spite of the (slow) discrediting of the theories that preached racial inequality and opposed (indiscriminate) miscegenation in the name of white superiority, these ideas concerning the formation of the Brazilian nation persisted until the mid-twentieth century. Even though divested of direct references to race, they were essential in planning the forced assimilation of immigrants and their descendants through the ‘nationalization campaign’ pursued by the New State (1937-1945).

The misplaced critique of the methods of foreign colonization in the Empire marked the discussion of immigration in the First Republic, but failed to have much practical repercussion. Legally immigration remained linked to colonization, falling under the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture, Trade and Public Works (and its General Inspectorate of Lands and Colonization), reflecting the primary interest of the federal government and some state governments in the entry of settlers (whether farmers or artisans). There was no specific restriction on immigrants trained in other professions, whether arriving with their families or not, who preferred to settle in urban areas. They needed to comply with the general qualifications demanded of ideal immigrants (including settlers) also in force during the Empire: healthy, educated and morally upstanding individuals with an aptitude for work, under the age of 60, and with no criminal past. However Decree 528, issued 29/06/1890, which regulated the introduction of immigrants, imposed virtually insurmountable difficulties to the entry of “natives from Asia or Africa”. This was later revoked for immigrants from Japan and China in 1902 due to the federal government’s desire to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with those two countries, and the interest of São Paulo’s coffee growers in hiring Japanese settlers, reputed to be ‘good agriculturists’. The racial question implied here generated fierce debates because of the nationalists’ rejection of the arrival of more people they imagined to be unassimilable (see Seyferth 2002). The essential fact, however, resides in the agricultural qualification of the preferred immigrant. The only assimilationist stipulation – non-existent in the Empire’s legislation – can be found in

Article 42 of the cited Decree: 25% of the total number of immigrant families admitted in the colonial nucleuses should be nationals, “hardworking, educated and apt for the agricultural service”. The idea of a ‘mixed colony’ (including Brazilians citizens and immigrants of different nationalities) is implicit in this stipulation which, during the expansion of colonization, also met the demand for lands of the descendants of European immigrants.

The model of localizing immigrants in colonial nucleuses remained the same under the Republic, families being established on ‘lines’ with plots of approximately 25 hectares. On the other hand, it should be observed that during the Empire the entry of European settlers was requested (and even stimulated) without significant restrictions, except those related to age and criminality.⁶ On this point, the most evident change in the conception of immigration and the immigrant after 1889 can be seen in the restructuring of the ministry responsible and in the decrees creating and regulating the Settlement Service. Through Decree 1.066, issued on 19/12/1906, the federal government created the Ministry of Agricultural, Industrial and Commercial Affairs (MAIC) responsible for immigration and colonization and for catechizing and civilizing the indigenous population. Shortly after Decree 6.455, issued on 19/04/1907 laid out the framework for the National Land Settlement Service.⁷ In its second article, it defines the immigrant as follows:

Those accepted as immigrants shall be foreigners under the age of 60, without contagious disease, not exercising an illicit profession, nor recognized as criminals, troublemakers, beggars, vagrants, lunatics or invalids, arriving in national territory with third class tickets...

The same wording reappears in Decree 9.081, issued on 03/11/1911, which established a new framework for the Settlement Service, covering immigration and colonization with the addition that second and third class passengers could now be admitted as immigrants.⁸ Here immigrants are primarily

⁶ Criminality was a common topic in the discussions on immigration policy due to the absence of control over the practices of agencies hired by the government, very often accused of “emptying the European prisons.”

⁷ .The MAIC was only regulated in 1909:until then the Settlement Service was part of the Ministry of Industry, Roads and Public Works. In fact there was just a change in the name, emphasizing agriculture!

⁸ The continuation and privileging of colonization with immigrants is clearly evident in this decree. It comprises 26 chapters and 277 articles regulating in detail the localization of foreign settlers in the colonial nucleuses, as well as the introduction of immigrants.

qualified by their ‘moral conditions’. However, we can note the clear association with poverty contained in the allusion to third class passengers. At the same time the legislation on immigration remained embedded within the legal regulation of colonization, now openly announced as settlement. To a certain extent the ideal immigrants for the federal government were those sent (by the State or by authorized companies) to a colonial nucleus and who were obviously *moralizados* and ‘apt’ for work, thereby replicating the Empire’s aims in relation to immigration. In that decree, the imperial model of colonization, criticized by republican nationalism, is very clearly evident in article 140, where the ‘colonial line’ is defined as “a carriage way bordered by measured and demarcated lots, adjacent or close to each other, allocated for settlement by immigrants as land owners.”

Immigration and colonization therefore continued to be coupled with legislation that focussed on populating the country, with families with an aptitude for work. It also instituted general guidelines for introducing and settling immigrants with precise rules on entrance into the country. The law was promulgated during the ‘great immigration,’ a historical period when the numbers of foreigners entering Brazil were at their highest, before falling significantly after 1914. Paradoxically, despite the continuation of the policy of establishing colonial nucleuses, most immigrants were sent to the state of São Paulo because of the demand there for labour on the coffee plantations and in the expanding industry, or sought to work on the urban job market, especially in the south, including in the towns and cities emerging in the old colonization areas. The large volume of entrants was probably one of the reasons for imposing more rigorous controls, especially given the eugenicist pronouncements in discussions of the ‘immigration problem,’ also debated by social thinkers analyzing the formation of the Brazilian nation (see Seyferth 2002). In this case, the representation of dangerous immigration includes the negative image of immigrants who were sick (the fear of contagious diseases), elderly (not ‘apt’ for work) or lacking morality: racial issues were dissimulated in the wider legislation, but formed part of the intense political and academic debate around ‘whitening,’ which presupposed the exclusion of non-white people, which appeared in its more radically racial form in the works of João B. de Lacerda and Oliveira Vianna, for example.⁹

⁹ See Lacerda (1911), Oliveira Vianna (1938). The first edition of Oliveira Vianna’s book, significantly

Other evidence of closer control of entry lies in the establishment of immigrant hostels from 1890 onwards. These were run by the Union or the States, and were designed to receive those foreigners who had been identified as immigrants. This identification suggests an understanding of immigration as the settlement of immigrants in the country. It was based on a distinction made in some legal texts between simple foreigners and the immigrant foreigners who were subject to more stringent restrictions. In the 1930s, these obstacles increased with the inclusion of political-ideological and ethnic criteria for evaluating immigrants. On this point, Decree 24.215, issued on 09/04/1934, is emblematic since as well as the cases specified previously, it also prohibited the entry of drug addicts, the illiterate, people with physical and/or mental disabilities, people with a history of conduct harmful to public order or national security, and Roma people.

The premise of living permanently in the country, which makes the immigrant a potential participant in the nation's formation, foregrounds the process of naturalization, especially the early legal form granted in 1889. The requirements, applicable to new immigrants only, were established in 1902: to obtain naturalization, the applicant had to present an identity document (passport), be over the legal age of majority, have resided in Brazil for a minimum of two years and prove to have a clean police record (attested by official documents). Later changes to the rules were relatively insignificant, such as an eventual increase in the required time of residence in the country. Under the New State, the omnipresent issue of national security prevailed, allowing naturalization to be refused to those immigrants deemed "harmful to the country's order, security and prosperity."

In the 1930s and especially under the New State, what were once laws regulating immigration and colonization became laws on foreigners. They maintained the regulations on the settlement of colonial nucleuses. There was a drastic reduction in European immigration, while Japanese immigration increased along with the demands from stateless people and refugees. The obstacles to foreigners then increased in general. A quota system for

entitled *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro* [Evolution of the Brazilian People], emerged in 1923 and related to the divulgation of the results of the 1920 census. Lacerda, as a representative of the Brazilian government, presented his version of the theory of whitening at the Universal Races Congress held in London, 1911. The discussion on the formation of the Brazilian people intensified during this period because of the beginning of Japanese immigration, in 1908, and of the statistical decline in European immigration after 1914.

immigrants was introduced in 1934 and maintained in Law Decree 406 of 04/05/1938, and in Law Decree 7.967 of 18/09/1945. The formulae used to calculate these quotas¹⁰ favoured the immigrants desired by republican nationalism (Portuguese, Italian and Spanish), an important indicator of the weight given to the ideal of assimilation, the political base of forced nationalization elaborated by the Immigration and Colonization Council in collusion with sections of the military.

The first direct mention of assimilation in a legal text appears in the aforementioned Law Decree 406. Assimilation and its corollary, the ‘melting pot’ (or the *crisol de raças*, ‘crucible of races,’ in the Brazilian expression), formed part of the discussion of immigration policies and appeared as a regular theme in the pages of the *Revista de Imigração e Colonização*, an official publication that served as an outlet for texts by members of the Immigration and Colonization Council. On this point, Article 2 of the decree leaves no doubts about the kind of immigrants that were sought:

The Federal Government reserves the right to limit or suspend, for economic or social motives, the entry of individuals of particular *races* or *origins*, after hearing from the Immigration and Colonization Council.

The proviso obviously appears after the usual list of undesirables. Assimilation is also in the title to Chapter VIII, which stipulates the formation of colonies with immigrants from at least three distinct nationalities, and more than 30% of Brazilians. The Council had the right to prohibit the settling of foreigners who compromised “the ethnic or social composition of the Brazilian people.” The ideal of assimilation reappeared in Decree 3.010, of 20/08/1938, which ruled on the period of residence requires, the distribution and assimilation of foreigners with the aim of preserving the ‘ethnic constitution’ of Brazil. Here we can observe the continuation of immigration within the campaign for the nationalization of aliens, a classification that presumes the absence of a sense of Brazilianness, including among descendants and naturalized citizens who maintained some degree of cultural distinctiveness.

Immigration is seen, therefore, as a process of complete incorporation into the new nationality, whose traditional bedrock is the ‘Iberian substratum’

¹⁰ The foreigners admitted as immigrants each year could not exceed 2% of the number of individuals of the same nationality who had entered in the period from 1884 to 1934. The largest flows of migrants during this period came from Italy, Portugal and Spain.

(of language, culture and character). Ribeiro Couto (1941), who believed in the effectiveness of assimilation, argued for its inclusion in the Law of Foreigners. His use of the terms ethnic and ethnic group fails to conceal the racial nature of his understanding of assimilation (based on the notion of the melting pot) and reveals the belief in the whitening of the population. As Couto put it:

However great our goodwill, however deep our instinct for international cordiality, it falls to us to defend the morphological characteristics of the Brazilian people, preserve its possibilities of getting closer to the founding European types, keeping apart the Asiatic groups and preventing their development. Hence the Japanese problem is from the start an immigration policy problem. (Couto 1941: 22).

The comments reveal the kind of thinking prevailing in the New State's Immigration and Colonization Council concerning the formation of the Brazilian people. It is particularly significant that he made no reference to Africans since they were not even imagined as immigrants. Asians, however, especially the Japanese, were treated as high-risk immigrants, who should be subject to police control. Another defender of the 'ethnic' control of immigration, Artur Hehl Neiva, a prominent member of the Council, provides a good idea of the scale of the question, discussed in the 1934 Constitutional Assembly, where there were no lack of proposals for ensuring the entry of 'white people' only, excluding immigrants from the "black and yellow races," made by influential politicians like Miguel Couto, Xavier de Oliveira, Artur Neiva and so on. These claimed that "the problem has beset the conscience of the nation" (Neiva 1944: 516). Neiva suggested an immigration policy linked to the "categorical imperatives of national security" which would involve the selection of immigrants "from eugenic, ethnic and political aspects." From this viewpoint, the policy was consistent with the ideal of whitening, demanding the favouring of "white immigration and reducing or, preferably, excluding black and yellow immigration" (Neiva 1944: 578). Concluding his text, Neiva lends support to the 'wise' policy of placing restrictions on the stateless, a detail that calls attention to other problematic categories in the context of international migrations, present in the lexicon of exclusion since the 1920s, among them refugees and national minorities.

The two texts cited above, along with others of the same ilk published in the same journal by authors like Oliveira Vianna, A. Lima Câmara, Gavião

Gonzaga, Lourival Câmara among others, influenced the drafting of the new Law of Foreigners promulgated at the end of the New State (the aforementioned Decree 7.967 of 1945) and which remained in force after the war. The law remained wedded to the dictates of national security, while the second article authorized the exclusion of immigrants that threaten to dilute the characteristics of European descent in the population's ethnic makeup. The connection between this desired immigration and progress is contemplated in the law, which shows continuity in the mid-twentieth century of the developmentalist and civilizing goals advocated in the Empire period.

This radically assimilationist nationalism reached its apogee during the Vargas era, and was manifest in xenophobic demonstrations. In this climate, the very definition of immigration as a definitive process of settling foreigners in the country demanded the renunciation of their previous nationality (through naturalization) and of their cultural past. The forced nationalization that interfered with symbolic and practical violence in the everyday life of groups of immigrants and their descendants from 1937 onwards (see Seyferth 1999: 285-330) was a precise indication that immigration and naturalization were imagined differently by the immigrants themselves.

III

The perception of the meaning of immigration for immigrants themselves can be observed in testimonies written by settlers from different social strata in their country of origin.¹¹ In these writings, immigration is almost always presented in the etymological sense of the word, emphasizing the fixing of residence in the receiving country, but at the same time describing the immigrant as someone out of place, in search of a new identity, and confronting the ambiguities of naturalization.

The Editorial of the launch issue of the newspaper *Kolonie Zeitung*, founded in 1862 on the initiative of Ottokar Dörffel in the D. Francisca colony (Joinville, Santa Catarina state), is a good example of the liminality inherent to this transition. It is particularly relevant here since it expresses the

¹¹ The term *colono* was employed, including officially, to designate any individual established in a colonization area, including residents of the settlements dedicated to trade and craft, some having emigrated for political motives, others with university training involved in educational and cultural activities, and so on.

opinion of an important local leader, with a revolutionary past, inaugurating the German-language press in Santa Catarina.¹² Dörffel emigrated to the colony in question after being attracted by the propaganda of the 1849/Hamburg Colonization Society, a company promoting colonization in lands owned by the Prince of Joinville, received as a dowry on the occasion of his marriage to D. Francisca, sister of Emperor Pedro II.

Dörffel's biography is not that of a common settler, as becomes clear in the obituary published by the *Kolonie Zeitung* on 20/11/1906.¹³ Born in Waldenburg, Saxony, in 1818, the son of a public servant, he trained in Law in 1842, in Leipzig. He worked as a lawyer and, in 1847, became a court clerk in Glauchau: two years later he became the town's Burgermeister (mayor). In this capacity he became involved in the revolutionary events of 1848, participating in the conflicts that occurred in the Kingdom of Saxony in 1849. After the failure of the revolution, he faced a criminal inquest for high treason: he was condemned and later pardoned by the king. He always denied requesting the pardon (the starting point for the process) and faced various trials in the Dresden Superior Court, receiving absolution in 1852. His connection with the 1848 revolution prevented him from returning to a normal life in Glauchau, leading to his decision to emigrate.¹⁴ As a result, he considered himself an exile, a status alluded to in the Editorial of the *Kolonie Zeitung* cited above. His importance in the cultural and political life of Joinville (the name given to the D. Francisca colony after

¹² The *Kolonie Zeitung* – the first German-Brazilian newspaper in Santa Catarina – circulated almost without interruption until 1942. It was published in Portuguese between 1938 and 1942, meeting the New State's nationalist demands for 'Brazilianization.'

¹³ The biographic data are taken from Dörffel's obituary, translated by Elly Herkenhoff and included in a publication with a small print run, intended for the divulgence of historical documents – *Arquivo Histórico de Joinville*, Year 1, Number 1, October 1983.

¹⁴ A large number of participants from the movement emigrated, especially to the United States. The 1848 revolution in Germany mobilized different social groups, including the bourgeoisie and the liberal middle class, workers, peasants, communists (with the participation of Karl Marx and other 'revolutionary philosophies') in search of political and social reforms, taking as a background the ideal of unification of the diverse German states into a federation. Many armed conflicts took place, including in Berlin (see Carr 1979). Dörffel took part in one of these episodes, occurring in Dresden, leading two contingents of revolutionaries who left Glauchau. It is interesting to note that he settled as an immigrant on lands belonging to the Prince of Joinville who, out of financial necessity following the outcome of the 1848 revolution in France (which resulted in the fall of the King Louis Philippe), decided to found a colonization company. Dörffel's emigration to Brazil prompted some of his compatriots to do the same given his status as a local political leader: this was the case of Cristian Strobel, who wrote an account of his 'pioneering' trajectory, published in 1987, cited by Machado (1998) who studied the emigration of the Strobel family to Paraná.

the settlement was given municipal status in the 1870s) is signalled in the local historiography. Indeed he distinguished himself as a journalist, co-founder and supporter of cultural and recreational associations, and author of books on local history and guides for emigrants wishing to settle in Brazil's south. He was elected a local councillor and, as president of the Municipal Chamber, held the post of mayor between 1873 and 1876.

The content of the Editorial reflects the trajectory of an opinion maker and community leader, and provides a clear picture of the immigrant as someone between two homelands. The first paragraph of the Editorial explains this liminal situation with some precision:

Fatherland (*Vaterland*)! What a sublime fascination this name holds, and on pronouncing it, how we stand tall, how our chest swells – but how many feelings, for us painful, are connected to it! The true fatherland (*Vaterland*), with its gentle recollections of our youth, and everything that became dear to us through education and everyday habit – we have left behind: distant, infinitely distant, it is found behind us, and probably we shall probably be separated from it forever! And the new land in which we have built our home and to which all our existence is connected? This new land has still not become a homeland (*heimish*) for us. It still does not seem to want to accept us as its children and the deeper the affection with which we try to connect with it, the more we feel strangely repelled, not infrequently – and the more impetuously reignite the yearning for the old and unforgettable homeland (*Heimatland*) – the homeland that, in truth, has already lost sight of us and forgotten us. Really, what an embarrassing and disheartening situation we live in, when – made stateless (*Heimatlosen* [literally 'homeless']) – we do not know to whom we belong, so to speak!¹⁵

The use of the term *apátrida*, stateless/homeless, is significant since it highlights the immigrant's condition as someone lacking any real identity, an individual without national belonging, located in a spatial and temporal vacuum. The notion of *pátria*, homeland, is not unequivocal, however, since the author refers to belonging to a nation state,¹⁶ and to the more affective

¹⁵ First paragraph of the first page of the launch issue of the *Kolonie Zeitung* newspaper, translated by Elly Herkenhoff, divulged in the cited publication in note 13. The German language has two terms equivalent to the Portuguese *pátria*, homeland and fatherland, show in parentheses in the transcription.

¹⁶ At the time (1862) the process of unifying the German states was yet to be concluded, but Germany

and cultural meaning associated with land and home. The double meaning appears in the alternating use of the words *Vaterland* and *Heimatland*: the first opens the text and has an ample signification (including political), referring to Germany, while the second establishes the belonging associated with a mother tongue and culture, which would later be *ethnicized*, including through German-language newspapers, eventually producing a German-Brazilian identity. Thus *Heimatland*, or simply *Heimat*, represents a form of territorialization in the ethnic sense, one which can occur outside the country of birth. Dörffel's discourse indicates that this has yet to happen, since immigration produced a rupture with the 'true *Vaterland*', leaving the immigrant without a homeland (*heimish*). Moreover the text expresses the difficulty of Brazilian society in accepting foreigners, indicating his awareness of the assimilationist – and at times xenophobic – discourse of nationalist sectors that had long seen German immigration as a threat to nationality, at least since the 1860s, due to the cultural, linguistic and religious differences between Latins and the Germans. This was an argument of little concern to the champions of foreign colonization, who indeed maintained a critical stance in relation to the more exaggerated rhetorical claims that immigration represented a form of invasion.¹⁷

It is important to note that, despite his use of the term stateless, immigration is conceived in Dörffel's account as a journey without return. This idea is implicit in his reference to his new home, that can combine both homelands, depending simply on the immigrants' perseverance. In this way hope replaces discouragement:

With a firm will and perseverance we can renew our relations with the old homeland [...] making them increasingly vivid and thus expanding [...] the old homeland until it reaches us –not in space, undoubtedly, but spiritually. Acting continuously and persistently, in accordance with our German character and spirit (*echtdeutschen Sinne und Geiste*), we can also gain the respect and affection of the new homeland, making our relationship with it happier. Thus we will have double of what we just had in single measure beforehand.

(*Deutschland*) was already a political reality for the nationalist movement.

¹⁷ A defence of immigration, in a response to nationalist xenophobia, can be observed in the work of Carvalho (1875).

The argument contains a principle of German-Brazilianness, later widely proclaimed in the German-language press, which advocated belonging to the new homeland without losing the connections (mainly cultural and linguistic) with the *Urheimat* (or 'old homeland'). Indeed establishing a definitive home in the receiving country, assuming the identity of an immigrant of German character and spirit, signals a kind of thought contrary to the ideal of assimilation, which gradually moved from nationalist discourse to Brazilian legislation on foreigners as the twentieth century unfolded. The newspaper launched by Dörffel in the Dona Francisca colony in 1862 defended German-Brazilianness and the cultural plurality arising from immigration in general over the next 80 years, as well as the sentimental, affective and also economic connection to Germany, the homeland 'of origin.'

The perception of the immigration process as a rupture that is later resolved by ethnicity appears with other comments in memoirs and letters sent by immigrants to their family members. The written recollections of Pastor W. G. Lange, leader of a group of German migrants who had left so-called 'Russian Poland' (referring to the Polish territory under the control of the Czarist Empire) in 1886 to form a colonial nucleus in the area run by the 1849/ Hamburg Colonization Society, adhere to the same framework of ethnic nationalism. The feeling of rupture emerges in a section describing the voyage:

On the afternoon of the 18th the brothers, with their luggage, climbed on board [...] followed by myself on the 19th. At 3 o'clock the steam began to bellow out. Ah, how hard it is to turn one's back on one's homeland!

[...]

For how long? Or forever? Reader, you know the answer. Yes, it was forever.

[...]

The port of São Francisco was as beautiful as the city was poor. But of the latter we saw little, since early in the morning a small steamboat came from Joinville to pick us up [...] The 'Hamburg' sets off and the last column of smoke slowly disappears over the horizon. The last connection with the old homeland is broken. Were someone to have told me that it would be forever! But now it was essential not to look back, but to push on instead. After 2 hours travel we arrived on the afternoon of June 29th in the pleasant town of Joinville and finally we set foot on our new homeland.

(Lange 2003: 76, 78, 85).

The image of the boat sailing away from the port and intensifying the liminality of the immigrant appears in other texts, almost with the same exact phrasing. It appears, for example, in the account of the experience of Clara Hermann, recently married,¹⁸ who emigrated to Santa Catarina in 1903:

The crossing lasted four weeks and my sea sickness the same. [...] We were still aboard at Christmas and that was the last time I saw a German Christmas tree, the one we had brought with us. Amid the tumult of the preparations for the journey I had given no thought to saying goodbye to the motherland, since it was still Germany on the boat. But when we were in the port in São Francisco, watching the ship sail into the distance, I suddenly felt with a heavy heart that I had left everything behind and that I was now in an unknown country.

[...]

In São Francisco I felt as though I were in a foreign country, but Joinville dissolved this impression, here you only hear German spoken and the town has the look of a little German village.¹⁹

In both cases the author emphasizes the feeling of bidding farewell to the homeland, symbolized by the ship returning to the ocean. The ‘unknown’ is the village of São Francisco do Sul, the port of arrival, a place of transition. The symbolic rupture with Germany, expressed as the will of God by Pastor Lange, or in her last view of a ‘German Christmas tree’ by Clara Hermann, gives a definitive meaning to immigration just as much as the immigrant’s resigned bewilderment as he or she enters a foreign country, an impression that soon faded before the cultural landscape produced by colonization. In this sense, Joinville is a familiar place with the distinctive marks introduced by German immigration (preponderant in the region) since 1851, including everyday use of the maternal language. According to their written memoirs, Lange and Hermann stayed overnight in São Francisco do Sul before setting off for Joinville, but for both the new homeland was there, in the colonial

¹⁸ Her marriage took place in Germany to a German immigrant who had already settled in the Itajaí Valley. He had returned to his ‘original homeland’ to visit his sister and find a wife.

¹⁹ Clara Hermann’s manuscript belongs to the José F. da Silva Historical Archive, Blumenau Cultural Foundation. It was published (in a bilingual edition) in the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos* under the title “Vivências de Clara Hermann,” translated into Portuguese by Annemarie F. Schünke. See *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XLII (11-12): 15-17.

region populated largely by people of German extraction. The final destination of the group led by Lange was a new colonial nucleus called Brüderthal, while Clara Hermann headed to the colonial lot belonging to her husband, in the HansaHumbolt colony.²⁰ Joinville, though, with its familiar Germanic air was an example of what Waibel (1958: 206) called 'self-contained communities' related to the socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of European colonization. After all, according to the cultural and spiritual configuration of the *Heimat* found in Romantic nationalism, the homeland could be territorialized in any country, obviously maintaining the language, habits, customs and other conventional elements of belonging, which also include other principles highlighted by Weber (1991) in his discussion of 'ethnic communities' (including those resulting from migration).

The discomfort generated by the vague nature of the immigrant, as someone wavering between two homelands, is a transitory feeling, therefore, given the perception of the definitiveness of the immigrant's trajectory and the possibility of making a home in a Germanicized region where the two main urban nucleuses – Joinville and Blumenau – evoked 'small German towns' (something indeed emphasized in the propaganda used to attract immigrants, and in the more flattering literature on colonization). In principle this image contains a paradox since it defines the immigrant in relation to two incompatible nationalist reference points, although the keyword is *pátria*, homeland. But even the feeling of statelessness expressed by Dörffel evaporates with the possibility of reconciling the belonging to two homelands (one of them 'spiritual') by maintaining the idea of Germanness (*Deutschtum*) on Brazilian soil. The double belonging and cultural singularity contained in the idea of Germanness was widely backed in the German-Brazilian press including in the *Kolonie Zeitung* founded by Dörffel until its extinction in 1939.. For Brazilian nationalism, immigrants only ceased to be awkward and disturbing foreigners when lawfully naturalized and assimilated.

Back in Germany, however, the emigrated citizen might no longer be included among the national population, an eventuality that becomes clear in a short remark made by Clara Hermann. Recounting the meeting

²⁰ The two names have since changed: Bruderthal (Vale of the Brothers) – a religious community reference – is the present-day municipality of Guaramirim, while Hansa Humbolt gave rise to the municipality of Corupá. The change in the names occurred for nationalist reasons, a common event in areas of foreign colonization in the twentieth century.

with her future husband, a German who had emigrated to Brazil but had returned temporarily to look for a wife in Germany, Hermann reveals that he was classified as a *Brasilianer* (Brazilian). This designation was probably unrelated to the formality of becoming naturalized in Brazil: rather it reveals the situation of the migrant who is no longer recognized as a national by his society of origin.²¹ Consequently Dörffel's aim of reconciliation contrasts with the social and political reality faced by the immigrant in search of a German wife. Brazilians 'drüben' (on the other side),²² Germans here! Indeed in the representation of the 'others' we encounter an individual suspended between two homelands, asserting his or her dual nationality. This duality or duplicity, widely discussed in the German-language press and fictional literature,²³ presumed a German-like everyday life in a homeland (*Heimat*) situated on Brazilian soil. In this sense, the immigrant is *völkisch*, a word widely used to distinguish the feeling of an ethnicized national belonging. Weber (1991: 269-271) signalled the importance of customs, *habitus* and linguistic community in shaping ethnic groups, including those produced by emigration. Immigrants can adapt well to a new environment, but also tend to maintain feelings of ethnic communion related to the country of birth in a context of a life shared in common. Weber alluded to the 'conscience of community' inherent in such situations.

The Germanic peculiarity of the colonial region of Santa Catarina state where the immigrants cited here lived is also stressed in writings by travellers, or even by migrants who returned. As an example, we can take the text entitled "Some days in Germany", included in a travel book by Willi Ule. The author visited various regions of Brazil and passed through the Itajaí Valley, which he refers to as 'Germany':

²¹ At the time becoming naturalized in another country meant losing one's nationality. A few years later, Germany promulgated the Delbrück Law, allowing immigrants and their descendants to retain their German nationality. However, the attribution of a Brazilian identity to the immigrant was an aspect of their social relational context, rather than a reflection of his or her legal position. The Delbrück Law caused a polemic in Brazil, where it was linked to Pan-Germanism and seen as a boost to the pretensions of a German-Brazilian dual identity.

²² A term used (even today) to refer to Germany, at the same time reinforcing the position of immigrant (or descendant).

²³ The fictional literature (tales, novels and poetry) in the German language emphasized German-Brazilianness and community life in the colonization areas until 1939, when it was prohibited during the nationalization campaign. See Huber (1993) and Seyferth (2004).

For some time I really lived only with some Germans, practically heard only German, saw only German faces and ate food made in the German style.

The destination was the German colony of Blumenau, in the State of Santa Catarina.

[...]

And in Germany we complained that our compatriots from overseas had rapidly lost their Germanness. Here they maintained their culture for decades under adverse conditions and with much strife.²⁴

The visitor's account undoubtedly reflected the fine welcome he had received in Blumenau, and diverges little from the widespread everyday local perception, which had a negative impact in the nationalist sectors of Brazilian society worried about assimilation. From the nationalist viewpoint, Blumenau was a paradigm of 'ethnic enclaves' incompatible with the principle of Brazilianness.

The same 'Germany' in Brazil appears in the writings of Therese Stutzer, author of tales, short stories and letters that contain details of everyday life in the colonial region of Blumenau, where she lived with her husband, the Evangelical pastor Gustav Stutzer, in the 1880s. For her the region could be recognized by the Germanic cultural characteristics maintained by the settlers in an exuberant Brazilian landscape. The very title of Therese's best-known work is a good example of this combination: *Deutsches Leben am Rande des brasilianischen Urwaldes*: German life on the edge of the Brazilian jungle. It represents the perception of a frontier civilization described by a migrant returned to the homeland. In one of her letters she complains of the 'empire of untamed nature' and the sensation of being close to Germany provoked by the arrival and departure of ships in the port of Itajaí, through which the correspondence sent to her relatives and friends was sent.²⁵

The 'untamed nature' depicted in the writings of Thereze Stutzer matches the Romantic vision of an untouched and exuberant natural landscape, transformed into an obstacle to the advance of colonization in the view of another woman who returned to Germany, and who wrote about the plight

²⁴ From the text published in the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 49(1): 9, 17. According to editorial information, Willi Ule was a specialist in Marine Sciences linked to the Berlin Geographic Society.

²⁵ See Letter of Therese Stutzer, 08/07/1886, published in *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XXXIX (8), 1998, pp. 9-11. Also see Stutzer (1886). The publications on the Brazilian experience of Therese and Gustav Stutzer were very popular in Germany and many new editions were published until the 1920s. See Fouquet (1974).

represented by her experience of immigration in the south of Brazil between 1907 and 1911. In the work of Emilie Heinrichs, entitled “The wife of the emigrant: the experience of a settler’s wife in the south of Brazil,”²⁶ a question of gender comes to the fore and drives the narrative: the subaltern position of women. The objective of the author’s account of her experience in a colony with ‘pioneer zone’ characteristics, located in a forest region of Rio Grande do Sul, was to alert her female compatriots to the dangers and difficulties encountered in her problematic experience of emigration. The text was published in Germany in 1921, ten years after the Heinrichs couple had returned and in the middle of the economic and political crisis of the Weimar Republic, a period marked by significant numbers of emigrants, including to Brazil.²⁷

The key fact prompting the publication of her experience as an emigrant was her husband’s decision to leave the homeland without taking into account her opinion. She was simply expected to accompany him. She emigrated against her will because “the woman has no decision.” Boarding the ship in Hamburg, ready to set sail for Brazil, with a strong feeling of homelessness (*Heimatlos*), she wrote of leaving Germany and heading off for the unknown:

I do not want to speak of all the pain and suffering of the farewell: I felt homesick for my country even before leaving it. All the women who have experienced the harsh fate of emigration may share this feeling. We become just like a child looking for the first time on a distant world, already feeling homeless (*Heimatlos*). (In: *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6):19).

Describing the ship’s departure, she notes the same feeling of rupture present in other accounts:

We arrived in time to see the last rope fall to the ground, the one still connecting the ship to the land. The old and loved German flag rose on the main mast. [...] The last tie with my land was broken. (In: *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6):23).

The text shows the author’s frustration with emigration, reflected in her use of the term *Auswanderer* (emigrant) as a criterion for identification, and in the constant reference to the desired return, which she admits to being her

²⁶ Full text published in a bilingual edition in six issues of the magazine *Blumenau em Cadernos*, in the ‘Original documents’ section. See *Blumenau em Cadernos*, 51(6), 2010 and 52(1-5), 2011.

²⁷ In the 1920s Brazil received more than 60,000 German emigrants. Many returned before the Second World War, but even so the number of entrants was the highest for a single decade since the beginning of German immigration.

only thought, finally achieved almost five years later. At no moment did she imagine her situation to be irreversible. She does not describe herself as an immigrant (*Einwanderer*), making it clear at the end of her account that she never found a ‘new homeland’ because this destiny requires more than finding work and food in a foreign country.

Her residence in a colonial nucleus recently founded in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul, which lacked the same degree of Germanic singularity evinced, for example, in the writings of Ottokar Dörfel and Clara Hermann, was probably the determining factor in her decision to return, more so than the difficulty of the settler’s life. On this point Emilie Heinrichs’s account coincides with that of João Weiss, an Austrian who emigrated to the same colony region with his family in 1912 at the age of 15. Both stress the lack of information as to the true situation of colonies located in the middle of the forest, denouncing the illusory propaganda used by agencies that promised lands in abundance and other benefits, but omitted the ‘untamed forest’, the painful work of clearing the land, and the fact that settlers would be left to their own devices in an unknown environment. The confrontation with the forest, a recurrent theme in this type of literature, involves the description of a sombre, almost impenetrable space with gigantic trees and dangerous animals, which must be put into a condition to be cultivated through the labour of the settler and his family alone. The forest, finally vanquished, gives way to crop cultivation and self-sufficiency in food, but the arduous task of clearing and planting fails to lead to the desired social improvement. Or, in terms of Weiss (1949: 10), the emigrant “devotes himself to his exhausting work, drowning the intense bouts of homesickness” (for the homeland and civilization) but remains facing an indefinite future in the new country. Weiss did not return ‘to the homeland,’ but left the colony in search of a better life in the city. Return and internal migration did not represent failure, therefore, since the taming of the forest was made possible by ‘arduous work’: nonetheless, the emigrant needs to know exactly what he or she will find, a place far from civilization.

Another point in common in the two accounts is the immigrants connection to poverty, employing the same principle of classification found in the Brazilian legislation during the same period: a third class passenger, travelling on the lower decks of the ships. Emilie Heinrichs makes the connection when describing the embarkation of three thousand Polish and Russian to

the United States, identified by the word *Zwischendecker* (a reference to the passages on the middle deck, located right above the cargo hold). João Weiss makes more direct use of the expression ‘third class’ to describe the family’s voyage from the port of Trieste, precisely in this situation. The Heinrichs travelled in a cabin shared with other immigrants, possibly second class, showing that poverty was not the reason for emigration, perhaps a form of ignoring the common sense premise concerning the definitiveness of immigration present in Weiss’s discourse.²⁸ Describing the transatlantic journey, he depicts the third class berths in a dramatic manner:

We numbered about five hundred emigrants [...] third class passengers, huddled in collective dormitories, separated into men and women, poorly ventilated and dark (Weiss 1949: 13).

The connection between immigration and poverty is usually made clear. In an anonymous text by an immigrant who arrived in the colony of Blumenau in 1856, we find a useful summary that reinforces the poverty argument. After mentioning the precarious dwellings of the *Stadtplatz*²⁹ and the shelter of ‘deplorable appearance’ allocated to newly-arrived settlers, people who had already experienced many difficulties during the Atlantic crossing, the unidentified author remarks:

Really I know numerous travel and immigration companions who even today have tears in their eyes when they recall the homeland and the friends left behind. And so many years have already gone by! The land where one was born and grew up stirs deep feelings. I’m sure nobody manages to forget completely. But most people have no wish to return, even if they could, since here they find what it is impossible for the poor back in Germany to obtain: freedom and property.³⁰

The colony’s founder, Hermann Blumenau, thought likewise since his colonization project, which was initially planned for mass immigration that

²⁸ Heinrichs does not state the profession of her husband, apparently seduced by seduced by the prospect of having ‘his own tract’ and become a farmer in the new country. Her intention was to dissuade potential emigrants, expressing the joy of setting foot once more on the ‘homeland soil.’ João Weiss’s father owned a shoe shop and, it seems, was equally captivated by the idea of land.

²⁹ A term commonly used in the colonization period to designate the ‘urban centre’ of a ‘German colony.’ Blumenau, in 1856, was merely a small village on the shore of the Itajaí-Açu River.

³⁰ Extracted from the original document published in *Blumenau em Cadernos*, XLVIII (3-4), 2007: 13-14.

failed to occur, had sought to help compatriots with no future in Germany, believing in the viability of a new homeland in Brazil while maintaining the German language, customs and culture. The proposal to colonize a large area of unoccupied land in the south, mentioned in the letters sent to the Brazilian Consul in Prussia, J. J. Sturz, between 1844 and 1852,³¹ was rejected by the imperial government, which only approved the project for the middle Itajaí-açu Valley, where the colony was founded in 1850. In the letters he takes on the immigrants' 'cause,' associating emigration with the limitations placed on the social mobility of the subaltern classes and on demographics, an issue widely debated, including in academic circles, in Germany before unification.

The anonymous immigrant, describing the precarious infrastructure of the colony established in the middle of the 'dense jungle', asserted that everything could be overcome through the work of 'brave settlers,' the majority 'extremely poor'³² who would never become landowners in Germany. The reference to freedom, on the other hand, also reflects the historical period of mass German emigration: the crisis among the peasantry caused by the advance of capitalism into rural areas, the growth of the lumpen proletariat, and the defeat of the revolutionary movements of 1848 by Prussian militarism.

There are no indications of a political kind in the anonymous text, but the Itajaí Valley saw the establishment of immigrants coming from the German peasantry who had left the country following the outcome of the 1848 revolution. In colonial nucleuses where collective demonstrations were held to demand better conditions, the leaders of the settlers were associated with the revolution and identified by the administrators as 'communists' (see Seyferth 1999). This type of locally confined social movement, even during the Empire, contradicted the idea of the morally upstanding immigrant, dedicated to work, and, settled on his/her colonial lot. Socialists, communists and criminals in general had been considered a risk to the State's security since the mid-nineteenth century.

However there were socialists among the immigrants, such as Josef Umann, another 'settler in the jungle', and author of a memoir whose central theme is the poverty that induced the search for a new homeland, which to

³¹ Hermann Blumenau's letters are reproduced in the work edited by Vogt (2004).

³² The original word is *Blutarm*, anaemic, and was probably used in a double sense: poverty and physical exhaustion. The text contains many references to diseases and rotten food, common complaints during the so-called 'pioneer phase.'

a certain extent responds to the question “Who should emigrate?” Umann³³ tells his life story from his childhood in Bohemia to the arduous settlement in Linha Cecília, a colonial region located in the municipality of Venâncio Aires (Rio Grande do Sul). As described in his account, the immigration process excludes any prospect of return and the immigrant is left to build his own world, in this case, the community called Linha Cecília.

Umann writes that he came from a poor family and needed to labour hard from childhood in a situation of “rationed food and abundant work” (Umann 1981: 9). He became an orphan at the age of thirteen and, separated from his siblings, was sent to Vienna as a tinker’s apprentice. On returning to Bohemia he learnt glass polishing, an insalubrious 14 hours a day job. In this harsh context, socialist activism was the only positive element, allowing him to dream of improving the fate of the working class. However his despair over the living conditions of workers, with no prospect of better days to come, eventually persuaded him to emigrate. He left the homeland with his wife and daughter to try his luck as a settler in the Brazilian south, along with another 150 Bohemians, most of them workers from the glass factories.

The Umann family emigrated in 1877, a period when the expression ‘third class’ was yet to form part of the definition of the immigrant. In fact the crossing of the Atlantic was considered good, leaving aside the seasickness. The subaltern position of the immigrants became clear, though, on the coastal steamer taking the group from Rio de Janeiro to the port of Rio Grande: the Bohemians were moved from their berths to make way for wealthier passengers who paid more, leaving them ‘packaged’ in a small area with barely space to sit.

Umann’s exposition of the colonization process talks of the difficulties of clearing the land as other writers: the exhausting land journey to the colonial nucleus, the felling of the “dark virgin forest with its colossal trees”, the construction of the “first tiny and improvised shack”, the food rationed before the first harvest and other “miserable circumstances” during Linha Cecília’s beginnings.

Though not adopting the critical stance of Emilie Heinrichs concerning the lack of information provided on the true conditions of the settlement deep

³³ Umann’s (incomplete) memoirs, with additions made by his children, was published in a bilingual edition, translated, introduced and annotated by Hilda A. Hübner Flores. She observes that the text was actually published in German during the Second World War but almost all the copies were confiscated. See Umann 1981.

in the forest, Umann (1981: 61-62) explains that “few immigrants know exactly what the term jungle means” and even these “will find the initial period in the forest much more difficult than they had imagined.” Hence the forest is a formidable obstacle for “a man in a foreign land who wishes to build a home for himself and his family.” A poem he wrote, called “Who should emigrate?” (*Wer soll wandern?*) elaborates on the immigrants’ problems. The individual who migrates is without hope and without future, unable to provide a home for his family, a situation that justifies travelling to the unknown where there might be a tract of land for him and where, despite the initial difficulties, “he can console himself with the hope that everything will be better in the future.” The last part of the poem expresses the definitiveness of immigration and the transmutation of the socialist factory worker into an immigrant settler:

And when he has his own house,
And his land farmed,
He finds himself happy amid
A world built by himself.
(Umann 1981: 82).

Umann’s memoirs refer to the beginnings of colonization, but the biographical information added by his children contain records of his cultural activities and his important role as a community leader and co-founder of associations that celebrated German ethnic belonging, such as the Song, Reading and Shooting Societies. The ‘constructed world’ is depicted, therefore, as a place of tranquil community life after the arduous phase of colonization, a new homeland (*Heimat*) in Brazil adapted to the principles of Germanness contested by Brazilian nationalism.

The lack of perspectives prompted the search for better existential conditions in another country as immigrants, far from the homeland, and the difficult crossing in inadequate berths (which at the end of the nineteenth century became part of the discourses of immigrants in the expression ‘third class’ as a synonym of poverty), are topics that form part of the set of representations relating to immigration, the immigrant and the ‘pioneer’ life, observable in the letters and memoirs of settlers of other nationalities. Italian and Polish immigrants also played an important role in the expansion of the colonization process after 1875, and their mode of understanding immigration is practically identical to the Germans (who preceded them), presuming

the definitive nature of their move to Brazil and a new community life enabled by hard work, later *ethnicized* through cultural distinctions.

The letters of Polish immigrants, published in a volume edited by Kula (1977), and the letters and occasional memoir written by Italians, Germans and Poles, transcribed by Stoltz (1997), provide good examples of this perception of immigration. The settlers who write of their experiences, generally to family members, emphasize the feeling of rupture with the homeland, sometimes mentioning boarding the ship in the country of origin, or landing in Brazil, the initial difficulties involved in clearing the forest, the precarious dwelling conditions in the lots, the high mortality rates, the diseases, the lack of doctors, the poor diet and other problems of the 'pioneer' life (cited even today as one of the diacritics of ethnicity). However they also declare their belief in future progress, a better life than back in their homeland, something that presumes immigration as a definitive process. This belief is particularly evident in the letters written by Polish immigrants, most of them from the 1890s (see Kula 1977). These were sent to the wives and other relatives close to the letter writers, telling them how they left the homeland, at the time still under the political control of the Czarist Empire.³⁴ Despite the problems faced during the voyage and, later, in the colonial areas where they were sent by the Brazilian government, particularly in Rio Grande do Sul where epidemic outbreaks of small pox and other diseases occurred, with a high mortality rate among the newly arrivals, the letters encouraged others to emigrate to Brazil, speaking of the freedom found there, religious support and the possibility of becoming landowners. Some letters reveal the intention of bringing women and children, without the knowledge of the Russian government, after they had become properly settled on a 'colonial line' (written, therefore, by family fathers who had travelled alone). But the more frequent argument is simple: even the most adverse circumstances could be surmounted and life in Brazil was better than in the homeland. These are letters with a strong religious tone and in them we can also perceive the importance of Catholicism in shaping the identity of the Polish immigrants.

³⁴ Most of the Poles who entered Brazil between 1890 and 1914 came from so-called 'Russian Poland' and figured in Brazilian statistics as 'Russians.' Emigration was motivated by economic reasons and equally by the absence of political freedom aggravated by the assimilationist process of 'Russification' (which also affected the Germanic national minorities from the same area, the motive behind the emigration of the group led by Pastor Lange, cited previously).

The prosperity of the settlers who arrived in earlier periods and the coexistence with compatriots, sometimes coming from the same region, or acquaintances met during the voyage across, are emphasized in these personal documents, indicating the formation of a community with shared cultural attributes. Linha Cecília, where many of the Bohemians emigrated at the same time as Josef Umann had settled, is a good example of this kind of community organization. In practice the ‘communities’ formed in the colonial nucleuses received national adjectives (as ‘German,’ ‘Italian’ or ‘Polish’ colonies), expressing not only the numerical prevalence, but also cultural and ethnic distinctions.

IV

Foreign colonization in Brazil, begun prior to independence – resumed in 1824 and further extended after 1850, principally in the three southern provinces – was designed as a policy for occupying public lands as part of a civilizing process. The Imperial State wanted settlers, a category implying small family producers directly linked to taming uncultivated lands. They should be civilized (and thus European), and able to work in agriculture, arts and trades. The terms immigration and immigrant only appear occasionally, even in legislation where the predominant references are to colonization and *colonos* (settlers) sometimes qualified by a particular European nationality. Restrictive measures underlay the definition of the ideal settler, who should be morally upstanding, healthy, a qualified worker without a criminal history. Problems relating to the integration and assimilation of the immigrants were pushed into the background during the implementation of the immigration policy consistent with the sense of progress implied by the double meaning of the term *inculto* – uncultivated lands and the absence of culture or civilization. Hence immigration was defined as a directed and definitive process of settling European *colonos*, without restricting the entry of immigrants with another occupational profile.

However the nationalist principle of Luso-Brazilianness formed the basis for a critique of the model of foreign colonization favoured by the State since the mid-twentieth century, introducing an intense debate on the difficulties of assimilating foreigners who remained isolated in the colonial nucleuses. As far as nationalism was concerned, immigration could only be perceived as

a definitive process of integrating foreigners into Brazilian society and culture, when they renounced their linguistic, religious and cultural singularity. German immigrants were the main targets of a nationalism that argued in favour of ‘Latin’ immigration and repudiated Lutheran Protestantism and the use of a language excessively distant from the dialect flourishing in the ‘German colonies.’

At the start of the Republic the axis of the discussion over assimilation shifted more clearly to the racial question, a theme absent in this essay except for my references to the idea that immigration could contribute to the Brazilian nation through selective miscegenation.³⁵ The ideal immigrant, then, is a white foreigner established in the country, who allows himself to become amalgamated in the national ‘melting pot’ and adjusts to the Luso-Brazilian cultural canons. This way of seeing immigration and the integration of the immigrant persisted under the New State, a period when xenophobia abounded, condemning ‘aliens’ and their descendants to forced assimilation. Alien, *alienígena* in Portuguese, is a word with an ambiguous meaning used to designate both the immigrants (naturalized or otherwise) and their descendants, Brazilians by *jus soli*, but non-assimilated.

The ‘problem of assimilation’ reappeared in the Republic, though this failed to produce radical changes in colonization policy, still focused on immigration despite the opening up to include national settlers (*colonos*), even under the New State (with its plans for occupying the Brazilian central west). The fact that stands out is the identification of immigration with poverty, the immigrant classified as a third class passenger. The most visible consequence of this form of (dis)qualification is the greater detail on the list of undesirables, including beggars, the destitute, indigents, prostitutes and so on. The acceptable poor were those who demonstrated a professional and moral aptitude and were healthy and able to work. On the other hand, the assimilationist pressure might not have been visible in the legislation, but it existed in society and in politics, translated into practice by the ‘nationalization

³⁵ Despite considering black slavery to be a component of the nation’s formation, the ideal of whitening sustained that this influence would eventually disappear in a process begun with the end of the slave trade in 1850 and the consequent increase in European immigration. Black people could not, therefore, be acceptable immigrants and for many thinkers (see Menezes & Souza 1875, Oliveira Vianna 1938) accepting them into this category would mean an indirect re-establishment of the slave trade and the renunciation of western civilization.

campaign' of the New State. After all immigration presumed a definitive process of settlement³⁶ in the country without leeway for cultural plurality, an item included in the field of action of 'national security.'

The sense of definitive residence contained in the representation of immigration is shared by immigrants when they describe the feeling of rupture with the country of birth, expressed in different manners (in the cases presented here, dominated by the image of the ship sailing away from the port of departure or arrival), allowing margin for the embarrassment faced in this liminal situation. The 'bastard' place cited by Bourdieu is more evident in Dörffel's outburst over his statelessness, a 'German settler' without rights, subject to the dictates of the legislation on foreign colonization. However other testimonies are based on the same principle of a loss of identity (in this case, national), although momentary, on disembarking in an unknown place, later superseded by the familiarity encountered in the final destination. For some this destination was already a reality, places that recalled little 'German' towns, where the maternal language was heard. For others the arduous work of clearing the forest was the beginning of the formation of self-contained communities living alongside compatriots, a concrete possibility enabled by the model of 'foreign' colonization.

The probability of staying permanently, however, fades away in the dejected testimony on the difficult life in a colonial nucleus in the process of being formed in the south of Brazil, written by a migrant who later returns to the homeland. Indeed the return, and the way of describing it, show a rejection of the status of immigrant, since the undesired emigration did not lead to settling for good in another country. The problems of colonization, observable in the reports and other documents by colonial administrations (official or private) and in the relevant literature produced by immigrants and others, are not always cited in such a dramatic form to justify the return or even the search for a better life in a town. João Weiss's text, for example, reveals his puzzlement when he saw first-hand the localization of the lot deep in the forest, criticizing the propaganda of the agencies, considering it (like Emilie Heinrichs) overly idyllic, emphasizing above all the ease of access to

³⁶ The idea of definitive settlement, present in some discourses on immigration, certainly does not include the high numbers leaving (and returning). In any case, the returnees ceased to be immigrants, although they remained in the statistical records of entries into Brazil. In the 1940s, the volume of returnees was calculated at 40%, albeit with many qualifications of this figure (see Carneiro 1950: 63).

land. Weiss did not return, but neither did he stay in the colony to where he had been sent with his family, and sent a copy of his text to the Immigration and Colonization Council in 1949, as a contribution to improving the colonization projects involving immigrants. In the end he argued in favour of cultural plurality, saying that a single national culture does not exist in Brazil, a country with regional differences and great cultural distinctiveness produced by many immigratory flows; but the immigrants and their descendants should honour patriotic feelings as Brazilians. Thereze Stutzer, for her part, criticized the colonization system imposed by the State, expounding on her problems, though she lived for some years in a ‘German colony,’ and thus in a *heimisch* place, a small and familiar homeland (*Heimat*). Her writings (and those of her husband) published on their return to Germany, with new editions in the 1920s, served as part of the propaganda encouraging emigration to Brazil with the Germanized Blumenau on the horizon.

Definitive settlement, assuming the identity of an immigrant, and the connection between the process of transnational change and poverty, which appear in the letters and memoirs of individuals we could call common settlers, form points of convergence with the Brazilian discourse on immigration. The form of territorialization of the ‘new homeland’ – hinted at in immigrants’ writings through the familiar image of the older colonies, or connected to an identity that presumes a dual belonging, observable in the desire to overcome the stateless condition, for example, in the hopeful expression of Dörffel – differs radically, though, from the assimilationist imaginary of Brazilian nationalism on European immigration. In this case the awkward immigrants are those who persist in retaining their ethnic, national and cultural difference. A foreigner, an inconvenient ‘other’, especially when he or she assumes immigration as a definitive process, becoming naturalized, accepting citizenship, while simultaneously rejecting an unrestricted Brazilianness. For the immigrant, naturalization is primarily a political act of social and economic integration, shifting loyalty to the new homeland, yet it does not suppose the passive acceptance of another culture. These are irreconcilable positions that reinforce the embarrassment caused by dual belonging, disrupting the desired unity of the nation state.

Brazilian nationalism produced an image of the ideal immigrant willing to accept the unified formation of the nation, yet immigration in fact produced cultural plurality, or more precisely ‘hybrid’ cultures. Indeed the

Germanic configuration observed by new immigrants was being constructed in the subtropical Brazilian landscape in contact (not always immediate in the colonization regions) with Brazilians. Nonetheless the assimilationist precept of nationalism, which flourished under the Republic and became exacerbated as a State policy from the 1930s onwards, allowed the Nation to impose itself on the State, or simply to conceive the State as a manifestation of the Nation, a circumstance signalled by scholars of nationalism (see Arendt 1976, Hobsbawm 1990). In this case the political and social concept of citizenship was augmented by unequivocal criteria of language, race and culture, shaping a premise of ‘national community’ that supported the extreme measures of ‘nationalism’ of the New State. The disquiet caused by the irreconcilable immigrant was even manifested in the seizure of the first edition of the Memoirs of Josef Umann, probably due to their quality as a symbol of the colonizing ‘epic’ and its outcome, an ethnic community.

The *ethnicization* of the nationality of immigrants, despite the totalizing integration advocated by double-sided assimilationism, was maintained over the long course of foreign colonization, the continuation of which was ensured by the New State’s legislation on foreigners. In fact the symbolism of cultural singularity is the main feature of ethnicities, something incompatible with the luso-brazilian configuration of the nation state.

Finally, among the memoirs of immigration we can highlight Clara Hermann’s brief mention of her husband, an emigrant born in Germany, an immigrant in Brazil, identified by his supposed compatriots as Brazilian. The narrative does not extend beyond this information, but the attribution of another identity gives an idea of the permanent nature of immigration, associated, in the everyday ideas of German society, with the loss of Germanness, as observed by Willi Ule, the traveller captivated by the ‘Germany’ discovered in Brazil, the epithet given to the ‘Blumenau colony,’ by the Brazilians themselves. In reality the paradoxical situation of the Brazilian in Germany and the German in Brazil does not reflect German-Brazilianness and the consequent ethnic identity: on the contrary, the attribution of (apparently) conflicting identities by others (Brazilians and Germans) situates immigrants in the same awkward position as the stateless.

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Immigration and the maintenance of the religious moral order

The case of the Ruthenian immigration to Paraná in the late nineteenth century

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Abstract

This article focuses on the concrete conditions and the social processes involved in the maintenance or change of the moral order in immigrant communities. This question is addressed based on archival research of the events that resulted in the restoration of the authority of Greek catholic priests in the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) communities that settled in Paraná in the late nineteenth century. The analysis of the practices of the priests and of the settlers in the first years of their establishment in Brazil permits a reconstruction of the dynamics of the centralization of social life around the church, and the religious precepts of the Greek Catholic religion. The presentation of three cases in different communities with varying degrees of acceptance or rejection of the authority of the Uniate priests shows that the question of the maintenance of religious values in situations of diaspora can only be solved empirically.

Keywords: immigration, moral order, ethnic persistence, Ukrainians – Brazil

Resumo

Este artigo trata das condições concretas e dos processos sociais envolvidos na manutenção ou mudança da ordem moral em populações imigrantes. A questão é trabalhada a partir de uma pesquisa de arquivo acerca dos eventos que resultaram na restauração da autoridade de sacerdotes grecocatólicos nas comunidades rutenas (ucranianas) que se estabeleceram no Paraná no final

do século XIX. A análise das práticas dos padres e colonos nos primeiros anos de existência das colônias brasileiras nos permite reconstituir as dinâmicas que resultaram na centralização de sua vida social ao redor da Igreja e dos preceitos da religião grecocatólica. A discussão de três casos que envolveram a aceitação ou rejeição da autoridade dos padres uniatas em diferentes comunidades mostra que a questão da persistência dos valores religiosos em situações de diáspora apenas pode ser resolvida empiricamente.

Palavras-chave: imigração, ordem moral, persistência étnica, ucranianos – Brasil.

Immigration and the maintenance of the religious moral order

The case of the Ruthenian immigration to Paraná in the late nineteenth century

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This article¹ aims to describe the main events related to the reconstitution of the authority of the Uniate priests in the Ruthenian communities that were established in the State of Paraná at the end of the nineteenth century. In it I aim to clarify the social mechanisms underlying the maintenance or change of the previous moral order in situations of diaspora. In a recent article, Oswaldo Truzzi (2012) showed how the criticism of the paradigm of assimilation from the 1960s onwards had the effect of eclipsing, in studies undertaken in this area, part of the dynamics that govern the transformations at the heart of groups of immigrants after they have established themselves in a foreign country. In this article I will present a restricted empirical case study, that contributes to this discussion.

The Ruthenians were an ‘ethnic group’, in Weber’s terms (1995), the main determining factor of which was religion. Inhabitants of Galicia, the eastern-most province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, they were a people characterized, in this pluriethnic State, as followers of Greek Ukrainian Catholicism, an orthodox Christian rite that was institutionally submitted to the Roman Catholic church (Horbatiuk, 1989: 113).² The group that emigrated was made up almost exclusively of peasants who left their villages in search of land.

¹ The present text is based on one of the chapters of my doctor’s thesis, published by the UFPR Editora (Guérios, 2012), and was presented at the 35th Annual Meeting of Anpocs, in 2011.

² Once in Brazil, from the middle of the second decade of the 20th century, against the background of fighting in their native land in the name of national identity, the Ruthenian immigrants increasingly referred to themselves as ‘Ukrainians’. cf. Guérios, 2012: 177ss.

When they arrived in Paraná, from 1894 onward, the first groups of immigrants were sent to the interior of the state. The first attempts at settling the wild pine forests of the interior of Paraná had been made several decades before, and had failed due to their isolation and the difficulties of transporting produce. After 1870 the immigrants that arrived in the then Province of Paraná were settled in lands at the edge of the already established populated nucleuses, such as the capital Curitiba. In the 1890s, however, the state government renewed its interest in the settlement of the more distant lands: it now planned to begin to develop those parts of state territory that were inhabited only by Guarani Indians, and which appeared on the maps of the period as ‘uncharted lands’. The Ruthenians were the first immigrants to be sent to these areas during this new phase of the settlement of the state.

The lack of structure of the Paraná settlements was in stark contrast to the world that had been the reference of the Ruthenians who came to Brazil: the social world of Galicia, where they and their forefathers had dwelt for centuries. During their first months in the settlements they experienced an abrupt break from everything with which they were familiar. I will try to reconstruct their reactions to the situation that they encountered as they settled, with special emphasis on the way in which they established a new place for themselves in these lands based on the ‘disposition for action’ (Bourdieu 1980) that they brought to the forests of Paraná.

New contacts under the new conditions

The first familiar element that ceased to exist for the Ruthenian immigrants was the contact with the people they knew in the villages they came from. When they left their land they broke the close ties that linked them to their neighbors, the local landowners and the priests. The families who came to Brazil mostly left Galicia alone. A number of immigrants’ letters and newspapers produced by the group, such as the periodical *Pracya* (“Work”), indicate that each wave of immigrants included only a few families from each of the Galician villages. Pasevych (1951), who settled in the Rio Claro colony, states that his family left its village accompanied by four other families. When they arrived at the port of Paranaguá, according to his report, ‘we separated from them – and we never met again.’ Pototskyj (1897), who went to the same colony, came with a group of five families (one of which was his brother’s),

and mentions only one of them as settling in the same colony as himself. Shyvchuk (1936), who settled in Antônio Olyntho, states that the only people who came from his village were himself, his parents and his brothers: ‘some Jewish tradesmen frightened people to such an extent that, in the end, only our family decided to undertake the journey.’ Muzyka (1936) came alone, hoping to meet his father who had come ahead of him, and whom he did in fact find after settling in the colony of Prudentópolis. In the Kobryn group (1935), that settled in Iracema (Rio Negro), only two other families came from his village. Thus, despite traveling to Brazil in groups that were mostly made up of Ruthenians, the majority of the new settlers did not know each other before becoming neighbors in Paraná, and their acquaintanceship depended on the establishment of new social ties.³

In several cases these new social ties were rapidly created because in order to receive land a number of Ruthenians established close relations between their families through the marriage of their children on arrival in Paraná. However, it should be emphasized that their acquaintanceship in Brazil was not of the same quality that it had been in Galicia for the ties between them were recent in contrast with their native land where they had dwelt in the same village for several generations. Furthermore, in Paraná the chances for contact between settlers were slight. This was due, in the first place, to the settlers living far away from each other. As was the case in the whole of the south of Brazil, the colonies in Paraná were organized in ‘lines’: a road was cleared in the middle of the forest, and the plots were allocated side by side along this road. Each settler had to build his house on his plot, which measured 250 meters at the front (along the ‘line’) and ran 1000 meters back. Thus every settler had a neighbor beside him, the closest at a distance of 250 meters to the right or to the left. This distribution of the settlers along the lines was very different from that of the Galician villages, where the houses were close to each other and the allotments where the peasants worked were located in areas surrounding the village. Thus even those settlers who established close ties lacked the regular face to face contact that existed in Galicia. Secondly, the traditional meeting places of the Ruthenians did not exist in the new

³ When extended families traveled together to Brazil, however, they made every effort to be settled on the same colony. Andreazza (1999: 69) gives the example of the Grabasz family, that settled on the Dr. Gonçalves line, in Antônio Olyntho. On plots 20, 27, 28, 29 and 51 of this line, either the husband or the wife had this surname; the occupiers of plots 27, 28 and 29 all came from the same village, Mikolyek.

colonies. As Muzyka (1936) states, during the first months ‘there was no organization and not even meetings, either in the church or the taverns. Because in the old country, despite the imbibing of spirits, issues were often decided in the taverns. But here there is none of that.’

