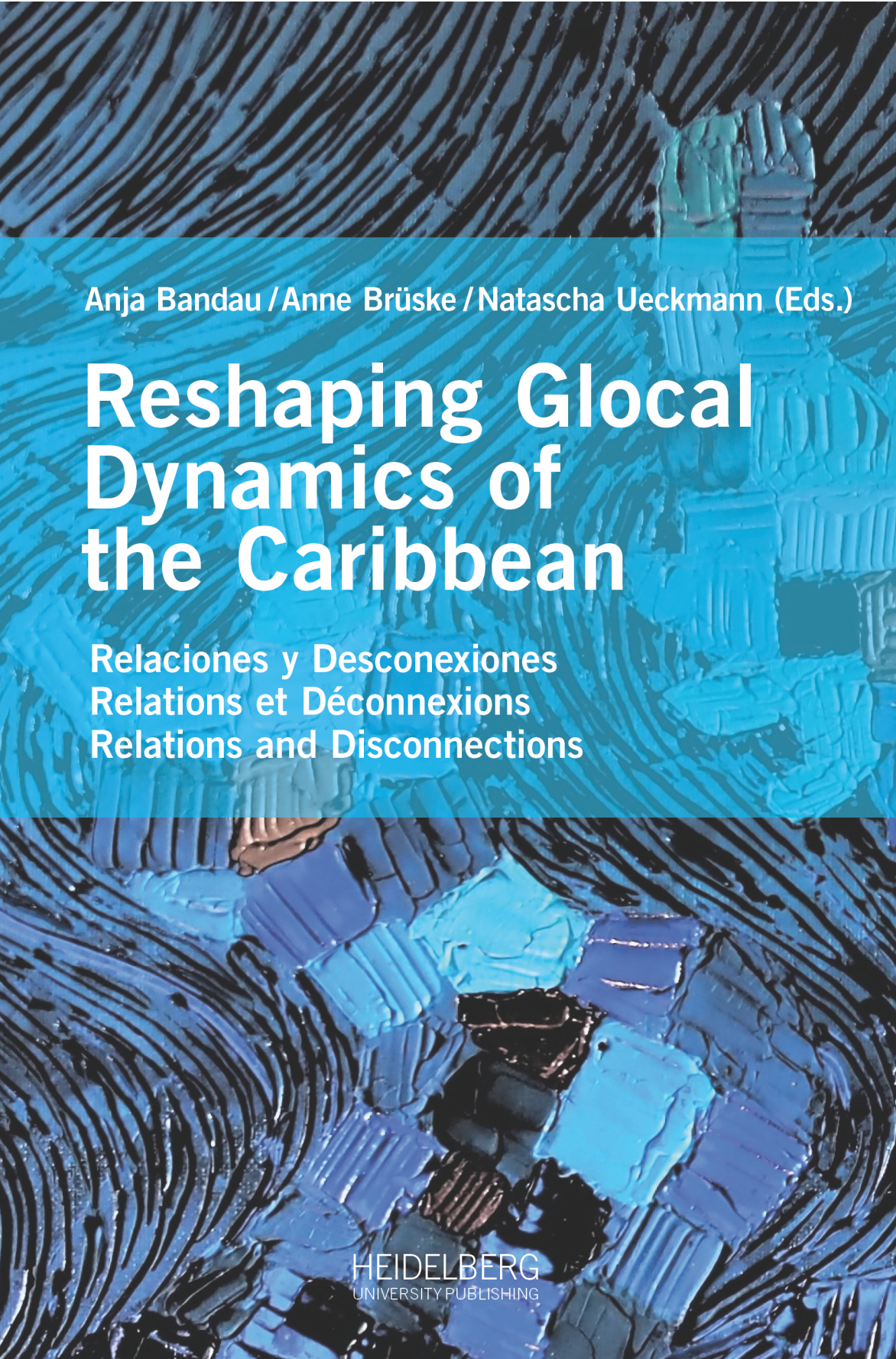

Anja Bandau / Anne Brüske / Natascha Ueckmann (Eds.)

Reshaping Glocal Dynamics of the Caribbean

Relaciones y Desconexiones
Relations et Déconnexions
Relations and Disconnections

HEIDELBERG
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Anja Bandau, Anne Brüske and Natascha Ueckmann

Introduction – Reshaping Glocal Dynamics of the Caribbean

1 Relations and Disconnections

> Deities were entering the field. What we generally call "Indian music" was blaring from the open platformed shed from which the epic would be narrated. Costumed actors were arriving. Princes and gods, I supposed. What an unfortunate confession! "Gods, I suppose" is the shrug that embodies our African and Asian diasporas. I had often thought of but never seen *Ramleela,* and had never seen this theatre, an open field, with village children as warriors, princes, and gods. I had no idea what the epic story was […], yet I had recently adapted the *Odyssey* for a theatre in England, presuming that the audience knew the trials of Odysseus, […] while nobody in Trinidad knew any more than I did about Rama, Kali, Shiva, Vishnu, apart from the Indians, a phrase I use pervertedly because that is the kind of remark you can still hear in Trinidad: "apart from the Indians."
> (Derek Walcott: *Nobel Lecture,* 1992)

