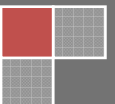# The Brown Atlantic

Anthropology, Postcolonialism, and the Portuguese-speaking World

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This essay is an attempt to situate the vantage point of a Portuguese anthropologist who is looking at his country's colonial past and at where his discipline stands in times of "postcolonial" concerns. In what regards empirical material, it stands halfway between fieldwork done in Brazil (see Vale de Almeida 2000, and chapter 2 in this book) and forthcoming work on constructions of creoleness and hybridity in colonial and postcolonial times.
The first part, "The Invention of the Post-Colony," introduces postcolonial studies, and proceeds into a critique of the postcolonial fashion. The second part tackles the issue of "Anthropology and Postcolonialism." The third part focuses on "The Portuguese Colonial Experience": it explores the heuristic value of the notion of "the Black Atlantic" and experiments with that of "the Brown Atlantic." Finally, the concluding remarks focus on "Postcolonialism in Portuguese: Race, Culture, and Nation".

The Invention of the Post-Colony
The field of postcolonial studies has challenged anthropologists concerned with the politics of identity in the context of globalization. This challenge echoes that previously set forth by cultural studies. They are both inter- (or should one say trans-?) disciplinary efforts triggered by the awareness of identity ambiguity and/or multiculturalism felt by the field's scholars themselves. Anthropologists tend to feel that their discipline is more apt to convey meaning and explanation of identity transformation processes, and that situations of ambiguity and/or multiculturalism are empirical facts that need to be identified as such in our informants' lives, not taken-for-granted situations or products of political wishful thinking. Postcolonial studies, in particular, is challenging to anthropologists because we are "specialists" in former colonized populations and/or in minority or migrant communities—the very stuff of postcolonial studies' concern.
It is a well-established fact that postcolonial studies emerged from within literary criticism and cultural studies. In the Anglo-Saxon context they were triggered by the critique of the notion of commonwealth literature.1 Under the influence of poststructuralism and critical theory, the British cultural studies were no longer to pay attention mainly to English working-class identity, but would eventually focus also on the growing immigration from the former colonies and

the constitution of a multicultural society. At the same time, the search for a noncolonial and alternative historiography in India (with the Subaltern Studies Group), and the influx of diaspora scholars influenced by negritude and pan-Africanism, set the conditions for the emergence of what was to be known as postcolonial studies. The attention to the organization of historiography as a narrative, as well as the influence of Saïd's (1978) analysis of Orientalism, was the watermark of the field. But so were its objects: narratives, discourses, and literature. Prakash (1997) asserts that one of the effects of postcolonial criticism has been the introduction of a radical critique of patterns of knowledge and social identities, which were authored and authorized by colonialism and Western dominance. This does not mean that colonialism and its legacies have remained unquestioned until today (one needs only to think of nationalism and Marxism), but rather that both operated with master narratives, which placed Europe at the center. Postcolonial criticism would, therefore, try to undo Eurocentrism, while keeping the awareness that postcoloniality does not develop in panoptical distance from history: postcoloniality exists as an "after"—after having been "worked over" by colonialism. The space occupied by this enunciation of discourses of domination is neither inside nor outside the history of European domination, but rather in a tangential relationship to it; this would be Bhabha's (1994) "in between" or hybrid position, one of practice and negotiation, or what Spivak (1990) called catachresis: to revert, dislocate, and attack the apparatus of value coding. As Ashcroft (1998) puts it, postcolonialism deals with the effects of colonization in societies and cultures, not in a strict chronological, postindependence sense.

This shallow definition hides the turmoil generated by this new approach. Social scientists, once confronted with this "takeover" of their objects of concern (and here I think mainly of anthropologists), criticized the excessive focus on representations and discourse. Some would catalogue the new field as a fad or a new academic niche—a result of academic politics.