Lastly, the social universe of the settlements in Paraná was very different from that of Galicia; there were no landowners and the State was hardly present. The difference that the Ruthenians felt most, however, was the lack of Greek catholic churches. In the churches built by the state government in the settlements the Latin rite was practiced, of which the form, content and language were unknown to the immigrants. As Muzyka (1936) states, “we knew we would belong to the western rite [*Latin*], as part of the parish of Imbituva. The more knowledgeable submitted against their will; they thought [hard] but could find no way to resolve the situation.” Surrounded by new acquaintances, with daily contact considerably reduced, and without the support of the main institutions of their native land, the Ruthenians were not submitted to the constant mutual regulation of their behavior as they had been in Galicia. The breakdown of the family and the ‘fall’ of women and girls, mentioned in a number of immigrants’ reports, show that many of them abandoned their traditional values.

Even those who did not wish to abandon the practices to which they were accustomed found it difficult to maintain them. At one point in his report, for example, the previously mentioned Muzyka (1936) refers to the first months spent in the new colonies established in the forests of Paraná in the following way: ‘There were no priests, there was no Mass, people didn’t even know when the saint days fell. They asked people who had prayer books with calendars. And so the word spread.’ Muzyka shows that even the structure of time had been affected in the colonies, because the cycle of saints’ days was no longer followed. The daily religious observances that marked the cyclic rhythm of their existence no longer occurred. Only the major celebrations were observed. Father Vihoryns’kyj (1958: 67), in a book published about the Ruthenian immigration to Brazil, states that he heard from the older settlers of the city of Prudentópolis that on the first Christmas in the colony a large number of people gathered in a clearing in the forest near the community hall and ‘shouted Christmas prayers and hymns, the sound of which penetrated the forest.’ Indeed it was only Easter and Christmas that were observed during this period – perhaps because, as stated by Schneider (2002: 65ss.),

these high points in the religious calendar functioned as a fundamental mark of identity for the group (a ‘memory for’ in the terms of Woortman, 2000), thus serving to constitute a closer group identity.

The attempts to maintain the vitality of religious practices demanded great sacrifices. In nº 11 of the first year of the newspaper *Pracya*, for example, a priest records how in 1898, in the Castelhanos colony, one of the migrants became seriously ill and was worried that he would die without his last confession. His son decided to take him to the Murici colony, near Curitiba, 75 km from Castelhanos, where he knew that there were immigrants of Slav origin. He borrowed a handcart from a neighbor to take him on the journey, which took two days. The migrant died immediately after his confession and receiving the last rites of extreme unction. (Zinko, 1947: 27; Юбілейний Календар Іміграції: 98-103).

Thus, faced with the difficulties they encountered on their arrival in Paraná, some Ruthenians became further and further removed from the daily practices to which they had been accustomed. Without contact, without meetings and without organizing themselves into groups, isolated due to the immensely difficult task of clearing their plots for planting, faced with hunger, illness and the death of family members, they followed a path of radical social transformation. These transformations were, in fact, as extreme as those suffered by the Polish immigrants studied by Thomas and Znaniecki (1974) – in the former case due to their isolation in wild countryside, in the later due to continuous intermixing with other ethnic groups.

The search for a specialist: the arrival of Greek Catholic priests.

After some time of living in the colonies, a number of Ruthenians decided to take steps to revert this process of transformation. Once again it is Muzyka who relates that, one day, a neighbor came to his farmhouse in the Nova Galícia colony, in Prudentópolis. He brought a letter that he had received and, being illiterate, could not read it. After reading it for him, Muzyka asked what was happening in the town, as his neighbor had been there to collect the letter. The neighbor replied:

“What did I hear in the town? Not much, only Ivan Degan was at the post office to send a letter with a request for them to send a priest. The post office

employee asked: *what is all this for?* ‘A request for a priest’. So the employee answered: ‘*You people don’t know what you’ve got, because there is the parish priest here for those of you who need him, so why, for what?*’ Degan replied; ‘We don’t have one, that’s the truth, and God is a good father, and he will give us one too. ‘*Oh no he won’t*’. And he posted the letter of recommendation and Degan paid 600 reis.’

I asked ‘Where was the letter sent?’

He answered: ‘To Galicia. To whom I don’t know.’

That was our conversation. The letter was sent in the post on January 25 1897.

(Muzyka, 1936)

According to information collected by Father Zinko (1947: 10), even before leaving Galicia Degan had heard some ‘good advice’ from a priest in his native village, Omelian Zasterjetsia: ‘If there are no priests there (in Brazil), you will have to write to the archbishop.’

Muzyka records that he had met Degan on the journey to Brazil, and went to find him after hearing the conversation. When they met, according to his report, Degan confirmed the request. Muzyka said that he asked him: ‘don’t you worry having sent this request when the conditions here are so difficult?’ to which Degan replied: ‘it is exactly because the conditions here are so difficult that I decided to write and send this request.’

It has not been possible to consult Degan’s letter, which unfortunately was not published in any of the periodicals that have served as my source. However, the files of the Millennium Museum in Prudentópolis contain a copy of the original of another letter, sent in 1902, possibly by Degan – the letter is signed ‘Ruthenians of Paraná’. The letter is a request for more priests to be sent, as the four who were in residence in Paraná (fathers Rozdolskyj, Kizyma, Martynuk and Myhniak) where unable to attend to the needs of all the Ruthenian community. I have included the entire text to allow for a more detailed analysis:

Your Excellency, Archbishop!

[We] Ruthenians who live in Brazil, thousands of miles from our Ruthenian church and our Greek Catholic rite, dwelling far apart in the forests and the wild countryside, transmit this petition to your person:

Your Eminence, Archbishop! Do not forget us! Send the Holy Father the Pope

мене в погодій Америці, тає представ
тог Ваше Високопреосвященство Святу
Омієви, просим о сюїчі наданні.

Знагоми Високопреосвященний Архієписко^п
Ваші члрі праці відомо добра Церкви і на
шого гр. Івана св. Образу, падіжнось, що наші
покірні прохоби, знайдуть послух в Вашим
серцю, а тоді будем переконані, що осн.
зміни постадані намі чини

Русини до Параани.

Fig. 1. Final passage of the letter sent by "Ruthenians in Paraná" to the Archbishop (Metropolita) Sylvester Symbratovych in 1902, requesting more priests for Brazil.

of Rome a request to send us some priests. Here we have four Greek Catholic priests for the whole of Brazil and Argentina. This is not enough even for half of Paraná, not to mention the rest of the Ruthenian people in the Provinces of São Paulo and São Catarina [sic], Rio Grande do Sul, and the large number of Ruthenians in Argentina that until now have had no contact with their priest in those parts.

Your Eminence, Archbishop! We submissively (покійно – pokijno) request that you also allocate us, Ruthenians of America, a Greek catholic bishop, with whom we Ruthenians can confide and consult in our language, who will be our shepherd and raise us in the Greek catholic faith. The foreign bishops do not know how to prepare our people to worship in the Greek Catholic faith, they do not understand our wishes, our language. Send a request, so that we receive our bishop and are incorporated into the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Galicia.

Your Eminence, Archbishop! Place our request on the throne of the Holy Father! Tell him, that in this year of the Great Jubilee, we Ruthenians, here in this wild country, have not forgotten that we are of the Greek catholic faith, children of our church, and that in the wild lands we pray beneath the cross to the Lord and implore him to grant health (здрав'я – zdorov'ya) to the Holy Father, Head of the Catholic Church.

Your Eminence, Archbishop! We cannot afford to bring priests at our own expense and build churches, because money here in South America is scarce; so we send Your Eminence this appeal to take care of (*omiky – opiku*) this for us. Aware of Your Eminence's generosity as the leader of the Church and of our holy Greek Catholic rite, we hope that our respectful request be heard by your heart, and that we will achieve the objective we so greatly desire.

Ruthenians in Paraná.

The letter reveals the attitude of the petitioner towards the archbishop and the way in which these settlers justified the necessity they felt for the presence of Greek Catholic priests.

The writer of the letter requests that the archbishop tell the pope that, despite their suffering in the middle of the untamed forest, the Ruthenians have observed their religious obligations and are praying for him – and thus, the pope is to a certain extent obliged to return these favors. On the other hand, the use of the word *покийно* (*pokijno*) indicates the relationship that he establishes with the religious authorities. The word can be translated as 'submissively' or 'obediently'. Its use signifies far more than mere etiquette or protocol, as this was the word employed by the serfs when petitioning their lords.

This dual attitude – total submission on the one hand, while on the other demanding what is owed in return for their observances – follows the model of a petition to a feudal lord in Galician society at the end of the 19th century. The Ruthenians lived in a region where feudal serfdom lasted a long time, and even after it was officially abolished the servile bonds still remained. Any petition to a lord observed this servility: the request was accompanied by self-abasement.

In Galicia members of the clergy enjoyed a privileged economic situation compared to that of the peasantry. As Himka (1986: 431, n.18) states, the clergy could be seen as 'gentlemen farmers', as they owned and exploited the monastery's land, estimated on average at between 12 and 50 hectares – far larger than a well-off peasant's. They also had two additional sources of income – a salary from the central government and fees charged for sacramental rites. In addition, they were the only interpreters and authorized representatives of the Greek Catholic religion, with authority over the faithful among the peasantry (Himka, 1988: 10, 11). In my interview with Raphael Symchyshyn, who came from Prudentópolis and was a first generation descendant of the Ruthenians who came to Brazil, he said of his parents:

'They worshipped the clergy. I've never seen anything like it! An incredible respect! Incredible! Just to show you, when the priests reared cattle, in the Esperança colony, once an ox got out and went into the street, and my parents said: (softly) 'Sir ox, priest's ox, get out of the street.'

'They talked to the ox?'

'Yes! They had that much respect! Horses, dogs, they called them all 'sir'. (...) They implicitly believed what the priest said. For them the priest was someone sacred, when the priest passed by we had to stop, in the street, take off our hats and say 'Praise be to our Lord Jesus Christ!'... then the priest went on his way... that was it. Great respect for them, for these priests!'

The servile deference to religious authority in the letter to the archbishop suggests that the Ruthenians attributed a position of authority to the Greek catholic priests that was the same as that they had previously attributed to the feudal lords of Galicia.

Furthermore, the letter provides us with another indication: it reveals the justifications that the *Ruthenians themselves* provided for the request for priests..To understand why it was that these Ruthenians believed that sending the priests was essential for their survival, we must pay the utmost attention to the particular way in which they express this need.

Thus, in their letter, they ask that the bishop 'be our shepherd and raise us in the Greek catholic faith;' they complain that the Brazilian bishops 'do not know how to prepare our people to worship in the Greek catholic faith, they do not understand our wishes', and lastly they state that they need опіки (*opiky*): to be taken care of. In other words, when formulating their request, the Ruthenians say that they need a guide, someone who teaches them to remain within the boundaries of acceptable standards of existence. They ask for an authority, a specialist in the traditional way of living, who understands them and at the same time points out the path to be followed.

Similarly, when broaching the request for priests made to Archbishop Symbratovych, Muzyka (1936) informs us that after his conversation with Degan, he reflected for a long time on what he had heard. And says that he arrived at the following conclusion:

I reflected, saw, understood our poverty, with no bread, but excluded this, did not consider it. (...) Such great want would only be at the beginning, and those whom God helps overcome all the difficulties. But if we waited, while we

worked, then it would be too late, we would already be lost. And what would become of us later if we did not have our priest? For then our people would forget God, the holy Church, our eastern rite and our uniqueness as a people [народности – narodnosti, quality of a people (narod)]. Винародовимся.
[Vynarodovymosya: vy: on the outside; narod: people; vty: suffix that transforms a noun into a verb, here conjugated in the first person plural (vymo); sya: reflexive participle, indicates that the verb applies to the subject itself. Thus, vynarodovymosya: we ourselves will no longer be the people we are] (...). The people were scattered around the forests, far apart, with no roads, bridges, organization, no meetings, in a word, they were sheep without a shepherd. (Muzyka, 1936)

Muzyka here presents the Ruthenians as sheep without a shepherd, set loose in wild lands. The relationship he establishes is direct: God, the Church and the eastern rite constitute the uniqueness of the Ruthenians as a people – they constitute its народности (*narodnosti*). The breakdown of the family, the ‘perdition’, the end of community life, the interruption of the cyclical passage of time – all of the events that occurred at the beginning of the colonies that he broaches in his narration, quoted here, are synthesized by the word *vynarodovynnya* (винародовиння): according to Muzyka, in their first years in the colonies of Paraná the Ruthenians ceased to be the people they always had been. And Muzyka sees the whole painful experience of the beginning of the colonies as a result of the interruption of the daily religious practices.

In order to solve all these problems, which are in fact only one – the rupture of the familiar social order which served as their reference – Muzyka and the settlers who wrote the letter to Galicia did not ask for the intervention of the Paraná government nor of the Galician civil authorities. They saw a single solution for their dilemmas: to write to Archbishop Symbratovych. By asking for priests, they were asking, in their own words and in their own way, that the bishopric send them people capable of restoring the social order according to the standards to which they were accustomed.

The reception of the Greek Catholic priests

But how representative was this attitude of Muzyka and of the authors of the letter to Archbishop Symbratovych? Was it an isolated act on the part of just

a few settlers? To answer these questions I will examine the reactions of the Ruthenians to the arrival of the first missionaries in Brazil.

When Degan wrote the letter, in January 1897, the Archbishop had already received a previous letter with the same request: according to statements by two other priests who researched the Ruthenian immigration to Brazil (Haneiko, 1985: 55; Bypko, 1984: 5), the settlers of Rio Claro sent their request for priests at the end of 1895. The first Greek catholic missionary sent by Symbratovych, the secular priest Myhola Myhalevych, arrived in Brazil in June 1896. However, the local religious authorities did not allow him to go to the colonies, as he was married (marriage of priests is accepted in catholic churches of the eastern rite, but not in those of the Latin rite); Father Myhalevych and his family were obliged to return to Galicia immediately. The following month a second secular priest, Nikon Rozdolskyj, arrived in Brazil. After a brief stop in Prudentópolis he settled in the Rio Claro mission, then moving to Antônio Olyntho (the Serra do Tigre colony), where he stayed until his early death in 1906. Lastly, also in 1896, at the end of the month of November, Symbratovych sent the priest Ivan Volianskyj to Brazil. His mission was to examine the conditions in which the Ruthenian settlers were living and to present a report on the matter to the Galician civil and religious authorities (*op cit*: 6).

Volianskyj returned to Lviv at the beginning of 1897, and it is probable that he presented his report to Symbratovych immediately after the arrival of Degan's letter. Then on May 11 the priest Sylvester Kizyma left Galicia, the first Basilian missionary (a member of the Order of Saint Basil the Great) to be sent to Brazil; from then on, the majority of the missionaries who came to Paraná were from this religious Order.

Unlike Father Rozdolskyj, Father Kizyma did not settle in one or two colonies: he traveled to all the locations where there were Ruthenians, making great efforts to establish religious missions in all the colonies through the institution of Apostolates of Prayer. On his travels, from time to time, he wrote to his superiors in Galicia reporting on events; these superiors had just started the publication of a periodical, the *Misionar*, in the town of Jovkua, in which they published lengthy passages from Kizyma's letters. Thus we know a number of details about the work of this priest during the first years of the Ruthenian settlements in Paraná.

Kizyma arrived in Prudentópolis on July 7, 1897. He stated that he settled in this colony because he was aware (probably due to Volianskyj's report) that

it was there that 'our people settled in greater numbers, and where they are the poorest and the most abandoned.' (Kizyma, 1897: 125).

Let's look now at how Father Kizyma was received by the settlers. When recounting his arrival in Paraná, he states that he ended up staying in the surrounding areas of Curitiba for ten days, because he was required to hear the confession of thousands of settlers who, when they heard of his arrival, 'hurriedly came from all around with tears of happiness, [seeking] consolation for their souls' (Kizyma, 1897: 125). When he arrived in the Ruthenian colonies for the first time, the settlers' reactions was even more intense:

Knowing that I was coming, they set out in my direction and caught up with me half a day's walk from the colony. The greetings, meetings and tears were unending. It was difficult to restrain my tears when, on seeing me, all of them, and above all the old with white hair, prostrated themselves on the ground in front of me and kissed my feet and the earth on which I had trodden, and wept with joy like little children, for in four years it was the first time they had seen their priest. (Kizyma, [1898]: 13)

Similar scenes occurred when the second Basilian priest to come to Brazil, father Martynyuk, arrived in Prudentópolis accompanied by friar Sofrom. In his letters of this period, also written to his superiors and published in the periodical *Misionar*, friar Horoshhuk recounts the day of his arrival in Prudentópolis:

When we spent the night in Ponta Grossa, rumor had already reached Prudentópolis [that we were there], before we arrived. (...) [When we arrived] the coachman cracked his whip and the coach came to a halt. Oh God most holy, both of us were overtaken by a flood of emotion at being in the mission, at home. Coming out of the huts the people surrounded us and hemmed us in on every side, greeting us. (...)

Immediately the priest who was our antecessor came out of the house and asked the people to release us, as they were about to crush us. I will not forget these moments until I die. (...) A sound was heard behind us, and gradually rose: *Mnohaya lita* [a traditional commemoration song], one of the settlers gave a speech in a tremulous voice, very moved, repeatedly drying his eyes, and waving his hat around in his hands. There were times when he coughed, as his words became disconnected. (Horoshhuk, 1905: 277, 278)

Just as the settlers were excited by the arrival of the priests, they also tried not to let them go when they were leaving on pastoral visits to the most distant colonies. On leaving Curitiba for Prudentópolis, soon after his arrival, father Kizyma narrates how the Ruthenians who lived in the surrounding areas ‘came to meet me in tears and took hold of my luggage, pulling it towards them in an appeal for me to stay.’ In Lucena, his departure was even more difficult:

the combination of the tears of the children, the adolescents and of the old was like a river. With difficulty I got to the street, because they people did not want to release me. They bad me farewell with a procession, but they accompanied me for two days and two nights, heedless of hunger and the cold. With difficulty on the second day I managed to persuade them to return home. Poor folk! They all have enough to live on, they are not doing badly – but their sadness tears at the heart, for not having their priest, for not hearing the teachings. (Kizyma, 1898: 14)

The exalted reception given the missionaries everywhere they arrived and the reluctance in letting them leave show that the desire for the presence of priests was not restricted to the few settlers who actually wrote the letters to the Bishopric requesting they be sent to Brazil.

Perception of the moral breakdown of the settlers

When referring to the settlers, father Kizyma and friar Horoshhuk described the sorrow they felt at what they saw around them. Written under the initial impact of their arrival, their letters broach the material penury and above all the moral penury that they witnessed in the various colonies. Kizyma states that even the colonies near Curitiba were full of Ruthenians ‘who had not confessed for years, abandoned, neglected, with no care for their souls, the children not baptized, the oldest not dying as human beings.’ But the greatest shock, also seen in the testimony of settlers given decades later, was the perception of the breakdown of the family.

In the letter that he wrote to his superiors in Galicia soon after he arrived in Prudentópolis in 1897, Friar Horoshhuk stated:

They approached without clothes, starving, wild, filthy. Here [in Curitiba] the corpses of our people already fill two cemeteries. There was no bread, and

hunger and drunkenness are bad counselors. The Brazilians had contaminated our people with terrible corruption. Things had reached a point which perhaps had not even been reached in Sodom and Gomorrah. To get money or bread husbands expelled their wives, fathers expelled their daughters, exposing them to a life of perdition. Even girls of twelve, they say, [prostituted themselves], forced by their parents to do this diabolic work. And when they began to sober up, the devil continued to transform our people into animals, and parents began to give their children away to the Brazilians. (Horoshuk, [1898]: 142)

In his letters Father Kizyma reveals the same emotions and perceptions as Friar Horoshuk:

They despise themselves, the girls and the women have taken the path to perdition in these forests, like pagans; among the Godless Brazilians, they have lost their devotion and their morals, they rove around in groups with no one to assist their souls, no one to take pity on them. (...) In Prudentópolis there are around 5250 Ruthenians. They work with saws and axes, destroying the grandiose forest to plant. The people rove around like waifs, from poverty and hunger. Four cemeteries are already full. Countless bodies are buried in the forests. Due to hunger some of our people sell their children to the Brazilians for a few thousand reis (a few *ryns'ki*). Some give their children away to the Brazilians free of charge, to have fewer worries. All around we see how our people have become savage (зничіли – *zdychily*, verb derived from *дики* – *dyki*, savages). Indeed it is not possible to enumerate all the things they experience here. (Kizyma, 1897: 125, 126)

Kizyma compares the religious and moral breakdown of the Ruthenians to the wildness of the surrounding nature and the lack of religion among the Brazilians: the Ruthenians, in his words, were becoming as wild as the people and the nature of the country to which they had come; coexisting with groups that did not adhere to the values to which they were accustomed, defined as *nash l'udy*, which, as shown by Ciomara Schneider (2002: 83), also implied conformity to the moral norms of the ‘traditional family’.

The priests expressed their great disappointment at the behavior of the Brazilians concerning religion. There is an example in the report made by Friar Horoshuk in 1905 on the first Mass that he had attended, seven years earlier, soon after his arrival in Brazil, in Paranaguá. The first thing he noticed was that the people spoke in loud voices inside the church. To his amazement, two dogs then entered from the corridor and began to fight and

bite each other, and the people reacted by laughing, shouting and kicking the dogs out of the church. During the procession there were no hymns, prayers or religious effigies, and the people followed as if it were a daily outing, even wearing their hats; at the end of this event, watched by the majority of the population from the balconies of their houses, fireworks were let off, and they called the whole thing гранди феста, “a big fiesta” (Horoshhuk, 1905: 213, 214). All of this appeared ‘very strange’ to him, despite appearing quite natural to the Brazilians. Thus it should come as no surprise that the amoral behavior of the Ruthenians was associated not only to the wildness of the surrounding nature, but to the wildness of the very people who lived in these surroundings, a people of little religion.⁴

The first steps taken by Father Kizyma were thus to attract the Ruthenians to the religious services in order, in his words, to ‘bring them back to the universe of faith.’ In his letter he too requests that more priests be sent: ‘the priests are needed here as soon as possible, while faith is still latent in some.’ As soon as he had set up his mission in Prudentópolis, he left to make pastoral visits to other colonies including Lucena and Jangada. During these visits he worked day and night to meet the needs of the settlers. Kizyma states that in Lucena, during the four weeks of his mission, the settlers abandoned their plots to attend the religious services. During this period the priest gave 35 masses, prepared all the children for their first confession and heard over 3000 confessions. Throughout the mission he refused to hear the confession or give the sacraments to settlers who would not swear they would give up drinking. (Vihoryns’kyj, 1958: 81).

In addition, both father Kizyma and father Rozdolskyj demanded that all the settlers who came to confession build a church. The work and the expense entailed in building churches demanded great sacrifices from the settlers, who were hardly able to meet the challenges of the work entailed in clearing their plots for their sustenance, and who lived in temporary huts on their pieces of land. This did not stop them, however, from undertaking the task. In Prudentópolis, as related by Muzyka, the settlers thought:

⁴ This perception was not exclusive to the Ruthenians. The Polish priests who visited Brazil a few years previously also expressed their shock at the fact that “in the Brazilian churches there are noises and whisperings, accompanied by dogs and talking aloud” (*apud* ANAIS, vol. V: 100, 101). Seyferth (1990) states that throughout the south of Brazil the European settlers, on arrival, considered “the religious practices of the Brazilians to lack seriousness”.

how to build in the midst of such poverty? No one had a horse, or even a cart, and the material must be brought, stones and trees for the foundations, and there was nothing to bring it with. ‘All the same, we will build it’ the people said. ‘We will carry everything on our backs, like the birds carry the twigs for building their nests.’ They quoted the proverb: ‘do what God didn’t do, and God will help.’ ‘Because it must be done, and done with good will, with all our heart, however much it hurts.’ They began the work. Some cut the stones, others prepared the wood, and then the people carried the stones on their backs for 2 kilometers and, when they went to the town or the chapel, those that were able to carry stones brought as much as they were able. They were carried by the old, the young, the children. As time passed the work proved very heavy, especially for the women. One of them came and lifted a stone. ‘It isn’t heavy, I’ll carry it’, she said. After carrying it for two kilometers she was bruised, and so the priest forbade her to carry stones.

The priest realized that without a cart it would not work. So he collected money from all of them to buy a cart, and the people gave trees for God’s cause. They dismantled the cart, then, one at the front wheel and another at the back, they pushed the trees from the forest to the town without horses, as they had none. The pines were nearby. But the walnut a few kilometers away. And thus they built. (Muzyka, 1936)

In Rio Claro, in the same way, the church was built by the settlers, under the supervision of Father Rozdolskyj. According to Pototskyj (1897), the work took 55 days, and involved dozens of settlers. The costs that could not be avoided were divided between the farmhouses: those nearest to the church contributed 20,000 reis, and those further away 10,000. The day of the consecration of the church, in his words, ‘was a day of great ceremony for we Ruthenians (...) When the bell tolled for the first time, our hearts jumped for joy. Only those with a heart of stone did not weep for joy.’

When relating the end of the building of the church, Pototskyj’s account tells us of the extent that religious affiliation was associated to the home country. He wrote in his letter: ‘the 5th colony already looked like a *sylo* [сило, a Ruthenian village]: on either side of the street were the wooden houses, and in the middle of the colony, on plot nº 15 of line 5, our Ruthenian church majestically stands.’ Thus the building of the church was above all a symbolic act for the Ruthenians who had settled in Paraná: the presence of the building with Byzantine domes meant that, at last, the colonies were worthy of the name *sylo*.

The relationship between the Ruthenians and the priests and their religion is in sharp contrast to that described by Willems (1980) in the case the Germans who settled in the neighboring state of Santa Catarina. The case of the protestant immigrants is very different: on the one hand, as the author relates, ‘for decades the churches of the homeland did not trouble themselves with the lot of their emigrant members’; on the other,

‘as the number of protestant Germans in Brazil increased, the lack of spiritual direction from the pastors and teachers became more and more evident. They were abandoned to their lot.’ (*apud Deutsche evangelische Blätter für Brasilien*, August-September 1937, p.33). Individuals with no theological training were elected ‘parish priests’ by the communities. (...) In these conditions (...) the prestige of the ministers rapidly evaporated. For many German-Brazilians the status of pastors and teachers was considered the lowest in the local society.’ (Willems, *op cit*: 338).

Authority challenged: the place of the priests

By demanding that the settlers stopped drinking, giving confession, conducting the services according to the religious calendar, by ministering the sacraments and demanding the construction of churches – in all these activities the priests relied on the authority and legitimacy that they enjoyed in the eyes of the settlers to interfere in their conduct and force them to return to their religious observances. At first sight, as was the case with the Italian colonies established in the south of Brazil during the same period, described by Azevedo (1982: 195),

the priest is the most powerful factor for order, morality and stability for the settlers (...) the newly established settlers complained more to the priest and to the church than to the school and the teachers. In fact, from this intimate contact between the settler and the priest, and particularly due to the latter’s ordinary way of life, *leur communauté de vie*, a high degree of mutual sympathy emerged, ‘an unchallenged moral authority over the settler.’

However, despite the Greek Catholic priests having been received as virtually divine beings in all the colonies where they arrived, this did not mean that their authority was accepted by all the settlers. On the contrary, in

a number of places they encountered resistance to their activities: whereas they were received with veneration by the majority of the settlers, this was not always the case. To reach a greater understanding of the dynamics that led to acceptance or rejection of their authority, I will examine the process of arrival and installation of the priests in three colonies – Jangada, Prudentópolis and Antônio Olyntho – in which the settlers reacted in different ways to their presence.

First, the Jangada colony, which was visited by father Martynyuk and by his apostolic companion, friar Horoshhuk. There the Ruthenians, of whom there were few, lived near an army barracks. As soon as he arrived, father Martynyuk forbade the Ruthenian girls to attend the balls given at the barracks. Some soldiers came to the house where the priests were staying to protest, and friar Horoshhuk expelled them with threats. A short while later the soldiers returned with their weapons and attacked the two men, who were wounded and fled. A Polish priest who was visiting Jangada at the time described the incident in a report to his superiors in Poland: ‘Jangada is filthy. There is a military colony here. The soldiers, most of whom are black, have ‘married’ Ruthenian and Polish girls – it is shameful to write this. A Basilian priest who vehemently condemned this barely escaped with his life’. (*apud ANAIS*, vol. V: 121).

The Ruthenian settlers who remained in Jangada did not come to father Martynyuk’s defense when he was attacked – probably due to the presence of the army – and the Basilian priests in the end did not install a permanent mission there. According to father Vihoryns’kyj’s book (1958: 27), the next visit of a missionary to Jangada after father Martynyuk’s only occurred in 1916, and was followed by only infrequent visits. In this colony, the need felt by the settlers for the protection of the priests did not outweigh the vicissitudes of coexistence with the local inhabitants.

I will now examine the second case, that of the colony of Prudentópolis.

As I have said, father Kizyma, who attended this colony, refused confession to those who would not stop drinking. Furthermore, as Muzyka tells us (1936). ‘the priest also insisted that the mothers who had given away their children took them back. If they did not, they would not receive the sacraments.’ And he also demanded that all the women and girls ‘abandoned the ways of perdition’. Many of the settlers accepted Kizyma’s authority and returned to a way of life governed by religious norms. In the first months of his stay he stated in his letters: ‘our parents have taken back their children whom they

had sold last year or two years ago. (...) Poor folk! With tears they sold their children, with tears they bore this burden, with tears they took them back into their wretched little homes' (Kizyma, [1898]: 159). However, as in Jangada, the priest's decisions also caused disgust. Since his first letter he had already warned his superiors that 'the people are gradually waking up to reality. For this reason the Brazilian agents of perdition [the pimps], from whom the Ruthenian women fled after the installation of the mission, were angered by me and threatened to kill me' (Kizyma, 1897: 126). And it was not only the Brazilians who resisted the priest's demands. Friar Horoshhuk states in another letter that 'father Kizyma has already done much around here, but there are still those who approach him with such audacity, because they do not want to convert, establish close relations with the Brazilians and offend a man to the point that he is ready to shoot. Despite this, father Kizyma, with truly apostolic good will, does not cease to denounce them.' (Horoshhuk, [1898]: 143).

When the situation of fathers Kizyma and Martynyuk and friar Horoshhuk reached a peak of tension, he wrote to his superiors in the following words:

We are concerned about the risk of being the victims of violence, and, who knows, perhaps news of the spilling of blood will arrive along with this letter. (...) They have sworn vengeance and are doing everything to get rid of us, and set fire to our house when we were not there. I sent father Anton [Martynyuk] to stay with our people in the forest. (Kizyma, [1898]: 159)

Kizyma's letter ends tragically, showing that he had already accepted the worst: 'The town is at boiling point, and how it will all end only God knows. Our only hope is in merciful God, who brings calm after the storm. But let God's will be done.'

In their reports both Hotsajlyuk (1924) and Muzyka (1936) recorded the attacks suffered by fathers Kizyma and Martynyuk in 1898. The information makes it clear that in Prudentópolis some settlers resisted the interventions and authority of the priests; however, unlike in Jangada, there the majority of the population rose up against the attackers. Muzyka writes:

Some intended to expel the priest. One night, a group gathered after supper and armed with clubs shouted swear words in the street in front of the priest's house; it was a terrible thing to hear.

The settlers called a council. In the evening they were at the meeting and calmly discussing [the matter] when the shouting mob arrived. They shouted slogans or simply swore. And our people were witnesses of all this, and they called a further meeting where they decided to guard the priest, the nearest lines taking turn, which they did for a week. (Muzyka, 1936)

In his letters Kizyma himself mentions the intervention of some of the settlers on his behalf: ‘today, while I am writing this letter, they sent some people to the priest [Martynyuk], to protect him and take him to [another] house. And we never stay anywhere without a guard. Our people guard the house day and night, and I, without a revolver in my hand, do not dare to take a step.’ (Kizyma, [1898]: 159).

In his next letter, he reported that the danger was gradually decreasing: father Kizyma had let the guard go, and although he still did not risk going out without his revolver at easy reach, wrote to his superiors that his work was calmer. Kizyma states in this letter that ‘The Brazilians came over to our side; they declared they were prepared to vigorously defend us.’ (*op cit*: 188).

In his next letter, the tone of Kizyma’s writing is much calmer. He states that ‘our adversaries, defeated, have moved somewhere else. The reason for their defeat was that the people converted [to the faith], leaving their pagan and immoral [way of] life, so that they lost their source of exploitation.’ Kizyma emphasizes once again the role of the settlers in his defense: ‘and for this our people raised themselves up and resuscitated their souls for peace.’ Well pleased with his missionary work, Kizyma closes his letter with the following words: ‘we now have a people of whom we can be proud (...) for this we had to place our lives at risk, but God transformed all the suffering and unhappiness into something much better. Our work proceeds once again and without impediments, and is developing very well.’ (*op cit*: 204).

The case of Prudentópolis shows that the priests did not count on the support of all the Ruthenians who lived in the colonies of Paraná. A more nuanced view of these events is denied us, due to lack of access to the views of the dissatisfied settlers; we can however affirm that, from a given moment on, and with the support of part of the settlers, the priests Kizyma and Martynyuk managed to establish their authority in this colony – or, as Kizyma himself described it from the religious point of view, these settlers decided to ‘follow the teachings’, ‘abandon paganism’ and ‘convert their souls to peace’.

Kizyma' and Martynyuk's success was essential as the factor that led to Prudentópolis becoming the largest center for Ruthenian immigrants in Brazil. When they saw that father Kizyma had structured the religious life of the settlers in Prudentópolis, other Ruthenians moved there in their quest for the daily coexistence that they so sorely lacked. Kizyma comments on the first Easter spent in Brazil in the following words:

there were a great many people, as apart from the settlers here others came for Holy Week from the states of Paraná and São Paulo. They wept, the wretched people; they wept! And they wept because in four years it was the first time they had heard and sung the *Hrystos Voskres* [*Christ has Risen, a hymn sung only at Easter*]. Many of them stayed, bought their little farmhouses and prayed, and got married here so that they could settle nearer the Church and beside Jesus in the Holy Eucharist. (Kizyma, [1898]: 205).

One of these settlers who ended up moving to Prudentópolis after the Easter services was the father of the immigrant Paulo Muzyka. Muzyka had been retained by the Galician Guard as he was leaving Galicia, and his family left without him. He only managed to leave for Brazil some months later, and everywhere he went he asked after his father, but didn't manage to find him. In the end he occupied a farmhouse on the Nova Galícia line, in Prudentópolis, where he lived alone. Several months later, one of the immigrants who had lived in his village in Galicia and who was living in the outskirts of Curitiba came to Prudentópolis to attend one of father Kizyma's masses. When he asked after inhabitants of his village, he discovered that Muzyka was there, and finally put him in touch with his father – who had settled in Tomás Coelho, near Curitiba. Kuzeka's father arrived in Prudentópolis at the time of the services that preceded Holy Week. Muzyka relates:

My father was overjoyed by the fact that here there was a priest [of our church] and our mass. It was Lent, and so my father went to the *poklone*. This pleased him greatly. He said to me 'there it's not bad, but I live among foreign folk. But I can sell [my house] there', and so he did and came [to live] among our people. (Muzyka, 1936)

The *poklone* (prostrations) are one of the innumerable rituals in the eastern rite of the Catholic Church that do not exist in the Latin rite,⁵ and constitute a series of prayers accompanied by thousands of prostrations on the ground, which continue for hours on the last Sunday of Lent. According to Muzyka's reconstruction of the story, his father moved to Prudentópolis due to the emotion these rituals aroused in him, 'among his people'. This information should be put into perspective due to the great importance that living with his son must have had for the father; however, it was Muzyka's father who moved from Tomás Coelho to Prudentópolis, and not the other way around, so the presence of the Ruthenian priests must indeed have been central to his decision. The presence of the priests and the increasing number of Ruthenians who came to live in the town led to the resuscitation of all the rituals of the various cycles of the religious calendar, including those for Easter and Christmas (described in minute detail by Schneider, 2002). Although since its foundation Prudentópolis had counted on a large concentration of Ruthenians, it was after the establishment of the missions of fathers Kizyma and Martynyuk that it definitively became largest center for the concentration of Ruthenian immigrants in Brazil.

The third case that I examine here is that of the colony of Antônio Olyntho. The events that I will discuss took place during the second phase of the Ruthenian immigration to Brazil, after the year 1911. They are of interest in that they reveal a third type of relationship established between the settlers and priests in Paraná.

The first priests to take on missionary work in the community of Antônio Olyntho were Nikon Rozdolskyj, who visited it from Rio Claro where the permanent mission was established (Shyvchuk, 1936), and fathers Martynyuk and Myhniak (the third Basilian to arrive in Brazil, in November 1900), who also established their pastoral work there. In 1902, according to the report of father Burko (1984: 14), fathers Martynyuk and Myhniak returned to Galicia, and in 1906 Rozdolskyj became seriously ill and died. After this the community was attended by visits from the parish priest of Iracema (one of the Lucena colonies) Clemente Bjuhovskyj, who had arrived in Brazil in the company of two other Basilian missionaries in 1902. During all these years, the

⁵ For a more detailed discussion of the eastern rituals of the Ukrainian catholic church, cf. Horbatyuk, 1989: 134-138.

settlers of Antônio Olyntho also attended the services held by Polish priests of the Latin rite, with whom, however, they did not get on well.⁶ Finally, in 1911, after a series of requests from father Bjuhovskyj, to the bishop of Curitiba and to the Archbishop of Lviv, a new missionary arrived in Antônio Olyntho to take over the parish: the secular priest Ivan Michalczuk. The history of the relationship between this priest and the community of Antônio Olyntho has been described in detail in Andreazza's doctoral thesis (1999) which deals with Ruthenian immigration to this colony and is the text which provided the basis for the following discussion.

Michalczuk worked in Antônio Olyntho between 1911 and 1950. According to people interviewed by Andreazza, Michalczuk demanded large scale attendance of the faithful at all the rituals, telling them that absence from the religious services was a mortal sin; he whipped the faithful with 'a little whip from which he was never parted'; ranted in his sermons: 'you are ignorant, you are no more than trash. You are masons. All of you together aren't worth so much as one of my horses; my dog is worth more than you; you're riffraff. I stamp on you with my shoes'; and he forbade all music and dancing on Sundays, as he himself recorded in the parish records, 'teaching them discipline' from the start, when 'the iron was hot and malleable [and] many bowed before the will of God.' As he was always ranting and always angry, he left an impression on the settler's that is crystallized in the way he was described by one of the people Andreazza interviewed: 'that priest was red'.

Michalczuk fell out more seriously with the settlers on the Santos Andrade line, a little further away from the center of the Antônio Olyntho colony. It should be mentioned here that in 1911, when this priest arrived in Brazil, the Ruthenian settlers were already better structured; he immediately took over the control of everything that had been constructed until then. In Santos Andrade the settlers gave him the key to the chapel that had been built before he arrived. However, as he only appeared to hold services very sporadically, and refused to hand back the keys, they were prevented from saying their prayers in the chapel for periods of as long as three months.

⁶ Andreazza (1999: 90) states that one of the Polish priests beat his followers, and that another was even murdered – according to newspapers of the time, suspicion for the crime fell on one of the followers (the paper does not specify whether he was of Ruthenian or of Polish origin). Vihorenskyj (1958: 49) states that the same thing occurred in Iracema: 'This [polish] priest had come from Lviv and was called Alexander Ivanovych. He did not treat our people well, and struggled to convert them to the Latin [rite].'

The last straw in the differences between Michalczuk and the Santos Andrade settlers was when he took over the control of the St. Basil Brotherhood, which in addition to organizing the Apostolates of Prayer also administered the funds collected from the settlers for the running of the school and the maintenance of the church and the cemetery. On taking control he also took over the funds which he used as he pleased, according to his own criteria, while the whole structure constructed by the settlers was relegated to a state of total abandon.

Andreazza noted that several settlers who lived on this line had probably arrived after 1907. That date is significant because a number of Ruthenians who had stayed in Galicia after 1896 had contact there with the discussions of the *Prosvita* Society, a lay institution whose aim was to educate the settlers – and in a number of cases assumed an anti-clerical stance.

Thus the settlers of Santos Andrade did something that would perhaps have been unthinkable for the Ruthenians who arrived in the previous waves of immigration: they decided to sue the priest. Michalczuk, however, always won the cases. According to Andreazza, on one of the occasions on which he was summoned to justify his actions, the priest arrived in the company of over a hundred settlers who supported him, who intimidated the rebels into giving in to their demands. The settlers then attempted to solve their differences of opinion with the priest by writing to the bishop of Lviv, and even to the bishop of Curitiba, narrating the events, but Michalczuk always received the support of the hierarchy of the church.

The differences of opinion even reached a point where, in 1913, the priest registered in the parish records that several of the settlers were preparing to ‘kill me, and have even offered 200,000 reis for my head.’ In one of the interviews given to Andreazza, one settler even stated that in 1919 twenty armed men set up an ambush for the priest near a bridge, but didn’t have the courage to attack him.

With the passing of the years, in the eyes of the settlers Michalczuk appeared increasingly powerful and invincible – and rich, as he refused to minister any of the sacraments without payment in advance. The settlers referred to these payments in their letters as ‘feudal dues’ rather than ‘tithes’, showing that they saw them as a feudal obligation rather than a religious one.

The fact that Michalczuk continued as parish priest in Antônio Olyntho until 1950 shows that, in the end, his authority prevailed in the colony. Andreazza points out, however, that the names of the people who stood out as

leaders of the community disappeared from the parish records from the 1920s onward. Her hypothesis is that ‘possibly at this time a selection of those who were included as parishioners occurred’ (*op cit*: 107), in other words, those settlers who disliked the priest’s behavior left Antônio Olyntho, and ‘those [parishioners] more rooted in traditional peasant behavior remained’ (*id, ibid*).

What the examination of the case of Antônio Olyntho appears to indicate at first sight is that the opposite to what had happened in Prudentópolis: whereas in the latter the presence of the priests had served as a magnet to attract Ruthenian settlers, in the former some of the settlers left their plots precisely because of the presence of Michalczuk.

First, however, one should question whether the difference between the cases of Kizyma and of Michalczuk is not due to the lack of availability of sources that allow us to discuss them. We have no testimony from any of the settlers of Prudentópolis who protested against the actions of father Kizyma. If one of them had spoken about this, couldn’t he have presented a different version of the reasons for the protests? Could Kizyma’s authority have been as oppressive as Michalczuk’s? Could Muzyka and Hotsajlyuk, who informed us about Kizyma, have defended him due to being excessively biased in favor of domination of the priests, as Andreazza indicates could have been the case of the settlers who stayed in Antônio Olyntho?

We will never know for certain, given that testimony for the other side – from those who might have defended Michalczuk or those who might have criticized Kizyma – does not exist. However, there are various indications in the existing documentation that the difference in the two cases is not due to bias of the available sources, but rather to the idiosyncrasies of each priest. Let me examine these indications. In the first place, we have the report of Mehalo Shyvchuk, written in 1936: Shyvchuk was one of the settlers who stayed in Antônio Olyntho after 1920. His report is interrupted when Michalczuk comes on the scene. Shyvchuk neither defends nor attacks him; he preferred to remain silent on the presence of the priest. This shows, at the very least, that Michalczuk’s presence in the town was still controversial in 1936 – whereas Kizyma, according to available sources, enjoyed the confidence and support of the settlers who remained in Prudentópolis as long as he lived.

Secondly, there are no records of protests against Kizyma, whereas Michalczuk left in his wake innumerable letters of protest, court cases and indignant testimony, that can still be heard today in Antônio Olyntho.

Finally, the sources available on Kizyma indicate that he lived a precarious existence, whereas Michalczuk demanded payment for the sacraments even if this represented a sacrifice for the settlers. As a result he accumulated a great deal of property during his lifetime: according to the information gathered by Andreazza in the registry office of Antônio Olyntho, on his death Michalczuk owned more than 100 alqueires of land.⁷

Thus the case of Michalczuk would appear to indicate that the acceptance of the authority of the Greek Catholic priests on the part of the Ruthenian settlers was not a question of blind faith. The settlers of Antônio Olyntho indeed desired the presence of a priest, but not at any cost. This was to lead to some of them leaving the colony, and even among those who remained, as the interviews conducted by Andreazza show, acceptance of the way Michalczuk exercised his authority was far from unanimous.

Conclusion

In the article quoted in the introduction to this text, Truzzi (2012) undertakes a careful examination of the vicissitudes of the concept of ‘assimilation’ in studies of the ways immigrants have been incorporated into Brazilian society. According to Truzzi, in the first decades of the 20th century the concept seems to have referred to an ‘inappellable process’, given that ‘any remaining cultural traits of a group were interpreted as indications of an incomplete process towards a prevailing standard of assimilation’ (*op cit*: 528). From the end of the 1970s, as a result of criticism and of social movements demanding rights for minority groups, this trend seems to have been reverted, ‘in favor of studies concentrating on ethnic persistence’ (*op cit*: 529). Truzzi shows how this new focus, in turn, ‘relegated to the shadows the occurrence of further-reaching social processes, including studying how such groups (...) became

⁷ Michalczuk was not the only Greek catholic priest who managed to accumulate property by the end of his life: after only a few years of living in the country, the priests already managed to recreate their position as ‘gentlemen farmers’ (to use Himka’s expression), owning land and material goods. Michalczuk’s own property ended up in their hands. Originally, as Michalczuk was a secular priest, his property would not have been transferred to the Greek catholic clergy. However, as is registered in the Antônio Olyntho parish records, ‘before his death’ Michalczuk took his vows and finally became an ordained priest, and ‘died as a member of the Order of St. Basil the Great’, adopting the name of ‘Innocence’. With this last minute conversion, his entire estate could be transferred to the Basilian Order (*apud* Andreazza, *op cit*: 131, n. 14).

integrated into the social fabric.' Lastly, the author defends the legitimacy of using the concept of assimilation, albeit with new meanings.

Efforts to understand the theoretical tendencies of research in a given field, such as Truzzi's, are fundamental for revealing trends which, if not taken into account, tend to obscure the understanding of certain social processes, regardless of innumerable studies about them. After all, as the author himself, quoting Fernando Pessoa, says, 'a way of seeing is also a way of not seeing' (*op cit*: 531). Following this line of thought, I believe that one of the ways for a researcher to overcome the *doxa* in a given area of study is to take as his or her departure point a rigorous, in-depth empirical approach, based on the historical processes observable in the field, in other words, base his study on an intensive commitment to the research of primary sources (and/or field experience, depending on the situation) that allow him to question those *doxai*. In this context, the present text that is based on such an in-depth empirical approach intends to throw light on some of the social dynamics related to the maintenance or abandonment of native cultural traits in immigrant communities.,

The three cases described form a mosaic of the relationships that the Ruthenians established with the Greek Catholic priests soon after their arrival in the colonies of Paraná. The analysis of what occurred in Jangada, in Prudentópolis and in Antônio Olyntho indicates that the idea that the priests were necessary was not uniformly held by the settlers who came to Brazil: those in Jangada lived without any contact with the priests; and in neither Prudentópolis nor Antônio Olyntho was their acceptance unanimous, given that in both these colonies some of the Ruthenians defended their presence while others contested it. Careful analysis of events that occurred in the field indicates that the maintenance, or otherwise, of adherence to the moral social order was closely linked to the specific historical configuration that established itself in each of these groups – and that the different ways in which events developed led to different outcomes, whether greater affirmation of ethnic elements or greater assimilation on the part of the immigrants of the values of a broader society.

In the case of the Ruthenians in Brazil, it was only in the colonies where the priests imposed themselves that religion maintained a central role in the conduct of local life. In colonies such as Jangada, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Uniate religion ceased to be relevant in the daily lives of the

immigrants who continued to live there; whereas in Prudentópolis (and even in Antônio Olyntho, but only after a new settler profile had been established) the priests continued to occupy a central position in the coming years, even going beyond their religious activities – while at the same time having to counteract forceful resistance to their mission. This outcome was also due to the development of specific historical processes, that have been the subject of a more far-reaching study (Guérios, 2012), to which I refer readers interested in further study of the subject.

The case of Jangada could, in a study with a strong theoretical bias, be taken as illustrative of a process of assimilation, whereas those of Prudentópolis and Antônio Olyntho could be taken as illustrative of differing processes of ethnic affirmation. In all these cases, however, as has been seen above, the question of the adherence or otherwise to the dictates of religion within these groups could only be resolved empirically. What the careful comparison of these cases indicates, then, is that the analysis of the ways in which immigrants are incorporated into the societies that receive them can at no time, regardless of the theoretical orientation or bias of the analysts, dispense with an intensive empirical investigation in order to reveal their dynamics.

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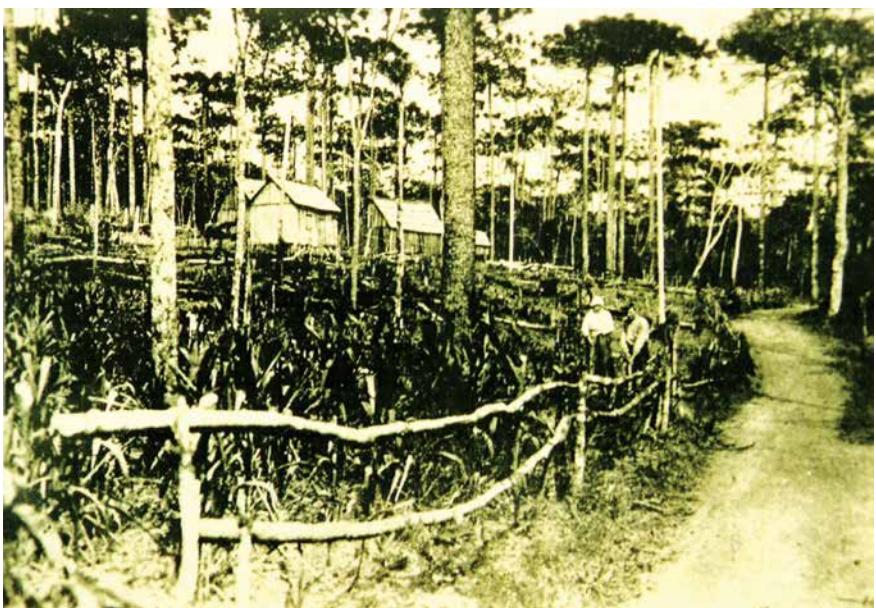
Photographies



Lodging built amidst the Araucaria forest in Paraná to receive immigrants in Prudentópolis in 1894. (Collection of the Millennium Museum - Prudentópolis)



Measurement of lots of Ukrainian settlers amid the forest of pines. (Collection of the Millennium Museum - Prudentópolis)



House of Prudentópolis colonist after the first cutting of the forest. (Collection of the Millennium Museum - Prudentópolis)



Father Sylvester Kizyma (dressed in white, standing on the left) in the consecration of the first Ukrainian church of Prudentópolis (Collection of the Millennium Museum - Prudentópolis)

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PART 2

Immigration, Work and Nationality

The Experience of Guestworkers at a United States Tourist Resort

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Abstract

This article examines temporary employment among foreign workers at the Okemo Mountain Resort, a tourist ski complex located in Vermont state in the north-eastern United States. I discuss the meanings associated with the international displacement of these workers, focusing especially on the ideas and imagery surrounding ‘mobility’, ‘work,’ ‘travel’ and ‘youth.’ By describing their experiences, along with the practices and discourses of the employer and the US State, the case study shows how Okemo’s strategy of hiring a flexible foreign workforce is connected to the multiple meanings through which these groups represent their experience of temporary migration to the United States in the context of increasingly precarious labour relations. The ethnographic analysis proposed by the research provides a counterpoint to the ‘macro-analytical’ approach employed by most studies on the issue of foreign temporary work in the United States.

Keywords: International Mobility; Guestworker Program; United States of America; Migration; Youth.

Resumo

Desenvolvo neste artigo algumas reflexões sobre o significado da experiência de trabalho temporário entre trabalhadores estrangeiros no *Okemo Moutain Resort*, complexo turístico localizado no estado de Vermont (EUA). Faço isso a partir da discussão dos sentidos e representações associados ao deslocamento internacional desses trabalhadores, com especial ênfase a seus discursos e

imaginários de “mobilidade”, “trabalho”, “viagem” e “juventude”. Ao descrever suas experiências em conjunto com as práticas e representações do empregador e do Estado norte-americano, o estudo de caso revela como as estratégias do *Okemo* para obter uma mão-de-obra estrangeira flexível estão articuladas aos múltiplos sentidos através dos quais estes grupos representam sua experiência de migração temporária para os Estados Unidos, em um contexto de precarização das relações trabalhistas. A perspectiva etnográfica da pesquisa também estabelece um contraponto ao viés “macro-analítico” de boa parte dos estudos dedicados à problemática do trabalho temporário estrangeiro no país.

Palavras-chave: Deslocamentos Internacionais; Programas de Trabalho Temporário; Estados Unidos – Migração; Mobilidade; Juventude.

The Experience of Guestworkers at a United States Tourist Resort

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Introduction

This article is a contribution to the debate on international labour circulation and identities through a case study of the meanings linked to the seasonal migration of temporary workers of different nationalities to the Okemo Mountain Resort, a tourist complex in the US state of Vermont. I explore some of the conceptions attributed to the travel and work experience of these workers, emphasizing how they interconnect with US policies designed to recruit foreign workforces. I do so through an ethnographic approach that focuses on the meanings attributed by the workers themselves. I aim to comprehend these meanings in conjunction with the practices and representations of their employer and the US State in relation to discussions concerning flexible labour relations in that country.

The development of this topic stems from my participation as a researcher and temporary worker at Okemo in the 2005/2006 winter season. After visiting the Resort on an earlier trip in 2004, a number of aspects awoke my curiosity, especially the distribution of job positions between foreign workers of different nationalities. This eventually led to my interest in carrying out ethnographic research to understand what seasonal migration meant to these workers.¹ As a means of accessing the field site, I applied to a ‘Guestworker Program’ and was hired as a temporary worker for one of the posts made available to foreigners: a ski lift operator.

¹ This research was undertaken as a student at the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology of Campinas State University (UNICAMP) and funded by the São Paulo State Research Support Foundation (FAPESP). The author’s master’s dissertation, ‘Temporary Work Experiences in the United States: an ethnographic approach from Okemo,’ was completed in 2007.

During my four-month stay in Vermont, I combined my work activities with ethnographic research, developing contacts with the resort's foreign workforce. The fact that I too was working for Okemo helped considerably in terms of making these connections and establishing relations of trust with the other workers by sharing the same spaces and work routine as some of them. I also continued my research activities outside working hours, conducting interviews with foreign workers and the employer,² and taking part in dinners, parties and meetings. Participant observation and interaction with the foreigner workers and with other sectors of the resort shaped the 'ethnographic fact' of the research (Peirano 2009: 58).

My analytic approach is rooted in an anthropological literature that problematizes the diversity of international migration, not through a simple celebration of hybridisms, mixtures and mobilities, but through the realization of historical-ethnographic studies capable of revealing the power relations and representations generated by these international labour movements.³ Supported by detailed case studies, this theoretical and analytic framework enables a heterogeneous and multiform approach to the distinct processes of migration and mobility of people in the contemporary world.

A brief description of Okemo and its links to the Guestworker Programs

Located in the town of Ludlow, Vermont, the Okemo Mountain Resort was founded in 1955.⁴ Its opening coincided with the development of the ski industry across the USA and with a project to generate local development through economic activities related to tourism. Starting out as a local business, Okemo has extended its reach considerably over the last few decades

² The field research was conducted with the consent of the employer, which itself collaborated in the study via its Human Resources Department, which granted me structured interviews.

³ As inspiration for this approach, I cite the works developed in the line of research 'Nation and Diaspora' (CEMI/UNICAMP) of the project 'Identities: Reconfigurations of Culture and Politics' (see for example Caetano da Silva 2003, Feldman-Bianco 2001(a), 2001(b), Machado 1997, 2003, Silva 2000, Sanjurjo 2007, Santos 2002), as well as ethnographies published by the journal *Identities – Global Studies in Culture and Power* (especially *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, v.11, n.3, 2004).

⁴ This brief history of Okemo is constructed from interviews with local residents and visits to the small archives held by the public library in Ludlow (VT).



Figure 1 : Okemo Mountain Resort

with the expansion of tourism-related activities in the United States and the association of Vermont with winter sports.

At the start of the 1980s the resort was purchased by a young couple, who began to make more substantial changes. As well as improving the hotel accommodation and ski slopes, the new investors opted for a resort model then being developed in the west, basing growth on the construction of lodging properties for the winter season. The initiative proved highly successful and Okemo's profits multiplied along with the flow of skiers and tourists into the region. The town of Ludlow, where tourism had once been a secondary economic activity, was restructured and the resort began to attract a low-skilled workforce from the town itself and neighbouring areas.

Okemo's growth, in turn, coincided with increasingly precarious labour relations in the US market and the consequent expansion in temporary and seasonal jobs as well as employment contracts in numerous sectors of the country's economy. According to specialists, the generation of temporary and precarious jobs and services has been a growing trend in various parts of the US economy.⁵

⁵ See, for example, Griffith 2006, Calavita 1994 and Fantasia 2003. Kitty Calavita sketches a panorama in quantitative terms of the increase in the flexibility and precariousness of labour contracts in the United States over recent years: "In 1982, approximately one-quarter of new jobs were for part-time or temporary work; a decade later, half of all jobs filled were for such 'contingent' work (Kiborn 1993: A1). The Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that 90 percent of all new jobs in February 1993 were part-time" (Calavita 1994:

Within this context of increasingly precarious labour relations, the use of Guestworker Programs – official US government programs for hiring temporary foreign workers – has been (re)considered and (re)assessed⁶ by different sectors of American society. These (re)considerations and (re)assessments, in turn, involve discourses belonging to different spheres of the State and wider society and are connected to specific representations of the role of foreigners and immigrants in the country.

One of the explanations for the apparent ‘revival’ in this type of program has been the idea of controlling foreigners and borders for reasons of national security, a tendency reinforced in the post-9/11 context.⁷ The proposal for new Guestworker Programs in the United States has emerged, therefore, as part of an argument for increased border surveillance and as a panacea for the ‘problem’ allegedly posed to diverse sectors of American society by undocumented immigration. Hence the recent (re)considerations of temporary work programs for foreigners in the USA are related to the promotion of State policies that simultaneously aim to fill gaps in the labour market in specific job sectors and to facilitate border control by providing ‘increased security’ vis-à-vis the foreigners intent on migrating to or working in the country.

Despite the current (re)consideration of Guestworker Programs in the US, backed by ideas such as increasing border controls and precariousness of labour relations, other arguments have been raised to justify such policies. One particularly influential argument has been that Temporary Work Programs in US immigration legislation are needed as a way of responding

64). For further data and discussions on the spread of temporary and precarious employment contracts in the United States and Europe, also see O. Bergstrom & D. Storrie (2003).

6 I employ the terms (re)consideration and (re)assessment over the course of the text to reflect the fact that use of Guestworker Programs is not a new phenomenon in the United States. Although large-scale Guestworker Programs – like the Bracero Program, introduced to recruit Mexican workers for the country’s plantations during the first half of the twentieth century – were cancelled in the post-war period, the use of such programs in the USA and some European countries has continued through smaller programs targeted at specific economic sectors (see Briggs 2004, Castles 1986, 2006, Martin 2003, Ruhs 2001).

7 The line of argument pursued by Stephen Castles (2006) is fairly clear on this point: “In recent years there has been a tendency to advocate a return to TMWPs (Temporary Migration Worker Programs) in democratic receiving countries. One reason is the perceived demand for migrant workers due to the economic and demographic factors [...] A second reason is the realization that border control alone will not fully prevent labor migration, but instead drives it underground. A third reason is the post-September 11, 2001, belief that undocumented migration is a security problem. If migration is going to take place anyway, politicians now think it better to control entrants to ensure that they do not pose a security threat” (Castles 2006:747).

to international competition and enabling better penetration of the US economy at global level⁸.

Indeed the (re)consideration of Guestworker Programs in the USA over the last two decades also seems to be linked to this kind of ‘competitive framework of the neoliberal State’ and an emphasis on increasing US competitiveness at international level. This argument, in turn, is commonly associated with the demand for more liberal employment relations, which merges with the increase in precarious work contracts and the institutionalization of the temporary and flexible nature of migrant labour.

As part of this context, in 1999 Okemo began to make use of two official Guestworker Programs to recruit foreign workers: the H-2B visa program and the J-1 program for holiday workers.⁹ The resort’s use of these programs to hire foreign workers began timidly but has expanded over recent years. To a large extent the complex’s participation in the Guestworker Programs is intrinsically related to the ample incentives now given to recruiting temporary foreign labour in the country. Through these programs, Okemo today hires workers from a variety of countries and with distinct kinds of work visas who work in a range of seasonal jobs allocated according to their nationality.

