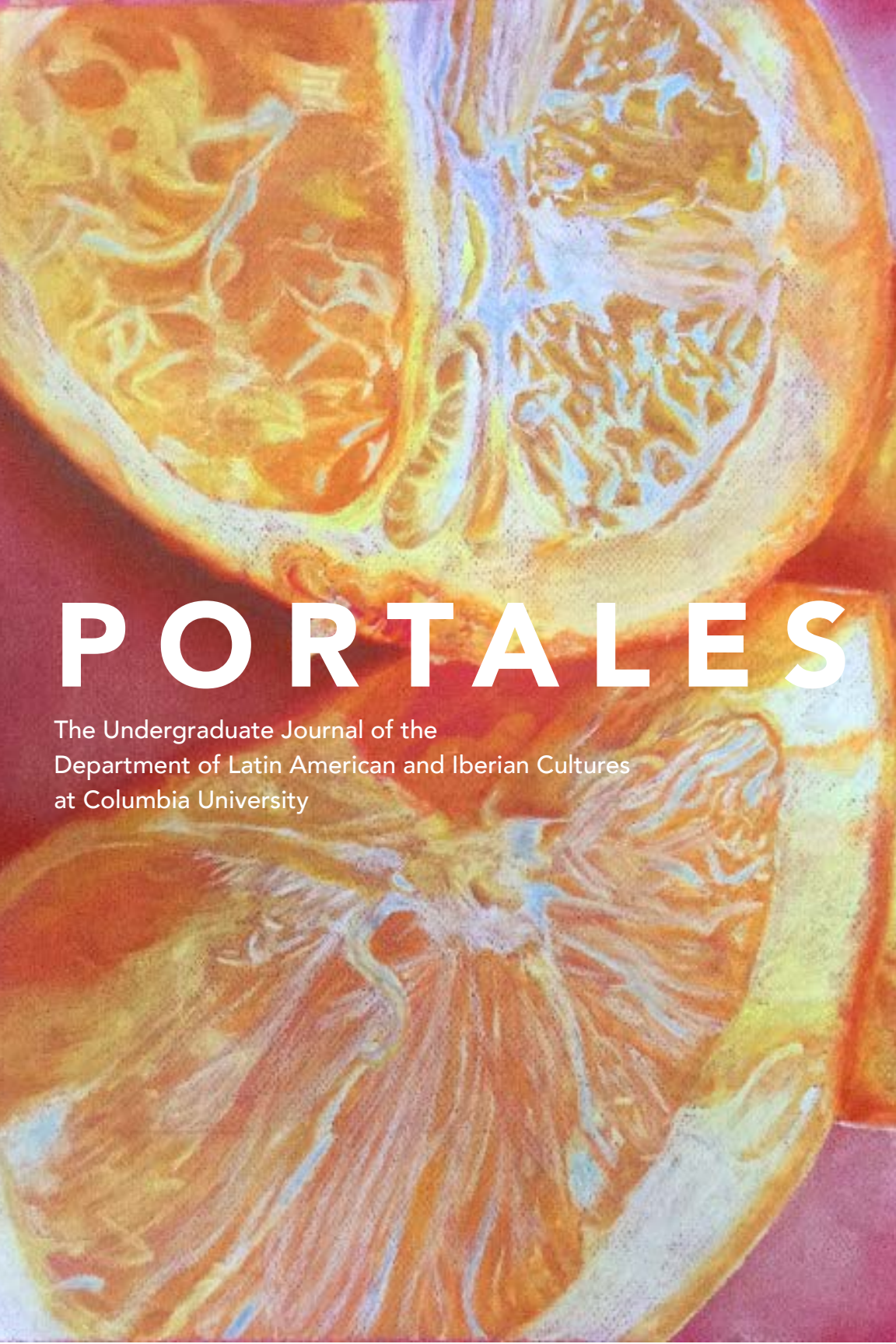




PORTALES

The Undergraduate Journal of the
Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures
at Columbia University

PORTALES

The Undergraduate Journal of the
Department of Latin American and Iberian Cultures
at Columbia University

Editor-in-chief

Stacy Kannelopoulos

Managing Editor

Eunice Rodríguez Ferguson

Editorial Board

Zoe de Bretagne

Bilal Choudhry

Orit Gugenheim

María Laura Jijón

William George Kannelopoulos

Isabella Prado

Alejandra Camila Quintana

Mason Smith

Layout Designer

Ashley Zhang

Contributing Artists

Natalie Arenzón

María Laura Jijón

Cover Illustration

Natalie Arenzón

VOLUME 4.2 | SPRING 2020

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Hacia un “Walter Cronkite” español	5
Iqra Abdul-Aziz Bawany	
March of the Monarchists: National Identity and Literariness under the <i>República Velha</i>	29
Nathan Rubene dos Santos	
Spanish Urban and Suburban Space in Contemporary Cultural Production: A Lefebvrian Investigation	41
Campbell Knobloch	
The Afro-Brazilian Origins of Brazilian Cultural Icons	65
Olivia & Giovanna Sabini-Leite	
Sutil, pero todavía poderoso: el feminismo oculto en <i>Volver</i>	85
Ashley Sohn	



Hacia un “Walter Cronkite” español: un estudio del acento neutro en hispanohablantes en los Estados Unidos

Iqra Abdul-Aziz Bawany

La existencia de un español neutro o estándar ha suscitado debate en el mundo hispanohablante por muchas décadas. Desde la colonización de las Américas, la lengua oral en particular se ha desarrollado rápidamente hasta formar diferentes dialectos en Latinoamérica. España intentó detener esta trayectoria con la fundación de la Real Academia Española (RAE), cuyo objetivo fue la normalización de la lengua. Sin embargo, la variedad lingüística ha persistido en las comunidades de habla hispana en los países latinoamericanos. La variación lingüística fue el *modus operandi* en Latinoamérica que retó la colonización lingüística y cultural que perpetuaba la RAE. En los Estados Unidos, el uso del español es cada vez más común. De hecho, según el Instituto Cervantes, hay 41 millones de hablantes nativos de español en los Estados Unidos y 11.6 millones de hablantes bilingües; sólo México tiene más hispanohablantes (121 millones).¹ Estados Unidos ha recibido inmigrantes de diversos países latinoamericanos y los inmigrantes de México constituyen alrededor de un 26% de esta población.²

De estas cifras podemos deducir que la influencia del español estadounidense en el mundo hispanohablante ha crecido exponencialmente en años recientes y que, como resultado, el lenguaje mismo ha cambiado. El uso de ‘translanguaging’, ‘espanglish’ y la alternancia de código en que los hablantes

1. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2015/jun/29/us-second-biggest-spanish-speaking-country>

2. <https://www.pewhispanic.org/2018/09/14/facts-on-u-s-immigrants/>

cambian rápidamente entre el inglés y el español —para demostrar sus habilidades o superar sus debilidades en un idioma u otro— se popularizó en las comunidades de habla hispana en los Estados Unidos.

En este estudio planteo que la existencia de un acento neutro es posible entre los hispanohablantes en los Estados Unidos cuyas comunidades incluyen diversas nacionalidades latinoamericanas. No obstante, los estudios existentes se enfocan en la variación lingüística y morfosintáctica. Con escasa frecuencia analizan la dialectología, especialmente en hablantes de la diáspora latinoamericana. Como resultado, no existen tantos estudios en el tema de investigación que me interesa analizar. Por ende, este ensayo aborda el tema del español neutro o estándar en los medios de comunicación. El marco geográfico es principalmente el de los Estados Unidos, pero también considero el contexto de algunos países latinoamericanos que reclaman que sus acentos son los más neutrales, para entender si es posible cultivar un acento neutro en español.

El problema del acento neutro se problematizó ante el auge de los medios de comunicación masiva: la radio, el cine, la televisión, la música y ahora las redes sociales. En el siglo veintiuno, la producción de todos estos medios ha convergido con empresas de producción como Netflix que difunden sus películas y telenovelas a todos los países hispanohablantes, lo que ha facilitado la diseminación de un acento neutro. Para estas empresas es más fácil utilizar un acento neutro para distribuir contenido multimedia en varios países latinoamericanos.

En los Estados Unidos, el locutor Walter Cronkite logró éxito en las décadas de 1960 y 1970 en parte gracias a su acento estándar de inglés estadounidense, a pesar de su origen tejano, y por eso el uso de un acento español neutro se ha denominado como

“Walter Cronkite Spanish”.³ Parte del proceso de desarrollar este acento en español es el uso de la variación lingüística que no puede ser reconocida como propia de una comunidad de hablantes ni de un país en específico.

En general, hay tres dialectos normalizados que son utilizados mayormente para la producción de medios de comunicación en español: castellano europeo, español rioplatense (del Río de la Plata en Argentina, Uruguay y Paraguay) y español mexicano/colombiano. Puesto que el uso del español mexicano/colombiano es utilizado primeramente en los Estados Unidos para los medios de comunicación, voy a definir el español neutro para este ensayo como algo así. Las características de este español incluyen:

- El uso del pronombre “ustedes” sólo para la segunda persona plural, tanto en el discurso formal como el familiar (en contraste con el uso de “vosotros” para el familiar en España)
- El uso del pronombre “tú” para la segunda persona singular (en contraste con el uso del “vos” o el voseo del español rioplatense)
- Una pronunciación singular de s, c (antes de la “e”, la “o” y la “i”) y z en contraste con la pronunciación castellana de c (antes de e o i) y z como el θ (del Alfabeto Fonético Internacional [AFI])

En su estudio, *El español neutro de los doblajes: intenciones y realidades*, Lila Petrella de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, lleva a cabo una investigación sobre el español denominado

3. <https://adage.com/article/the-big-tent/walter-cronkite-spanish/138018>

“neutro” en los doblajes y subtítulos de las películas.⁴ Su estudio consiste en una larga bibliografía de lingüística, dialectología, sociolingüística, semántica, pragmática y análisis del discurso en aproximadamente 600 horas de películas dobladas y subtituladas. El criterio de selección del corpus fue “contrastivo (los fenómenos lingüísticos que resultaban extraños o no esperables para nuestro dialecto) y diferencial (los fenómenos hallados se cotejaron con el español madrileño, otros dialectos americanos y peninsulares y el rioplatense)”.⁵ Petrella identifica muchos de los mismos rasgos del acento neutro que he mencionado arriba: el uso del pronombre “tú”, la ausencia del pronombre “vosotros” para “ustedes”. Sin embargo, este estudio identifica otros rasgos morfosintácticos, léxicos y semánticos que voy a mencionar. Aquí resumo algunos aspectos morfosintácticos que sirven para el análisis subsiguiente:

- El uso del pretérito perfecto simple
- Frecuente aparición de oraciones en voz pasiva
- Uso reiterado de perífrasis verbales (como traducción literal del inglés)
- Traducción literal del inglés
- Vasta presencia del verbo hacer
- Escaso uso de tiempos compuestos
- Las oraciones poseen estructuras sintácticas simples
- Traducción de sujeto no enfático
- Leísmo a veces (i.e. no le he visto)

Petrella concluye que la existencia de un español neutro no es el establecimiento de una norma derivada de un acento que ya existe, sino que conlleva crear un núcleo común para establecer una norma panamericana que puede ser productivo (cuando los hablantes de los dialectos en cuestión producen los rasgos) o

4. Lila Petrella, *El español neutro de los doblajes: intenciones y realidades*, Buenos Aires: Universidad de Buenos Aires. Disponible a través del Centro Virtual Cervantes: <https://cvc.cervantes.es/obref/congresos/zacatecas/television/comunicaciones/petre.htm>

5. Lila Petrella, *El español neutro de los doblajes: intenciones y realidades*

receptivo (cuando los hablantes de los otros dialectos pueden comprender los rasgos, pero no los producen).⁶ Petrella dice que “para lograr el tipo de comunicación que se pretende al exportar una película, no es necesario buscar rasgos presentes productivamente en áreas del español, sino sólo considerar rasgos pertenecientes al núcleo común receptivo de estas zonas”.⁷

En su tesis, “Forging An Anonymous Voice in the Spanish-Language Mass Media of the United States”, Hannah Artman problematiza el uso del acento neutro en el español estadounidense, al que le falta un centro geopolítico como el de otros idiomas.⁸ Su metodología conllevó entrevistar a personas en la calle sobre el acento neutro y tratar de imitar un acento neutro. En un mundo global interconectado que crea un “unforeseen phenomenon of a linguistic minority in the mainstream media that must attempt to unify—in a linguistically homogenizing sense—the diverse Hispanic communities in the production, dissemination, and reception of their product”.⁹ Los dialectos en Latinoamérica están cargados políticamente y, para apelar a una audiencia diversa, el acento neutro debe ser tanto homogéneo como libre de una identidad nacional claramente marcada. Para ser neutro, el acento debe ser anónimo. A través de sus entrevistas, Artman encontró que “perceivably ‘forced’ accents ... are anonymous because the viewer has difficulty identifying the speaker’s origin yet at the same time they lack sufficient authenticity”¹⁰ y distancian al espectador de lo que está viendo/escuchando, etc. (Artman cita el ejemplo de anuncios en español sobre el tema de la inmigración.)

6. Lila Petrella, *El español neutro de los doblajes: intenciones y realidades*

7. Ibid.

8. Artman, Hannah, “Forging an Anonymous Voice in the Spanish-Language Mass Media of the United States” (2015). Open Access Theses. 569. https://scholarlyrepository.miami.edu/oa_theses/569

9. Ibid, 13

10. Ibid, 34

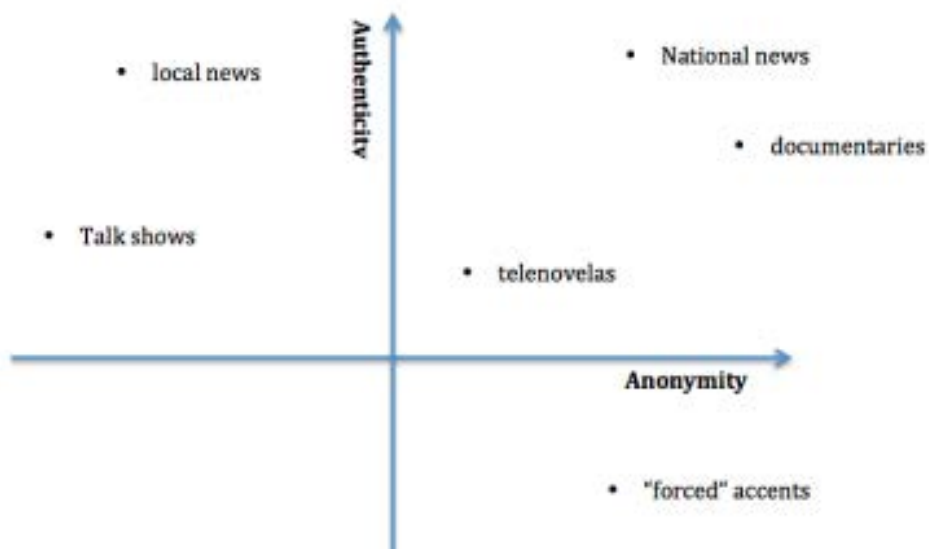


Figura 1: Grados de autenticidad y anonimidad en los medios de comunicación¹¹

Altman concluye que los medios de comunicación influyen en la percepción del acento neutro, por razones económicas, e impulsan la estandarización de un idioma. Además, a través del proceso de *dialect levelling* en los Estados Unidos —especialmente en ciudades como Miami que abarcan un crisol de nacionalidades latinoamericanas— el acento neutro podría ser un fenómeno que se manifiesta en las calles. Para tener éxito en el mercado americano, uno necesita adaptar un acento neutro que logre un equilibrio entre la autenticidad y anonimidad, “although the neutral accent attempts to be a voice from nowhere, U.S. Latin@s attempt to place it somewhere.”¹²

11. Ibid

12. Ibid, 41

En su artículo “El espanglés y la utilidad del español neutro”, Álvaro Villegas plantea que el español neutro es un “artificio perfeccionado” que sólo existe en películas y telenovelas.¹³ Villegas enfatiza la dificultad de crear palabras universales para los coloquialismos de cada dialecto. Por eso, el español neutro y el espanglés están en desacuerdo uno con otro. El autor argumenta que “el espanglés no es una variante del español, así que no está en competencia con ninguna de sus variantes dialectales en concreto ni es razonable que vaya a ser reemplazada así porque sí por una de ellas”.¹⁴

Por su parte, Isabel García Izquierdo, en su artículo “Español neutro en los discursos de especialidad ¿mito, utopía o realidad?” afirma que, aunque el español neutro todavía no es una realidad, tampoco es un mito.¹⁵ El concepto parece una utopía, pero podría ser una realidad en el futuro con un aprendizaje de la lengua como artificio que ayude a homogeneizar la lengua y crear cohesión entre la lengua estándar. Esta homogeneización puede convertir al español en una lengua internacional o en un concepto panamericano.

En *Spanish Language Unity*, Darren Paffey subraya el papel de la RAE en establecer comonalidad en vez de dualidad. Para él, “el español” sólo funciona para reiterar que existe una sola versión de español homogéneo y demuestra “how language guardians seek to ensure that Spanish is not represented primarily as diverse or disunited—characteristics which are framed negatively—but as

13. Álvaro Villegas. “El espanglés y la utilidad del español neutro”. *Panacea*, Vol. VIII, no 24, diciembre, 2006. Disponible en línea. http://www.medtrad.org/panacea/IndiceGeneral/n24_tribuna-villegas.pdf

14. Álvaro Villegas. “El espanglés y la utilidad del español neutro”, 321

15. Isabel García Izquierdo, “Español neutro en los discursos de especialidad ¿mito, utopía o realidad?” *Ikala*, vol 14, no 23 Medellín Sept-Dec 2009. Disponible en línea (con CLIO) http://www.scielo.org.co/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0123-34322009000300002&lng=en&tlng=en

harmonious and unitary which are positively framed features.”¹⁶ Debido al hecho que una comunidad de hablantes es imaginada de la misma manera que una comunidad nacional, la idea de una “lengua común” (como Anderson propone en *Imagined Communities*) es un factor hacia la unidad. Con 400 millones de hispanohablantes en el mundo, esta comunidad hace difícil cultivar y mantener una lengua neutral.¹⁷

Participantes:

La primera participante de este estudio es la entrevistadora e investigadora, Iqra Bawany. Iqra está estudiando español e historia en la Universidad de Columbia en Nueva York. Ella nació en Londres en una familia paquistaní de la clase media y creció en un barrio residencial a las afueras de una ciudad que se llama Kingston Upon Thames. Iqra tiene veintiún años y habla urdu e inglés como sus lenguas maternas. Sin embargo, toda su educación ha sido en inglés en escuelas privadas. La mayoría de la población de su barrio, un 68.7 %, consiste en personas blancas (ingleses e inmigrantes europeos) y un 20% son asiáticos, entre otros.¹⁸ Las escuelas también reflejan una constitución demográfica muy similar, con una mayoría de personas blancas (alrededor de un 80%) y el resto constituido por personas de minorías étnicas. Ella ha hablado español desde los 8 años. Lo aprendió en el colegio con profesores españoles del País Vasco y de Valencia y esto afecta la manera en que lo habla. Ella se mudó a Nueva York en 2015 para asistir a la universidad y sólo ha vivido en los Estados Unidos unos tres años y medio.