> aquí al fondo danzan concejales –
> ahogados todos del Caribe
> emisarios
> de las naciones del pasaje intermedio:
> delegados de Costa de Marfil,
> ciboneyes todavía suicidándose en rituales de mar
> disidentes de Trujillo, de Batista, Duvalier
> (Mayra Santos Febres: *Boat People,* 2005, 47)

> […] la tentative d'approcher une réalité tant de fois occultée ne s'ordonne pas tout de suite autour d'une série de clarté. Nous réclamons le droit à l'opacité. […] l'élan des peuples néantisés qui opposent aujourd'hui à l'universel de la transparence, imposé par l'Occident, une multiplicité sourde du Divers. […] L'intention en ce travail fut d'accumuler à tous les niveaux. L'accumulation est la technique la plus appropriée de dévoilement d'une réalité qui elle-même s'éparpille.
> (Edouard Glissant: *Le discours antillais*, 1997 [1981], 14–17)

Derek Walcott's famous Nobel Prize acceptance speech "The Antilles: Fragments of Epic Memory" from 1992 not only points to the "fragmented memory" of the Antilles and the role that art plays within this "shattered history" marked

by deep scars but glued by love (Walcott 1992). It also highlights the hierarchization of memories and cultures, the highly ideologized relations and disconnections, continuities and ruptures that characterize the region in the realms of politics, society, culture, and the arts until the present. The originally dismissive remarks "Gods, I suppose" and "apart from the Indians", which Walcott reproduces self-critically, reflect on his own position while observing the staging of an East Indian epos in rural Trinidad. They also allude to the phenomenon of ethnopolitization, common in Trinidad but especially virulent in the Republic of Guyana, where citizens of Afro-Caribbean and Indo-Caribbean descent affront each other politically.[1] Walcott's famous metaphor of the "shattered vase" from the same text (cf. Walcott 1992) not only refers to the present Caribbean as a multi-facetted, multiethnic, and multilingual region influenced by diverging colonial histories; it also applies to the difficult recollection of a fragmented and discontinuous history. Due to its, in parts, irretrievable history of forceful displacement, colonial violence, Afro-Caribbean slavery, and Indo-Caribbean indentureship, some pieces of the historical puzzle will always be lost. There are, however, manifold attempts to fill this void. Resourceful historians read the perpetrators' archives against the grain in order to reconstruct the victims' voices (cf. Geggus 2002; Scott 2012; Zeuske 2015). In addition, the arts, fiction and poetry in particular, keep alive, restore, and re-create the memory of the Middle Passage as well as the crossing of the Kala Pani along with their consequences. In *Boat People* (2005), Afro-Puerto-Rican poetess and writer Mayra Santos Febres points to the diversity of the Middle Passage's victims and its parallelisms with other victims of the Caribbean Sea – such as exiles fleeing Haitian or Dominican dictatorial regimes, discrimination, and famines. In her multi-facetted novel *Fe en disfraz* (2009), she attempts to reconstruct a feminocentric, pan-Afro-Caribbean history of slavery from the perspective of female slaves and their descendants.[2] Following the lead of historical slave narratives and adding fictional Latin American sources, the text builds bridges between the present and the past as well as within and between the Caribbean region and its diasporas.[3]

1 It is only since 2015 that a multi-ethnic, multi-party alliance, APNU-AFC (A Partnership for National Union and Alliance for Change), administrates the country after decades of ethnopolitical scission between the 'Indian party' PPP (People's Progressive Party) and the 'African party,' PNC (People's National Congress), and the period of political violence during the rule of Forbes Burnham.

2 For an analysis cf. the contribution of Adriana López-Labourdette in this volume or Brüske 2018.

3 Similarly, Indo-Caribbean writers like Trinidad-born authors Lakshmi Persaud and Ramabai Espinet or Martinican Camille Moutoussamy intend to recover the lost or often

In a similar vein, Edouard Glissant suggests that Caribbean history and art feature an aesthetics of repetition which organizes the cyclonic and opaque history of the Antilles. He refers to the specific constitution of a fractured history by repetition, variation, and accumulation. It is through these techniques that we can approach the region's discontinuous "non-histoire" (Glissant 1997: 263). The experience of rupture, this "encuentro catastrófico" of the 'discovery' (Ortega/Rodríguez Juliá 1991: 156), the Middle Passage, and the enslavement have led to a fiction marked by frequent changes of perspective, ellipses, and an oftentimes pronouncedly ambivalent style of narration. Fiction and artistic expression in general then have become tools suitable to affront historically experienced hardship and chaos as well as psychic and physical injuries.