In the resort, the visa programs (J-1 and H-2B) are related to flows of people from different countries and depend on a particular history of contacts between the human resource team and intermediary recruiting companies/agents based in their countries of origin. Thus while the large majority of seasonally hired Australians and New Zealanders (H-2B visa) worked in the

8 On this question, Philip Martin argues that: “(...) in the 1990s, there was a new wave of guest worker programs, and they differed from earlier programs justifying migrant admissions on the basis of labor shortages as well as globalization, foreign policy and other reasons. The globalization argument was heard frequently in US debates over expansion of programs that admit foreign professionals, and it runs like this: the US has five percent of the world’s population, but a far higher percentage of the world’s cutting-edge industries, and thus US employers need easy access to the best and brightest from around the world to stay competitive globally” (Martin 2003:08).

9 The H-2B visa program is the result of the legislative extension of the H-2 Program, an older temporary labour program for agricultural workers which has been active in the United States since the 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act. The H-2B visa is issued by the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) and receives certification from the U.S. Department of Labor that no local workforce exists to fill the job vacancies in question. The J-1 visa program, despite being directed towards ‘exchange visitors,’ allows the recruitment of university students as ‘holiday workers’ in order to work in ‘low prestige’ jobs in the country. This visa was introduced in 1961 through the Fullbright-Hays Act in order to promote educational and cultural exchanges between the United States and other countries around the world. It is worth emphasizing that the original guidelines and meanings associated with both visa programs have since been somewhat transformed.

resort's 'outdoor' jobs related to ski activities, a group of young people from South America (J-1 visa) worked in jobs linked to the restaurants, cafés and crèches. A group of Jamaican workers (H-2B visa) performed the less prestigious jobs related to cleaning and catering services.¹⁰

Okemo's growth, closely tied to the context described above, led to the recruitment of these foreign workers, at the same time that it became directly based on the exploitation of their labour. This was also stimulated by the fact that the type of work contract involved was extremely convenient for the employer. Okemo in fact has to disburse very little on the bureaucratic process of recruiting these employees. Apart from the actual wages and a tax paid to the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS) for each foreigner hired via the H-2B visa, the resort offers no additional benefit to its international workers, which is in tune with its aims of rapid growth and capital accumulation.

During field research it became clear that the differences between distinct groups of workers were constructed, both for and against their own wishes, by the employer, State, recruiters and themselves. These differences were related to their national and class origins, the type of visa held, how they were recruited, their job positions and lodgings at the resort, and, above all, the representations created around their experience of living and working abroad.

In this text, I examine some of the representations linked to the labour migration of these different groups of temporary workers, showing how their distinct conceptions of 'youth,' 'work,' 'travel' and 'mobility' acquire meaning within a specific ethnographic context. The decision to focus on these analytic categories corresponds to the importance attributed to them by the research subjects themselves when they reflected on their motivations, trajectories and lifestyles. In the ensuing description, it will become clear how the interpretation of their experience in the United States is linked to the meanings attached to these categories.

In describing these meanings, contrasting them to the practices and representations of the employer and the State, I also problematize the notions of

¹⁰ This sectorization of jobs by nationality is not entirely inflexible: in some cases foreign workers may be assigned to positions not commonly associated with their national stereotype. My own field trip is an example in point. Interested in working with Australians and New Zealanders at Okemo, a group I had met on my previous trip to the Resort, I contacted the human resources department to ask to work with this group of foreigners, which was duly arranged.



General Electric's old plant in Ludlow (VT), the building is now used to host tourists.

'flexibility' and 'job insecurity' in the USA, showing how they acquire meaning in the lives and experiences of concrete subjects who travel to work in the country on a seasonal basis. The contrast between the symbolism associated with their experience and an academic literature that discusses temporary work through a 'macro-analytic' approach will also be discussed and reviewed at the end of the text.

Australians and New Zealanders in Okemo

The Australian and New Zealand workers recruited by Okemo for the 2005/2006 winter season travelled to Vermont having had previous work experience in ski resorts located in their home countries. Most of them came from working class backgrounds, had no university training and had been employed in 'low skill' services prior to working in similar resorts in Oceania.

Okemo recruits these workers through contacts maintained with their previous ski resort employers in Australia and New Zealand, sending representatives to persuade the youths to come to the United States to work for the ski resort¹¹. Maintaining these people in the seasonal jobs related to winter

¹¹ The ski resorts where those workers were previously employed in Australia are located in the states of Victoria and New South Wales, in the south-east of the country. At Okemo they were hired to fill posts such as 'ski lift operators' and 'snowmakers,' the latter responsible for maintaining the resort's snow

sports involved a combination, therefore, of Okemo's interest in hiring foreign workers for their seasonal positions and the advantages associated to this kind of job by those young employees.

In the latter case, we can perhaps identify a degree of correspondence between their conceptions of 'youth' and the expectations that had led them to seek out the winter jobs. For these workers, this kind of job position was desirable for an intermediary period of their young adulthood and included a wish to accumulate 'new experiences'. Many of the Australians and New Zealanders working at Okemo told me that their decision to work abroad was prompted by the search for a lifestyle that would break away from 'more serious' professions or careers. In their case, these projections and stereotypes were similar to Desforges's description (2000) of the identity of young British backpackers who travel alone to southern countries in search of experiences taken to be innovative and necessary for concretizing their 'youth projects':

Youth is imagined as a period in life when new experiences are important. In later periods of one's life, according to Jenny and other young tourists' narratives, commitments to others, in the form of jobs and personal relationships mean that it is impossible to pursue new experiences through mobility. These participants felt that unless they experienced the world in their youth, they would feel a sense of lack later in their lives having missed out on the opportunity to develop a youthful identity for themselves. (Desforges 2000: 937).

The notion of 'youth' expressed by the Australians and New Zealanders at Okemo indeed incorporated the idea of this kind of identity being shaped through travel experiences. Hence their employment at the ski resort reinforced various stereotypes they themselves brought, including the idea that such work was inevitably associated with the 'adventurous spirit' of young adulthood. Likewise the opportunities and jobs found in this circuit were seen as temporary in terms of their life trajectories, with many people saying that they intended to find a more serious profession or job once they had left behind this kind of work activity. The following remark from Mary provides a good illustration of the idea of youth shared by Australians and New Zealanders:

levels, driving around with snowmobiles at night and switching on and off the water hoses positioned alongside the ski slopes.

I know this is temporary! We do this while we're young, to enjoy the moment, meet people, travel to paradisiacal places. But it's just for a time. Afterwards we have to assume responsibilities, return to adult life...

This kind of experience of youth appears to be in direct contrast to the view from the 'adult world' and the life that these youths wished to lead after renouncing it for a few years, accentuating the provisional nature of this kind of job and lifestyle. This perception is echoed in studies conducted in ethnographic contexts similar to the Okemo Resort.

Bianchi (2000), for example, suggest the emergence of new mobilities framed within the context of tourism and labour migration in Europe. The author argues that recent changes in the European labour market have created the context within which heterogeneous collections of mobile resort workers have emerged, which transcend the dualistic division between work and tourism in the course of their movements throughout a number of tourism destination areas. Based on ethnography with a group who he calls 'migrant-tourist workers' – young Britons and Germans who travel to work in seasonal jobs in the big resorts of the southeast of Europe –, he argues that the search for jobs in European resorts is a way for youths to avoid devalued jobs in countries where economic production has undergone significant restructuring, looking instead to (re)insert themselves in these new contexts:

In this respect it can be argued that they are an outcome of the declining centrality of one's occupation as a social category and locus of identity on the one hand, and a liberation from the drudgeries of work (and unemployment) associated with their 'home' societies on the other. (Bianchi 2000: 122)

Likewise the meanings attributed by the Australians and New Zealanders working at Okemo were informed by specific discourses and practices related to contemporary ideas of tourism and globalization, which associate travel experiences with sources of personal improvement and development (see Bianchi 2000, Desforges 2000, Munt 1994). Hence as well as the constant association of 'lifestyle' and 'youth' in their dialogues, these travel and work experiences were taken as opportunities to obtain personal qualifications

associated with notions of ‘flexibility,’ ‘learning’ and ‘maturing.’¹² Harry’s account provides an insight into some of these aspects:

I think this experience is important on our return. In Australia [...] there’s this thing, people want to travel and see what the rest of the world is like and, once done, there’s a sense of mission accomplished. It is not indispensable, but it is important. So even if I die in the town where I was born, at least I had a look at the rest of the world. I think most people respect you more and respect your effort and decision. Even if it doesn’t work out, people will say that at least you tried and took the risk. I think that’s good!¹³

Identifying travel as a mark of distinction between specific individuals and social groups is nothing new. In a variety of different contexts and periods, travelling has been synonymous with social distinction, used as a way to obtain local power and prestige (see Adler 1985, Machado 1997, Ribeiro 1997). For the Australians and New Zealanders at Okemo, however, the trip seemed to be apprehended as a kind of ‘challenge’ indelibly incorporated in their life histories. Travelling to work in a different country was seen as a way of learning and achieving distinction at the same time.

In the case of these workers, their concepts of ‘youth,’ ‘work’ and ‘travel’ were in some ways interconnected and related to wider representations of their travel experiences in the United States. This is perhaps why the Australians and New Zealanders at Okemo have a very particular identification with this kind of work activity. Indeed rather than being seen as something disagreeable or a necessary evil, activities like working in the cold and holding chairs for skiers were seen to be ‘attractive,’ in contrast to some of

¹² Other authors have emphasized the proximity between contemporary experiences of travel and the development of the personal traits of travellers and tourists. Munt (1994), for example, writes that some experiences of tourism nowadays “have begun to be conceived (especially among the new petit bourgeoisie) as embodying personal qualities in the individual, such as strength of character, adaptability, sensitivity or even ‘worldliness’” (Munt 1994: 109).

¹³ Here I cannot resist a critical comparison between Harry’s dialogue and the commentary made by Lévi-Strauss in *Tristes Tropiques* (1996) concerning explorers and travellers in the second half of the twentieth century: “Exploration has become a profession; not, as one might suppose, that it’s a matter of unearthing new facts in the course of several years’ laborious study – not at all! Mere mileage is the thing; and anyone who has been far enough, and collected the right number of pictures (still or moving, but for preference in colour), will be able to lecture to packed houses for several days running. Platitudes take shape as revelations once the audience is assured that the speaker has sanctified them by travelling to the other side of the globe” (Lévi-Strauss 1961:18).

the jobs in which people had been employed before working in these winter resorts. Andrew's comments reveal the centrality of this work experience in ski resorts and his personal rapport with this type of profession:

I really like this kind of work, working outside. The wind blowing in your face, feeling nature. Though you earn more in office jobs, here it is more attractive. It's heavy, physical work. But you feel well arriving home at night and knowing you beat the cold and the drawbacks. And helped get everything here up and running!

The attractiveness of the physical aspects of this type of work was constantly contrasted with the sedentary nature of the office or factory jobs in which many had been employed before working in ski resorts. For some working in the snow meant a positive interaction with the cold and the physical reality of these jobs located in isolated mountains and remote places. As Bianchi (2000: 124) describes in relation to groups of European 'migrant-workers,' the work seems to be experienced not as an unpleasant necessity or a necessary prerequisite to accessing other experiences connected to leisure or tourism, but as an important activity in itself, comprising precisely the kind of experience desired.¹⁴

Here it is worth emphasizing that the outdoor jobs at the Okemo Resort were often exhausting due to the cold, the employer's demands and the heavy and repetitive physical work required. On weekends and holidays the day began at six in the morning and ended at five in the afternoon. Lunch break lasted half an hour at most and depended on the number of tourists staying at the resort, as well as the number of employees, which was usually relatively low, meaning that the foreign staff were often overworked. In addition the outdoor jobs were doubly exhausting since the arduous physical activities were exacerbated by exposure to the harsh climatic conditions and the thermal shocks experienced when moving between hot and cold environments.

Even so, many Australians and New Zealanders did not appear to mind performing these activities since they allowed them closer contact with the routine of the resort's ski slopes and other tourist attractions.

¹⁴ According to Bianchi "whereas work was an 'unpleasant necessity' for Cohen's drifters, it is central to the experience of migrant tourist-workers not merely to facilitate onward travel, but as something which is fulfilling in itself. Thus the balance is shifted away from the hippie mythology of drifting, to something much more purposive and calculating" (Bianchi 2000: 124).

Okemo's recruitment strategy in Australia and New Zealand, for its part, seems to make fairly effective use of the distinct imagery connected to precisely the kind of experience sought by young Australians and New Zealanders. The recruitment talks given by Okemo in Australia and New Zealand highlighted the conditions that would enable the youths to carry on practicing the sport they liked, but with the chance of doing so while also discovering another country. Pursuing this approach, the resort was able to obtain an eager workforce with at least one season of work experience in these jobs and a surprising desire to work in the kind of employment rejected by local Americans.¹⁵

It is also worth noting that only the consular fees relating to the H-2B visa issued to the Australian and New Zealand recruits were paid by the Okemo Resort: all other travel expenses had to be met by the employees themselves, who also paid a proportionally high rate for renting their accommodation.¹⁶ These workers were, therefore, more attractive to the employer than the local workforce due precisely to the identification of the young people with the activities that they performed and their previous work experience in ski resorts in their home countries, as well as the extremely flexible labour relations and the greater likelihood that they would maintain a subordinate relationship to the employer.

In terms of this issue, it is worth recalling here that the H-2B visa issued to the Australian and New Zealand workers afforded the employer effective control over the temporary worker's status, since the former simultaneously became the latter's sponsor for the period of his or her stay in the country. This type of labour relation has already been identified as a potential source of problems in various other studies and contexts (Ruhs 2002, Griffith 1986, 2006). The visa's direct link to the guestworker's job can force him or her to accept and be subjected to harsh working conditions.

¹⁵ Here I refer to those American residents living in the area around the town of Ludlow who could feasibly have been employed by Okemo. Because of the low wages paid by the resort, though, many positions were actually filled by workers from other countries.

¹⁶ The employees paid around US\$ 2500 for the return air fare and US\$ 400 per month in rent for lodgings. Given that the Okemo Resort paid around US\$ 1200 per month in wages – equivalent to seven or eight dollars per hour – it is very difficult to understand the procurement of this kind of job as a simple work alternative or a form of immigration. It was the desire to practice winter sports and the conceptions related to travel that, in fact, propelled these youths into the US labour market. Aware of how to capture their interest, the resort's Human Resources department was able to achieve a fairly satisfactory solution to recruiting an attractive workforce.

Although some youths incorporated the positive discourses related to their work trip, therefore, the limitations of the temporary work program with a H-2B visa surfaced whenever the employer made heavier demands or gave them too many responsibilities. Andrew and Harry, for example, recalled how, at the end of the season, they had worked far harder than they had anticipated, and how they had received no help and insufficient leisure time to engage in the other activities they had planned, leaving them somewhat disappointed with the trip. Both remarked that they had hurt their backs during the work due to the excess tasks and the lack of work companions or help on the ski lifts. Narrating how he had injured himself, Harry described a confrontation with his immediate supervisor and the latter's harsh response:

One day I was working alone and hurt my back [...] David [his supervisor] then said that they had never had workers as weak as us. I replied that if they continued to assign just one person to the ski lift for the whole day, that was what was going to happen. I went and paid for a massage with my own money. I wouldn't otherwise go for a massage, I only went because I was in pain. It was no fun, it hurt a lot [...] I think they didn't like the fact, it seemed that I was being...that I was being... weak because I had injured my back...and they talk and intimidate you to make you work harder. Even today my back hurts and I am still injured [...] And I work as hard as I can... and they do this because there is no one else [...] and because we are foreigners, it's easier to threaten us!

Hence despite the apparently 'positive' connotation of the work performed by these young adults and the meanings attributed to their work trip, many faced instances of exploitation or situations at the resort that exposed their status as foreign workers in the United States. Even so, these contradictions did not annul the association of the previously listed aspects with their experience of work and travel. While some events or working conditions cast a cloud over a 'positive' approach to their seasonal job, the 'experience' that they desired seemed to be correspond fully enough to the winter sports jobs they sought, the stereotypes of youth they looked to emulate, and the views of travel they shared.

Okemo's strategies for recruiting these workers were, for their part, related to the perspectives and plans cultivated by the youths based on their Australian and/or New Zealand context. By offering the chance for a particular kind of 'experience' in a foreign land, the recruiters managed to capture

the diffuse interests of these young people, allowing them to appeal to a highly attractive profile of worker. Hence the representations of the employer, temporary workers and State very often intersected, such that the meanings associated with ‘youth,’ ‘work’ and ‘mobility’ were mixed up with the everyday life of the resort. These conceptions converged, therefore, to shape the flexibility encountered at Okemo.

Travel as Personal Investment: the Experience of South Americans at Okemo

The South Americans who travel to the US to work at the Okemo Resort arrive via a temporary work program known as ‘Work Experience’ or ‘Work and Travel’ targeted at university students from nations with which the USA maintains diplomatic relations. The program is run through public and private companies and agents working in the United States and the countries in question and the applicants enter the USA via the J-1 visa, the central aim of which, according to the definition on the official webpage of the US State Department, is to “encourage mutual understanding between American citizens and those of other countries through ‘cultural exchange programs.’”

The J-1 visa program was created by the United States in 1961 and is fairly wide-ranging, encompassing ‘Work and Travel’ as one of several exchange programs designed to foster these forms of “mutual understanding between American citizens and those of other countries.” The 1961 legislation is consistent with the broader discourse created in the USA during the Cold War with the aim of disseminating a ‘pacifist’ ideal via ‘cultural exchange’ experiences between citizens of countries ideologically allied with the United States and Western Europe. It is through this kind of argument, therefore, that the ‘Work and Travel’ programs have been justified by the US State Department.

Through these incentives, university students from different parts of the world travel to work in ‘low-skilled’ jobs in the US labour market. In Okemo’s 2005/06 season, this contingent was represented by a group of Chileans hired to work in jobs linked to the restaurants and bars, as well as Colombian and Argentinean women responsible for looking after the children in the resort’s crèche.

The ‘Work and Travel’ J-1 visa program, notwithstanding all the State propaganda on the etiquette of ‘cultural exchange,’ effectively acts as a

bridge between employers from the US service industry and young university students from South America, reconciling the interests of both sides: the employer's interest in recruiting an attractive, relatively low-cost workforce, and the students' interest in travelling abroad and gaining the kind of 'international experience' offered by the program.

One recurrent feature of the dialogues and motivations of the South Americans working at Okemo is that the trip seemed to be effectively meaningful in terms of their local lives and contexts, producing experiences deemed "necessary in today's world." Its connotation, however, went beyond the notion of 'cultural exchange' promoted by the US State and was closer to a more specific idea of 'investment'. Hence their 'travel abroad' was perceived more as a form of 'personal promotion' grounded in apparently tangible future gains rather than any possibility of 'cultural exchange.'

In his doctoral thesis, Osvaldo López-Ruiz (2004) argues that the formulations and innovations in economic science made by the Chicago School in the 1960s – notably by the 'theory of human capital' – led to the diffusion of a new set of values concerning the individual and the 'human,' which assumed a crucial importance in defining the ethos through which many subjects, in different social contexts, interpret their lives. López-Ruiz goes on to suggest that the 'economic' ideas developed by the Chicago School – and which encompass the conception of individuals as business enterprises, the bearers of skills and capacities that are incorporated and valued as 'investment' – have now become widespread. Investment, in this case, over and above its role as a key economic term, has been transformed, the author argues, into a notion that likens human existence to the management of a personal enterprise.¹⁷

For López-Ruiz, the widespread change provoked by the 'theory of human capital' resides in the profound inversion of values caused by replacing the notion of 'consumption' with the notion of 'investment.' In the process work becomes theoretically comprehended not only as a factor in production but as 'the product of an investment,' implying that the worker's abilities, knowledge and skills are also to be seen as an object of management. The biggest change, in this case, is that the theory precipitated a moral inversion

¹⁷ According to the author, this theory, formulated to solve strictly economic problems, had extended its explanatory reach to other social dimensions, simultaneously explaining and proposing a new model of personhood, a subject capable of thinking of him or herself explicitly as capital (see López-Ruiz 2004).

that allows subjective and personal attitudes, actions and characteristics to become freely conceived and perceived to be open to valuation.

In the case of the present study, the shift from conceiving this type of working trip as ‘hedonistic’ (leisure) or ‘educational-pacifist’ (the US State’s original legislative framework for cultural exchanges) to conceiving it as ‘pragmatic-rational’ converges with López-Ruiz’s sociological analysis insofar as it shows that, for some groups, the exposure to certain premises and concepts linked to contemporary capitalism transforms complex decisions – such as those involved in working temporarily in another country – into an opportunity to maximize personal benefits.

What makes the symbolic meanings associated with the temporary work of these young Latin Americans at Okemo so particular, though, is the fact that this pragmatic perception of the work trip is sustained through the idea – not always explicit – of ‘personal investment,’ an idea amalgamating their specific projections and perceptions of ‘future’ and ‘youth.’ This can be observed in the following remarks by Samira, a Colombian woman from Bogotá, who considered this kind of travel indispensable to achieving a good job placement on the labour market in her own country:

My course [modern languages] is directly linked to business. We learn the most important business languages and generally work for transnational companies [...] the most important aspect of this trip, however, is the experience. Because for me what matters most is the contact with people from other places, this multicultural contact [...] This is highly valued by companies today and it is what this kind of trip provides...

In the case of the Colombian woman, the experience of ‘multicultural contact’ seems to be an important form of currency and a sign of investment in a wider set of requirements “valued by companies today”. What “this kind of trip provides” is, she suggests, direct access to better employment opportunities. From time to time, this interpretation was combined with another recurrent theme of the Latin American workers at Okemo – namely learning and improving their English – to suggest that this kind of trip was not entirely disconnected from the pragmatic interest of the stay. Carolina, another Colombian woman who applied to the J-1 visa program after a friend’s recommendation, recounted how she had decided to pursue the venture:

I first thought about taking part in the program when Pablo, my classmate, came back and said that it was an excellent program. But I had not thought of participating until then. Because I did not want to work in a job beneath my studies. But then I remember him telling me that coming here would be a great chance to improve my English. I would be able to experience everyday American life, live like they live [...] So I decided that I wanted to go, but I wanted to go to the north, to stay somewhere far away from the Latinos [...] And I knew that in the north there were fewer Latinos and I could force myself to speak more English. So I told the recruiter that I wanted to come to the north and this is where I ended up!

Carolina's explanation mixes precisely the pragmatic need to improve her English with a stance fairly typical of her class status in her country of origin, enabling access to university and a slightly more advantageous position in the labour market: "working in a job beneath her studies" seems valid only if she can stay somewhere "far away from the Latinos" and learn English. The equation 'language' = 'status' = 'social position' means that her aversion to working in a devalued job (-) can be set aside in order to improve English (+), since this improvement may lead to an 'upgrade' in her later social position (+).

This view point helps us understand the fact that the representations of the young South Americans at Okemo concerning their experience of travel and work in the United States seemed most of the time to be positive. The meaning given to their incorporation in the US labour market also seems to be consistent with a series of changes in meaning perceptible in the ideologies associated with contemporary globalization. Hence, for example, just as the more precarious labour relations to which they were subjected in the USA were treated as 'flexibility' (a positive characteristic), so 'seasonal migration' was transformed into a 'work trip' and the young people incorporated in these flows tended to perceive themselves to be accumulating life experiences that, rather than being an exploration of their work, were an important part of their professional 'future.'

This 'panglossian' reading of the experience of temporary work in the United States was not uniformly shared, though. For some the 'Work and Travel' program was the first step in establishing a more long-term work stay abroad. It was not uncommon for program participants to try or wish to obtain other jobs after the first work trip. Many tried to find other

opportunities for staying and living abroad after participating in ‘Work Experience.’¹⁸ Using participation in the program as a source of certification, some searched for better professional opportunities, including in other countries.

The combination of future plans, desires and life projects seemed, then, intrinsically linked to the interpretation that these young people gave to their trip to the United States. Despite being subjected to the forms of coercion inherent to the world of work, many preferred to see the situation as a ‘challenge’ to be overcome or a unique opportunity for them to ‘enjoy life,’ while reconciling the experience with their professional plans.

Although the distribution of job positions at the Okemo Resort is to some extent associated to the meanings through which those different groups represent their experience of temporary migration to the US, this distribution is also related to the employer’s stereotypes about their nationalities. In the case of the young South American workforce, the university students had access to indoor temporary jobs and those related to child care, usually working as waiters, shop attendants or crèche staff looking after the children of the skiers. The distribution of jobs between those workers took into account their education background and their desire to interact directly with the American public, but also represents the perspective of this North American employer to somehow associate South Americans with food and care¹⁹.

The way some job positions were ‘naturally’ associated with specific national groups of temporary workers becomes clearer when we contrast the experiences of young Australians, New Zealanders and South Americans with those of the Jamaican workers. Although the latter were much more familiar with the English language, they performed less ‘visible’ jobs at the resort involving limited contacts with the public, such as cleaning the

¹⁸ There was even the case of a South American worker who used the program as a strategy to migrate and remain in the United States. As he had tried twice, unsuccessfully, to obtain a tourist visa in his home country, he decided to apply to the Guestworker Program, making it easier to enter the USA. After the season working at the resort, he went to stay with family members in Texas.

¹⁹ I appreciate the comments provided by Peter Fry to this paper, in particular those linking the employer’s stereotypes with the job distribution at Okemo. While young people coming from Australia and New Zealand were offered jobs outside, providing safety for the guests and ski practitioners (Australia = fresh air, safety), South American employees were assigned to indoor jobs, taking care of food and babysitting tourist’s children (South America = food, care).

washrooms, working in the kitchens or housekeeping. The distribution of this kind of work to the Jamaicans was a satisfactory solution since there seemed to be certain reluctance to assign the more ‘undesirable’ jobs to the South American university students. Although all the positions offered to foreign workers at Okemo were ‘low-skilled,’ there were always some that were lower, as I describe further.

A Permanent Temporary Work Program: the Jamaicans at Okemo

The contingent of Jamaican workers seasonally hired by Okemo have a quite different profile to the young people presented so far. They involve a group of slightly older people, mostly aged between thirty and fifty years old, who worked in indoor jobs at the resort related to cleaning and catering services. These workers, recruited through the H-2B visa program, did not have university education and came from a working class background linked to the tourist industry in Jamaica. Coming mostly from ‘resort’ areas and having already worked in tourist sector jobs in the country, many used the Temporary Work Program as a form of employment contactor a regular prolongation of their work stayin the United States.

In the case of the Jamaicans, there was no link between their work trip and the ‘consumption’ of images and products associated with the ski resort, much less any association between the search for these jobs and the concomitant search for ‘personal growth’ and/or ‘multicultural contacts’. They were at the resort, they would say, because of the opportunities for seasonal work and as a way of continuing with the kind of work they had performed in Jamaica but with much more attractive financial rewards.

Leaving Jamaica offered the chance for their work to be more highly valued and for them to earn more. With a longer history of work at the resort, some of them also applied for the H-2B visa to work at other tourist complexes in the United States during the summer. Consequently some of the Jamaican workers who were at Okemo during the 2005/06 winter season also returned to work in resorts and hotels during the summer.

These workers were hired via a single Jamaican agent, responsible for bringing them to the USA and assigning them to the job positions required by the resort. According to Okemo’s HR manager, the relationship with this agent had first been established in 1999 when some members of the HR

department learnt that there were Jamaicans working in other places in the town of Ludlow and that they had been hired through this person:

We heard about a breakfast bar in the town centre, we became interested and talked to them about the program. They subsequently put us in touch with the recruiter.

The recruitment of the Jamaican staff occurred, therefore, through recommendations and pre-established relationship networks in Jamaica. Many of the novice workers who came to Okemo in the 2005/06 season had already taken part in the temporary work program during the summer and were hired, they said, because of the similarity of the jobs to others they had filled working for other employers in the US previously. Other workers had been recommended by third parties who had already participated in the program for some time.

Dorothy, for example, was taking part for the first time that year. The mother of seven children, she said that the person to have recommended her was the head cook with whom she had worked at a hotel in Montego Bay. At the end of the season, Dorothy thought about prolonging her stay – looking for another employer in the summer – but said that she intended to return to Jamaica first to nominate her two children to the recruiter – one of whom had taken up her previous job during the time she had spent working in the United States.

Although Okemo uses a variety of strategies to hire its temporary workers, therefore, its range of foreign workforce options also stems from the history of relations between the nations sending and receiving these kinds of migrant workers. In the case of Jamaica, the tradition of supplying a workforce to Britain, the former colonial power, and in particular to the United States is well established.²⁰ The various bilateral agreements established between the United States and the countries of the ‘British West Indies’ make

²⁰ Various works discuss the interaction between the Caribbean island and the United States. Sidney Mintz (1996), for example, pointed out that labour migration, slavery, colonialism and the plantation economy were collectively responsible for a violent and precocious exposure of Caribbean people to the ills of capitalism and modernity. For Basch et al. (1994), the dynamic of migration and mobility in the Caribbean Islands is fundamental to understanding some of the more central aspects of the social relations constituted in the islands. Examining the subject of Jamaican migration to the United States, Grasmuck & Pessar (1991) argue that since 1840 the Caribbean country has been at the frontline of ‘official’ migratory processes to the north of the country.

explicit this historical connection involving the recruitment of Jamaican temporary workers (see Griffith 2006: 139). In 2006, around a sixth of the approximately 66,000 H-2B visas issued to temporary foreign workers by the US Immigration Department were received by residents of Jamaica.²¹

Using networks officially recognized by this type of bilateral agreement, the resort annually hires a group of around one hundred Jamaican workers for its Housekeeping and Culinary Services departments. Okemo also pays for the costs involved in the expedition of the H-2B visa and the workers pay for the recruitment services and consular fees. In contrast to the other groups, the air ticket is paid in advance by the resort and deducted fortnightly from the pay cheques of the Jamaican staff. According to the Okemo human resources manager, this measure was agreed between the resort and the agent, looking to facilitate and guarantee the arrival of the Jamaicans. The agreement to pay Okemo for the ticket in instalments in turn implies the worker's loyalty and connection with the employer until the end of his or her stay in the United States, a fact also reflected in their accounts.

In the case of this group of Jamaican workers, therefore, the recruitment networks indicate a more direct and continuous relationship with the resort. As well as being understood that the contract lasted until the end of the season, many of the Jamaicans intended to return to the same jobs the following year, meaning that the trip was primarily conceived as an opportunity for an employment contact and official permission to stay and work in the United States. As the wages offered by the resort were relatively high compared to the opportunities and incomes in their home country, the Jamaicans – most of them mothers and fathers of children – said that they had come to the resort motivated by the job opportunities and the chance to 'earn in dollars.'

Other experiences and motives were also cited to justify this temporary job in the north of the country, but their explanations for the trip mostly emphasized the chance to sustain their families in Jamaica or 'improve their life' through the seasonal work. Dorothy –who left her younger children with her older daughters and husband, the latter working on a highway construction project in Jamaica –recounted some of the reasons leading her to participate in the Temporary Work Program in the USA:

²¹ See http://www.workpermit.com/news/2006_04_20/us/resorts_need_short_term_workers.htm. Consulted 20/04/2006.

The main reason why I came is that I need money to do things in Jamaica. My husband has to finish reforming our house. And [I have to] pay my bills and the children [two younger children] are in their last year at school, and there's also my granddaughter [...] And when you work in Jamaica, what you earn isn't enough to pay for all this. You really do have to come to the United States because the money here is stronger than our Jamaican money. So if I work two weeks here, I receive my salary and I can do a load of things in Jamaica. There you have to work and work to get things done. And I cannot save as much I can now I've come to the USA.

Embedded in the perception of the meaning of Dorothy's trip is the need to support a network of family members in Jamaica by sending back money. Previously employed in the Jamaican tourist industry, coming to the United States seemed a good opportunity for her personally and for her family. This is why Dorothy embarked for the USA, leaving her family behind.²²

One of the central points emphasized by the academic literature on the Guestworker Programs in the United States is precisely the creation of a form of dependency between these program and the foreign workers taking part in them. They point out the prolongation of the participants' 'temporary' stay and their lack of citizenship rights or the chance to regularize their migratory status.²³

Indeed the 'seasonality' of this type of employment can be questioned. Some of the Jamaicans whom I met in Vermont had already taken part in the same kind of Guestworker Program for over ten years, alternating the summer and winter seasons between Jamaica and the United States or even

²² Dorothy's husband worked as a road paver on a new highway in Montego Bay. At the end of our stay in Ludlow, she became very worried because the coach taking the workers to the site crashed and he was seriously injured. One of her daughters told her mother that she was anxiously awaiting her return to Jamaica after she had been forced to take care of the children and her injured father.

²³ Here a critical appraisal of this bibliography is in order. The 'dependency' generated between the foreign workers and the Guestworker Programs is often discussed from the viewpoint of the 'invasion' suffered by American society and is seldom apprehended in terms of the ideas that the workers themselves have of their more or less prolonged stay on foreign soil. This kind of approach can be found, for instance, in the works of Briggs (1986, 2004) and Martin (1998, 2001). The concern over the 'illegal prolongation' of their stay in the USA appears in texts both in favour and against the implantation of the Guestworker Programs. Reubens (1986), for example, wishing to demonstrate the supposed benefits generated by such programs, argues that their use has the advantage of diluting the flows of undocumented workers into the country. In a way this argument is no different to those condemning such programs, since it is made from the viewpoint of the State and the preoccupation with the 'illegal prolongation' of the stay of foreign workers, rarely taking into account their own perceptions of their experience in the United States.

prolonging their stay in the latter country for up to eleven months each year. Ironically, therefore, the same program also seen as temporary by the young people described earlier, figures as a more or less permanent life alternative for these other colleagues from Central America, even though, from the viewpoint of the State and their own representations, it is no more than a provisional situation, a status that does not guarantee any rights to citizenship.

The perpetuation of this group of workers in the US labour market reflects their greater dependency on the Temporary Work Programs and the absence of more attractive opportunities within the Jamaican labour market. As they were more dependent on this kind of employment contract, the Jamaicans ended up establishing a more vulnerable and subordinate relationship with the recruiter. Dorothy, for example, said how important it was to work hard at the Okemo resort, putting in a lot effort so the agent would ask her to take part in the program again another season.

The work routine and the financial gains obtained from their employment contract were read as the main reasons for their trip abroad and their experience narrated as a form of personal ‘sacrifice.’ This can be perceived in the distinct complaints of the Jamaicans in relation to the price of the rent charged for their temporary accommodation. Setting aside the fact that the price really did fail to match the limited comfort offered by their dwellings, this preoccupation in itself demonstrated the need they felt to accumulate more money to send back to Jamaica. This point was so important that the Jamaicans had special meetings with the resort administration to discuss the matter. However they were unable to obtain the desired changes. Discussing this topic, Patrick remarked:

Price of the house. This is an important issue. They are killing us with this. And they even continue to say that the price of the house is cheap. But I'll tell you something, they could build another of these houses at the end of the season with the money they get out of us. And they continue to say that they make no money from us. It's a lie! Everyone here comes to work on time. Everyone gives their best. Nobody calls in sick. Some days I wake up and don't want to work. Even so I go. I know that I'm doing voluntary work and I still go. I call this voluntary work!

Patrick's dissatisfaction frequently concerned the withholding of part of their earnings by Okemo's Human Resources sector as expenses relating to

transport and accommodation.²⁴ Doing ‘voluntary work,’ in this case, meant having to work for much of the time to pay for the trip and stay in an expensive place with few affordable housing alternatives. What these accounts suggest, in this case, is a fundamental difference between the meanings of this kind of experience for the Jamaicans compared to the Australians, New Zealanders and South Americans. In their case, the experience of travelling via the Guestworker Program with a H-2B visa was much closer to a sense of experience related to labour migration. The contrast between these distinct experiences and Okemo’s respective strategies for obtaining a flexible foreign workforce leads us to some additional and final considerations.

Temporary Work Programs for Foreigners: Contributions from an Ethnographic Perspective

In a world involving intense human mobility, the representations surrounding very different travel experiences are inevitably ample and diverse. In the case study presented here, seasonal migration to a ski resort in the United States is understood in entirely distinct ways by the three groups. While the Australians and New Zealanders associated their experience with specific conceptions of ‘youth,’ interpreting their work as a kind of ‘roaming’ and the pursuit of a particular lifestyle, for the South Americans the seasonal work experience meant a simultaneous search for ‘experience’ and ‘qualifications,’ reinforcing a constant concern with the future and their later professional placement. The Jamaicans, for their part, travelled with much more of a sense of personal sacrifice, despite also expressing plans for the future and the desire for a better life in Jamaica.

The Okemo Resort is embedded in a context of more flexible labour relations in the United States and provides an example of the considerable leeway granted today to employers capable of recruiting their workforce in different countries through distinct visa programs offered both by the Department of Labour (H-2B visa) and by the Department of State (J-1 visa). The resort’s rapid growth over the last decade has taken place in the context of increasingly

²⁴ It should be emphasized that the resort’s actions are not illegal. Unlike the H-2A visa, the granting of the H-2B visa to American employers does not require them to provide their employees with transport and accommodation. However the amount paid for these items by some of the Jamaican staff corresponds to a significant proportion of their earnings.

precarious labour relations in the country and the strengthening of the ideas of selective and circular migration. Nonetheless, the success in recruiting different groups of foreign workers also stems from the manipulation of 'local wishes' and the reinforcing of particular stereotypes associated to their countries/regions of origin.

In that sense, the temporary jobs at Okemo were allocated through various forms of hierarchies that represent somewhat how this North American resort classify those temporary foreign workers from different countries, colour, class and educational background. While white young people coming from specific British Commonwealth countries were offered jobs outside, providing safety for the guests and ski practitioners, South American employees were assigned to indoor jobs, taking care of food and drinks for tourist and looking after their children. On the other hand, black Jamaicans performed less 'visible' and prestigious jobs at the resort with limited interaction with tourists and other temporary workers. Those hierarchies, in turn, were aligned with the role of the State in classifying the profile of guestworkers through different visa programs.

At the same time, the case study shows how important it is when writing about phenomena related to human migration to avoid dissociating these processes from 'local knowledge' and particular conceptions but, on the contrary, to explore these bodies of knowledge and conceptions as the basis for comprehending migratory phenomena in more detail. We have seen that the meanings attributed by Okemo's temporary workers to their seasonal migration depend on a series of conceptions, projects and values connected to their home context and to specific understanding of personhood, life and the future. The representation of labour activities in terms of concepts like 'experience,' 'flexibility' and 'investment,' for instance, are related to ideologies central to the contemporary world, though these ideologies are always (re)evaluated by subjects with diverse interests and trajectories coming from particular social contexts.

In reflecting on the question of foreign temporary work, therefore, it is essential that we consider the perspectives of those who take the decision to work temporarily in a particular country. The 'mega-conceptual'²⁵

²⁵ Here I allude to the following assertion by Clifford Geertz (1973: 23) on the 'mega-conceptual' discussions engaged in by the social sciences: "It is with the kind of material produced by long-term, mainly (though not exclusively) qualitative, highly participative, and almost obsessively fine comb field

discussions surrounding the theme –precisely the approach more usually adopted –insist on reducing the rich and diverse experiences of these groups and individuals to the view of the economy and the State. Approaching the different symbolisms and perspectives relating to foreigners who work seasonally in a US ski resort is intended to serve as a counterpoint to this ‘mega-conceptual’ approach.

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study in confined contexts that the mega-concepts with which contemporary social science is afflicted – legitimacy, modernization, integration, conflict, charisma, structure ... meaning – can be given the sort of sensible actuality that makes it possible to think not only realistically and concretely *about* them, but, what is more important, creatively and imaginatively *with* them.”

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Para pensar las redes transnacionales

Itinerarios e historias migratorias de los capoeiristas brasileños en Madrid

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Resumen

El presente artículo recupera los movimientos migratorios de tres líderes brasileños de la capoeira hasta su llegada a la capital española, ilustrando la dinámica de sociabilidad que nace de estas historias personales, pero que al mismo tiempo las supera para dar origen a una *red migrante transnacional*. Para alcanzar este objetivo, partimos de una discusión sintética sobre el concepto de *transnacionalismo* y de *redes migrantes transnacionales*. A continuación, ubicaremos las particularidades de las migraciones brasileñas hacia el sur europeo, y definiremos –a partir de las historias de vida de los capoeiristas– las especificidades de las redes de la capoeira en la ciudad de Madrid. Por último, en las consideraciones finales, sintetizamos nuestras conclusiones y apuntamos las cuestiones abiertas por el estudio.

Palabras-Clave: Migraciones brasileñas, capoeira, redes transnacionales, Madrid, historia de vida

Abstract

The paper traces the migratory displacements lived by Brazilian capoeiristas until they arrive in Madrid, illustrating how the dynamics of sociability that have their origin in these personal migratory routes delimitate the existence of a transnational migratory net. To reach this objective, I will start by defining the discussion over the transnationalism concept, and over the notion of

migrant transnational network. I will then analyze the particularities of the Brazilian migration to Southern Europe, and define – backing in the capoeiristas life histories – the specificities of the capoeira social nets in Madrid. Finally, in the concluding remarks, I will summarize some findings, as well as the new issues lighted by the study.

Keywords: Migration Brazilian, Capoeira, Transnational Networks, Madrid, Life History

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1 Introducción. Redes migrantes transnacionales: claves conceptuales para el caso brasileño¹

El presente artículo tiene como tema central la construcción de redes migrantes asociadas a la capoeira en Madrid, España. Entre 1990 y 1995, migrantes brasileños *transnacionalizaron* hacia la capital española la experiencia comunitaria de las agrupaciones de capoeira, un modelo colectivo nacido en las periferias urbanas de ciudades como *Río de Janeiro* y *Salvador* entre 1930 y 1980 (Guizardi 2011b, 2012a). Estos agrupamientos se organizan alrededor de la figura carismática del *mestre* [maestro] de capoeira (Delamont y Stephens 2007 y 2008; Joseph 2008a; Lewis 1992), institucionalizando un colectivo jerarquizado a partir de la relación maestro-discípulo, con un fuerte sentido identitario-grupal vinculado a los raíces afro-descendientes de la práctica

¹ La investigación que sustenta el artículo se realizó entre 2006 y 2011, como parte de nuestra tesis doctoral (Guizardi 2011c). Durante este período, desarrollamos una *etnografía multisituada* (Marcus 1995) junto a agrupamientos de *capoeiristas* en Madrid. Exploramos el tipo de espacio en que trabajan cotidianamente: donde realizan las clases, encuentros y *rodas*. Calculamos su número aproximado de alumnos, listamos las actividades que organizan y los productos que venden. Situamos las plazas y parques en que realizan sus encuentros callejeros; catalogamos los nombres y la *graduação de capoeira* [graduación de capoeira] de sus líderes, observando el tipo de relación que mantienen con los maestros en Brasil. Entre Europa y Brasil, llevamos a cabo un total de 69 entrevistas en profundidad (de las cuales 37 son historias de vida) con capoeiristas brasileños y europeos y cerca de 12.000 registros fotográficos. Realizamos además estudios histórico-documentales en instituciones como la *Biblioteca Nacional de Río de Janeiro*, *Instituto Jair Moura* y el *Centro de Estudios Afro-orientales* (todo ellos en Brasil), el *Center for Latin American Research and Documentation* (Holanda) y la *Biblioteca Iberoamericana de la Casa de América* (España).



Foto 1. *Roda en Plaza España (Madrid)*. Evento organizado por el Grupo Nação Capoeira. Mayo de 2008. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi

(Guizardi 2011a; Joseph 2008b; Merrell 2005; Sodré 2002; Willson 2001), y con una tendencia a la expansión espacial y apropiación del espacio público urbano (Guizardi 2012a). En un movimiento de diálogo con el espacio social, los capoeiristas brasileños adaptaron este sistema grupal de redes al paisaje de Madrid: sedujeron a un público de jóvenes discípulos españoles que adhirieron a la identidad de “capoeiristas” (Guizardi 2011c).

Entre 1995 y 2005 estas agrupaciones protagonizaron un fenómeno que los propios capoeiristas describen como el “boom [explosión]” de la capoeira en Madrid. Este “boom” se caracterizó por 1) la generación de *redes sociales transnacionales* conectadas al arte afro-brasileño; 2) la intensificación del uso de los espacios públicos urbanos por dichas redes; y 3) la multiplicación de las migraciones internacionales asociadas a estos colectivos. Este proceso migratorio de los capoeiristas, no obstante, es parte de un contexto global que ha redimensionado no solamente las características de la experiencia migrante vivida por los sujetos, sino también la manera como se teoriza el fenómeno en las ciencias sociales.

Actualmente, las migraciones son parte de la formación de un *mercado de trabajo global* (Sassen 1986) operado principalmente a partir de marcadores “étnicos-raciales” que colocan las poblaciones en niveles diferenciales de acceso a derechos y recursos (Pizarro 2011:5). La atribución de contenido

étnico-racial a los colectivos migratorios consolida una forma específica de exclusión social donde el “etiquetaje étnico” de los migrantes instrumentaliza su explotación como mano de obra barata, no-documentada e informal. Este no es un proceso menor en el cuadro de la economía capitalista global. En 2010, las remesas de los migrantes a sus países (o a las familias situadas en un tercer país) totalizaron 440.000.000 de dólares estadunidenses (Banco Mundial 2011). Este recurso impacta directamente en las localidades de origen, repercutiendo en inversión en la educación de los hijos, en la construcción de residencias y, fundamentalmente, en pequeños y medianos emprendimientos económicos *transnacionales* (Portes *et al* 2002). Entre estos emprendimientos, se destacan los negocios en los países de destino funcional, económica y socialmente conectados a los países de origen, incidiendo en la capacidad de reproducción social de las comunidades migrantes.

En el caso de los brasileños, esta *economía transnacional* vinculada al emprendimiento migrante la encontramos en diferentes países, materializada en sectores comerciales muy diversos (Beserra 2007; Guizardi 2011b, 2013a; Lins Ribeiro 1998; Machado 2004c, 2005a; Padilla 2008; Tsuda 2003). Está siempre conectada a la construcción de sentidos de *autenticidad brasileña* (Joseph



Foto 2. Autenticamente brasileños. Berimbaus traídos de Brasil son expuestos en evento internacional de capoeira, para ser vendidos por capoeiristas brasileños a sus alumnos en Madrid. Noviembre de 2007. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.



Foto 3. *La marca del grupo*. Pantalones, camisas y CD's de capoeira fabricados en Brasil y vendidos por migrantes brasileños en los eventos internacionales de capoeira de Madrid. Mayo de 2008. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.

2008b; Lidola 2011), y su potencial de exotización en un mundo que ha globalizado las identidades para el consumo, confiriéndole un valor monetario creciente como “objetos” de circulación global (Machado 2005a).

Curiosamente, el mundo que etiqueta a los migrantes en jerarquías étnicas también confiere un lugar específico al exotismo de las identidades que de estas etiquetas resultan. Así, el encasillamiento de los migrantes genera, simultánea y dialécticamente, su especificidad como productores de contenidos étnicos que tendrán (para bien y para mal) cierto lugar en el mercado global.

La magnitud e importancia de este proceso de articulación económico, social e identitario entre fronteras nacionales ha puesto en evidencia la necesidad de teorizar la migración desde perspectivas que pongan en jaque los *nacionalismos metodológicos* de las ciencias sociales (Levitt y Glick-Schiller 2004), colocando el concepto de *transnacionalismo* como un eje de debate. Pese a que la mayor parte de los investigadores consideren que los migrantes mantienen lazos multidimensionales entre el país de destino y el de origen, implicando que las migraciones tendrán un impacto sostenido en por lo menos dos ámbitos nacionales, la definición del *transnacionalismo* como fenómeno y de las metodologías para trabajarla dista mucho de producir un consenso académico (Besserer 2004:6; Moctezuma 2008:30).

Según Glick-Schiller *et al* (2005), los migrantes construyen en realidad *campos transnacionales*, puesto que viven relaciones bi o multinacionales

-familiares, económicas, sociales, organizacionales, religiosas– tomando decisiones, medidas y viviendo intereses que provocan una experiencia de simultaneidad (Levitt y Glick-Schiller 2004) entre localidades distantes². Kearney (1995:548), a su vez, subraya el contenido político del término, alegando que el *transnacionalismo* llama la atención del investigador a los proyectos político-culturales de los Estados-nación, en la medida en que éstos buscan hegemonizar procesos con otros Estados, con sus propios ciudadanos y con sus “aliens”. Levitt y Glick-Schiller (2004:62) coincidirán con parte de esta perspectiva, alegando que los estudios sobre el transnacionalismo contribuyen a la formación de un nuevo paradigma, “el cual rechaza la idea de que la sociedad y el Estado-nación son una misma cosa”. Bloemradd *et al* (2008) consideran que la condición transnacional migrante desafía las políticas estatales y los principios de derechos de ciudadanía, fundamentados estos últimos en marcos jurídicos que definen la movilidad humana como “contenida” por las fronteras del Estado. Besserer (2004:8) desplaza el foco hacia la construcción de “topografías transnacionales”, dando centralidad al imperativo de representar la espacialidad de las comunidades y sujetos basándose “no en la distancia que las separa, sino en la densidad y frecuencia de las prácticas comunitarias que les acerca”.

Uno de los aspectos de las migraciones transnacionales sobre el que sí hay más consenso académico, es la consideración de que el fenómeno opera a partir de la movilización de cadenas o *redes sociales* (Arango 2003). Éstas promoverían la articulación de grupos, familias o comunidades, y la transmisión de los conocimientos acerca de la experiencia migrante entre los miembros de los colectivos (Alicea 1997; Glick-Schiller *et al* 2005; Kearney 1995; Malgesini 1998; Martínez Veiga 1999; Massey *et al* 1993; Massey *et al* 1994; Solé y Parella 2005).

Según Massey *et al* (1994:1499) cada inmigrante está conectado con personas “no migrantes” en su comunidad de origen a partir de una variedad compleja de vinculaciones que involucran la *obligación reciproca* de “prestar asistencia”, estableciendo sistemas de intercambio sociales basados en *dar, recibir y retribuir* (Mauss 1979)³. Así, el conocimiento acerca de procedimientos,

² Levitt, por otro lado, no lo consideró como un *campo social*, sino como la “conexión cultural, económica y política entre personas e instituciones que quita el énfasis geográfico en lo que se refiere a la formación de la identidad y colectividad, y crea nuevas posibilidades de membresía más allá de las fronteras” (Levitt *apud* Coe 2011:149. Traducción propia).

³ Según Massey *et al* (1994:1499), “cada acto de migración crea un grupo de personas que pasan a tener

estrategias, posibilidades y dificultades de la experiencia migratoria en una localidad es transmitido de manera colectiva, constituyéndose a modo de *capital social* en los términos de Bourdieu: como un “agregado de recursos reales o potenciales que están vinculados a la posesión de una red duradera de relaciones, más o menos institucionalizadas, de conocimiento mutuo y reconocimiento” (Bourdieu *apud* Portes 2000b:45. Traducción propia).

Estas redes migrantes no son algo naturalmente dado (Rouse 1988), puesto que se construyen a partir de estrategias orientadas a la institucionalización de las relaciones de grupo (Portes 2000b). Ellas “se establecen, se negocian, se acaban, y se reformulan de manera tal que ‘la comunidad’ en vez de ser la ‘reificación’ de un concepto analítico, se convierte en una unidad en proceso” (Besserer 1999:220). Y es justamente la institucionalización de esta “unidad en proceso” lo que resulta en el *capital social* de los migrantes pudiendo ser entendido como 1) las *relaciones sociales* de estos migrantes en sí mismas, puesto que ellas permiten que los individuos clamen por el acceso al conocimiento y a los recursos de que disponen sus “asociados” en la red; y 2) la cantidad y calidad de estos recursos y conocimientos (Portes 2000b:45).

Este debate sobre la construcción de *redes transnacionales* nos resulta fundamental porque los grupos de capoeira coinciden en este aspecto con gran parte de la migración brasileña hacia el sur de Europa: su presencia en Madrid resulta de la articulación de redes sociales que están tejidas desde el origen y sirven como mecanismos de facilitación de recursos a los nuevos migrantes. Estas agrupaciones constituyen sus vínculos a partir de reglas de reciprocidad centradas en la obligación de “dar, recibir y retribuir”.

Más allá de abogar por una excepcionalidad del caso de los capoeiristas en cuanto a su *capital social* específico, el presente trabajo busca captar y mostrar estas redes como un proceso que se engendra en las historias de vida de los capoeiristas.

Para alcanzar este objetivo, iniciaremos el debate ubicando las particularidades de las migraciones brasileñas hacia el sur europeo (segundo

vínculos sociales con el país de recepción. Los ‘no migrantes’ se basan en estos vínculos para conseguir acceso a trabajo y asistencia fuera de su país, lo que reduce sustancialmente los costos y riesgos del desplazamiento en comparación con los primeros migrantes. Cada nuevo migrante reduce, por lo tanto, los costos y riesgos, e incrementa la atracción y factibilidad de la migración para un grupo de amigos o parientes. (...) Una vez que el número de conexiones en red alcanza un umbral crítico, la migración se convierte en un fenómeno que se perpetúa por sí mismo, porque cada acto de migración genera la estructura necesaria para mantenerse”. (Traducción propia).

apartado), para luego debatir las especificidades de las redes de la capoeira en Madrid, narrando la historia de vida de tres capoeiristas brasileños en esta ciudad (tercer apartado). Finalmente, en las consideraciones finales, sintetizaremos nuestras conclusiones y apuntaremos las cuestiones abiertas por el estudio.

2 Los “negocios étnicos” y la migración brasileña en el Sur de Europa

Desde fines de los 80, Brasil se caracterizó por presentar un promedio *anual de migración neta*⁴ negativo, contando con un número de emigrantes superior al de inmigrantes (Marinucci 2008; Masanet y Padilla 2010; OIM 2004; Solé et al 2011). Si en 2002, teníamos un total aproximado de 1.964.498 brasileños en el exterior, en 2007 la cifra alcanzó las 3.044.762 personas (Marinucci 2008:2; Parella y Cavalcanti 2010:12)⁵. La inmigración de brasileños se encaja justamente en el *mercado global de mano de obra* que describimos anteriormente. Se estima que buena parte de esta migración está compuesta por: 1) población económicamente activa; 2) con una participación femenina superior a la masculina; 3) inserta predominantemente en sectores informales o de baja remuneración, y 4) con un elevado número de migrantes indocumentados⁶.

La constatación de que Brasil es emisor de población tensiona los imaginarios identitarios nacionales (Machado 2003; Padilla 2008), que proyectan una imagen del país como “abierto” y “receptivo”. Así, la inmigración pone en jaque la noción de que Brasil es “incluyente” (Lins Ribeiro 1998; Machado 2005a; Padilla 2007). El volumen y generalización de la emigración viene tensionando el mito (Ortiz 2003) o *fábula* (Da Matta 1981) de la democracia racial, que proclama la sociabilidad integradora como estructura fundadora de la

⁴ El *promedio anual de migración neta* [Average annual net migration] se calcula sustrayendo el número anual de migrantes internacionales que llegan al país, del número anual de personas que dejan el país (ONU 2009).

⁵ Según Marinucci (2008:3), los principales países de destino de la migración brasileña serían: Estados Unidos (con 1.490.000 personas, 40,73% del total de brasileños en el exterior); Paraguay (515.570 brasileños, 16,01% del total); Japón (310.751 brasileños, 10,18%); Reino Unido (300.000 brasileños, 4,93%); Portugal (160.000 brasileños, 4,84%); Italia (132.000 brasileños, 4,34%) y España (150.000 brasileños, 3,61%).

⁶ Estudios cualitativos confirman estas tendencias de la migración brasileña en países del sur Europeo como Portugal (Almeida y Reis 2007; Machado 2004a, 2004b, 2005a; Téchio 2006; Padilla 2005, 2007, 2008; Peixoto 2007); Italia (Piscitelli 2008a) y España (Carvalho y Souza 2008; Gonçalvez 2007; Guizardi 2013a; Masanet y Padilla 2010; Parella y Cavalcanti 2010; Piscitelli 2007; Solé et al 2011). Pero estas tendencias se han confirmado también para Bélgica (Carvalho 2007; Pereira 2008; Schrooten 2012); Estados Unidos (Lins Ribeiro 1998; Macdonnel y Lourenço 2009; Zubaran 2008) y, con algunos matices, Japón (Kazama 2011; Tsuda 2003).



Foto 4. *La identidad en el Museo*. Capoeiristas de la Asociación de Capoeira Descendientes de Pantera se preparan para la presentación de la “capoeira afro-brasileña” en el Museo Nacional de Antropología de España (localizado en Madrid). Mayo de 2009. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.

identidad nacional brasileña (Segato 2007) y como diferencial de autenticidad –cultural, simbólica y relacional– de Brasil frente al mundo⁷.

Los brasileños migrantes, en diferentes partes del globo, están muy frecuentemente vinculados a un imaginario global que asocia su nacionalidad a cierto exotismo tropical, a las fiestas, al carnaval, y a una supuesta “potencia sexual” (Beserra 2007; Machado 2003, 2004c, 2005a; Piscitelli 2008a, 2008b; Pontes 2004). Este imaginario viene condicionando nichos laborales de inserción en el sector servicios, relacionados con funciones de atención al público, y también con servicios de diversión u ocio –bares, restaurantes, casas nocturnas, como artistas de espectáculos– (Machado 2005a). Paralelamente, también se abre un nicho en los servicios estéticos –peluquerías, casas de depilación, manicure, y demás tratamientos corporales–, respaldado por la noción de que brasileños y brasileñas (pero especialmente estas últimas)⁸ tienen una

7 Para un debate sobre la importancia de este imaginario como proyecto de Estado en Brasil desde Getulio Vargas, relacionándolo específicamente con la construcción de la capoeira como una práctica inclusiva, remitimos a un texto precedente (Guizardi 2011a) y al estudio de Downey (2002).

8 La imagen sexual de las mujeres brasileñas fue promovida por el Estado brasileño (Beserra 2007); vinculada como elemento publicitario de la industria internacional del turismo (Piscitelli 2007) y adoptada como sello institucional de la EMBRATUR (Empresa Brasileña de Turismo). Este mecanismo de explotación de la figura femenina ha recibido fuertes críticas en los últimos años. En respuesta, se

relación de cuidado extremo con el cuerpo, lo que las y los “empodera” para estos servicios de “belleza” (Guizardi 2013a; Lidola 2011). La identidad nacional brasileña yuxtapone las imágenes de alegría, fiesta y cordialidad, a una forma específica de hiper-corporalidad, conformando patrones de atribución estereotipada de características sexuales a los y las brasileñas⁹.

Este imaginario sobre las atribuciones identitarias de los y las brasileñas migrantes consolida un mercado de venta de productos y servicios “auténticamente brasileños”, ofrecidos a los consumidores de los países del norte global, y se constituye como un proceso de renegociación identitario (Lins Ribeiro 1998) que conforma un patrón específico de emprendimiento migrante. Los negocios gestionados por migrantes brasileños, simultáneamente, se asemejan y distancian de aquello que la literatura de los estudios migratorios viene denominando *economía étnica* (Portes 2000a). En su debate inicial, el concepto refería a emprendimientos 1) desarrollados por migrantes; 2) con un capital inicial migrante; 3) administrados, mantenidos y controlados por mano de obra migrante, y 4) destinados a un público consumidor migrante (Portes y Jensen 1989).

Lo étnico aquí hace referencia a tres cosas. En primer lugar, al hecho de que estos mercados “importan” desde los países de origen –estableciendo siempre procesos de *transnacionalismo económico*, social y simbólico– productos, prácticas y formas de consumo que serán vendidas como “propias” (y “auténticas”) de determinados colectivos: como formas materializadoras de su “identidad” (Beltrán *et al* 2007; Garcés 2010).

En segundo lugar, y en íntima vinculación con lo anterior, estos negocios materializan en una forma específica la alteridad social vivida por los migrantes como “otros”, como diferenciados de los autóctonos, haciendo referencia además a un principio de *cierre sobre sí mismo* del colectivo. Es decir,

propuso una reforma en las concepciones propagandísticas de la EMBRATUR que llevó a la erradicación de las fotos de mujeres semidesnudas de la publicidad turística oficial brasileña (Alfonso 2006; Emerich Pinto 2005).

9 Junto con la facilitación de los nichos para emprendimientos económicos que dialogan con la “auténticidad identitaria brasileña”, los imaginarios y estereotipos de la *brasileaneidad* también potencian la vinculación de las brasileñas a los servicios del sexo (Beserra 2007; Macdonell y Lourenço 2009; Piscitelli 2007, 2008a, 2008b). Este fenómeno no es menor, considerando la cantidad de brasileñas que actúan en estos mercados en el Sur de Europa, así como en los Estados Unidos, y la condición de vulnerabilidad social en que ellas se encuentran (Peixoto 2007; Piscitelli 2007, 2008a, 2008b, Togni 2008). La situación deviene de la actuación de redes de trata humana que inciden en la captación de brasileñas y su “distribución” en el mercado del sexo en países europeos, entre los cuales España es el destino prioritario (Guizardi 2013a).

vinculándose al hecho del emprendimiento constituido como un enclave que, incluso en sus dimensiones urbanas, actuará como una lógica de auto-segregación del grupo migrante (Garcés 2011). En algunos casos, el establecimiento de este tipo de economías, pese a consolidar la reproducción social de los colectivos, termina reiterando circularmente su diferencia hacia los hábitos de consumo y práctica sociales “autóctonas”.