16. Darren Paffey, “Spanish Language Unity” en *Language Ideologies and the Globalization of ‘Standard’ Spanish*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2012, 84

17. Otro artículo excelente sobre este tema incluyen “El español “neutro” y la oralidad” por María Teresa Pajares Giménez, en *Últimas tendencias en traducción e interpretación*. 18. <https://data.kingston.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/RBK-PHK-Report-ANNEX-FINAL-1.pdf>

La segunda participante es la entrevistada, Isela Barrios. Isela es una abogada de inmigración que ha vivido en Los Angeles por treinta años. Ella tiene cuarenta años y tiene una hija de veintiún años. Isela fue una madre soltera hasta que se casó en 2016. Nació en la ciudad de Guatemala pero se mudó a los Estados Unidos a los diez años, con sus padres y dos hermanas. Isela vivía en un barrio de la zona de South Los Angeles que alberga una comunidad multirracial de latinos, afroamericanos y otras minorías étnicas, pero se mudó hace 5 años. Entre 1970 y 1990, South LA se transformó, de 80% afroamericano y 9% latino, a 50.3% afroamericano y 44% latino. Isela asistió a la Universidad Estatal de California en Los Angeles y trabajó en mercadotecnia por unos años, antes de asistir a la facultad de derecho en Southwestern University School of Law.

Metodología:

La entrevista tuvo lugar entre la entrevistadora, Iqra Bawany, y la entrevistada, Isela Barrios. La entrevista fue semi dirigida, cara a cara, en un aula de Barnard College en la Universidad de Columbia. La entrevista tuvo lugar en presencia de la hija de Barrios, quien es una estudiante en Barnard, pero sin otras interrupciones. La entrevistadora y la entrevistada no se habían conocido hasta el momento de la entrevista y, como resultado, la entrevistada no había leído ni se había preparado con anticipación para abordar las preguntas. Barrios no sabía que la entrevista era para una clase de sociolingüística, pero sabía que era para una clase de español. Aunque se le aconsejó hablar en la manera más natural para ella, está claro que en algunos momentos la entrevista afectó su manera de hablar un poco, por ejemplo: “mi segunda carrera yo comencé en: um *marketing*, parece que en español es el mercado técnica” [13:05 -13:15]. En este ensayo haré hincapié en algunos momentos de la entrevista, pero la transcripción completa aparece en el apéndice 1.

A través de la presentación preliminar a la clase, algunas cosas resultaron obvias en la entrevista. Por ejemplo, Isela crea palabras y frases nuevas como por ejemplo: “me crecí” (que no es reflexivo), “movemos” (en vez de mudarse) y “extramente” (en vez de extremadamente). En otras ocasiones, utiliza expresiones que son traducidas directamente de inglés, como por ejemplo: “average”. Dado que tiene cierto dominio del español, es interesante ver su invención de palabras nuevas y *translanguaging* a un nivel muy alto en otro estudio, especialmente porque ella trabaja día a día con inmigrantes de países latinoamericanos.

Análisis:

A raíz de la entrevista está claro que Isela se expresa en un español neutro que no tiene rasgos del acento guatemalteco. En la figura a continuación, he seleccionado algunos estos rasgos y contado el número de ocasiones que ocurren en la transcripción. Algunos, como el uso “hacer” y el recurso de oraciones con estructuras sintácticas simples son numerosos y por eso no pensé que sería útil contarlos. La mayoría de los rasgos están destacados en el apéndice —en cursiva o en otro color— para que el lector pueda identificarlos. Además, su pronunciación de “s”, “z” y “c” (antes de la “e”, la “o” y la “i”) aparece subrayada en amarillo inicialmente para que el lector puede tenerla en cuenta cuando escuche la grabación de la entrevista.

Rasgo Morfosintático	Número de ocasiones
Uso de "tú"	1
Traducción literal del inglés o vocablos en inglés	18
Escaso uso de tiempos compuestos	2
Uso del pretérito perfecto simple	26
Uso reiterado de perífrasis verbales	22
Leísmo (i.e. <i>no le he visto</i>)	1
Traducción de sujeto no enfático	39
Oraciones en voz pasiva	1

Isela utiliza palabras traducidas del inglés o vocablos en inglés 18 veces. La mayoría de las palabras son términos que ella no sabía cómo decir en español; por ejemplo: *shock*, *supermarkets* y *marketing* o *scapegoat*. Una ocasión fue una cita directa de *shithole countries*, cuando estábamos hablando de Trump. Isela aún trata de corregirse a sí misma a lo largo de la entrevista. Además, utiliza el vocablo *yeah* a menudo, no para el discurso, sino como una interjección cuando ha terminado de hablar.

Lo que me sorprendió fue su uso infrecuente oraciones en voz pasiva —sólo pude identificar un ejemplo: "me fue pegando"—. Ella utiliza muchas frases que no son reflexivas (por ejemplo, "me crecí"), pero no necesariamente oraciones en voz pasiva. Pienso que esto coincide con el uso infrecuente de "tú» y el leísmo, ya que ambos también ocurren raramente. Debido a las preguntas que le formulé, que se enfocaron en su vida personal, creo que la frecuencia de estos rasgos fue mínimo. Sin embargo, estoy segura de que la frecuencia de estos aspectos aumentaría si la entrevista hubiese abordado otros temas.

Isela utiliza tiempos compuestos sólo dos veces y demuestra preferencia por el imperfecto, dado que observé el uso del pretérito perfecto simple unas 26 veces. El escaso uso de tiempos compuestos y su preferencia por tiempos más simples es algo muy típico del acento neutro. Los tiempos compuestos son menos frecuentes en Latinoamérica. Su pronunciación se presta a tener un acento muy marcado y es más difícil a mantenerlo como neutro. Por lo contrario, el pretérito perfecto simple, o aún el imperfecto, es más fácil de entender a través de las fronteras nacionales. La otra cara de la moneda es el uso frecuente de perífrasis verbales —por ejemplo: “ando”/“iendo” 22 veces— que también es fácil de entender en el español neutro, pero también es indicativo de estructuras sintácticas simples que son típicas de este modalidad de español. Finalmente, utilizó “yo”, 39 veces en la entrevista cuando era posible el uso del sujeto no enfático, por ejemplo: “yo nací”, “yo tenía”, “yo me recuerdo”, “yo tengo”. El sujeto generalmente no es necesario en español pero en el español neutro el sujeto es enfatizado aún más para dejar todo claro en el discurso.

El español neutro, para Isela, surge de su crianza entre Guatemala y su barrio interracial en Los Angeles, que alberga una comunidad latina muy numerosa, con una identidad especialmente mexicana. Por eso no es sorprendente que el español neutro sea muy similar al español mexicano, especialmente en los Estados Unidos donde la influencia mexicana es muy muy fuerte. Además, su trabajo como abogada de inmigrantes ha contribuido a su alto nivel de español, también neutro, ya que debe comunicarse con personas de muchas nacionalidades diferentes y por eso utiliza un español neutro.

Conclusión:

La entrevista demuestra que el español neutro puede manifestarse plenamente fuera de los medios de comunicación. En su trabajo, Petrella subraya unos rasgos morfosintácticos que he tratado de destacar en mi análisis de la entrevista. Está claro que todos estos rasgos no estarían presentes en el habla de cada persona que se expresa con un acento neutro. La presencia de varios rasgos depende del nivel de español de la persona pero también sobre su origen (como dónde creció y aprendió español). Por eso podemos decir que el cumplir con la mayoría de los rasgos puede ser un criterio para determinar si esta persona está utilizando un español neutro.

El repaso de la literatura muestra que la opinión sobre construir un español neutro es generalmente muy negativa. Hay demasiados factores —con 400 millones de hispanohablantes mundial— y las variaciones de la lengua no pueden ser controladas. Ahora está claro que el español neutro va a ser relegado al mundo de los medios de comunicación. En los doblajes y subtítulos, en las telenovelas y las películas distribuidas por el mundo a través de compañías de producción internacionales como Netflix, el español triunfa. Hay varios ejemplos de español neutro en los medios de comunicación. Por ejemplo, el acento de William Levy, un actor de origen cubano que creció en Miami, fue identificado como uno de los más neutros en la encuesta de Artman.¹⁹ El doblaje también es popular en los dibujos animados como *The Simpsons* o las películas de Disney que utilizan el español acento neutro para distribuirlo globalmente.²⁰ Sin embargo, hay casos recientes

19. Ver a William Levy hablando en español aquí: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kXXmr7-k2Z8> y otros ejemplos de doblaje neutro aquí: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fS2RnBfhmDU>

20. Ver los *Simpsons* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZLRb7PW1tvE> y *Tangled* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9_a23vIKDCQ

en que Netflix utilizó doblajes y subtítulos diferentes para los programas mexicanos en España sin ofrecer esta opción para los programas españoles en Latinoamérica.

La cuestión del acento neutro todavía es muy controversial. No obstante, en los Estados Unidos, especialmente en el caso de la segunda y tercera generación en la diáspora, pienso que sería más factible fijar este acento neutro. Las comunidades de habla hispana son más diversas que nunca y el contacto con los varios acentos de español podría crear una norma estándar entre los residentes de los Estados Unidos. Para los hablantes de herencia hispana cuya lengua dominante es el inglés, el aprendizaje del español suele ser más institucionalizado y esto también puede contribuir al acento neutro. Idealmente sería posible en el futuro un estudio más extenso que no sólo utilizara encuestas de personas sobre el acento neutro sino que emprendiera el mismo análisis de los rasgos morfosintácticos que he destacado aquí. Este estudio es limitado por la falta de los datos ya que sólo depende de una persona. Sin embargo, todavía hay muchos pasos por completar para evaluar el valor y la posibilidad verdadera de establecer el español neutro, no sólo en los medios de comunicación sino en la oralidad cotidiana de las comunidades de habla hispana en los Estados Unidos.

Apéndice 1 - Transcripción de la entrevista:

Iqra A Bawany (IAB): Okay, gracias para hablar conmigo (e:) uum quiero empezar con una pregunta sobre tu niñez. ¿Puedes contarme sobre tu niñez y cuando mudaste a los Estados Unidos?

Isela Barrios (IB): Uum //// hmmm yo nací en Guatemala; en la ciudad de Guatemala, en Guatemala uum y: eehm(e:) soy la tercera hija, entonces soy la más pequeña y: me **crecí** con mi mamá y mis dos hermanas mayores en la ciudad de Guatemala um (e:) mi papá um **él se vino** a los Estados Unidos cuando yo era chica, tenía como unos cuatro, cinco años cuando **él se vino** a los Estados Unidos. Ah entonces la mayoría de mi tiempo que yo —las memorias que yo— que tengo en mi cabeza y cuales yo recuerdo son prácticamente con mi mamá y mis dos hermanas mayores viviendo en Guatemala uuhm (e:) // y: a los diez años ehm (e:) mi familia y yo **inmigramos** a los Estados Unidos y: ehm (e:) y si um (e:) desde [?] entonces cuando llegamos a los Estados Unidos hemos radicado en Los Angeles, California y allí es donde vivo actualmente

IAB: Vale, uum y ¿cómo te adaptaste a la transición a la vida en los Estado Unidos?

IB: [Uuh-huh] **Fue** un poco difícil uum porque: uum /// (m:) —o sea yo— no **fue** mi decisión venirme a los Estados Unidos, sino que un día mi mamá se **despertó** y dijo: “Nos vamos a los Estados Unidos” [Ríe suavemente] entonces no tuvimos mucho tiempo de eehm (e:) uum (e:) de entender el proceso o lo que estaba pasando no no más, mi mamá dijo que nos movemos y empacar las cosas y nos vamos uum entonces —claro yo tenía diez años, estaba en el tercer grado en Guatemala— y um tenía mis amistades, estaba en escuela. Entonces parte de mí no se quería ir de Guatemala uum también yo me **crecí** también con uum con una niñera (m:) que se llamaba Iliana entonces eh la **tuve** que dejar allá

también um y y mi mamá trabajaba tiempo completo y entonces yo **pasé** bastante tiempo con Iliana en casa y ella me llevaba a escuela, me recogía um entonces parte de mí también me quedé un poco triste porque la dejaba ella; ¿no? Uum y cuando llegamos, fue un **shock** um esto es de una perspectiva de una niña de diez años; ¿no? Pero fue un **shock** uum estaba bien frío el clima porque en Guatemala, en la ciudad en particularmente, el clima es un poco uum es como // es bien cómodo no es mucho / no es mucho no es muy caliente ni muy frío sino que es **average** pero sí había— vinimos en noviembre, entonces había un poco de frío uum // y: Pues mi mamá no tenía un trabajo acá entonces y mi papá no estaba /// listo para recibirnos entonces cuando llegamos no teníamos muchos recursos uum // y y sí entonces fue— y veníamos de un lugar donde en Guatemala teníamos una casa, teníamos nuestro, nuestro patio, yo tenía mis juguetes ... a un lugar donde prácticamente tuvimos que compartir un cuarto entre nosotras cuatro, mi mamá, mis dos hermanas y yo uum y sí no teníamos muchos recursos, entonces fue un poquito, un poco difícil uum y si yo **me recuerdo** que uuh al principio no quería, yo no quería, no quería adaptarme, estaba como enojada con mi mamá um y: y en mi mente yo me decía no yo no voy aprender inglés, no no no quiero, sólo me voy ... hablar en español pero / eso es un pensamiento de niña entonces con el tiempo el inglés me fue pegando y y este ehm /// si entonces fue un poquito, un poco, un poco difícil para mí, pero con el tiempo me adapté y me adapté a la cultura uum en parte también estaba —había muchas cosas positivas, por ejemplo, ehm en Guatemala eh los **shows** que uno mire en la televisión prácticamente son **shows** esta (e:) estadounidenses entonces cuando vinimos acá ehm ehm (m:) sentía como que podía ver la televisión en las tardes, después de la escuela ehm y eran en inglés entonces estaba como uuhm no sé me interesaba; ¿no? Porque cuando este, en Guatemala uno como que recibe bastante cultura estadounidense sin saberlo y cuando uno viene acá, uno dice: "**oh wow**, um ahora estoy acá y

ahora estoy viendo eehm // estoy aca en el medio de todo esta cultura estadounidense". Entonces, en esa parte sí me **me gustó**— la comida también era diferente en Guatemala se come (m:) // las comidas no son tan procesadas como son acá

IAB: [Sí]

IB: Entonces prácticamente allá comíamos comida que // se cocinaba en casa todos los días, desayuno, almuerzo y cena um y era **extramente** raro que fuéramos a restaurante comer, era muy raro siempre comíamos en casa y acá en los Estados Unidos, bueno, teníamos acceso a los **supermarkets** que en Guatemala no no hay um entonces, era como que // impresionante, entrar en un **supermarket** y ver tanta comida y y tanta comida (m:) preparada eeh fácil: de agarrar y así bueno sirvete cereal y leche y aquí es tu desayuno [Risas] uum entonces, sí fue un **shock** pero con el tiempo me **adapté**. **yeah**

[6:58]

IAB: OK, um, ¿Sientes conectada con la cultura guatemalteca o latina ahora? ¿Y cómo mantienes esta conexión?

IB: mmhmm, uum, sí, me siento muy conectada uum en particular a la cultura latina; no necesariamente a la cultura guatemalteca porque Los Angeles aunque sí hay muchos centroamericano(s) n-no: (e:) como que (...) la comunidad guatemalteca se: se: (e:) se separa no hay una comunidad si bien fuerte, bien unida eh, (e:) entonces se separa sí y nos mezclamos con otras personas de otras nacionalidades por ejemplo El Salvador, Honduras y Méjico, la comunidad mexicana en Los Angeles es // no se es muy grande; ¿no? Uuum ehh entonces si me siento más conectada a la comunidad latina, la cultura latina incluso ehm mi esposo el otro día estábamos en el carro, estábamos manejando y yo siempre pongo música latina o música en español y el me dice ¿por qué

siempre tienes que poner música en español? [risas] y **yo le digo** porque es mi identidad es es lo es (e:) e e es algo que con con me hacer sentir cómoda a mí u:m entonces la música me gusta me eehm la música me ayuda a siempre estar conectada en la ciudad de Los Angeles. Hay varias estaciones de mm de radio que ponen: música latina; siempre siempre escuchando música latina, claro también incorporando música en inglés; ¿no? Pero bastante música latina. Mi mamá no cocinaba mucho cuando yo era pequeña entonces, um con respeto a la comida uum // **aprendió** un poco de ella; ¿verdad? Uum pero Iliana era la que cocinaba bastante en nuestra casa cuando yo era pequeña, pero ya cuando venimos acá mi mamá, pues cocinaba lo que ella podía cocinar. Entonces aprendí a cocinar unas comidas guatemaltecas pero no: no- son comidas fáciles, no son comidas o: no son recetas bien complejas uh huh Por ejemplo, frijoles negros, arroz, caldo de pollo um y el resto de las comidas son comidas que yo - no sé que están recetas de mi cabeza. Pero si en la casa cocino, um // - en Los Angeles, como te digo, hay- la cultura mexicana es bien bien bien fuerte entonces en todos los lugares vas a ver comida, restaurantes mexicanos entonces los tacos siempre están disponibles umm /// - yeah um la comida, la música. Para las fiestas navideñas, mi mamá siempre hace tamales guatemaltecos. Es una tradición que ella ha tenido desde que ella **eh se movió** a: a la ciudad y desde el momento se casó ya comenzó co- cocinar tamales todos los años para tiempos de Navidad. Entonces eso también pienso nos ayuda bastante a estar conectadas a nuestra cultura guatemalteca uum los tamales guatemaltecos son diferentes cada país latinoamericano tiene su propia receta de tamales y: pero la de Guatemala eehm siento es la mejor [risas] yeah uhm entonces sí. Estas son algunas unas formas que que me sigo conectando um y como te digo no necesariamente la um (e:) la cultura guatemalteca. Pero sí, parte de mí yo s- um aunque ahora soy ciudadana americana parte de mí siempre tiene como un orgullo de ser de Guatemala y y siempre- um / um o sea nunca

voy a negar mi nacionalidad ni ni donde nació y ni donde crecí ehm y siempre que que miro algo guatemalteco me pongo bien feliz sí yeah

[11:41]

IAB: ¿Has regresado a Guatemala desde de..?