As our reflections on the fragments of Derek Walcott's, Mayra Santos Febres', and Edouard Glissant's texts indicate, the interplay of relations and disconnections, cohesive and separating elements, lies at the core of an advanced understanding of contemporary Caribbean realities and academic or artistic interventions on 'the Caribbean.' Taking these issues seriously, in this publication we aim to shed light from an explicitly comparative, historical, and contemporary perspective both on the phenomena described by the concepts of "relation" (Glissant), "mangrove" (Condé), or "the repeating island" (Benítez Rojo) and on the experience of historical, political, social, cultural, linguistic, and artistic disconnections.[4] Therefore, the present volume proposes to remap and reshape both processes of circulation and non-circulation of ideas, people, and things[5] in and between the Caribbean as well as between the Caribbean and other regions from a multidisciplinary and multilingual view, taking also into account the different places of knowledge production in Caribbean Studies. This approach seems appropriate if we consider the complex picture of Caribbean societies and their diasporas sketched out in the citations above but more importantly so in the manifold and highly dynamic contemporary constellations that describe Caribbean realities. Accordingly, we would like to stress the multiple ways in which the social, political, cultural, and academic dimensions of the transversal topics addressed in this book are interwoven:

shamefully hidden subaltern Indo-Caribbean heritage in their novels, for instance in Moutoussamy's work *Éclats d'Inde* (2003).

4 In her monography *Poetics of Relation. Caribbean Women Writing at the Millenium* (2012), Odile Ferly complements Glissant's relation by recurring to Condé's mangrove, thus promoting a conceptual shift from the single and masculinist root of the rhizome to the multi-rooted, life-bearing and interconnected space of the mangrove, more apt for studying also gender-related issues in the Caribbean and its literary production.

5 We refer to the more general notion of things here as opposed to "material goods," "commodities," or "artefacts" as already economically, socially, and culturally defined items.

academic and artistic approaches, arts and visual studies, environment and sustainability, migration and transnational networks, entangled histories and memories. Those topics are highly relevant to current Caribbean Studies, as they represent virulent issues for contemporary Caribbean societies and thus call for a thorough analysis of historical and contemporary social dynamics in the region.

While the previous examples of the Caribbean's shattered history, its theorization, and its aesthetization highlight the entanglements between theory, arts, and politics, the following cases in point shall illustrate further dynamic battlefields, especially in (academic) politics, urbanism, and ecological or social deprivation. For, however different the colonial heritage of the Caribbean Archipelago and the Circum-Caribbean and their cultural expressions may be, all nations and territories share the legacy of displacement and enslavement as a common historical experience, with highly diverging outputs concerning ethnic and linguistic composition, literacy rates, economic capacity, social inequality, and political orientation. When it comes to sovereignty, especially the French, French-based Creole, and Spanish-speaking territories diverge dramatically. Besides these complex trans/national constellations, post/colonial discontinuities also lead to processes of intellectual or political discontent, for which the scission of the Université des Antilles et de la Guyane (UAG) in 2014 (cf. Mencé-Caster in this volume) or the arduous negotiations towards a common Caribbean policy within CARICOM are but two recent examples.

Similarly, Haiti's and the 'West's' entangled and conflictual history, that is the various levels of relations and disconnections between the local and global are mirrored by the complicated process of reconstruction in post-earthquake Port-au-Prince in which the international community's omnipresent, inefficient, sometimes fraudulent interventions and the undemocratically elected government under President Martelly are subject to harsh criticism. Furthermore, human beings are increasingly exposed to precarious physical, economical, and (geo)political environments. Therefore, the Caribbean has seen a rise in social movements and local activism. *Liyannaj Kont Pwofitasyon* (literally: "Mouvement contre la surexploitation") in Guadeloupe in 2009 or *Pou la Gwiyann Dékolé* (literally: "Pour que la Guyane décolle") in French Guiana in 2017 have mobilized people in form of general strikes against increased costs of living and highlighted the importance of having access to the local and the regional decision making level in the Caribbean as well as to transatlantic politics. Also, distributional issues linked to environmental problems and deprivations, as discussed by Rivke Jaffe (2016) for Curaçao, or accessibility to renovated eco-housing as in Fort-de-France's former public housing project (*grand ensemble*) Bon Air quarter (cf. Bohle in this volume) play an important role here. Other issues are institutional racism, spatial apartheid of tourists and

locals, exclusion of locals from access to beaches and coastlines threatening possibilities of livelihood and recreation, and the increasing power of foreign investors.