En tercer lugar, estas economías étnicas dependen del recurso a cierto principio de *autenticidad originaria* de aquello que venden: el producto está validado no solamente como un *valor de troca*, sino, y fundamentalmente, como un valor de autenticidad “étnica”. El producto, servicio o práctica ofrecido por el emprendimiento se constituye así como un “recurso étnico” (Light 1972).

Muchos de los emprendimientos desarrollados por brasileños y brasileñas en situación migratoria se constituyen como una venta de *autenticidad étnica-identitaria*. Pero aquí, la especificidad de la construcción del principio identitario brasileño quizás desautorice el uso del término “étnico”, hegemonic en los estudios migratorios. Como lo han notado Machado (2005a) y Lins Ribeiro (1998), los brasileños no entienden su especificidad identitaria como étnica, sino como “inclusiva”, más allá de las especificidades clasificadorias de los grupos que la componen¹⁰.

El que los migrantes brasileños no entiendan sus productos, prácticas y servicios como “étnicos” no quita, no obstante, que la gente en los países receptores los mire y comprenda según esta categoría. Así, la noción de *economía étnica* en relación a los negocios de migrantes brasileños debe ser aplicada con algunos matices (Machado 2007)¹¹. La primera de las razones, como ya explicamos, se debe a que los mismos migrantes no comprenden este principio de “*cierre en sí mismo*”, resistiendo a construir sus negocios como centrados sobre el grupo migrante.

¹⁰ Como decían Da Matta (1997) y Segato (1998, 2007), el principio de identidad brasileña comporta una paradoja. Se postula como ontológicamente abierto y, por esto, incoherente con la posibilidad de auto-delimitarse por la especificidad racial o étnica. Sin embargo, convive, al mismo tiempo, con la intensa desigualdad social brasileña, postulando una inclusión cultural-relacional en medio a la exclusión racial política y de clase.

¹¹ Nos dimos cuenta de esta particularidad tras revisar no solamente el debate de Machado (2007), sino también el estudio de caso sobre los negocios peruanos en Santiago (Garcés 2010, 2011). Especialmente, la discusión de Garcés (2012) sobre la necesidad de flexibilizar la categoría “economía étnica” para hacerla dialogar con formas de emprendimiento que mezclan capitales autóctonos y migrantes y que no constituyen enclaves espaciales segregados.

Los bares, restaurantes, panaderías, escuelas de capoeira, escuelas de samba, escuelas de portugués, peluquerías, casas de depilación, entre otros rubros que visitamos en Madrid, están todos destinados a un público mixto de brasileños y autóctonos. Algunos de ellos en realidad están dedicados a ofrecer servicios y productos a los españoles, prioritariamente. Se trata de emprendimientos con capital migrante, administrados por migrantes, que venden productos y servicios del país de origen, pero que se ofrecen a los autóctonos, reproduciendo en la forma económica un principio de “integración entre todos”, parte de la lógica de inclusión identitaria nacional brasileña. Permanece el argumento de la autenticidad del producto/servicio, pero ahora esta autenticidad se ofrece no como principio de diferenciación entre los migrantes y los locales, sino como puente que conecta los segundos a los primeros. Este es el caso de las peluquerías brasileñas en Madrid, que no solamente están en barrios de segregación migrante, localizándose también en sectores ricos de la ciudad, donde se ofrecen a un público consumidor de alto poder adquisitivo (Guizardi 2013a). Lo mismo se ha observado en Berlín, donde las depiladoras brasileñas ofrecen su servicio a mujeres europeas, básicamente (Lidola 2011).

3 Capoeira en Madrid: las redes en proceso

Mestre Pantera y *Brucutú* son figuras centrales de la articulación de las redes de capoeira en Madrid. Son reconocidos casi unánimemente por los 21 agrupamientos de capoeiristas que estudiamos en la ciudad (Guizardi 2011b) como los “pioneros” en impartir clases de capoeira. Ambos vivieron sus infancias y juventudes en Río de Janeiro y llegaron a Madrid entre 1989 y 1990, a través de las giras internacionales de shows de capoeira y samba. Estas giras fueron la puerta de entrada de los capoeiristas en Estados Unidos y Europa (Assunção 2005). Tras un período viviendo de performances en España, decidieron intentar reproducir la lógica grupal de la capoeira tal como la vivieron en Río. En otros trabajos, detallamos el proceso de articulación de las redes de capoeira en Río a partir del relato de *Pantera* (Guizardi 2012a) y de *Brucutú* (Guizardi 2011c). Retomar este proceso excedería las posibilidades del presente texto. No obstante, nos gustaría subrayar algunas características estructurantes del sentido de sociabilidad de los grupos narradas por estos dos



Foto 5. *Mestre Pantera*. El fundador de la Asociación de Capoeira Descendientes de Pantera afina el Berimbau para la *roda* a ser realizada en los jardines de la Casa de Brasil. (Madrid, España). Junio de 2009. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.

protagonistas, puesto que entendemos que ellas son centrales para comprender cómo estos colectivos consolidan su propio *capital social migrante*.

En primer lugar, estos agrupamientos se constituyen como estructuras jerarquizadas. El punto más alto de la jerarquía lo ocupa el maestro fundador del grupo, que constituye un líder carismático, pero cuya legitimidad reposa también en el reconocimiento colectivo de sus conocimientos sobre la capoeira. Estos conocimientos, a su vez, involucran: 1) saberes sobre las historias de la capoeira; 2) saberes sobre los principios rituales de la práctica; 3) tener o haber tenido especial destreza física al ejecutar el juego; 4) tener o haber tenido destreza en utilizar la *malicia* para engañar a sus oponentes; 5) haber conseguido extrapolar de la rueda a la vida social los valores de la *malicia* que en la capoeira son estructurantes del principio de identidad subjetiva y sociabilidad grupal (Lewis 1992); 6) habilidades como músico y compositor de canciones de capoeira; 7) tener *hombría* y valentía avaladas por los capoeiristas.

Junto a estas características que podrían ser entendidas como un *capital cultural* de los maestros, es decir, incorporado por ellos¹², se suman otras

¹² Según Bourdieu (1987:11-12), “la mayor parte de las propiedades del capital cultural puede deducirse del hecho de que en su estado fundamental se encuentra ligado al cuerpo y supone la incorporación. La acumulación del capital cultural exige una incorporación que, en la medida en que supone un trabajo de

que se proyectan como *capital social*. La legitimidad del maestro también reposa en la habilidad de formar discípulos traspasando sus conocimientos a nuevas generaciones, a la vez que constituye, junto a ellos, redes de cooperación recíprocas. Así, el carisma del maestro depende de su capacidad de conformar su propio grupo de discípulos auto-reconocidos alrededor de una identidad colectiva, y conectados a él y entre sí por la obligación de *dar, recibir y retribuir*.

Pero la creación del grupo de discípulos se materializa y se confunde con la apropiación de un territorio: los maestros deben consolidarse como “representativos” de una zona o espacio de la ciudad. Esto implica no solamente tener relevancia en la formación de los capoeiristas de esta zona, sino también la capacidad de apropiarse de los espacios públicos comandando ruedas de capoeira. Esto es lo que en capoeira se denomina “ganarse territorios”. De este último punto, extraemos otros dos que son fundamentales para entender la capoeira como *capital social migrante*.

El primero se refiere a que los discípulos –en la medida en que van subiendo posiciones en la jerarquía grupal, acercándose a la posición de maestro– tienen que asumir las tareas de enseñanza y organizar su propio proceso territorial. Cuando un discípulo consigue “apropiarse” de un sector de la ciudad, éste en realidad expande la red de actuación de su maestro, puesto que entre los dos se mantienen los imperativos de cooperación recíproca. Paralelamente, en términos espaciales, la expansión realizada por el discípulo hermano territorios, conectando el nuevo espacio ganado al espacio del maestro. Los alumnos de los discípulos podrán frecuentar las clases y ruedas del maestro y viceversa. Todos serán considerados parte de una misma red de cooperación, lo que expande también las posibilidades de alianzas e intercambio de recursos entre los miembros. Así, la progresión en la jerarquía grupal implica un imperativo de “ganarse territorios”.

Pantera y Brucutú fueron pioneros en llevar a Madrid esta lógica de expansión y vinculación de los grupos que ya venía aconteciendo en ciudades brasileñas. La migración de los capoeiristas, vinculada al proyecto de institucionalizar clases, no conforma un emprendimiento migrante individual: ella es parte simbólica, material y territorial de un principio de expansión

inclusión y de asimilación, consume *tiempo*, tiempo que tiene que ser invertido *personalmente* por el ‘inversionista’ (...). El capital cultural es un tener transformador en ser, una propiedad hecha cuerpo que se convierte en una parte integrante de la ‘persona’, un hábito”. (Énfasis del autor).



Foto 6. *Roda en Casa de Brasil*. Organizada por Mestre Pantera en los jardines de Casa de Brasil, en el marco del encuentro internacional de capoeira de su agrupación en Madrid. Junio de 2009. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.

del capital social del grupo al que él pertenece. Una vez institucionalizadas las clases “en el extranjero”, la red de cooperación con los grupos en origen se mantiene, transformando en red transnacional, el capital social estructurante de los agrupamientos de capoeiristas.

El segundo aspecto fundamental se refiere a que esta lógica de expansión se estructura como una lógica competitiva. Diferentes maestros disputerán territorios y esta disputa institucionaliza el *conflicto* como forma de organización espacial de los grupos. Esto se debe a que cada nuevo capoeirista es también un nuevo elemento en las alianzas y rupturas que organizan la experiencia social de la capoeira en el territorio: nuevos lazos se consolidan y nuevos conflictos se dibujan construyendo el equilibrio dinámico con que esas agrupaciones van dividiendo y ocupando los espacios dentro y fuera de Brasil; dentro y fuera de la rueda de capoeira.

La ritualización del enfrentamiento que encontramos en la rueda de capoeira tiene un paralelo con la propia vida social de los capoeiristas. El eterno turno de conflictos de los agrupamientos otorga una estructura de reciprocidad a la red social de esos colectivos, concordando con los comentarios de Gluckman, para quién:

“Los conflictos entre las lealtades sostenidas por los hombres [sic] consecuentemente, en un panorama más amplio de relaciones, establecen orden y conllevan el reconocimiento y aceptación de las obligaciones para con la ley. De este modo, el sistema como un todo depende, para su cohesión, de la existencia de conflictos en los sub-sistemas menores”. (Gluckman 1991:2. Traducción propia).

Aquí entran en juego, muy a menudo, la puesta en escena del poder de masculinidad de los maestros en la rueda: su fuerza, habilidad y su victoria frente a otros capoeiristas. La disputa es por ganarse a los discípulos del local, por comandar la rueda y por ser el punto articulador de las redes de colaboración recíprocas entre capoeiristas de un locus específico. En este proceso, diferentes grupos pueden hermanarse a través del hermanamiento de sus maestros, estableciendo una cooperación entre grupos que visa proteger el territorio de ambos. Normalmente, la confianza entre los capoeiristas depende del establecimiento de estas cooperaciones trans-grupales: afuera de estos acuerdos, reina una lógica de competencia en la que se usa frecuentemente la *malicia* como forma legítima de engañar a otros capoeiristas para hacerse con sus alumnos y/o territorios. Lo que en muchos casos conlleva peleas violentas en las ruedas.

A inicios de los 90, cuando Brucutú y Pantera consiguieron establecer actividades de enseñanza, la fundación de agrupaciones de capoeiristas brasileñas en Madrid hizo correr la voz en Brasil –a través de las redes grupales de los dos– de que era posible vivir de la capoeira en aquella ciudad¹³. No es difícil imaginar cómo, de boca en boca, el nuevo “territorio” de la capoeira se fue anunciando en diferentes partes de Brasil y en otros países de Europa donde igualmente, los capoeiristas habían empezado a institucionalizar las clases.

En un intervalo de cinco años (entre 1990 y 1995), Madrid pasó a formar parte del mapa de la capoeira internacional. Entre 1995 y 2005, la ciudad fue tomada por una gran cantidad de agrupaciones. Son múltiples los itinerarios migratorios, los caminos elegidos y también la velocidad con que cada capoeirista logró hacer de Madrid su “territorio de capoeira”. Cada “nuevo protagonista” reorganizó y movió todos los demás, reacomodando a todas las agrupaciones en un delicado equilibrio. Nuestra intención en este apartado

¹³ Aquí hay un punto primordial que destacar: esta institucionalización se fundamenta en la socialización de jóvenes europeos a la capoeira. Se fundamenta en “cultivar” discípulos que integrarán las redes del grupo, aprendiendo e involucrándose en relaciones recíprocas con sus maestros brasileños y con sus compañeros de grupo en Madrid, casi todos españoles.

es narrar los itinerarios migratorios de tres brasileños que llegaron a Madrid a partir de 1995, relatando cómo sus trayectorias van construyendo tanto a los grupos de capoeira, como a las redes de colaboración y contienda que esos grupos dibujan en la capital española.

3.1 Zambiacongo

Sabiá, es de *Vitória da Conquista*, ciudad del interior de Bahía, a 500 kilómetros de *Salvador*. Como muchos *bahianos* del interior, migró a la capital a los quince años, en 1991, en busca de mejores condiciones de estudio y trabajo. Allí conoció a un capoeirista quien lo llevó a las clases del *Mestre Mola Sete*, en la *Associação de Capoeira Mestre Bimba* –ubicada en la *Calle Sete de Setembro*, en el centro de *Salvador*. La asociación era uno de los ejes de la capoeira *bahiana* y en ella *Sabiá* conoció a muchos de los capoeiristas de su generación que hoy se encuentran en Europa –camaradas con los cuales, años más tarde, estableció redes de cooperación en España.

Entretanto, los horarios extenuantes del trabajo y la vivienda alejada del centro lo llevaron a cambiar de grupo. En 1993, se incorporó al *Zambiacongo*, comandado por *Mestre Geni*. Respetado en *Salvador*, *Geni* tiene buenas influencias entre reconocidos maestros de Brasil. Vivió en persona casi todos los cambios sociales importantes en la historia de la capoeira del siglo XX. La conoció en la calle, en épocas en que la práctica todavía era criminalizada (Dias 2007) y sufrió la desaprobación familiar por su incursión en aquel universo. Vivió la recriminación de los capoeiristas negros que no aceptaban la participación de jóvenes blancos y de clase media. Aprendió la *Capoeira Angola* con *Mestre Canjiquinha*, quien tuvo un papel fundamental en la presentación de los primeros espectáculos para turistas extranjeros en *Salvador* (1950-1960). En el equipo de shows de *Canjiquinha*, *Geni* integró el movimiento que afirmó la capoeira como un producto cultural-identitario, lo que generó a los capoeiristas *bahianos* un nuevo nicho laboral¹⁴.

Mestre Geni no se detuvo ahí. Por curiosidad, picardía y una buena dosis de coraje, ingresó al gimnasio de *Mestre Bimba*¹⁵, donde se formó en la enton-

¹⁴ Una transformación que sería llevada a *Río de Janeiro* por la migración de jóvenes *bahianos* que fueron a “intentar la vida” en el Sudeste.

¹⁵ Decimos “picardía y coraje” porque *Mestre Bimba* no aceptaba discípulos que hubiesen pasado por la *Capoeira Angola*, sobre todo si tenían el grado de maestro de *Angola*, como era el caso de *Geni*. Para ser aceptado por *Bimba*, *Geni* debió “engañarlo”, haciéndose pasar por practicante de “pressing catch”. Años

ces revolucionaria *Capoeira Regional*, integrando el movimiento que abrió las puertas a la deportivación de la capoeira en Brasil (Downey 2002). Entre 1960 y 1970, decidió vivir de la capoeira y migró a São Paulo, siendo precursor de la difusión del arte en el “ABC Paulista”¹⁶.

En los ‘80, se trasladó otra vez a *Salvador*, restableciendo allí su grupo. Sus discípulos más antiguos, sin embargo, desde muy jóvenes integraron las giras nacionales de show de capoeira gestionadas por *Geni* e hicieron parte de las primeras generaciones de capoeiristas en migrar de Brasil como artistas de la “cultura brasileña”. En una de esas giras, a fines de los ochenta, un discípulo suyo, *Mestre Macaquinho*, se enamoró de una australiana y se quedó a vivir en Australia. El enamoramiento de *Macaquinho* marca el principio de la transnacionalización del legado de *Mestre Geni*, pero marca también el inicio de una red migratoria que llevaría otros de sus discípulos –entre ellos su hijo mayor, *Mestre Luisinho Barra Vento*– a Australia, Nueva Zelanda y Singapur.

Toda esta introducción a la historia de *Mestre Geni* es importante para que comprendamos porqué la formación de *Sabiá* en el *Zambiaongo* le abrió la perspectiva de una capoeira configurada como producto cultural, deporte, tradición, y empresa migratoria transnacional. En 2003, cuando le robaron el taxi en el que había invertido gran parte de sus ahorros, *Sabiá* decidió seguir los ejemplos de los compañeros de la agrupación y migrar “al extranjero” para “intentar la vida”. Le propuso a un compañero del *Zambiaongo*, el *Contramestre Gunga* que, viajaron juntos a Madrid donde conocían a un capoeirista del Nordeste, *Mestre Villar*, a quien habían encontrado en los eventos internacionales organizados en *Sergipe*¹⁷ y quien les había informado de las posibilidades en España.

Recién llegados a Madrid, se pusieron en contacto con una empresaria brasileña que organizaba y agenciaba espectáculos de música, bailes y “cultura brasileña”. Este contacto les fue facilitado por otro capoeirista de *Bahía*

más tarde confesaría la trampa a *Bimba*, que lo perdonaría sin reprocharle el hecho.

¹⁶ El “ABC Paulista” es un área industrial que integra la Región Metropolitana de São Paulo. La sigla se refiere a que, originalmente, el polígono industrial era compuesto por tres ciudades con nombre de santos católicos: *Santo André*, *São Bernardo do Campo* y *São Caetano do Sul*. Actualmente, la región se expandió y engloba un total de siete municipios.

¹⁷ *Sergipe* es el menor de los estados brasileños, ubicado en la Región Noreste, con salida para la costa y en frontera con el estado de Bahía y Alagoas. Su capital es la ciudad de Aracaju. El estado tiene una población estimada de poco más de dos millones de habitantes.

que llevaba algunos años haciendo giras de shows de capoeira en Europa. Una vez más, fueron las redes locales en Brasil que indicaron hacia dónde dirigirse y cómo integrarse al mercado laboral de la capoeira. Fundamentalmente, es la noción de la capoeira como un recurso *identitario auténtico*, lo que les hace buscar su lugar en nichos económicos que promueven la venta de este principio identitario a los consumidores europeos.

Trabajando como artistas, *Sabiá* y *Gunga* establecieron sus primeros contactos en Madrid y fueron invitados a hacer una exhibición de capoeira en un encuentro de artes marciales. Allí conocieron al dueño de un gimnasio que los invitó a dar clases en su establecimiento. Los contactos obtenidos fueron facilitando la inmersión en redes locales y posibilitaron que los dos multiplicasen los centros de enseñanza y la marca del *Zambiacongo* en Madrid. En un gimnasio, accedieron a un contrato que les permitió legalizar sus documentos y obtener un permiso de residencia y trabajo. Lograron, así, abandonar la condición de indocumentados. El grupo se fue extendiendo con tal rapidez que en ocho meses los chicos se pusieron en contacto con *Mestre Geni* para pedirle un refuerzo: que enviara a un capoeirista del grupo para asumir nuevos centros de entrenamiento en España. *Geni* envió a su hijo pequeño, *Contramestre Batuquegê*. En Madrid, los tres líderes del *Zambiacongo* empezaron una política de cooperación con los grupos locales, especialmente enfocada en aquellas agrupaciones que se establecieron a partir del año 2000.

El fortalecimiento de la red local de colaboradores del *Zambiacongo*, por otra parte, también estuvo respaldado por el auxilio de grupos situados en otras ciudades del país. Estos otros colaboradores son, generalmente, antiguos amigos de la capoeira de *Salvador*:

“El *Marcha Lenta*, del [grupo] *Muzenza*, que está en Gijón; está el *Salsicha*, del *Muzenza*; el *Branco*, que está en Zaragoza; los muchachos de Valencia que son el *Careca*, *Nariga*, *Grão Preto*, *Nacho*... Es que hay, hay...es mucha gente, ¿no? La mayor parte es de Bahía. Yo creo que nosotros nos entendemos más con la gente de Bahía. Pero eso no quiere decir (...) que las puertas no están abiertas para los de fuera, ¿no? De otros estados de Brasil. Hay mucha gente de otros estados también, pero la mayoría [de los colaboradores] son personas de Bahía [risas]. Es cierto. Yo no lo sé, pero siempre que nos encontramos es un *axé*, no podemos ver un instrumento [musical] que ya lo agarramos para tocar. Es una fiesta (...) Nosotros

venimos de aquél mismo *lurgazinho* ['lugarcito'], de allí, de *Salvador*, de *Feira de Santana*, de *Vitória da Conquista* (...). (Sabiá, Madrid, abril/2008)¹⁸.

Pero los apoyos no surgieron solamente de los colaboradores emigrados del mundo de la capoeira *bahiana*. Fue gracias a los contactos establecidos entre los españoles que pasaron a integrar la agrupación, que *Contramestre Batuquegê* recibió una invitación para dar cursos en *Rhodes* (Grecia). El éxito del curso le ofreció la oportunidad de impartir clases permanentemente en aquella ciudad, lo que motivó la financiación del viaje de un nuevo profesor indicado por *Mestre Geni: Bira Curioso*. La adaptación a Grecia resultó imposible y tras un año y medio en *Rhodes*, *Bira* decidió intercambiar papeles con *Gunga*: asumir sus clases en Madrid para que éste se trasladara a la isla griega. En mayo de 2008, como fruto de la expansión de los centros de entrenamiento, los chicos “de Madrid” financiaron el viaje de un nuevo capoeirista, *Cipó Cravo*. Al mismo tiempo, el *Zambiaongo* también se expandió a otras regiones de España como el Puerto de Santa María (Cádiz), donde lidera el profesor *Leitinho*.

Lo interesante del grupo está en que su expansión funciona, básicamente, a partir de los alumnos que *Mestre Geni* continúa formando en *Salvador* y ciudades vecinas. El sentido de centralidad del maestro se mantiene gracias a la vinculación carismática que cada uno de esos chicos tiene con *Geni*. De ahí que *Salvador* sea retratada a las generaciones de alumnos graduados fuera de Brasil como su “ciudad de origen”, como el origen de su “familia de capoeira”:

“Porque mis hijos hoy... Hoy tengo hijos aquí en España, tengo hijo en Australia y tengo también mis alumnos y los alumnos de mis alumnos, que para mí son mis hijos”. (*Mestre Geni*, Madrid, mayo/2008).

Toda la expansión del grupo ocurrió con la supervisión directa de *Geni*. Anualmente, el *mestre* viaja a las sedes locales de la agrupación participando de los eventos internacionales, bautizando a los novatos, cambiando la graduación de los más expertos y dando talleres sobre la filosofía de la capoeira (proferidos en portugués). La financiación de los viajes se da a partir de la venta de entradas para las presentaciones de capoeira organizadas en los eventos,

¹⁸ El sentido de los intercambios está orientado de acuerdo con las redes locales en origen. La afinidad “regional-local” que vincula estos brasileños a diferentes patrones identitarios nacionales genera una cierta asimetría entre la capoeira de aquellos que provienen del Nordeste y la capoeira de aquellos que vienen del Sudeste, reincorporando en la dinámica de estas agrupaciones en España, una disputa identitaria-territorial que se origina en Brasil.

con la recaudación obtenida por la venta de uniformes e instrumentos, y por el pago efectuado por los alumnos que participan de los cursos y talleres.

En síntesis, la red del *Zambiaongo* se constituye bajo la centralidad del maestro fundador y del territorio de origen, ambos con papeles estructurantes en la cohesión del colectivo. El *Zambiaongo* guarda relaciones exogámicas con otros colectivos de capoeiristas, estableciendo lazos en Madrid y en España.

3.2 Abalou Capoeira

Mestre Villar nació en *Propiá*, pequeña ciudad del interior del estado de *Sergipe* (Nordeste brasileño). De los nueve a los veintitrés años trabajó cuidando del rebaño de ganado de la hacienda de su padre. Conoció la capoeira a los catorce años, cuando todavía era un *moleque* [muchacho]. Para hacer las clases, robaba el coche de su familia y se iba a la capital del estado, *Aracajú* (a 100 quilómetros de su ciudad) donde fue apadrinado por el conocido *Mestre Lucas*, fundador del *Grupo Os Molas*:

“Entrenaba con *Mestre Lucas*, en el *Grupo Os Molas*, que para mí era el mejor grupo que existía en *Aracajú* en aquella época. Entrenaba el *Adailson*, el *Cabeça*, del [grupo] *Capoeira Brasil*; entrenaba el *Joel* del [grupo] *A Volta que o mundo dá*, entrenaba el *Neinho*, *Robertinho* (...) El grupo más fuerte era el *Grupo Os Molas*. Y era respetado en todo Brasil”¹⁹. (*Mestre Villar*, Majadahonda, febrero/2008).

En los casi quince años que pasó con *Mestre Lucas*, *Villar* ganaría posiciones en la jerarquía grupal, recibiendo el grado de *contramestre*. Pero el proceso de modernización del arte en Brasil (que siguió los patrones hegemónicos de deportivización desarrollados por los grupos cariocas) cambiaría drásticamente la configuración de las agrupaciones tradicionales como la de *Mestre Lucas*. A fines de 1980, cuando los grupos del Sudeste habían empezado el proceso migratorio que los dispersaría por la casi totalidad de los estados brasileños, llegó a *Aracajú* la agrupación conocida como *Muzenza*, fundada en 1972 en *Río de Janeiro* y comandada desde 1975 por *Mestre Burguês*.

¹⁹ El entrevistado avala la legitimidad del grupo *Os molas* citando a los maestros considerados importantes internacionalmente y que pertenecieron a la agrupación. Para *Villar*, el hecho de haber formado a capoeiristas que emigraron a muchas partes y que son aclamados en todo el mundo atestigua la “calidad” de la capoeira practicada por la agrupación. Aquí, el desplazamiento aparece como recurso positivo que añade legitimidad a personas y colectivos.

El *Muzenza*, siguiendo los patrones de gestión, estéticos, motrices y administrativos de las grandes agrupaciones fluminenses, se transformaría en una potencia nacional e internacional de la capoeira²⁰. El efecto de la llegada de estos grupos al Nordeste fue análogo a lo que pasó también con la capoeira de la Zona Norte de *Río de Janeiro*: los colectivos más “tradicionales” fueron progresivamente perdiendo alumnos a favor de esas “grandes agrupaciones”. En este contexto, *Villar* dejó su antiguo grupo y pasó a integrar el *Muzenza*, manteniéndose en el grupo por once años.

La experiencia en el *Muzenza* abrió a *Villar* las posibilidades de vivir de la capoeira. Como ocurre con la totalidad de los capoeiristas brasileños entrevistados, la vida profesional del *Mestre* en Brasil estuvo marcada por una infinidad de ocupaciones que van desde el trabajo rural en la hacienda ganadera, a la venta de seguros de vida, pasando por la representación de productos farmacéuticos y de piezas de automóvil. La buena condición económica familiar, sin embargo, le garantizaría el acceso a los estudios universitarios, al curso de Educación Física que ya en los ochenta empezó a enunciarse en Brasil como una manera de oficializar el grado de profesor de capoeira²¹. El proceso de traslado a Europa ocurrió gracias a una invitación de *Mestre Nininho*, establecido en Lisboa (Portugal) y que pagó el viaje de *Villar* para que dictara cursos en un evento internacional:

“Yo formaba parte del *Muzenza* en Aracajú y el *Mestre Nininho*, de Portugal, me invitó para [ir a] Portugal. Fui a un evento internacional en 1997, en Portugal, y de allí hacia Coimbra donde conocí las universidades. Me quedé en Coimbra y me gustó mucho, ¿lo entiendes? Empecé a estudiar, practicar capoeira y dar clases de capoeira. Pasé tres años allá. Y luego, de allá, me fui para Austria. Pasé dos años más en Austria y un año en Alemania”. (*Mestre Villar*, Majadahonda, febrero/2008).

²⁰ Según los datos divulgados en la página oficial de la agrupación en Internet (Muzenza Europe 2010), el *Muzenza* estaría presente en 25 estados brasileños y en un total de 23 países. En Europa, el grupo tiene sedes en España (Vigo, León, Segovia), Portugal e Inglaterra.

²¹ En 1998, el Gobierno brasileño aprobó un proyecto de Ley (9696/98) que daba a los Consejos Federales y Regionales de Educación Física la potestad de regular cualquier actividad motriz que se pudiera clasificar como “educadora del cuerpo”. Nacionalmente, los maestros de capoeira se opusieron a la regulación, alegando que se trataba de un mecanismo recaudatorio perverso que impediría a la gran mayoría de los *mestres*, provenientes de sectores populares y sin acceso a la educación formal, trabajar en la enseñanza del arte. La cuestión reabrió un viejo debate sobre la apropiación de los conocimientos populares por las élites nacionales, lo que se transformó en tema de muchas canciones de capoeira.

La invitación a los cursos es lo que le posibilitó a Villar tener los costes de los pasajes cubiertos y la entrada inicial en la red de los capoeiristas europeos. Si en el inicio de los años 90 el principal acceso de los capoeiristas para cruzar el atlántico en dirección a Europa era un contrato de gira como artista de shows (Assunção 2005), a partir de la segunda mitad de esta misma década, el establecimiento de los grupos y la institucionalización de las clases y eventos (y la acumulación económica que ellos facilitan) permitirían que los capoeiristas tuvieran su migración financiada por las mismas agrupaciones y vinculada exclusivamente a un sistema de intercambio comercial y de apoyos con los *Mestres*, *contramestres* y profesores que financiaban estos viajes. Aquí, la red migratoria se va especializando en la profesionalización del capoeirista como profesor, y no únicamente como artista de espectáculos.

En Portugal, *Mestre Villar* resolvió establecerse en Coimbra, fundando una de las primeras sedes del *Grupo Muzenza* en el país –al mismo tiempo en que otros capoeiristas del colectivo se establecieron en ciudades portuguesas y españolas. El contacto con estos miembros del *Muzenza* le permitió una intensa circulación por la península Ibérica, proveyéndole los primeros lazos y redes en España. Como observamos en la historia de vida de muchos otros capoeiristas que llegaron a Europa por Portugal, Villar abandonó las tierras lusitanas tras tres años, para intentar establecerse en Austria (donde estuvo por dos años), y yéndose en seguida a Alemania (donde permaneció por otro año más). Los dos últimos intentos fueron frustrados, entre otras cosas, por las fronteras sociales con las que un brasileño *moreno*²² se encuentra en los países del norte europeo:

“En Alemania, sucedió que en un bar en el que estaba sentado con una amiga, tomando una cerveza se levantaron, más o menos, unas tres personas y me tiraron la cerveza en la cara. Tiraron la cerveza en mi cara y yo les pregunté qué estaba pasando. Uno de ellos, en alemán, me dijo: ‘porque tú eres negro’. Y yo le contesté: ‘muchas gracias, pero no puedo quedarme blanco. Y si yo pudiera

²² Menos eufemístico que nosotros, Villar asumiría su condición de “moreno” como una filiación a la condición de ser “negro”: “Yo soy negro, ¿no? En Brasil se dice moreno. Mi madre es indígena, ¿lo entiendes? Mi madre viene de una tradición indígena de Quirirís, Pataxós. Mi padre viene de holandeses y españoles. Yo vengo de esta cosa. Mi familia no es de una raza de africanos, viene de una raza indígena. Pero eso no quiere decir, el que yo sea mulato, que yo no sea negro. Entonces en Brasil hay blanco, negro, mameluco y estas cosas. Pero yo creo que quien es moreno, es negro; quien es de color oscura, es negro; quien es mulato es negro; y quien es negro, es negro. (...) Para mí, el color no importa: sea blanco, negro, rojo, amarillo, yo los llevo de la misma manera y soy feliz como soy”. (Villar, Majadahonda, febrero/2008).

quedarme blanco, no lo querría. Con su permiso, que estamos tomando una cerveza²³. Entonces él me dio un puñetazo, que si me hubiese alcanzado, me hubiera arrancado la cabeza. Y entonces aquello se convirtió en una gran confusión, porque yo salí peleándome con los tres. Yo estaba desesperado, porque [el bar] solamente tenía una salida, y yo tenía que salir por esa salida y ellos la estaban bloqueando (...). En aquél momento, yo usé la capoeira y la silla, al mismo tiempo. (...) Mi suerte fue que la policía llegara y los dueños del bar y toda la gente estuvieron en contra de ellos y la policía los arrestó y yo tuve que irme a mi casa". (Villar, Majadahonda, febrero/2008).

En 2002, apoyándose en los contactos establecidos en España con los capoeiristas del *Muzenza*, Villar se fue a Madrid. Allí, fundaría su propio grupo, *Abalou Capoeira*, al que se sumaron algunos de los alumnos que el maestro formó en su antigua agrupación. La red del *Abalou* en Europa, no obstante, no pudo valerse simplemente de los contactos en Brasil. Villar prefirió contar con la gente a quien "educó" o "ayudó a educar" en la capoeira y con los alumnos europeos (formados por otros maestros) y descontentos con la filosofía de la agrupación de la que provenían²³. A estos discípulos, el *Mestre* ofreció relaciones más horizontales y, como él mismo las comprende, "más democráticas". Aquí, la red del grupo tiene al maestro fundador en el territorio de origen del grupo, pero este territorio es Madrid, y no Aracajú, ciudad brasileña de donde viene el maestro.

La estrategia de reclutar capoeiristas entre las redes de origen se viene mostrando cada vez menos acertada porque difícilmente se puede confiar en el mantenimiento de las obligaciones de dar, recibir y retribuir con capoeiristas que no integran las redes de reciprocidad cercanas. El vínculo lejano con estos capoeiristas traídos de Brasil puede culminar en situaciones conflictivas y delicadas:

"Yo siempre traigo alguien que es muy amigo mío. (...) A veces no conozco al tipo directamente y lo traigo y... Yo traje una persona que me engañó, venía del *Rio Grande do Sul* (...). Se quedó en mi casa, y encima me robó muchísimo dinero. Hizo un Bautizo mentiroso, sin mi autorización. Yo estaba organizando

²³ En 2008, el *Abalou Capoeira* contaba con los siguientes líderes en Europa: profesor *Kula*, portugués, impartía clases en Madrid (España); profesor *Álvaro*, español, impartía clases en Soria (España); monitor *Paco*, español, impartía clases en Getafe (España); profesor *Besouro*, portugués, impartía clases en Goteborg (Suecia); profesor *Pirata*, portugués, impartía clases en Coimbra (Portugal).

un curso con *Mestre Batata* y él dijo a los alumnos que este curso sería un Bautizado y les cobró 250 euros por alumno y eran 44 alumnos. Además de los pantalones y camisas de capoeira que él vendió y prometió dar en el día del evento. El curso costaba 30 euros y él cobró 250, más los 70 euros del pantalón, por alumno...unos 320 euros por alumno. Imagínate, 44 alumnos pagando 320 euros. Y él se cogió el dinero y se fugó. Y los alumnos vinieron al curso. Él también había pedido dinero prestado a unos alumnos: 500, 800 euros, más o menos. Robó mucho dinero, unos 18 mil euros, más o menos, cosa que tuve que pagar aquí y en la policía, porque yo era el responsable del grupo. Una madre [de un alumno] hizo la denuncia en la policía y yo tuve que pagar, sin saber el porqué. (...) Porque eso realmente me arruinó (...). Tardé dos años en limpiar el nombre del grupo en esta zona de la ciudad donde él daba clases, para limpiar el nombre con los alumnos. (...) Y ahora me da miedo traer gente [de Brasil], yo tengo miedo. Porque puede perjudicar el nombre del grupo, puede perjudicar mi nombre, puede perjudicar el nombre de la capoeira, ¿comprendes?". (*Mestre Villar*, Majadahonda, febrero/2008).

En el relato, encontramos nuevas dimensiones de la expansión de la red de capoeiristas en Europa que implican un cambio sustantivo en la manera como la capoeira se organiza internacionalmente. La primera de ellas se refiere a que que el maestro confíe más en los alumnos formados por él en Europa que en los capoeiristas brasileños. Esto nos permite inferir que el sentido de expansión de los grupos como el *Abalou*, que no cuentan con el maestro fundador enseñando la capoeira a nuevos discípulos en Brasil, funciona siempre a partir de la formación de líderes europeos. A su vez, esta condición se vincula al hecho de que la relación de confianza entre maestro y discípulo tiende a ser más fuerte en la capoeira de estos grupos que la designación identitario-nacionalista que venía definiendo como axiomático el liderazgo de los brasileños en la capoeira internacional.

El propio maestro asume que hay una diferencia de potencialidad de adaptación entre brasileños y nativos que se refiere a que estos últimos ya están insertos en la sociedad de acogida ("*tienen más adaptación, tienen más conocimientos sobre las leyes, tienen más conocimiento sobre cómo abrir una asociación que un brasileño recién llegado*"). Este conjunto de conocimientos sobre cómo moverse en las redes sociales locales del que disfrutan los chicos "de aquí", permite que logren adaptar el grupo más rápidamente: una economía de tiempo y capital que no ocurrirá con el brasileño recién llegado, a quien le



Foto 7. Vestirse la camisa. Capoeiristas españoles en Madrid, vistiendo la camisa en cuya espalda se lee “Eu pratico capoeira” (en portugués). Agosto de 2009. Fotografía: Menara Lube Guizardi.

cabrá aprender el idioma, las costumbres, los códigos de conducta y los mecanismos legales-burocráticos a seguir. El conocimiento de los “mecanismos legales-burocráticos” es un eufemismo que engloba, entre otras cosas, la condición de indocumentación de los inmigrantes brasileños, una barrera que los nativos no necesitan vencer. La utilización de jóvenes europeos en las funciones de liderazgo es una estrategia que permite driblar más rápidamente (y con menos costes) las resistencias normalmente encontradas en el proceso de expansión de las redes locales.

3.3 Ypiranga de Pastinha

La llegada del grupo *Ypiranga de Pastinha* a Madrid en 2003 fue inusitada. En primer lugar, porque los dos grupos que vimos hasta aquí se vinculaban al estilo denominado *Capoeira Regional* o a la versión contemporánea (“actual”) de dicho estilo. Como planteamos anteriormente (Guizardi 2011c), además de los usos identitario-nacionalistas que el Estado brasileño dio a la capoeira, es justamente el trasfondo migratorio, la asociación de la práctica a un producto artístico-cultural y la experiencia de penetración social junto a las clases ricas de la sociedad brasileña, lo que potenció la acumulación de experiencias

sociales que permitieron a los capoeiristas emprender su movimiento migratorio hacia Europa y Norteamérica. Todas estas características, sin embargo, estuvieron predominantemente vinculadas a la *Capoeira Regional* y a la *Contemporánea*, lo que en gran medida nos ayuda a comprender porque, de los 21 agrupamientos que encontramos en Madrid, tan solamente dos se auto-vinculaban al estilo conocido como *Capoeira Angola*. El *Grupo de Capoeira Ypiranga de Pastinha* es uno de estos dos²⁴.

En general, podemos decir que la expansión de los grupos de *Capoeira Angola* a Europa es uno de los efectos del proceso de institucionalización de la enseñanza del arte al continente. Como mencionábamos con el caso de *Mestre Villar*, en la medida que los capoeiristas implicados inicialmente con el mundo del espectáculo implementaron la dinámica de las agrupaciones en países como España y Portugal, la organización de eventos, bautizos y ceremonias de capoeira en dichos países inauguró nuevos flujos y contactos con Brasil y tuvo como efecto activar la migración de capoeiristas que llegaron a Europa sin pasar necesariamente por el circuito de los shows de capoeira.

La continuidad de la actividad de los grupos, no obstante, generó otros vínculos más. Los primeros alumnos españoles formados por los primeros grupos que llegaron a Madrid en 1990 (la *Associação de Capoeira Descendentes de Pantera* y el *Abadá Capoeira*) estuvieran tan “enganchados” a la práctica, al punto de ahorrarse el dinero necesario para irse de viaje a Brasil a conocer los “verdaderos raíces” del arte.

Dos de estos alumnos españoles de la primera generación de capoeiristas madrileños, *Susana* y *Rodrigo*, viajando por Brasil “descubrieron” la existencia de una “capoeira tradicional” muy poco divulgada en España. Una capoeira que era considerada por los propios brasileños como más cercana a los “orígenes” africanos del arte:

“Hubo una cuestión cuando ellos conocieron la *Capoeira Angola*, porque hay muchas personas aquí [en Europa] que no conocen la *Capoeira Angola*,

²⁴ El nombre del grupo hace alusión al club de fútbol “Ypiranga”, del que era seguidor *Vicente Ferreira Pastinha*, conocido como *Mestre Pastinha*. *Pastinha* es una de las figuras claves que, en el proceso de modernización y nacionalización de la capoeira en Brasil (primera mitad del siglo XX), fue responsable por la centralización de la *Capoeira Angola*. El estilo mantuvo el sistema tradicional de enseñanza basado en el contacto personal entre *mestre* y *discípulo*. Estéticamente, preservó un patrón de juego más cercano al suelo, menos abierto a las innovaciones provenientes de los artes marciales, pero más fiel a la puesta en escena de la *malicia* que históricamente caracterizó a la capoeira.

¿sabes? Y hay mucha gente que no sabe cómo ella es. Por ejemplo, hay muchos maestros de *Capoeira Regional* diciendo que hace las dos [capoeiras]. Entonces eso es una mentira. Es triste, pero es mentira ¡Ellos están engañando a las personas, y mucho! Aquí en Madrid hay varios. La *Capoeira Angola* es muy tradicional. La filosofía es muy profunda, es una forma de vivir también. Entonces ellos [Suzana y Rodrigo], me invitaron a venir para acá, para Madrid. Ellos ya entrenaban la *Capoeira Regional* (...). Y luego, cuando ellos fueron a Brasil, conocieron la *Capoeira Angola*, participaron del grupo, les gustó y me invitaron a venir para acá, a Madrid.” (*Dirceu de Angola*, Madrid, marzo/2008).

Fascinados con el descubrimiento de la *Capoeira Angola*, *Susana* y *Rodrigo* conocieron al *Contramestre Dirceu de Angola*, alumno de *Mestre Manoel* – líder comunitario que coordinaba un proyecto social vinculado a la capoeira en la *Favela da Maré*, en *Río de Janeiro*. El encuentro con *Dirceu* se dio en otro proyecto social del que este participaba con compañeros *angoleiros* (*Kike* y *Renato*) en el barrio de *Catete* (Zona Sur de *Río*). La aparición de la *Capoeira Angola* en áreas ricas de la ciudad, asociada a proyectos financiados por la administración pública, permitió que los líderes de este estilo de capoeira pudiesen tener un espacio de interfaz con turistas extranjeros²⁵.

El contacto con los programas sociales les abrió a los capoeiristas españoles la perspectiva de una capoeira que se planteaba como una resistencia de afro-descendentes al sistema racial explotador disimulado por el discurso de la democracia racial en Brasil. Una capoeira muy diferente de la que habían podido conocer en sus países de origen, donde el arte se había revestido de deportividad y comercio.

Aún estando en *Río*, los chicos invitaron a *Dirceu* a llevar a Madrid esta otra vertiente de la capoeira. Aquí, son los propios alumnos españoles los que organizaron la red migratoria. Son ellos quienes agenciaron los recursos para financiar el desplazamiento del profesor brasileño y le dieron cobijo durante un tiempo hasta que él pudiera vivir de las clases impartidas. Los alumnos también se implicarían de lleno en las actividades del grupo: buscarían espacio para las clases, montarían la página de Internet, organizarían los eventos, buscarían nuevos discípulos. Así, la red del grupo tendría características

²⁵ En aquellos años, los turistas difícilmente podrían tener conocimiento de los programas sociales como el de *Mestre Manoel*, situados en zonas pobres de la ciudad donde uno solamente puede circular si cuenta con los debidos contactos en la comunidad local.

diferentes de aquellas que hemos visto hasta aquí. Centrados en los aspectos filosóficos de la capoeira, líderes y discípulos no estarían excesivamente preocupados con la expansión de las actividades de la agrupación. El establecimiento de redes de intercambio con otros colectivos no se planteó para ellos como un imperativo. No se establecerían lazos de reciprocidad con grupos de *Regional* o *Contemporánea*, lo que en gran medida tiene que ver con la propia diferencia entre las visiones de unos y otros sobre la práctica, las costumbres, la transmisión del conocimiento en la capoeira, y la disputa por la “autenticidad” de estos estilos:

“Entonces, para nosotros, es como si fuéramos los predicadores de la *Capoeira Angola*, que la vamos expandiendo sin perder la tradición, sin perder la filosofía. Cada una de las personas que realmente se interesan por entrenar la *Capoeira Angola*, por investigar, estudiar... Porque no es solamente llegar y leer, investigar sobre la *Capoeira Angola*, hay muchos mestres vivos a los que puedes buscar para entender, ¿no?”. (*Contramestre Dirceu de Angola*, Madrid, marzo/2008).

Como nos explicó *Dirceu de Angola*, la agrupación funcionaría en Madrid con un núcleo fijo de aproximadamente 25 seguidores que trabajarían colectivamente para mantener las actividades ofrecidas. Ese mismo modelo de expansión, movido por los propios jóvenes europeos, fue lo que llevó el *grupo* a Francia. En este último país, sin embargo, el líder es un joven francés que estuvo viviendo en Río y trabajando con *Mestre Manoel* en la *Favela da Maré*. Una vez por año, la agrupación francesa recauda los fondos necesarios para traer al maestro de Brasil. Estas giras del *Mestre* incluyen también el paso por Madrid y para ello hay una especie de donación económica de los alumnos con el fin de completar los gastos del viaje y el alquiler del espacio donde el maestro dará sus charlas, clases y ruedas. En una de estas visitas del *Mestre Manoel* a Madrid (junio/ 2008), pudimos acompañar los coloquios que protagonizó en un centro cultural.

El *mestre* habló de la importancia de la participación de los alumnos europeos en la elaboración de los proyectos en la *Favela da Maré*. Les comentó sobre la carencia de recursos pero, sobre todo, hizo hincapié en que lo más importante no era el dinero, sino el conocimiento sobre “cómo hacer las cosas”. Así, animó a los españoles a contribuir escribiendo proyectos que les ayudaran a recaudar fondos para la educación de niños y niñas. Como constatamos,

la experiencia del *Ypiranga de Pastinha* va involucrando a los jóvenes europeos en una cierta transferencia de *Know How*, lo que nos lleva a una nueva dimensión del impacto transnacional de la expansión de la capoeira en las comunidades marginadas de ciudades como Río. Como explicó *Mestre Manoel*, mucho de lo que habían realizado en los últimos años, contó con la financiación conseguida en Francia por sus alumnos. Financiación que les había permitido mantener las clases de música y bailes afro a los chicos y chicas de la *favela*, montar una orquesta de percusiones con estos aprendices, pintar el espacio donde realizan sus actividades y grabar un DVD registrando el impacto de estas acciones en la comunidad.

Consecuentemente, encontramos que el *Ypiranga de Pastinha* se estructuró como una red endogámica, cuyo centro se ubica en Brasil (en Río), en una localidad específicamente fijada en los “márgenes” de la ciudad. El territorio simbólico en que los miembros del *Ypiranga* proyectan su “origen” es la *Favela da Maré*, locus que sigue plenamente asociado a la centralidad de *Mestre Manoel*. Del otro lado del Atlántico, el grupo funciona compartiendo recursos y bienes entre París y Madrid. En relación a las demás agrupaciones de Madrid o del resto de España, la condición es, básicamente, de no cooperación²⁶.

4 Consideraciones finales

Nos gustaría establecer seis cuestiones centrales en relación a la construcción de las redes de los grupos de capoeira en Madrid, contrastando las historias contadas en el apartado anterior, con las categorías y contextos debatidos en las secciones 1 y 2.

La primera se refiere a que constatamos, a partir de las narraciones, que los grupos de capoeira actúan como un “agregado de recursos reales o potenciales que están vinculados a la posesión de una red duradera de relaciones, más o menos institucionalizadas, de conocimiento mutuo y reconocimiento” (Bourdieu *apud* Portes 2000b:45). Cada capoeirista emigrado estará conectado, a través de su agrupación en Brasil, a otros capoeiristas, a quienes efectivamente irá a reclutar: “ayudándoles” en su proceso de adaptación,

²⁶ Este conflicto entre los “estilos” de capoeira es una de las delimitaciones simbólicas que ayudan a designar el sentido de los apoyos entre los grupos y entre los capoeiristas. Hay un sentimiento mutuo de que la amistad entre *angoleiros* y *capoeiristas contemporáneos* solamente se puede dar de forma puntual y limitada.

transmitiéndole los conocimientos que permitirán maximizar los recursos del grupo y facilitando la “integración” del nuevo migrante en Madrid.

Esto queda claro en el caso de *Sabiá* y sus compañeros del *Zambiaongo*; pero también en el caso de *Villar*. Sus discursos relatan cómo sus migraciones están integradas a redes pre-existentes, al paso que ellos también actúan como puntos de articulación de nuevas redes migrantes. Y como explica *Villar*, la confianza establecida con el capoeirista que se trae de Brasil está conformada por las redes sociales de la capoeira, por las vinculaciones grupales y por las obligaciones recíprocas en relación a los maestros de origen. Los chicos del *Zambiaongo*, en la medida que tienen su gran maestro en Brasil, no reclutan directamente nuevos migrantes. El maestro lo hace, garantizando el compromiso del capoeirista con la agrupación, y reforzando el grupo como *capital social transnacional*. *Villar* no cuenta con esta posibilidad, y la solución encontrada fue la de reclutar discípulos europeos formados por él. Esto denota la importancia de los acuerdos entre el maestro y sus discípulos para el mantenimiento del principio de solidaridad de la red.

En segundo lugar, y tomando como referencia Besserer (1999), Portes (2000) y Rouse (1989), los grupos como *capital social migrante* son “una realidad en proceso”, y no un contenido estático. Las relaciones de reciprocidad son construidas y adaptadas simultáneamente a los desplazamientos y al proceso de “ganarse territorios”. No hay ni alianzas eternas ni conflictos permanentes. Hay, más bien, adaptaciones que van siendo negociadas lo que implica, paralelamente, una movilidad de los capoeiristas entre diferentes localidades como parte de un proceso de negociar alianzas, fortalecer los grupos aliados en sus eventos y blindar, a la vez, la permanencia del grupo en nuevas localidades. Esto hace que los capoeiristas mantengan contacto con otros capoeiristas y grupos en otras ciudades de España, pero también en países de Europa, y fundamentalmente, que mantengan lazos estratégicos con los colectivos en Brasil.

En tercer lugar, los grupos y asociaciones de capoeira en Europa en el contexto específico de nuestro estudio en Madrid son un ejemplo muy claro de economía migrante que se constituye a partir del principio de *autenticidad* y de promoción de la capoeira como “cultura afro-brasileña”. En las historias de los tres, su capacidad de “ganarse territorios” se cruza con la enunciación de la capoeira como un producto “cultural auténtico”, que seduce y convence a los jóvenes europeos de su “exotismo”.

Así, si *Sabiá* ya llegó a Europa integrándose en los circuitos de artistas de “cultura brasileña”, *Villar* va a recurrir a su propia historia de vida, a su auto-identificación como afro-brasileño (como negro), como mecanismos de validación de su autenticidad. Ambos usarán el discurso de la autenticidad del Nordeste brasileño como locus específico de condensación de la sociedad esclavista, y por ende, de la cultura africana. Su manera de enunciarse a los alumnos recurre frecuentemente a su auto-identificación como nordestinos (el uno *bahiano*, el otro *sergipano*).

Para *Dirceu*, su autenticidad reposa en el principio de que la *Capoeira Angola* sería una práctica más fiel a las tradiciones afro-brasileñas que la *Capoeira Regional*, practicada por la gran mayoría de los profesores y maestros brasileños en Madrid. Aquí, el discurso de autenticidad recurre claramente a la etnificación de la *Capoeira Angola*, una disputa que, no obstante, se traslada desde Brasil a Madrid.

En cuarto lugar, este principio de autenticidad no se enuncia según los principios de cierre o clausura étnica que los autores han relevado en los emprendimientos migrantes en diferentes lugares del mundo. Los servicios ofrecidos por los capoeiristas en sus grupos, así como los productos por ellos vendidos, están destinados a un público mayoritariamente europeo, en barrios muy variados de la ciudad (véase Guizardi 2012b), y no solamente en localidades consideradas “enclaves migrantes”.

Aquí la paradoja es interesante. En cuanto capital social, los agrupamientos pueden articular redes migrantes en la medida que los discípulos van ascendiendo en la jerarquía grupal y teniendo la obligación de captar territorios para el grupo, lo que implica migrar hacia otra ciudad y/o país. Pero para hacerlo es necesario socializar los discípulos locales a las redes de reciprocidad del grupo. En Madrid, los capoeiristas han tenido que socializar a un público de españoles. Esto se debe no solamente al hecho de que la migración de brasileños a la ciudad no fue muy relevante numéricamente hasta 2005, limitando el número de brasileños potenciales “consumidores” de los servicios y productos de los grupos de capoeira. Se refiere a que los migrantes, generalmente, no pueden “contribuir económicamente” con el funcionamiento de los grupos. La capoeira como red en Madrid depende de la acumulación económica proporcionada por el pago de las clases, de los cursos, viajes, productos y talleres vendidos o proporcionados por los líderes brasileños. A ello se debe, también, que la

socialización con los autóctonos tenga una función central en la reproducción social de los colectivos.

Mientras van socializando a los jóvenes españoles a la capoeira, usando estrategias de expresión y negociación de su propia “autenticidad brasileña”, los capoeiristas van vaciando esta misma autenticidad. Es decir: una vez socializados a la capoeira, una vez que aprenden a hablar portugués, una vez capaces de moverse en la rueda “como brasileños”, y una vez que asumen la responsabilidad de dar clases y ganarse territorios, los españoles pasan a ser legítimos transmisores del legado de los maestros. La autenticidad de la capoeira que antes reposaba en la vinculación a la nacionalidad brasileña, se pulveriza debido a la propia operación particular de los grupos en cuanto capital social.

Esto no ocurre sin conflictos. Las primeras generaciones de españoles “graduados” (con un nivel elevado en la jerarquía de sus grupos), han enfrentado doblemente la presión, por parte de sus profesores brasileños, por dar clases y por expandir las redes grupales; y su recelo por el hecho de estar construyendo sus propios territorios de la capoeira. Muchos españoles han decidido romper con sus grupos brasileños y fundar sus propias agrupaciones de capoeira brasileña en Madrid. En nuestro trabajo de campo, identificamos cuatro grupos fundados por españoles.

En lo que se refiere a las categorías de estudio de los emprendimientos migrantes como “economía étnica”, observamos que las redes de capoeira echan mano de la autenticidad de la capoeira –de su supuesta identidad etnificada o etnificante. Sin embargo, la lógica de sociabilidad de la red, reproductora de un discurso de inclusividad del otro (en este caso, el otro europeo, lo que no deja de ser una interesante inversión compensatoria), va rompiendo las posibilidades del cierre del grupo de capoeira sobre el colectivo migrante. Aquí, el imperativo de “inclusión abarcadora” –estructurante del principio de identidad nacional brasileña– se asume como *ethos* societario, permitiendo el mantenimiento económico de los agrupamientos (haciendo legítimo el consumo de sus productos y servicios por parte de españoles), a la vez que disuelve la especificidad cultural del migrante brasileño como “proveedor de la capoeira”.

Esto queda muy claro ya en la trayectoria migrante de *Dirceu*: fueron los alumnos españoles quienes migraron a Brasil, y son ellos quienes organizan la red del grupo en Europa. Aquí el migrante entra consolidando la autenticidad del grupo, pero los recursos están, en realidad, controlados por los autóctonos. En el caso de *Villar*, si bien el maestro mantiene su papel como

articulador de las redes, son los discípulos europeos los responsables por consolidar la expansión de la agrupación y la socialización de nuevos adeptos. Los recursos de la red son controlados por el maestro, pero su activación depende de la participación autóctona o nativa.

En quinto lugar, observamos un mecanismo fundamental de negociación de la asignación étnico-racial de los capoeiristas. Si en el marco de sus grupos, su condición de afro-descendientes (y en los tres ejemplos que dimos los capoeiristas se entienden así) es un elemento de empoderamiento, de autenticidad; en el marco de las relaciones sociales más amplias la figura es otra. Como en el caso contado por Villar en Alemania, los capoeiristas están expuestos a los sistemas de clasificación étnicos-raciales que designan espacios periféricos a los migrantes del sur en el norte global. Sin embargo, en el interior de las redes grupales de la capoeira, se opera un sistema de inversiones en que “cuanto más afro, mejor”. Los estudiantes confían en la autenticidad de sus maestros en la medida que los identifican como negros o afro-descendientes. En el universo específico de las agrupaciones en Madrid, la asignación étnico-racial vinculada a los orígenes afro-brasileños es uno de los factores *sine qua non* de legitimidad, que permite a los sujetos estar en la cima de la jerarquía grupal. Aquí, la capoeira construye en Europa una clasificación étnico-racial que invierte los marcadores socialmente hegemónicos. O, como dicen los mismos capoeiristas: “el mundo patas arriba”.

Finalmente en sexto lugar, en lo que se refiere a Madrid, las asociaciones de capoeira también son un ejemplo atípico de “economía transnacional”, si lo comparamos con los demás emprendimientos llevados a cabo por connacionales. Esto porque sus líderes son figuras masculinas, contrastando con la generalización del emprendimiento regentado por mujeres como un rasgo de los negocios de la migración brasileña en la ciudad. Como discutimos anteriormente (Guizardi 2013a), las mujeres brasileñas en la capital española son generalmente las pioneras en abrir y administrar negocios. Los pequeños emprendimientos regentados por ellas constituyen los espacios de ocio donde uno puede encontrar una referencia simbólica, emocional, lingüística y personal sobre Brasil. Es por estos motivos que las mujeres se han convertido en puntos nodales a partir de los cuales las redes sociales de la migración brasileña se van tejiendo. Los grupos de capoeira serían así, el único nicho de emprendimiento brasileño en Madrid protagonizado por los hombres.

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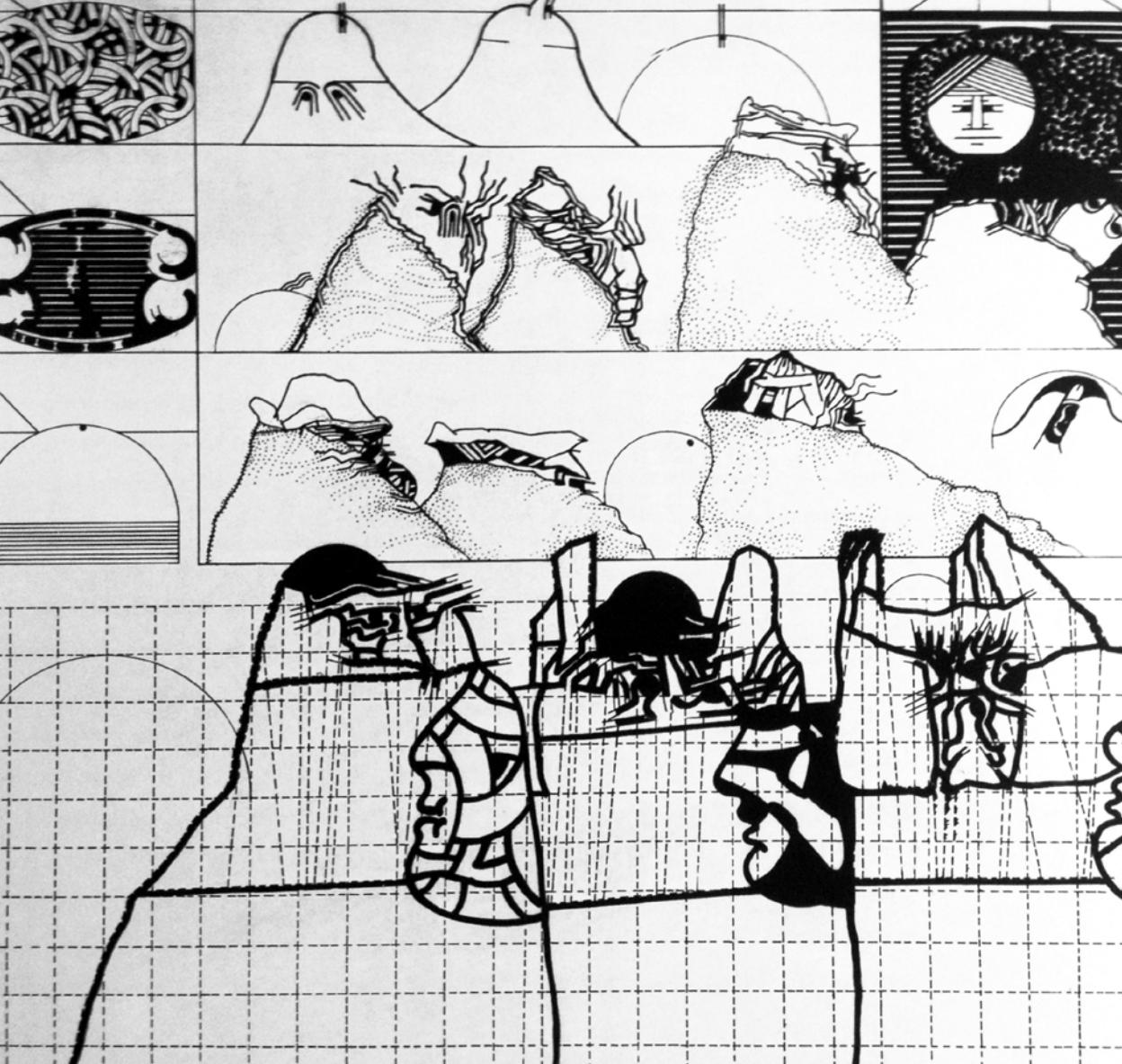
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PART 3

Deconstructing Exile

Portuguese writers and scientists exiled in Brazil

Exclusion, cosmopolitanism and particularism (1945-1974)

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Abstract

This article analyses the relationship and tensions between cosmopolitanism and particularism in the way in which the subject of *exile* is broached in the life stories, works and ideas of the Portuguese writers Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and Vitor Ramos, and scientists António Aniceto Monteiro, António Brotas, Alfredo Pereira Gomes, José Morgado and Ruy Luis Gomes, who lived in Brazil between 1945 and 1974. The careers and experiences of these individuals were characterised by a way of relating to the world marked by continuous *exclusion* from the centres of hegemonic power, as well as by the establishment of connections and networks of varying degrees. In this sense, this article also focuses on the personal and collective trajectories of the characters and how it is related to the boundaries of belonging that they established during their lives.