IB: uh sí he regresado algunas veces um parece que unas dos o tres veces uh huh la última vez ah vamos a ver creo que fue en el 2006 entonces ya es bastante tiempo. Mi abuelita ya no: ya no está con nosotros pero siempre nos vamos a la casa de ella y: entonces uno de los deseos que yo tengo es regresar a Guatemala porque me fui a los diez años y conocer más Guatemala ser turista en el país que yo nació um ir a conocer um lugares turísticos, ir a comer comidas típicas de Guatemala um // sí: hablar con la gente guatemalteca y - me gustaría mucho um No lo hecho mucho porque estaba un poco preocupada con la vida acá, pero si tengo el deseo de un día regresar y eh eh y tratar de reintegrarme un poco.

[12:50]

IAB: Vale, uum y ¿Cómo elegiste tu carrera como abogada y como encontraste este- esta carrera?

IB: mmhm, uuh Esta carrera es mi segunda carrera yo **comencé** en: um **marketing**, parece que en español es el mercado técnica um y: y **trabajé** para u:n para una una empresa bien grande uum **Trabajé** como unos cuatro o cinco años para esa empresa después que terminé la universidad y: um y yo **pensé** um **pensé** que sí que iba gustar y que iba **yeah** que iba hacer la única carrera que yo iba tener, pero mientras las la- los meses pasaban los años pasaban um no me sentía yo satisfecha no sentía como que me daba el el: eh /// no sentía que me satisfacía mi mi carrera ehm Entonces allí **fue** cuando comencé a considerar eh otro otro /

otro diploma; otra carrera y y **tuve** que ir con una consejera para que me **dieron** más orientación porque yo en este momento yo sentía un poco perdida. No sabía no sé no sabía qué era lo que quería hacer con mi vida con mi carrera um y de nos **pusimos** analizar; ¿no? ehm Dos carreras que estaba considerando era una Maestría en Administración de Empresas (MBA) y la otra, pues un: eh una carrera en derechos um y allí me **pusé pusé-** Tuve que analizarme un poquito más /// y en realidad así bueno que es lo que yo quiero; ¿no? ¿Qué es lo que quiero estar haciendo día a día? y: Allí fue cuando me **pusé** pensar de qué quería yo estar en una posición que podía yo ayudar a personas ehm que que se sem que tienen una imagen similar a la mía por ejemplo personas latinas o personas que son de bajo recursos um o personas que que se sienten vulnerables y que no tienen / no tienen la voz para hablar o para defenderse. Y y yo sabía que también quería tener contacto directo con clientes con personas y quería yo impactar la vida de personas a comparación con lo que estaba en este momento que en este momento. Estaba trabajando para una empresa bien grande y siempre me sentí que les estaba ayudando la empresa a crecer más y más y más y me decía: "bueno, ¿cómo cómo esta empresa que nos saben que les no estaban ayudando mi comunidad latina? No vio la conexión, entonces eso como que me tenía un poco frustrada y: um Sí entonces, **dije** bueno quizás con un: con una un- una carrera en derechos yo voy a tener todo lo que estaba buscando contacto con personas directamente poder impactar la vida de personas um y también: um trabajar con personas que se parecen a mi personas latinas o personas um // que le llaman minorías um personas negras personas um latinas o personas como te **dijo** que no tienen muchos recursos um. Y y sí dije bueno una un: un diploma en derechos me va dar como las herramientas para poder hacer todo esto y no- no importa en que ramo de leyes / yo: yo: últimamente **terminé** lo que importa es que voy a tener estas herramientas para poder ayudar a personas // Y así fue como decidir escuela de leyes y / y ahora pues soy

abogada de inmigración (hm)

[17:12]

IAB: um Y como una mujer latina y profesional, ¿cómo sientes sobre el discurso político ahora sobre um sobre los latinos, de Trump?

IB: Me enoja mucho, estoy muy enojada um super frustrada en las mañanas me da mucha furia ver las noticias um // porque // la administración que tenemos es bien cerrada. ehm / En el sentido de que // (m:) en mi opinión el presidente que tenemos ahorita está: ehm /// como que está lavando la cabeza está tratando de lavar la cabeza a la nación y está usando a las personas latinas como como como su: ¿cómo te diré su [scapegoat](#) su:- nos está usando para para para atacarnos, verdad? Y eso es la gente que él está usando día a día um // y pienso que / eso- pues tiene las raíces en raza o en racismo; ¿no? Entonces al poner a la comunidad latina en una situación donde nos está haciendo ver como personas malas o personas uh que como él dijo que vienen de países de mierda uh [*shithole countries*](#) um // ponernos en esta situación y: y hablando mal de nosotros él lo que está tratando de hacer es ehm instigar al resto del país y: y ponernos en una situación donde no- nos está siendo ver muy mal um y esto me enoja ehm // Y pues me siento // me enoja pero al mismo tiempo como que me da la energía para seguir peleando contra esa administración o contra la agenda de este señor que tenemos como presidente um uh En particular en mi, en mi profesión, en mi carrera porque soy abogada en inmigración entonces um yo le ayudo a personas a obtener visas en los Estados Unidos, obtener residencia legal en los Estados Unidos y obtener ciudadanía en los Estados Unidos. Entonces eso, en mi opinión, es totalmente contra la agenda del Presidente y entonces eso es como que me da felicidad a mí de que estoy haciendo algo que u-usando las leyes um // que que que que no necesariamente le gusta a él. Pero eso

me da felicidad a mí. uh huh Entonces um siento que sí la comunidad latina, desafortunadamente, él nos está poniendo en una mala luz pero: al final del día él se va ir y nosotros vamos a quedar y vamos a seguir luchando y: um y y creciendo y: y educándonos. um Y vamos a ser una comunidad más fuerte que en realidad tenemos mucho que contribuir a este país. uh Todo inmigrante tiene sus talentos. Sí um contribuyen algo o sea este país está hecho de inmigrantes. Entonces esta administración, que es temporal, pronto se va ir y y: Y siento que los inmigrantes, no importan tanto de qué país sean, van a poder seguir adelante mmhm.

[21:00]

IAB: Vale; muchas gracias

IB: De nada. [Risas]

IAB: He terminado con mis preguntas.

IB: Comencé a atraer o a- // agarrar el acento mexicano bastante y yo no hablo como un guatemalteco. Si tu hablarás con una persona guatemalteco, tienen un acento completamente diferente.

IAB: Sí

IB: yeah Pero si- uno- de- todo depende de donde uno está viviendo.

IAB: Sí

[21:25]





Cayambe
Ecuador

María Laura Jijón

March of the Monarchists: National Identity and Literariness under the *República Velha*

Nathan Rubene dos Santos

T rue to its idiosyncrasies, the story of Brazil's embarking on the road to republicanism is one consistent in nothing but its uncertainty. Battling against decades of a monarchical rule, whose popularity spanned from the urban bourgeoisie to the rural poor, revolutionaries were left without a pressing, structural fault of governance from which support could be generated—except for time, that is. Following a period that saw the nation rise to economic and geopolitical heights, the transfer of power, from Dom Pedro II to Princess Isabel, represented a troubling gap in the harmony of royal continuity and public approval. A number of reasons undermined her authority: a lack of historical precedence, doubts over the validity of a queen regent, and fears that her foreign-born husband, the French Prince Gaston, would diminish her autonomy to that of a puppet.

As a whole, these anxieties were substantial enough for a rag-tag team of military personnel from the Imperial Army to covertly organize and, under the at-first hesitant leadership of Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, stage one of the most peaceable coup d'états in memory. Despite the seemingly obvious success, the transition proved to be less universally agreed upon than previously thought. Once it became apparent that the aims of greater government representation and accountability would be soon undermined by the rise of military strongmen, an effort to usher in a new age of *caudilhismo* resembling those in neighboring Spanish-speaking republics-turned-dictatorships, sparked a massive outcry across the political spectrum.

Of these calls for resistance, none would leave a more enduring mark on the Brazilian political consciousness than the restoration movement, a mosaic of figures ranging from reminiscent holdouts from Pedro II's administration to intellectuals, both native and observing from abroad. Although disparate in their exact grievances, desires, and plans for going about a restoration, the responses of monarchists in the 1880s and 1890s were united by an intensely literary character, evident in the channels utilized for propagating criticism and the skillful employment of persuasive, often incendiary rhetoric. Manifested through a lens of patriotism, romanticism, pragmatism, and their numerous intersections, this literariness helped to transcend concerns from the merely circumstantial into a near-philosophical inquiry of Brazil's national identity. To this end, polemicists sought to align identity with the monarchy, thereby claiming that the values of order, legitimacy, and progress can only be found in a paternalistic protector, one who has the 'spirit' of the nation in his heart. With that understanding, the royal institution becomes integral to the country's conception of its past, stability in the present, and trajectory into the future.

To explore the restoration movement further, I offer 'case studies' of three distinct archetypes of the attitudes of the period: Joaquim Nabuco, as the classicist; Eça de Queirós, as the naturalist; and Alfonso Celso, as the realist. I will critically examine, contextualize, and assess relevant excerpts of each figure's literary output for argumentative merit and ultimate impact on the ideological foundations of the movement. Then, I will offer reflections on the importance of their positions to contemporary Brazil and on the lessons the country may learn from their successes and failures.

It is easy to track how each individual's upbringing defined how he would engage with the monarchist platform. None, however, is so obvious as that of diplomat-turned-activist Joaquim Nabuco,

who was born on a wealthy landed estate in Pernambuco. His early childhood memories of slaves working as servants and nannies around the household began a decades-long pursuit of abolition—often at odds with his sense of propriety as being part of the *gente boa*, or high society. At this paradoxical crossroads, Nabuco chose to follow a middle path, taking advantage of his elite education to study the works of European political theorists. He sought a system of governance that would best ensure Brazil's cohesion in the long term—then threatened by tensions echoing from the war with Paraguay and signs of secession in the south. He would eventually admire English constitutional monarchy the most, in which, rather than a “slavish reference for imperial majesty,” he found a sober balance of protections for individual and collective liberty and a central integrity of state secured by the symbolic authority of the Crown (Newcomb 2008, 189). In diary entries and in his autobiography, *Minha Formação*, Nabuco would articulate a dialectic between republicanism and monarchism as one of liberty versus order. In it, he upholds the latter as a prerequisite to liberty, as it establishes the parameters of liberty's expression without undermining the security and prosperity of the state.

Deprived of a career under Fonseca's presidency, he turned this scholarly critique into a targeted attack in newspaper editorials by inverting many the common complaints of the monarchy back onto the usurpers. On the topic of repression, he cleverly weaves in examples from the French Revolution and, using cautionary diction, equated its excesses to that of the present government, saying that:

Antes de tudo, o republicanismo francês, que era e é o nosso, tem um fermento de ódio, uma predisposição igualitária que logicamente leva a demagogia.... Ao passo que o liberalismo, menos radical, não so e compatível com a monarquia,

mas ate parece aliar-se com o temperamento aristocrático.... Intolerancia é, ou era, o característico do republicanismo agressivo francês, e a intolerância é uma fobia da liberdade e do mundo.¹
(Newcomb 197)

Nabuco was quick to judge the 'degeneracy' of neighboring Spanish-speaking countries, "a violent, petty, unstable, and ungovernable land overrun by mobs in the thrall of despots and generals" (Newcomb 213). The fear, dubbed by contemporary historians as one of 'South-Americanization,' was cast by Nabuco as the result of a lack of morality. In the context of Brazil, it warranted an elevation of "a parte moral da sociedade" (209), with particular emphasis on minorities such as former slaves and immigrants. Ultimately, Nabuco defended the cause for monarchism not for its own sake, but for its role in an ever more existential battle for 'civilization.' He deemed monarchism a "repository of all virtues" (Lourdes 230) albeit within a strictly Western paradigm. The seriousness of his tone noticeably increased as the monarchists' resurgence grew tenuous, and as he writes:

Mas por isso mesmo que foi o nosso destino nascer neste período, nos séculos futuros a America Latina ha de ser civilizada ou não ser latina; o nosso dever consiste em manter na minoria o nível moral superior ao politico, dissociar o desenvolvimento moral da incurável estagnação politica.² (Newcomb 209)

1. "First of all, French republicanism, which was and is ours, has a frenzy for hate, an egalitarian predisposition that logically leads to demagoguery.... While liberalism, which is less radical, is not only compatible with monarchy, but even seems to ally itself with the aristocratic temperament.... Intolerance is, or was, characteristic of aggressive French republicanism, and intolerance is a phobia of freedom and the world."

2. "But for this very reason our destiny was for this period, in future centuries Latin America must be civilized or will not be Latin; It is our duty to maintain in the minority superior morality in politics, to dissociate moral development from incurable political stagnation."

While it is certain that Nabuco possessed an undeterred ambition to maintain Brazil's *era dourada*, an unavoidable incongruity remains between efforts to include a more diverse number of identities within that framework. One must question the extent to which Nabuco distanced himself from the pitfalls of republican progressivism, now seen as a tool by which the "poor and the nonwhite" were marginalized (Weinstein 1994, 262) and excluded from democratic processes, such as voting. Similar in many respects to Nabuco's ideology, progressivism envisioned Brazilian society "as irrevocably divided between the archaic primitivism of the backlands and the progressive culture of the coastal cities" (Weinstein 265). Whether inadvertently or not, Nabuco's focus perpetuated stereotypical misconceptions of the peasantry and lower class, which is surprising given his early years in the countryside and subsequent familiarity with such narratives. In choice of location, he and his fellow compatriots were guilty as well. By the time of the 1895 rise of Prudente de Moraes, São Paulo and the southeast megalopolis had become the "principal center for the anti-republican reaction" (Lourdes 232), inevitably transforming Nabuco's native northeast—a region already in decline after the collapse of the organic rubber market—and the western interior into a silent periphery. History has largely overlooked these nagging details when fashioning Nabuco's legacy, yet they must be assessed, in light of the assertion that he actively fought for abolition and the restoration, prioritizing the struggles of marginalized communities.

In reevaluating Nabuco's relationship to the restoration movement it may be wise to look at the insight of a rather unexpected commentator, the Portuguese modernist giant Eça de Queirós. Equally prolific in his correspondence with French, Portuguese, and Brazilian contacts as his literary production, often under the guise of a pseudonym, Queirós offers a rare foreign perspective on the developments in Brazil as they occurred. In a letter to journalist

Eduardo Prado, featured in his *Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*, the author delineates a vision for Brazil in opposition to Nabuco's core beliefs in the replicability of European political scholarship, if not culture overall. Removed from partisan bias, Queirós has no quibble about being fair in denigrating royalty and rebel alike, or as he puts it, "a minha impressão é que os Brasileiros, desde o Imperador ao trabalhador, andam a desfazer e, portanto, a estragar o Brasil"³ (Queirós 2010, 98). His particular disdain for "essa República jacobino-positivista"⁴ (100) remains at the forefront, however, since it functions solely to disrupt and divert attention from the cultivation of qualities essential to his utopian project.

Queirós's argument is primarily grounded in a chronological survey of Brazil's cultural independence. He purports that, instead of taking inspiration from the abundance and freedom of the New World to create "uma civilização harmônica e própria, só brasileira, só do Brasil... com viçosa e pura originalidade"⁵ (98), it had chosen to cobble together a collage "com velhos pedaços da Europa, levados pelo paquete e arrumados à pressa"⁶ (Ibid). Resulting in a confusion of place, identity, and intent on self-determination, his irritation ingenuously captured in the phrase "o Brasil é ainda uma colônia— uma colônia do Boulevard"⁷ (100). Queirós's letter makes starkly clear his awareness of Nabuco's prominent presence in the restoration movement, directly barraging his aristocratic bearing, his anglophilism, and mocking his tendency to serve as 'doctor':

A sua expressão mais completa está nesse[s]...
homens inteligentes, instruídos, polidos, afáveis...que

3. "My impression is that the Brazilians, from the Emperor to the worker, are bent on undoing and, therefore, ruining Brazil."

4. "this Jacobite-positivist Republic"

5. "A harmonious and proper civilization, only Brazilian, only of Brazil... with luscious and pure originality"

6. "With old pieces of Europe, carried by the pack and assembled in a hurry"

7. "Brazil is still a colony—a colony of the *Boulevard*."

em todas as questões públicas nunca consultava as necessidades da Nação, mas folheava com ansiedade os livros, a procurar o que, em casos vagamente parecidos, Guizot fizera em França, Pitt na Inglaterra.⁸ (Ibid)

The solution, finally, is to return to nature, not necessarily through a reversion to primitivism, but an incentivizing of “um viver frugal e são; ideias claras e simples e uma grande quietação de alma; desconhecimento das falsas vaidades”⁹ (99)—more in line with the writings of Thoreau and the North American Transcendentalists. Nabuco and Queirós find agree on the appeal of a monarch as head of state, although the latter goes further in explicitly listing the prerequisites. He underscores that “o novo Imperador ou Rei seja um moço forte, são, de bom parecer, bem brasileiro, que ame a natureza e deteste o livro”¹⁰ (Queirós, 100). It is thereby implicit that the monarchy need not be hereditary and might even be more effective otherwise. Its premise is predicated upon a variation of meritocratic rule as first conceived by Plato, in which conformity to lineage is not as relevant as competence for the job and the duties of the ruler *to his people*—not viceversa.

Despite the letter’s candid, explosive, and much-requested charge against all factions of Brazilian politics, not to forget Queirós’s imaginative brilliance, an assortment of problems pertaining to strategy, feasibility, and accuracy immediately stand out. For all that Queirós’s tropical Eden entails, the author neglected to prescribe a methodology for its implementation. Questions

8. “Its most complete expression is in these intelligent, educated, polite, affable men... who in all public affairs never consulted the needs of the Nation, but leafed anxiously through books, seeking what, in vaguely similar cases, Guizot had done in France, Pitt in England.”

9. “a frugal and healthy life; clear and simple ideas and a great quiescence of soul; ignorance of false vanities”

10. “the new Emperor or King is a strong guy, healthy, of good opinion, very Brazilian, who loves nature and detests books.”

about persuading millions of minds, massive class restructuring, considerations about interacting with different demographics, for instance, elicit skepticism and are probably unsurmountable. Hence, Queirós's plan-without-plan is reduced to another fantasy of the out-of-touch ivory tower scholar (ironic after his long haranguing of Nabuco). If one is to be slightly sympathetic, the work's sheer iconoclastic value merits its own standard and serves as a model for every political provocateur. It also evinces authentic passion for remedying the evils of a world so much more complicated than once construed.

The final figure to be held under scrutiny amounts to an aside in comparison to the first two, for his literariness was not borne out of profession but circumstance, an opportunity to review his career only at its very end. Afonso Celso, better known as Viscount of Ouro Preto, was the last Prime Minister of the Empire. In that role, he devoted himself so wholly to imperial affairs that once deposed of rank and respect, he found his life's meaning as eroded as Brazil's national identity. To address this unease, he wrote *Advento da ditadura militar no Brasil*, a glance into the operation of the imperial machine, as well as a moving testimony to the monarchical cause. Celso refused to blame the Empire itself for the monarchy's fall, ascribing it to ambivalence between "a conservação e o progresso" (Celso 1891, 23).¹¹ He dedicates the rest of the paragraph to the various achievements of the Empire, tracing its challenging beginnings in "um país atrasado e pouco populoso"¹² to inciting a socioeconomic revolution of its own and transforming Brazil into a "grande e forte nacionalidade, primeira potência sul americana, considerada e respeitada em todo o mundo civilizado"¹³ (Ibid).