Possibly the most often quoted attack on postcolonial studies is that by Dirlik (1994). The author feels that postcolonialism claims as its own the field that was previously known as the "Third World," with the purpose of collapsing distinctions of the center-periphery kind, and other allegedly colonialist "binarisms." The postcolonial tag supposedly was used in the 1980s to describe Third World scholars, thus confusing an unspecified group with a global condition. Dirlik argues that:

1. there is a parallel between the rise of the "postcolonial" idea and the consciousness emerging from global capitalism in the 1980s:

2. the issues in postcolonial criticism have to do with conceptual needs in the transformations in global relations due to changes in the capitalist world economy. This would have led to the concept's complicity in the consecration of hegemony.

Dirlik also identifies the various uses of the expression:

1. as a description of the conditions of former colonial societies, whether Third World or settler colonies such as Canada and Australia;

2. as a description of a global condition after colonialism;

3. as a description of a discourse about the above-mentioned conditions. The question "How can the Third World write its own history?" asked by the Subaltern Studies Group supposedly started the process.

The main characteristics of the postcolonial trend would therefore be, according to Dirlik:

1. the refusal of all master narratives;
2. the critique of the Eurocentrism implicit in them;
3. the main master narrative is modernization, whether in its bourgeois or Marxist version;
4. the refusal of Orientalism, as well as of nationalism as a reduction to an essence without history;
5. the refusal of all foundational history;
6. the refusal of any fixation of the Third World subject and of the former as a category;
7. the assertion of Third World identities as relational rather than essential, shifting attention from "national origin" to "subject position."

This implies that the First/Third world positions are very fluid and that local interactions are more important than the global structures that format those relations. These conclusions would proceed from the hybrid or in-between character of the postcolonial subject, thus establishing a global condition as a projection of subjectivity in the world. Dirlik concludes his criticism saying that this is a discursive constitution of the world. He believes the term excludes all those who, unaware of their hybridism, keep on massacring each other in ethnic, religious, and national conflicts; it excludes those radicals who say that their societies are still colonized; and it especially excludes indigenous activists who do not accept the repudiation of essentialized identities. He quotes O'Hanlon and Washbrook (1992) to stress his point:

The solutions it offers—methodological individualism, the depoliticizing insulation of social from material domains, a vision of social relations that is in practice extremely voluntaristic, the refusal of any kind of programmatic politics—do not seem to us radical, subversive or emancipatory. They are … conservative and implicitly authoritarian… (Dirlik 1997: 514)

This highly politicized criticism echoes that by Jameson (1984) of postmodernism. He had found a relation between postmodernism and a new phase in the development of capitalism, one in which (due to a series of characteristics better described recently by Castells [1997]), for the first time, the capitalist mode of production appears as a global abstraction, divorced from its European conditions of emergence. The narrative of capitalism would no longer be a European narrative. The situation created by global capitalism would help explain certain phenomena that occurred in the 1980s, namely the global movements of people, the replication within societies of inequalities that were previously related to colonial differences, the global-local interpenetration, and the disorganization of a world conceived in three or in nation-states.

This criticism could equally apply to general theoretical trends associated with

postmodern and poststructuralist thought in general. However, behind (and beyond) theory, there is the fact that most of the world lives today in a condition of in-betweenness, of which social agents are by and large aware. In sum, we are witnessing an historical change in the relationship between individuals, groups, the state, and the economy, a change that affects the symbolic resources for action by the people that we, as anthropologists, study.

Anthropology and Postcolonialism

The term "postcolonial" applies not so much to the period after independence but rather to its more recent phase (see Chatterjee 1986, 1993; Ahmad 1995; Prakash 1990; Appiah 1992; Dirlik 1997; Scott 1996). As Scott demonstrated, the postcolonial problem is an outcome of the fall of socialism and the triumph of neoliberal market economy at the planetary scale. The optimism of the anticolonial movement foundered with the shipwreck of communism, and with the feeling that the nationalist elites have betrayed the nationalistic and anticolonial cause in the former colonies.