Keywords: Exile; Cosmopolitanism; National Identity; Writers. Scientists; Portuguese.

Resumo

Este artigo analisa as relações entre cosmopolitismo e particularismos na abordagem da temática do exílio presente nas trajetórias, obras e discursos de escritores (Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena e Vitor Ramos) e cientistas (António Aniceto Monteiro, António Brotas, Alfredo Pereira Gomes, José Morgado e Ruy Luis Gomes) portugueses radicados no Brasil entre 1945

e 1974. A circulação internacional de cientistas e escritores portugueses, exilados durante a vigência do Estado Novo em Portugal, contou com o apoio de redes profissionais, de amizade, de parentesco ou de filiação ideológica no campo da oposição, mas foi também resultado de formas de expulsão do país de origem e de impedimentos à atuação, tanto em Portugal quanto no estrangeiro. Neste sentido, este texto também foca as trajetórias pessoais e coletivas dos personagens e como estas teriam relação com as fronteiras de pertencimento que estabeleceram ao longo da vida.

Palavras-chave: Exílio; Cosmopolitismo; Identidade Nacional; Escritores; Cientistas; Portugueses.

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Introduction

This article² analyses the relationship and tensions between cosmopolitanism and particularism in the way in which the subject of *exile* is broached in the life stories, works and ideas of the Portuguese writers Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and Vitor Ramos, and scientists Antonio Aniceto Monteiro, Antonio Brotas, Alfredo Pereira Gomes, José Morgado and Ruy Luis Gomes, who lived in Brazil between 1945 and 1974. The careers and experiences of these individuals were characterised by a way of relating to the world marked by continuous *exclusion* from the centres of hegemonic power, as well as by the establishment of connections and networks of varying degrees. Although the international journeys of these Portuguese scientists and writers, exiled during Portugal's *Estado Novo*, received support from professional networks, as well as from networks of friends, relations and like-minded opposition members, they were motivated by their expulsion from the country of origin (which took a variety of forms) and the obstacles to their working, not only in Portugal, but in other countries as well. The transnational character of these networks stems from the social intercourse

¹ In the original *afastamento*, from *afastar* – to remove or place at a distance. *Afastamento* is used both as the euphemistic term adopted by the Salazar regime when it sacked anti-government teachers or officials – in English the closest equivalent would be ‘suspension’ – and in the broader sense for the feeling of exclusion experienced by the exiles – exclusion from the country of origin and exclusion from integration in the host country. These three types of *afastamento* form a unified theme in the original article, something not possible to transmit in translation. TN

² My thanks go to the anonymous analysts of Vibrant for the suggestions that contributed to the improvement of this article. I am especially grateful to Igor José de Renó Machado for drawing my attention to the “native jewel” in his possession, as well as to Bela Feldman-Bianco, Desirée Lemos de Azevedo and Liliana Lopes Sanjurjo for their partnership, reading and criticism, all of inestimable value.

established in a variety of fields, in a variety of countries (Glick-Schiller, Basch & Blanc-Szanton, 1992).

Thus initially the focus of this article is on the personal and collective experiences of these individuals, and the way in which these are reflected in the concepts of *belonging* that they developed during their lives. I will thus attempt to discuss these concepts as something constructed *in time*, relating to but also departing from the various classifications attributed to them by others or by the individuals themselves. I will also broach the restrictions on the countries to which they could travel in two dimensions: 1) political restrictions, that implied obstacles to their activities, and in the cases discussed took both bureaucratic and symbolic forms; 2) the demarcation of symbolic belonging, in its multiple registers. In my discussion of the symbolic frontiers I will give priority to forms of relative classification: 1) intellectual work (writers, scientists, mathematicians and the *Movimento Matemático*, intellectuals, influence of foreign cultures³); and 2) the condition of migrant (exiled, emigrant, immigrant, settler, diaspora). The article goes on to focus on the thought processes of these individuals and the way in which they narrate their stories, discussing the relationship between migration, exile and cosmopolitanism.

1. Social networks and the restrictions on travel for scientists and writers

1.1 Genesis of the *Movimento Matemático*

During the 1930s and 40s a small but distinguished nucleus of mathematicians graduated abroad with scholarships offered by the *Instituto para a Alta Cultura* (IAC), a body belonging to the then Ministry of National Education, in the Portuguese *Estado Novo*. The exposure to science as practiced in other countries strengthened the perception of how backward Portuguese science was and also how science was *collective work* that depended on infrastructure and investment. The case of the *Bourbaki* group in France, of which the mathematician Antonio Monteiro was a member, provides an excellent example: studies were signed in the name of the group (under the collective

³ The term used is *estrangeirados* – from *estrangeiro*, ‘foreigner’ – meaning individuals influenced, or tainted, by foreign ideas/politics/customs/culture. TN

pseudonym Nicolas Bourbaki) rather than by the individual investigators concerned. In the words of the physicist Manuel Valadares:

Without doubt this collective work of scientific investigation constitutes one of the primary factors behind the high investments in scientific research in recent years (...) When writing the history of contemporary physics, to be fair, attention must be given to the work of all the individuals, not only the one that signed, but all those involved in the group. The former always achieves the fame, but the latter are often no less useful to humanity. (Valadares 1940: 8)

Their activities caused conflict after their return to Portugal, representing as they did a challenge to tradition and a renewal of scientific knowledge, and on an ideological level their rejection of the ruralist, anti-development ideology of the authoritarian *Estado Novo*, with its conservative/traditional bias. The regime, with its nationalism, symbols, rituals and centralist narrative (Geertz, 1983) advocated the protection of the country from modernity, so that Portugal would “live naturally” – “proudly alone” (Neves, 2008).

In the academic world, the term *estrangeirados* (those influenced, or tainted, by foreign cultures) had a double meaning; it could be a symbol of prestige, or used ironically as a criticism; a further expression of the conflicts that the presence of these young researchers created (Perez 1997). This perception, that they constituted an independent group of scientists with a common vision, inspired them to set up the *Núcleo de Matemática, Física e Química* (see annex, Chart 1) with the aim of organising seminars. Although the Nucleus managed to conduct a few sessions, it was short-lived, its demise being due to the burden of academic bureaucracy.

These very hardships strengthened the perception of a group identity, which in turn lead to the foundation of the movement which its members were to call the *Movimento Matemático*. In the three-year period between 1937 and 1940 the movement launched initiatives that included publishing the magazines *Portugaliae Mathematica* (an academic publication) and the *Gazeta de Matemática* (aimed at teaching in schools), as well as founding the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Matemática* (SPM) (see annex, Chart 2).

It was a collective project. And what was interesting about it was (...) that it constituted a cohesive group that acted together, with well defined and pertinent objectives. This was the way to produce something that lasted; in this

case these three vehicles that were parallel and complementary: the *Gazeta de Matemática*, the *Sociedade Portuguesa de Matemática* and the *Portugaliae Mathematica* (...), which I later decided, after April 25th, to rehabilitate; I had innumerable difficulties, but I succeeded. (Alfredo Pereira Gomes)

Other initiatives, under the direction of the mathematician Bento de Jesus Caraça, were the publication of the *Biblioteca Cosmos*, an encyclopaedia, and the revival of the project for the *Universidade Popular Portuguesa* that had been conceived before the regime. Both projects aimed at divulging scientific knowledge to the population in general. Such projects were, clearly, connected with the legacy of Portuguese republicanism, with its defence of the civic commitment of intellectuals to the *fatherland and the people*.

As a result of the work of these scientists, the *Centro de Estudos de Matemática de Lisboa* (CEML), the *Centro de Estudos de Matemática Aplicada à Economia* (CEMAE), also in Lisbon, and the *Centro de Estudo de Matemática do Porto* (CEMP) were all set up at the beginning of the 1940s, institutions that were to provide a solid basis for the studies and graduation of mathematicians. From now on, however, the ties created between the *Movimento Matemático* and other cultural movements (with writers, artists, journalists,

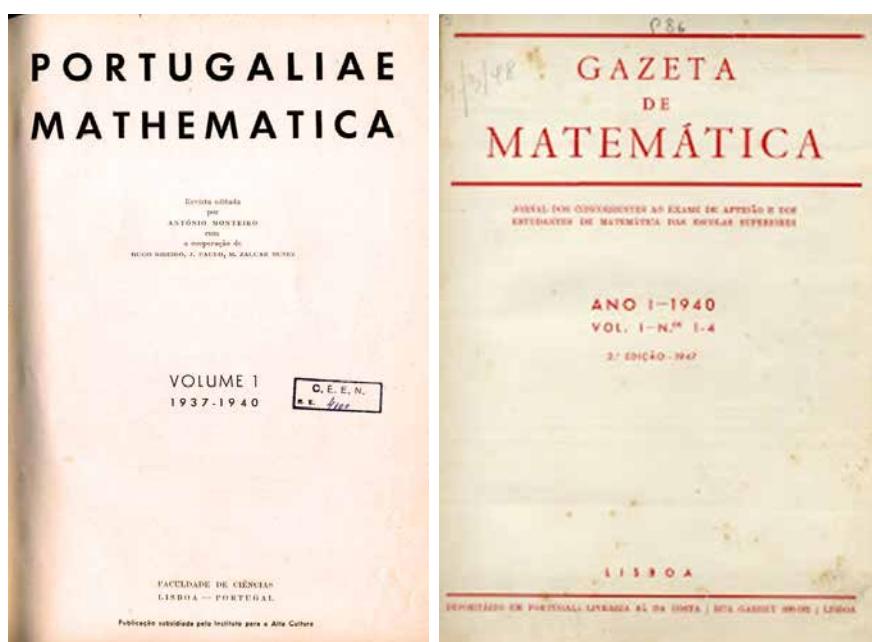


Figure 1. *Portugaliae Mathematica* n.1 *Gazeta de Matemática* n.1

scientists etc.) as well as with the political opposition, meant that its members began to see themselves not just as scientists but also as intellectuals.

The term is frequently used by the communist Bento de Jesus Caraça (Caraça 1970). His influential writings on the relationship between science and humanism, and on the socio-political role of the intellectual, were a theoretical statement of his concerns with human emancipation. Broadly speaking, the *responsibility* fell to intellectuals to find the “means to impose reason and realise justice” in an “integrated fashion” (*op.cit.*: 43). This was the impasse, the crisis to be overcome, for which a politically and pedagogically ethical approach was needed. Thus what Caraça proposed to the intellectual – and here something of his constant concern with the *applicability* of knowledge can be seen – was not just the productions of thoughts that would lead to the erosion of the old order, but also of *solutions* that would bring about a true *integration* of reason and justice. This integration could only occur once existing contradictions between the individual and the collective had been overcome; it would need to be socially constructed, as it was not a product of the natural order. It was a process: “each phase of the struggle is a new step on the path towards unification of the individual with the collective” (*op.cit.*: 43). The intellectual was to participate in this process with his work of construction, at the service of a higher principle: to harmonise opposites so as to achieve a new perception of the whole.

Thus humanism and the commitment to pulling Portugal out of its backwardness became associated with the work of scientists, through innovation and the dissemination of knowledge, as is seen by their frequent employment of words like *task*, *mission* etc., when referring to the activities of the aware scientist, actively engaged in the issues of his day. These concepts, like the projects of the *Movimento Matemático*, represent a rejection of the national ideology of the *Estado Novo* and an approximation to sectors of the opposition, above all the liberal republican fronts and the communists. Connections were established between the fields of social science and politics. In response the regime went on the offensive by cutting financial support to the emerging Study Centres. The movement in turn responded by creating the *Junta de Investigação Matemática* (JIM), a pioneering initiative for Portugal as it was privately funded. At its foundation, Antonio Monteiro described the Junta’s objectives in a radio programme:

Portuguese mathematicians, aware of their responsibilities to the country and to its culture, have decided to come together to perform the duty that is required of them. On October 4th, 1943, a group of Portuguese researchers founded the *Junta de Investigação Matemática* and defined its objectives as follows:

- 1 To promote the development of mathematical research;
- 2 To undertake the mathematical research required by the country's economy;
- 3 To systemise the enquires of Portuguese mathematicians;
- 4 To create ties between the Portuguese *Movimento Matemático* and those of other countries, above all in Latin America;
- 5 To inspire in young Portuguese students *enthusiasm for mathematical inquiry and faith in their creative capacity.* (Monteiro 1944a: 1. Italics mine)

During his speech, as he had done before, he used terms like *duty, responsibility, awareness, mission, task* etc., to refer to the ethical and political commitment of scientists, and expressions like *critical attitude* to refer to the characteristics expected of them. A sense of civic duty is present in his writings, as it is in those of other members of the movement:

Today almost every Portuguese researcher of proven capacity is a member of this *Junta de Investigação Matemática* (...). It is, thus, an organization that represents the vital forces of this culture, one which is a deep awareness of the issues of this time. (*ibid*:1. Italics mine).

Being an investigator is the duty of every citizen who is aware of his responsibilities to society, because being an investigator means adopting a critical attitude, to life and to knowledge, in order to arrive at new conclusions. (Monteiro, 1944b: 1. Italics mine).

Aware that the funding of the JIM may not be renewed, they intensified the contacts previously made with other scientists in various parts of the world – in the United States, France, Switzerland, Brazil and Argentina – making it possible for the *Movimento* to continue its activities. This transnational network of professionals was of key importance when the individuals discussed here came to choose the countries to which they would migrate. Antonio Monteiro was the first to come to Brazil, in 1945, having made the first contacts two years before. In 1947 a large number of scientists were sacked in a series of purges aimed at suppressing organizations of the opposition. Many of these scientists had not even expressed opposition; it is

possible that the list of those to be sacked had come from inside academia, and included the settling of scores (as Alfredo Pereira Gomes stated). Most of the members of the *Movimento Matemático* went abroad. Bento de Jesus Caraça, who died the following year, was one of the few who didn't.

1.2 Writers

Unlike the mathematicians, the writers discussed here – Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and Vitor Ramos – did not belong to a single group like the *Movimento Matemático*; however they did participate in a number of cultural and political initiatives that had some social impact. The paths of the three crossed in exile, more precisely in their joint activities in the *Institutos Isolados de Ensino Superior de São Paulo* (later to become the *Universidade Estadual Paulista/Unesp*), the universities of Assis (Ramos and Sena) and Araraquara (Casais e Sena), and in their political opposition to the Portuguese regime, especially in the pages of the magazine *Portugal Democrático*.

Adolfo Casais Monteiro (1908-1972) belonged to the generation that came after the liberal republicans and the conservative or radical right. He was born on the eve of the foundation of the Republic, and he always admired its democratic and civic values. Throughout his life he was engaged in fostering the cultural life of Portugal, and later of Brazil, as a poet, essayist, literary critic, art critic and teacher. He graduated in Historical Science and Philosophy from the University of Oporto, where from 1928 he ran the magazine *A Águia* ('The Eagle') with Leonardo Coimbra, whose disciple he was, and Sant'Anna Dionísio. The same year he began to collaborate with the magazine whose name, *Presença* was to become inseparably associated with his, and in which his first poetic works appeared: *Confusão* ('Confusion' – 1929), *Poema do Tempo Incerto* ('Poem for an Uncertain Time – 1934) and *Sempre e Sem Fim* ('Forever and Without End – 1937). This was also the period when he published *Correspondência de Família* ('Family Correspondence' – 1933), in collaboration with the Brazilian poet Ribeiro Couto, indicating his already close ties with Brazilian writers.

In 1931 he became a director of *Presença*. His main aim was to transform the magazine into a vehicle of criticism that would become the "voice of a group of students, the only dependable institution for the vanguard of Portuguese arts and letters" (Monteiro 1995: 20). The magazine achieved considerable recognition during almost a decade, above all as a prestigious

medium for the discussion of writers and works of art. Despite the fact that it expressed a virtual consensus in the defence of art as a sincere and individual expression of the artist – which led to it being accused of defending ‘art for art’s sake’ – throughout his life Casais Monteiro insisted on the heterogeneous nature of the thinking of its directors and the magazine’s ‘diversity of spirit’. They were unanimous as to the “pedagogical aspect, which was always a part of its role (...)” (*ibid.*:21), but always open towards a diversity of writers and forms of expression. The magazine reflected “a fundamental duplicity between the unity of its polemics, its critical and pedagogical content, and the tacit recognition of a mutual independence outside these areas” (*ibid.*: 24). Perhaps due to the freedom that he permitted himself to comment openly on culture and politics, Casais Monteiro was ‘suspended’ from teaching activities, despite having held no political post since the 1930s. The regime then forbade the quoting his name, and finally the publishing of his writings, unless a pseudonym was used. Despite this he continued to contribute to a number periodicals and from 1933, while continuing to write poetry, he published books of essays and criticism which made a reputation for him abroad, especially in Brazil, where he was linked to the second generation of modernists.

Jorge de Sena (1919-1978) and Vitor Ramos (1920-1974) belong to a period when *Presença* was no longer the prime vehicle for literary discussion; a time when new forms were emerging, whose neorealist or surrealist poetics opposed aestheticism divorced from social reality and individual truth that were irreducible to forms of subjective expression. Jorge de Sena became famous, above all, as a poet, and Vitor Ramos as a specialist in French literature. Despite belonging to the same generation their paths did not cross in Portugal. But their intense engagement in writing for literary magazines and in issues involving Portuguese literature and culture meant that they frequented very similar circles. As was the case with most of the members of the *Movimento Matemático*, they both witnessed the decline of the republican opposition as an alternative to overthrowing the dictatorship and the reorganization of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), which became the best organised political party of the outlawed opposition. During the post-war period the PCP saw engagement in political and cultural activity as a means of undermining the regime, as well as a way of creating an alternative form of nationalism (Neves, *op. cit.*). Neorealism was one such means, although there were many neorealist writers and artists who were not necessarily communists.

Sena constantly opposed the view that art should be restricted to the service of an ideology, and thus crossed swords with sectors of the communist party and the opposition in general, both in Portugal and in exile. This criticism of an instrumentalist concept, in Sena's case, did not mean that he was not concerned with ethical questions, such as the poet being engaged in the world. Politico-social concerns are a recurring theme in his work, alongside the appropriation of surrealist techniques. There are elements of both neorealism and surrealism in his work, although he maintained his independence from both. He graduated in engineering and practiced the profession in Portugal, although his goal was to dedicate himself entirely to writing. But he found it difficult to earn a living from writing in his native Portugal. His vast output is very diverse, characterised by his interest in the spiritual and artistic creations of humanity. Before he decided to go into exile in Brazil he had already published works of prose, poetry, drama, criticism and essays, as well as translations, and he kept in close touch with literary developments in Portugal, about which he wrote in literary magazines.

Vitor Ramos graduated in Romantic Philology from the Literature Department of the University of Lisbon, in 1950. For many years he worked as a journalist, notably as editor of *France Presse*. Although he tried to maintain a certain degree of autonomy, of the three writers discussed here, Ramos was the closest to the Gramscian figure of the *organic intellectual*. He was a party man who entered the PCP in the 1940s and was a member of the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática Juvenil* (MUD)⁴, where he was actively engaged in opposition to the regime in the student movement, participating in "meetings, speeches, film projections and distributing manifestos" (*ibid.*). In 1947 he was one of the signatories of a manifesto "against the arrest of students and the recent expulsion of a number of professors from the universities, including several mathematicians." After graduating he worked as foreign editor in France, maintaining his contacts in Portugal as international correspondent of the *France Presse* agency, while at the same time continuing his studies at the Sorbonne.

Like the mathematicians, the writers were engaged in both culture and politics, and participated in professional transnational social networks. The formation of close ties with foreign writers, especially Brazilians, was the

⁴ PIDE/DGS file, record for Vitor Ramos

result of collaboration on a number of literary and artistic projects involving the two countries. Finally, as was also the case with the mathematicians, their engagement with the arts and literature, as well as with science, constituted a way of building an alternative nationalism to that of the Portuguese regime.

1.3 Networks, international trips and relations with Brazilian society

The arrival in Brazil of exiles from the Portuguese dictatorship, which came into being in 1926, began the following year with the arrival of the soldier and republican writer João Sarmento Pimentel. Initially he went to Rio de Janeiro, where he took part in the activities of the *Centro Republicano Dr. Afonso Costa*, including the publication of the journal *Portugal Republicano*. Between 1930 and 1945, settled in São Paulo, he edited the *Revista Portuguesa* with Ricardo Severo, which played an important role in bringing intellectuals together, above all Portuguese and Brazilian writers, and promoting mutual knowledge of the modernist literary movement in the two countries. Transnational social networks were invigorated by exchanges of letters between writers, the promotion of publications, invitations to give presentations and to participate in congresses etc..

But it was the creation of the journal *Portugal Democrático* – an initiative of Vitor Ramos with the working class technician and communist Manuel Ferreira Moura, supported from the outset by Sarmento Pimentel and Casais Monteiro – that consolidated the left-wing social networks and transnational political exchanges (Glick-Schiller et. al., 1992). This resulted in the arrival of a number of militants and intellectuals, and in the organisation of an opposition to the regime in exile (Silva 2006). *Portugal Democrático*, the longest lasting periodical of the Portuguese opposition in exile, was the vehicle that re-established the connections between the cultural and political areas and also, to a certain extent, that maintained the ties between the exiles and their country of origin. At the same time the journal was the product and an inseparable part of the *left-wing networks* operating in a number of countries. The establishment of this transnational left meant that the journal could now receive news, visitors and consignments, and that through the activities of its staff and its writers it could participate in political and cultural activities in support of an amnesty for political prisoners, of anti-colonialism and of freedom of expression, assuming a predominantly cosmopolitan role. The journal was published in São Paulo between 1956 and 1976, without ever

being censured. Its collaborators included leading political and cultural figures from Portugal, Brazil and Portugal's African colonies. As a collective enterprise each edition of the journal enjoyed the voluntary collaboration of intellectuals, workers, liberal professionals and artists, of widely differing ideologies. Thus its pages reflected both the diversity of opinion and the conflicts within the opposition to the *Estado Novo* and within the journal itself.

To the names previously mentioned should be added those of Jorge de Sena and of the members of the *Movimento Matemático* who came to Brazil. The arrival in exile of figures like Humberto Delgado, in 1959, highlighted the *Portuguese question* in both the media and the immigrant community. The incorporation of large numbers of members of the Portuguese opposition into a variety of segments of Brazilian society contributed to closer ties between opposition members in exile and universities, publishers, trade unions, political parties and professional and student associations (Silva 2006). After a few years the journal expanded its circulation to other regions of Brazil, to opposition organisations on other continents and even to Portugal.

Alongside this political activity, the foundation and expansion of universities, as well as the establishment of new areas of academic specialization in Brazil, opened the way for the arrival through the professional social networks of a number of foreign writers and scientists, including some from Portugal. However, their engagement in Brazilian society and academic life was limited to a certain degree by bureaucratic and political impediments.

By 1954 Casais Monteiro was facing serious difficulties making a living in Portugal. After being invited to participate in the celebrations for the 4th centenary of the city of São Paulo he ended up staying in Brazil, with support from both Brazilian and Portuguese contacts (Galvão 2002). A similar case was that of Jorge de Sena, who was invited to a congress in Salvador in 1959 (Ribeiro 2002). Victor Ramos arrived with the help of the communist networks, while participating in a Communist Youth Congress in Paris he met his future Brazilian wife, Dulce. He arrived in Brazil in 1953, where he worked as the *France Presse* correspondent until becoming a university professor. During their careers in Brazil, Casais and Sena contributed regularly to literary publications, and to the press in general, while continuing their literary and critical output and thus expanding their network of contacts. However, unlike the majority of the mathematicians, for Casais, Sena and Ramos exile meant the beginning of careers as

researchers and university teachers. They achieved stable employment due to the creation of literature courses in the *Institutos Isolados* in the interior of São Paulo. In Brazil Sena wrote theses that formally qualified him to teach in the area of literature. Ramos completed his doctor's degree in São Paulo. In 1964 he moved from the interior of the state to the University of São Paulo (USP) in the capital. On this occasion he was instrumental in bringing an old friend and party companion to USP, the historian Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho, whose exile also took him from Lisbon to São Paulo via Paris. The military coup of 1964, which established a dictatorship in Brazil, led Sena to leave the country the following year for the United States. Casais Monteiro, in 1972, and Vitor Ramos, in 1974 – one week after April 25th – both died in Brazil (see annex, Chart 3).

Like the writers, the mathematicians could also, to a certain extent, count on a network of support for coming to Brazil and receiving academic posts. However, the arrival of Antonio Monteiro – the first member of the *Movimento Matemático* to arrive in Brazil – was marked by uncertainties, even before he left Portugal. Despite the arrangements made in advance with Brazilian mathematicians and physicists, and with Anísio Teixeira, bureaucratic issues delayed his departure: "...after telling me to be ready to travel in 20 days, they left me 15 months without any news and unable to make a decision" (passage from a letter to José Leite Lopes, March 22, 1950, *apud* Silva 1997). In the end Monteiro left for exile in 1945 and taught for two years in what was then the University of Brazil in Rio de Janeiro; among his students many later became eminent Brazilian mathematicians and physicists. While in Rio de Janeiro he lived in Santa Teresa, in the *Grand Hotel Internacional*, that had recently been bought by a couple of artists, Arpad Szenes and Maria Helena Vieira da Silva, popularly known as Vieira da Silva; he was a Hungarian Jew and she was Portuguese. The couple transformed the building into an atelier and a hostel for other artists, many of whom were students. However, due to pressure from the Portuguese embassy, Monteiro's contract at the university was not renewed. In 1949, after two years of wandering from one job to another, he accepted a post at the *Universidad de Cuyo* in Argentina. Despite his short stay in Brazil, Monteiro was to become a figure of central importance for the arrival of other members of the *Movimento Matemático* in the country, due to the ceaseless efforts of his student, Leopoldo Nachbin, in bringing mathematicians to Pernambuco.

It was this network that was responsible for the arrival of the group that constituted “the best school of Portuguese mathematicians” which “is not based in Oporto, nor in Lisbon, nor in Coimbra, but rather in Recife, here in Brazil, with Ruy Luís Gomes, Manuel Zaluar Nunes, Alfredo Pereira Gomes, José Morgado and António Brodas”, as Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho wrote in one of his articles for *Portugal Democrático* (Carvalho 1974:16). Indeed, the arrival of Alfredo Pereira Gomes and Manuel Zaluar Nunes, in 1952, meant that projects that had been started in Portugal by the *Movimento Matemático* could be continued for two decades. Ruy Luiz Gomes’ assistant at the University of Oporto, Alfredo Pereira Gomes, coordinated the section of the *Gazeta de Matemática* called *Movimento Matemático* for several years, with news of the activities of the group. From the end of the 1940s he was a researcher at the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique* (CNRS) in Paris, when he received an invitation from Luiz Freyre (cousin of the anthropologist Gilberto Freyre, collaborator in some of the projects of the *Movimento Matemático* and Director of the Philosophy Department at Recife University) to help set up a maths department in Pernambuco. The invitation was also extended to Manuel Zaluar Nunes, who had also been living in Paris since his dismissal from Lisbon’s *Instituto Superior Técnico*, working as a researcher at the CNRS and as director of the *Gazeta de Matemática*. Pereira Gomes said that at first he refused the offer, as he had no plans to travel to Brazil. However, around a year later he changed his mind, due to his dissatisfaction with the Laboratory where he worked in France, and due to the favourable recommendations that he received from Brazilian academics, as well as from his former brother-in-law, the writer Adolfo Casais Monteiro. (Alfredo was the brother of the communist neorealist writer Soeiro Pereira Gomes, and of the writer Alice Pereira Gomes, who was married to Casais until shortly before he came to Brazil). So he contacted Luiz Freyre again to see if his offer still held, which it did due to the delays that had occurred in setting up the maths department in the University of Recife (as recounted by Alfredo Pereira Gomes).

Ruy Luís Gomes, José Morgado and the physicist António Brodas arrived within a few years. Ruy Luís Gomes had held the Science Chair at the University of Oporto, from which he had been dismissed for political reasons; he had been a candidate for the presidency of Portugal in 1951, for the opposition *Movimento Nacional Democrático* (MND), but finally left the country after being imprisoned for the third time for supporting autonomy for Goa, then a

Portuguese colony. José Morgado's is a similar story. He was one of the most important leaders of the MND and spent several years in prison before arriving in Recife in 1960. Ruy Luís Gomes arrived in Brazil two years later, after a short stay in Argentina where he taught at the *Universidad del Sur* in Baía Blanca at the invitation of Antonio Monteiro. António Brotas, the last to arrive in Recife, took his doctor's degree in Theoretical Physics at the University of Paris with a scholarship from the CNRS, after being sacked from the post of assistant professor at Lisbon University's *Instituto Superior Técnico*. The invitation came from the mathematicians already based in Recife. Thus the Portuguese mathematicians and the physicist who helped to establish mathematics and physics in Recife arrived in the county in a period of just over a decade (1952-1963). Most of them lived there for many years. Ruy Luís Gomes and José Morgado closed the cycle when they returned to Portugal in 1974 after the collapse of the regime on April 25th (see annex, Chart 4).

2. Narratives of exile, cosmopolitanism and national identity

2.1. Exclusion⁵

When analysing how these individuals view and narrate their stories, despite personal differences, common elements are revealed, notably the references to the *exclusion* which they experienced throughout their lives and which became a central issue. Their exposure to ultranationalism, with its traditional, conservative inspiration, contributed to a demarcation of frontiers and to the questioning and rejection of this hegemonic form of nationalism. Hence the frequent statements that their exile began, at least subjectively, while they were still in Portugal. Phrases such as Jorge de Sena's "I have always been an exile, even before leaving Portugal" (Sena 1978), or Casais Monteiro's "In Portugal, during Salazar's time, it was impossible to be a dignified Portuguese" (Monteiro *op.cit.*), are signs of their alienation from the society of their country of origin. Without a territorial *place* with which to identify,

⁵ In the original *Afastamentos*, 'Distancing', from *afastar* – to remove or place at a distance. *Afastamento* is used both as the euphemistic term adopted by the Salazar regime when it sacked anti-government teachers or officials – in English the closest equivalent would be 'suspension' – and in the broader sense of the feeling of exclusion experienced by the exiles – exclusion/distance from the country of origin and exclusion from integration in the host country. These various types of *afastamento* form a unified theme in the original article, something not possible to transmit in translation. TN

depending on the individual, this *place* becomes either science, literature, the arts or politics. In the cases studied here, the desire and disposition to take action and to go into exile were strengthened by militant ties to the opposition and the absence of professional prospects – whether due to the lack of freedom of expression, institutional support, infrastructure or adequate investment in education, science and culture – as well as the ‘suspensions’ of which they were the victims. They did not see the lack of favourable conditions in Portugal as permanent, but rather as a challenge to be overcome:

Returning to Portugal with the conviction that I should dedicate myself to the work of creating, or contributing to the creation, of a Centre for Physical Research, it was natural for me to attempt this at the school where I was assistant. Here there was actually no material for studies in my area of specialization and there was almost nowhere to work. But I came prepared to face such a situation and thus did not get disheartened: I needed to start whatever the conditions were – and I started. (Letter from Valadares to Ruy Luis Gomes in Valadares *op.cit.*)

It was the repeated experiences of *exclusion* that had led them to seek alternatives in other countries.

Those who came to Brazil, despite having advanced their careers and attained success – nominations, awards, appointments to editorial and scientific committees, the creation and consolidation of graduation and post-graduation courses – had to face continuous problems of a bureaucratic nature. On the one hand, the presence of the *Estado Novo* in immigrants’ associations – and the emphasis on national unity – meant that they could not identify with these associations and their leaders, nor with the majority of Portuguese settlers, preferring to refer to themselves as *exiles*, *emigrants* or the *diaspora*, as opposed to other *immigrants*, in order to emphasise the political nature of their exile and their ties to their native country (Silva 2007). On the other hand, the delay in their work contracts and the difficulties they found in establishing themselves in the country can be seen both in the case of Antonio Monteiro and in the spying and suspicion to which they were subject on a number of occasions. Indeed, just as illegal practices have become transnational, so international left-wing networks led to transnational repression mechanisms that involved the cooperation of more than one Nation-state (cf. the cases analysed by Azevedo & Sanjurjo, in this issue).

The description by Alfredo Pereira Gomes of the situation he confronted after inviting José Morgado and Ruy Luís Gomes to Recife is a good illustration:

I was summoned to the Portuguese consulate and the consul asked me to sign a commitment that Dr. José Morgado 'was not coming to engage in politics in Recife'. I replied jovially 'Consul, I wouldn't even sign such a statement for myself. But tell me, honestly, whether during the last seven years, my work, and that of Professor Zaluar Nunes, has improved or worsened the image of Portugal in Brazil' He ended by agreeing it was better to allow Morgado to come.... (Gomes 1997:78)

Sena also discusses exile while describing the process for obtaining Brazilian citizenship, which was granted in 1963, and the feeling of exclusion both in Brazil and Portugal, as in the former he was excluded from receiving literary awards due to being a foreigner (Sena 1988: 10-11).

(...) In Brazil, as I always remained the Portuguese writer that I was, they have systematically ignored, and continue to ignore, that I'm a Brazilian citizen. If I were from any other country perhaps this wouldn't occur to the same extent; but I am Portuguese, a condition, apart from official lunches, treated with great suspicion on both sides of the Atlantic (*Ibid*:10).

This situation reveals some of the frustrations they experienced in Brazilian society. It is clearly in part the result of the century-old relationship between the two countries and of the colonial past. In his comments on the Portuguese philologist Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, the Brazilian historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda accused him of a colonialist attitude towards the university students of Belo Horizonte where he worked (Silva, 2007). In some of his letters Sena describes the difficulties he experienced when he submitted his doctor's thesis for approval, which would give him full rights to exercise his profession in Brazil, and accused the literary critic Afrânio Coutinho of being responsible (Sena 1991). The concern with avoiding anything that could be construed as a 'colonialist attitude' can be seen in this quote from the painter Fernando Lemos, a friend of Casais and Sena:

... I already knew that I should never express myself in any sort of colonial manner. I held a number of quite important posts, I was director of the *Centro Cultural*, among others... in cultural departments where I worked, along with others, I often found myself thinking 'It's odd. Be careful Mr. Lemos. Because this business

of doing everything because the others don't know what to do doesn't work in your favour. You teach, you have experience, ok, but you are being a coloniser! So I had to be careful that this didn't become a sort of master/slave relationship: "I'm teaching the slaves because the poor things don't know anything." Much of the time I was almost right, because the others were so completely unprepared and had so little experience that it was a terrible effort for them! I helped people to graduate, to become someone... but this complex bothered me a little. (Fernando Lemos)

A similar event occurred with Casais Monteiro as a result of the nationalist reaction to him from some of the Brazilian critics, who 'protested that a new series called *Nossos Clássicos* ('Our Classics') started with a volume dedicated to Fernando Pessoa (Monteiro 1961: 139). Casais, who had organised the volume, was indignant at the criticism, as he considered the word 'our' to refer to classics of the Portuguese language, which went beyond the national frontiers between Brazil and Portugal (Perrone-Moisés 2003: 57).

With the end of the dictatorship, most of the intellectuals who were still in exile after April 25th, 1974, tried to return to Portugal and re-establish themselves, but a few did not want to go or gave the idea up. Alfredo Pereira Gomes, who returned before April 25th, said to me: "...once an exile, always an exile." There was a certain bitterness when he talked of the difficulties he faced on his return, and a certain rejection of the country, even under a democratic regime. Similar frustrations appear in the writings of Jorge de Sena, who tried to return but in the end remained in the United States.

To sum up, the *exclusion* that characterises the stories of these exiles is first seen in their political and professional exclusion in Portugal, then in the experience of exclusion as exiles, and finally after their return to their country of origin. To a certain extent it is this exclusion that explains their participation in cosmopolitan networks, at a time when exile offered them the opportunity to continue their personal and collective projects. Political activity became especially important in the lives of these people who felt permanently displaced, but through such engagement could feel included. This political (and cultural) activity led to a feeling of simultaneous transnational and cosmopolitan belonging, through left-wing political networks involving artists, scientists and political militants, and also of national belonging, albeit with an identity that differentiated them from other immigrants, expressed in the use of terms like *emigrants*, *diaspora* and *exile*.

It is important that their practice of politics should not be interpreted

in a narrow sense, but within the context of culture and of cultural activity. In this sense cultural, scientific, artistic and literary activity is also political activity (and an activity that challenges hegemonic nationalism). Nor is there a case for a narrow interpretation of culture – at the service of political or party ideology – but rather as it was practiced by the individuals studied here, making connections between culture and politics. Even in the political struggle it is fair to question whether these individuals did not feel displaced. In 1963, faced with the imminent domination of the *Portugal Democrático* by the PCP, Sena, Casais, Fernando Lemos and others withdrew from the editorial committee, only to collaborate sporadically on specific occasions (Silva, 2006). The ostracism of Casais in Portugal before he left, and the arrival of Ramos, facilitated by his connections in the professional networks, and above all in the left-wing political ones, led to Sena, who left the country voluntarily, and had always expressed himself independently politically, being accused on a number of occasions of not being a real exile (Silva, 2007). The accusations came from individuals or factions disputing legitimacy as political leaders in exile. Sena expressed political opinions and engaged in politics, but always in a cultural/literary context, in a way that excluded him from closer ties to political movements and parties.

The question remains to what extent such exclusion affected other exiles, and whether in fact it is an experience common to every exile.

2.2 Cosmopolitanism and national identity

Theoretical analyses of the contribution of migrants (and of exiles) towards the construction of a cosmopolitan dialogue, with emphasis on the individuals' experience, describing specific ways of relating to the world, that complement but also compete with other *modus vivendi*, are a recent phenomenon (Sen et all. 2008; Werbner 2008; Glick-Schiller, Darieva & Gruner-Domic, 2011). Studies of cosmopolitanism tend to see it as a supranational collective project, emphasizing its normative aspect. Even in the literature that studies the narratives of migrants and exiles to elucidate cosmopolitanism, some aspects are given insufficient attention, or are even neglected. These include those already discussed in this article: a) experiences of exclusion, offset by engagement in cosmopolitan dialogue and practical transnational networks; b) the concept that cosmopolitanism does not necessarily imply exclusion from other registers (national, regional, local, depending on the case);

particularism, but not the traditional form of broaching local belonging).

Thus it becomes possible to find elements of a cosmopolitan discourse that express a certain type nationalism (albeit removed from the centre) among the writers and scientists discussed in this article. Expressions of cosmopolitanism include: a manifestation of being open to the world, on the plane of knowledge and ideas; the affirmation of humanism, converted into solidarity on issues common to the human condition, and the inseparable ties between professional conduct and ethical/political commitment. However, with a few exceptions, these bonds with humanity do not imply a rejection of national belonging or of forms of nationalism, except in the case of a specific form of hegemonic nationalism and patriotism. In fact, the specific nature of this oscillation deserves more detailed examination. To what extent is cosmopolitanism a form of construction of an alternative national discourse to that of the Portuguese *Estatdo Novo* with its 'proudly alone' slogan? To what extent does this apparent contradiction in fact constitute dialectic tensions between two registers (cosmopolitanism and nationalism) that are not mutually exclusive, and may coexist in complex ways? It should also be pointed out that these perspectives result from collective transnational experiences involving distinct but interconnected social fields – connections and interactions between people and institutions that cross the borders of nation-states (Glick-Schiller et. al 1992) – in the life stories, careers and view points and of these individuals.

Participation in a public transnational sphere – despite the dictatorships of the time – allowed these individuals to express solidarity and identities that are not based on a kind of appropriation of space where contiguity and face-to-face contact are of fundamental importance. This, in turn, makes any strict interpretation limited to community or locality obsolete (Gupta & Ferguson 1992), without excluding, however, the coexistence between cosmopolitanism and particularism.

Criticism of nationalism, restricted to the fields of art and literature, can be found in the works of Casais and Sena, and in the literary criticism of Vitor Ramos. For Sena and Casais the universal nature of literature and the arts is manifest in the inner exile, the essential drama of the artist, the required condition for his inconformity and creativity. For some analysts of Sena his writings about exile, above all in his book *Exorcismos*, express his identification with a homeland beyond nationalism, the homeland of literature (Fagundes

1999; Gândara 1999; Santos 1999). In a number of his texts Casais talks about the poet who sees himself as an exile in his own country and of the posture he adopted as a *foreigner*, as in the title of his last book of poetry *O Estrangeiro Definitivo* ('The Ultimate Foreigner'). Vitor Ramos chose to study a range of texts that in one way or another broached the subject of exile as an option, or an attitude of the writer towards life (Oliveira 2009). As far as the scientists discussed here are concerned, there are constant references to the universal nature of mathematics (and physics) in their writings. Above all they mention the possibility of dialogue and exchange of knowledge in a language which transcends national and local particularities, which facilitated their international travels as well as their exchanges in exile (despite some mention of the difficulties encountered in certain local contexts.)

Other practical situations I could mention, that reinforced the perception of exile and hence of being a foreigner wherever you are, include the continual refusal of travelling visas, at times 'valid only for Portugal', which intimidated many and prevented them from applying for Brazilian citizenship. Casais Monteiro was even refused a visa to enter Portugal (*Portugal Democrático* 1961: 8). Manuel Zaluar Nunes and Alfredo Pereira Gomes were required to present a written request for pardon in order to return to Portugal. The fact is that being in exile was not a comfortable position, even when relatively successful incorporation in the host country had been achieved. With all these frustrations and obstacles, the questions remains: is it possible to be truly cosmopolitan, beyond the discursive space? I think the answer is yes, because this is effectively a perspective of experience that mobilizes a number of resources for action, both symbolic and material. What has to be ruled out in any analysis is the illusion that cosmopolitan practices occur without impediments; for this could only occur in a world without borders.

Despite the individuals discussed in this article having contributed towards a cosmopolitan space, and to some extent shared the idea that they were citizens of the world, at no time did they forget their country of origin. In Brazil this had certain specific consequences. In addition to the occasional accusations of colonialism and manifestations of nationalism of which they were the targets, there was a constant questioning of the validity of a Portuguese scientist or intellectual as a result of the prejudiced view of the Portuguese in the popular imagination as backward and ignorant. This was counteracted by the general commitment of scientists and artist in Portugal, as intellectuals, to notions such as *duty*, *task*

and mission, already discussed in this article. Thus it could be argued that the extensive world travels of these intellectuals did not only represent cosmopolitanism but was also a positive affirmation of being Portuguese in the world, of belonging to that nation but with an alternative national ideology (Fox 1990); of belonging to a place they had left and then returned to.

In Brazil, their participation in social militant political networks, and in initiatives undertaken by *Portugal Democrático*, such as the *Committee of Portuguese Artists and Intellectuals for Free Speech*, the celebrations of October 5th⁶ and the publication of yearly dossiers denouncing the Colonial War that were presented to the UN (a document that was always signed first by the mathematician Ruy Luis Gomes), strengthened both their ties with the country of origin and their condition as *exiles*. Accused by immigrants and supporters of the regime of being antipatriotic and traitors, they on the other hand perceived themselves as *patriots*, albeit the defenders of ‘a different patriotism’ (Silva 2007). At the same time, their demand for intellectual and artistic autonomy, beyond the limitations of nationalism, did not imply indifference to the country of origin or lack of national identity.

In most of the cases analysed in this article, exile meant not only the continuation of personal and/or collective projects that were unfeasible in Portugal, but also of the close connection between professional activity and politics and citizenship. The continuation of the publication of the *Portugaliae Mathematica* and the *Gazeta de Matemática* in exile, first in France and later in Brazil, is a good example of this. (There was a brief interruption after the death of Manuel Zaluar Nunes in 1967, who had been responsible for the two publications). The publication of *Portugal Democrático* during almost two decades (1956 to 1975) provided support for militancy in the opposition, which in most cases had started before the individuals concerned had left for exile. Not without difficulty, Jorge de Sena, Casais Monteiro, Antonio Monteiro and others managed to pursue their careers.

Thus two apparently contradictory, but complementary, tendencies can be seen: on the one hand a cosmopolitan outlook (we don’t belong to a specific place, or our place is the world, mathematics or literature) and nationalism (despite our divergence from the national hegemonic ideology, we are Portuguese). In this sense, these individuals were not only writers, scientists

⁶ The Proclamation of the Portuguese Republic, October 5, 1910. TN

or intellectuals, but Portuguese writers, scientists and intellectuals, in that their commitment was not only to the cause of science, or the arts, or literature *per se*, but also to Portugal, or rather to Portuguese culture. The dissemination of what can generically be referred to as *Portuguese culture* was not restricted to Portugal alone, although there was a concern with the extensive improvement of education and the access to knowledge in that country.

Faced with the personal frustration of returning to his country of origin at the end of his exile and continuing to feel displaced, in his writings Jorge de Sena tends towards the opinion that it was not necessary to be in Portugal to contribute to Portuguese culture. Thus being a Portuguese intellectual, from this viewpoint, implied bringing a particular way of perceiving the world and of generating knowledge, not just to Portugal, but to the world; a viewpoint expressed, if not in a universal language, in a language translatable in a number of historical and social contexts. The continuous use in exile of terms like *task*, *mission* etc., to refer to intellectual output and to a commitment to Portugal and to science, gave a new significance to the practice of the profession. Even travelling to many different countries these parameters of belonging, conceived as non-territorial, grew stronger.

To conclude, the dialectic tensions that they experienced during their lives made forms of political engagement possible and activated concepts of belonging that were not restricted to a single register, constituting a kind of awareness characterised by a double or multiple identity (being here or there, at home or far from home) – reflecting the diverse connections of the exiles. Despite the tensions between the condition of being Portuguese and the cosmopolitanism that resulted from the expansion of their contacts abroad and the internationalisation of the struggle against the *Estado Novo*, these individuals were internationally recognised intellectuals committed to democracy, as well as nationalists who expressed themselves not only as intellectuals but above all as Portuguese intellectuals. This places them in an arena of activity and political issues that, as Beck affirms (1998), can only be adequately exposed, debated and possibly resolved within a transnational context.

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Annex

Chart 1: Leading members of the Núcleo de Matemática, Física e Química (fellows or not)

Name / Institution in Portugal / Year of Birth and Death	Period as a fellow / Institution
António Aniceto Monteiro (UL) (1907-1980)	1933-1936 / Université de Paris
Manuel Zaluar Nunes (UL) (1907-1967)	1934-1937 / Université de Paris
Manuel Valadares (UL-Fis) (1904-1982)	1929-1930 / Radio Institute, Genève 1930-1933 / Curie Laboratory (Paris)
Aurélio Marques da Silva (UL-Fis) (1905-1965)	1935-1938 / Curie Laboratory (Paris)
Manuel Teles Antunes (UL-Fis) (1905-?)	1933-1935 / Instituto Nacional de Física y Química. (Madrid) and Institut für Theoretische Physik, Giessen (Germany)
Pedro José da Cunha (UL) (1867-1945)	No
António da Silveira (IST-Fis) (1904-1985)	1929-1932 / Collège de France
Ruy Luis Gomes (UP) (1905-1984)	No
Bento de Jesus Caraça (ISCEF) (1901-1948)	No
Aureliano de Mira Fernandes (ISCEF) (1884-1958)	No
Caetano Beirão da Veiga (ISCEF)	No

Chart 2: Scientists and their participation in the main initiatives of the Movimento Matemático

Name / Institution in Portugal	Participation / Initiatives
António Aniceto Monteiro – Universidade de Lisboa (UL)	Seminário Matemático de Lisboa (Seminário de Análise Geral) Centro de Estudos de Matemática de Lisboa (CEML) <i>Portugaliae Mathematica</i> Sociedade Portuguesa de Matemática (SPM) <i>Gazeta de Matemática</i> Junta de Investigação .Matemática (JIM)

Manuel Zaluar Nunes (UL)	Seminário Matemático de Lisboa (Seminário de Análise Geral) CEML <i>Portugaliae Mathematica</i> <i>Gazeta de Matemática</i>
Pedro José da Cunha (UL)	CEML SPM
Ruy Luis Gomes – Universidade do Porto (UP)	Centro de Estudos de Matemática do Porto (CEMP) <i>Portugaliae Mathematica</i> JIM
Bento de Jesus Caraça – Instituto Superior de Ciências Económicas e Financeiras (ISCEF)	Centro de Estudos de Matemática Aplicada à Economia (CEMAE) SPM (comissão pedagógica) <i>Gazeta de Matemática</i> <i>Biblioteca Cosmos</i> Universidade Popular Portuguesa (de Lisboa)
Aureliano de Mira Fernandes (ISCEF)	CEMAE JIM
Caetano Beirão da Veiga (ISCEF)	CEMAE
Hugo Ribeiro (UL)	CEML <i>Portugaliae Mathematica</i> <i>Gazeta de Matemática</i>
José da Silva Paulo	<i>Portugaliae Mathematica</i> <i>Gazeta de Matemática</i>
Maria Pilar Ribeiro	SPM
Augusto Sá da Costa (ISCEF)	CEMAE SPM
José Morgado (CEMP)	<i>Gazeta de Matemática</i>
Alfredo Pereira Gomes (CEMP)	<i>Gazeta de Matemática</i>

Chart 3: Casais Monteiro, Jorge de Sena and Vitor Ramos international and Professional circulation

Adolfo Casais Monteiro (☆1908 †1972)	
Jorge de Sena (☆1919 †1978)	
Vitor Ramos (☆1920 †1974)	

- Studies in Portugal
- Professional career

- Fellow
- Professional career (Brazilian period)

Chart 4: International and professional circulation of Portuguese mathematicians and physicists exiled in Brazil

António Aniceto Monteiro (☆1907 †1980)	
Manuel Zaluar Nunes (☆1906 †1967)	
Ruy Luis Gomes (☆1905 †1984)	
Alfredo Pereira Gomes (☆1919 †2006)	
José Morgado (☆1921 †2003)	
António Brodas (☆1930)	

- Studies in Portugal
- Professional career

- Fellow
- Professional career (Brazilian period)

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Between Dictatorships and Revolutions

Narratives of Argentine and Brazilian Exiles

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Abstract

This article analyzes transnational migrations triggered by the dictatorships in Argentina (1976-1983) and Brazil (1964-1985), with attention to the representations associated to exile in these countries and in the Latin American context of the second half of the 20th century. The empirical data used are the memories narrated by Argentines who took exile in Brazil and by Brazilians exiled in Mozambique. By exploring the plurality of meanings that these authors attribute to their migratory experiences, we seek to understand how different political conjunctures in the countries of origin and destination implied varied forms of living and understanding exile. In a comparative perspective, the case studies also explore how the experience of exile was forged not only in relation to specific national and migratory contexts but also in relation to transnational social fields.

Keywords: Exile; Migration; Nation; Identities; Politics; Dictatorship.

Resumo

O presente artigo propõe analisar migrações transnacionais impulsionadas pelas ditaduras argentina (1976-1983) e brasileira (1964-1975). Por um lado, o trabalho problematiza as representações associadas ao exílio nesses países e no contexto latino-americano da segunda metade do século XX. Por outro lado, tomando como material empírico as memórias narradas por argentinos que se exilararam no Brasil e por brasileiros exilados em Moçambique,

a intenção é explorar a pluralidade de sentidos que estes atores atribuem à própria experiência migratória. Busca-se assim compreender como diferentes conjunturas políticas nos países de origem e de destino implicaram em formas variadas de *viver* e entender o exílio. Em perspectiva comparativa, os estudos de caso permitem ainda explorar como a experiência do exílio foi forjada não apenas em relação a contextos migratórios e nacionais específicos, mas também em meio a campos sociais transnacionais.

Palavras-chave: Exílio; Migração; Nação; Identidades; Política; Ditadura Militar.

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Introduction

In this article we analyze transnational migrations triggered by the Argentine (1976-1983) and Brazilian (1964-1985) dictatorships. We discuss aspects of political violence and representations associated to exile in these countries and in the Latin American context in the second half of the 20th century. We argue that these representations shape specific meanings for the concept of exile in the region. Also, using as empirical data the memories narrated by Argentines who took exile in Brazil and by Brazilians exiled in Mozambique,¹ we analyze the plurality of meanings that these actors attribute to their own migratory experience. In this way, we problematize the categories (*exiles, refugees, migrants, foreigners*) which they invoke to give meaning to the trajectory of migration, seeking to understand how different political conjunctures in the countries of origin and destination imply various forms of *living* and understanding exile.

In a comparative perspective, the case studies enable us to see how the experience of exile was forged not only in relation to specific migratory and

¹ The ethnographic data were taken from two different studies conducted in the realm of the project “Globalization, Old Imaginaries and Reconstructions of Identity: Transnational Migrants, Refugees and Foreigners in Comparative Perspective” in conjunction with CEMI and the Graduate Program in Social Anthropology at IFCH/UNICAMP, both with financing from FAPESP. The first study addressed the exile of Argentines in Brazil during the dictatorship. The oral histories and field, bibliographic and document research were conducted between 2003 and 2006, resulting in the dissertation “Narratives of Argentine Exile in Brazil: Nation memories and identities” (See Sanjurjo 2007). The second ethnography was conducted from 2009-2011 with Brazilians exiled in Mozambique. The study included field and document research and oral history interviews, resulting in the dissertation “The Best Years of Our Lives. Narratives, Trajectories and journeys of Brazilian exiles who became cooperators in the popular republic of Mozambique” (See Azevedo 2013). We would like to thank the anonymous’ referees for their valuable suggestions for improving the text.

national contexts, but also amid the transnational social fields. Thus, based on the anthropological debates about transnational circulation, we investigate how the migrant actors re-elaborate feelings of belonging in specific situations and in relation to broad historical-structural contexts.²

Exile in Latin America: a political experience

The narratives about Argentine and Brazilian exile presented below refer to the context of political conflicts established during the second half of the 20th century in the Southern Cone of Latin America. These conflicts gave way to successive military coups and the establishment of civil-military dictatorships throughout the continent.³ In the bipolarized Cold War context, these dictatorships are noteworthy for their application of *National Security Doctrines* that focused on combating political opposition. These opposition movements identified themselves and were identified with the “international left”. More than adversaries, the so-called “subversives/leftists/Marxists/socialists/communists” were considered *internal enemies*.

Throughout the region, extensive repressive methods were employed, violence being the principal means of dissuasion of political conflict. These dictatorships were marked by generalized practices of torture, assassination, forced disappearance and arbitrary and clandestine imprisonment. The Argentine dictatorship was notorious for its systematic use of “disappearance” as a principal repressive methodology. The disclosure of part of the documentation produced by the security and information systems of these countries also confirms the existence of a transnational military alliance in the region since the early 1970s, which exchanged information and conducted joint repressive actions. Organized gradually over the years, the partnership was known as *Operation Condor* (Quadrat 2004).

The repression triggered the dislocation of thousands of people beyond

² From a transnational perspective of migrations (Glick-Schiller et. al. 1992 and 1995; Feldman-Bianco 2000 and 2011), we begin with the presumption that migrants construct social fields – where they maintain multiple relations (familiar, economic, social, organizational and political) which can encompass both the country of origin as well as that of destination (or more countries). We understand the need to consider the power relations that permeate the social, cultural and political dimensions of the migrant experiences, analyzing the processes of (re)configuration of memories and identities, situationally and in the face of broader hegemonic, global and national contexts.

³ Chile (1973-1990), Brazil (1964-1985), Argentina (1976-1983), Uruguay (1973-1985), Paraguay (1954-1989), as well as Bolivia (1964-1982) and Peru (1968-1980), in the South American context.

the frontiers of these countries, migrations permeated by the experience of persecution due to the adoption of political positions (more or less explicit) against these regimes. Although the migrations were largely undocumented and not registered by the national censuses, demographic studies have estimated that nearly 500 thousand people left Argentina during the 1970s (Schkolnik 1986). In Brazil, for various reasons – the temporal extension of the military regime, the absence of official studies and the diversity of forms and conditions in which people emigrated – there are no solid estimates about the number of exiles. There is not even any estimate of the number of survivors⁴ or of deaths and disappearances in rural conflicts or of non-organized militants affected by the repression.⁵

In both countries, the concept of “enemy” was defined with priority given to political criteria (and not ethnic or racial ones), making politics a central marker in the processes of social-territorial exclusion.⁶ By denoting the political nature of this migratory process, *exile* became the category used more broadly in Argentine and Brazilian societies to define the migrations triggered by the dictatorial repression. At the same time, the term was used by social movements that struggled for the end of the dictatorships, in both national and transnational space, and also became part of the autobiographical vocabulary of people who saw themselves as part of a collectivity of “exiles.”⁷

4 One possible estimate would be the number of people who requested political amnesty to the Amnesty Commission of the Ministry of Justice. The Commission report from 2010, the most recent available on its site, indicates that there were 70,000 requests received until that year. Available at: <http://portal.mj.gov.br/anistia/data>. Accessed on 24/07/13. Nevertheless, these data only express the contingent of those who knew about and decided to request this right.

5 In Brazil, through Law N° 9.140/1995 and the activities of the *Special Commission about Political Deaths and Disappearances* of the Secretary of Human Rights, the state recognized 357 deaths and disappearances during the dictatorship (Brazil, 2007). Human rights organizations, formed by family members and survivors, have affirmed the number of 436 (Almeida, 2009). Most of these numbers encompass people linked to political organizations and social movements. With the advent of the *National Commission for the Truth*, which is currently conducting its work, there is a forecast that larger numbers will be estimated. In the Argentine context, human rights organizations affirm that 30,000 people disappeared, based on denunciations registered and on an estimate of the number of cases that were never denounced. The work conducted in 1984 by the *National Commission on the Disappearance of People* (CONADEP) proved the existence of 8,961 disappeared, 1,336 people summarily executed and 2,793 people released from clandestine detention centers. The last official list indicated 9,334 disappeared people. See CONADEP (2009). Beyond the possibility of factual confirmation of the number of “30 thousand detained-disappeared,” it is worth noting its strength as a symbol of the criticism of clandestine repression.

6 Unlike the Guatemalan case, for example, where racism against the indigenous population articulated the ethnic-political figure of the “Indian-communist,” in the experiences of the Argentine and Brazilian dictatorships the definition of the enemy was directly political, with the figure of the “delinquent/terrorist/subversive” separated from any ethnic or racial reference.

7 Exile is part of the autobiography of Brazilian politicians, intellectuals and artists like Fernando

For example, we can highlight the campaigns of international denunciations and in defense of human rights, organized by groups of exiled Latin Americans in Europe and North America.

The representations about what constituted the exiles' experience or of who were the exiles were thus shaping specific meanings in the region. The post-dictatorship periods came to consolidate these understandings. In both Argentina and Brazil the term is used in the historiography, cinema, literature and the press, where the communities of exiles arose as significant actors of recent history. Nevertheless, while in Brazil those who returned could see this past become a politically legitimate trajectory – the term exile is found in the Amnesty Law and, later, people who migrated because of political persecution earned a right to indemnification, as well as all those who suffered denial of rights – in the Argentine case the situation became more complex. In comparison with those who were *detained and/or disappeared*, the exiled, as well as the survivors of clandestine centers and political prisoners, were not rarely considered “second-class victims,” upon whom fell the stigma of the survivor. The accusation “*Why did they disappear*”, aimed at the disappeared and their families during the dictatorship, was transferred in the post-dictatorial context to the survivors and exiles, “*Why did they appear and survive*”, to denote collaboration, betrayal, being an informant, desertion or cowardliness.

Despite the differences, in the two contexts the central focus attributed to the experience of repression associated exile to specific terms of the field of political dispute. These, as we will see below, became a key focus of the memories of the exiled Argentines and Brazilians. On the other hand, we observe that the categories mobilized by these actors also related to the way they saw themselves identified by others or legally categorized by the migratory policies of the destination nation-states.

From the perspective of international law, there are no exiles, but refugees, a legal status defined in 1951 during the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the Geneva Convention. Conceived of as a person who receives protection due to a “well-founded fear

Henrique Cardoso, Leonel Brizola, Miguel Arraes, Chico Buarque, Oscar Niemeyer, Paulo Freire, etc. Various other Brazilians have exile as part of their memories, see for example Cavalcanti (1978) and Costa (1980). In Argentina, we can also cite exiles who remain well-known because of political, legal, cinematographic or literary activity, such as Eduardo Luis Duhalde, Juan Gelman, David Viñas, Pino Solanas, Miguel Bonasso, and others.

of being persecuted” in his or her country of origin, the refugee was categorized as a specific type of migrant, whose dislocation did not occur for purely economic motives.