11. "conservatism and progress"

12. "a backward and sparsely populated country"

13. "Great and strong nationality, the first South American power, considered and respected throughout the civilized world"

Framed within the still-problematic discourse of civilizing shared by his contemporaries, Celso's argument is unique for not being a proposal relying on facts, figures, or even logic, but rather a plea whose emotional appeal is compelling nonetheless. It is a *tour-de-force*, evocative on a level not possible in the previous two sources, as Nabuco was hindered by his exclusive perspective and Queirós by scale. In the pervasiveness of Celso's emotion throughout the memoir, his trustworthiness as a witness to the monarchy's excellence rings true, his faith made all the more impressively. Again, it is of the utmost importance to evaluate Celso's account in the context of his exile, only a rung lower to the tragedy that became the royal family's sojourn in Europe, and his near-desperation to be welcomed once more into his country's political heart. Complementing these impassioned tracts with equally persuasive speeches given at parliament sessions is thus only logical. To quote from one notable exhortation:

Viva a monarquia! forma de governo que a imensa maioria da nação abraça e a única que pode fazer a sua felicidade e a sua grandeza...(Entusiásticos aplausos da Câmara e das galerias abafam por momentos a voz do orador).¹⁴ (Celso 222)

The speech format fulfills a tripartite function of affirming Celso's loyalty to the Crown in case of its restoration, defining himself in conjunction to its praise, and painting an image of rapport and satisfaction in the government. I therefore selected 'realist' as Celso's archetypal epithet, for beneath the endearing, yet superficial patriotism, the text reveals a subtle pragmatism—appropriate for a person of such precarious standing as a viscount in a republican whirlwind.

14. "Long live the monarchy! The form of government that the vast majority of the nation embraces and the only one that can make its happiness and its greatness... (Enthusiastic applause from the assembly and galleries at times muffle the voice of the speaker)"

Remarkable in its approach, the evolution of the restoration movement remains significant to historical study due to its lasting contribution to anti-republican sentiments within the political system and society. It also defines the factors that led to the rise of Getúlio Vargas, General Castello Branco, and their respective military juntas while also advancing an explanation for their approval—at least initially. These permanent shifts in Brazilian thought happened irrespective of monarchism's eventual fall into obscurity, propelled —as was its fall from power—by time.

After hurdling over resistance both physical and in the media, the republican government gradually accomplished the two goals that would cement its legitimacy: “to adapt the country to the exigencies of international capitalism and to strengthen federal and state power in order to neutralize the opposition” (Lourdes 236). Despite the movement's promises, it is difficult to conclude whether a restored monarchy would have been flexible enough to adapt to a market rapidly reorganizing itself to such realities as the encroaching hegemony of the United States over the Southern Hemisphere, means of production no longer dependent on slave labor but increasingly specialized factories, and a slowing of trade in raw agricultural exports that World War I would stop nearly overnight. Furthermore, even if public pressure for a republic was minimal at best, it would be implausible that once the people were ‘exposed’ to a government that held them as citizens and constituents they would want to return to the status of subjects whose rights were predicated upon wealth. Yet this is also doubtful and an exaggeration of how much actually changed, for under the republican regime suffrage was only true on paper and for a select few, excluding the homeless, women, priests, and the military.

In retrospect, fractures and divisions weakened both parties, a “climate in which the monarchist faction could have operated” (Lourdes 229), but did not do so prudently enough and with

adequate support from the apathetic majority. Instead, “the monarchists anchored themselves in issues that were by their nature ephemeral” (240), rendering their advocacy ephemeral as well. If this explanation is deemed cynical, one need not venture further than the polls for Brazil’s past general elections and recent impeachment, each one illustrating drastic reversals and re-reversals in the public’s preference—ideological affiliation, it seems, has gone by the wayside since the 19th Century. If just one lesson is to be learned, let it be that individuals must figure out their own *jeitinho* to stay in the game—and no, an op-ed will not suffice.

Works Cited

De Queirós, Eça. *A Correspondência de Fradique Mendes*. 2010. http://figaro.fis.uc.pt/queiros/obras/Fradique/Fradique_20100820.pdf.

Lourdes, Maria De, and Monaco Janotti. “The Monarchist Response to the Beginnings of the Brazilian Republic.” *The Americas* 48, no. 02 (1991): 223-43.

Newcomb, Robert Patrick. *Counterposing Nossa and Nuestra América: Brazil in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century Intellectual Construction of Latin America*. Providence: Brown University, 2008.

Ouro Preto, Affonso Celso de Assis Figueiredo. *Advento da ditadura militar no Brasil*. Paris: Imprimerie F. Pichon, 1891.

Weinstein, Barbara. “Not the Republic of their Dreams: Historical Obstacles to Political and Social Democracy in Brazil.” *Latin American Research Review* 29, no. 2 (1994): 262.



Spanish Urban and Suburban Space in Contemporary Cultural Production: A Lefebvrian Investigation

Campbell Knobloch

Spain experienced a massive infrastructure and housing boom during the two decades leading up to the 2008 financial crisis. Despite being only the 30th most populous country in the world with 47 million citizens, its recent infrastructural endeavors rivaled those of the most populated countries. In 1992, the year Barcelona hosted the Summer Olympics, Spain inaugurated its first high-speed train between Madrid and Seville. Since, the high-speed networks have expanded rapidly, now traversing just over 2,000 kilometers, or 1,200 miles. In December of 2010, Spain surpassed France as the European country with the most high-speed railways (Minder). Now, Spain has the second largest railway system in the world; China's system is currently first (Chislett). From 1999-2009, Spain undertook the largest road construction enterprise Europe had ever seen, adding over 5,000 kilometers of highways. The country constructed airports as well, and now has an impressive 43 international airports (Minder). Not only did Spain expand its transport systems, but the nation underwent a housing boom as well. The decade leading up to the 2008 crash, Spain built more houses than the United Kingdom, France, and Germany combined (Paumgarten). Construction made up 13% of the Spanish economy. These houses and developments, built at an incredible speed, remain uninhabited in the wake of the crisis. As Paumgarten explains,

The country is now a museum of doomed developments
—a white-elephant safari. Vacant villas and towers glut the

coasts and ring cities and towns. The hundred-mile drive along the Costa del Sol, from Málaga to Tarifa, suggests a fireless apocalypse—abandoned housing estates and apartment blocks, golf-links Serengetis, acres of asphalt going to seed. New state-of-the-art airports near Valencia and Madrid are surrendering to weeds.

Highways in disuse and disrepair, roads leading nowhere, and unfinished housing developments cut through what was once countryside and groves, now swollen with the omnipresent traffic circle (Frayer).

These newly constructed spaces in Spain, whether they be rural roads, suburban streets, housing developments, or traffic circles, much of which have been abandoned midway through construction or remain in disuse, endure in the Spanish landscape as both a result of and a testament to the late capitalist, or neoliberal, valuation of space and its potential for use. Contemporary Spanish literature and photography confront and portray the capitalist construction that conceptualizes these spaces as an exchange-value. The project, *Nación Rotonda*, was started by Spanish civil engineers and for the past years has been capturing aerial images of these tracts which have undergone significant transformation during the construction boom, displaying the before and after images side by side. Contemporary Spanish fiction also addresses the neoliberalist use of space. Elvira Navarro's 2014 novel *La trabajadora* describes these spaces by exploring both central and suburban neighborhoods in Madrid (in this article, I follow Christina MacSweeney's English translation of the novel). Additionally, the narrator's roommate, Susana, creates her own maps of the city, deconstructing and reorganizing real maps so that neighborhoods are transposed and monuments unrecognizable. Through Susana's art project, *La trabajadora* formulates an entirely alternative representation of space within its narration that already tackles this very issue. Also published in 2014, Mathias Énard's *Rue des voleurs*

follows the life of a young Moroccan man named Lakhdar (in this article, I follow Charlotte Madell's English translation of the novel). After emigrating to Spain, he eventually settles down in Barcelona, where he lives in a destitute neighborhood full of prostitutes, criminals, and beggars. His descriptions of life in this new city shed light on the organization of capitalist, urban environments. Examining the work of Nación Rotonda, along with *La trabajadora* and *Rue des voleurs*, I will explore how these late capitalist spaces are represented in contemporary Spanish cultural production, whether that be activist imagery or literature. Following a Lefebvrian approach to capitalist space, complemented by theories of crisis from Janet Roitman and Annie McClanahan, I will analyze the visual and novelistic renderings of constructed spaces and the legacy they leave on both the Spanish landscape and the Spanish psyche.

Henri Lefebvre, a French 20th-century Marxist philosopher and sociologist, introduced prolific ideas regarding capitalistic productions of urban space and the resulting alienation in modern everyday life. Following the Marxian tenet of modernization and the rise of capitalism in the 1800s, "Lefebvre privileges the 1800s as the moment when exchange-value begins to trump use-value" (Fraser 16). That is, during the late 1800s, while microeconomics becomes the dominant form of analyzing social and economic interactions, objects cease to be valued for utility. There was a shift from cardinal utility (absolute measurement) to ordinal utility (relative measurement). Objects are no longer seen by the literal services they offer people. Instead, objects and crucially space, as Lefebvre emphasizes, are understood as a means to gaining capital. They are valued by their worth in a largely naturalized market, in which space, which is importantly perceived as commercialized and commodified real estate, gains worth beyond its use-value. When reflecting on our pricing system, Annie McClanahan posits that it evolved without design, fracturing and reforming into random aggregates. It is

dynamic, she says, always changing—"an occasion," decided by arrivals and killed by departures (McClanahan).

In *Anti-Crisis*, Janet Roitman expands on this idea in light of the 2008 recession, which was largely caused by a collapse of the housing and construction market. When discussing the narratives resulting from the 2008 crisis, she writes that they "all attempt to document a differential between the 'real economy,' on the one hand, and a 'fictive' or 'overvalued' state of affairs, which is seemingly immaterial, on the other... What we need, or hoped for, is a return to what might be deemed real values—to true prices, to underlying fundamentals, to material production" (43). The overvaluation of houses, in which due to late capitalism, or neoliberalism, houses were no longer priced for their use-value but for something "immaterial," was a leading cause of the 2008 financial recession. Critics agree, positing that "made vivid by the immediate shock as well as the long tail of the 2009-2009 finance-capital meltdown, these [destabilizing effects of neoliberalism] are also underscored by the routinely widening discrepancies between the fates of Wall Street and the so-called 'real' economy" (Brown 30). That is, houses were built not for their utility, but for their potential for capital. Their fictive value exists in neoliberal valuation, whereas their real value exists in the physical and material world. As the capitalization of urban spaces increases, so does the value of selling space and place.

Capitalism has moved beyond just a market of objects and products, such as houses, however; it has infiltrated the social. This is because late "'capitalism represents the perfection of a system of alienation that pervades all aspects of life. Alienation is the distancing of subjects from the world, from themselves, and from others around them'" (Rob Shields qtd. in Fraser 24). In her recent work, Annie McClanahan agrees, emphasizing the role that microeconomics has played in the financialization of

our lives and the subsequent growing sense of alienation. She posits that beginning in the 1870s, a new economic theory has dominated our social and financial interactions. According to this dogma, now called microeconomics, the field of economics must be understood through the desires and motivators of the individual. McClanahan coins this as a “hedonic calculus,” in which the personal and intangible is abstracted and grasped through a rather mathematical and unsentimental field. Microeconomic theory promoted the notion that every decision made and action executed is inherently solitary. She is quick to point out that individualism to this extreme does not hold. Because every interaction, whether economic or social, must innately involve multiple parties, this focus on individualism is not the cause of a growing sentiment of alienation throughout the 20th century. Instead, it is the fact that the social is no longer extricable from the financial that causes such isolation. Janet Roitman develops this even further, noting that “we have been colonized by finance itself: financial transactions dominate our lives, we evaluate everyday situations in terms of risk and return, and finance has become both a site of discipline and the means by which we hope to resolve life contingencies” (56). Critics of neoliberalism are of the same mind, stating that the “neoliberal rationality disseminates the *model of the market* to all domains and activities—even where money is not an issue—and configures human beings exhaustively as market actors, always, only, and everywhere as *homo oeconomicus*” (Brown 31). Due to late capitalism, the “homo oeconomicus” is no longer able to remove the social or cultural from the financial, but rather conceives everything as a financial transaction.

McClanahan believes that modern alienation is reflected in recent novels. She suggests that the current narrative in the urban novel exhibits increased loneliness and alienation, produced by an advanced urban global capitalism. The modern novel, she claims, focuses on such a specific point of view that little of

society on a city-wide level can be gleaned. The novel is treated with methodological individualism, or the presumption that social phenomena can only be explained through reference to the intentional states that motivate individual actors. Here, there is no such thing as society, and only individual actions are merit interpretation. As economist Friedrich Hayek writes in his 1940s collection of essays titled *Individualism and Economic Order*, “it is not only impossible to recognize, but meaningless to speak of, a mind different from our own” (66). Recent literature, according to McClanahan, follows Hayek’s logic to such an extreme that only one individual’s motivators and actions are explored. Authors make little to no efforts to explicitly convey societal-level phenomena, but rather only focus on the individual. No attempt is made to interpret actions other than our own because, following the logic of Hayek, no mind other than our own is intelligible.

Late capitalism has commodified space, and it is hence viewed as something static, empty, waiting to be filled; rather than a dynamic, ever-changing organism (Richardson 11). Lefebvre suggests that capitalism has survived throughout the 20th century by producing and occupying space. The stance that space is an empty container to be filled requires the notion of a hypothetical “purity”—a ground zero relative to human existence and production on Earth. Lefebvre argues against this capitalistic understanding of space as something static. Rather, he believes that space is dynamic. Our ideas of the city and the urban environment govern its refashioning, which then governs our notions about this transformation. This is where urban planners fail: while they plan cities from a neoliberalist mindset in which things are rooted and static, Lefebvre understands the city as fluid. Detailing Lefebvrian theory, Spanish anthropologist Manuel Delgado Ruiz writes:

The functional and sociological idiosyncrasy of urban space is not—it cannot be—preestablished in the plan, it cannot

respond mechanically to the vectors and points of attraction prefigured by designers, given that it results from an immense and immensely varied number of movements and shifting occupations, many of which are unforeseeable, that give rise to the mobile maps without edges. (qtd. in Fraser 32)

Here, Delgado makes the crucial distinction between the capitalistic representation of space, in which the urbanist understands the city as a conglomerate of static structures that occupy an otherwise empty space, in contrast to the functioning of the space itself, which is a living creature.

Lefebvrian philosophy ultimately, advocates that capitalist construction of urban spaces suffers from valuation for exchange rather than use because of the end goal of accruing more and more capital. This has led to a fictive market, in which the immaterial is somehow given a distinct value. This difference between the real market and the fake played a major role in the Spanish great recession of 2008, in which houses and infrastructure were built for exchange in the fictive market rather than for utility in the real market. Capital, he argues, has also financialized our social lives, resulting in a growing sense of alienation of the individual. This individuality in microeconomics parallels the methodological individualism found in the narration of the contemporary novel. Neoliberalism persists through occupying spaces which were previously perceived as “empty,” creating a stagnant notion of urbanism. Using these three central tenets—(1) that capitalism promotes exchange-value over use-value, (2) that capitalism has resulted in the alienation of the individual, and (3) that capitalism conceptualizes space as something static—I will examine how recently urbanized space is represented in contemporary Spanish cultural production, especially in images intended for activism and first-person narrative fiction.

Nación Rotonda is the brainchild of Spanish civil engineers, created in response to the construction boom and subsequent recession after 2008, as an activist effort to warn future generations of civil engineers of the dangers of relentless late capitalist construction. The name refers to the obsession with the traffic circle, or roundabout, during this time period. The editors, who edit this site as a side project, put together before and after aerial satellite images of Spanish spaces, which were transformed during the construction boom and have since remained largely unused or abandoned. They allow viewers to post their reactions and also to submit suggestions for new places to photograph and share. The site is entirely not-for-profit. These pictures raise questions, such as:

- (1) Why were these spaces transformed at all?
- (2) Why were these specific structures, especially the roundabout, built in the first place?

In his book, *Constructing Spain: The Re-imagination of Space and Place in Fiction and Film*, Nathan Richardson advances two theories for why these spaces were, as he says, destructed for creation. The first is that construction is a means to capital. He writes that “the drive for urban change in the modern era was driven by a logic that gave top priority to the accumulation of wealth. Space and place were, above all, money” (12). His second theory expands upon the idea that alienation in the modern world results from the increased financialization of our lives. He claims that space and place have become specialized under capitalism. Modern urban centers distinguish between a place to eat, a place to worship, a place to work, a place to exercise, etc. Consequently, urbanites experience increasingly isolated and solitary acts. He claims:

Despite such negative consequences, the modern citizen typically embraces such places and their consequences because, in keeping with the logic of an urbanized

conscious, the promise of abundance is always to be found just one more creative-destruction away. The search for more, for escape from the very force driving the search, pushes a never-ending creative destruction of space and an ever-greater loss of a sense of place. (15)

While these spaces are constructed in an attempt to accrue ever more capital, they also manifest citizen frustrations with the isolation and alienation that capital creates. One of the founders of Nación Rotonda, Miguel Álvarez, gave a TED Talk in Madrid in September 2013 to present the project. These roundabouts, he noted in the talk, do not accommodate people. They only function for cars, (Álvarez). There are neither sidewalks nor bike lanes, he continued, just unmarked pavement to be dominated by the car. Critics have recently noted that “people, the heart and soul of the traditional Spanish city, are often entirely absent from the streets of the new Spanish suburbia” (Richardson 14). This reflects a shift in late capitalist production of space in which it is only meant to be utilized by the machine. This mechanization of everyday life is rooted in the industrial revolution, where the human producer becomes a cog in the machine. Work becomes isolating, even alienating, as man becomes inextricable from the machine. Now, in modern Spanish suburbia, man cannot exist without the machine.

The roundabout is utilized in modern urban planning for many reasons, such as increased safety and efficiency. However, photos published by Nación Rotonda (see Fig. 1) showcase an additional feature of roundabouts, which makes them particularly convenient for the rapid, stop-and-go nature of the Spanish construction boom. Streets terminated with roundabouts do not end. Rather than dead ends, roads finishing with roundabouts essentially transform into cul-de-sacs. This innovation proved crucial to late capitalist production in Spanish construction leading up to the 2008 crisis. Here, roundabouts essentially function as connectors

between streets. If there are sufficient time, money, and resources, more streets can be attached and the development can continue. On the other hand, if construction companies run out of time, money, or resources, the development can stand on its own as a completed project. There are no roads that lead to nowhere or terminate with dead ends. In this way, roads are like Lego blocks to be added and retracted at the whim of the constructor. No master plan needs to be followed in order to create an objectively functional development. This absence of specificity and foresight in planning results from late capitalist urban planning which views developed spaces as groups of static structures, which can be written in and scratched out with no regard for how the city exists as a living creature.