Relations and disconnections as well as surprising blanks deeply mark the unequal, frequently entangled, or interrupted paths of reception and tradition-making in Caribbean literature, theory, and arts. The question of language is crucial here: On the level of concepts, regional models such as Michel-Rolph Trouillot's *Otherwise Modern* (2002), Nelson Maldonado-Torres' *Views from the Underside of Modernity* (2008), or Paul Gilroy's concept of a "Counterculture of Modernity" (1993) have had a supra-regional impact thanks to their place (USA or England) and language of publication.[6] By contrast, the recognition of theoretical texts originally written in French or Spanish is too often limited to their linguistic realm, which contributes to isolated lines of theorization. The politico-literary movements of francophone *Négritude* and hispanophone *Negrismo* are another case in point for various sets of relations and disconnections along language, gender, disciplinary, and political lines. Consider, for instance, the halting reception of Guyanese poet Léon-Gontran Damas, one of the co-founders of the *Négritude* movement in Paris as compared to fellow writers Aimé Césaire's and Léopold Sédar Senghor's. Until the 2010s, Damas' poetry has been largely ignored and disconnected from the original creation myth of *Négritude* for mainly ideological reasons (cf. Gyssels in this volume; Emina 2014; Rabaka 2015). As this example shows, an in-depth approach to this intellectual and artistic movement helps to reconstruct other specific intra-Caribbean and intermedial connections. In *Césaire & Lam: Insolites bâtisseurs* (2011), Daniel Maximin unravels how much Césaire's *Négritude* had been influenced by Cuban exile Wifredo Lam's visual art. For Maximin, the reason for this mutual attraction lies in the way in which both oeuvres seek to approach their African roots, leading to common artistic productions by Césaire and Lam.

In this sense, the movements of *Négritude* and *Negrismo* are also exemplary for the power of linguistic boundaries which hamper or impede the reception of theoretical, political, social, or artistic movements within the Caribbean region: *Négritude* and *Negrismo* evolved as two separate, yet in certain aspects similar movements, one tied to the Hispanic Caribbean, the other one to a wider African Francophonie. Similarly, in Hispano-Caribbean *Negrismo*, which has its starting point in the Caribbean itself, the fecund inter-

6 U.S. academic consideration or English translations often serve as relay-stations for knowledge production (cf. Bandau/Zapata Galindo 2011) while original translations from French to Spanish or Spanish to French are still rare. The translation project "Pensamiento caribeño" initiated by Adriana López-Labourdette intends to fill this gap.

play of different forms of arts is characteristic, especially in Nicolás Guillén's poetry and Afro-Cuban *son*.[7]

However, the in- and exclusion of individual actors of *Négritude* and *Negrismo* also follows specific configurations of gender and power relations. Think, for example, of the romanticizing and feminizing images of Africa in the works of *Négritude's* founding fathers (e.g. the trope of Mama Africa) or the gaping absence of *Négritude Women*, such as Jane, Andrée, and Paulette Nardal or Suzanne Césaire from editorial projects and academic discussions (Sharpley-Whiting 2002 and 2009).[8] The Martinican writer Suzanne Césaire – whose theoretical texts have not been re-edited until recently (2009) – develops a critical view on the relation between the 'old' and the 'new' world and the subsequent production of a glamourous "American society" at a price of extinguishing the original inhabitants of the Antilles and enslaving millions of Africans and Afro-descendants. *Negrismo* pioneer and Cuban anthropologist Lydia Cabrera's case lies a little different: Her crucial role in the recovery of Afro-Cuban heritage in Cuba has never been questioned by the field's specialists. It is outside anthropology and Cuban Studies that her contribution has been recognized only lately: Her publications on Afro-Cuban religion, songs, and proverbs (Cabrera 1936) were indeed a substantial source of inspiration for artists like Lam and they influenced Fernando Ortiz' subsequent conception of transculturation. Moreover, her swift translation of Césaire's *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal* (1939) granted an access for Spanish-speakers to this foundational piece of *Négritude*.[9]

Gender as a partial blind spot and a site of complex, often intersectionally motivated disconnections is, of course, not specific to *Négritude* or *Negrismo* but a larger structural problem in Caribbean writing and its national, regional, and international reception insofar as, seemingly, Caribbean women writers are readily excluded from national and/or international canons.[10] How many

7 So far, the research on the history of *Négritude* and the history of *Negrismo* have been undertaken separately. On the investigation on the connections between both movements and their consequences as well as effects on new notions of humanism see Feracho 2001; Ueckmann/Febel 2017.

8 Daniel Maximin (2009) published recently important texts of Suzanne Césaire entitled *Le Grand Camouflage. Écrits de dissidence* (1941/1945) and thus made them accessible for a broader readership. These texts were first published in the famous journal *Tropiques* (1941–1945).