The term has undoubtedly been overused and abused, both at the chronological and the geographical levels. Personally, I find it useful to establish some boundaries:
1. The term "postcolonial" should be applied to the period
a. after colonialism; and
b. after the failure of nationalist anticolonial projects implemented after independence;
2. The term should be applied to those complexes of transnational relations between former colonies and former colonizing centers;
3. All the rest—globalization, settler societies, neocolonialism, internal colonialism, and so on—are issues that should be treated in their own terms.
The usefulness of the term "postcolonial" is related to the opportunity to set forth an integrated analysis of the historical continuity and mutual constitution of social representations of colonizers and colonized, provided that:
1. there is a permanent consideration of the colonialism/postcolonialism continuum;
2. discursive analysis does not do away with considerations of political economy, which sustain the analysis of the material aspect of social processes;
3. the practice of social actors in specific contexts is analyzed, in order to achieve a better grasp of the complexities of identity negotiation;
4. there be empirical research, namely of an ethnographic nature; and
5. one uses the comparative method, namely regarding the comparison of different colonial and postcolonial experiences.[2]
This, I believe, is the only way in which the postcolonial studies approach can be reinserted into the much older anthropological tradition—one that pays attention to the Other's version of events and life.

Robotham (1997) tries to insert the postcolonial moment in an appraisal of the role and development of anthropology. As a formal discipline it was born out of the development of world markets, during the process of European

expansionism and colonialism, coinciding with the strengthening of Western rationalism. The phase of imperialism in the nineteenth century was to create a new universalistic discipline, in a process in which "modernization" was confused with "Westernization." Today one may peacefully admit that anthropology carried the burden of earlier colonialist presuppositions (Asad 1973), created images of the Other as a subaltern, and gave ontological and epistemological primacy to the West (Saïd 1983)—although I would say that anthropology carried also the social potential of being a counterhegemonic discourse that presented the diverse rationalities of Others. In the aftermath of the critique of anthropology during decolonialization, a self-critical movement started. It was influenced by deconstructive and postmodern perspectives, and took place in the context of the fall of real socialism, the triumph of neoliberal globalization, the electronic revolution, and the globalization of finance and communications (see Castells 1997; Appadurai 1990).

However, Robotham says that in anthropology we have entered a period that offers countless possibilities—instead of the pessimistic stance that says that anthropology's subject has vanished, a position I subscribe to. Postmodernism declared the death of modernity's project. However, we are witnessing the denial of that idea: it is not so much a matter of modernity versus postmodernity, but rather the emergence of several new or alternative modernities (see Ong 1996), a situation that allows—maybe for the first time—for the practice of a multipolar anthropology, on behalf of humanisms and modernities that do not necessarily have to be Western. I also believe that the fact that anthropology itself was part and parcel of western expansion constitutes an added value for reflexive and critical work by anthropologists in conditions of increased and accelerated "globalization."

In a similar compromising vein, Hall (1996) starts by accepting the critique of postcolonial studies made by Shohat (1992) (and shared by McClintock [1992, 1997]). The field was criticized for its political and theoretical ambiguity, the confusion established in the distinction between colonizers and colonized, thus dissolving the politics of resistance as a consequence of not pointing out who exercises domination. Dirlik would actually add that the capitalist structuring of the world is underestimated and that a notion of discursive identity is proposed—in sum, a sort of culturalism.

Hall—and I tend to agree with him—hesitates in subscribing to either the postcolonial interpretations originating in the centers of literary criticism or the counterattacks that refuse the window of opportunities that the new field opened up. For Hall, societies are not all postcolonial in the same manner. The concept of postcolonialism will be useful only inasmuch as it may help us describe and characterize the change in global relations, which marks the unequal transition from the age of empires to the postindependence period. On the one hand, the change is universal, inasmuch as colonized and colonizing societies were both affected by the process. On the other hand, the term "postcolonial" cannot merely describe this or that, or a "before" and an "after." It should reread colonization as part of a process that is essentially transnational and translocal,

thus producing a decentered, diasporic, or global writing of previous imperial grand narratives centered on nations. In this sense, postcolonialism is not a periodization based on stages.