Fig. 1 - *Nación Rotonda*, 2015.
Cariñena, Zaragoza / August 2012 / 1,40 km.

This image displays the add-as-you-please nature of the Spanish construction boom, which allowed for poorly planned and financed building.

It is important to note that while Lefebvrian thought would support *Nación Rotonda's* critique of Spain's recent extravagant and ultimately unnecessary neoliberalist production of space, it would perhaps take issue with how the project realizes the critique. As previously explained, Lefebvre views space and urban centers

as organisms that grow and change and are subject to constant dynamism. Lefebvre writes that “time is known and actualized in space, becoming a social reality by virtue of spatial practice. Similarly, space is known only in and through time” (Lefebvre 219). If these images are only snapshots of one particular moment, what are we to make of Nación Rotonda? By reducing a living creature to a two-dimensional immobile image, which in this instance is treated more like a data point, observers are able to privilege static space over temporal experience and ultimately reduce the urban space to a commodity. These data points, whether alone or in a temporally linear sequence, do not give the viewer a complete picture of what is actually happening because, as Lefebvre would argue, these images are employed in an attempt to convey an ever-changing space that can only be truly understood through experience.

In contrast with photographs, first-person narrative, such as in *La trabajadora* and *Rue des voleurs*, can perhaps deliver a more vivid, dynamic, and genuine view of the contemporary Spanish city. This continuous description of a life lived in the city illuminates the more organismic essence of the urban experience that Lefebvre highlights. In *La trabajadora*, the alienation experienced by modern urbanites manifests itself in elements such as isolating social media use, a lack of genuine friendships, and the social organization of the city itself. This novel exemplifies Lefebvre’s notion of the planned city versus the real city through descriptions of squatting communities and general chaos. *Rue des voleurs* also portrays this concept of the real, lived neighborhood, despite municipal efforts to revitalize and commodify it. Moreover, it exemplifies the reciprocal nature of capitalist influence—how man shapes the city and, in return, how the city shapes man. It is important to note that *Rue des voleurs* takes place in Morocco, then in transit, and ends in Barcelona, meaning that much less of the narrative is applicable to this article that investigates Spanish cities. Therefore, the rest of the article will focus considerably more on *La trabajadora*.

In 2014 Elvira Navarro, a Spanish writer from a younger generation of novelists who experienced the high unemployment rates following the 2008 recession, published the novel *La trabajadora*, which narrates a young Spanish woman's struggle with mental illness in the wake of the financial crisis in Madrid. The protagonist, Elisa, is forced to move from her central, urban neighborhood to a shared, suburban apartment. She lives with a roommate from the Netherlands named Susana. Central to the novel are themes of alienation and the chaotic experience of an urbanite in a poorly planned and maintained city. These feelings of isolation and the continual existence in a failed environment are key to Elisa's mental health travails. Additionally, Susana spends her free time making maps of the city, taking already printed ones and reorganizing the elements until neighborhoods are totally transposed and monuments are rendered unrecognizable.

Throughout the novel, Elisa experiences a heightened sense of alienation. It is typical to hear her narrate situations like the following: "everything left to be done the following days only reminded me of how alone and frustrated I was. My anxiety levels then rose a sufficient number of notches to make free time undesirable" (106). While these feelings are of note, one could argue that alienation along with feelings of loneliness, frustration, and anxiety are common to all human experience, independent of the temporal and geographical setting. Therefore, it is imperative to place these feelings in the context of the neoliberalist city. When describing her search for a job, Elisa explains that, "I was losing my inhibitions about working in a call center if it would offer me a steady income, and mean I didn't have to spend my days alone in the apartment. I said all this with a degree of dread because—when I thought about it—the idea of a daily commute and obligatory relationships with colleagues made me anxious" (74). When going for a walk at night in the city, she bemoans that

“...at times the sense of being lost was complete. The undulating streets were misleading...” (82). From these passages, we begin to glean that it is the capitalistic production of space that causes these feelings of alienation and anxiety. The ceaseless and confusing streets that would have to be traversed to arrive at the job, never mind that the job interests Elisa for its monetary benefit rather than a productive end, cause feelings of being completely lost, both in terms of identity and location. Similar to recent critics’ observations, the suburban streets are not compatible with walking (Richardson and Nacion Rotonda). Even the thought of a daily commute through the city makes Elisa queasy. In fact, it is in response to seeing a local bike shop on the street permanently closed that Elisa has her most intense panic attack. As Richardson explains, “Marc Augé, honing in on similar changes throughout the Western world, describes these sites [capitalist productions of space] as ‘nonplaces,’ anti-anthropological spaces anathema to meaningful social relations, surrendered to solitary individuality, and to fleeting, temporary and ephemeral change” (14). Walking the streets of Madrid and being constantly confronted with the growing number of “nonplaces”, which work in contrary to sincere social interactions, only serve to alienate Elisa from place and from people. These narrations confirm Lefebvre’s theory of increased experienced alienation of the modern urbanite due to late capitalist valuation and use of space.

In addition to Elisa’s feelings of loneliness, she notices that Susana suffers from the same sensations, although these manifest themselves in her relationships with other people in the city. Soon after Susana moves in to Elisa’s apartment, the latter comments that, “When I overheard her talking with her *friends* on the telephone, I realized there was no real friendship in the conversations, no intimacy between herself and the people with whom she spoke—just as she did with me—about movies, concerts, or exhibitions. It was as if they were new friends, or mere

acquaintances" (56). This inability to effectively connect with other humans, an indicator of social alienation, is visible in Susana's mannerisms as well. Elisa explains that, "As always, Susana spoke very quickly, with gestures so exaggerated they lost all their communicative function, and allowed a glimpse of a particular state of mind that might have involved a degree of chaos, or insecurity, or both" (72-73). Susana's gesticulations are, in their own right, a form of capitalism—grandiose and extravagant in order to accrue more capital or, in this case, social capital, such as a response from her audience. Her exaggerated mannerisms function similarly to social media, in which rather than aiming for meaningful relations the social realm becomes financialized through likes, comments, and shares. In short, they are performative. Upon reflection, Elisa concludes that "[Susana] seemed to be looking for an equal, a home" (57). Susana's alienation presents itself as a loss of sense-of-belonging, which is displayed in her capitalistic and relatively un-substantive social interactions.

Another key element to Lefebvrian theory about post-industrialization city life is the notion that cities are lived and experienced, and do not exist as the static spaces urbanists plan and design them to be. When discussing this tenet, Fraser writes, "This metaphor of the city as a 'living creature' highlights the contradiction between the reality of the urban as moving, living processes and the urbanist's view of the city as a group of static structures that occupy an otherwise empty space" (15). This idea is evident in Elisa's descriptions of the neighborhood of squatters, who occupy a previously abandoned area and have refashioned it for their use. When she stumbles upon this community during a nightly run, she narrates,

The seventies subsidized housing projects alternated with low-rise houses ... On one of those houses, some planks had been nailed across the door. It was a typical example

of a building that had been closed up for years, and I would have continued to believe that was the case if a pot-bellied cat hadn't appeared in a crack of the slats ... When it disappeared, I noticed a light filtering through the slats. I bent down, peered through the crack, and saw a hallway and, further back, the shining orange bars of an electric heater, around which some feet were moving. The house was occupied, and the planks were there to disguise that fact. The following week, on a nearby street, I saw several houses that had been occupied in the same discreet way. (86-87)

In addition to not using the city spaces as the neoliberalist urban plans intended, the squatters in this self-constructed site have in some way escaped capitalist pressures placed on them by the state. These inhabitants do not pay taxes and they tap into already existing wires for their electricity. This lived chaos that does not adhere to the city's plans is a phenomenon of the capitalist production of space, which in its quest for obtaining more space and therefore more money, has failed to design spaces that reflect the "living creature" of the city. By aiming to accumulate more capital, the city's plans fail to reproduce and properly account for the fluid, nuanced essence of the city. The static, neoliberalist plans that Lefebvre criticizes for not being able to capture the lived city have in this instance created a space that has veered from its intended use. Not only have the plans floundered in use, but this passage also demonstrates how neoliberalism fails to legally house whole factions of the city's population. In this way, the plans have been unsuccessful on multiple levels.

Navarro employs another plot tool in order to better illustrate the condition of the city—Susana's map making. Susana cuts out very small pieces of maps or images of Madrid and then categorizes the elements to later reconstruct the city. When she remakes the maps, she ensures that monuments or anything else recognizable is left

unidentifiable. Her aim is “for the map to be just the same in terms of structure, but with all the various elements transposed” (91). She fetishizes the dirty work—she does not involve computers in the process in any way. Interestingly, despite Susana’s rejection of the mechanization of man and modern dependency on technology, the Madrid buildings are “all jumbled and reassembled with apparently machine-like precision” (146-47). Susana imitates the precision of a machine, and perhaps the mechanical nature of late capitalistic urban planning, but by doing so she herself is able to take control of that process from which man has been dehumanized and removed. With these maps, Susana is transforming the meaninglessness and senselessness of capitalist construction to intent and thought. When rearranging the chaotic and poorly-planned city, Susana is in a place of power and control not experienced by living in this space.

Susana invites Elisa to attempt to recognize any neighborhoods or elements of the city in her new maps. Elisa describes,

If I’d seen them hanging on the wall of a gallery, I would have gotten a whiff of a Spanish city, but couldn’t have put forward many hypotheses about them ... I examined the other maps with equal care; it was even more difficult to recognize anything. Susana appeared to have excluded the most obvious landmarks, such as the Gran Vía Building with the huge Schweppes advertisement, or La Cibeles. (147)

Here, Elisa explains that consumption-focused elements like a Schweppes advertisement is just as recognizable and monumental to the Madrid community as historical buildings and statues. Capitalism has infiltrated every facet of the city, to the point where advertisements have been transformed into cultural icons and monuments. Without elements like the Schweppes advertisement, it would be impossible to distinguish neighborhoods and

possibly even entire Spanish cities from one another. Contrary to conventional wisdom, which advocates that advertisements and billboards are intended to be replaceable, replicate-able, and universal, this narrative promotes the notion that they form an integral piece of a city's recognizable aesthetic. In this sense, they function more similarly to murals in that they are not only able to distinguish between neighborhoods, but are perhaps the only element in the undulating urban streets that is able to do so.

Though these maps are not meant to replicate the actual city, they do reflect the dirty, chaotic, corrupt reality of Madrid. Elisa says that these pieces are "encrypted and exhausting" (146) and realizes that they "hadn't sprung from Susana's head, but were replicating something present in the environment" (150). The inability to find one's orientation when looking at these maps reflects the common feeling of being lost. There is no sense of belonging or of community in these maps, highlighting the alienation so characteristic to the modern city.

Similar to Navarro's novel, *Rue des voleurs* by Mathias Énard explores the real city versus the planned city. This novel goes even further to highlight the reciprocal nature of influence between man and space. The book, also published in 2014, follows the life of a young Moroccan man named Lakhdar as he explores his national and religious identities. After struggling to find acceptance in his native and increasingly violent Morocco as well as searching for some illusive notion of escape, he travels to Spain and eventually finds himself living in Barcelona. There, he tutors students in Arabic while protests occupy the city. Eventually, his former best friend visits him from Morocco, having been transformed into a devout Muslim. Suspecting that the friend will commit some act of terrorism in Barcelona, Lakhdar kills him, perhaps out of fear and perhaps out of mercy.

The book gets its title from the Barcelona neighborhood that

Lakhdar inhabits—Rue des voleurs. He describes, “My street was one of the worst in the neighborhood, or one of the most picturesque if you like, it answered to the flowery name of Carrer Robadors, Rue des voleurs, a headache for the district’s town hall—a street of whores, of drug addicts, drunkards, of dropouts of all kinds who spent their days in this narrow citadel that smelled of urine, stale beer, tagine, and samosas.” (188). He goes on to explain that the city government has again and again attempted to revitalize the street, but it resists any renovation. For example, a new movie theater is built in the neighborhood slightly more south of Lakhdar’s street in an attempt to draw in the bourgeoisie residing to the north of the city. These well-off suburbanites, who “without the geographical-cultural initiative of the city, would never come down here [Lakhdar’s street]” (188), are meant to give the Rue des voleurs some culture. Following Lefebvre’s theory on the real city versus the planned city, the state hopes to improve this neighborhood with static plans. However, by failing to account for the current inhabitants and by viewing space only as an opportunity to accrue more capital rather than a living organism constantly in flux, the state has imposed an inapt, immobile plan. The plan falls flat and the street continues as it has. Cities do not evolve logically or mechanically, as a designer hopes they would. This neighborhood description highlights the inability of the Spanish government to reconcile the differences between their capitalist renderings of urban space with its actual existence as a “living creature.” As one might expect, the municipality builds a new movie theater, yet another industrialized and capitalist endeavor. This exemplifies the vicious cycle in which capital begets capital and design is meant to increase consumption. Moreover, movies are a rather solitary and individual experience, adding to the alienation of the citizens. This small passage in which Lakhdar describes his street brings to light the key elements to a capitalist city—the difference between the planned city and the lived city, the self-propagating cycle of capitalism, and increased alienation.

When describing his move to Barcelona, Lakhdar comments on the nature of cities and how they interact with their inhabitants. Here, Énard taps into the Lefebvrian notion of reciprocal influence between cities and citizens. He writes,

Cities can be tamed, or rather they tame us; they teach us how to behave, they make us lose, little by little, our foreign surface; they tear our outer yokel shell away from us, melt us into themselves, shake us in their image—very quickly, we abandon our way of walking, we stop looking in the air, we no longer hesitate when we enter a subway station, we have the right rhythm, we advance at the right pace...in the end Barcelona, London, or Paris train us like dogs. (187)

First, Lakhdar claims that cities can be tamed—this is a rather imperialist mindset, which gives rise to capitalist production of space. This theory is not only flattening, but it also works in contrary to Lefebvrian theory, which submits that cities cannot be tamed because of their ever-evolving, organismic nature. Late capitalist production of space is itself a failed attempt to tame space and place for profit. Then, he adds that cities also tame their inhabitants, referring to this notion that a city highly influences its dwellers, training them and their beliefs of what a city is. Recent critics agree, explaining that “Our mental ideas about the city influence its physical refashioning, which in turn influences our mental ideas and so on” (Fraser 8-9). Here, man has tamed the city into being a capitalist space, but that reinforces the very dominance of capitalism right back onto man. Neoliberalism is a vicious and isolating cycle that proposes itself as the solution to the problems it has produced. The solution to late capitalist alienation is always just one creative destruction away, as Richardson coined it.

Starting in the late 1800s, capitalism has created a fictive economy, in which exchange-value trumps use-value. This difference

between the real and fictive economies is both the driving force and downfall of the Spanish housing and construction boom, which crashed in 2008. The crisis abandoned developments half-finished and in disuse. In addition to houses being unoccupied, highways and roads are also left stranded with little exercise. In response to these new landscapes, portraying recently developed urban and suburban spaces lies at the heart of recent Spanish cultural production, which communicates the failures of neoliberalism and condemns its dominance over the social, the cultural, and the political. Collections of activist visuals, such as those seen in *Nación Rotonda*, and novels, including *La trabajadora*, and *Rue des voleurs* highlight the neoliberalist production of space in contemporary Spanish culture. More specifically, these sources feature and support Lefebvre's most central tenets—that capitalist space has increased feelings of alienation and that it also fails



to plan for a fluid, lived city and instead designs mechanical, pre-planned ones. Through this cultural production, it is made evident just how far late capitalism has financialized every facet of contemporary Spanish life, consuming the whole of the modern urbanite's experience from the banal to the fantastical.

Works Cited

- Álvarez, Miguel, *Nación Rotonda. Neo-ruins: The Real-estate Bubble in the Territory*. Youtube, uploaded by TEDxMadrid. 23 Sep 2015. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wAB11RPdc48>
- Álvarez, Miguel, Esteban García, Guillermo Trapiello, and Rafael Trapiello. *Nación Rotonda*. Madrid, 2015.
- Brown, Wendy. *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution*. Brooklyn, Zone Books, 2015.
- Chislett, William. "Spain leads the world market for infrastructure development." Fundación real instituto elcano. 11 May 2014. http://www.realinstitutoelcano.org/wps/portal/rielcano_en/contenido?WCM_GLOBAL_CONTEXT=/elcano/elcano_in/zonas_in/international+economy/ari52-2014-chislett-spain-leads-world-market-for-infrastructure-development. Accessed 12 May 2018.
- Énard, Mathias. *Street of Thieves*. Translated by Charlotte Mandell. Rochester: Open Letter Press, 2014.
- Fraser, Benjamin. *Henri Lefebvre and the Spanish Urban Experience: Reading the Mobile City*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011.

Frayer, Lauren. "From The Sky, A View of Spain's Boom and Bust." NPR. 6 June 2013. <https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2013/05/30/187322818/from-the-sky-a-view-of-spains-boom-and-bust>. Accessed 12 May 2018.

Hayek, F.A. *Individualism and Economic Order*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948.

Annie McClanahan, "Individualism and the Novel in the Age of Microeconomics," Department of English, Johns Hopkins University, February 22, 2018. Lecture.

Lefebvre, Henri. *A Production of Space*. Translated by Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, 1991.

Minder, Raphael. "Spain's Building Spree Leaves Some Airports and Roads Begging to Be Used." *The New York Times*. 24 June 2011. <https://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/25/business/global/25iht-transport25.html>. Accessed 12 May 2018.

Navarro, Elvira. *A Working Woman*. Translated by Christina MacSweeney. San Francisco: Two Lines Press, 2017.

Paumgarten, Nick. "The Hangover: The Euro Zone's Fourth-largest Economy has Become its Biggest Liability." *The New Yorker*. 25 Feb 2013. <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2013/02/25/the-hangover-2>. Accessed 12 May 2018.

Richardson, Nathan. *Constructing Spain: The Re-imagination of Space and Place in Fiction and Film, 1953-2003*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012.

Roitman, Janet. *Anti-Crisis*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2014.





Victoria Colón

The Afro-Brazilian Origins of Brazilian Cultural Icons

Olivia and Giovanna Sabini-Leite

The History of Favelas

Although the first recorded *favela* was established in 1897, informal settlements have long been part of Brazilian history. After Brazil abolished slavery in 1888, the last country in the Western hemisphere to do so, newly freed slaves settled down and began their lives anew in the mountainous outskirts of colonized cities. Uprisings and unemployment, however, led Afro-Brazilians to Rio de Janeiro, then the country's capital.