9 On Cabrera's delayed and controverse reception cf. Garcia Vega 1993; Rodriguez Mangual 2004.

10 For instance, already in the 1950s, Mayotte Capécia's autobiography, *Je suis martiniquaise* (1948) was the target of Frantz Fanon's exacerbated criticism (cf. Cottias/Doby 2012).

Caribbean female intellectuals are as influential and widely received as Edouard Glissant, Antonio Benítez-Rojo, or Paul Gilroy? How many Caribbean women writers of fiction meet as much critical acclaim as V.S. Naipaul, José Lezama Lima, or Jacques Roumain?

Writing from exile or from the diaspora does not necessarily influence reception processes in entirely predictable ways either but heavily depends on political and historical constellations. On the one hand, US-Haitian and US-Dominican writers Edwidge Danticat and Junot Díaz, for instance, are too often perceived by their readers from the Global North as representatives of Haiti's and the Dominican Republic's literature and the respective country's spokespersons; and this despite the fact that, as diaspora artists, they are clearly part of the literary marketplace in the United States. On the other hand, their fiction, which because it is Anglophone and therefore highly visible in an international sphere, is looked upon with suspicion in Haiti or the Dominican Republic, countries with a dictatorial past in which exiles and exiled writers have been despised and denaturalized for political reasons. In other cases, writers from the region, such as Guyana Prize winner and Georgetown-based Ruel Johnson and others, have engaged in a critique (2012–2013) of their own Caribbean countries on behalf of their cultural politics and regional publishing policies that, according to Johnson, continue to favor diaspora over resident writers (cf. Laughlin/Johnson 2008; Braithwaite 2013; Dabydeen 2013).

Undisputedly, the Caribbean's history of dispersion and interconnection melds a vast array of agents, cultural practices, objects, and media into processes of exchange and synthesis and complex architectures of social negotiations. The resulting dialogue between theory, socio-cultural practices, and arts has generated a field of dynamic, yet at times insular knowledge-production. Therefore, we propose to explore, from a hitherto lacking comparative perspective, how (non)circulation occurred historically in the global and local production of knowledge in and about the Caribbean and aim to (re)map mechanisms and institutional contexts in specific cases. Our objective then is to formulate a clearer picture of who is creating which vision of the Caribbean and how. How do linguistic, geographical, ethnic, historical, political and – finally – disciplinary affinities or dissonances affect the rise of pan-Caribbean discourses, the local production of knowledge, or inclusion into and exclusion from national, transnational, and supranational discourses? It is this key question, applied to relations and disconnections in a multilingual space, to the circulation of knowledge between theory and socio-cultural practices or art, the field of socio-political negotiations and to the multidisciplinary context that will provide a frame and horizon for the whole volume.[11]

We explicitly aim to both identify the agents of knowledge and their goals and to question the 'instruments of thinking' that condition the discourses con-

cerning 'the Caribbean.'[12] It is crucial then not only to analyze changing "relations and disconnections" and "glocal dynamics of the Caribbean," but also to revisit and reshape the frameworks we use to think, speak, and write about the local and the global dynamics in what is considered 'the Caribbean.' The meaning of "reshaping" is thus not limited to the meta-dimension of theory but in many of the volume's contributions refers to the need to re-describe ever changing social and cultural processes. What is at stake here is a redefinition and a refinement of the research instruments for the elaboration of a glocal perspective that is concentrating on the local and its entanglements or dialectic negotiations with the global, especially visible in the realms of migration, circulation, and knowledge circulation.[13] This also implies the revision or replacement of concepts linked to trans- or interregional comparative studies in favor of approaches that enable us to better study the circulation of knowledge, people, and things (such as "entangled history" [Mintz 1986][14] or "histoire croisée" [Werner/Zimmermann 2006]). These concepts originate and have been theorized in different disciplinary contexts, as for example in Caribbean Cultural History, French Historical Studies, as well as Postcolonial Studies. Complementing the binary structures of transfer studies (Michel Espagne), the perspective of an *Entangled History* aims at retracing a history of transcultural relations. These movements of circulation through various paths bring into light the effect on places of origin and go beyond mere transfer.[15]

Moreover, the volume's contributions discuss the circulation of people and things and the yet not fully unraveled global and local knowledge production in and on 'the Caribbean' in four intertwined dimensions: in and between (1) linguistic spaces and areas, (2) social or cultural practices and theoretical reasoning, (3) agents and political regulations, and (4) academic disciplines. These

11 In order to pay tribute to the multilingual character of the Caribbean, the present volume features contributions in English, Spanish, and French, whereas contributions in other languages spoken in the Caribbean, such as Dutch or the Creole languages, would have put at risk the general accessibility of their contents.

12 Mimi Sheller criticizes in *Consuming the Caribbean* (2008) the 'invention' of the Caribbean in Euro-American culture and its de-historization throughout a number of scientific disciplines.