In the same vein, Werbner and Ranger (1996) identify the African postcolony as a plurality of spheres and arenas in which the postcolonial subject mobilizes several identities that have to be constantly revised in order to acquire maximum instrumentality. Thus, the postcolonial mode of domination is as much a regime of constraints as a practice of conviviality and a style of connivance, they say, leading us into considering the multiple ways in which people "play" with power rather than confront it—in a way very similar to the rituals of rebellion analyzed by Gluckman in the 1960s. The problem, then, is to avoid a notion of Western hegemony so strong that it would lead us to the point of seeing it as the manufacturer of the very local sociability in the ex-colonies—a real risk, whereas the anthropologist's duty is to know the everyday cultural politics of those places.

One has, therefore, to acknowledge in colonialism a source of hybridity and the "place" where the notion of ethnicity was invented. That is why it is necessary to:
1. place history first;
2. do an ethnography of ethnography;
3. do a postcolonial historical anthropology about colonial society; and
4. do an anthropology of the reconfigurations of colonial experiences in the former imperial centers.

This is particularly important in the Portuguese context, where analysis is needed for such subjects as the commemoration of Brazil's five hundred years, the invention of Lusophony, Expo 98, or the emergence of a social field marked by the pair of multiculturalism/racism.

The Portuguese Colonial Experience

The Portuguese colonial experience was for a long period tied up with the slave trade and the use of slave labor, whether in the making of Brazil or in the colonial reorientation toward Africa after that country's independence. Diasporic "Africans," mainly in the Americas (and, today, in Europe) constitute the ideal population for the analysis of contemporary processes of diaspora, transnationality, and the reemergence of ethnogenealogical discourses. After fieldwork in Brazil on the emergence of the Black movement—as both cultural and political movement—in a town of Bahia (see Vale de Almeida 2000 and chapter 2 of this book), I am now interested in analyzing the historical construction of the notion of creoleness (mainly in Cape Verde) during colonial times, and how it reproduced and/or transformed itself after the independences. Both in Brazil and Cape Verde one is confronted with discourses that proclaim the inexistence of a bipolar racial formation. This characteristic is linked to the supposedly original character of Portuguese colonization; in addition, this construct is reproduced as a structuring component of Portuguese national identity and self-representations. Reframing the issue, shifting one's attention from the "nation" to more fluid and multipolar

intracolonial contexts, is probably the first step for a reanalysis of colonialism/postcolonialism from an anthropological point of view.

Paul Gilroy (1993) has been a major source of inspiration for my reflections on the postcolonial situation of the Afro-Diaspora. The Black Atlantic designates an intercultural and transnational formation characterized by the fact that racial slavery was an integral part of Western civilization and modernity. Concerned with the absence of attention to "race" and ethnicity in contemporary works on modernity—and finding little use for the polarization of essentialist and anti-essentialist theories of Black identity—Gilroy appropriates the notion of "double consciousness" once outlined by W. E. B. DuBois. It refers to the underlying difficulty in reconciling two identifications: to be simultaneously European and Black. Gilroy distrusts the two predominant attitudes in dealing with that double consciousness: on the one hand, "cultural nationalism" and other integral conceptions of culture, and on the other, the alternative of creolization, *métissage*, *mestizaje*, or hybridity. The latter are seen as unsatisfactory terms, used to refer to processes of cultural mutation and discontinuity. Focusing on the theme of music, Gilroy says that the stereophonic, bilingual, or bifocal cultural forms that originated among Blacks—but that are no longer their exclusive property—have been dispersed in "structures of feeling, producing, communicating, and remembering that [he has] heuristically called the Black Atlantic world" (1993: 3). Being at the same time inside and outside the West—"double consciousness"—would have led to refusals of complicity and interdependence between White and Black thinkers and to the fact that many Black political struggles have been constructed as automatically expressive of the ethnic or national differences with which they are associated. For Gilroy, the essentialist and pluralist points of view are actually two varieties of essentialism: one is ontological, the other strategic. The former normally presents itself as a sort of raw pan-Africanism; the latter, by means of seeing race as a social construct, cannot explain the persistence and continuity of racialized forms of power.