Considering then that international norms define the refugee as a migrant not moved by economic factors, it is fitting to problematize the risk of not considering that situations of economic vulnerability frequently stem precisely from situations of social conflict. In this regard, we agree with Schwarzstein (2001a) that the distinction between emigrants, refugees and exiles becomes ambiguous. This ambiguity is constitutive of the experiences of the exile in the destination societies, but also of the former exile, who, having returned to his or her country of origin, is found marked and recognized by this experience. Moreover, discussing the application of this status to the Latin American exiles, Rollemburg (1999) questions to what degree the criterion of victimization applied to the figure of the refugee had disqualified them as political agents, a factor that – we agree – was central to the affirmation of their identities.⁸

We will focus our discussion on understanding how the experience of exile is remembered and invoked by the social actors in the present. Various authors emphasize that memories and narratives about the past overlap individual and collective memories, past experience and present situations. They thus involve phenomenon that are constructed, re-signified and negotiated in the course of history and the social processes (Bourdieu 2006, Jelin 2002, Pollak 1989 and 1992, Schwarzstein 2001b). In addition, these authors emphasize that memory constitutes one of the key elements of identification of social groups, because it defines the shared experiences and narratives, giving foundation to and reinforcing feelings of belonging and socio-cultural boundaries.

The study of the Brazilian exiles concentrated on the experiences of those who settled in Mozambique after the independence of the country in 1975, as

⁸ It is interesting to note that currently, in both Brazil and Argentina, to claim to be a victim of the dictatorship was converted into social and political capital for militancy in human rights groups that sought to hold the state responsible and penalize the agents implicated in the repression. In addition, anthropologists dedicated to the theme emphasize that the category of victim has been invoked to frame social groups that are the focus of humanitarian policies (whose perverse effect would be to remove the agency from the social subjects), to the degree that they can also be strategically claimed by groups with the intention of legitimating political agendas and struggles for recognition (See, for example Araújo 2007; Agier 2006; Jimeno 2010; Vianna and Farias 2011). In this same sense Avtar Brah (2006) defines as *strategic essentialization* those processes in which social actors and groups contextually appropriate a certain dominant discourse as part of a political strategy.

*international cooperators.*⁹ During the first years, the Brazilian residents in the country were limited to a few exiles who lived in the capital, Maputo. They saw themselves and were seen as the “Brazilian group” which, through very close bonds of friendship, was responsible for various political and cultural initiatives. At the time of the study, however, most had returned to Brazil and despite being remembered affectionately as “the group” they maintained more diffuse contacts only with some of the older members of the group - friendships often cultivated at a distance.¹⁰

The study of the many Argentines exiled in Brazil, focused on those established in the cities of São Paulo and Campinas. They are men and women who, between 1974 and 1981, fled the political repression in Argentina for Brazil where they settled definitively. They had a wide variety of life and political trajectories and were never recognized as a social group. Instead, they formed networks based on professional and friendship ties that were established in their country of origin or during the first years of living in Brazil.¹¹

By comparing the memories of these two groups, we can perceive that although they all recount how they were forced to migrate as “exiles” because of the dictatorial repression, we can also see that in the course of the migratory processes various other representations associated to their experiences were constructed: distinct categories were used by the migrant actors to situate themselves and the various collectivities of exiles within this “history of exile”. It is precisely in the light of the plurality of categories invoked to define or be defined by third parties that we analyze how the experience of exile was forged not only in relation to the specific national and migratory contexts, but also amid transnational social fields.

⁹ Mozambique began a socialist experience in 1975. After Independence, the settlers abandoned the country en masse, leaving skilled jobs unfilled. The demand for professionals attracted the foreign “cooperators.”

¹⁰ During the research, 23 oral histories were conducted with Brazilians who were in Mozambique. The interviews were conducted in the cities of São Paulo, Campinas, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Goiânia and Brasília, from 2007 and 2010. Most of those interviewed were from 60 to 70 years old, middle class and university educated.

¹¹ Between the years 2003 and 2005, 15 life stories were recorded of Argentines living in the cities of Campinas and São Paulo. Most of those interviewed are professionals or university professors, mainly physicists and psychoanalysts.

Brazilian exiles: the valorization of militant trajectories

In Brazil, exile affected a large and varied set of social actors from the first moments of the 1964 military coup. Nevertheless, only a small number went to Mozambique in the mid 1970s, during the first years of construction of the socialist experience in that country. They had all left Brazil due to having been involved with parties or organized groups in opposition to the dictatorship, passing through one or more countries¹² before reaching Mozambique. They all agreed that in this first period only “militants” went to Mozambique. They gave value to their status as militants contextualizing their experiences in the more general dynamic of the historical processes in Brazil and in the world in the 1960s and 1970s, when *politics* was interpreted as a *social field* divided by conflict between the right and left, two *radical paradigms* (Turner 2008). The paradigm of the left refers not only to the social relations developed, but also constitutes a *regime of truth* (Malkki 1995: 104), evoked to interpret, order and give meaning to the experience and the actions in the past. These common premises led to the mobilization of certain categories and the rejection of others in the elaboration of meanings for their trajectories.

In the statement below, the person interviewed situates his past actions in relation to a shared paradigm, as a social actor in relation to a political field. A former militant of the student movement and the Brazilian Revolutionary Communist Party (PCBR), Bruno presents his “militancy” to us in the following manner:

“I am of the generation that was twenty years old in 68, and was therefore in the university here in Rio de Janeiro and participated in the student movement, which at that time, in 68, was quite strong. There were even [various] movements, above all the student movement, right? It was a movement that questioned the dictatorship very strongly at this time. It was the year of the AI-5, so the youth, at least a good portion of the youth, were aware, right? It was organized, went to the streets, entered the political parties, either existing ones or creating others. In the beginning of the 60s there was a cultural revolution taking place in China, there was Cuba, right? Che Guevara had just died in Bolivia, but had left the legacy of his cause, so Cuba was there next to

¹² Only one person went directly to Mozambique in 1977. The others left Brazil between 1968-1974 through different routes that passed through at least one Latin American country, and then through Europe. Most of the exiles in Mozambique (a limited group that had about 100 families) returned to Brazil after 1979.

the United States, already a socialist country. There was an entire progressive movement in the period of the Cold War, and lets say, the socialist side of this Cold War was the side that was rising.”¹³

The choice of the category “generation”, that appears in various statements, places Bruno within a collective generational experience. He was not alone in his decision to enter the student movement, affirming that “*a good portion of the conscious youth*” was organized, went to the streets and joined political parties. He belonged to a collective experience that included not only the actors who were “*contesting the dictatorship*” but also members of a political movement of international scope, defined as “*progressive*” or even as “*the socialist side of this Cold War*”. Referring to a political conflict that opposed two “sides,” Bruno illuminated the premises underlying his interpretation of the past. He emphasized the perception of being inserted in a social field of transnational scope, formed by a body of shared symbolic references (which includes, China, Cultural Revolution, Cuba, Socialism, Che Guevara). These symbols refer to standards of behavior and morality, shaping the paradigm that, in his vision, guided their action, defining him as a “militant” person. In addition he claimed that the choice of the *left* was the option of the “*conscious youth*”, carrying with it the idea that opposing the dictatorship was an imperative attitude in that conjuncture.

If the *paradigm of the left* was conceived as a shared set of symbols, values and orientations for social action, capable of producing a sense of social belonging, Bruno’s statement calls attention to the fact that this paradigm overlapped the map of nationalities, informing actions in the various arenas in which the political conflict of the Cold War was expressed. This led to opportunities for alliances and disputes among the Brazilian political organizations engaged in the struggle against the dictatorship with “*leftist*” groups from other countries. These relations were nourished in many ways. For this reason, once in exile, the militants of the Brazilian organizations contacted these organizations, giving new meaning to their emigration. The Chile of Allende, one of the main destinations of Brazilian militants and those from various other countries, was to many of those interviewed the first experience in this sense:

¹³ Interview with Bruno conducted on July 5, 2007 in Rio de Janeiro.

"Here [in Brazil] I was linked to the POC [Communist Workers Party] (...) The people who were linked to the IV International. The Trotskyites (...) and there [Chile] I looked for these people, right? And they were there. It was really tribal. Those who here were from organization X, if there that organization was not established, functioning, they would look for the Chileans who would correspond, who in the case were the IV Trotskyites. (...) I asked "who here is a Trotskyite?" (...) It was the people from MIR, the Revolutionary Leftist Movement. And there was the Trotskyite wing, within the MIR there was a Trotskyite group. All this was very...later I would see that it reached a religious level, its like a religious order, you are Franciscan, Dominican, you are Chinese, Trotskyite, whatever."¹⁴

"Later they had other organizations and political nuclei, organizations who joined together to do common work in exile, But at the same time the political discussion continued, the political debate, the differences continued, right? And in Chile there was a sympathy...each organization was linked in Chile to sister organizations, so the communists were linked to the communists, the AP [Popular Action] with the MAPO of Chile, there was an entire sympathy among those who had political affinity."¹⁵

The people interviewed described passages, during which they created social fields that crossed national borders (Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton 1995). These fields connected Brazilians, but also subjects of different nationalities dispersed through the world, based on a belonging to the "left": social networks capable of moving ideas, people and objects. Nevertheless, it is important to consider, as Glick-Schiller (2007) proposes, the distinction between the insertion of the actors in the transnational field and feelings of belonging to this field.

This caution is important, because the cultivation of the paradigm or the insertion in the transnational left does not necessarily mean an exclusion of national modes of belonging. As Balibar suggests (2004), it involves social subjects who do not escape from an understanding that they belong to a national political community, which involves cultural and social as well as political aspects. In this way, the very *paradigm*, upon having its symbols signified in the course of the conflicts and processes that unfold in political arenas, which are very often national arenas, constitutes both transnational

¹⁴ Interview with Nélson conducted on March 12, 2010 in São Paulo.

¹⁵ Interview with Bruno conducted on July 5, 2007 in Rio de Janeiro.

as well as national perspectives, generating feelings of political belonging related to both dimensions.

Considering these two forms of belonging, exile was mentioned in the narratives of the Brazilian exiles not only in terms of continuity, in keeping with Bourdieu's (2006) idea of the *biographic illusion*, or only as disruption, as suggested by the *ideal type* of refugee to which Malkki (1995) refers. There are two simultaneous and not contradictory forms of reading their trajectories: on one hand, the Brazilians describe their migrations as breaks in their trajectories, when they relate them mainly to two questions: the transformation in the character of a militancy imposed by exile, understood, not only as departure (territorial) from Brazil, but as "defeat" (of the political project) in Brazil; and to the identification of a social and cultural belonging to a Brazilian national community. On the other hand, their migrations are also described as continuities, when related to two other points: a cosmopolitan sentiment of belonging to the social and symbolic field of the left; the perception of living in a situation of *liminality* (Turner 2008) ever since leaving Brazil. These different perceptions are present in the narratives, as are also other categories used to define oneself and the group. These are categories that are signified positively or negatively, accepted or rejected, according to the way that these ruptures and continuities are valued in each conjuncture.

In Brazil, the narrative of the dictatorship sought to exclude its enemies from the national community, stigmatizing them precisely for their connection with the international left, which was seen as an exogenous threat. Once abroad, they became, in relation to the societies of asylum, "exiles", "refugees", "migrants", or "foreigners" - categories that equally symbolize situations of structural instability, of *liminality* (Turner 2005). On the other hand, Said (2003) attributes to exile a dual dimension, as drama and possibility, while Agamben (1996) sees ambiguity with the exile simultaneously placed inside and outside the legal order. This, he claims, leads the exile to "*frequent both the luminous realm of rights as well as the shadowy repertoire of prison sentences, and oscillates between one and the other*" (Agamben 1996: 47). These theoretical perspectives, to the degree to which they point to what is imponderable in the situation created by exile, can be found in certain characteristics of the interviews, notably the diversity of views that each interviewee was capable of presenting. Exile is thus often understood as a polysemic phenomenon. As Diogo affirms:

"Exile... being in exile... generated in people...very different reactions, you know Desirée? For me in particular, I always felt very good in exile, I never...the Brazilians in general...you find many people who were sad, you know? Of course there was a basic sadness that the revolutionary project had failed, but at the same time so many new things, so many horizons...I liked to study very much! I always liked to study! I was always very studious! So that was a time that seemed to me very interesting to have an immense amount of time and to restore a sense of freedom, without fear of being arrested at any time, this was also a relief. In such a way that I would say to you that I adapted very quickly...there in Paris and took from that, I think, all that was good that it could give me."¹⁶

The perspective of continuity frequently comes from the notion of "internationalism", a category that more strongly denoted the transnational belonging that, in contrast to the idea of social isolation that exile caused at the beginning, could offer additional insight for understanding this experience. Marcos, who left Brazil for Bulgaria and from there went to Mozambique, suggested that his militancy, and the projects and references that it inspired, were capable of transforming what could be experienced as something "*melancholic*":

"I saw it very positively, because to go to a socialist country was an aspiration for me. Given that I had to leave Brazil, the circumstances determined that (...) to know a socialist experience was for me... was part of my project. I was interested, I had lets say illusions, expectations, hopes that were within this framework, this scenario. (...) From a personal perspective yes, it is melancholic, because you are in a country that is not yours. (...) you will always be a stranger, however much they try to make you feel comfortable, someone will always remember that you are not from there(...) It wasn't the Bulgarian state policy, lets say, that the Bulgarian state policy is that of so-called international solidarity, proletarian internationalism, this was the confession of faith of the Bulgarian state and the government policy also pointed in this direction, but in daily life you confronted these situations."¹⁷

Although forced to migrate, Marcos also recognized that it offered positive opportunities, because he considered that to know a socialist country

¹⁶ Interview with Diogo conducted on July 7, 2009 in Rio de Janeiro

¹⁷ Interview with Marcos conducted on February 27, 2010 in Campinas

was part of his “project”. From this perspective, the migration accommodates to the militant trajectory, despite the violence that motivated him to leave and the disruption that the situation of being a foreigner came to represent. Others interviewed, like Jairo (who was in the USSR and Mozambique) and Igor (who left directly for the latter country) attributed to “internationalism” the routes opened to a migration that, in their vision, allowed them to continue their personal and militant trajectories, which had been cut off in Brazil. Their continued militancy allowed them even to reject the category of “exile”:

“I was never someone in exile. I did not have my passport for some time. I was not able to return for a good while, but I never felt like someone in exile, no.”¹⁸
“No, no, no! I no way! At no time! It seemed like I was Mozambican! In no way! I lived that [situation] there intensely, always on the political side. At this time I am radical, always for the political side, right (...) I was always very radical. But, I never felt exiled there, because I did not leave here as an exile, but as someone who was not able to work here in their profession and I wanted to work in my profession.”¹⁹

It is interesting that Igor translates his feeling of integration through claiming, almost, a new nationality. He was not an exile, nor did he feel like a foreigner, “*it seemed like I was Mozambican*”. Nevertheless, he explained that he could feel this way by “*living the political side intensely*”. Belonging to the transnational field of the left allowed them to maintain their political activities and contacts, even returning to Brazil as “militants”. The case of those who were banished²⁰ is illuminating as Diogo reports:

¹⁸ Interview with Jairo conducted on July 2, 2009 in Rio de Janeiro. Jairo is the son of a disappeared politician, whose dream was to have a child educated in the USSR. His entire family was arrested one week before he left, but his father was still able to send him to the USSR through connections between the PCB (of which he was a diretor) and the PCURSS.

¹⁹ Interview with Igor conducted on July 15, 2009 in Rio de Janeiro. Despite the affirmation that he did not leave Brazil as an exile but because he was not able to work, Igor, who was a civil aviation pilot, explained that the lack of work was because his name was included in a secret decree that prevented the renewal of his flight license for professionals who were militants in political organizations, in his case the PCB, or who were members of a union until 1964.

²⁰ One of the best known actions of the Brazilian armed struggle took place in 1969, the kidnapping of the U.S. ambassador, who was exchanged for the release of 15 political prisoners who were sent into exile. In the next two years, three other actions of this type were realized, totaling nearly 130 freed prisoners. At the time of the first kidnapping, the dictatorship issued the AI-13, a legal instrument that allowed banishing Brazilian citizens, representing in the most literal manner that which Agamben (2007) would call the *supreme power and exception*. All the prisoners “exchanged” were banned by decree, and were not

“And this [militancy] wound up taking me to prison in early 1970. I left Brazil in an exchange for the German ambassador in 1970, I went to Algiers, from there to Cuba (...), trying to return to Brazil through Chile, which was the Chile of Salvador Allende, and we were surprised by the dismantling of our organization.”²¹

Diogo also did not understand all this moving around as “being in exile”, but only the period after the Chilean coup. The entire route, between his exchange for the ambassador and the coup in Chile, between 1970 and 1973, was summarized in the passage above, where the interviewee attributed centrality to militancy and the armed struggle as an option. His identification as a “militant of the left” is essential for the attribution of a meaning to the path, planned and realized as a function of the political affinities that the exercise of militancy created and according to the networks that permeated the field in which he was inserted. His expectation, in relation to living abroad had a military and political aims, as did the possibilities of making contacts to reorganize his return to Brazil. Being abroad was a route between prison – which had excluded him from the struggle – and the liberty that would reinsert him in the struggle.

Various others interviewed had the same vision, in which departure from Brasil did not represent a break in their political trajectories: they left for encounters with other militants, to conduct military training and many other activities. These objectives were unexpectedly altered during the journey. The support and solidarity, established in the recognition of the common objectives and presumptions, go beyond borders and relativize the limits imposed by nation states. The multiple and mobile networks among militants, which linked people from different cities of Brazil and others, for example, in Santiago, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Algiers or Paris, allowed for continuous flows of material and immaterial goods.

Locating their trajectories in relation to this field, the subjects ended up using other criteria, in addition to crossing borders, to define not only the moment in which they began their experience in exile, but also what exactly exile meant to them. It would thus be possible to say that these movements promoted *translocalities* to the degree to which the connections established between cities and locations overlapped the cartographies of the states,

granted their documents, and were considered non-patriots by Brazil, but not by international law, which did not recognize this category. Among those interviewed, 4 were banished.

²¹ Interview with Diogo granted to Denise Rollemberg, Rio de Janeiro, November 9, 1996 (Arquivo Edgar Leuenroth, Fundo Militância e luta armada no Brasil).

but also because these militants ended up establishing, in relation to these spatial horizons, “*distinct registers of affiliation*” (APPADURAI 1997: 38). Their narratives about exile are, therefore, also narratives about belonging to cosmopolitan groups and networks.

Nevertheless, these narratives are not only composed of continuities. We take as example Selma’s account of her experience. After discussing her entire itinerary, which took her to Germany as a “refugee” in 1974, she weaves considerations about how she understood her trajectory at that time, indicating that she felt “exiled” for the first time:

“Just in Europe, Just in Europe, when we were still trying to return. I did something crazy! I was in Germany. I got some money there from the organizations, a false document. I returned to Argentina to try to return here. There was no one left here, so I went back there again. And I thought that it was at that time, on my trip back, when I became clandestine [...] from Germany with a false document and here, when I arrived, not here, in Buenos Aires, I learned that “It’s over. Over. No more. Go back!” I think that’s when it registered. But never... I think that the very...after the trip to Mozambique the whole time was very much a ...I did not have an interiorization of exile, I thought that I was preparing myself to return [...] as a preparation, as a process, still as a militant, because I never regretted absolutely anything that I did, right?”²²

Declaring that she did not “*interiorize the exile*” by behaving as “*still a militant*”, Selma contrasts “exile” and “militancy” as opposing terms. This opposition, which appears to be present in most of the statements, links the term “exile” to a rupture or a transformation in their trajectory as militants. Faced with the conjuncture that began after the coup in Chile and her trip to Europe, Selma began to consider that she had entered a new phase, which required a transformation of political action, marked by a distancing from the immediate perspective, stimulated until that time, of “making revolution”. And this is how she explains her political decision to go to Mozambique:

“We wanted to make the revolution and not in the bars of Paris. That wasn’t our turf, that thing there. In 75, there was the Revolution of the Carnations, right? That fantastic process and that tie to the colonies. Then among the

²² Interview with Selma realized on May 31, 2010 in Brasília.

group the news began to appear that it was possible. Because at first, we had already seen that the return here was not anything that simple, that the resistance here wasn't like that... that we did not have the ability to be reabsorbed here in the underground. We were being sought. So, there was no way, the return was not a possible route at that time. But we also did not want to stay in Paris, so Mozambique arose lets say as a good alternative, so we continued to believe in socialism, in the revolution, in a lot of things.”²³

The category “exile”, in this and in other narratives, appears to be used to indicate or refer to situations in which the Brazilians we interviewed experienced feelings of exteriority and alienation. Thus, referring both to time periods and to social spaces, “exile” signifies either a social situation where revolutionary militancy would not be possible (“it wasn't in the bars of Paris”), or a time of revisions and adaptations among the communities of exiles of what was understood by militancy (“I don't regret absolutely anything that I did”). The understanding that there is a break at a moment of their trajectories is not, therefore, necessarily identified with the departure from Brazilian territory.

We can thus see that for some being in exile involved accepting an adaptation of political action and of their own conduct, since it became impossible to act politically in Brazil. Later, when they settled in Western European countries, they had to become legalized as “refugees”. To request asylum and accept oneself as a refugee involved recognizing that the immediate option to return was no longer in sight. They also had to modify their militancy in order to be able to remain in the new countries. As a result, the “political struggle” became the denunciation of the dictatorship, participating in campaigns for political prisoners, for human rights, and later, for amnesty. Whether or not they admitted “defeat”, convinced of and stimulated by new opportunities for militancy, all those interviewed were critical of these changes, hoping to maintain their political activism. This is what they sought to achieve in Mozambique.

Argentine Exiles: submerging in Brazil

The most often cited Argentine exile communities during the 1970s are those that took shape in countries like Spain, France, Mexico, Venezuela, Sweden

²³ Interview with Selma conducted on May 31, 2010 in Brasília.

and Italy. The transnational networks constituted among these exiles and the human rights movement in the Argentine were recognized for the essential role that they played in coordinating international denunciations of the violations committed by the military dictatorship. In contrast, there are few references to Argentines who fled to Brazil. Their presence in Brazil was marked, in general, by invisibility and ambiguity: they never became defined as a collectivity of exiles, refugees or migrants.

The strongest memory that former exiles from Argentina have of the 1970s, was the degree of political repression and disappearance of family members, friends, work companions and fellow militants. The politics of repression of the *National Reorganization Process*, as the dictatorial government was called by the military coup leaders, was aimed at annihilating political militancy and dissident thinking in the country.²⁴ The narratives of these Argentines include memories of a period in which the possibility of becoming victims of repression and the sense of terror from the massive disappearances were part of their daily lives. This threat was aggravated by the fact that the repression was aimed not only at those who were part of armed organizations or who were active in political parties or trades unions, but also at sympathizers, friends, colleagues and family members of those identified as “enemies of the nation/delinquent subversives”.

“Tucumán was really terrible. At that time, I had a brother-in-law who disappeared. [...] We had no kind of peace. You did not know if you would stay alive. [...] The college was highly politicized. [...] My brother-in-law disappeared at this time. My sister had two small children, one who was two years old and the other who was eight months. So it was a dramatic situation in my family. He never appeared again. Never! We looked everywhere [...] Tucumán was a large center. The guerrilla movement was strong and the repression was very strong. Tucumán, Córdoba, were very strong places. [...] When I left the airport, my husband had a beard. At that time many people had

²⁴ The Argentine dictatorship has been explained in different analyses by the terms *State Terrorism* (Duhalde 1999), the forced disappearance as a political systematic and understood as a *practice of social genocide* (Feierstein 2007), to the degree that the existence of hundreds of clandestine detention camps is analyzed as a *concentrating power* (Calveiro 2005 e 2008), which acted as a key element of political repression, serving as a metaphor for the operational mechanism applied to society as a whole. These analyses, which sought to emphasize the political nature of the dictatorial repression and of the extermination policy perpetrated, are triggered through *Memory* in the militancy of the members of the organizations of family members of the political disappeared and survivors of the clandestine centers.

beards. And for this he was considered suspect. [...] For example, my parents hid all the works of Freud. They hid everything because the military entered their home. Freud was subversive. It was terrible and you did not know what would happen.”²⁵

The experience of political violence was therefore strongly associated to the way they were identified by the agents of repression in Argentina. According to their statements, the political identity that they embodied linked them to political dissidence, transforming them into a target of physical or symbolic reprisals, or extermination. Their identities were thus constructed with reference to a universe of values associated to the “left”, to libertarian and socialist movements.

“I studied psychology and worked in a company and did...did other things, but not militancy. I was not involved in militancy at the time when I came to São Paulo. But I had been. Everyone around me were ex-militants or militants.”²⁶

Amongst the exiles, those who had actively militated against the dictatorship were distinguished from those who only expressed affinity for the ideas of the *left*. In addition, other distinctions are made on the basis of militant activities, such as having participated or not in armed organizations. These cleavages reveal a set of values associated to those experiences understood as belonging to the *social field of the left* and to the universe of *Seventies* militancy. The importance of politics and of the memory of how *politics* was experienced show how this experience was the basis for defining individual and group identities whether in Argentina itself or in exile.

“You do not need to have any type of conscious political position. But if you said “ah, this is unjust in the face of the established system,” you were considered subversive, even if you were not. In your mind, that was something unfair and that’s all. But there was one, I do not remember who, if he was a minister or what, he said: “We have three categories: the sympathizers of the dictatorship, the indifferent and the subversives. The indifferent must choose, they cannot remain indifferent. Either you are subversive or support the government.” You cannot remain indifferent. Simply, the fact that you were in some way politicized. Think of the 1960s, the 1970s. It was impossible to be

²⁵ Interview with María, psychoanalyst, resident in São Paulo since 1976, conducted on March 17, 2005.

²⁶ Interview with Tatiana, psychoanalyst, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on April 13, 2005.

absolutely innocent. Then you spoke about the world [...] Made some criticism, whether it was substantiated or not.”²⁷

According to the reports of the protagonists of this history, the phenomenon of individualization of the experience of Argentine exiles in Brazil is explained by concerns about the geographical proximity of the Argentine dictatorship and the presence of its agents in Brazilian territory. This concern with the danger of establishing ties with other Argentines, and in avoiding the organization of a collectivity of exiles in Brazil or in maintaining any form of political activity, so present in the memories about the first years in the migratory process, was not unsubstantiated. At that time, rumors had been circulating about the existence of *Operation Condor*. Moreover, a dictatorship was in full force in Brazil.

Therefore, this issue presents a paradox: for what reason did Latin Americans “of the left” seek Brazil as a place of refuge if that country also had a military dictatorship that persecuted political opponents? Upon recalling that they left behind family members and friends who were assassinated and or disappeared and a brutal regime of repression, these Argentines contrasted the representations that they constructed about the Brazilian dictatorship (understood as a less radical regime) to the memories of the political violence experienced in their country of origin.²⁸

“In some way, I was revived, reborn with the move to Brazil. I saw a troubled Brazil, with political problems and a military regime. At the end of the military regime, but still a military regime, absolutely. But when I arrived here I was surprised by the freedom of speech, by the freedom of all kinds, it appeared to me. It made me afraid because I left an Argentina that was scary. You did not trust anyone to say anything that was not absolutely conventional. Not even in the family! I arrived here and was afraid to see what could be thought, said, read, found in bookstores. The national news seemed to me something subversive because of the things I saw there. To give you an idea of how it was!”²⁹

27 Interview with Mariana, translator, resident of São Paulo since 1976, conducted on March 17, 2005.

28 It is important to remember that the Argentines left a country at the peak of the repression and arrived to Brazil that had begun a “slow, gradual and safe” opening process. In 1975, São Paulo had the first public demonstration against the military regime since 1968: an ecumenical service in memory of Vladimir Herzog, a journalist killed after being tortured by the Army, which gathered 8,000 people at the Cathedral da Sé. Gradually, after 1977, student and union movements held large demonstrations, but still confronted considerable brutality and resistance from the regime.

29 Interview with David, physicist, resident in Campinas since 1981, conducted on June 6, 2003.

In addition to the fear of Argentine repression, our interlocutors also mentioned economic issues. This makes it difficult to describe the flux of Argentines to Brazil as a strictly political migration, as Schwarzstein (2001a) has pointed out. While violence characterized the period, it also gave rise to economic problems, particularly when the repression directly affected professional activity.

“Then they would get someone who had your phone in their book, pronto! That was enough for you to enter the list of those sought, disappeared or whatever! It was very... Nevertheless life went on normally, and later I asked what we did to continue living. We would meet in the morning and say: ‘My God! There were five, six, seven. No! There were only four. I heard three bombs!’ Then, the next morning: “Who died, who didn’t die. Who disappeared, who didn’t disappear.” Among friends, we made a chain of identification. We called each other to know if everything was ok. If someone did not call, we signaled an alert. It was very, very hard. But, however, we continued to live normally, made believe, ate, cooked. Work, right, because everyone was already out of college. Everyone was desperately looking for something to do. No one was rich, of course!”³⁰

Given that Brazil was an alternative destination to the more traditional routes of Argentine emigration of the time, the growth of the migratory flow of Argentines to Brazil during the 1970s, can therefore only be understood by taking into account the conditions of violence and professional exclusion experienced in Argentina, and at the same time, by the professional opportunities that Brazil offered. In addition, Brazil’s proximity made it an economically more accessible option for migration, especially for those with less money or who were married with children.

The arrival of Argentines to Brazil at this time is also due in part to a relative easing in the issuing of visas to Brazil. In fact, after 1976, the peak of the Argentine diaspora, many of those who sought to leave the country legally found much greater restrictions in Europe and other Latin America countries. Nevertheless, visas were only more easily obtained in Brazil by those who had professional qualifications and who were able to secure a formal work contract, and not by those who left Argentina clandestinely and without documents.

³⁰ Interview with Paula, translator, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on March 10, 2005.

The Brazilian state never recognized the refugee status of these Latin Americans, given that the migratory legislation of the time only granted the right to asylum to individuals of European origin.³¹ Brazil's legislation on migration at that time treated migrants as potential enemies. For this reason, various humanitarian entities (even some religious agencies) became important agents in receiving, sheltering and providing assistance to Latin American exiles in Brazil. It is worth emphasizing that during the 1980s, Caritas, for example, worked intensely in the struggle for recognition of political refugees from neighboring countries, and even sought to protect those who did not obtain official recognition from UNHCR, which was frequently the case.

For this reason, even though they left the country of origin because of political violence, many of these Argentines remained in Brazil as undocumented tourists (until they could legalize their situation through amnesty programs, for example) or received the status of immigrants, by obtaining a work contract, marrying or having a Brazilian child. Others had their stay in the country conditioned on the presence of UNHCR, which since 1977 had an office in Rio de Janeiro, which made efforts to resettle these refugees in other countries. Brazil therefore acted as a place of transit for many Latin American exiles.

In this scenario, and according to the memories of our interlocutors, remaining in Brazil was more attractive than being repatriated by the United Nations to a more distant destination. Although Europe offered better material conditions than Brazil, to be resettled in a country like Sweden symbolized an even deeper disruption. For this reason, many Argentines (who may or may not have had an opportunity for resettlement through the UNHCR) decided to stay in Brazil, even if often without documents. To stay in Brazil meant to remain close to Argentina, to maintain some degree of connection with their political and social context of origin, but above all, it meant remaining within Latin America. This final question involved a political positioning. Nevertheless, unlike exiles who passed through countries where they could reconstitute their militancy, through insertion in the *transnational field*

³¹ At first, a refugee was defined as an individual of European origin who was persecuted because of events that took place before January 1951. This definition was linked to an immediate concern for Europeans who were expelled from their countries during or at the end of World War II. To revert this Eurocentric clause, in 1967, in a new Convention, the geographic and temporal restrictions were removed. Even if Brazil had adhered to a new document, it chose to maintain the "geographic reserve," refusing asylum to Latin Americans.

of the left, these Argentines felt they would have to abandon their political militancy in order to stay in dictatorial Brazil; they needed to *submerge*.

“The story is that they did not leave us to stay. That is, Brazil was a country of transit. To be able to stay, either don’t go through UNHCR, since it was very dangerous to cross the border. Or go through UNHCR. But it took so much time [...] what happened is that some people submerged, that’s what we used to say. Families came from Argentina with children who would go to a small city and would stay and live there. That is, they protected their security and that of their family, but submerged. There were some Argentines in Belem [...] And there wasn’t democracy in Brazil either. And we were as persecuted as we were in Argentina, except that in Brazil they did not know us. We dressed like Brazilians, walked like them, we got tans to not be so white if you were blonde [...] It was a clandestine existence. [...] Because even many political refugees were denied entrance. This was not my case because I had been in jail, because I had been disappeared. But you arrived and were already fleeing. The first UNHCR was in Rio de Janeiro. [...] With Armenia Nercessian it was a terrible struggle, with public charges and everything. Because a person arrived to seek refugee status and the woman wanted to say things that were not relevant. [...] After all these run arounds, circles, this woman said they didn’t recognize us as refugees. This meant that these colleagues automatically had to leave Brazil. But they didn’t go. They went underground [...] The thing was to take them off the radar, put them in a quiet place, in a peaceful village where they could conduct their life without anyone asking.”³²

In the memories of these Argentines, the distinction between those identified as refugees or exiles and those identified as immigrants emerged as a question. With political activity being a central element for the construction of the category of exile, those who were not active militants in Argentina – even if they were just as threatened and excluded from the country of origin

³² Statement of María Socorro Alonso, militant of Familiares de Detenidos y Desaparecidos por Razones Políticas [Families of the Detained and Disappeared for Political Reasons]. A survivor of a clandestine detention camp, Maria lived in Rio de Janeiro in 1982 waiting for her definitive resettlement in Canada, by means of a measure of the UNHCR. The interview was conducted in Sept. 24, 2009, in Buenos Aires. It should be emphasized that Maria was not part of the group of people interviewed to which the ethnography mentioned here refers, since she went on to Canada and later returned to Argentina (her statement was taken as part of another research project). Nevertheless, her statement was considered to be pertinent to the reflections made in this article.

by their framing in the negative identity of “*subversive enemy*” – were not defined as exiles. As Jensen (2005) has rightly argued, they did not have the right to consider themselves exiles because they did not have a recognized name, a tragic history or a heroic militancy.

“Many people left here because, as I already told you, it was these people that were...They did not have asylym. They were hiding! The asylum papers were handled here and who did the negotiating was not Brazil. It was Holland, Sweden and everyone went there with the UN asylum documents. But not us. We had a passport, everything. We are emigrants and not exiles. We created roots. When I got here, everyone, but everyone [...] because everyone was together, Chileans and Uruguayans, right. Everyone. They hadn't moved here. They didn't move. They were passing through to return as soon as they could. Later they left as exiles, with a UN passport, these things.”³³

The idea of transitoriality attributed to the figure of the exile is another element of distinction between those considered as exiles and others as immigrants. Paula, for example, never considered herself an exile, because in addition to the fact that she was not a political activist in Argentina, she never accepted a transitory condition in Brazil. Unlike the Brazilians, who, as we have seen, associated more prolonged settlement in a foreign country to the idea of “feeling like exiles for the first time”, for Paula, “creating roots”, and settling definitively in Brazil marked her difference in relation to those who were found in the condition of exiles. In contrast, Tatiana, who left Argentina after the disappearance of her son and ex-husband, for many years considered herself to be a refugee, even if she never received legal recognition as such. Her residency in Brazil was legalized under common immigrant status, and she pointed to the condition of transitoriness to which she was submitted.

“For me (Brazil) was a place of refuge at that time. It was not the place where I wanted to be at first. It took a while until I wanted to be in Brazil. I think it was long after the Alfonsin government, when I decided to stay in Brazil. It was a situation in which I had no option. When I returned, I think that I had this thing that I wanted to choose. But in fact it took a long time for me to be more relaxed about the fact that this was my place, that I had made roots here. But

³³ Interview with Paula, translator, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on March 10, 2005.

each time that I returned to Argentina it touched me. It seemed that I should be there, but I was here.”³⁴

Referring to the representations constructed about the experience in exile, the actors of the diaspora recall how the “option” to leave Argentina was stigmatized by many of the militants. The burden of “choice” for exile often implied having to live with the stigma of being seen as a *traitor*, *individualist* or even a *deserter*, an interpretation that was common both in the imaginary of the agents of the repression and in an important sector of the political opposition. In a context in which the political dispute became central, exile often meant assuming “defeat”.

“So it was like a moment when I had to chose the path to take, I don’t know if in the armed struggle, but in the political struggle. Or continue on the side of my personal search. And this is what I did because fundamentally, despite the fact that ideologically I agreed with the struggle, with the ideological postulates, those of existence lets say, I was never in favor of violence. So this was something very difficult for me to face. To pick up a gun, to point it at someone? Regardless of the ideology that you thought right, the ideology of the libertarians, of the socialists, but...of course I was against the dictatorship, against the difficult things that were happening. I choose to leave Argentina.”³⁵

It is worth noting that during the years of the fiercest repression in Argentina, political discourse largely linked the honor of its “combatants” to the fact of gloriously remaining until the end of the struggle, even if the end meant death. The interviews reveal ambivalent sentiments: of relief for having escaped death; and guilt for having left ideals, friends and families behind (many of whom became victims of repression). These are still found in the painful memories generated by separations, and by the abandonment of militancy and exclusion from political life.

“When I returned to Argentina, at that time of stronger repression, I felt considerable hostility from people with whom I had gone out and had good relations., With family, with people with whom I spoke in the street, I always spoke with everyone, I love to talk. A hidden hostility, not open, for someone who had left the country. Because it was as if we had abandoned them in the

³⁴ Interview with Tatiana, psychoanalyst, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on April 13, 2005.

³⁵ Interview with Gabriela, psychoanalyst, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on April 7, 2005.

middle of the problem. Like: “take care of yourselves, I am going to find my own way,” a bit selfish, a sensation that we were a bit selfish. And it was not very pleasant because there was the same guilt that everyone had. And its very powerful to have thought that we should have stayed. Should have stayed to die together with the dead? But I couldn’t help feeling bad. And this hostility even revealed itself because they didn’t want to know anything about Brazil. I began to talk about my experience here and people changed the subject and spoke of Argentina, about Argentina, Argentina.”³⁶

“I was 23 and felt like an old man [...] And, above all, the guilt of remaining alive while the news of death never ceased, the guilt of having been saved. Elvio explained that he was right, that death was inevitable, to stay wouldn’t have helped a thing and he believed that, but even so he felt like the worst piece of garbage in history. In the streets of São Paulo it was very hot and noisy.”³⁷

During the dictatorship, the most conventional channels of political participation were prohibited, but militant activity continued through clandestine channels or through other political commitments. Exile therefore represented the definitive exclusion from the possibility for political participation in the country. Therefore, together with the stigma and ambivalent feelings, exile came to be represented as an abandonment of the political cause and of the companions in militancy. Sayad (1998) emphasized how emigration itself presumed the exclusion from politics to the degree to which the movement of departure of the individual from the country coincided with his departure from the political order in which he participated³⁸.

However, Argentine exiles in countries such as Spain, France and Mexico (and as we see, Brazilian exiles in Mozambique also), could, in some way, reconstruct themselves as political actors, continuing with their militancy through participating in the *transnational field of the left* and as representatives of the *resistance* or of the anti-dictatorial struggle abroad. In this way they were able to re-signify their identities and militancy, invoking, for example,

36 Interview with Gabriela, psychoanalyst, resident in São Paulo since 1978, conducted on April 7, 2005.

37 (Anguita and Caparrós 1998: 187).

38 As Feldman-Bianco (2011) and Glick-Schiller et al (1992) express well, it is worth remembering that with the intensification of the flow of people, signs and capitals in the context of contemporary globalization, migrants have been increasingly incorporated to their nation-states of origin as economic and political actors. This takes place through a growing process of mobilization of the transmigrant communities, conjugated to the formulation of public policies by the nation-states of origin, in the sense of expanding the rights of citizenship of the deterritorialized populations (which include, for example, the right to political participation).

the concept of human rights and partially transforming it into part of the vocabulary of the movement of resistance to the Latin American dictatorships.

In contrast, exile in Brazil was characterized by the proximity with the dictatorial regime from which the Argentines sought to escape, by the talons of the *Operation Condor*, but also by the fact that the country they had come to was also under a dictatorship, which obviously did not offer any support to Latin American refugees. As a consequence, although they recognized themselves as part of the social group that was the target of dictatorial repression, the Argentines who went to Brazil did not define themselves as exiles precisely due to the representations constructed about exile within the *transnational field of the left*: they were not carriers of a recognized history of political militancy; their departure from their country of origin marked a break in their trajectories of political militancy; and they decided to settle definitively in the country of destination.

This process revealed how the experience of Argentine exiles in Brazil was constituted not only in relation to a specific migratory and national context (dictatorial Argentina and Brazil), but also amid the transnational social fields (the universe of the values of *seventies* militancy; the transnational field of the left). They thus became refugees, even if they were not officially recognized as such. They did not see themselves as exiles, even if they had been politically persecuted in their country of origin. And, finally, they thought it better to *submerge*, and become “clandestine” in Brazil than to become refugees resettled in a distant Europe.

“In this situation I was able to leave Argentine and I came to Brazil with a child. I left because it was not possible to be there. From here there were options to go to Europe. But there I decided to go to Brazil because it was closer to Argentina, to my place and my family and because it was Brazil. I felt more within America. I did not classify myself as a refugee. I was clandestine. Because as a refugee here in Brazil I would not be received. So I could not be considered a refugee by the United Nations. There they send you to Sweden, Norway. Since I did not want that, I decided to leave on my own. I left, but I had no documentation. Years later, in one of these amnesties I entered afterwards... I took various procedures until I finally obtained the RNE. The National Foreigners Registration.”³⁹

39 Interview with Estela, owner of a restaurant that served traditional Argentine food, living in São Paulo since 1979, conducted on April 15, 2005.

To sum up, the Argentines arrived in Brazil to escape torture and forced disappearance (their own or of family members, friends and fellow militants), marked by the official or veiled expulsions, by the danger in crossing borders and by the professional retaliations. Through legal or touristic departures (conducted with their own passport or with false documents), they reached Brazilian lands in apparently conventional journeys. They thus needed to *submerge*, to isolate themselves from politics, making invisible the diacritical signs that had made them into targets of repression. They thus reconstructed their identities and their professional trajectories and in this way saved their lives.

The politics of exile and the exiles from politics

In general terms, *exile* defines the condition of a subject separated from his or her country of origin due to an adverse situation in which he or she is expelled, runs the risk of or actually suffers persecution. When invoked, the term aims to denote a profile in relation to the more general forms of migration due to its forced, non-voluntary or unwanted nature. The emergence of violence as a distinctive element of this migration appears to favor analyses that linked the forced crossing of national borders to a necessary and irrefutable cultural and identity break in the individual and collective trajectory of the migrants (Rollemburg 1999, Said 2003). In this paper, we argued that the emphasis on this perspective, in addition to leading to the homogenization and universalization of experiences and above all of the feelings of the migrant actors, also leads to an excessively territorialized and nationalized concept of that which they considered to be their culture (Malkki 1995).

The routes taken by the individual and collective memories presented here reveal that *exile*, like other categories mobilized to define social relations or processes, has little meaning when separated from the context in which it is invoked. In both case studies, it was clear that although the Brazilians and Argentines share trajectories of opposition to dictatorships and migratory experiences, as well as a belonging to the same social networks, the way they thought about their lives was radically different. Nevertheless, even if they had their views of the world and politics (of the present and past) transformed by time, their memories reveal certain shared premises, which did not exactly point to identities in the present but to *common readings of the past*.

in which the personal trajectory of forced migration and the collective experience of the communities of the exiles stood out in their narratives.

If, on one hand, we have pointed to a more instrumental dimension of memories – recognizing them as an object in dispute and as a constituent part of the conflicts engaged in by different social groups to attribute meanings to the past and to the collective identity,⁴⁰ on the other hand, we judge it essential to also consider their symbolic dimension, given that the choice of what is to be narrated and remembered can be revealing of how individuals and groups conceive their own experience of the world. As Pollak (1992) argues, when they talk of the past, people evoke not only events, but also part of the universe of values and of social relations in which the events and personalities of the narrative are inserted, as well as some of the categories, premises and interpretations that are socially constructed and shared in the past.

The memories of the migrant actors reveal to us more than events open to free interpretation and more than collectively relevant themes and categories in the act of confronting the past. They reveal what we chose to call *common premises*, principles that the subjects invoke to give meaning to their trajectory, establishing its coherence and value. Some of these premises involve, even if in a distinct manner, the representations of the Argentine and Brazilian exiles, which allow us to both approximate the processes of political exile that they underwent in Argentina and Brazil, as well as reflect on how different political contexts in the countries of destination involve diverse forms of experiencing exile.

The decision of the Argentines to take exile in Brazil was marked by the Argentine and Brazilian dictatorial repression and thus, by the silencing of their political identities in the migratory context. Even if the choice for Brazil was based on the possibility of living under a dictatorship seen as less oppressive, nevertheless, these Argentines never came to feel completely free. As reported by one of those interviewed, “*in Brazil, we were as persecuted as in Argentina, but in Brazil they did not know us*”. Thus, the calendar of horror continued to be that of the Argentine dictatorship, aggravated by life in the Brazilian dictatorial context. One needs simply to recall the cases of

⁴⁰ It is worth emphasizing that it was only in the 1970s and 1980s that interest grew in the development of analyses concerned with investigating the social construction of the past. For a review of the main theoretical lines and approaches found in studies about social memory see Olick and Robbins (1998).

Argentines kidnapped in Brazil (in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and at the border of the Foz do Iguaçu), in the context of Operation Condor, through the 1980s.

For the Argentines who definitively established themselves in São Paulo state, the category *exile* was not much used. Although they recognized themselves as part of the social group that was the target of repression, the condition of exile was attributed only to those who could publically request it as exiles in the migratory context, which gave continuity to the trajectory of militancy, to the carriers of recognized political and party militancy in Argentina or those who were found in a situation in transit in Brazil. If, in this case, the figure of the exile coincided with the political activist, they did not understand their migratory experiences as exile they had been excluded and excluded themselves from politics. Because they abandoned active political militancy to “lose themselves” and “submerge” in the context of a dictatorial Brazil, they did not recognize themselves as exiles; but first formed a contingent that, we might call exiles from politics. It is in this sense that the decision for political exile in Brazil was also a political decision, expressed as a break in their trajectories as militants.

The Brazilians who decided to move to the capital of Mozambique, experienced, as did the Argentines who went to Brazil, a moment of rupture in their militant trajectories provoked by the sense of defeat in the field of political struggle. Nevertheless, the anguish and suffering experienced collectively by that “generation” of Brazilians would be counter balanced by the opportunity to “make revolution”. This political decision, the fruit of belonging to the *transnational field of the left*, guaranteed new meanings to their trajectories of migration by including them in their life project and political militancy.

In Mozambique, their histories of political persecution in Brazil and of exile could be freely told, and to the degree to which they were heard with admiration, acquired political capital, approximating themselves to the heroes of Mozambican independence. In the country in construction, of “unlimited” possibilities as one person interviewed affirmed, they could dedicate themselves with militant fervor, live the socialist utopia that, despite missteps and deceptions during the process, guided them and gave coherence to their lives. In this process, they were exiled, but, above all, they were internationalist leftist militants.

We have shown how our interlocutors did not define exile in terms of the simple crossing of national borders. The case studies presented here show,

for example, how the moments of rupture in individual trajectories are found to be more associated to the political sense of the action of the subjects than to the migratory movement itself, continuing political activism in the case of the Brazilians in Mozambique or giving up militancy to “submerge” in daily life in the case of the Argentines in Brazil. In both cases, in one form or another, their political experience is central: territorial exclusion was associated to the idea of “defeat”, a perception that is directly tied to the field of political dispute and to the universe of values from which they construct their identities (the *left*, the universe of *seventies* militancy). That is, if these Argentine and Brazilian migrants could or could not recognize themselves or be recognized as exiles, this was determined as a function of shared (and disputed) representations in the *field of the transnational left* about what constituted exile or who were exiles: those who gave continuity to the trajectory of political militancy – whether through political participation in other national spaces (the Mozambican revolution) or as activists of campaigns of international denunciations and in defense of human rights – in addition to making political identity a form of public distinction.

It is in this sense that exile is forged transnationally as a category, revealing how the multiple meanings attributed to the experience of exile were constituted not only in relation to specific national and migratory contexts – the Brazilian and Argentine dictatorships, on one hand, the Brazilian dictatorships and the Mozambican socialist revolution on the other – but also amid the transnational social fields (*the transnational field of the left*).

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PART 4

Migration as Crime

Confounding Borders and Walls

Documents, letters and the governance of
relationships in São Paulo and Barcelona prisons

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Abstract

Spanish women arrested in São Paulo, and Brazilian women arrested in Barcelona, often carry letters and documents in folders, plastic bags and envelopes, well protected in pockets, purses or knapsacks. The papers tell of events in the lives of these women, and provide clues and legibility to relationships maintained with people and places outside prison. In this paper, I analyze how letters and documents are products of family and transnational relationships that they can also produce. The paper looks at how they are used as evidence of families and loving relationships that each day are evaluated, and recognized or rejected, by public safety authorities, prison wardens, prosecutors, public defenders, consulates and immigration police. The letters and documents tell stories that are used to substantiate the deportation or immigration of Spanish women imprisoned in São Paulo and Brazilian women imprisoned in Barcelona.

Keywords: Prison, Migration, Letters, Documents and Love.

Resumo

Cartas e documentos são papéis que espanholas presas em São Paulo e brasileiras presas em Barcelona carregam em pastas, saquinhos, envelopes, sempre bem protegidos no bolso, na bolsa ou na mochila. São papéis que as identificam e que produzem evidências (ou são evidências produzidas) das suas histórias. Cartas de família podem ser documentos de Estado. Documentos que tornam legíveis relações mantidas com redes e lugares externos à prisão. A partir de dados da pesquisa de doutorado em curso, feita com pessoas

presas em penitenciárias femininas de São Paulo e de Barcelona, proponho analisar suas trajetórias com enfoque nas cartas e documentos que, escritos e trocados, tornam-se, concomitantemente, produto e produção de laços familiares e relações transnacionais. Histórias que são avaliadas e avalizadas por instituições estatais de justiça e de fronteira, como prisões, promotorias, consulados e oficinas de *extranjería*; histórias que podem fundamentar processos de expulsão ou de imigração de espanholas presas em São Paulo e brasileiras presas em Barcelona.

Palavras chave: Prisão, Migração, Cartas, Documentos e Amor.

Confounding Borders and Walls

Documents, letters and the governance of
relationships in São Paulo and Barcelona prisons¹

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Presentation

Relationships between matrimony, migration, “help” and documentation have been closely analyzed by researchers interested in South-North flows related to markets for sex, matrimony, care workers and other forms of labor (see, for example: Parreñas 2002, Assis 2004, Piscitelli 2007, Togni 2011). By means of an ethnography conducted in prisons in the cities of São Paulo and Barcelona, I propose a different perspective on transatlantic population movements, in particular the transnational drug market which leads to the imprisonment of Spaniards in Brazil and Brazilians in Spain.³

I began the research in women’s prisons in the city of São Paulo, which led me to work with networks established by women in the Penitenciária Feminina da Capital [Women’s Penitentiary of the Capital] and the Penitenciária Feminina de Santana [Womens Penitentiary of Santana]. I also followed similar networks in the Women’s Prisons of Can Brians and Wad Raz in Barcelona. The text below refers mainly to field data collected at the Women’s Penitentiary of the Capital, in São Paulo, and at the Can Brians and Wad Raz prisons in Barcelona.

¹ I would like to thank Adriana Piscitelli for the countless readings, corrections and guidance provided during the composition of this article, Adriana Vianna and Maria Gabriela Lugones for the invaluable theoretical contributions, Fabiana Andrade, Larissa Nadai, Carol Branco and Iara Beleli for the always reliable exchange of care and Bruna Bumachar for the careful reading.

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³ This article presents part of a doctoral study being conducted in the graduate program in social anthropology at UNICAMP.

The Women's Penitentiary of the Capital (PFC) is the oldest female penitentiary in São Paulo state. Conceived and constructed to be a women's prison, at first administered by nuns, it was long considered a model institution (Padovani 2010, Angotti 2011). Since the decade 2000 - 2010, with the sharp growth in the population of female prisons, and particularly with the intensification of policies to suppress drug trafficking and the increased imprisonment of foreigners, the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital came to be populated almost exclusively by women from countries such as Bolivia, South Africa, Angola, Thailand and Spain.

Can Brians is Barcelona's main prison. It is a closed regime penitentiary⁴ with separate accommodations for women and men. Its name comes from the farm that occupied the land where the modern Catalonian prison now stands in a rural region of Barcelona, high in the mountains. Wad Raz is one of the oldest prisons in Barcelona and in contrast with Can Brians, is located at the center of the city, very close to the beach and Olympic village, neighborhoods where there is considerable tourist, commercial and industrial activity. It is reserved for temporary prisoners or those in what is known as a semi-open regime. It also has areas for women and men. Can Brians and Wad Raz are ironically called by men and women prisoners, and by the employees and volunteers who work at the units: "the house in the mountains and the beach house."

At the time of the study (from March 2010 - March 2012) there were twenty-seven Brazilians imprisoned in women's penitentiaries in Catalonia and thirty-five Spanish women in São Paulo's penitentiaries.⁵

Situating flows and fixity in the transnational prison processes

The interest in taking a concomitant look at prison spaces of São Paulo and Barcelona stems from the intense relationship established between Brazil and Spain by migratory flows related to an international drug trade that also

⁴ A closed-regime is understood, in both Brazil and Spain, as incarceration experienced entirely within a prison. Those sentenced to a closed regime work, sleep and live all their daily activities within the penitentiary buildings. Those sentenced to a semi-open regime can work, study and spend some days outside the prison. It is important to note that, in this article, I make specific references to the Catalan prison system due to the fact that the study has been conducted with Brazilians imprisoned in Barcelona. The prison structure of the city of Barcelona is based on laws and regulations specific to Catalonia, the only autonomous Spanish community with criminal laws that are different from national Spanish law. It should therefore be clear that the Spanish and Catalonian prisons have different contexts.

⁵ Of foreign women imprisoned in Spain, according to data from a study by Natalia Ribas Mateos and Alexandra Martinez, in 2003, Colombians represented 56.9% and Brazilians 6.5% of the total, including women from Morocco and Portugal. See: Almeda 2003, Mateos and Martinez 2003, Juliano 2012.

brings to Brazilian prisons, especially those in the country's southeast, people from other countries of South America, Europe and Asia. Data produced by the Brazilian Ministry of Justice and published by InfoPen in June 2012⁶ indicate that in São Paulo's male and female prisons the largest contingent of European prisoners is Spanish. Moreover, in absolute terms, the Spanish are the fifth main nationality of foreigners in female prisons in São Paulo, behind only Bolivians, South Africans, Angolans and Thais.

During my field work, I witnessed a continuous series of romantic exchanges and relations between Brazilian and Spanish women inmates, and of the "casos" (affairs) and "casamentos" (marriages) established between them. Affairs, the term used to refer to relations ranging from simple flirtations to more serious relationships, come to be called marriages when a couple begins to share a cell, when the relationship thus becomes socially recognized. Some marriages established outside the penitentiary are broken off in favor of affairs that are established within the prison. On the other hand, heterosexual affairs initiated outside of prison, and according to the interlocutors of the study, considered in the prison to be of little importance, acquire centrality to the degree to which they become essential for creating opportunities for getting by and having a place to stay and other assistance at the end of a sentence. During the period of the study in the São Paulo penitentiaries, "marriages" between Brazilian and Spanish women were more common than marriages between Brazilian women and Bolivian, South African, Angolan or Thai women.⁷

Marriage within prisons involves issues of race, class - and in the case of transnational prison contexts – nationality, just as it does in the outside world. Attributes that identify the Spanish women as "white" and "European" can make them preferred partners for Brazilian women inmates in the São

⁶ The data are from June 2012. The last consultation was made in August 2013. See: <http://portal.mj.gov.br/main.asp?View=%7BD574E9CE-3C7D-437A-A5B6-22166AD2E896%7D&Team=¶ms=ItemID=%7BC37B2AE9-4C68-4006-8B16-24D28407509C%7D;&UIPartUID=%7B2868BA3C-1C72-4347-BE11-A26F70F4CB26%7D>

⁷ The doctoral study underway in the Department of Social Anthropology at Unicamp, under the supervision of Adriana Gracia Piscitelli, entitled *Sobre Casos e Casamentos: Relacionamentos amorosos e experiências de conjugalidade nas penitenciárias femininas paulistas e catalãs* [Affairs and Marriages: Romantic relationships and experiences of conjugalility in women's prisons in São Paulo and Barcelona] is part of the international cooperative research project about urban and migratory flows between the Center for Gender and Sexuality Studies of UNICAMP/PAGU in the graduate program in social sciences at UNICAMP and the Anthropology Department of the Universitat Rovira i Virgili de Tarragona / Catalonia. The project involves studies conducted in São Paulo state and in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. The study conducted in Barcelona had the support of Priest Jesus - from Prison Pastoral Care -, Yolanda Bodoque and Jordi Roca and was financed by the Brazilian higher education finance agency the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES).

Paulo penitentiaries. In turn, to be in a relationship with a Brazilian, can imply, for foreign inmates, the production of an assistance network that tends to facilitate access to meals, personal hygiene products and cosmetics, which when sent by mail, sustain commerce and relations for providing “help” (Piscitelli 2008: 29-63) in the penitentiaries. Moreover, a relationship with a Brazilian can imply having a “home” to stay in during periods of conditional release or semi-liberty, for example. “Romantic” relationships lead to the establishment of ties that indicate to prison, immigration, and court officials that an inmate has some kind of tie to the territory.

All foreigners imprisoned in Brazilian territory and accused of committing a crime under Brazilian law, respond, in addition to criminal charges – for “international drug trafficking” for example – to an administrative process for deportation moved by the Ministry of Justice.⁸ This process, however, is different for each detainee. Some of the women I interviewed in the Women’s Penitentiary in the Capital, were able to get their sentences reduced to a semi-open regime, or conditional liberty and to delay the deportation orders until after they had been granted such changes, but some do not.

Nevertheless, during the years of my research in prisons and among networks of foreigners leaving the prisons in the city of São Paulo, I witnessed situations in which the approval of the sentence reduction to a semi-open regime was granted, only to be revoked due to the publication of a deportation order by the Ministry of Justice during this period of temporary leave. For this reason, for example, a judge decided that an Italian woman sentenced in Brazil for international drug trafficking, but who was temporarily at liberty, was in effect a fugitive. When she presented herself once again at the gates of the penitentiary at the end of the temporary leave, she was immediately returned to a closed regime, where she remained until completing her sentence. Despite this, other foreigners who received deportation orders had their rights to reduced sentences and conditional liberty recognized by judges. This makes it difficult for observers and foreign inmates to understand the criteria used by judges who issue sentences, concerning the rights, benefits and prison regulations for non-Brazilians. The fact that different

⁸ See: Site of the Ministério da Justiça. Acesso dia 01 de julho de 13. <http://portal.mj.gov.br/main.asp?View=%0428DBCE-69A9-4197-B4FF-849D177F9B7E}&BrowserType=NN&LangID=pt-br¶ms=itemID%3D%7B332D78Eo-6C88-43B2-9437-5C9012D65C71%7D%3B&UIPartUID=%7B2868BA3C-1C72-4347-BE11-A26F70F4CB26%7D>

judges rule differently on these issues means that there are many requests for transfers to jurisdictions where judges regularly grant foreigners with or without a deportation order the right to complete a sentence in a semi-open regime and conditional liberty.

Similarly, Catalonian prison policies also do not recognize the foreigners who are imprisoned as legal immigrants. Upon leaving the prison system, they enter an intersecting network of (ir)regularities, (il)legalities and (il) legitimacies, through which they feed the illegal markets of sex, labor and drugs, which are subject to repression by the Catalan (and Spanish) police.

Foreigners without legal papers in Spain are detained in Centers for the Internment of Foreigners, or CIEs, to await deportation.⁹ Conditions in these centers, are the foci of constant criticism by human rights groups and frequent newspaper articles. Internment in the CIEs can be as long as sixty days, yet not all the interns are in fact deported.¹⁰

The CIEs occupy a central place in the text of a report—*Estrangers a les presons catalanes*¹¹—on foreigners in Barcelona penitentiaries produced by the Catalan Department of Justice in 2010. The report classifies imprisoned foreigners along a continuum between those with a strong probability of returning to their home countries and those with weak ties to their countries of origin. The report showed that 71.2% of the foreign inmates were from Central and South America, and that at the time of the study 81.4% of them had been imprisoned for crimes against public health, as drug trafficking is classified.

The ethnography of Brazilians imprisoned in Catalonia reveals the strategies of these women to avoid immigration laws. As the stories presented will illustrate, romantic, family and labor relations established in prison and during conditional leaves often change the plans of these inmates to return

⁹ Brazil has no internment centers for foreigners like the CIEs.