The history of *favela* begins in the final years of the nineteenth century, as Brazil transitioned from an empire under Dom Pedro I to a republic under Deodoro da Fonseca (Freire-Medeiros, 581). As the country continued to undergo dramatic political change, the 1897 *Guerra de Canudos* (War of Canudos) in Bahia broke out. The soldiers, who had recently gained their freedom from slavery, were promised payment for fighting in the war. Nonetheless, once they returned to Rio after quelling the rebellion, the government failed to pay the soldiers, and in defiance, they stayed. With no place to live, the soldiers settled on the centrally located Providência hill in Rio de Janeiro and renamed it *Morro da Favela* or Favela Hill (Cath). The term *favela* references the commonly found *favela* tree in the state of Bahia, whence the soldiers came.

In the twentieth century, the government's urban renovation of Rio de Janeiro's city center displaced the poor population that lived in low-income tenements. Like the soldiers from Canudos, the poor had

no place to live due to a lack of affordable housing, so they resorted to building their own shacks on the hills of Rio de Janeiro. By 1920, twenty six *favelas* occupied Rio's hills (Freire-Medeiros, 2008). The first official recognition of *favelas* by the government was not until 1937, forty years after the first *favela* emerged, marking the beginning of explicit *favela* policies. After the 1930 Revolution, Getúlio Vargas became president, and his industrialization attracted hundreds of migrants into the former capital. To curb migrants from living and forming *favelas*, *parques proletários*—"working-class housing areas designed with the aim of imposing discipline on former *favela* residents, turning them into 'adjusted' citizens"—were built (Freire-Medeiros, 581). Despite government efforts to curb them, *favelas* continued growing and were seen as "problem areas" that impeded urban planning and growth.

In Rio de Janeiro, topography is a key element in the social, cultural, and residential segregation of its citizens. The concept of Rio as a divided city "became a metaphor for perceived racial difference," linked to a historically colonial mindset (Costa, 67). While Rio de Janeiro was recognized as one of the first cities in the world to implement sewage systems and train lines in the late nineteenth century, what was not acknowledged was that "much of this [urbanization] was built on the backs of delayed abolition ... the entire territory [of Brazil] was owned and managed by *just twelve families*" (Williamson, 216; italicization ours). Today, the ownership of these large tracts of lands are still centralized and closely associated with elites.

By the mid twentieth century, the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IGBE) found that 7% of Rio de Janeiro's population lived in these "problem areas," proving that the division between the *asfalto* (urbanized, wealthy areas) and the *favelas* was a social problem in need of immediate reparation (Cath, 2012). Despite *favelas*' proximity to the *asfalto*, the municipal government made

no effort to extend sanitation, electricity, and other services to *favelas*. Instead, governmental policies extremely repressed their residents. Still, *favelas* continued to emerge and, by 1960, 147 *favelas* dotted Rio de Janeiro's hills (Freire-Medeiros, 581).

The military coup in 1964 brought even stricter policies regarding these communities. The removal of some 80 *favelas* in the wealthy "south zone" of Rio de Janeiro displaced families who depended on their closeness to the *asfalto* for work opportunities. Once evicted from their homes, they ended up living far away from the city in substandard housing complexes. Ultimately, lack of government funding for these housing facilities forced families to relocate to other *favelas* or start new ones. Much to the dismay of Rio de Janeiro's government, *favelas* persisted in the "south zone," near wealthy areas, such as Copacabana and Ipanema.

Later in the twentieth century, the government realized that *favelas* were immovable, and citizens discerned a new relationship between the *favelas* and the government. Removal policies ceased, anti *favela* police actions were restricted, and basic infrastructure was created. Since then, preservation and upgrading of *favelas* have been prolonged and unpredictable.

According to the 2000 census, 40% of Rio de Janeiro's population lives in a *favela* (Freire-Medeiros, 581). Urban geographer and architect Ney dos Santos Oliveira detailed the disproportionate number of black people in *favelas* in relation to their presence in Rio de Janeiro's population. Dos Santos Oliveira found that while 30% of people identified as Black in the overall population, 70% identified as such within *favelas*. Interestingly, while 70% of people identified as White in the overall population, 30% identified as such in *favelas*, illustrating the fact that those who self-identified as Black were not the majority in the city's population, yet they were in *favelas*. Nonetheless, "Oliveira's survey shows that even

within marginalized communities, blacks experience relative disadvantages vis-à-vis whites” (Costa, 64).

The segregation and marginalization of Afro-Brazilians within Rio de Janeiro’s population and their *favela* population is complex and multilayered. The criminalization of poverty and the exclusion of *favela* residents from the city’s social fabric by Rio de Janeiro’s elites repress their existence. Such prejudices and division exacerbate the gap between the *asfalto* and the *favelas*. As Theresa Williamson notes, “psychological damage of such a system must be contemplated” (218). This deeply embedded racial and social divide has led Afro-Brazilians to dismiss their identity, culture, and history. Some develop a poor self image and undervalue in their own communities, while resenting the elites’ sociocultural, economic, and political standing. This essay will address the anthropophagization of certain parts of Afro-Brazilian as inherently “Brazilian” while contesting the so-called criminal, inhuman, and negative misperceptions of Afro-Brazilian culture.

The Formation of Culture, Cultural Icons, and Anthropophagy

The formation of culture is one which anthropologists, like Nancy Jervis, affirm is based on geographic location (2-3). When a group of people lives near another, they begin to share ways to survive and how to adapt to the environment, eventually bringing them closer together through shared language and values. Jervis notes that a culture may become a civilization, but a civilization differs from culture in that it encompasses a more “advanced form of organized life” that includes economic, political, and military structures (3).

In our search to define the term “culture,” we found a range of definitions spanning from Raymond Williams’s “way of life” to “a

consortium of communication (or a bundle of messages) that a given people have in common” to the more general definition of culture as comprising “thoughts, behaviors, languages, customs, the things we produce and the methods we use to produce them” (Jervis, 2; MacDonald, 10; Williams qtd. in Shandler, 338). For our purposes, we define culture more broadly, and similarly to Jervis: it is the traditions, learned actions, goods, symbols, and beliefs that a society or a group of people acquire through communication, shared experiences, and history. Culture can also be adapted and adopted by other societies to create their “own” culture, an idea we discuss below.

Furthermore, within culture, there exist cultural icons. Icons are selected by members of a society to represent their culture and, thus, become markers of a specific culture. With the rise of globalization, icons can be used by its people and businesses to promote their country with different goals in mind. However, doing so taints the authenticity of icons (Motley and Henderson, 250). Cultural icons can become “perceived as a proxy for, or a close approximation to what is true or real,” erasing the history of and the origins of icons and transforming them into marketable commodities (Grayson and Martinec, 2004; Grayson and Shulman, qtd. in Motley and Henderson, 251). Such commodification happens when Brazil adopts Afro-Brazilian symbols as inherently “Brazilian” and modifies them into socially acceptable cultural expressions.

Tarsila do Amaral, the leader of the modernist movement in Brazil and a member of the Group of Five, developed the idea of anthropophagy, which comprised five Brazilian artists who significantly influenced the modern art movement in Brazil (Damian, 5). In the late 1920s, do Amaral began to incorporate into her paintings the increasingly surrealist techniques she encountered while traveling in Paris. One such painting was *Abaporu* (1928), which depicts a human figure with oversized feet

and legs and small head and shoulders against a light blue sky, a sun, and a cactus (do Amaral). The name *Abaporu* comes from the Tupi language and means “the man that eats people.” Given to Oswald de Andrade, a Brazilian poet and founder of the Brazilian modernist movement, on his birthday, *Abaporu* led de Andrade to write *Manifesto Antropófago* (1928). The *Manifesto* re-appropriates the word “cannibal” as a source of identity and strength against the conquering and powerful European colonizers (Damian, 5). By removing the negative aspect associated with cannibalism, de Andrade avers that the Brazilian people’s greatest strength is the appropriation of other cultures to create the Brazilian culture:

Antropofagia. Absorção do inimiga sacro. Para transformá-lo em totem ... Peste dos chamados povos cultos e christianisados, é contra ela [cultura] que estamos agindo. Antropófagos. (de Andrade)

Cannibalism. Absorption of the sacred enemy. To transform him into a totem ... We are acting against this plague of a supposedly cultured and Christianized peoples. Cannibals (de Andrade, trans. Barry, 43)

In light of de Andrade’s work, modernists “embraced a modernity produced by cultural consumption” that first included European goods, then everyday commercialized national cultures (Jáuregui, 24). Further, modernists looked toward indigenous culture and other ethnic cultures, like Afro-Brazilian traditions, to anthropophagize as part of the Brazilian culture and cultural icons. Modernism and the concept of anthropophagy declined after the rise of Getúlio Vargas in 1930, yet returned in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s through several works that now shape anthropophagy as cultural appropriation and link it to discussions of the post-colonial world (Jáuregui, 7).

Discussion of “Brazilian” Cultural Icons

In the context of this study, we have identified *carnaval*, *samba*, *funk carioca*, and the *favela* as cultural icons that Brazil and the rest of the world recognize as “Brazilian.” Yet, as we will show, these cultural icons come from the most marginalized group in Brazil—Afro-Brazilians and the *favela*.

I. Carnaval

A widely known and recognized spectacular show of “Brazilian-ness” is *carnaval*. Historically, groups of musicians paraded through the city of Rio de Janeiro, dancing and playing drums. This parade eventually evolved into *blocos* (literally, blocks) of samba schools that dress elaborately and samba through the streets of Rio.

The concept of a carnival was not originally African but European. It was brought to Brazil by the first European colonists who copied the baroque Venetian carnival (Oliven, 109-10). The elites deployed carnival to show off their wealth and power in a land that had not always been under their control. Carnival provided white elites the opportunity to disseminate European culture and religion while reasserting their dominance, at the same time, thereby reminding the indigenous and black peoples of the authority of the ruling elites. Around the same time, underprivileged Afro-Brazilians adopted a similar expression of carnival. Instead of wealth, Afro-Brazilians highlighted their sense of unity, lively spirit, and resiliency. Pushed to the margins by threatened elites, the *blocos de samba* found their place in the *favelas* of Rio de Janeiro among the marginalized Afro-Brazilians. Inadvertently, the elites precipitated the creation of *carnaval* as it is known today.

Although carnival is of Roman Catholic and European origin, *carnaval* is not. Since Afro-Brazilians constitute most, if not all, of

the favela population, African culture abounded in favelas. Afro-Brazilians imbued into the lower-class carnival African rhythms and religious traditions reminiscent of their ancestral homes (Oliven, 110). It was a celebration by the masses for the masses of the favelas. Consequently, carnival evolved into *carnaval*, an inherently Afro-Brazilian cultural expression.

As more *favelas* populated Rio's hillsides and as *carnaval* evolved in other large cities of Brazil, Brazil's view of *carnaval* shifted from one of "repression to outright support" (Fry, 51). Brazilian elites recognized the marketability of *carnaval* along with samba. The two rose in popularity at the same time because of their connection with each other: *carnaval* was the parade through the *favelas* and Rio de Janeiro while samba was the African influenced dance performed during *carnaval*.

By 1935, the Brazilian government legalized samba schools and took control of the Afro-Brazilian cultural expression. *Carnaval* and samba schools became a way to propagate other Brazilian national symbols and icons extravagantly, and to "stimulate popular affection" (Tinhorao; qtd. in Oliven, 111). *Carnaval* is a spectacular show "where races, creeds, classes and ideologies come together peacefully to the sound of the samba and of racial miscegenation" (Malta; qtd. in Oliven, 111). Tourists converged and still converge to Rio de Janeiro to participate in this show of Brazilian-ness. Samba schools rehearse all year long for the spectacular show and only allow the best dancers to perform. However, where once an unrestricted Afro-Brazilian expressed their culture through samba and *carnaval*, now an European-influenced ideal of the Brazilian woman dictates the appearance of samba dancers. These dancers must be neither too light, nor too dark, neither too big, nor too small, neither too modest, nor too vulgar (Barrionuevo, 2008). Preparing for *carnaval* has now become an Olympic sport in which the aspiring samba dancer must enroll in boot camps and undergo

plastic surgery to perfect the “look.” The whitewashing of samba (in order to make it more consumable) obscures the true origins of *carnaval* by dismissing the African influences and rejecting the Afro-Brazilian as an integral part of *carnaval*.

To further promote *carnaval* and its consumption, each state spends hundreds of thousands of *reais* on the many floats, decorations, and costumes. Unsurprisingly, many *favela* residents are behind the making of the costumes and floats. Favela residents, once the entirety of *carnaval*, are again pushed to the side and forced to do the unrecognized work. Not only has the Brazilian state and media re-appropriated *carnaval* into a commodity and tourist attraction but has successfully turned *carnaval* into a show of national identity.

II. Samba

One of Brazil's most well-known icons is samba, an inherently Afro-Brazilian form of expression that has also become a commodity. The word *samba* came from the Angolan word *mesemba*, which means a form of religious ritual used to call forth various gods (Oliveira Curi, 33). Just as music and dance were essential in calling forth the gods, so too do music and dance continue to be crucial to the full expression of samba. Constructed and practiced at a time when Afro-Brazilians struggled to define themselves under the repression of the elite in the nineteenth century, samba traveled from the state of Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Samba mixed with other genres of dance and became the world-known spectacular show of Brazilian culture. In 1928, Afro-Brazilians living in Estácio de Sá, a favela in Rio, founded the first *escola de samba* (school of samba), *Deixa Falar* (let them gossip) (Oliveira Curi, 2006: 33). The schools of samba provided an outlet for Afro-Brazilians not only to unite but to resist unyielding oppression.

Samba remained a largely Afro-Brazilian expression until the rise of radios and television in the early twentieth century, during which the Brazilian people realized its potential for commercialization. Soon, businessmen and producers hired dancers, like Carmen Miranda, to perform in films and TV shows, contributing to the national and international recognition of samba. What is important to note, however, is that Afro-Brazilians were not the ones performing. Instead, non-Afro-Brazilians appropriated samba into a marketable good by having “The Brazilian Bombshell” of Portuguese descent, Carmen Miranda, perform. Additionally, the rise in popularity of *carnaval* eased the restriction put on samba as a musical and dance form. Through *carnaval*, Brazilians recognized samba as a good that would attract tourists by placing samba at the heart of *carnaval* (Fry, 51). Throughout the years, Brazilians’ tendency to “regard traditional black Brazilian expression as a relic of the past, irrelevant to the more pressing concerns of modernity (and thus of internationalization), has deeply affected samba and other Brazilian art forms” (Galinsky, 120). Modern Brazilian society anthropophagized samba in such a way that the traditional “black” elements of the dance form have been eliminated for the dance to gain popularity or recognition (120). Indeed, the “subtle manipulation” by Brazilians turned samba from an expression of a small, marginalized group to an expression of the masses and a national icon (Fry, 52).

III. Funk Carioca

Born in the 1970s, after Brazilian DJs traveled to the U.S. to buy “black music,” *funk carioca* transformed into:

“a rich blend of prerecorded beats and diverse samples of everything from machine-gun fire and explosions to Afro-Brazilian beats and musical instruments, digitally enhanced voices, radio sound bites” (Sneed, 60).

For most of the 1970s and 1980s, *funk carioca* was only known in the favelas; the people of the *asfalto* did not dare associate themselves with funk, and thus, *favela* culture, due to its allusions to drugs and violence. The lyrics, the music, the dancing, and the outfits represented the low, uneducated class of Brazil: vulgar, poor, and unclean. By the mid-80s, however, funk slowly emerged into the *asfalto* culture by crossing the imaginary and psychological *asfalto-favela* boundary. The rise of digital media, CDs, and cassette recorders allowed for the wide distribution of and participation in funk music by people inside and outside the *favela*.

Paul Sneed writes that “funk music reflects a rich, creative culture in which MCs expressed pride in their local *favela* communities” (61). For the residents of the *favela*, baile funks symbolize resistance. Mano Teko, a *funkeiro* rights activist and president of APAFunk, states that “funk is an expression of the Afro-Brazilian struggle against oppression and for cultural rights” (Garcia). *Funkeiros*, or funk performers, challenge patriarchal and colonial structures, gender norms, and racial divides. For example, *funkeira* Valesca Popozuda “highlights the artificiality of fixed notions of gender expression” by having blonde hair and green eyes juxtaposed with a dark skin tone and a muscular body structure (Moreira, 176). Additionally, music groups (like AfroReggae) provide *favela* residents an escape from the challenges of everyday life. AfroReggae gives *favela* residents the ability to translate their feelings into language, art, and movements that have significance to them. In this way, they eschew the oppression and silence imposed on them by colonialism, racial democracy, and patriarchal structures within Brazilian society (Maddox, 473). Despite of all of the symbolic and literal resistance produced by *funk carioca*, however, Brazilian media strips away the history and social issues behind it.

In Brazilian society, funk played in the *favelas* is often criticized for its explicitly sexual dances moves, violent musical form, and its irresponsible culture. The media praises funk performances by white women because these representations of women are more accepted and desired; yet, the woman put forth by black women in their funk performances are seen as “improper” (Moreira, 176). Afro-Brazilian performers are shamed and denounced by the media as dirty and immoral. As with previous Afro-Brazilian symbols, Brazilians modify funk to fit with their notion of “acceptable” and reject the “unacceptable” aspects. Residents and tourists must now pay a fee to enter *baile funks*, while white performers adopt the musical style and insert their own representations of social norms. The elite thereby pursue businesses throughout the world inspired by funk. Funk has indeed become a national symbol of Brazil, especially of Rio de Janeiro. It is a commodified musical and dance style that has given rise to even more social issues of elitism and racial division, issues that the Brazilian public refuses to acknowledge.

IV. The Favela

In the article “Ghetto Fabulous,” Alex Bellos, like Erika Robb Larkins, writes about the commodification of the *favela* in the global world. “A gallery space turned into an ad-hoc Brazilian shanty, a favela” exists in London, UK, of all places (41). The bar *Favela Chic* has squawking parrots, remixes of folk songs, sandy floors, plastic coconut trees, *caipirinhas* (an alcoholic drink), and *feijoada* (a black bean stew with meat) that all reinterpret the *favela* as a place of enjoyment rather than violence (this time).

As *favelas* become globally known through media, reality tourism in Brazil rises in popularity. While the state of Rio wants to attract tourists who seek the natural beauty of Brazil, the commodification and widespread representation of *favelas* in video games and

toys has brought another type of tourists to Brazil: “thrill-seekers” who wish to go on “a safari” or a “kind of zoo” (Williams, 486). Thus, the *favela* is not only a place of marginality and perceived criminality but a place of objectification and exploitation. Profits gained enrich the organizers, not the *favela* residents. Yet organizers make no effort to ameliorate the sanitation, economic, or social conditions of the *favela*. Lastly, the tours appropriate *favelas* as places of enjoyment and observation, objectifying its inhabitants and rendering *favela* residents voiceless and powerless against the narratives perpetuated by misrepresentations.

Further, Raymond Williams writes that *favelas* are used by researchers and writers alike “according to the writer’s agenda and the target audience” (483). In some works, the *favela* is used in the singular form, eradicating the uniqueness of each *favela*. The *favela* is depicted as a completely different and separate world from the *asfalto*, creating a distinction of “us” and “them”—perpetuating their marginalized status. In other words, boundaries of fact and fiction are blurred so that, again, a misrepresented and illusory *favela* is broadcasted to the world through commodifying spaces, ideas, and people to a specific consumerist market.