In order to overcome this impasse, Gilroy proposed that the expressive counterculture—for instance, the field of music that he analyzed—be no longer seen as a mere succession of literary tropes and genres, but rather as a philosophical discourse that refuses the modern and Western separation between ethics and aesthetics, culture and politics. Thus, the move from slavery to citizenship would have taken Afro-descendants to inquire about the best forms of social existence, but the memory of slavery—preserved as an intellectual resource in their expressive political culture—led them to look for answers to that query. Those answers are different from those supplied by the liberal social contract. This means that the concept of tradition cannot be seen as the opposite of modernity. That is why Gilroy despises Afrocentric ideas, since they are necessarily opposed to the double consciousness that so fascinated Black modernists invoked by him—especially in the U.S., the Caribbean, and the United Kingdom. In a similar vein to Clifford (1997), he proposes that one deal equally with the meaning of "roots" and "routes," so as to undermine the

purifying inclination toward either Afrocentrism or Eurocentrism. Gilroy feels that the Afrocentric notion of time is too linear, placing tradition outside history, focusing on projects of "return to Africa" or ideas of racial integrity. Contrarily, the anticolonial Black intellectuals that inspired him—such as DuBois, Douglass, or Wright—periodized their conceptions of modernity in a different way: they always started with the catastrophic rupture of the Middle Passage, the processes of forced acculturation, the countercultural desires for freedom, citizenship, and autonomy. This temporality and this history constituted communities of feeling and interpretation.

In his argument about the relationship between tradition, modernity, temporality, and social memory, Gilroy says that the telling and retelling of stories organized the awareness of the "racial" group and established the balance between inside and outside activity—the diverse cognitive, habitual, and performative practices that are needed in order to invent, maintain, and renew identity. These constituted the Black Atlantic as a "nontraditional tradition," a truly modern cultural set: ex-centric, unstable, and asymmetrical, inapprehensible by a Manichean binary code. Once again, music can be used as an example: the circulation and mutation of music throughout the Black Atlantic shattered the dualist structure that placed Africa, authenticity, purity, and origin in a crude oppositional relationship to the Americas, hybridity, creolization and rootlessness. The acknowledgement of the existence of a two-way traffic (at least) leads one to change from the chronotope of "road" to that of "crossroads." Gilroy says that the "concentrated intensity" of the experience of slavery has marked Blacks as the first truly modern people, one who had to deal in the nineteenth century with the dilemmas and difficulties that would become common in Europe only a century later.

In another work, Gilroy (1996) tries to fit the Black Atlantic into notions of globalization. If the Black Atlantic is the deterritorialized, multiplex, and antinational basis for the affinity or "identity of passions" between diverse Black populations, the complex of similarity and difference that led to the consciousness of diasporic interculture has become more extensive in the age of globalization than it was in the times of imperialism. The battle goes on between those who try to put an end to the fragmentation of Africans in the diaspora, favoring the simplicity of supposed racial essences. But the diaspora should not be seen as the way out from a point of origin, but rather like something more chaotic. The obsession with the origins, which is so present in many Black thinkers, would be a kind of modernist "defect," since what Castells calls a space of flows was already prefigured in the "trialectics" of triangular commerce between Europe, Africa, and the Americas.

Gilroy's approach seems to be most useful for understanding the complex relations between colonizers and colonized, between diverse colonized people, as well as the postcolonial reproduction of those connections. That became obvious when I dealt with the production of performative culture by the Black movement in Brazil. Now, concerning the Portuguese-speaking case, to what extent and how were certain intracolonial representations reproduced across the Empire and

continued into the postcolonial period?

I propose "The Brown Atlantic" as an ironic designation for the world created during the Portuguese Empire or, more accurately, for the larger hegemonic narrative of the Portuguese miscegenation project, its supposed actualization in the construction of Brazil, and its blatant failure (in spite of *a contrario* discourses) in Africa. It is also, however, a statement about specificity. Although cultural exceptionalism is refused, one must avoid "throwing away the baby with the bathwater," as the saying goes.