¹⁰ The process of deportation to the country of nationality, in this case, to Brazil, is subject to Spanish and also Brazilian laws. Entrance in Brazil requires that the person have some kind of document, passport or authorization for return issued by the consulate. In situations in which the passport of a Brazilian in an irregular situation in Spain is missing, the deportation requires that this Brazilian declare that he or she wishes to return to Brazil, given that the Brazilian Consulate only issues an authorization to return with the consent of the person who will return to the country. If the Brazilian does not make this declaration, the Consulate does not issue the authorization to return and the Spanish state cannot deport the person. After sixty days of interment in the Centers for Internment for Foreigners, this person returns to the streets of Spain with a deportation order issued by Spain. In addition, for extradition, the Spanish government must pay the airfare of the people interned in these centers. For this reason, increasingly fewer people have effectively been extradited and more people have left the period of internment with a letter of expulsion.

¹¹ Foreigners in Catalan Prisons.

to their country of origin. “To want to stay” in the country in which they are serving a sentence after being released creates a transposition from imprisonment to migration. This transposition is subtly woven into the narratives of the women I interviewed.¹²

In addition to these narratives, I examine the letters and documents produced and then shown by these women to glimpse the efforts they make to cross walls and borders.

Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán: Writing documents, plotting familiarities.

I, Natália Corazza Padovani, bearer of Registro Geral nº 12345678-X, anthropologist, married to Douglas Gonçalves, bearer of Registro Geral nº 87654321-X¹³, artist, resident of Santo André, SP, declare to have knowledge that the rehabilitant Marta Téllez, matriculated under nº. 123456, lives in a stable union with rehabilitant Eduardo Deán, matriculated under no. 654321.¹⁴ I also declare that I know that Marta and Eduardo met in Spain, their native country, when they both were 16 and that, since then, have maintained a stable, conjugal loving, relationship.

Santo André, June 2011.

Signature of the declarant recognized by similarity.

In this document which was sent to the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration and to the Penitentiary of Itaí, both in São Paulo state, two

¹² About “stereotypes of isolation” that compose the prison I would like to thank my colleague and friend Bruna Bumachar who has been conducting doctoral research in the graduate program in social anthropology at UNICAMP entitled Nem dentro nem fora: a experiência prisional de estrangeiras na Penitenciária Feminina da Capital, [Neither in Nor out: the prison experience of foreign women in the Female Penitentiary of the Capital], in which she analyzes the theme of foreigners jailed in São Paulo focusing on maternity. I would like to thank her for the exchanges that we have had about the commonly accepted understanding that prison is a “parenthesis” a hiatus in the life of the women inmates. In her research, Bruna reveals that the uses of technology and the permanent communication with the “outside” of the walls of the prison make them porous. I suggest Bumachar (2012).

¹³ The ID numbers are fictitious.

¹⁴ Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán are personalities in the novel Mañana em la batalla piensa en mi, by Javier Marías. I have borrowed their names to tell the story of another family from Madrid. In the story that I tell, Marta Téllez does not die as happens to Marta Téllez de Marías. Here, Eduardo Deán was also far away, not because he was traveling to work, but because he is in jail in a different penitentiary unit from that of Marta Téllez. In the relationship of this Marta Téllez and this Eduardo Deán, there are no matrimonial documents, children or home. In the relationship of Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán from Marías, the marriage is legitimate and made legible by all instances. In both the relationships, the adultery and the promiscuity are presumed. The identification numbers mentioned are, clearly, fictitious.

conjugal unions are present, my own with Douglas Gonçalves, and that of Marta Téllez with Eduardo Deán. About the first, there is nothing to be declared, only affirmed and above all, identified. The second, needs to be more legible (Das and Poole 2004: 25-26) and particularly, to be deemed legitimate. I made an effort, as a legally married woman, to produce a declaration that attests the civilly recognized conjugal relationship of Marta and Eduardo.¹⁵ The declaration, which encompasses in the text the conjugal and heterosexual legitimacy of the declarant, seeks to validate another conjugality, which is also heterosexual: that of Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán, Spaniards who are imprisoned in São Paulo.

Marta's sisters and Eduardo's mother sent similar declarations and the correspondence that arrived from Spain was signed and registered by a Spanish notary and bore the imprint of the General Consul of Brazil in Madrid guaranteeing its veracity. They also included photos of family occasions. The documents say little about Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán; only providing their ID numbers, their complete names, and old photographs. In the brief and colorless lines, however, the declarations depict the long-term nature of the relationship. The length of time of the relationship is emphasized to attest to the conjugality established between Marta and Eduardo. Initiated in Spain, far from the São Paulo jails, the relationship of the two imprisoned people comes to be certified by reference to a prior history of two young and innocent white and heterosexual Europeans.

These documents were written after Marta, having completed two years of her sentence, had been granted semi-liberty. In practical terms, Marta could spend a few pre-determined days outside of the prison. Contrary to what happened with many of her Spanish companions who Marta met in the penitentiary, her deportation order never arrived and thus, while the Ministry of Justice remained silent about the issue, she could continue to plan her life out of prison, within Brazilian borders. On the days of temporary leave from the penitentiary, she would sleep at the houses of friends and, if she could get a job "in the

¹⁵ This is based on the text by Viveiros de Castro and Ricardo Benzaquen, *Romeu e Julieta e a Origem do Estado* (1977) which among other issues treats the "unifying" and "depersonalizing" ability of Love when considered as a foundation for the Modern State. I also work with the considerations of Strathern in *O Gênero da Dádiva* (2006) [The gender of the Gift (1988)] about the metaphor of the "eclipse" which speaks of the exchanges that contain relationships, even those which they hide. In the case of the document produced by, and for, Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán, I consider that the conjugalities are encompassed one in the other to produce the effect of unification, contention of the relations to establish legitimacy of a relationship of one with the other.

street,” she would also have the right to leave the prison to work and return only to sleep. The completion of her sentence in a semi-open regime might allow her to visit Eduardo, but only if she could prove a conjugal relationship with him.

Under the Penal Execution Law of 1984 prisoners have the right to visits from “a spouse, companion, relatives and friends on determined days.” However, prison regulations refer explicitly to “family ties.” The first paragraph of official communication 2191/2001 about intimate visits to women’s penitentiaries in São Paulo and article 102 of resolution 144, of June 2010, published by the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration states:

- The visit, in particularly an intimate visit, *has the purpose of maintaining and strengthening family relations* with the person deprived of liberty (First paragraph of ofício 2191/2001, p.6. Emphasis by the author.).
 - Art. 102 – For a visit to be registered on the list of the prisoner’s visits, the following documents should be presented:
 - I – agreement, in writing by the prisoner, about the convenience or not of the visit;
 - II – *proof of the condition of being a spouse, companion or the kind of relative;*
 - III – copy of the original identification document of the visitor;
 - IV- copy of the original Identification Card;
 - V – *copy of proof of residence for the past six (06) months;*
 - VI – two recent and equal photos;
 - VII – *certificate of criminal record*
- (Resolution 144 of 29/06/2010 of the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration of São Paulo State. Emphasis mine.).

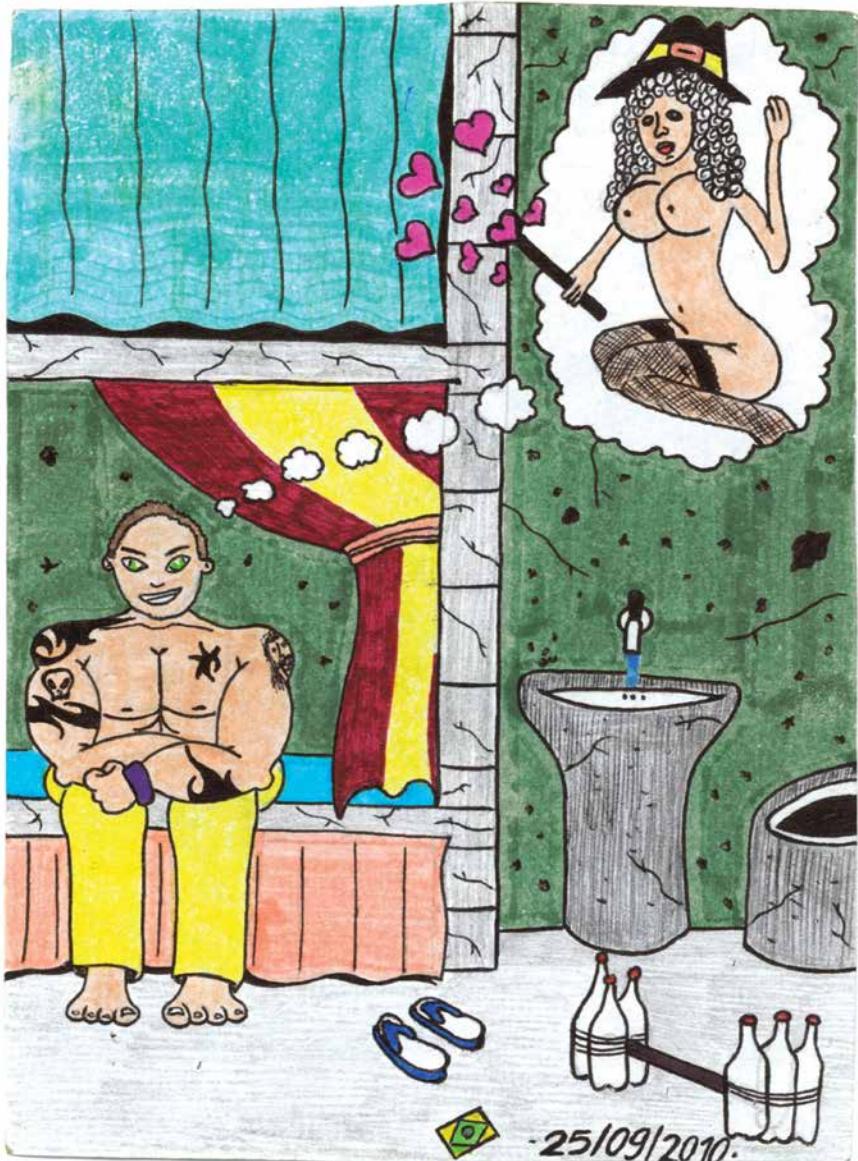
In this text, visits are defined as means to *maintain and strengthen family relations proven by the visitors’ documents who must also prove they have no criminal record*. Marta and Eduardo’s conjugal and familiar relations shape an apparent contradiction in the legal framework described by the paragraphs of the official determinations and regulations. What does this relationship, that is heterosexual, European, white and mainly grounded in family artifacts, serve in the São Paulo prisons? How does it mark the right to family based on the conjugality of two imprisoned people?

The illusory incoherence in which Marta and Eduardo’s marriage appears to be classified, is, however, much less obscure and much more ordinary than may appear. Heterosexual couples, composed of Brazilians, Spaniards, Bolivians, or Nigerians, with or without children, fill the mailboxes at men’s

and women's prisons with letters exchanged between people incarcerated in the institutions. Wives and husbands, lovers, fathers and mothers attest to the family ties recognized by the state. But these family ties that the Secretariat of Penal Administration is concerned with *maintaining* and *reinforcing* according to the texts that it publishes, do not necessarily correspond to a presumed opposition to crime and prison.

The effort to document, make legible and legitimize Marta's and Eduardo's relationship attempts to express a specific familiarity; a familiarity separated from the prison. This is what is involved in documenting the relationship: To remove it from legal incongruence and attest that it is a family relationship that deserves legal recognition. Marta's effort goes beyond the documents with official seals, signatures and stamps. In her day-to-day speech, she classifies her marriage with Eduardo as "different from relations you find *here*," it is "true love." Marta defends her marriage. She is concerned with demonstrating that it is *solid, true, "different from the relationships based on letters that the female inmates have with correspondents"*: "How can you say that you love someone without knowing this person, without feeling it in the skin?" For Marta, her relationship with Eduardo is based on "pure love," while the relationships that she witnesses in prison are "amusements," "crazy" "unrealistic passions," "they aren't love."

Marta prepares her narrative to differentiate her relationship with Eduardo from the other prison affairs, romances and marriages. By so doing, she simultaneously converges with and diverges from the effort of the Secretariat of the Penitentiary Administration to define family ties that are worthy of the right to a visit. She produces a documentary and narrative foundation that is concerned with affirming, on one hand, the long term and official nature of the relationship, and on the other, the love and reality that ground it. She imbues the narrative about her marriage with proof and evidence of the kindness and care that Eduardo has for her and that she has for Eduardo, even if this proof is part of a prior history with criminal records complete with adventures evaluated by the state as transnational crime. In any case, Marta makes an effort to prove that her marriage is not a fleeting affair, that it remains alive despite all the contingencies of prison and goes beyond the prisons. She affirms that it is *pure* because it is not contaminated by the prison, by betrayal. Marta responds to any questioning with her letters.



Drawing from a letter Eduardo sent to Marta, a Spanish couple imprisoned in São Paulo. The illustration is a caricature of the cell in which Eduardo spends his time thinking of Marta as a witch. The cracks on the walls, the "stone" bunk, the barbell made from plastic bottles and a broom handle, the faucet with running water and a man sitting down wearing yellow pants (the São Paulo prison uniform), depict details of the environment and artifacts of penitentiary life. The "curtains" are noteworthy. Known as the "quieto", which means "quiet," they protect the intimacy of those who share the same cell. Eduardo's "quieto" is a Spanish flag. On the ground, close to his sandals, a small Brazilian flag indicates the land in which both serve their sentences.

Marta came to meet me carrying a block of colored envelopes, carefully opened on the side and closed with an elastic band. She wants to show me the letters that she received from Eduardo that month. We sit at one of the tables in the yard of the Women's Prison of the Capital and she begins to read the letters with flowers and bombs designed on the envelopes. Each illustration provides a clue to the content of the letter: if it is loving, erotic or angry. A flower penetrated by a thick stem, a witch with a garter belt flying on a broom, a present with chocolates. Marta wants to show me the letter that has a bomb on the envelope. A letter with a quarrel. "These are the best!" she said. In the letter, Eduardo complains that he got a picture of Marta, taken during a mother's day party by the photographer hired by the prison:

Very well, dear Marta. To tell you the truth, I don't know why you sent me the photo. To mess with me, to make me feel bad? I realized that you are fooling me, and that you are taking those *shitty* drugs that they sell there. I, for my part, am still strong, dark and tanned and don't have the face of a *junkie* that you have in this cursed photo!¹⁶

Eduardo's letter ends with his signature and the drawing of a strong dark and tanned man. Marta says that she had to explain to Eduardo that she lost weight because she wasn't used to prison food and that she was not taking drugs. She added: "see how we take care of each other? He loves me. He cares for me." The "letter bomb" documents Eduardo's love. Marta wants to exhibit it, show it, to publish Eduardo's love and make the relationship legible.

But the correspondence exchanged between Marta and Eduardo is more than documents. The flower, the stem, the bomb, the witch and the broom denote codes that go beyond the liturgical language of the legal documents. Marta certainly uses them as proof of the relationship she has with Eduardo, but also carries them close to her. Eduardo's letters are the touches, the kisses, the fights, the pleasure, the affliction the fear, the

¹⁶ Marta gave me all the letters she received from Eduardo so that I could copy and store them. Eduardo and Marta authorized me to use them as research material. It is important to mention that I only had access to letters that Eduardo wrote to Marta, and not those that Marta wrote to Eduardo. The text of the letter mentioned is in Spanish, I translated it freely and made some changes to protect the identity of the interlocutors who compose the characters of Marta and Eduardo.

support that Marta feels in her body. She puts them on the wall of her cell. With Eduardo's letters, Marta lives her marriage and proof that he exists inside (outside) the prison.

After nearly two years serving a sentence in a closed regime, Marta's sentence was reduced to a semi-open regime. She could finally visit Eduardo. But she would need to prove the existence and legitimacy of her marriage, to plot the family ties demanded by the prison institution. Marta armed herself with letters, official documents, signed and notarized declarations in letters, papers and stamps, that made the matrimony of Marta Télles and Eduardo Deán legible. The paperwork was intended to remove from Marta and Eduardo's relationship the apparent incongruence of their being foreign inmates who were also married: a family with a transnational criminal record.

The circumstance of being a family with a criminal past established room for negotiation, agreements that could lead to the approval or denial of Marta's visit to Eduardo. The documental portfolio that Marta carries would open her negotiations with the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration (by means of resolutions), the judge, public defender and the Penitentiary of Itaí and the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital (in the person of social workers, directors and lawyers).

Resolution 144 published by the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration in 2010 does not specify that spouses or family members with criminal records should be prohibited from visiting their incarcerated spouses, daughters, siblings or mothers. The resolution only indicates that those requesting visits in São Paulo prisons must declare their criminal records. There is, however, a common practice of denying visits to imprisoned spouses by anyone who is an ex-convict or still serving a semi-open sentence, whether they are hetero- or homosexual (Padovani 2013: 185-218). The denial is cyclical. The request for a visit is sent, at times by the social workers and psychologists *from* the penitentiary from which one part of the couple has been released, in this case, Marta, *to* the penitentiary where the other spouse is located, in this case, Eduardo. The officials in Eduardo's penitentiary alleged that Marta had to request authorization from the public defender who, in turn, sought a judge's permission. The judge in turn

declared that each prison institution was responsible for granting or denying the visits.¹⁷ Marta appealed, once again, to the social workers at the unit where she was serving a sentence in semi-liberty. The social workers then requested that Marta send documents that prove her conjugal relationship with Eduardo.

This brings us to the documents produced by the family, by Marta and by Eduardo. These documents were used by the social workers to form a small dossier that was sent to the sector for rehabilitation and discipline of the Penitentiary of Itaí, where Eduardo was incarcerated in a closed regime. After a period of analysis, Marta was finally granted permission to visit her husband, in an administrative visit. Marta traveled the two hundred fifty kilometers from São Paulo to Itaí to spend about an hour with Eduardo in the conference room which is divided in the middle by a grate or a glass and is usually reserved for meetings with lawyers. After two years of prison, without physical contact, two years exchanging letters, Marta and Eduardo could see each other. But only see: there was a glass between them, a prison guard, two entrance gates, a metal detector, two hundred and fifty kilometers, documents, approvals and denials. The administrative visit allowed the encounter, but denied touches. The conference room is the space of the relationship, properly documented and made legible for and by the state, of two imprisoned people. The letters continued to play the role of hands.

The paths of Lola and Rosa: transnational prisons, families, commerce and love.

Natália, I have so many things to tell you! I got my semi-open sentence! I can't wait to have my *escape* to be glued to my computer, talk with my mother! I am not going to ask for a transfer to the prison where Lola went. It's not worth it anymore. I will wait to get out and I will see her in the street. About your question in the last letter, if I want to stay in Brazil: Yes! The response is yes! I really want to stay with Lola, I want to have a steady relationship with her. Can

¹⁷ It is emblematic to say that, during the doctoral research, I have accompanied the recurrence of this determination by judges. Each of the three times that I accompanied the processes for requests for conjugal visits for people leaving prison, this was the response issued by the judge, a fact that allows questioning the reasons for which it is believed that the request for a visit by former inmates to incarcerated spouses passes must be handled by a public defender and approved by a judge.

you help me? It won't be the prison walls that will stop me from following my heart!
(Emphasis mine).

I met Rosa from Barcelona and Manuela from Zaragoza at the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital during the first year of my doctoral research in 2010. These two Spanish women were accused of trying to board a plane leaving from the International Airport of Guarulhos (São Paulo) with cocaine paste in their bags or on their body. Soon after we met, Manuela was released from the PFC after serving a two-year sentence. She had been in a penitentiary in which there were still a significant number of Brazilians in the cells. While serving her sentence, Manuela, who was then twenty-five, met the Brazilian Lola, who, together with her mother Lídia, was also serving time in the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital, both accused of coordinating a drug trafficking network between Brazil and Spain.

Like Manuela, Lola had been detained at the departure gate of the airport, where the federal police were waiting after months of investigation that included tracing her telephone calls. Lídia, in turn, was arrested at home, in the city of São Paulo. After having spent years in Spain, Lola met Manuela while imprisoned in Brazil. They fell in love and mounted a "cafofo," a home in a cell¹⁸ in the penitentiary where they lived together for more than a year; until Manuela was granted liberty after promising to wait for Lola to get out of prison to return with her to Spain. Lola's fourteen-year sentence, however, interfered with the couple's hopes. Manuela, without telling anyone, returned to Zaragoza after months of freedom, and rejoined her ex-husband with whom she had left her daughter during the years she was imprisoned in Brazil. Lola, in the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital, upon receiving news of Manuela, went on a rampage in her cell. She fought with inmates and security guards who tried to restrain her. She was punished and lost her job at one of the workshops. The job had offered decreased prison time, given that for every three days of work, one is reduced from the sentence.

Lola's marriage and affair ended with the liberty and departure of Manuela. She had to rearrange her life inside prison. She lost weight and grew depressed from thinking about the extra years she would be jailed, while what she heard in the corridors was that Manuela had done the right thing. Other inmates said it was better to leave behind everything related

¹⁸ "Cafofo" is a term from the São Paulo urban periphery, used by women in the prisons. It means home.

to her past life in the cells of the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital. The cell that Lola would learn to call "cafófo" where she had "mocosado"¹⁹ – or stashed away - the years and yearning for life in the "big world," in Spain, with Manuela.

One year later, in September 2011, I said goodbye to Lola when I left for five months of research in Spain. I noted the addresses of her family members in Catalonia, Madrid and Valencia. Rosa was one of those who gave me phone numbers and addresses, but she also told me about the cheap stores, the best bars and the tattoo artists she knew. She told me about the places she liked to go to in Barcelona, gave me travel tips and designed maps to guarantee a good stay in the city in which she had lived for a few years. She was my host in Barcelona, although she was sitting on a concrete bench in the pavilion of the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital. Before I left, she also gave me another recommendation: whispering, she told me that she was having an affair with Lola but wasn't sure yet if they were firm lovers. For this reason, Rosa did not tell anyone in her family. She also said that I could not talk about it, not even when I met with Manuela who, after returning to Spain, had made friends with Raimunda, Rosa's mother. Lola smiled as she sat by my side.

For two weeks in Barcelona I tried to contact Manuela through Facebook, or by telephone. But she did not respond to my calls or requests. Her silence made clear that she did not want to know anything about what remained in Brazil. The cells, the cafófos, the romances and the letters all stayed behind. Raimunda, in turn, Rosa's mother, was anxious for my visit. She wrote me, called me and said she was waiting for me with a special dinner, which finally was set for a rainy autumn night. Raimunda waited for me at the bus station of Calatayud, a small city in Zaragoza province a five-hour trip from Barcelona. She was holding her youngest granddaughter with her left hand and smoking a cigarette in her right. Raimunda had long blond hair, red lipstick, tight jeans and high-heeled boots with which she walked through the streets, stairways and cobblestones to her house. On the way, she showed me the school where Rosa and her other two children studied, the church where they were confirmed and learned the catechism, and the park where she took Rosa to play. The route took us to a housing project on a dead end street, in

¹⁹ "Mocosado" is the term prisoners use for hiding their most cherished items.

front of an abandoned lot. Ten people lived in the two-bedroom house: in addition to Raimunda, there were Rosa's older sister and brother with their spouses and children (three children in all), and a cousin who had recently lost a job in Madrid, which required him to return to the small city that he had left. Only Raimunda was employed, working as a nurse in the local hospital and doing odd jobs caring for the elderly. Her earnings supported the family at home and Rosa in prison. In the kitchen, making dinner and smoking, Raimunda asked:

And this Lola? What's she like? I ask because Rosa fell in love so easily! I have no problem if she wants to be with a woman, but they have to come here and present themselves to me. What does Rosa think? Her family has to come first.

Letters, messages and information had traveled much more quickly than I had. Through Raimunda, I found out that Lola and Rosa were together, and had publicly assumed the relationship, even against the wishes of Rosa's family members, who were waiting for her to return to her old companion, Antônio, who was still in the Penitentiary of Itaí in São Paulo; the same male penitentiary for foreigners where Eduardo Deán was incarcerated.

Before they were arrested, Rosa and Antônio lived in a small apartment in Barcelona. They worked in stores in the tourist zone of the city and sold marijuana and cocaine to augment their monthly income. Rosa wanted plastic surgery and Antônio wanted to visit Brazil. Together they decided to go to São Paulo to look for the raw material for the drug and take it to Spain. In addition to earning more than four thousand euros each through the enterprise, they could also spend two weeks visiting beaches like Ilha Bela and Parati. That's what they did, but on the day of their return, they were caught by the Brazilian federal police with more than ten kilos of cocaine paste. Raimunda said she would never forget the telephone call she received at four in the morning. Her daughter was crying on the other end of the line telling her what had happened: that she was in jail in Brazil, and that she would not get to Barcelona the next day.

At the time, Antônio assumed responsibility for all the drugs and in court said that Rosa did not know what she had in the bag. But the judge simply understood that he was pleading guilty and Rosa was not. For this reason Raimunda's daughter's sentence was two years longer than Antônio's. Both were convicted and in the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital Rosa

tattooed Antônio's name on the nape of her neck and below had written "amor eterno" [eternal love]. It was a love that cooled off over time because of the affairs Rosa had before assuming her relationship with Lola. This love testified to her relationship with a Spain where she no longer wanted to return. Her love for Lola, in turn, made her a bit Brazilian, and placed her in a circuit of other neighborhoods, other streets, other stores, other possibilities for work and family. It was this love that Rosa wanted to make legible in the letters sent to her mother.

Rosa, still in jail, no longer remembered to speak of Antônio, except to say that she wanted to cover the tattoo of his name. Rosa tattooed Lola's name on her arm, but this time, without writing "eternal love." In 2012, her semi-open sentence was granted, so that she could spend four days in August, weekends, in the street, out of prison. On these days, Rosa stayed at the house of someone in Lola's family, where her sister, aunt and the son of the aunt's current companion were living. But this temporary leave, which was granted in August 2012, would be her last. A judge understood that because Rosa's deportation was already decreed, she would be illegal in Brazilian territory, outside of prison. The news of Rosa's deportation reached Lola by a letter written from the Resocialization Center of Itapetininga, 200 kilometers from São Paulo, where Rosa has been transferred after the publication of her permission for a semi-open sentence, after the publication of her deportation order.

After returning from five months of field work in Barcelona, I passed a few more times through the gates of the Women's Prison of the Capital. But, Lídia, Lola and Rosa were no longer there. Mother and daughter had been transferred, along with the large majority of Brazilians in the PFC – which gradually came to be a penitentiary nearly exclusively for foreigners imprisoned in São Paulo – to the Women's Penitentiary of Santana. Rosa, in turn had gone to the Resocialization Center of Itapetininga to terminate her sentence in a semi-open regime, which in practice, would be closed.

Without legal recognition of the relationship with Lola, Rosa's deportation was decreed in April 2013, while the request to sign the declaration of her stable union was still being reviewed on the desks of the public defender's office in the court of Barra Funda in São Paulo. This declaration, however,

would not change Rosa's situation, since according to article 75 of decree 98.961 - which concerns "deportation of foreigners convicted of trafficking narcotics and related drugs" - would only not occur if "the foreigner had: a Brazilian spouse from whom she or he was not divorced or separated, in fact or by law, and as long as the marriage had been celebrated more than 5 (five) years ago."²⁰ If Manuela's release and departure had, one day long ago, imprisoned Lola to a special holding cell in the prison, and thus complicated her sentencing options even more, it was now Rosa's imprisonment and fixity that placed Lola deeper inside the prison building: as punishment, at the end of the psychiatric ward of the Women's Penitentiary of Santana, the largest women's prison in Latin America.

Someone who lives by the lake doesn't lose to a frog: Cristal making relations (il)legible

That's what Cristal would say: "Me, huh, living by the lake and losing to a frog? No way." Cristal wouldn't lose a thing to a frog. Like Rosa, she traveled across walls, cells, national borders and through drug dealing, love and in Cristal's case, the sex market. The prison walls did not prevent her from getting around.

The first time I saw her was on a day I visited the Can Brians Penitentiary in Barcelona. Cristal was serving the end of her six-year sentence in a semi-open regime in the Wad Raz prison. Every weekend that she had a temporary leave, she would go to the bus station at seven in the morning to get in the line for the buses heading for the distant penitentiary of Can Brians. Cristal had spent more than four years there imprisoned in a closed regime. It is where she met her boyfriend, who she was going to visit; and she was not alone. The temporary leaves on weekends, for most of the Brazilian inmates in a semi-open regime, became visiting days at Can Brians. I accompanied the visitors. I got on the bus with them and spent the day in the waiting line so that, at last, they could spend 20 meteoric minutes talking with their boyfriends through perforated glass.

Among the activities for men and women inmates together that occurred at the Can Brians penitentiary, Cristal told me most about the movies: "Since

²⁰ The same decree also determines that deportation is not realized "when the foreigner has: a Brazilian child, that is proven to be under his or her care and depends on he or she economically."

it was always dark, it was easy for us to escape to the bathroom, or do things right there. We planned everything and one covered the other, to distract the tutors.”²¹ It was at one of these movie sessions that Cristal met her Peruvian boyfriend:²² “but I had to play hard to get, right? So I only gave him my cell number. So you see, we only exchanged letters.”

Cristal began her relationship with the Peruvian through letters they exchanged between the modules. After exchanging letters for some time, she asked her tutor to authorize a *vis-à-vis*, or that is, conjugal and family visits between them. Unlike São Paulo penitentiaries, in Barcelona prisons intimate visits are allowed between jailed couples, including homosexuals. The couple does not need to prove family or matrimonial ties. The only condition is that both parties declare a desire to have the *vis-à-vis*. This is what Cristal did, and three weeks later, she was allowed to meet with “her” Peruvian in the intimate visiting room.

The rules and regulations for the visits in the prisons of Barcelona are quite flexible. For a person to visit a prisoner they only need authorization from the inmate and a photo ID. The number of Brazilians who entered the prison system of Catalonia was impressive. Although they were in irregular situations in Spain, they went to prison to visit boyfriends, girlfriends, friends and family members, simply carrying a long outdated passport. The process was even more surprising when compared with the complex and sophisticated procedure for approvals and denials of visits that I discovered in Brazil. It was also paradoxical that those foreigners, mostly Latin American women in an illegal situation in Spain, had free access to prison, while at the same time they hid on the streets of Barcelona wary of the immigration police: the feared *extranjería*. Employees, volunteers and prisoners with whom I spoke about the facilitation of *vis-à-vis* visits in the Catalonian prisons said that they made it easier to control the penitentiaries: “The inmates are

²¹ Tutor is the name used for the intermediary employees of the Spanish prisons, those between security guards and social workers. They are teachers, instructors and at times psychologists who accompany the prison routine up close, like a prison guard, but they are not responsible for security but for behavior. It is the tutors who make reports to the social workers who, in turn, grant or deny punishments, benefits and sentence reductions. Unlike the São Paulo prison system, the Catalan prison system appears to have a structure more similar to a public health agency that provides treatment and less like a repressive police agency. This difference says nothing about the “effectiveness,” “better conditions” or “efficiency” of the imprisonment.

²² That’s how Cristal always called him, “My Peruvian.” He had no name. Just a nationality. Cristal’s friends followed suit and said “Cristal’s Peruvian.”

calmer,” they told me. This supposed liberal attitude in the Barcelona prisons eclipses highly capillary control mechanisms, which are exercised by penitentiary employees, and also by the inmates.

It was through the network for the control of information and exchanging letters that Cristal’s affair with the Peruvian ended some time after I met her. On the afternoon that Cristal would sign her conditional liberty, she called me and asked if I could accompany her and if, later, we could go out to celebrate. I answered, promptly, yes. Cristal continued: “Do you know about the “scandal?” I already knew, I had received e-mails and calls from other Brazilian women inmates warning me of the end of Cristal’s relationship with the Peruvian.²³ Still on the telephone, Cristal said, “I’ll tell you everything over a beer.” When we met later she told me about the “scandal”: A Colombian woman, also imprisoned in Can Brians, was interested in Cristal’s boyfriend. The Colombian sent letters and more letters to Cristal’s Peruvian who, after a few forays by the Colombian, responded. Cristal found out about this flirting between the Colombian and her boyfriend because an employee at Brians, “who liked her a lot,” showed her the records of the letters sent and received between the modules. The employee, according to Cristal, wanted to warn her of the betrayal by her boyfriend.

The records of the letters sent and received, and mainly the fact that the prison employee warned Cristal about the “suspicious” letters exchanged by her boyfriend outside the relationship, and exposed a network of control made possible by the correspondences sent between the modules and to or from the prison. This network for controlling information, however, is sustained by relationships and gossip, more than by records. Cristal knew this, and for this reason, she studied affinities, words, clothing, gestures and even the letters she exchanged. On the day I met her, visiting day at the penitentiary, Cristal was wearing tight jeans, high heels and a plaid shirt open to the middle of her chest, which she exhibited with pride. She placed her hands

²³ The semi-open regime in the Catalan prison is quite different from the semi-open regime in São Paulo. Any person in a semi-open regime could spend the day in the street and return for lunch, dinner and to sleep in the prison. If they had formal work outside the prison, the male or female inmate could spend the day outside the penitentiary, returning only to sleep. Inmates in a semi-open regime who work, also have the right to spend ten straight days per month outside the prison and only return at the end of this period. During my field work in Spain, I regularly went out with women serving a semi-open regime in Wad Raz to lunch, dinner, drinks and even to a *farró* [Brazilian dance]. Many of them rented houses or rooms in houses of relatives of Spanish or Colombian immigrants, illegal immigrants who they met in prison. A network of residence was constituted through the prison.

over her breasts, adjusted them and said: "Ah, I turbo-charged these woman!" On the afternoon that I met Cristal to sign her conditional release, however, I barely recognized her. She seemed shorter, wearing sneakers and a loose sweat suit; her nails weren't long or painted. When we reached the rehabilitation sector of the secretariat of justice of Catalonia, where Cristal would sign the "divorce," as she liked to call her conditional liberty, she promptly introduced me to the social workers and police officers who accompanied the process: "This is my Brazilian friend, she's an anthropologist." Cristal added: "I told you, I have friends in Brazil who've never been arrested! Here she is, my Brazilian friend, she's an anthropologist."

The way that Cristal dressed and introduced me explained the importance of my presence for her on that day. It wasn't certain that she would gain conditional liberty. She would first have to prove to the rehabilitation employees that she had "a circle of relations and support outside the prison." Moreover, she had to prove that her ties to the prison were weak. That's what Cristal did. When asked by the social worker about her boyfriend in prison, she responded that she was very disappointed with him and would stop visiting him. "You can see there that I don't even write him anymore." Two hours later, after a long deliberation by the social workers, Cristal signed her conditional liberty. While we walked through the streets, she said: "it's easy. I say everything that they want me to say. I answer correctly. I say that I have friends in Brazil, I write to my family, I say that I want to return to visit my mother, "me, huh! That's all I need, to live by the lake and lose to a frog!"

After it all went well, and her "divorce" was signed, Cristal told me in detail about the "scandal" of the end of her relationship.

It's like this, I'm a hooker. When I was arrested for drug trafficking, I had already been living here in Spain and when I went to visit my family, I took things that I sold to my clients. The Peruvian, poor guy, didn't know anything about this. In my semi-open I was already working, but that Colombian girl found out and wrote to my Peruvian and told him everything. Then, he wanted to break up. But then I thought: It's better like this, this way I don't have to justify the relationship with him in rehab. The tutor told the social worker that we are no longer together and that's it. Later I'll work it out with him. I'll mount my décolletage, go visit him, and say that I'm never going to turn another trick. Its a lie right?

Letters, gossip and documents. Cristal assembled her clothes and her

“correria” [scheme] to work out the signing of her “divorce” from the Catalan prison system. She organized a dossier with papers and words that allowed her to remain in Spain to work in the sex (and drug) market. Working as a prostitute during the temporary leaves under the semi-open sentence, Cristal saved money to buy false pay slips and receipts from the owner of a cafeteria. These documents “proved” that she was working legally in Barcelona, a fact that authorized her to spend more time in the street. More hours in the street were more hours working, and therefore, more hours receiving the money needed for the production of documents, ballasts of legality and legibility of her migrant situation in Spain. Cristal plotted at the “margins of the state” (Das and Poole, 2004), arming herself with legality, mixing the licit and illicit in what she called a single “caminhada.” “Caminhada,” which means a walk, and “correria” [literally a rushed situation, but used to refer to a scheme] are words used in the prisons and peripheries of São Paulo, from where and to where the people that I bring to this text come and go. From where and to where they pass, walk, run and scheme. The “caminhada” or walk is used to refer to a person’s history, to her background and behaviors: the “caminhada” is a thief’s prior history. The “correria” is the activity. That which must be done to achieve the objective. Cristal maintained the walk in calm steps to execute the necessary “correria” or scheme and change her documentation as a prisoner to that of a legal migrant.

Waiting for a husband: being an (il)legal immigrant.

The section below is divided into two brief ethnographic narratives about Marta and Luz, characters who do not know each other, but whose trajectories interlace in parallel directions that are geographically reversed. Both are waiting for an imprisoned husband. Both are anxiously planning for freedom from their situations based on provisory documentation.

Waiting for the “jumbo”: roads, rooms and cafés.

During the semi-open regime, on temporary leaves granted by the judge who had not received Marta’s deportation order from the Ministry of Justice, Marta Téllez became familiar with the São Paulo rap music that she heard in the penitentiary as well as the Brazilian pop rock played on television. She enjoyed the deep-fried pastries that she ate in the street markets. She

easily switched ice cream for açaí and finally would adopt Corinthians as an alternative football team to Real Madrid. During the months that I spent in Barcelona, I took a few days to visit Marta's sister in Madrid, she was an elementary school teacher, who was married, and at the time, pregnant. She took care of the bills for the house that Marta and her partner Eduardo had purchased with money they earned from trips they made through the world - a house that they had decided to sell. Both I and the sister knew that Marta and Eduardo would not return to Spain. In the letters sent to Madrid, they said they were both tired of the adventures and the risks.

Spain is in crisis, I am more than forty years old and have a criminal record. What am I going to do there? It's better to stay here, get a job while Eduardo is in jail and later with the money that we have saved, go to the northeast and live by selling coconut water. Here, anyone can sell sandwiches on the beach. In Spain, it's not like that. There we would be arrested again. I don't want to be arrested again. I want to be able to have a dog!

Without a dog, without coconut water, without savings and without a husband, Marta gained the right to finish serving her sentence in an open regime. She had saved part of the money she earned in the workshops of the Women's Prison of the Capital.²⁴ It would be enough to live on for about six months and pay rent in a small room in the house of a Brazilian woman who, like her, had just left prison, but she would soon have to get a job. Completing her sentence in an open regime, therefore, Marta was not exactly in a position to be easily employed. With her passport held by the federal police, Marta's only identification was as a former prison inmate. The best she could do would be to create a base of false documents, "as if I was Argentine, Uruguayan" and this way get a job. But she knew that she could not go to any country in South America or arrange false documents to work. Any step could interfere in Eduardo's already complicated criminal proceedings.²⁵

²⁴ At the time of the field research, nearly 80% of the people jailed at the Women's Penitentiary of the Capital worked producing hospital goods (such as serum bags), rugs or even doing cleaning, cooking and maintenance for the prison. The minimum payment for the prison work established by the Penal Execution Law is one-third of a minimum wage. Prison work in São Paulo is administered by the Fundação Professor Doutor Manoel Pedro Pimentel, or FUNAP, which is tied to the Secretariat of Penal Administration www.funap.sp.gov.br About prison work see: Sallai 1991, Espinoza 2003, Moki 2005, Padovani 2006.

²⁵ The criminal proceedings, or execution as it is known, refers to complying with the rights and responsibilities of those who are wards of the state in penitentiaries. The criminal execution is governed by the Penal Execution Law published in 1984 and by the regiments and resolutions published by the Secretary of

She put up posters in schools, colleges, bakeries, and *Internet houses*, offering private classes in Spanish and every day she would check her e-mails in a cafe that had Internet access, which was close to the house where she rented a room. After getting some negative responses, the owner of the cafe offered Marta a job under the condition that he would not sign papers that proved she was working. As a former inmate, Marta moved along the border of migration, at times legal at times illegal. She would have to complete the rest of her sentence in Brazil, therefore she was not illegal in Brazilian territory. No institution or state agency, however, would provide documents that would establish her presence in Brazil. In practice, Marta worked, resided and got by from devices that are not illegal but illegible. In the effort to make her work legible, like Cristal, Marta produced documents to send to the public defender of São Paulo state. These documents would prove that she supported herself and had a place to live and means to live by while she waited for Eduardo to get out of prison.

In this way, the release of foreign prisoners, whether in Brazil or in Spain, can ironically signify the loss of a certain social security and documental legibility provided by the prison institution. At the same time, São Paulo criminal justice agents, that is public defenders, prosecutors and judges, require that foreigners who leave the prison system prove their financial means to rent a home or a room. If laws and processes of the state are produced each day, based on incongruences, all the interlocutors in the study, in São Paulo and Barcelona, are both products and producers of the state's inconsistencies. Knowing this, Marta continued to work in the possible realm of the incoherent by using a computer in the Internet shop to print receipts for Spanish classes that were signed by neighbors and friends. She thus produced relations that established her bona fides she would present to the public defender.

Penitentiary Administration of São Paulo. It is this law and these regiments and resolutions that define violations of disciplinary behavior, and sets standards for granting and denying benefits such as the reduction of a sentence to a semi-open regime and the dates of the temporary leaves. When two or more people are judged and sentenced in a single criminal process, as is the case of Marta and Eduardo, their executions are related. In this way, if Marta leaves Brazil, for example, it is possible that Eduardo would have to complete his entire sentence in a closed regime given that, due to Marta's departure, he would be suspected of an attempted escape. I call attention to the fact that, while the sentences and their executions are related, they are not the same thing. The fact that Marta had gained liberty before Eduardo reveals this difference. In this case, having been imprisoned in women's penitentiaries that offer jobs and school courses, led to the reduction of her sentence with remission for work and study (for every three days of work one is subtracted from the sentence). The male penitentiaries offer fewer jobs in proportion to the male population imprisoned in the state. For Eduardo, therefore, it was more difficult to reduce his sentence and earn benefits.

With her work in the cafeteria and the receipts for Spanish classes, Marta came to circulate through state institutions of the justice system, through the banks where she began to deposit money, and mainly on the buses and roads that led to the conference room of the Itaí Penitentiary. All her efforts to become legible according to the limits of legality, the national borders and the margins of state incongruences were reflections of the monthly encounters that took place in the glass-walled room that separated her from her husband, the effects of the letters that joined them and made legible, if not legitimate, their marriage.



Drawing from a letter Eduardo sent to Marta, a Spanish couple imprisoned in São Paulo. The prison uniforms are in the color of the Brazilian and Spanish flags. Sad and detained in Brazil, Eduardo imagines being happy if jailed in Spain: "at least there you could visit me", he writes referring to the different rules for intimate visits in the two countries.

To be an illegal immigrant in Spain is worse than being an international criminal! Luz between prisons, internment centers and peripheries.

What Marta waited for in São Paulo, Luz was anxious for in Barcelona. On March 1, 2012, a Thursday, I arrived in São Paulo after five months of field research in Catalonia. On Saturday, March 3, I received a call from Luz's sister. Francisca called me from her home in Sapopemba, a neighborhood in the São Paulo periphery. She wanted to know if her sister Luz was coming home, if she was healthy, ate well and lived with some comfort, and mainly to know who was the boyfriend with whom Luz said she would stay in Spain. "She's like a daughter to me," said Francisca, "I raised her after our parents died." After assuring Francisca by phone, I told her briefly about Luz's relationship with her Colombian boyfriend, Carlos, whose face Luz had tattooed on her left breast. We agreed we would meet to continue our conversation. The following week, however, even before our meeting, Francisca called me again. She now had greater reason for concern: Luz had been detained by the Spanish immigration police known as the *extranjería* and was detained in an Internment Center for Foreigners. Furthermore, Luz was pregnant.

To be caught by the *extranjería* and held in an Internment Center for Foreigners was Luz's greatest fear after leaving prison. She decided to stay illegally in Spain to wait for Carlos' release. On the day of her release, I waited for her at the penitentiary exit. Luz walked out of prison apprehensively, looking to the sides to be sure that there were no *extranjería* police: "ok, now I am illegal. All I need is to go to a Center for the Internment of Foreigners (CIE) after five years in prison." While serving her sentence in a semi-open regime, Luz had studied on the Internet and in newspapers all kinds of information about the CIEs and sought to inform her friends, who were also leaving the Catalan penitentiary system and were illegal immigrants, about the risks and living conditions of a CIE: "to be an illegal immigrant in Spain is worse than being an international criminal! In prison we have a doctor, a bathroom. I read that in the CIEs there are no facilities."

In this study, the CIEs are highlighted in the speech of the Brazilian women who, like Luz, manage, articulate and negotiate the reasons for and against remaining in Spain or returning to Brazil. The CIEs were the antagonists of the option to remain in Spain after the women gain their freedom. It is curious that the end of a prison sentence is directly related to the end of a secure status established by the prison. Luz's decision to leave prison

and not go immediately to the airport, had to be considered in light of the material loss of the identification document that would allow her to circulate freely through the streets of Barcelona. Liberty without deportation is a liberty without guarantees of rights that were assured by a prison sentence.

But Luz did not even consider an exchange of her conditional liberty for deportation, an option offered by Catalan courts to all foreign prisoners. She would wait, at any cost, for the end of Carlos' sentence so that the two could return together to South America and live in Sapopemba, São Paulo.²⁶ While we headed toward the beach to celebrate her freedom with sparkling wine and plastic cups, Luz received calls from Carlos' relatives in Colombia. They wanted to be sure that Luz was released. She also received other calls. Proposals to travel through Europe, by bus, carrying drugs. For each trip, she would receive about three thousand euros. Luz hung up the phone: "it's illegal, but what they'll offer me is to carry drugs or work as a hooker. I want to work as a caretaker. I don't want to run the risk of being arrested again!" Aware of the loss of security provided by prison documents, Luz knew that the exit through the penitentiary gates implied her entanglement in a network of illegalities, illegitimacies and irregularities. Nevertheless, she did not consider breaking the agreement she made with Carlos. The couple planned to live in Brazil, but they had agreed that the first to gain freedom would wait for the other before returning to Latin America.

The news of Luz's detention and pregnancy combined fear and a dream come true. Luz and Carlos wanted to have children, she had become pregnant once earlier while she was serving her sentence in a closed regime, but, when she was seven months pregnant she discovered that the fetus had died. Luz had to stay with the fetus for another month until doctors could remove the dead baby from her body. Since then, Carlos and Luz continued to try to have children. They used the medical resources of the prison to conduct fertility treatment and purchase medication with part of the payment Carlos received inside prison.²⁷ Now detained in a CIE, Luz could not

²⁶ Of the ten interlocutors in this study, six were residents of São Paulo state, and of these, only one did not live in the Greater São Paulo region, but in Santos. The others came from Guarulhos, Diadema, Santo André and the city of São Paulo.

²⁷ There are abundant workshops and job offers within the Catalan prisons, according to the statements of those interviewed, and they are very important in the maintenance of daily life. What called my attention in the narratives about the work in the prison workshops is the salary offered. In the case of the shops in the male modules, those interviewed said that wages could exceed one thousand euros per month. This is a striking

communicate with Carlos, she ran the risk of being deported and having to wait in Brazil for her companion to be freed. Moreover, without the necessary medical care, Luz could lose her baby once again. The situation placed her pregnancy at risk. Francisca asked for help to remove Luz from her situation as a pregnant illegal immigrant in a distant country and to reintegrate her into a network of documents and civil legibility that could only be made possible by the Brazilian consulate. Luz was released from the CIE one month later.

Plotting flows and fixity: producing papers and the foundations of (il)legibility of relations

To be without documents is to be documented in a specific way. The absence of documents impeded Luz from circulating through the streets of Barcelona, but not through Catalonian prisons. Without documents, Luz continued to visit Carlos in prison. Moreover, she continued to have the right to stay with Carlos once a month in a private room, the right to realize the conjugal *vis-à-vis*. This right was denied to Marta despite her effort to produce documents that legitimated her conjugality with Eduardo. Marta and Eduardo's conjugality was classified by government agents in Brazil as suspect and criminal. This classification made it difficult for the couple to exercise their right to maintain family ties. Luz, in turn, only had the right to maintain her family ties through the punitive institutions. The only spaces available for her circulation in Barcelona. These spaces localized, limited and circumscribed her relations: her identities. They were spaces that documented and therefore identified Luz and Marta.

Individuals are governed through their social relations. Subjects are classified as normal, pathological, or criminal through their relationships. They are localized through blood, nominal and family registrations that weave their identities (Foucault 1979: 37-49). People must obtain the documentation needed to establish an identity. Proof of residence, the name of a father or mother or a birth certificate, are thus objects of subjection and subjectivization that produce the subjects' nominal "truths."

amount in a country in economic crisis. The interlocutors in the study also said that many prisoners had better conditions to support their families inside the prison than if they were free.

Nicole Constable (2003) used an ethnography conducted with couples of U.S. men and Philippine women to illustrate how requests for residence visas for the United States made by the women are permeated by fantasies, or “fairy tales” that administer productions of identities - identities that are woven by the investigation of the conduct of individuals who are evaluated based on understandings about “good family values.” A good Philippine woman – “not very young, not very old,” single, childless, educated and with identifiable family ties - has a better chance to gain permission to live with and therefore marry a specific male U.S. citizen. He should have a fixed job and residence, not be very young and or very old, white and with a documented history of matrimony and divorce from U.S. women, as if this were proof that he was intent on marriage again.

In Brazil, authors such as Adriana Vianna and Juliana Farias (2011) and Gabriel Feltran (2008), have also reflected on the production of identities of subjects based on what they call “state techniques” that document their relations. Feltran’s ethnography, conducted in Sapopemba, a neighborhood in the eastern zone of the city of São Paulo, reveals that information networks used to map individuals in the peripheries may not necessarily pass through the formal production of papers that document them, but through interpersonal relations between families and police agents who know who are the relatives of people serving sentences or are involved in the local drug trade. Families are therefore “contaminated” by the registers of the criminal past of children, brothers and neighbors. Vianna and Farias analyze, through observation of the social movements of families whose members have been victims of police violence, the complex efforts undertaken by mothers, wives, brothers and lawyers to identify the bodies of people killed by the police as bodies of “subjects with rights,” honest workers, who are not involved in “crime.”

These studies identify layers of power and agency of subjects, who strategically activate them in their particular negotiations with state institutions or even in their intimate relations. As Nicole Constable expresses, it can not be said that there is no agency but that it should not be romanticized. It should be considered in relation to the asymmetrical tensions and positions of power materialized in the bodies of the individuals who, in another form, identify and use them; as do, for example, the mothers of the victims of police violence about whom Vianna and Farias speak. They rearticulate attributes such as “*favelada*,” [slum dweller] “*negra*,” [black woman] “poor” in the

production of discourses that identify them as “good mothers who struggle for justice.” The recognition of this identity, however, is based on a specific maternity that intersects class and race: “It’s this poor black son of a bitch, community resident (...) who will put you all in jail”, Celeste shouted in front of the institution where her son was killed” (Vianna and Farias 2012: 95).

Veena Das and Deborah Poole (2004) recall that the exercise of state power of administration and control is constituted, in large part, by written procedures that emphasize some characteristics and ties over others. The words shouted by Celeste in a “public scene,” as described by Vianna and Farias, although they weren’t written, make visible both her maternity and the police violence against her son. It was a statement of unquestionable family ties that are registered in documents produced by the state: a birth certificate, working papers, and death certificate. The papers strategically chosen to be presented by the couples that Constable speaks of play a similar role, as to those used by Marta Téllez and Eduardo Deán.

But according to Das and Poole, the production of legibility can also produce illegibility: ties or qualities of relations that may be hidden by what is focused on in the letters, by the official stamps and records.

In relation to this ethnographic composition, the documentation of “loving” relations, also involves evidence of the letters exchanged between spouses. These give visibility to the relationships that approximate imprisoned men and women to addresses, family ties and emotions, which, at times, are outside the prison walls. To receive letters and food wrapped in boxes, which they call “jumbos,” involves allowing the tracing of family ties, proving that someone is waiting on the outside, that a person’s relationships are not limited to the penitentiary.

For a Spanish woman imprisoned in São Paulo, a conjugal romantic relationship with a Brazilian woman places her in a circle of nationally located family relations. For a Brazilian woman imprisoned in São Paulo, conjugal-ity with a Spanish man inserts her in routes of transnational relations upon which each day are aggregated marks of social status different from those considered from the peripheries and prisons of the metropolitan region of the São Paulo capital. For a Brazilian imprisoned in Barcelona, the constitution of emotional ties is permeated by the documentation that allows, or not, altering the situation of imprisonment to that of transnational migration. But in all situations, it is also the establishment of conjugalities that

are judged by national hierarchies that intersect with statutes of class, race, and corporality.

The technicians of the Catalan judiciary, in producing reports about foreigners jailed in Catalonia, conduct a reading of the family, conjugal and emotional ties of the accused with their “country of origin.” This reading establishes either “good” or “bad” prognoses for foreigners jailed in Catalonia and Brazil. The more legible these ties are, the better is the prognosis written in the records that contain the evaluations of psychologists, social workers and tutors.

The relationships that Luz documented make visible the ties with her Colombian husband jailed in Catalonia and with their daughter who was born in the city of Barcelona. In this way, Luz is defined as a Brazilian, a former prison inmate, pregnant by a Colombian sentenced for “crime against public health,” and illegal immigrant with weak ties to her “country of origin.” Luz’s poor prognosis is due to the visibility created by the relationships that keep her in Catalonia despite her irregular situation. These relations – noted regularly by the penitentiary agent who registers Luz’s passport number at each visit made to Carlos in Can Brians – eclipse her ties with Francisca. Not by chance, then, her detention in the CIE triggered Luz to activate family and kinship ties with Francisca, also making them visible, legible and documented by the employees of the institutions of the Catalan government.

Cristal, in turn, plots legibility and illegibility. She tactically produces layers of registers that tie her to family in Brazil, to formal employment in a cafeteria in Barcelona and indicate the break of her ties with her Peruvian boyfriend imprisoned in Can Brians. Cristal speaks, writes and dresses “what they want.” She uses papers that facilitate the registration of a “good prognosis.” These papers are produced, however, by means of her work in the sexual market and in drug sales. Cristal creates shadows over those sexual and emotional involvements that could result in a “bad prognosis,” and throws light on the papers that she presents at the window of the penitentiary social worker who, finally, positively supports her conditional liberty: her “divorce,” her separation from the prison institution and her legal permanence in Spain. Using other means, this is also what Marta does. With an informal job, she creates receipts that place her in a network of documented work. These receipts allow her to prove she has the conditions needed to remain in Brazil, while she waits for Eduardo to gain his liberty. Marta strives to show that her conjugal ties establish relations with a family and kinship network in Spain.

She creates firm ties with her country of origin through writings that bring together family, matrimony and love.

Rosa is not able to do this. Like Luz, who had Carlos' face tattooed on her breast, she tattooed Lola's name on her arm. But this writing reveals a tie without documentation. It is a relationship that cannot be established as matrimony. On the contrary, it identifies her with attributes of sexuality and class that inspire the worst prognoses by the penitentiary agents and those of the Ministry of Justice. These prognoses put her deeper into the prison buildings and, against her wishes, lead to transfers between prison units and ultimately deportation. Like Luz, Rosa makes herself visible through ties that place her at specific addresses in the peripheral neighborhoods in the eastern zone of the city of São Paulo. The residents of these border zones (Feltran 2008: 315-338) which lie between licit and illegal are treated with suspicion. By giving as her address Lola's residence in Jardim Elba, Rosa risks contamination from the criminal past of Lola's family.

Letters and documents register and define the people presented in this article. They either fix them or enable them to move. They present discursive layers of legibility and illegibility that, agencied according to attributes and asymmetries of power, produce prognoses and identities based on ties which, in the narratives and trajectories described here, are identified by the word "love." Love, as understood by the people I talked to, activates values that are linked to notions of family, kinship and conjugality in the production of documentation of relations. This documentation is used in the governance of individuals by the institutions that control borders. At the same time, it is deployed by the people in this article to create alternative routes to and from prison.

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Cinderella Deceived

Analyzing a Brazilian Myth Regarding Trafficking in Persons.

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Abstract

This article provides an overview of how trafficking in persons has come to be imagined in Brazil. We stipulate that a mythical narrative has become central to discourses about trafficking used to guide policy-makers and educate civil society. We perform a structural analysis of this myth arguing that its acceptance, combined with the persistence of laws that define trafficking solely as the migration of prostitutes, has shifted public discussion towards a paradigm of passivity and law enforcement where members of certain social categories must be “educated to understand that they are victims” and their movements must be curtailed.

Keywords: Trafficking in persons, prostitution, Brazil, myths

Resumo

O presente artigo fornece uma visão geral de como o tráfico de pessoas tem sido imaginado no Brasil. Afirmamos que uma narrativa mítica tornou-se central para os discursos sobre o tráfico utilizados para orientar os agentes políticos e educar a sociedade civil. Realizamos uma análise estrutural desse mito, argumentando que a sua aceitação, combinada com a persistência de leis que definem o tráfico apenas como a migração de prostitutas, tem criado, na discussão pública, uma paradigma de passividade e de estrito legalismo, onde os membros de certas categorias sociais devem ser “educados para entenderem que são vítimas” e seus movimentos devem ser reprimidos.

Palavras-chave: tráfico de pessoas, prostituição, Brasil, mitos

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The greatest obstacle to discovery is not ignorance;
it is the illusion of knowledge.

Daniel Boorstin

Introduction

It has now become common sense knowledge that *trafficking in persons* is supposedly the second most lucrative crime in the world after drug trafficking, involving some 2.4 million victims and moving more than 32 billion dollars annually (to cite what have been perhaps the most commonly heard statistics).¹ Trafficking in persons, we are repeatedly told by politicians, journalists, “engaged” celebrities, the cinema and even *telenovelas*,² is a horrendous crime in which individuals are forced or tricked to leave their homes in order to engage in slave labor elsewhere. Among the bits of received wisdom regarding trafficking which have been reproduced across the global mediascape is that the majority of these victims are women and children

¹ The attribution for these numbers is generally understood to be the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (for a typical citation, see Melo, 2012). It should be noted, however, that UNODC is quite clear that its estimates are not by any means definitive due to the clandestine nature of the crime. It also should be noted that many organizations which cite these statistics routinely inflate (see Emancipasia, 2012) or deflate (see ONU Brasil, 2012) them by as much as a factor of ten. The United Nations itself also generates contradictory statistics regarding trafficking (for an excellent snapshot of this, see UNODC Bangkok’s Trafficking Statistics Project). According to UNODC’s fact sheet regarding the crime (UNODC, 2009a), the source for the estimated 2.4 million trafficking victims is the International Labor Organization (ILO) and this number properly refers to all victims of slavery in the world. In 2012, however, the ILO produced a global estimate of forced labor that was almost nine times higher than that quoted three years earlier (ILO, 2012). Finally, UNODC has not yet described the methodology behind this claim. Given that 21,400 trafficking victims had been discovered world-wide in 2009 (UNODC, 2009b), it seems that the Organization’s “conservative estimates” are simply based on the presumption that for every victim revealed, something like 99 go unreported.

² In October 2012, Brazil’s largest T.V. Network, Globo, began a telenovela (or soap opera), *Salve Jorge*, whose main themes revolve around the plight of fictional Brazilian women who are tricked into sexual slavery in Europe.

recruited for sexual slavery. Awareness campaigns worldwide have reproduced images of crated, wrapped, packaged and/or bar-coded woman as the most recognizable visual metaphor for trafficking (**Illustration 1**).

What exactly constitutes *trafficking in persons* and how its victims should be identified, counted and aided, however, are questions that are still open today, nine years after the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons (the Palermo Protocol) went into effect³. Multiple and contested criteria have been employed by actors within a series of fields⁴ (the prostitutes' and immigrants' rights movements, abolitionism⁵, the struggles against child labor and sexual exploitation, nationalist anti-sexual tourism campaigns, etc.) to define *trafficking in persons* within a context of increased anti-immigration sentiment and legislation brought about by recent terrorist attacks against Europe and the United States and reinforced by the current global economic crisis. A diverse series of activities that have long been part of the global scenario and which have generally been recognized and repressed as illegal (at least among the nations of Europe, South and North America) are today being swept under the rubric of “trafficking in persons”, including sexual exploitation (variously defined), forced labor, organ removal, forced marriages, illegal adoption, begging and forced participation in armed conflicts (UNODC, 2012: 12).

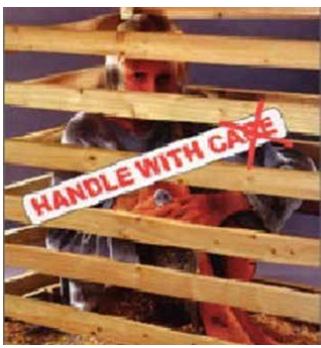
Within each national context what is and what is not considered to be *trafficking in persons* is being actively constructed against the general backdrop of the stipulations of the Palermo Protocol following the correlation of forces, conceptual disputes, historical demands and legal dispositions present in each society. *Trafficking in persons* thus isn't so much an “unrecognized crime” as it is a glocalized⁶ conceptual reorganization of existing criminal and semi-legal activities within the boundaries of the nascent and burgeoning political field of international law enforcement. To understand the data

3 December 2003, according to UNODC (2009b: 8)

4 We take “field” here in the sense attributed by Pierre Bourdieu, as a network of objective relations between objectively defined positions which seek to impose determinations upon agents and institutions in the structure of the distribution of power (Bourdieu, apud Waquant, 1989: 39).