13 We use the word "glocal" here to reference tendencies of globalization and localization and the importance of the dialectics between the local and global for political, economic, and environmental issues. For a reflection of the concept of "glocalization" cf. Robertson 1995.

14 Conrad/Randeria (2002) introduced the term "entangled history" into the German-speaking academic community.

15 For a similar approach to Transatlantic Romance Studies beyond the discipline of History cf. Bandau/Dorigny/Mallinckrodt 2010 and Bandau 2015.

structures include necessarily local and translocal, regional and transregional as well as intersectional perspectives. Furthermore, many of the contributions consider the specific disciplinary points of view of Literary Studies, Linguistics, Cultural Studies, Anthropology, Sociology, Philosophy, History, and Political Science that constitute the highly diverse institutional and disciplinary locations of Caribbean studies. Establishing a dialogue between the South and the North, the volume closely examines and links local manifestations of knowledge production on 'the Caribbean' from the region itself, North America, South America, Africa, and Europe.[16]

The transversal fields of visual arts and culture, environment and sustainability, circulation of people, knowledge, and things as well as the renegotiation of entangled colonial and postcolonial histories and memories take center stage in the contributions. Thus, we wish to enable a dialogue between the Humanities, the Social Sciences, as well as transdisciplinary approaches, all of which are essential to studying 'the Caribbean.' In order to do so, topics are gathered in five sections: (1) "Academic and Artistic Approaches to 'the Caribbean,'" (2) "Arts and Visual Studies," focusing on an emblematic field for glocal developments in the region, (3) "Environment and Sustainability," reflecting the increasing urgency of answers to ecological inequalities, (4) "Migration, Diaspora and the Circulation of Knowledge and Things," highlighting the paradigm of Mobility Studies, (5) "Negotiating History: Entanglements and Memories," linking issues of Caribbean history with a more global perspective.

Addressing these issues in Caribbean societies and Caribbean Studies, the volume marks the field's numerous interconnections with other areas of research (e.g. Latin American Studies). Additionally, contributors hail from a

16 Unfortunately, also the present volume sports blind spots concerning entanglements and itineraries from a truly intercultural and transversal perspective, i.e. one that includes connections between the peripheries (cf. Dussel 2012). A study of the South-South relations and disconnections, for instance between the Caribbean and African intellectuals, is still a desideratum.
An interesting project in this respect is "Anthropology and Contemporary Visual Arts from the Black Atlantic and the redefinition of ethnographic museums in Europe and the United States." The project focuses on the relationship between art historical discourse, methodology, and anthropological approaches to non-western visual arts, particularly the contemporary arts of the Black Atlantic and brings together African, Caribbean, and Brazilian partners. Chaired by Christoph Singler (Besançon), Brigitte Reinwald (Hannover), Malick Ndiaye (Dakar), Sterlin Ulysse (Port-au-Prince), and Romuald Tchibozo (Calavi), it promotes a dialogue of mainly African and African diasporic voices in the investigation of the arts of the Black Atlantic. Its principal objective is to reflect on new concepts in museographical practice and to rethink collaborations and exchanges with museums and institutions of the fine arts in countries of the Global South.

vast array of disciplines, such as Romance, English, and American Literary and Cultural Studies or Linguistics, History, Sociology, Media Studies, Mobility Studies, Art History, Anthropology or Urban Studies, and Environmental Studies.

2 Caribbean Studies on the Map of the German Academy and Germany on the Map of Caribbean Studies

The multilingual conference "Reshaping Glocal Dynamics of the Caribbean: Relaciones y Desconexiones. Relations and Disconnections. Relations et Déconnexions" – out of which the articles in this volume evolved – took place in Hannover, Germany, in October 2015. Sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation, – the conference brought together about 100 scholars, artists, and activists from the international field of Caribbean Studies.[17] The 32 contributions reproduced in this volume represent a selection of the most relevant presentations. They offer different disciplinary approaches and various linguistic regions and answer to the five above-mentioned domains of interest. Before delving into the details of the book's structure, there is another question that has to be elucidated: Why organize a conference on "Reshaping Glocal Dynamics of the Caribbean" in Germany and why promote, in general, Caribbean Studies in and from Germany with the help of the present volume?

Research on the Caribbean already has a tradition in Germany: In 1988, a group of scholars founded *Socare*, the Society for Caribbean Research, which since then served as an important relay-station for research on the Caribbean.[18] Besides its function as an organ of the German-speaking academic community (representing Austria, Germany, and Switzerland) and its cooperation with colleagues in Belgium and France, Socare has from its beginning sought to foster a durable and fecund exchange with international Caribbean Studies, especially from the region itself and from Europe. One of its key tools in this matter has been the organization of international and interdisciplinary conferences, and, in slightly modified settings, workshops for younger researchers.[19] The 2015 conference was organized in this European and internationalist spirit and was

17 The conference reader contains relevant information, in particular the abstracts of all lectures: https://www.romanistik.phil.uni-hannover.de/fileadmin/romanistik/pdf/Heft_013_zum_Download_Stand_08.10.pdf.