The postulates of postcolonial theory are not, then, fully useful for an understanding of the Afro-Diaspora, that "product" par excellence of colonialism.They seem to be more adequate to describe the situation of migratory diasporas and former colonized populations who have remained in their birthplaces. In the Luso-Brazilian and Brazilian cases (as well as in Gilroy's Black Atlantic), the colonial experience was the experience of slavery—for the whole of society but especially for Blacks. The granting of citizenship to Black Brazilians after abolition placed them in a "nonethnic" situation, different from that of indigenous populations. Their insertion in the predominantly urban class society generated close ties between "race" and class, but did not subsume the former into the latter. Whether they were classified as forms of adaptation, acculturation, syncretism, resistance, or even separatism, the fact is that large sectors of the Brazilian Black population reproduced an expressive culture and a set of common values and sentiments—including those that spread into the general society—that helped constitute an identity that can be mobilized in the arenas of struggle for power and differentiation, by means of using a set of diverse referents for identity construction: a mythical original Africa, pan-Africanism, miscegenated Brazil, racist Brazil, or Afro-Brazilianness. The present moment—marked by the creation of a democratic society in Brazil and by globalization—is witnessing the emergence of a Black Brazilian ethnicity. It involves the definition of a specific cultural heritage, presupposing forms of cultural objectification that precede cultural commodification; the plotting of a foundational narrative, including place of origin, community of experience and the historical construction of specific values; the creation of transnational ties on the basis of some global Africanness or *négritude;* and the alliance between the publicizing of products of expressive culture and the claims for political and civil rights in the democratic nation state.

In such a context it becomes risky to refer to Afro-Brazilians as part of "'Portuguese' postcolonialism." Brazil's independence in the nineteenth century, the neo-European nature of the nation-state, the time hiatus between the Atlantic triangulation among Portugal–colonial Brazil–Africa, and the Third Portuguese Empire in Africa are all aspects that suggest caution. Portuguese postcolonialism is much more that of Portugal's relations with its former colonies in Africa and with African immigrants in Portugal. In that picture, Brazil plays a phantasmagoric role in the Portuguese imagination and in official rhetoric, which has no similar equivalent in Brazilian visions of Portugal. Most equivocations of Lusophony and in the celebrations of Brazil's five hundredth anniversary originate there.3

On the other hand, Gilroy's analysis and propositions are excessively focused on an "Anglophone" Black Atlantic, based on the experience of the British Empire. A comparison between the colonial and postcolonial situations of Africans and their descendants who experienced different European colonial centers (which, anyway, were not equivalent: consider the subaltern character of Portuguese colonialism, for instance) is needed in order to find out to what extent we are talking about a Black Atlantic or, using a chromatic metaphor for a different shade, a Brown Atlantic in the case of Brazil. The analysis of specificity does not necessarily mean the acceptance of exceptionality—that is, of some sort of ideological Luso-Tropicalism.4 The main problem with the area of postcolonial studies seems to be, then, the primacy of discourse and representation. For an anthropologist, those always need to be confronted with the practice of social agents. This does not mean that some aspects of poststructuralist thought—for instance, the fragmentation of identity—should not be incorporated into anthropological thought. Furthermore, the contemporary situation of globalization makes that trend an empirical reality. However, in the face of fragmentation, several identities are reconfigured, identities that simultaneously reconstruct individuals and incorporate them into groups that are capable of mobilization for action—cultural-political action, as in the case of ethnic resurgence. The acknowledgment of the constructed nature of certain identity concepts does not mean that they exist only for our informants. That is what happens with "race," for instance, since the factual experience of exclusion is based on that form of categorization. It should not be surprising, then, that more or less mitigated forms of reactive (or strategic) essentialism emerge. Social movements are not necessarily "progressive," much less so those of a "racial" or ethnic nature.
In the Brazilian case, "double consciousness" acquires the contours of a struggle for modern civil rights and democracy and, at the same time, the struggle for the recovering and maintenance of traditions and specificities, whether invented or not. The background is inequality, as well as a disbelief in the egalitarian potential of modernity, and a belief in the liberating potential of cultural expressions, in an unstable alliance with political or social movements. Afro-Brazilians—who are neither immigrants, nor members of a diaspora with a shallow genealogical depth, nor a demographic minority or an ethnic group disputing territory with another—are confronted with the choice between an invented ethnic nationalism ("Africa in Brazil") and the struggle for racial democracy as an unaccomplished dream that was denounced as a myth. Once the obsession with the exceptional nature of Brazilian society (and of Portuguese colonialism) is overcome, as well as the dualist comparison between the racial formations of Brazil and the United States, the Afro-Brazilian case may constitute a crucial contribution for rethinking such universal questions as ethnicity and ethnopolitics, the resilience of "race," the processes of identity formation in a globalized world, or that "in-between" postcoloniality that Afro-Brazilians feel when they realize that they are simultaneously citizens and marginals, Brazilians and hyphenated Brazilians.
Brazil gained its independence in 1822. As in other South American countries,