Conclusion

Brazil’s anthropophagy of the socially acceptable aspects of Afro-Brazilian culture affirms the double standard in Brazilian society that adopts the “acceptable” and shuns the “unacceptable.” As *carnaval*, *samba*, *funk carioca*, and the *favela* became increasingly popular in the international and national scale, Brazil recognized the capital and attention to be gained from them. Brazil anthropophagized these symbols of Afro-Brazilian culture as naturally “Brazilian.” In doing so, however, Brazil distanced *carnaval*, *samba*, *funk carioca*, and the *favela* from their Afro-Brazilian and African origins by modifying them into socially

acceptable and consumable icons. This commodification allowed Brazilians to positively influence the international perception of Brazil as a diverse, spirited, and united country that has overcome racial segregation and conflict. Furthermore, the increased commercialization of *carnaval*, *samba*, *funk carioca*, and the *favela* in its entirety or with regard to certain components (e.g., the women in *carnaval*, the “look” of *favelas*) perpetuates the image of Brazil as a racial democracy. An incredibly idealistic and compelling narrative, racial democracy suggests that Brazil is free from racial prejudices and the oppressive, systematic structures that work against the Afro-Brazilian. As such, Brazil, Brazilian media, and Brazilian businesses consistently tailor commodities to fit with this racial democracy narrative to present Brazil as a sort of utopia, to generate money and increase tourism.

However, the racial democracy narrative naturally obscures the true nature of race relations. In focusing on Brazil’s external image, the government ignores the marginalized and underprivileged *favelas* from where these “Brazilian” symbols initially originated. The government and non-Afro-Brazilians spurn the Afro-Brazilian *favela* residents as dirty, immoral, and criminal. Brazilian society uses the *favela* residents’ criminality, marginality, and illegal status as an excuse to overlook the sanitation problems, structural violence, poverty, or lack of available resources within the *favelas*. Consequently, the anthropophagy and commodification of Afro-Brazilian symbols, coupled with the concealment and negation of the Afro-Brazilian history and the rejection of the “unacceptable” characteristics of Afro-Brazilian culture, create a vicious and destructive cycle that produces commodified Afro-Brazilian symbols as inherently “Brazilian” while rejecting and further marginalizing the Afro-Brazilian culture and people.

Recently, non-Afro-Brazilians have witnessed a reclaiming of Afro-Brazilian icons by Afro-Brazilians and a rise in the “reaffricanization”

of *carnaval*, especially in Bahia. While traditional percussion in *carnaval* continues to be “rooted in Afro-Brazilian religions, younger, more militant groups called *blocos afro* have emerged from predominantly black, working class neighborhoods of metropolitan Salvador” (Dunn, 13). The oldest *bloco afro* in Salvador, *Ilê Aiyê*, “established a racial policy which paralleled that of the exclusively white *trios elétricos* [, or party floats]” (Dunn, 14), denying entry to non-Afro-Brazilians during its first decade of existence. This reinforced their political message and desire to infuse *carnaval* with Pan-African consciousness in an attempt to address political and racial concerns within Brazil. While this movement also surged naturally through years of oppression, “the president of *Ilê Aiyê*, Antonio Carlos dos Santos, known as Vovoô, remembers: ‘we were influenced by what was going on with black Americans’ [in the 1960s and 1970s]” (Dunn, 14). The black American experience in the United States is often put at the forefront of all black experience, disregarding a respective country’s political and racial history. As such, future research could focus on the detrimental or beneficial impact that the “Black Movement” in the United States has on the “Black Movement” in Brazil and how the U.S. Black Movement forwards the “Brazilian Black Movement.”



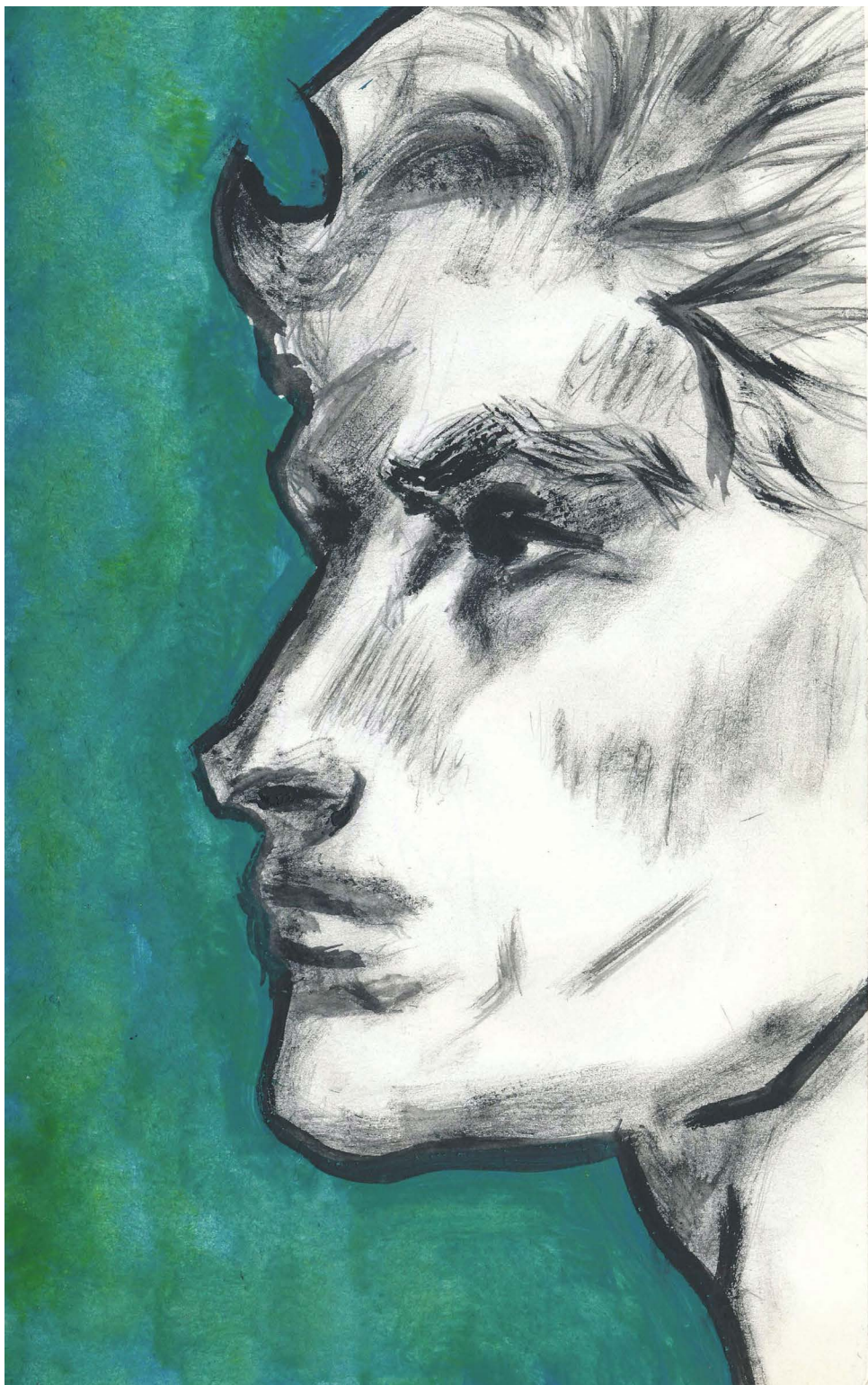
Victoria Colón

Works Cited

- de Andrade, Oswald. "Manifesto Antropófago - Edição Crítica e Comentada." *Periferia*, vol. 3, no. 1, 2011, doi:10.12957/periferia.2011.3407.
- de Andrade, Oswald, and Leslie Barry. "The Cannibalist Manifesto." *Latin American Literary Review*, vol. 19, no. 38, 1991, pp. 38–47.
- Amaral, Tarsila Do. *Abaporu*. 1928. Private Collection of Eduardo Constantini, Museo De Arte Latinoamericano De Buenos Aires, Buenos Aires, Argentina. In *MoMA: Tarsila Do Amaral: Inventing Modern Art in Brazil*. <https://www.moma.org/audio/playlist/48/735>.
- Barrionuevo, Alexei. "No Body Left Untoned Preparing for Carnival." *The New York Times*, The New York Times, 3 Feb. 2008, www.nytimes.com/2008/02/03/world/americas/03carnival.html.
- Bellos, Alex. "Ghetto Fabulous." *New Statesman*, New Statesman, 27 Feb. 2006, www.newstatesman.com/node/163816.
- Cath, Corinne. "On the Origin of 'Favela.'" *RioOnWatch*, Catalytic Communities, 12 Feb. 2012, www.rioonwatch.org/?p=2920.
- Costa Vargas, João H. "When a Favela Dared to Become a Gated Condominium: The Politics of Race and Urban Space in Rio De Janeiro." *Latin American Perspectives*, 4th ser., 33, no. 149, July 2006, pp. 49-81.
- Damian, Carol. "Tarsila Do Amaral: Art and Environmental Concerns of a Brazilian Modernist." *Woman's Art Journal*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1999, pp. 3–7., doi:10.2307/1358838.
- Dunn, Christopher. "Afro-Bahian Carnival: A Stage for Protest." *Afro-Hispanic Review*, vol. 11, no. 1/3, 1992, pp. 11–20.

- Freire-Medeiros, Bianca. "The Favela and Its Touristic Transits." *Geoforum*, vol. 40, no. 4, 2008, pp. 580–588., doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2008.10.007.
- Fry, Peter. "Feijoada e 'Soul Food': Notas Sobre a Manipulação De Símbolos Étnicos e Nacionais." *Para Inglês Ver – Identidade e Política Na Cultura Brasileira*, 1982, pp. 46–53.
- Galinsky, Philip. "Co-Option, Cultural Resistance, and Afro-Brazilian Identity: A History of the 'Pagode' Samba Movement in Rio De Janeiro." *Latin American Music Review / Revista De Música Latinoamericana*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1996, pp. 120–149., doi:10.2307/780347.
- García, Amaya. "What Is Funk Proibidão?" *Red Bull Music Academy Daily*, 26 Apr. 2017, daily.redbullmusicacademy.com/2017/04/what-is-funk-proibidao.
- Jáuregui, Carlos. "Anthropophagy." *Dictionary of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 2012, pp. 22–28.
- Jervis, Nancy. "What Is Culture?" *World's Community: What Is Culture?*, 2006.
- MacDonald, George F. "What Is Culture?" *The Journal of Museum Education*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1991, pp. 9–12.
- Maddox, John T. "AfroReggae: Antropofagia, Sublimation, and Intimate Revolt in the Favela." *Hispania*, vol. 97, no. 3, Sept. 2014, pp. 463–476., doi:10.1353/hpn.2014.0065.
- Moreira, Raquel. "'Now That I'm a Whore, Nobody Is Holding Me Back!': Women in Favela Funk and Embodied Politics." *Women's Studies in Communication*, vol. 40, no. 2, Mar. 2017, pp. 172–189., doi:10.1080/07491409.2017.1295121.
- Motley, Carol M., and Geraldine Rosa Henderson. "The Global Hip-Hop Diaspora: Understanding the Culture." *Journal of Business Research*, vol. 61, no. 3, 2008, pp. 243–253., doi:10.1016/j.jbusres.2007.06.020.

- Oliveira Curi, Guilherme, and Raquel Paiva. "A Cidade Que Não Cala: o Samba Da Pedra Do Sal e as Formas De Comunicação Contemporâneas Na Região Portuária Do Rio Janeiro." *Comunicação & Inovação*, vol. 17, no. 34, 2016, doi:10.13037/ci.vol17n34.3912.
- Oliven, Ruben George. "The Production and Consumption of Culture in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 11, no. 1, 1984, pp. 103–115.
- Shandler, Jeffrey. "What Is American Jewish Culture?" *The Columbia History of Jews and Judaism in America*, 2008, doi:10.7312/raph13222-014.
- Sneed, Paul. "Favela Utopias: The Bailes Funk in Rios Crisis of Social Exclusion and Violence." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2008, pp. 57–79., doi:10.1353/lar.0.0031.
- Williams, Claire. "Ghettourism and Voyeurism, or Challenging Stereotypes and Raising Consciousness? Literary and Non-Literary Forays into The Favelas of Rio De Janeiro." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 27, no. 4, 2008, pp. 483–500., doi:10.1111/j.1470-9856.2008.00280.x.
- Williamson, Theresa. "Rio's Favelas: The Power of Informal Urbanism." *Perspecta, The Yale Architectural Journal*, 2017, pp. 213–228., moodle.smith.edu/pluginfile.php/498294/mod_resource/content/0/Williamson in Perspecta 50- Rios Favelas, The Power of Informal Urbanism 2017.pdf.



María Laura Jijón



María Laura Jijón

Sutil, pero todavía poderoso: el feminismo oculto en *Volver*

Ashley Sohn

Este ensayo subraya la importancia de la tensión entre los aspectos patriarcales y los elementos feministas en la película *Volver* de Pedro Almodóvar. Los componentes patriarcales y los sufrimientos de los personajes femeninos son necesarios para proveer un fondo en cuyo contraste la personalidad fuerte y vibrante de la protagonista se destaca. Como lo describe Julián Daniel Gutiérrez-Albilla en *Aesthetics, Ethics, and Trauma in the Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar*, el film muestra la reverberación en el presente de los eventos traumáticos previos. El elemento feminista que quiero enfatizar es el hecho que la protagonista, Raimunda, manifiesta su fuerza mediante su personalidad proactiva y su respuesta a las heridas de su pasado para mejorar su presente y futuro. Pero al mismo tiempo, las escenas iniciales dan la impresión de ser una obra patriarcal debido a los ejemplos del sexismo y dominación masculina, creando la tensión antes mencionada que es tan importante. El tono feminista del filme está oculto y diluido por los elementos patriarcales, los cuales lo convierten en sutil e implícito. Almodóvar así invita al espectador a pensar en esta tensión y considerar si esta película puede calificarse como una obra feminista, en calidad de “feminist-forward” y no completamente feminista. Crea entonces una obra que se distingue de las películas feministas tradicionales y se marca como un pionero del nuevo género que llamaré “feminist-forward”.

Para empezar, es importante distinguir entre las películas patriarcales y feministas y, luego, definir el último género del “feminist-forward”. Tradicionalmente, el retrato de las mujeres

en el cine casi siempre funcionaba en torno al protagonista masculino para enfatizar el heroísmo, valor, o la virilidad del hombre (Thornham). Por ejemplo, algunos papeles comunes de las mujeres en las películas patriarcales son las de esposas, hijas, secretarias, ayudantes, o “damiselas en apuros”—los cuales son complementarios o relativos a los personajes masculinos para hacerles parecer más poderosos e impresionantes—. También, la mayoría de las películas deshumanizaban a la mujer por su atracción física y la retrataban como débil, sumisa, o pasiva para permitirle al hombre controlar y avanzar la historia (Smith 13). En este tipo de cine más tradicional, las mujeres no tenían papeles diversos o principales, y esas películas reforzaban los estereotipos de género; no es una sorpresa que los cineastas del periodo fueran predominantemente masculinos. Este tipo de película era común especialmente en España durante el régimen de Francisco Franco desde 1936 hasta 1975, cuando la ideología del Franquismo definió los papeles sociales de las mujeres estrictamente como madres y amas de casa (Davidson 2011: 404). Este periodo de represión y censura artística influyó sobre Pedro Almodóvar para que más tarde creara obras que se liberaran del cine tradicional y reflejaran los ideales que no pudieron ser expresados durante la dictadura. *Volver*, estrenada en 2006, es una de esas obras.

Junto con la segunda ola del movimiento feminista, en la segunda mitad del siglo XX, surgió la teoría del cine feminista. El cine feminista emplea “un método sociológico y una perspectiva política para perseguir la igualdad y la emancipación de las mujeres en el cine” (Smelik 1998: 8). Comienza entonces la creación de una nueva categoría de película que cambió la representación de las mujeres para reflejar los diversos roles que desempeñan en la realidad, en vez de los estereotipos que dictaban que las mujeres sólo debían ser madres y amas de casa. Su representación en el cine ya no está limitada a estar dentro del marco de las normas tradicionales de género; esto libera a

la espectadora femenina y le permite sentir una identificación auténtica con los personajes que ve en la pantalla. Además, este nuevo tipo de cine desplazó a los personajes masculinos del centro de atención. En una película feminista, la mujer figura en el centro del universo y los otros personajes existen en torno a ella, porque ella impulsa la trama hacia delante. Si el punto de vista de un hombre se cuela, la película volverá prontamente atrás al punto de vista de la mujer, para recordarle al espectador que la mujer es el enfoque (Haskell). El quid de una película feminista es empoderar a las mujeres al mostrar que son iguales a los hombres y, por ello, deben de ser representadas como tal.

Dicho esto, uno podría argumentar que *Volver* encaja perfectamente con esta definición. Es claro que Raimunda, la protagonista, es el centro de la película y que ella impulsa la trama; todos los otros personajes se relacionan a ella. Sin embargo, como Almodóvar también introduce elementos patriarcales, *Volver* no puede encajar perfectamente en ninguna de las dos categorías. Es verdad que los ejemplos de dominación masculina y sexismo son contradictorios con el tono general de feminismo, pero estos son necesarios justamente para crear tensión al ser mezclados con los elementos feministas. Por incorporar ambos aspectos conflictivos, el tono feminista se diluye y se torna sutil, pero todavía está presente y es suficientemente impresionante para que el espectador tome nota de ello. Almodóvar invita al espectador a reflejar sobre esta tensión y, al hacerlo, eventualmente lo guía en la dirección del pensamiento feminista. Esto es lo que define a la película como "feminist-forward". El espectador puede creer inicialmente que las mujeres en *Volver* son víctimas sometidas al sufrimiento y al deseo sexual de los hombres, pero a medida que avanza la historia, uno puede ver que Almodóvar quería colocar el enfoque en cómo ellas manejan sus traumas, no en los traumas y sufrimientos mismos. Específicamente, Raimunda muestra su capacidad de recuperación después de eventos traumáticos, a

través de la manera en la que ella responde con fuerza para estar en control de su propio destino. Ella no permite que sus traumas y sus recuerdos dolorosos la dominen, sino que se asegura de tomar control sobre estas experiencias. Al hacerlo, una mujer aparentemente ordinaria demuestra que es verdaderamente extraordinaria, lo cual sería una clara indicación de ser una película feminista. Pero, otra vez, lo que la hace ser “feminist-forward” y no completamente feminista es que Almodóvar hábilmente incorpora elementos patriarcales esporádicos a lo largo del desarrollo del personaje de Raimunda, para mantener la tensión que es clave en la película. Los elementos patriarcales impiden que la película pueda ser calificada como una obra completamente feminista; en cambio, figura en una categoría nueva: la de “feminist-forward”.