5 “Abolitionism”, in this context, signifies the loose alliance of organizations and individuals who understand prostitution to be, ipso facto, slavery and who thus seek to legally prohibit it worldwide. Because of their beliefs, abolitionist organizations involved in the anti-trafficking struggle tend to count as “trafficked” any individual engaged in sex work, independent of their condition.

6 Local adaptions of globalized products or phenomenon.



1



2



3



4



5



6

Illustration 1. Packaged or contained women in anti-trafficking campaign imagery from around the world.

- 1.
2. <http://dangerouslee.biz/2012/10/26/the-stop-human-trafficking-campaign/>
3. Anti-trafficking poster produced by the Brazilian federal government
4. <http://jagausta.wordpress.com/2010/09/02/the-human-commodity/>
5. <http://www.adrants.com/2009/05/luggageconfinewoman-brings-sex.php>
6. <http://www.soroptimist-ukpac.org/about/show/356/>

that is being produced regarding trafficking in persons in any given country, one must first understand how the concept has been historically defined there and how these definitions have changed – if at all – under international pressures following the establishment of the Palermo Protocol. More importantly, one needs to understand how the crime is being *imagined* for, in order to be effective, laws, educational programs, awareness campaigns and even research must first conceptualize traffickers and trafficked.

This article is an attempt to provide an overview of how *trafficking in persons* has come to be imagined in Brazil. We believe that what we call “the myth of Maria, an exemplary victim” is the current hegemonic narrative used to imagine trafficking, guide policy-makers and educate civil society. Meanwhile, Brazil’s laws regarding trafficking have remained essentially unchanged since the 1940s and continue to define aiding the migration of prostitutes as the only legally recognized form of the crime⁷. We argue that the general diffusion and acceptance of this “myth of Maria”, when combined with the persistence of laws that define trafficking exclusively as aiding the migration of prostitutes, has shifted public discussion in Brazil away from the citizenship, rights and empowerment of sex workers and migrants towards a paradigm of passivity and law enforcement where members of certain social categories must be “educated to understand that they are victims” and their movements must be curtailed.

Methodology and structure

The present article is based upon three different sources of ethnographic fieldwork, as well as the analysis of documents and images carried out from 2003 to 2012. We originally became involved with the theme of trafficking in persons through our research into sex tourism in Copacabana (Blanchette & Silva, 2005), which has since spun off investigations of carioca sex work in general (Blanchette & Silva, 2011a), as well as sex tourism and work in other areas of Brazil, particularly São Paulo (Silva, 2011). Associated with this, we have engaged in an on-going “netnography”⁸ project in the largest

⁷ Forced labor, organ removal and illegal adoption are also crimes under Brazilian law, but are not legally qualified as trafficking.

⁸ See Langer and Beckman (2005) for a fuller discussion of internet-based ethnography’s methods, strengths and shortcomings.

Portuguese and English-language sex-tourism oriented websites (with a total of 29,779 posts read, analyzed and filed in our database and another 21,080 read up to 12.2012). These two ethnographic projects have put us into constant contact over the past eight years with men and women who migrate in search of sex work overseas or who come to Brazil in search of sex workers.

Our third axis of ethnographic research began in 2005 with our participation – first at a local and then at a national level – in the seminars, meetings and workshops surrounding the construction and implementation of Brazil's first national anti-trafficking plan. Our experiences during these events allowed us to collect and analyze the discourses regarding trafficking of persons being employed by a series of social actors. It also put us into contact with federally-subsidized research into trafficking, which began to take place following the turn of the century⁹, as well as a wide selection of educational materials and campaigns being produced by the government and NGOs. Between 2009 to 2011, we were frequently employed as educators in workshops throughout Brazil, where we were asked to talk about sex work and its connections to trafficking in persons. Finally, in 2012, Blanchette became a member of the committee set up by the Rio de Janeiro State Secretariat for Social Assistance and Human Rights to coordinate anti-trafficking activities. All of these experiences allowed us to engage in fieldwork, observing and participating in the construction of Brazil's post-Palermo Protocol anti-trafficking policies.

We shall begin our analysis with a brief discussion of myths, segueing into a history of anti-trafficking discourse in Brazil and the world prior to the 1990s, followed by a very brief analysis of its rebirth during that decade. We focus here on Brazil's anti-trafficking legislation and how it compares to the stipulations of the UN's Palermo Protocol, which Brazil ratified in 2004.

In the second half of the article, we present the “the myth of Maria”, which we believe is the narrative currently informing most of Brazil's anti-trafficking discourse. We analyze the structure of this myth and show how it does not take into consideration many of the situations, problems and rights violations encountered by Brazilians during their trajectories of migration. We look at how the category of “trafficking victim” seems be reconfiguring

⁹ A partial list of some of the most important works produced or subsidized by the Brazilian federal government during this period include: CECRIA, 2002; MinJus, 2008; Colares, 2008; Piscitelli & Vasconcelos, 2008; OIT, 2006; MinJus 2010; Piscitelli, 2007.

discourses regarding migration and sex work in Brazil, changing the focus from citizenship, empowerment and rights to one which emphasizes victimization, vulnerabilities and law enforcement. Finally, we give examples of how Brazil's police forces, informed by the Myth and enforcing inadequate and obsolete anti-trafficking laws, end up violating the rights of people identified as "potential trafficking victims".

Regarding myths

When we classify the story of Maria as a "myth", we are not saying that such stories do not occur or that they are lies. It is a fact that Brazil exports large numbers of its citizens to work in overseas sex industries. Many of these migrants end up suffering from exploitation and human rights violations, just as their non-sex-working countrymen and women do, both at home and abroad. A myth, however, does not attempt to recount these people's stories in a politically neutral sense and certainly doesn't place much emphasis upon these immigrants' own understandings of their experiences. Myths are exemplary: they are told to pass along a lesson and to make sense of reality within a given moral and political framework. In doing so, they portray reality within a very specific light, highlighting some aspects and diminishing or ignoring others. As veteran researcher John Frederick puts it:

A myth is simplistic: it cannot express the complexities of an issue, entertain controversy, or encompass "gray areas". Like a popular film, it presents morals, heroism, and emotionality as readily as facts. A myth is conservative: it is resistant to change and discourages innovative ideas and interventions, while being easily influenced by cultural prejudices and political agendas. And it is pseudo-knowledge: in the absence of knowledge about the actual trafficking episode, it provides donors and policy makers with the validation to create interventions or policies (Frederick, 2005: 128).

Myths are the preferred language of moral panic, a situation, according to Stanley Cohen, where a condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests (Cohen, 1973: 9). These panics (and the consequent social villains they bring to the public's attention) are generally created by moral entrepreneurs, people who instigate popular outrage regarding social and political questions,

suggesting and implementing rules, generally in the form of legislation, in order to deal with the problem which they have brought to the public's attention (*ibid*; Becker, 1963).

The Myth of Maria does not so much express reality as shape it, directing attention away from certain elements of Brazilian immigrant experiences while highlighting others. It recasts what trafficking scholar David A. Feingold calls “immigration gone wrong” as the result of organized transnational criminal enterprise. Instead of looking at migrant women as agency-endowed subjects who leave home voluntarily in search of better lives and who, along the way, become enmeshed in exploitative or coercive situations, whose negative impact is multiplied by xenophobic migration laws, the Myth of Maria casts these women as agency-less victims, recruited by mafiosos and in need of State-directed intervention and rescue. Complicated social relations, actions and networks are thus reduced to two dimensions and four colors, with clear-cut “good guys” and “bad guys” (Feingold, 2010: Loc.1456-69).

We have analyzed elsewhere the historical development of the Myth of Maria as well its blind spots when compared to the experiences of Brazilian migrants labeled “trafficking victims” (Blanchette, Silva, & Bento, 2013; Blanchette & Silva 2011a). What we want to do now is analyze the structure of this myth and, in so doing, seek out its deeper meanings in order to better hypothesize about its persistence as the principal Brazilian narrative regarding trafficking in persons in the face of ever-increasing amounts of data which illustrate its factual insufficiency.

In conducting our dissection, we apply Leví-Strauss’ (1963) guidelines for the structural analysis of myths. It should be emphasized that Leví-Strauss’ understanding of mythological thought has little to do with the notion of falsifying reality. Instead, it concentrates on how human thought organizes reality according to the concrete experience of social groups. Myths, in this understanding, are used to organize social relations and reflect upon certain wider, existential questions and Lévi-Strauss would certainly object to Frederick’s contention that myths are a form of “pseudo-knowledge”. It is our contention that the Myth of Maria is not pseudo-knowledge, but a particular construction of knowledge which organizes facts according to certain moral and political values regarding migration and prostitution and which simplifies and moralizes the trafficking in persons phenomenon. We will discuss this point further in our conclusions, below.

Combating prostitution and the traffic in white slaves in early 20th century Brazil

Historian Cristiana Schettini describes an incident that occurred during the first wave of anti-trafficking legislation in Brazil and which – *mutatis mutandis* – could serve as a general model for a large part of the anti-prostitution policing activities that have taken place in our country over the last 100 years:

The year 1896 had barely begun when the Precinct Captain of the 4th Urban District decided to remove the prostitutes who resided along and about Senhor dos Passos and Sete de Setembro streets, launching a campaign which sought to morally cleanse the busy center of [of Rio de Janeiro]. Under threat of prison, Brazilian and foreign women were given only a few days to abandon their houses. The Captain then opened a series of investigations into the men and women who rented to the prostitutes, seeking to charge these landlords as pimps. Applying the newly-minted Penal Code of the Republic, the Captain charged the landlords with “aiding and abetting, or giving housing” to the prostitutes in order to “gain profits from this speculation”. (Schettini, 2006:17)

Then, as now, Brazil had no laws on its books either prohibiting or regulating prostitution. In seeking to remove prostitutes from the center of Rio de Janeiro, the police captain of the 4th district couldn't legitimately arrest the women or rezone their activities, absent some other accusation. Then, as now, the law which permitted active police intervention into sexual commerce was the law prohibiting third parties from profiting from the prostitution of others. This was written in such broad terms that it defined as “*proxenetas*” (pimps) literally anyone who accepted coin from or gave succor to prostitutes, including their husbands, roommates and the landlords and –ladies who rented them houses and rooms. By casting the struggle against prostitution as a struggle against pimps, the police of what was then Brazil's federal capital were thus able to effectively criminalize an activity which had never been made illegal under Brazilian law.

A key part of this process was getting the public to accept police raids that put sex working women out of their houses and the members of their social networks in jail. One of the main tools utilized by the carioca elite to this end was Rio de Janeiro's nascent mass media. As Schettini points out, the specter of trafficking in persons was widely mobilized during the late 19th and early 20th centuries during the moral and hygienic campaigns that

attempted to recast Rio as a “modern, Europeanized city”. Sensationalist stories about so-called “white slavery” were an important component of these campaigns, used to mobilize popular sentiment against prostitution and justify police actions against the city’s informal red light districts. The crusading captain of the 4th district, for example, was accompanied on his rounds by a journalist who reported the repressive measures in one of the Rio’s most important newspapers (*ibid*: 17-20).

What was lost in the rush to attack the putative pimps, however, were the points of view of the prostitutes themselves. As Schettinni puts it, these women’s voices were “confined to mythologizing and depoliticized reports”, only recorded by the media when they “expressed the imaginations, desires and expectations” of the moralizing elite, which – of course – meant repeating the narrative of innocence sold into white slavery (*ibid*: 20). Prostitutes’ autochthonous understandings of their situation and their suggestions for improving it were drowned out by the cacophony of moral panic.

Due to the work of historians like Schettini, Beatriz Kushnir (1996) and Margareth Rago (1991), however, we are able to get a glimpse of the “private lives of the public women” of early twentieth century Brazil (Kushnir, 1996: 21). These authors show that prostitutes were not helpless slaves, in thrall to pimps and destitute of agency. Kushnir and Rago document the formation of mutual aid societies among Jewish immigrant prostitutes that also included many of the people accused by the authorities of being pimps and exploiters. Schettini reviews the women’s constant legal skirmishes, where they made ample use of the concept of *habeas corpus* to assert that they themselves were the owners of their bodies and thus legally able to do as they pleased with them. The documents analyzed by Schettini also reveal that accusations of pimping were creatively used by women to guarantee their independence from abusive lovers, husbands, or landlords. According to this author, the sex workers of early 20th century Brazil were engaged in a variety of “complex agreements and relationships that went well beyond the pimp-slave dyad, even when these relationships were marked by inequality and violence” (Schettini, 2006: 154).

Despite the rhetoric of combating the traffic in white slaves, however, police actions during this period were not primarily concerned with aiding or empowering sex working women, but with social engineering and the institution of a new urban order that attempted to stigmatize and exclude prostitutes. This pattern which would be repeated over the next 100 years:

Narratives of white slavery and accusations of pimping served in different ways to justify the most varied forms of police intervention into the meaning of urban space and its occupation by a series of social groups. All the police officials who participated in the anti-trafficking struggle during the three republican decades would probably agree that their activities were a form of “moral sanitation”. The changes in Brazil’s penal code [during this period], the “administrative powers” of the police [which allowed them to treat a legal activity – prostitution – as if it were criminal] and the international pressures to be vigilant with regards to foreign men and women, all ended up consolidating narratives of slavery and trafficking of women in the city. These narratives, in turn, ended up legitimizing a complex process of stigmatization of those people who were in one form or another involved with prostitution during this period (*ibid*: 153).

It was in 1940, during the government of dictator Getúlio Vargas, that today’s legal codes regarding sex work were written. Like the earlier Republican codes, these eschewed both the regulation and prohibition of prostitution. Six separate laws were established prohibiting the crime of “sexual exploitation”¹⁰, taking as their general guideline the ample definitions of this crime established during the early 20th century (Schettini, 2006: 105-106)¹¹.

The new penal code maintained what was to become a long-term tradition of prostitution legislation in Brazil. As Schettini and Blanchette point out (2013, forthcoming), Brazilian public policy with regards to sex work can perhaps be best understood as an extra-legal form of regulation, which concentrates discretionary power in the hands of the police and charges them with a mandate to control sexual commerce without actually prohibiting it. Wide-reaching and vaguely defined laws make almost any kind of activity surrounding the sale of sex a potentially criminal act, depending upon the interpretation of the police and the courts. Prostitution itself, however, is not illegal. The police can thus intervene as circumstances demand without taking on a legal obligation to eliminate prostitution, or even be held to a given, fixed position with regards to it.

¹⁰ Interestingly enough, the term “sexual exploitation” has never been specifically defined in Brazilian jurisprudence. One of the Brazilian Prostitutes’ Movement’s specific political demands is that it be legally understood as “forcing someone into prostitution or impeding their leaving it”.

¹¹ In other words, “pimp” once again was defined as anyone who received money from or gave shelter or aid to a prostitute.

In other words, for the past century or more, prostitution has been situationally illegal in Brazil. The way it is handled by police depends upon contextual and shifting arrangements of forces involving public opinion, the cash flows of sexual commerce and prostitutes' willingness and ability to hammer out deals with the police or, failing that, to insist upon *habeas corpus*.

The formulation of Brazil's first (and to date only) anti-trafficking law in 1940 needs to be understood within this general scenario: laws touching upon prostitution in Brazil have traditionally been vague, wide-ranging and contextually enforced with an eye to organizing sexual commerce and limiting it to certain regions, rather than prohibiting it altogether or improving the lives and working conditions of prostitutes (Blanchette & Schettini, 2013, forthcoming).

Defining trafficking: Article 231 and the Palermo Protocol

Since 1940, trafficking in persons has been legally defined in Brazil by Article 231 of the penal code as "Promoting or facilitating the entrance into national territory by a woman who has come here to act as a prostitute, or the exit from national territory of a woman who'll act as a prostitute in a foreign country". This law has been modified twice. In 2005, it was changed slightly so that it would refer to any person working as a prostitute and not just women. Additionally, Article 231A was included in the penal code at this time, applying the law to movements within Brazil. In 2009, minor changes were made to the law's language, equating prostitution with "other forms of sexual exploitation" (JusBrasil, 2012). A larger and more significant change also occurred at this time, however: Article 231 was reclassified. Originally, it was part of a larger set qualified as "crimes against customs". In 2009, it became part of a new set, "crimes against dignity", suggesting a change in the law's focus.

In spite of these mostly cosmetic changes, however, Article 231 continues to define *trafficking in persons* simply and solely as aiding and abetting the movement of prostitutes. The use of violence or coercion in the course of these movements is understood to be an aggravating – but not necessary – element of the offense. This means that simply loaning a friend money so that they can migrate and engage in sex work somewhere else, even if no interest is charged, is legally classifiable as trafficking in persons. It can also

plausibly be considered to be a crime if the money is freely *given* as a present. In fact, money doesn't even have to change hands for someone to be accused of trafficking under Brazilian law: merely helping a prostitute book a flight or discussing how sex work conditions are better elsewhere are acts that could be construed as criminal under Article 231¹². Article 231A, which extends the scope of the anti-trafficking law to movements within Brazilian territory, is so vaguely written that it could be applied to paying a call girl's taxi fare.

To put it simply, according to Brazilian law, in order for *trafficking in persons* to occur...

- 1) A person must move from point A to point B in order to engage in prostitution; and...
- 2) This movement must be aided and abetted by another person (understood to be the trafficker).

The law applies even if the migrant prostitute works independently and never encounters any exploitation or human rights violations whatsoever. The law *does not apply*, conversely, to any other form of migration for labor exploitation, no matter how violent or coercive. While Brazil also has laws on its books prohibiting slave labor and the sale of organs (to mention just two of the most commonly cited forms of trafficking), these crimes are not formally, legally understood to be trafficking. They are occasionally included in rhetoric regarding the crime, but are more often ignored when it comes time to generate statistics or moving anecdotes about trafficking.

When Article 231 was written in 1940, it followed the trends of the times. The anti-trafficking movement of the first half of the 20th century was more concerned with reinforcing traditional understandings of morality and female sexuality in the face of women's increased social and physical mobility than it was in protecting women as citizens and bearers of rights (Donovan, 2006; Doezena 2000). The first international anti-trafficking treaty originated in Paris in 1904, when 13 countries met to sign the International Accord for the Suppression of the Traffic of White Women. On this occasion, the crime of trafficking was defined as "procur[ing], entic[ing], or le[ading] away" a woman or girl "for immoral purposes" – a definition which included prostitution,

¹² In May 2013, a Federal Police officer charged with anti-trafficking operations in southwest Brazil specifically confirmed this hypothesis to us. "I could definitely convict someone of trafficking, even if they simply freely gave money or information to a woman or helped her book a ticket," he proudly declared at an anti-trafficking event organized by the Rio de Janeiro attorney general's office (Ministério Pùblico).

but which could be interpreted to mean any sort of sexual activity outside the bonds of monogamous marriage (Anonymous, 1904). This definition was successively refined by treaties in 1921 and 1933, but its basic content remained the same. The prejudices and assumptions regarding women, sexuality and power which underpin these early anti-trafficking treaties are obvious and are revealed by such terms as “leading away” and the constant equation of “girls” and “women” as functionally and socially identical. Here we have a view of women as essentially sexually passive creatures, “naturally” chaste and virginial unless acted upon by an outside force. (Ferreira, 2009: 21-24).

The last legal instrument produced by this early conceptualization of trafficking was the United Nation’s “Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others” of 1949, almost a decade after Article 231 was established in the Brazilian penal code. Like its Brazilian forerunner, the 1949 treaty defines trafficking solely and exclusively in terms of prostitution, although unlike Article 231, it does not specify the gender of the victims, a situation the Brazilian law would only rectify in 2005 (UN, 1949). According to Jo Doezema and Kamala Kempadoo, the treaty’s intent and conception focuses upon the abolition of prostitution and its strictures have been supported in the years since its signing by a global alliance of conservative religious groups and the abolitionist branch of feminism, who see the trafficking issue as a constituent component of a larger campaign to make prostitution illegal (Dozema, 2000; Kempadoo 2005: xi).

In the 1990s, the concept of trafficking in persons was redefined. In 1996, Radhika Coomaraswamy, the UN’s Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, commissioned a worldwide research project into the question. The project’s final report advised the UN to disconnect processes of recruitment and transportation under coercion from sex work itself. Under this new definition of *trafficking in persons*, prostitution was to be considered a legitimate form of work and trafficking became all forms of recruitment and transportation for work or services through the use of violence, threats, coercion, or fraud (Kempadoo, 2005: xii). Following this new orientation, the United Nations would ultimately recommend that consensual sex work be legalized world-wide as a necessary step to combat HIV and stigma-related violence (Patria, 2007).

In 2000, the new understanding of prostitution and trafficking was codified by the UN Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking

in Persons, Especially Women and Children – also known as the Palermo Protocol. This defines *trafficking in persons* in the following manner:

“Trafficking in persons” shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harboring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labor or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs. (UN, 2000).

While clearly changing the focus of the international struggle from prostitution to any and all forms of coerced or fraudulent recruitment for labor exploitation, the Protocol still contains some points which conceptually link it to earlier anti-trafficking treaties. For one, it continues to specify trafficking as a question of particular interest to women and children and, by lumping these two categories together, symbolically situates adult women as the equivalent, in rights and vulnerabilities, to children. Furthermore, it does not specify what constitutes “sexual exploitation”, although it does indicate that this not be understood as independent, consensual sex work (since “exploitation” here is linked to the concept of “exploitation of others”). As Piscitelli points out (2010: 365–67), however, this lack conceptual definition is almost certainly a practical result of the fact that the two great alliances which participated in the formulation of the Protocol¹³ have opposing views regarding prostitution. Consensus regarding what “sexual exploitation” consists of could thus not be reached.

When Brazil ratified the Protocol in 2004, it committed itself to dealing with trafficking according to this new framework. Since then, Article 231 has been modified twice, but on both occasions the changes have more tightly linked the concept of trafficking to the migration of sex workers, ignoring both the other forms of trafficking stipulated by the Protocol and the UN’s repeated recommendations that prostitution itself not be considered, *ipso*

¹³ Abolitionists and groups which focus more specifically upon slave labor and reject the notion that all prostitution is slavery.

facto, a sufficient component of trafficking. One can thus say that, as trafficking discourse once again becomes consolidated in Brazil, the country's penal code is moving in the opposite direction from that stipulated by the international agreements that Brazil has signed.

The government's National Plan to Combat Trafficking is formally committed to the Palermo Protocol as its definition of trafficking, as are the federal, state and municipal anti-trafficking committees which are springing up all across Brazil. These official organs recognize that other forms of the crime exist beyond trafficking for sexual exploitation. However, educational campaigns, programs to prepare law enforcement and government officials to fight trafficking and federally-funded research continue to largely focus upon the identification and prevention of aided prostitute migration. More importantly, Brazil's law enforcement agencies and criminal justice system, from the federal level on down, still recognize aided prostitute migration as a sufficient and necessary definition of trafficking. For all intents and purposes, then, for the criminal justice system, trafficking in persons in Brazil exclusively means aiding and abetting the migration of sex workers, whether or not exploitation, coercion, or slavery is involved.

On a local level, this has translated into an across-the-board increase in anti-vice campaigns. Raids of brothels and red light districts under the pretense of investigating charges of trafficking and sexual exploitation have become a means through which municipal authorities attempt to push sex workers out of the path of urban development programs linked to the upcoming World's Cup and Olympic Games (Blanchette, 2012b¹⁴). At a national level, it means that the activities of the federal police have, up to now, concentrated on repressing the international migration of Brazilian women who are suspected of being sex workers.

The current wave of anti-prostitution repression in Brazil is somewhat surprising because, until recently, the country has been one of the few in the world to actively support prostitutes' rights. As Paul Amar points out, Brazil has employed prostitutes' organizations in HIV education and has even gone

¹⁴ Blanchette estimates that some 40 brothels, privés, saunas, clubs and street scenes have been forcibly closed or threatened with closing in Rio de Janeiro from 2010-2012 as opposed to 3 during the immediately preceding five year period. See Magalhães, 2012 for a brief overview of the most recent and disruptive raids in Rio de Janeiro. Silva (2011) claims that this process began a few years earlier in São Paulo. See Estado de São Paulo, 2008 for more information on Paulista raids.

so far as to lose access to USAID money by refusing to take the U.S. government's pledge not to work with groups that support prostitution (Amar, 2009). As mentioned above, prostitution has never been outlawed in Brazil and sex work is classified as a form of work by the country's Labor Ministry (MinTrab, 2012). Bills to regulate sex work and codify sex worker rights have been repeatedly introduced into the Brazilian Congress and, until recently, representatives of the Brazilian Prostitutes' Network were consulted by the Health Ministry on a variety of issues.

Given this history of relative tolerance, the shift towards the increased repression of prostitution that has taken place over the last few years is all the more surprising. When we look at the justifications being put forth by the federal police, district attorneys' offices and local police, however, we see that a series of accusations are being leveled at prostitution venues which echo those raised during the first wave of anti-trafficking activities in the late 19th century¹⁵. It seems that Brazil is once again turning away from tolerating sex work, using accusations of trafficking and sexual slavery to engage in projects of social and physical engineering which will "pacify" our unruly cities, hopefully in time for the sporting mega-events of 2014 and 2016.

As was the case in 1896, a key component of these campaigns has been the popularization, through the mass media, of a hegemonic mythologizing narrative that purports to relate the details of a "typical case" of trafficking in women but which, when analyzed, expresses the fears, desires and expectations of a moralizing elite while drowning out sex workers' voices and opinions. This myth paves over the contradictions inherent between Brazil's anti-trafficking laws and the stipulations of the Palermo Protocol, presenting what are essentially moral crusades against prostitution as necessary (if sometimes regrettable) police actions in the name of saving the helpless victims of modern slavery.

We call this the "Myth of Maria, an exemplary trafficking victim", and it is to its analysis that we now must turn.

¹⁵ For a paradigmatic example of these sorts of accusations, see the charges leveled in the May 2012 brothel raids by the Rio de Janeiro District Attorney's office (Ministério Público) which associate prostitution with trafficking, sexual exploitation, the corruption of minors and police corruption, among other things. It is notable, however, that the DA was unable to present conclusive evidence to support any of these allegations in the more than 25 raids conducted (Magalhães, 2012).

Maria, an exemplary trafficking victim

The Myth of Maria came into being as an exemplary tale promoted by moral entrepreneurs. It preceded formal research into trafficking phenomena in Brazil, informed certain studies to such a degree that it undermined their scientific worth and soldiers on today, long after many of its main precepts have been problematized by ethnographers.¹⁶ It has now become the central narrative for journalists, NGOs and politicians who seek to communicate to the Brazilian public a sense of urgency regarding trafficking in persons. The myth has also become central to the confection of material designed to educate the Brazilian public regarding trafficking, as we can see in the pamphlets produced in Rio de Janeiro by Projeto TRAMA and the story produced by the Bahian NGO CHAME, presented in **Illustration 2**. Finally, the Myth of Maria has now literally gone “prime time”, becoming the central drama in Globo Network’s late 2012 telenovela, *Salve Jorge*, where the main character is recruited to work overseas in the service industry, only to find herself being auctioned off as a sex slave in Turkey.¹⁷

In its most basic form, the Myth of Maria¹⁸ recounts the story of a young, innocent Brazilian woman (almost always black or brown and always poor) who is recruited by an unscrupulous fraud (generally a white, blond, blue-eyed foreigner) for overseas work (usually as a maid or dancer). When she arrives at her destination, Maria is forced to work as a prostitute and can find no way out of her desperate situation. If the story has a happy ending, it usually involves Maria being saved by the police and “repatriated” back to Brazil. The story is “exemplary” in two senses. First, it is presented as a typical example of certain Brazilian women’s experiences with overseas migration.

¹⁶ See, for example, the extensive opus of anthropologist Adriana Piscitelli (especially 2004a, 2004b, 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) and also Texeira (2008), Pelucio (2010, 2012), Oliveira (2008), Blanchette (2012) and Blanchette & Silva (2005, 2010, 2011a). We deal with the development of this myth in a forthcoming article which will be published in 2013 in *Dialectical Anthropology*. For quantitative data that undermines many of the myths presumptions, see MinJus, 2010.

¹⁷ It should be pointed out that neither we nor any of the researchers, NGO activists, politicians or police whom we know in the anti-trafficking field has ever heard of Brazilian women being auctioned off as slaves. One of the journalists who interviewed the novela’s writer claims that Gloria Perez got the idea for this particular dramatic twist from reading fiction written during the first wave of trafficking in persons panic in Brazil at the beginning of the 20th century. If this is true, then trafficking narratives in our country have now come full circle, cannibalizing the stories told about Eastern European women who immigrated to Brazil in the early 1900s in order to give emotional force to fictional narratives regarding Brazilian immigrants to Europe today.

¹⁸ When given a name, the victim is almost always “Maria”, usually “dos Santos” or “de Silva”. This is perhaps the most generic name possible for a Brazilian woman and it has symbolic overtones of poverty, ignorance and anonymity.



Versions of the Myth of Maria, produced as educational material by Brazilian anti-trafficking NGOs over a decade.

1. Scenes from an educational comic-book produced by the Bahian anti-trafficking NGO CHAME in 1998.
2. Illustration from anti-trafficking pamphlet produced by Projeto Trama in 2006.
3. Luggage-tag produced by the Carioca ONG Projeto Trama in 2005.

Secondly, it is meant to impart a lesson to potential Marias: it is better for them to stay in Brazil than face the dangers of migration.

We'll take as our basic text for analysis an iteration of the myth originally produced in 2005 by journalist Renata Summa. This version is quite typical, although it omits some details that commonly appear,¹⁹ while adding in others that often do not occur or occur in different forms²⁰:

Maria wakes early, rising before the sun. She takes two different buses to get to the posh neighborhood where she works. She arrives home, exhausted. She knows that her life can be more than this. Maria has a dream: she wants to give a better life to her son and her parents. Maria is beautiful. One day, she receives a proposal to work in a club in Spain. She's wary, but the money's good, so they say. It can guarantee the Future.²¹ Without knowing what to expect, Maria decides to risk it.

Maria doesn't yet know it, but she will have the same destiny as the other 75 thousand Brazilians who've been trafficked to Europe. As soon as she arrives at the nightclub, she learns she must pay for her ticket. Her passport is taken from her by the pimps so that she can't escape. She won't see any of the money that was promised to her. She may be prohibited from going out, or even beaten. But one thing is for certain: Maria will be forced to prostitute herself (Summa, 2005).

In **Table 1**, we see that this story can be divided into 17 discrete elements, which can be further bundled into five columns. The number sequence refers to the elements' chronological order, which can also be inferred by reading top to bottom and left to right. The columns group these elements according to their salient common feature.

The first column, "Work", has to do with Maria's relationship to labor and this is directly related to the second column which can be classified as descriptions of Maria herself. Here, we understand that because she is a woman, a daughter and mother, Maria labors within the larger context of a gendered family structure. Her work is further gendered by its setting in a "posh neighborhood" (rather than in a factory), implying that Maria provides

¹⁹ As we can see in illustration 2, Maria is generally stipulated as black or brown and the nationality of her recruiter is generally identified as foreign, almost always "blond and blue-eyed". In the version of the story analyzed here, race/color markers are omitted.

²⁰ I.e., the claims regarding how many Brazilian women have been trafficked.

²¹ Capitalized in the original.

domestic services to richer families – a job that is overwhelmingly feminized in Brazil²². In order to arrive at her job, she must take two different buses, a fact which situates her as a poor resident of the margins of urban Brazil.

In this iteration of the myth, no mention is made of Maria's color/race. When this element is specified, however, it generally appears as "black" or "brown". Because Maria is "beautiful", we are led to understand that she is coveted for sexual relations – a situation that is potentialized in iterations of the myth that describe her as non-white and "exotic" in European eyes. For element #14 ("Makes no money [in Spain]") to occur, however, it is imperative that Maria be understood as innocent and easily manipulated or intimidated by others. Column Two's descriptors allow for this, situating Maria as a working class "family girl" in traditional Brazilian parlance regarding female sexuality: she is sober, industrious, chaste and obedient. She knows little of life outside her limited social horizons and works for the betterment of her family, not herself.

Column Three, "Movements/Identity", takes in the two movements which Maria makes in the story, both of which are connected to her identity. Maria's initial daily journey is symbolically linked to her having a home and to her identification as daughter and mother whose labor supports her family. The fact that the work is exhausting underlines that Maria is justified in her desire to find other work. When Maria decides to migrate to Spain, however, she becomes individualized in a very traditional Brazilian sense. According to anthropologist Roberto DaMatta, conservative social tradition in Brazil situates the *house*²³ and the *street* as two distinct moral regions, defined by their own ethics and inhabited by different types of human beings (DaMatta, 1997: 44-48; 1990: 196-200). At home, we are known and protected from the harsh realities of life while in the streets we are anonymous, placed at the mercy of a brutal system that is completely indifferent to our human needs. By leaving *home*, Maria not only leaves Brazil for Spain, but symbolically moves from her home/family to the *streets*. In this individualizing movement, she does not become a citizen, a carrier of rights and privileges, but rather an anonymous individual, lost in an indistinct mass, who cannot expect any consideration whatsoever from the State or society at large.

²² According to the IBGE, 20% of Brazilian female workers work as domestic laborers as opposed to less than 1% of male workers. (IBGE/PNAD 2004).

²³ It should be noted that "house" and "home" are one and the same word in Portuguese: *casa*.

Work	Descriptors	Movements/Identity	Views of world	Outside Influences
<p>2) Works in posh neighborhood.</p> <p>(14) Makes no money in Spain.</p> <p>17) Works as prostitute.</p>	<p>(3) Lives in the suburbs (is poor).</p> <p>(5) Is a beautiful woman.</p> <p>(7) Is mother.</p> <p>(8) Is daughter.</p>	<p>(1) Goes to work, arrives home, exhausted.</p> <p>(11) Goes to Spain, loses her identity, becoming one of a massive number.</p>	<p>(4) Knows life can be more.</p> <p>(6) Dreams of a better life for her family.</p> <p>(10) Mistrustful, but understands migration to Spain to be the key to her future.</p>	<p>(9) Approached to work in Spain and make a lot of money.</p> <p>(12) Forced to pay debt.</p> <p>(13) Pimps take passport.</p> <p>15) Maria is beaten and imprisoned.</p> <p>16) Forced to work.</p>

Table 1: The symbolic structure of the Myth of Maria.

Given the fact that the *home* represents the “natural” sphere of the woman in this traditional cosmology and given the persistent Brazilian cultural tradition of dividing females into two general groupings, *family* and *street*, with the second category being linked to feminine sexual promiscuity, dishonesty and corruption, it is no surprise that Maria’s migration ends in prostitution. The myth, however, cannot present Maria as an inadequate heroine, deserving of her fate. The symbolic bundles present in Columns Four and Five can thus be understood as explaining the reasons for Maria’s fall without attributing moral causality to her. Column Four refers to her views of the world. Because she works in a posh neighborhood, Maria is aware of the fact that she does not have access to many things in life. If she has a defect, it is that she is a dreamer, whose visions of the possible push her to go beyond the probable in the name of improving her family’s lot. But – ingénue that she is – she thinks of Europe as a place where all of her wishes will come true – a dreamland which we (the sober consumers of the myth) know to be a nightmare, at least for the likes of Maria.

Maria would never take steps to migrate on her own, however: she goes to Europe because she is *recruited* to do so. Again, the myth must cast her as essentially passive in the construction of her fate: her sins are those of omission, not commission. Because Maria is the heroine of this myth (indeed, the entire point of the story is to use her plight to generate emotional affect), she cannot be held responsible for her fall: there has to be an outside influences which impels her into slavery. These are bundled together in Column Five.

Recruiters – in the form of pimps, mafiosos and other reprehensible types – must appear in the myth for the story to have easily identified villains. They must be seen as abusing Maria for two main reasons: 1) to accentuate their evil nature, and; 2) to underline the fact that a good girl like Maria would never choose to do sex work unless forced to do so. Finally, Maria is transformed into a sex slave who makes no money, closing off all possibility that leaving Brazil and working overseas might actually be a rewarding strategy for this young woman. While Maria's discontent with her situation in Brazil is understood as legitimate, Europe is postulated as an even worse place for her. Element #17 thus becomes the nadir of the story, the moral to which all efforts are directed: by leaving home in search of a better future, Maria is transformed in one single tumble from poor-but-honest family girl to enslaved and brutalized prostitute.

One particular element of Column Five needs to be discussed in depth, however, and this is Item #13, the retention of Maria's passport.

In modern anti-trafficking narratives, the loss of one's passport has become such an iconic meme that it has been situated as a necessary and sufficient step for the enslavement of immigrants. Indeed, Brazil's first nationwide anti-trafficking campaign revolved around posters and pamphlets informing potential immigrants that traffickers "first take your passport, then take your freedom" (see **Illustration 1**).

Reflection regarding this meme quickly reveals its problems, however. Obviously, the loss of one's passport means relatively little in terms of one's ability to move about. New passports are routinely emitted to people who have lost theirs by consulates and embassies. Absent other forms of coercion, the retention of one's passport is nothing more than a nuisance: it means a delay of perhaps a week for international travel and no delay at all for local travel. Bus and train tickets can be purchased for travel within most western European nations (and the United States and Canada) without showing I.D.

The myth's insistence that the lack of a passport means effective imprisonment is thus factually incorrect and this is a point that several of our prostitute immigrant informants confirm. The persistence of this element in trafficking narratives is quite significant in symbolic terms, however. It reveals that the Myth is told from the point of view of the State and not from the point of view of immigrants themselves. A valid passport is, of course,

necessary in order legally to cross most international frontiers and – referring back to Item #11 in Column Three – it is only this sort of movement which is of interest in constructing Maria's plight. Without her passport, she cannot immediately return to Brazil, which the myth naturalizes as her “proper” place in the world. In terms of the story’s logic, Maria is in peril as long as she stays outside Brazil. This, then, is the true problem which the myth is discussing: the fact that a poor, black or brown Brazilian woman is out and about in the world without proper supervision.

A last – and extremely relevant – characteristic of the Myth of Maria can be found in the operators it most commonly employs to discuss the hopes and dreams of the women it situates as victims. These are frequently couched in the language of fairy tales. This is notoriously the case in Joel Zito Araújo’s documentary film, *Cinderellas, Wolves & An Enchanted Prince* (*Cinderellas, Lobos, & Um Príncipe Encantado*, 2008). The language pops up almost universally whenever the Myth of Maria is recounted, however. The belief that women labeled as trafficking victims make their decisions to migrate based on fairy tales, in which they see themselves as Cinderellas being courted by handsome princes (in reality viscous pimps) serves a dual purpose. In the first place, it infantilizes and trivializes these women and calls into question their ability to make rational decisions in their own best interests. Children, of course, believe fairy tales and a woman who sees herself as Cinderella is dangerously infantile and in need of sober guidance. But the second, more subtle meaning of “fairy tale” language is that it reassures those who recount and listen to the myth that Brazil’s legions of poor black and brown Marias are *not* Cinderellas, that their proper place is not at the European ball but back home, sweeping out the chimney. It is only through hard and constant work, in Brazil, that socio-economic mobility is possible for them.

Although this myth purports to warn us about trafficking, what it really is discussing, then, is the “proper” place of poor, non-white Brazilian women in the world. These women should be at home, laboring in hard and unrewarding jobs to slowly improve their family’s lot. For them to attempt to change their situation through migration is for them to risk complete declassification as a citizen and a woman.

Who's met Maria?

It has been difficult to find confirmed cases of trafficking in persons in Brazil which parallel the Myth of Maria. This, paradoxically, has seemed to increase the Myth's acceptance as a "typical" report of trafficking. An incident which took place in November, 2012 during a discussion between federal anti-trafficking investigators and members of several NGOs engaged in combating trafficking in the state of Rio de Janeiro demonstrates the story's durability as a guiding narrative. Although this is one particular case, it is illustrative of a type of conversation that we've often had in our interactions with government officials and members of the anti-trafficking movement over the past several years.

During the meeting, we related the results of our research among migrant prostitutes in Rio de Janeiro, pointing out that while many of our informants reported encountering human rights violations in Europe, these were mostly at the hands of police and immigration authorities. Furthermore, we reported that our informants claimed that fraud and coercion were generally not used in recruiting Brazilian women for sex work in Europe and that everyone we had talked to said they had migrated of their own free will and likewise freely worked as prostitutes.

At this point, a young woman from one of the most important and long-standing Carioca anti-trafficking organizations spoke up. The NGO that she works for has been central to the formulation of anti-trafficking educational campaigns in Rio de Janeiro for over 8 years and has been collecting and collating information regarding accusations of trafficking in the state during that period. The organization also makes abundant use of the Myth of Maria in the educational material it produces.

"Maybe the reason you're not finding women who've been forced or tricked into prostitution is due to the fact that you've been working with prostitutes," the intern said. "Our organization works mostly with non-prostitutes, so that's why we find all these cases of women who've been lied to and tricked or forced into prostitution overseas."

"That could very well be the case," we replied. "We are certainly open to that possibility. How many cases of women, tricked or forced into prostitution overseas has your organization discovered?"

The young woman admitted that she had been working with the NGO for a year or so and that the only trafficking case that she personally knew

of involved a Guatemalan man who'd been tricked into coming to Rio for forced labor in the civil construction industry. She then passed the question on to her predecessor, who had worked for the NGO for most of the prior decade before leaving to take up a government position. This woman detailed the many educational campaigns and other activities the organization had developed during the last decade, but did not answer our question. So we put it to her again:

“But during this period, how many cases of women tricked or forced into overseas prostitution did you discover?”

“There was one case involving two women six or seven years ago...” the civil servant said, hesitating and nodding at the NGO’s current president and indicating that he take up the story. This gentleman couldn’t remember the incident. After a back-and-forth that lasted five minutes, it was revealed that the only case anyone present could remember that approximated the story laid out in the Myth of Maria involved two women who had migrated to Spain, worked as dancers and later voluntarily decided to work as prostitutes because the money was better, only to become frightened by the possibility of coercion, returning to Brazil.

We pointed out that this was only one incident, not “many” and that while the women might indeed have encountered sexual exploitation, they weren’t tricked or coerced into prostitution and hadn’t migrated in function of it. It was thus problematic to classify it as “trafficking”, according to the Palermo Protocol.

“Yes,” the intern replied. “But just because we don’t have any cases like this [the story related in the Myth of Maria] doesn’t mean they don’t exist.”

“But by contrast,” we pointed out, “we have found a half dozen cases of Brazilian sex workers who have gone overseas, were arrested by European police, labeled as trafficking victims, deported back to Brazil and who report that they were never enslaved, coerced, or forced into anything, other than leaving Europe against their will. We’ve also found dozens of cases of Brazilian sex workers who’ve voluntarily gone to Europe, encountered difficulties and even exploitation, but were unable to report these to the authorities because they knew they’d be immediately arrested and deported as irregular, sex-working immigrants. How is it that these stories, which are quite common among prostitutes in Rio and easy to document, have become of secondary importance when compared to a story, which is used in all of

your organization's literature, and for which we have a hard time finding a documented example?"

No one in the room was able to answer our question.

This, then, illustrates the real damage caused by the Myth of Maria: by focusing attention on "innocent women, tricked into sexual slavery", it pushes the needs, demands and experiences of sex-workers and migrants into the background. Reforming laws and organizing support infrastructures for Brazilian migrants overseas and sex workers at home requires a certain degree of political consensus and this is much harder to create than emotional affect through the use of myths. As anthropologist and congressional researcher Maia Sprandel points out, during the same period in which Brazil signed and ratified the Palermo Protocol and instituted its national policy and first national plan to combat trafficking, long-standing juridical projects to modify the country's obsolete and incoherent migration and prostitution laws were repeatedly tabled in the Brazilian Congress: "In a context in which laws are produced and approved, taking into consideration the parameters stipulated by international treaties and conventions that the country has signed, the work of identifying the State's legislative categories has become tedious and arid" (Sprandel, 2012).

What are not tedious and arid, however, are alarming stories of young women in sexual bondage.

In the face of opposition by conservative feminists and Christians, it is probably impossible for Congress to redefine "sexual exploitation" as "forcing someone to prostitute themselves or impeding their leaving prostitution" (as a recent senate judicial committee recommended; Senado Federal, 2012²⁴). The requisite votes to overhaul Brazil's migration statutes (formulated during the military dictatorship) are also probably not available. Everyone, however, can get behind saving young women from overseas sexual slavery. Many of our informants in NGOs have repeatedly told us that while there is little to no money available for work on women's rights, the rights of immigrants or prostitutes' rights, anti-trafficking projects are being relatively lavishly funded, nationally and internationally. As David E. Feingold remarks, stories like the Myth of Maria have tremendous "advocacy value" (Feingold, 2010: Loc.1480-93).

²⁴ This is also a long-term demand of the countries' organized prostitutes' rights movement.

Conclusion: the human rights cost of mythically-enabled policy

It might seem strange to apply structural analysis to a myth created within the context of a complex, large, nationally organized society such as Brazil. We do so advisedly and our analysis above can perhaps be better understood by structuralist fundamentalists as incorporating elements of Lévi-Straussian analysis instead of being, in and of itself, a structuralist critique. We believe, however, that the Myth of Maria is very close to a myth in the sense postulated by Lévi-Strauss in that it organizes reality according to the experiences and needs of a given group of people. While the Myth of Maria may not be very factual, it is indeed a rational story, told in an attempt to make sense of the world.

Lévi-Strauss himself was uncomfortable with the supposed absolute division between scientific (i.e. “modern”) and mythological (i.e. “primitive”) thought and his understanding of myths were one attempt to explode this dichotomy. It should be pointed out in this context that certain questions, by their very nature, escape a more fact-based approach. Immense claims have been made about trafficking in persons, but very little is factually known about the phenomena. Furthermore, much that is factually known contradicts many of the postulates stipulated by the world’s principle anti-trafficking organizations.²⁵ Finally, the anti-trafficking movement has come into being in Brazil from “the top down”, largely organized through the activities of the federal government, responding to political demands from the United Nations and the United States. There has been no popular movement of trafficking victims in Brazil: formulation of a national anti-trafficking policy has not been on any mass movement’s agenda. As a result, Brazil’s anti-trafficking policy has largely been the creation of a very small group of State and NGO agents who have attempted to “sell” their results to society at large through “education and capacitation” campaigns. In this process, the political “cart” has come before the “factual” horse: policy is being made with little reference to what is factually known about trafficking. Indeed, as we have discussed above, Brazil’s anti-trafficking agents do not even have a working consensus regarding what trafficking actually *is*²⁶.

²⁵ See Frederick (2005) for an excellent example of how information doesn’t match imagination in a trafficking context (Nepal) which, for many years, was considered paradigmatic by many of the world’s foremost anti-trafficking organizations.

²⁶ This fact has been made painfully clear to the authors in our present work in Rio de Janeiro’s State

In this sort of environment, Stephen Jay Gould's remarks about scientific racism seem especially *apropos*: “[S]ome topics are invested with enormous social importance but blessed with very little reliable information. When the ratio of data to social impact is so low, a history of scientific attitudes may be little more than an oblique record of social change” (Gould, 1981: 22). What is currently driving a fair portion of anti-trafficking policy in Brazil (which is largely imagined by its architects as being created according to “scientifically” produced data regarding the phenomenon) seems to be a larger social shift away from the relatively liberal and tolerant attitudes regarding prostitution and migration that characterized social policy in the 1980-90s and towards a more conservative and restrictive understanding of these phenomena. Within this shift, the Myth of Maria has become an important way of aligning certain facts (while ignoring others) with international demands to stem illegal/irregular migration and common-sense, moralizing notions of prostitution among a very specific group: the actors that currently dominate the political field where our nation’s anti-trafficking policies and plans are being constructed.

We have described this group of policy-makers elsewhere (Blanchette & Silva, 2010: 340) as relatively homogenous in terms of their social markers. Its members are largely white or light brown, college-educated and composed of state functionaries (particularly members of the state security, health and social welfare apparatuses), professional NGO activists and members of church-based groups. They are in the upper 10% of Brazilian society in terms of class and most have travelled internationally. This is, in short, very much an elite, engaged in making policy for a population that it imagines as antithetical to itself in almost every way possible (i.e as black, poor, uneducated, unsophisticated and untraveled).

Ela Wiecko de Castilho has analyzed how a certain traditionalist view of women as a fragile sex, “naturally” linked to the reproduction of family life, has persisted among the police, lawyers and judges charged with enforcing Brazil’s anti-trafficking laws (2008). For these people and their conservative feminist and religious allies, it is impossible that women would choose to work in prostitution of their own free will and migration in order to work in

anti-trafficking committee, where plans for repressing trafficking, capacitating civil society and attending to victims are being laid even while it is admitted that we still have no local, state or national consensus regarding what trafficking actually is.

prostitution must thus be forced, typically by a woman's abject poverty or lack of education. However, as both Castilho and Oliveira point out (2008, 2008), those cases in which people have actually been condemned for the crime of trafficking in persons in Brazil tend to demonstrate a curious indifference with regards to whether or not the victims of the crime were subjected to conditions of work analogous to slavery, or were forced, tricked or otherwise coerced into sex work. Instead, the court cases studied by Castilho demonstrate an abiding belief that poor, uneducated and black or brown Brazilian women are stripped of all possibility of autonomy or agency by their social condition and that it's the place of the law not to provide these women with a better life, but to prevent their recruitment for overseas sex work, not the least because this promotes "incorrect ideas regarding Brazilian women". A form of "non-criminal criminalization" is thus created in which the rights of these women to freely move about the world are curtailed in the name of repressing prostitution, something which is not considered illegal under Brazilian law (Castilho, 2008: 114).

In her article "Control in the Name of Protection", Caroline Ausserer (2011) has analyzed how illegal/irregular immigrants, especially those involved in sex work, have been transformed into "dangerous others" and threats to domestic tranquility by trafficking discourse. Immigration, according to this author, has thus transformed into a security issue, moving away from a focus on immigrant rights and towards criminalization, surveillance and law enforcement.

The Myth of Maria internalizes and to a certain extent re-polarizes these views. In this Brazilian variant of anti-trafficking discourse, racialized (and sexualized) poor Brazilians caught up in processes of immigration understood to be "trafficking" are portrayed as the agency-less victims of criminalized (and also racialized) Others who recruit them for overseas slavery. The Brazilian discourse thus negates the view of poor black and brown Brazilian immigrants as "dangerous" while continuing to understand them as "abject". In this manner, a pragmatic international consensus with regards to the control of immigration is formed: the nations of Western Europe and North America engage in anti-trafficking policies to keep the racialized, abject Other out while Brazil does the same to keep racialized Brazilians, made abject by poverty, in. In the first case, control is exercised in the name of protecting the nation from threat and contamination: in the second, it is exercised in the name of protecting certain national populations from "overseas

exploitation” (while remaining strategically silent about the exploitation they suffer in Brazil). In both cases, the same social type is subjected to greater surveillance, law enforcement and curtailment of international movement.²⁷

Castilho, Oliveira and Ausserer point to a general scenario in which emigration from Brazil is increasingly problematized for a certain part of the population by a series of legal and security agents. Within Brazil, these agents and their allies in civil society understand themselves to be operating to protect child-like, agency-less beings from their own foolish impulses while simultaneously preventing “wrong ideas regarding Brazilian women” from spreading overseas. Within this general scenario, discourse within the political field of anti-trafficking policy in Brazil has increasingly revolved around stopping a “certain type” of immigrant from leaving the country. Imagined as poor, black, female and helpless, this woman is understood as someone whose trajectory of immigration must be interdicted “for her own good” and for the “honor of the nation” (Blanchette & Silva, 2010).

It is within this context that the Myth of Maria takes shape, not as a way not of *inventing* facts, but as a rational (if not exceptionally factual) way of selectively incorporating certain facts within the larger political projects and social views of a class of people who understand themselves to be protectors of the poor and caretakers of the nation. It is a story which is told to organize social relations and to reflect upon Brazilian identity at a moment in which Brazil is seemingly poised to bolster its international status, while being simultaneously recognized internationally as an exporter of large numbers of sexualized and racialized irregular and illegal migrants to higher-status nations that seek to stop – or at least greatly restrict – movements across their borders.

One might ask, however, if it isn’t all rather academic whether or not the Myth of Maria factually reports the experiences of Brazilians caught up in migrations that might be classified as trafficking in persons. After all (as one member of the Rio de Janeiro state anti-trafficking committee recently asked us) “Isn’t the overall goal of everyone to fight against modern slavery? Isn’t anything that mobilizes people to think about or work towards that end valid?”

²⁷ Brazil also seems to be moving towards increased use of trafficking discourse in the “classical” sense discussed by Ausserer, by applying it to racialized, Othered, abjectified populations such as the Bolivians, Haitians and Paraguayans seeking to illegally or irregularly immigrate to Brazil.

The problem with this line of thought is that it ignores what is actually being done. Money and resources are being spent to combat the (often fictional) villains reported by the myth and to aid (likewise often fictional) victims while the demands of real migrants and sex workers are ignored. Instead of seeing migrants caught up in situations classified as trafficking as actors with projects, goals and desires, the Myth of Maria promotes a view of these people as passive objects, fooled into migration through their own ignorance and ridiculous dreams. Money which could thus be spent on enabling migrants to achieve their human rights²⁸, or organizing sex workers so that they might have a meaningful role in defining the laws which are applied to them, is instead being directed to educational campaigns which seek to “teach these people that they are victims”. This last phrase is commonly employed by government officials and members of anti-trafficking NGOs in Brazil when discussing the goals of trafficking prevention campaigns. It sums up, in a nutshell, what is wrong with the Myth of Maria: it promulgates a view that migrants and sex workers are not holders of rights, but unconscious enablers of their own victimization. Such people are not to be listened to, but talked at.

More seriously, however, as was the case during Brazil’s first anti-trafficking campaigns during the early 20th century, repetition of the myth of enslaved innocence has enabled police to engage in policies that violate constitutional and human rights with little to no public outcry. Perhaps the most illustrative case has been the Brazilian Federal Police’s enactment of what they classify as “preventative actions against trafficking”.

We first heard this policy explained in mid-2011, when we sat in on a local meeting of the Parliamentary Investigative Commission into Trafficking of Persons, chaired by Senator Marinor Brito. A representative of the Federal Police squad charged with repressing trafficking in Rio de Janeiro described how his team works. He began with the standard reiteration of the Myth of Maria, describing the typical trafficking victim as “a person who is recruited to leave Brazil, our national territory, who is deluded that they’re going to work in a country with a strong currency, who often doesn’t know that they are going to work outside of Brazil as a prostitute and who goes seduced by

²⁸ Which ultimately means citizenship rights, given that national legal spheres are still by far the predominant legal arenas for rights-based struggles.

the idea that they are going to improve their lives”, but who is so innocent or frightened by the experience that they are not willing to go to the police.

Because of this persistent lack of cooperation by victims, the agent went on to explain, the Federal Police’s only recourse was to act preventatively:

It’s a rare case when a victim wants to denounce that she has been a victim of trafficking. So the police have to send the case on to the migration authorities in preventative fashion. On one recent occasion, we acted preventatively regarding the embarkation of some dancers [which was denounced] via the hotline [listed on the Brazilian poster in **Illustration 1**, above]. Our most recent case involved 13 women who were going to Turkey. Everything indicated that they were going to be sexually exploited... so the Federal Police acted in a preventative manner, trying to impede their embarkation.

“Acting preventatively”, in this case, meant sequestering the women in a room alone with federal agents and informing them that “the Federal Police have received a report that you are embarking on a trip in order to engage in a crime. We suggest that you do not go.”

When the agent was later asked what the women decided to do, he claimed that they all decided not to go but, by that time, “their plane had already left the ground, anyhow”, making it unclear as to whether the women had really been given any choice in the matter. Other examples of “preventative actions” given in the final report of the Commission (Senado Federal: 2012) make it clear, however, that women believed to be leaving the country to work as prostitutes are prohibited from doing so by the Federal Police, even though prostitution has yet to occur and might, in fact, never occur.

By employing the Myth of Maria – that trafficking victims are women drawn from the most miserable sectors of Brazilian society, operating under a false consciousness, highly suggestive and controllable due to their almost child-like innocence and passivity – the Brazilian Federal Police argue that the basic coordinates of western jurisprudence needs must be overturned. *Habeas corpus* does not apply in cases where trafficking *might* occur, where potential victims are detained by the police in order to avoid the possibility that they might engage in sex work overseas. It should be noted here that representatives of the Federal Police (and other Brazilian police forces) have repeatedly told us that, whatever the national anti-trafficking plan might say, their only legal mandate to fight trafficking is Article 231 of the Penal Code,

which, as we've discussed above, defines trafficking solely and simply as the migration of prostitutes. This means that for Brazilian women perceived to be sex workers, the borders of Europe and the United States have now shifted to the exit lines of Brazil's airports, with Brazil's federal police acting as auxiliaries for foreign immigration authorities.

On a more local level, many state and municipal police forces are now using the argument of "repressing sexual exploitation" to close down sexual commercial venues in large numbers, particularly in those cities which will be housing the 2014 World's Cup and 2016 Olympic Games. Once again, the search for innocence betrayed, as in the trafficking panic of the early 20th century, is overriding the basic considerations of *habeas corpus*. As one of the São Paulo Municipal Police's principal anti-trafficking inspectors put it to us in 2010: "I know that most prostitutes are not trafficking victims. In order to find the ones that are, however, I have to arrest all of the prostitutes".

We then asked what in Brazilian jurisprudence permitted him to arrest all members of a legal profession based on the presumptive participation of some of its members in a crime?

"Constitutionally, I have no right at all to do this," he said, a small smile flashing briefly over his face. "But in the day-to-day functioning of the law, however, it's entirely possible. And necessary."

Would it be likewise necessary to arrest all members of the São Paulo municipal police in order effectively get to the members of that force which were criminals and corrupt, we asked?

"That would be going too far," the policeman said, laughing. "We're needed to keep order. Especially with the World's Cup coming up"

The desires of some Brazilian police forces to utilize anti-trafficking discourse in order to "clean up" their cities in preparation for the World's Cup were revealed in no uncertain fashion in July 2012 after a series of raids on Carioca prostitution venues resulted in *habeas corpus* hearings for several venue owners. Citing the District Attorney's office brief that it was "imperative" that the court help close down prostitution, particularly in tourism regions "in order to contribute to changing [Rio's] soiled image" in preparation for the sporting events of 2014 and 2016, Judge Rubens Casara denounced the raids as hygienist and moralist in scope. Noting that the DA had not found a single woman willing to testify that she had been sexually exploited and

further commenting that prostitution isn't a crime in Brazil, the judge dismissed all charges against the owners (Magalhães, 2012).

This unexpected result highlights the fact that, as has been the case throughout the 20th century, charges of sexual exploitation, pimping and trafficking will continue to be used as the primary weapons in any struggle to close down prostitution venues and that, furthermore, crusades against prostitution in Brazil are rarely driven by concerns over the concrete lives or freedoms of the women involved. Finally, it shows that the battlefield for the rights of these women continues to be (as Schettini pointed out in the context of the early 20th century anti-trafficking campaigns: 2006) the individual court room, where judges decide on a case-by-case basis whether men and women identified as prostitutes actually have a right to control their bodies or not.

In some ways then, the situation in Brazil is not as dire for sex workers as it is elsewhere, where prostitution is flatly prohibited. One needs only to reflect on the fact that between 2008 and 2010, the U.S. federal government identified 527 victims of trafficking within that country's borders while, simultaneously, registering more than 150,000 arrests for prostitution (Department of Justice, 2011; FBI, 2012), to realize that, all things considered, Brazil is still relatively tolerant towards sex work.

The Brazilian government officials and NGO members working in the anti-trafficking field in our country are still quick to point to these facts and are equally quick to remind all and sundry that not all prostitutes can be considered to be trafficking victims. Looking at the history of prostitution and trafficking laws in Brazil, however, should alert us to the fact that legal tolerance can very well co-exist with de facto repression. International pressure to make purchasing sex illegal is increasing and while prostitutes are not necessarily criminals under Brazilian law, they are also not specifically protected and, as our Paulista inspector reminds us above, when it comes to prostitutes, what the constitution says and what the police do in Brazil are often two entirely different things.

As the first decade of the second great global anti-trafficking campaign comes to a close, it's difficult not to ask what could have happened if Brazil had taken the road less travelled and had used the interest generated in trafficking to invite migrant and sex worker groups to actively engage in the construction of the national policies concerning them. As retired prostitute

Gabriela Leite, head of the Davida Prostitutes' Rights group and ex-president of the Brazilian Prostitutes' Network remarked to us:

In spite of the fact that the Brazilian prostitutes' movement has been fighting against the enslavement of sex workers for over thirty years, we were never contacted during the course of the construction of the National Anti-Trafficking Policy and we have rarely been invited to contribute to Brazil's Anti-Trafficking Plans. What is worse, certain people who are heavily involved in promoting the anti-trafficking campaign have gone on record claiming that they were the ones who first educated us about trafficking! As if we've never talked about the enslavement, battery and murder of prostitutes! If those people had studied the history of prostitution in Brazil, they would be aware of why the prostitutes' movement does not like to talk about "trafficking": Article 231 of the Penal Code has been used to arrest our friends, husbands and relatives since its inception in 1940. We want to talk about prostitutes' rights, not about prostitutes as victims! This has been a political decision and not a mark of our ignorance. We could have been – and still could be – important strategic partners in the fight against sexual exploitation, but we only will work with a government policy that will guarantee the human and constitutional rights of prostitutes, first and foremost. And that means the rights of prostitutes to work, migrate and enjoy the benefits of their labors, like any other worker (Entrevista com Gabriela Leite, 5.12.2012).

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