independence was achieved by and for the benefit of local elites of European origin. The demographic dimension of the Black population and the issue of slavery turned the racial and cultural crossroads into the focal point of the analyses and constructions of the nation state and national identity. Racist theories, which proclaimed the country's degeneracy due to African influences, were to be replaced by wishful-thinking appraisals of miscegenation. However, these processes never ceased to be seen as simultaneous with a desirable whitening; they did not avoid the cornering of African aspects to the field of expressive culture; and they did not challenge the maintenance of social inequalities by means of the mechanics of color prejudice (albeit not by legal segregation). Proclaimed as a racial democracy, merchandised internationally as a paradise of hybridity, the Brazilian racial formation subsists thanks to economic marginalization and a hegemonic effect, which consists in the reproduction of racial inequality at the same time that its existence is denied and its denouncers are tagged as racists themselves (Hanchard 1994).

Gilberto Freyre (see chapter 3), in the 1930s, was the ideologue of miscegenated Brazil. One can say that he set forth a premature postcolonial discourse, considering his fascination with cultural pooling and hybridization. He also made the same mistakes when seeing the hybrid as an aggregate of different "cultures," and not seeing cultural encounters as power ridden. It was the supposed exceptionality of Portuguese colonialism that produced a hybrid country. His ideas have been systematically denounced as ideological and in contradiction with the deep social inequalities that have prevailed ever since slavery. But the interesting aspect of Freyre's ideas is the fact that his interpretation of Brazil was used by the Portuguese colonial regime between 1950 and 1970, in order to justify Portugal's presence in Africa in times of decolonialization. Praised as an exceptionally humanistic, universalistic and hybridizing colonialism (on the basis of culturalist interpretations of Portugal itself), the regime used Brazil as the example to be followed in Africa. Portuguese colonialism was undoubtedly specific:

1. There was a time gap between the colonial experience in Brazil and that in Africa. Brazil could, therefore, be used as a symbolic resource for the construction of an African empire.

2. Portuguese colonialism in Africa was subaltern, administered from a "weak" periphery, a semiperipheral country.

3. It was, for the most part, administered by dictatorial regimes.

4. It was a late colonialism that lasted beyond the independence of other European powers' colonies.

5. These factors account for the cultural negotiations between individuals and groups of European and African origin that, in the colonies, devised hybrid forms of social relations and identity in spite of bureaucratic state attempts at social boundary regulation. But one should not equate these specificities with some sort of moral and cultural exceptionalism, as Luso-Tropicalism seemed to indicate (see note 3).

Cape Verde's case highlights these trends. Both the local Creole elite and the

Portuguese administration promoted the discourse of Cape Verde as a hybridized culture, and metaphorically applied this interpretation to political practice, using Cape Verdeans as business and administrative intermediaries in the other African colonies. And this occurred in spite of parallel exportation of Cape Verdean labor to semislavery in São Tomé, for instance: ideology triumphed over contradiction, and the idea of being halfway between Africa and Europe continues to have value in the archipelago. The same notion of crossroads, of multiple influences, and of transnational, deterritorialized identity making can be applied to both a colonial project and a liberating postcolonial one. Both are based on the simplistic interpretation that "racial" miscegenation carries with it intermediation, worldliness, and cosmopolitanism, provided that the underlying structures of power and inequality (namely class, but also internal racial classifications, as in both Brazil and Cape Verde) are not made explicit.