18 For more information on Socare, cf. http://caribbeanresearch.net/en/about-socare/. In her contribution to this volume, Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger gives an insight into Socare's history.

Socare's first major public event since 2007 to revive the society's work as an important platform of research on the Caribbean.

Nevertheless, Caribbean Studies is still not an institutionalized academic field at German universities. Rather, it is part of other Area Studies, such as Latin-American Studies or transversal fields such as Atlantic Studies, Postcolonial and Transcultural Studies, or New English Literatures and enters through the re-shaping of canons into classic fields or disciplines such as Anthropology, Geography, History, English, American, or Romance literatures. Currently, there is a growing interest for Caribbean topics in different fields and disciplines; young researchers are approaching interdisciplinary topics and strengthening the field – introducing vital questions and approaches to the framework of their pre-existing disciplines.

What is the relevance of Caribbean Studies from a German perspective? How are the Caribbean and Germany connected? Why work in this field precisely here (and now)? At first glance, the German implication in Caribbean colonial history seems nil, as Germany had no colonies in the Caribbean and German colonial history officially ended in 1919. Still, Germany was engaged in (and profited from) the slave trade: German merchants participated in the Atlantic trade (cf. Weber 2004, 2009) and cities with long trade traditions, as Bremen and Hamburg certainly are, gained their wealth precisely as a result of the overseas trade in cotton, sugar, cacao, coffee, and tea (cf. Rössler 2011; Gleich/Spatzek 2015; Raphael-Hernandez 2015). Their participation took shape, for instance, in the activities of the influential trading dynasty Schimmelmann, who had their substantial share in the slave trade and plantation slavery in the 18th and 19th centuries (cf. Degn 1984; Sutherland 2016: 43–85) as well as in the ships sailing from Germany's North – for instance, Flensburg's harbor – towards Danish colonies in West India[20]. Today the shipping museum Flensburg hosts an exhibition on one of the cities' famous commodities and its connection to colonial history: rum. German colonial *lieux de mémoire* have come into the focus of the public and of scientific investigation in Germany slowly and only since the last decade. To this testify a variety of scattered activities: the founding of a research center on Hamburg's post/colonial legacy and early globalization in 2014 at Hamburg University which hosts lecture series and

19 The conferences took place in Berlin (1988, 1993, 1999, 2004), Utrecht (1992), Antwerp (2003), Vienna (1990, 2001, 2005), and Jamaica (2007). Smaller conferences for young researchers took place in Berlin (2011), Hannover (2013), Bielefeld (2015), and Salzburg (2017). Further information: http://caribbeanresearch.net/en/conferences/.

20 Danish West India, thus, was of relevance not only for the Danish farmers but also for the ones in Schleswig-Holstein. The sugar cane grown in this territory today known as the U.S. Virgin Islands was refined in Flensburg and Copenhagen.

other cultural activities[21]; a temporary exhibition (June 2017 – March 2018) on Flensburg's colonial heritage in the aforementioned museum that is sponsored by the German Federal Cultural Foundation, curated by Jamaican anthropologist Imani Tafari Ama and which addresses the important aspect of education as it provides special material for schools.[22]

Ironically, the very location of the 2015 conference (a recently rebuilt 17th century palace in Hannover-Herrenhausen) constituted yet another pair of relations and disconnections. The flagrant discrepancy between the luxurious, imperial setting of the original palace (pointing back to the Hohenzollern dynasty that links Hannover to Great Britain) and the conference's topic (which addressed the colonial and postcolonial relations between the Caribbean and Europe and formulated a clear critique of colonial and Eurocentric viewpoints in politics, society, culture, and arts) called for an explanation. Four sculptures, the allegorical representations of Asia, Europe, Africa, and America, are strategically placed at the four corners of the Royal Gardens right outside the palace and give us an idea of the production of space and the landscapes of power (here enacted in garden architecture, see Fig. 1) upon which European sovereigns grounded their power at the dawn of enlightenment.[23]

In line with Cesare Ripa's description in his well-known *Iconologia* (1698), the unknown artist provided America with 'American Indian' attributes (nakedness, feathers, arc, and bow) as well as 'African' features, combined with the monstrous nature represented by the Caribbean caiman. These 'African' features correspond to the artist's interpretation of the "visage effroyable" that Ripa (1698: 275–275) attributes to his allegory of America. Here, the observer gets a small insight into Europe's vision of colonial 'Others,' a glimpse of the creolized America and, we might say, the Caribbean – present in the caiman – as well.