Antes de avanzar más en el análisis de este filme, es necesario proveer un breve resumen de la trama. Raimunda y su hermana, Sole, son dos mujeres que viven en España, que creen que sus padres habían muerto hace unos pocos años. Ahora, Raimunda vive con su esposo, Paco, y su hija adolescente, Paula. Después de una serie de eventos, Sole descubre que su madre había estado viva todo este tiempo, y que ha vuelto a reparar su relación rota con Raimunda, quien resintió a su madre por muchos años. Aún sin saber del regreso de su madre, Raimunda ya tiene suficientes problemas en sus manos —cuando vuelve a casa una noche, descubre que su hija ha matado a su esposo después de que él trató de violarla—. A partir de entonces, Raimunda debe averiguar cómo mantenerse a sí misma y a su hija, mientras que otras personas (como sus vecinos, su hermana, y eventualmente, su madre) dependen de su ayuda. Raimunda brilla como un personaje femenino imponente, apasionado, y carismático que supera las luchas que enfrenta. Por representar y manifestar las ideales y cualidades feministas, hace una contribución crítica a la tensión productiva entre el patriarcado y el feminismo en esta película. Es importante ahora examinar esta película con un lente patriarcal y

luego un lente feminista, para ver los dos lados y analizar la tensión creada por su combinación.

Mientras que los personajes masculinos no son el foco de la trama, todavía hay un número de elementos patriarcales, dispersos a lo largo de la progresión narrativa. El primer ejemplo introducido temprano en la película es cuando Raimunda vuelve a casa e inmediatamente va a la cocina para lavar los platos y cocinar la cena. Mientras tanto, Paco mira un partido de fútbol y bebe cerveza, interactuando de forma mínima con su esposa e hija. Es evidente aquí que ella es la ama de casa y la cuidadora de su hija. Esta exposición de dominación masculina dentro de la casa cumple con las normas de género tradicionales que el cine feminista intenta eliminar —Almodóvar está estableciendo el fondo patriarcal que precede la tensión—. También, Paco demuestra su deseo sexual, una característica de masculinidad patriarcal, con respecto a Raimunda y a su hija; Paco mira a su hija en secreto cuando está vistiéndose, y luego se acuesta con Raimunda y pide tener sexo. Es aquí donde un elemento feminista interrumpe lo patriarcal, cuando Raimunda inmediata y firmemente lo rechaza, le dice que la deje sola, y se aleja de él. Cuando Paco trata de violar a su hija, pensando que ella sería sumisa y débil (otro ejemplo de dominación masculina), ella demuestra que él está equivocado, en la manera más extrema posible, y lo asesina. Y para añadir a esta exposición de fuerza femenina, Raimunda responde a la noticia de este evento, no con preocupación ni con luto por su esposo, pero con la urgencia de limpiar la evidencia y proteger a su hija. La escena en la que ella se deshace del cadáver es una de las escenas más importantes e impresionantes de la película, porque Raimunda no muestra una onza de miedo de la sangre, ni consideración por el hecho de que él haya muerto. Raimunda se mueve rápidamente y sin dudar, asegurándose de no dejar atrás ninguna evidencia. El efecto de su comportamiento es que el espectador nota la tensión entre los elementos contrastantes,

y finalmente se centra en la respuesta de Raimunda al evento, y no el evento en sí ni las acciones inquietantes de Paco antes del desenlace. Es uno de los ejemplos más prominentes que muestra cómo Pedro Almodóvar utiliza la mezcla de elementos patriarcales con las fuertes respuestas feministas para cultivar una tensión. La secuencia de plantear un elemento patriarcal seguido de uno feminista, crea el efecto de guiar al espectador en la dirección del pensamiento feminista, y exponer la agresividad que hay dentro de los parámetros masculinos.

Hay más instancias en las que este motivo aparece con otros personajes masculinos, después de la muerte de Paco. Cada vez que un hombre trata de coquetear con Raimunda, ella inmediatamente lo detiene para dejar claro que no va a tolerar su comportamiento y cambia la conversación. Por ejemplo, su vecino le pregunta si ella pueda vigilar su restaurante mientras él está fuera de la ciudad, pero también comenta sobre su belleza y la mira de arriba abajo, **deshumanizándola** por su atracción física. Ella rápidamente lo rechaza y sigue con la pregunta de cuánto va a pagarle por vigilar a su restaurante, mostrando sus cualidades feministas. El vecino no es el único hombre en hacer esto; Raimunda es conocida por las miradas que atrae en el barrio, y por eso muchos hombres la codician. El hombre que trabaja en la ferretería mira su escote cuando ella está comprando suministros para el restaurante, entonces ella le da una mirada penetrante y él mira hacia otro lado. No hay ninguna instancia en la que ella acepta o corresponde a los gestos de los hombres. En consecuencia, lo importante en estas escenas es la respuesta de Raimunda hacia las acciones de los hombres y los comentarios sobre su belleza. Con sus respuestas firmes y autoritarias, ella se impone en igualdad de condiciones y muestra que no es una mujer sumisa o fácil. En todas sus interacciones con los hombres, ella domina la conversación y el hombre obedece. Otra vez, Almodóvar primero crea la tensión, pero finalmente le recuerda el

espectador de enfocarse en las cualidades feministas de Raimunda y no en las de los personajes masculinos, guiándolo hacia el pensamiento feminista.

La próxima porción de este ensayo va a enfocarse en aspectos más obviamente feministas de *Volver* que capturan la atención del espectador en medio de la tensión que los oculta. Una escena clave es cuando Raimunda y dos de sus vecinas transportan el congelador que contiene el cadáver de Paco desde el garaje al río. Así demuestran que las mujeres poseen la fuerza física, emocional y mental que les permite cumplir tareas difíciles. Luego, Raimunda cava un agujero en la tierra, sola, con apasionada determinación. Tiene sus brazos y cara sucios, pero no le importa, mostrando que las mujeres pueden hacer los trabajos laboriosos y ensuciarse, una característica que el cine patriarcal reserva para los hombres. Esta escena también representa la forma en la que ella maneja los problemas en su vida. Raimunda es una persona muy proactiva: cuando ve un problema, lo resuelve eficiente y hábilmente. Nunca se muestra como pasiva o débil. Gracias a esto, Raimunda es la fuente de fuerza para su hermana (Sole), su hija (Paula), y su madre. Por ejemplo, cuando Paula se siente culpable por matar a Paco, su madre le dice que no vale la pena sentarse a pensar en ello y que hay mejores cosas que hacer. Inmediatamente, Paula se levanta y le pregunta a su madre si hay algo con lo que puede ayudar. Cuando Raimunda siente que Sole está escondiendo algo, inmediatamente exige que le cuente lo que no está diciendo. La escena en la que Raimunda está cavando en el suelo sin dudar refleja su fuerza mental y determinación al lidiar con sus problemas. Con su personalidad proactiva, la protagonista de esta película representa la independencia y fuerza de las mujeres, una señal obvia de los ideales feministas.

Almodóvar también usa los aspectos visuales para crear la tensión entre lo patriarcal y el feminismo. Desde un punto de vista

patriarcal, él incluye los planos de Raimunda que muestran su escote cuando lleva una camisa reveladora, **deshumanizándola** otra vez como mujer. Normalmente, las instancias de **deshumanización** de las mujeres empoderan a los espectadores masculinos. Laura Mulvey dice que, en las películas tradicionales, el hombre es el protagonista que controla el filme y representa el poder; él nunca puede ser el sujeto de **deshumanización** sexual (Mulvey, 838). Además, la mujer es el objeto sexual tanto para los hombres en la película como para los espectadores y por eso, el espectador masculino puede identificarse con el protagonista masculino e indirectamente compartir el sentimiento de omnipotencia. Lo importante aquí es que la **deshumanización** de Raimunda en *Volver* no tiene este mismo efecto de empoderamiento en los espectadores masculinos porque a la película le falta un protagonista masculino con quien el espectador puede relacionarse. De hecho, todos los personajes principales en esta película son mujeres —Raimunda, Sole, su madre, y más— mientras que los personajes masculinos aparecen en papeles muy pequeños y menores. Por eso, el espectador no tiene una vía para sentir indirectamente la omnipotencia descrita por Mulvey y, en vez, siente la tensión. El contraste entre la **deshumanización** de Raimunda y la falta de un protagonista masculino crea una tensión que llama la atención del espectador. Con esta técnica sutil, Almodóvar invita a los espectadores, tanto masculinos como femeninos, a pensar en la tensión y ver el mensaje feminista oculto de la película.

En *Aesthetics, Ethics, and Trauma in the Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar* (2017), Julián Gutiérrez-Albilla discute cómo los eventos del pasado reverberan en nuestras percepciones, subjetividad, y psique en el presente. Gutiérrez-Albilla menciona la teoría psicoanalítica de Freud que opina que los traumas son desconocidos y externos al sujeto. La manera freudiana de tratar con ellos es a través del lenguaje, porque él creía que hablando

sobre los traumas, uno los hace avanzar hacia la mente consciente. Freud pediría a sus pacientes que hablaran lentamente sobre los traumas para que pudieran digerir lo que pasó y entender cómo les afecta en el presente. Al hacerlo, según Freud, el paciente puede curarse de los rastros de estos eventos. Gutiérrez-Albilla, sin embargo, argumenta que la imposibilidad de procesar los traumas es importante porque es una condición para realizar su potencial transformador ético y político (49). El presente apunta a las sombras del pasado, y los rastros de los traumas no deben ser eliminados completamente porque pueden ser productivos en el presente y el futuro. En esta manera, las temporalidades del pasado, presente, y futuro no son completamente discretas; ellas interactúan y se entremezclan dentro de nuestra psique y juntas afectan nuestras percepciones en el presente. Podemos aprender de los eventos del pasado y usarlos para cambiar nuestro presente y futuro. *Volver* nos muestra la manera compleja de resolver los traumas al regresar al pasado doloroso desde el presente —la confrontación activa con el pasado que Raimunda practica. Es un proceso diferente de lo que propuso Freud en el sentido de que es un proceso más subjetivo e individualizado que su teoría. Una persona puede tratar con sus traumas proactiva o pasivamente; por ejemplo, puede olvidarlas, ignorarlas, abrazarlas, o, en el caso de Raimunda, puede utilizarlas para cambiar su futuro. Aunque su vida había sido moldeada por eventos traumáticos desde una edad temprana, ella demuestra una personalidad vibrante y proactiva en sus respuestas a los traumas. Ella no exhibe nostalgia, que sería ver al pasado desde el presente en una manera que separa las dos y evita cualquier mezcla. La nostalgia es un acto pasivo. Raimunda no toma este enfoque cuando los fantasmas de sus traumas vuelven a su presente; ella confronta a sus traumas de frente, con una determinación inquebrantable, y esto es mostrado en sus acciones. Es importante también enfatizar que sus traumas no son pequeños o menores. En su adolescencia, su padre la violó y quedó en cinta. Una vez adulta, su esposo trató de hacer

lo mismo con su hija. Su madre sabía lo que hizo el padre pero no hizo nada al respecto, y Raimunda lo sabe. A pesar de esto, ella todavía tiene una relación con su madre y se esmera por lograr un futuro mejor para ambas. Raimunda no permite que el trauma la controle o que defina su futuro. Es posible pensar en ella como una víctima, dada intensidad de sus traumas, pero Almodóvar pone el énfasis en su respuesta proactiva a las dificultades, en vez de en las dificultades en mismas, para mostrar su fuerza y establecer un mensaje feminista sutil.

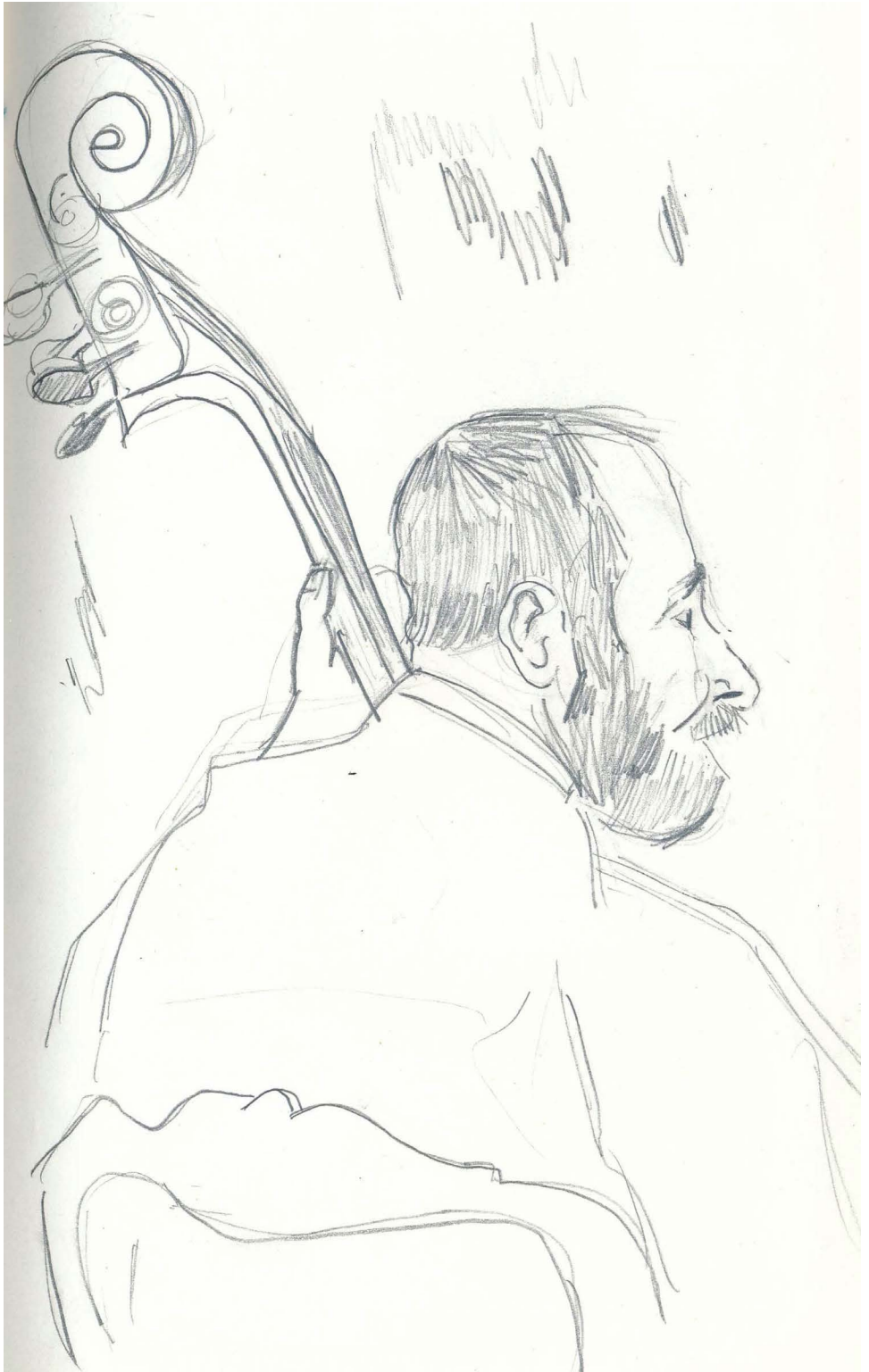
Este ensayo reitera el argumento de Gutiérrez-Albilla de que Pedro Almodóvar utiliza la respuesta proactiva a los traumas de Raimunda para establecer un tono feminista, mientras también incorpora los elementos patriarcales, creando la tensión que marca a una película "feminist-forward." La manera en que la protagonista maneja con gracia y soltura todo lo que se le arroja deja una impresión en el espectador que lo apunta en la dirección del pensamiento feminista. El espectador inicialmente nota las instancias de dominación masculina y sexismo pero, al ver la impresionante respuesta de Raimunda, se da cuenta de que hay una tensión aquí sobre la que vale la pena reflexionar. Finalmente, la fuerza de la protagonista domina sobre los elementos patriarcales y guía al espectador al pensamiento feminista. La sutileza del mensaje feminista en una película "feminist-forward" puede ser realmente más efectiva para abordar las normas de género en el espectador que una película que es obvia y abiertamente feminista. Cuando el espectador es consciente de que una película tiene como objetivo transmitir el feminismo, es más fácil para él rechazarla. Sin embargo, una obra como *Volver* no tiene este efecto porque Almodóvar enmascara el mensaje feminista con los elementos patriarcales que satisfacen las normas de género en las que algunos espectadores pueden creer. El espectador no es arrojado al feminismo, pero es guiado hacia el pensamiento feminista, lo cual

precede el desarrollo de los ideales feministas. Es un proceso más moderado y largo, pero igual de eficaz para cambiar el punto de vista sobre las mujeres y el feminismo. La película *Volver* de Pedro Almodóvar demuestra que los eventos del pasado nunca son irrelevantes. Más específicamente, los traumas **visitan** el presente y puede presentarse en muchas formas: psicológica, física, emocionalmente, y más. Pero algo que muchas personas pueden ignorar es que este filme también tiene un tono feminista sutil. Está escondido debajo de la trama intensa y los elementos patriarcales, pero todavía está presente poderosamente. La mezcla entre el tono feminista y los componentes patriarcales crea la tensión que cautiva al espectador y le invita al pensamiento feminista. Dada la combinación de las dos ideologías en la misma obra, tiene más sentido clasificar *Volver* como "feminist-forward" y no como abiertamente feminista. Aunque los eventos del abuso sexual y dominación masculina en esta película pueden hacer que parezca patriarcal, Almodóvar logra eludirlo y, en lugar, hace que las respuestas de la protagonista sean el foco de la película. Así permite que el espectador reflexione si es una película feminista o no y le guía en la dirección del pensamiento feminista. Al crear un género nuevo del cine, que no encaja en ninguna de las dos categorías, Pedro Almodóvar se ha establecido como un pionero de las películas "feminist-forward"; él añade una nueva dimensión al cine que utiliza la sutilidad y la hace en algo poderoso.



Obras Citadas

- Davidson, Jessica. "Women, Fascism and Work in Francoist Spain: The Law for Political, Professional and Labour Rights." *Gender & History*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2011, pp. 401-414.
- Gutiérrez-Albilla, Julián Daniel. *Aesthetics, Ethics, and Truma in the Cinema of Pedro Almodóvar*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2017.
- Haskell, Molly. *From Reverence to Rape: The Treatment of Women in the Movies* (second edition). Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 1974. pp. 153-188.
- Mulvey, Laura. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema." *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*. Eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999: 833-44.
- Smelik, Anneke. *And the Mirror Cracked: Feminist Cinema and Film Theory*. St. Martin's Press, 1998.
- Smith, Sharon. "The Image of Women in Film: Some Suggestions for Future Research." *Women and Film*, Vol. 1, 1972, pp. 13-21.
- Thornham, Sue. *Feminist Film Theory: A Reader*. Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Volver*. Directed by Pedro Almodóvar. El Deseo, 2006.



María Laura Jijón