Postcolonialism in Portuguese: "Race," Culture, and Nation
Once the colonies became independent; once Portugal became a democracy within the EU; and once the socialist camp on which the former colonies depended collapsed, the postcolonial reconfiguration was on its tracks on both sides of the colonial divide. This is particularly obvious today, for several reasons:
1. The collapse of emancipatory and nationalist projects in the former colonies and the emergence of ethnic divisions;
2. The growth of African immigration to Portugal, leading to the emergence of "ethnic minorities" and manifestations of racism and antiracism;
3. In Portugal, the challenge to national identity set forth by the membership of the EU.
For the first time, Portugal does not look upon itself through its extra-European, "away-from-Spain," narrative of expansion. Or does it? For the first time the former colonies do not look upon them through the narrative of liberation from colonialism. Or do they?
Historians have made excellent efforts at a comprehensive and comparative understanding of the historical structures of Portuguese colonialism. There are also good examples of analysis of postcolonial literature, namely in Portuguese-speaking Africa, and some examples of analysis of the workings of political economy in the former colonies, mainly related to development. However, the weak anthropological effort of the Portuguese colonial enterprise seems to have been inherited by contemporary Portuguese anthropology: the anthropological analysis of the processes of colonial power-knowledge, the ethnographic approach to the former colonial fields, and the consideration of the historical continuum of the mutual constitution of the identities of colonizers and colonized are but beginning. An anthropological analysis of Portuguese postcolonialism will have to accept the specificity of its colonial experience, but must refuse any notions of culturalist exceptionalism, freeing itself from Luso-Tropicalism, a commonsense interpretation that is rooted in nineteenth-century imperialist motivations and which was to be systematized by Freyre in the 1930s. It will have to analyze the

processes of national identity formation in the former colonies, and see how the internal cleavages in each of those countries are rooted in the colonial experience. It will have to observe and analyze how transnational identity movements are made actual in ex-colonial contexts, as is the case with the Black movement in Brazil or, for instance, with the internationalization of Cape Verdean culture. It will also have to analyze what happens in Portugal in close interdependence with other issues: immigration, racism and antiracism, commemorative politics, invention of a Portuguese diaspora and of Lusophony, among others. Portuguese colonialism, especially its Third Empire in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Africa, was built upon concepts of racial classification and separation as well as those of hybridity and miscegenation. These concepts were anchored in a previous colonial experience, that of Brazil, where the nation-state emerged as a self-proclaimed humanistic hybrid. And they have been a constitutional part of the Portuguese national narrative ever since the nineteenth century and under a variety of political regimes, as well as a conflicting part of the self-representations and national projects of the former colonies' elites. Nowadays, the culturalist trope of language and the vague notion of a common past seem to creep up as attempts to reconstitute a postcolonial entity, one that may create transnational links in order to balance the erosion effect of globalization. These attempts are, of course, in contradiction with a cold analysis of the power processes of colonialism and the structural realities of neocolonialism. It is this fuzzy and contradictory process—this muddy, earth-colored, "Brown" Atlantic— that needs to be dealt with in research.

Notes
1. Which makes one wonder whether a similar move would not be desirable in relation to the
ambiguous domain of "Lusophony."
2. This perspective was the outcome of a seminar on "Colonial Tensions and Postcolonial Reconfigurations," organized by C. Bastos, B. Feldman-Bianco, and myself in Portugal (see Bastos, Vale de Almeida, and Feldman-Bianco, eds., 2002).
3. "Brown" would be the equivalent of "pardo" (an old Portuguese word for "gray") in former
Anglophone colonial contexts. The word is used to define (and self-define) Brazilians who do not
want to be labelled as "Black." In the chromatic idiom of racism, the Portuguese are often referred to as "dark" in comparison to their northern European counterparts.
4. I refer to the fact that the project of Lusophony—the creation of a political and cultural community
of Portuguese-speaking countries—has no real acceptance in Brazil. It remains a Portuguese
governmental initiative, supported by the governments of African Portuguese-speaking countries.

The commemoration of the five hundred years of Brazil were the stage of conflicts between the
Brazilian authorities (and their official Portuguese guests) and the Black and Indian activists.