21 https://www.kolonialismus.uni-hamburg.de/ringvorlesung-hamburg-deutschlands-tor-zur-kolonialen-welt-ueber-den-umgang-mit-einem-schwierigen-erbe-20-4-2016-13-7-2016/.

22 Further information: http://www.flensburg.de/Kultur-Bildung/Kultureinrichtungen/Schifffahrtsmuseum/Koloniales-Erbe; http://www.kulturstiftung-des-bundes.de/cms/en/programme/fellowship_internationales_museum/kultur_transfer.html.

23 The unknown artist – who probably never saw the continent with his own eyes – most likely got his inspiration for the statue in the widely known encyclopedia of allegories "Iconologia" by Cesare Ripa (1603) that was a source of reference for allegorical figures for baroque artists all over Europe. In an enlarged later edition at the end of the 17th century (1698), we find a matching description and image of this allegorical figure together with the representations of the three other continents known at the time. And so it is not astonishing that we find a similar statue in the famous palace of Versailles.

Fig. 1. Statue America in the Royal Gardens of Herrenhausen, September 2015 (© Anja Bandau).

The exotic representation testifies to a well-established tradition of a European conceptualization of the Non-European. The fact that none other than the Hannover based early Enlightenment philosopher Leibniz dedicated himself to the Royal Garden's architecture reminds us of the impact of (Enlightenment) philosophy on the production of space. The historical German states as part of what was and would become European colonialism took part not only in producing ideas about the 'Other' but as well in the circulating its images. This should be reason enough to put Caribbean Studies on the scientific map of universities in Germany.

The second reason why Caribbean Studies matter in contemporary Germany relates to the fact that Caribbean lines of theory building – to retrace, explain, and analyze the region's shattered yet entangled histories, its relations, and disconnections – have had an impressive supra-regional impact. Be it alternative concepts of modernity or regional models of transculturation and creolization, they have become relevant for thinking other local contexts, as transnational fields or diasporic spaces (Brah 2003; Glick Schiller 2013), e.g. in European societies.[24] The Caribbean has come to be perceived as a space of "conviviality" (Gilroy), a kind of sociocultural "laboratoire humain" for different cultures (Chamoiseau/Confiant/Ette/Ludwig 1992: 10) which even postulates a

24 See Glick Schiller (2013) for the re-considered definition of transnational fields that link migrants and locals, the local and the global, and that sees circular migration in the light of current developments in a more critical way.

special kind of new "creole humanity" ("humanité neuve", Maximin 2006). It is Gilroy's notion of "conviviality" (2004), his idea of the all-uniting Human – based on the experience of oppression, violence, and suffering – that various initiatives in Europe and elsewhere have been taking up lately: *Vivre ensemble* (Vergès 2013), *Manifeste convivialiste. Déclaration d'interdépendance* (Les Convivialistes 2013).

The question of *vivre ensemble*, of *convivencia*, is an urgent one in Europe, not only in Germany, as the last decades' political debates on France's colonial past and its recognition by public discourse or the German open-door policy, which allowed more than a million refugees from Middle Eastern warzones to enter the country, indicate. The discussions on how to deal with the massive migration via the Mediterranean Sea to the European Union underline the urgency of the question: Could Caribbean cultural theories lay out ways of coping with the heterogenization of German society, can they help engender new ways of thinking integration and replace the failed category of multiculturalism (Cantle 2012)? Could it, more particularly, provide answers to the threats of rising racism? Current debates on these and related topics are led by Caribbean and other post-colonial intellectuals in insular, archipelic, and diasporic contexts in order to develop new categories of conviviality, that are neither hasty adaptations nor seemingly universally applicable appropriations of regional solutions. Careful scrutiny of the local constellations is needed to decide in how far non-European, especially Caribbean cultural, social, and theoretical knowledge productions can become useful for the analysis of inner-European processes of migration and transculturation.

3 Contextualizing the Contributions

3.1 Academic and Artistic Approaches to 'the Caribbean'

The agenda of our publication is to an important degree motivated by gathering the state of the art in Caribbean Studies and by the inquiry into new fields and promising designs of research. In this context, we believe that conceptual work is crucial as it revisions our theoretical and methodological sets of instruments, sheds light on (hidden) connections between different traditions of thought as well as on missing and failing connections, that is disconnections.

The first section "Academic and Artistic Approaches to 'the Caribbean'" unites programmatic contributions to Caribbean studies out of transversal fields such as Mobility Studies, Post- and Decolonial Studies as well as disciplinary approaches such as Sociology, Literary and Cultural Studies, as well as Linguistics. This interdisciplinary section enables a well-focused perspective on

tendencies and new approaches to Caribbean Studies and an awareness of the various crosspollinations with other fields and with artistic expressions that further contributions, such as Leon Wainwright's on Caribbean Art History and Martha Zapata Galindo's on Migration Studies clearly illustrate. The following sections "Arts and Visual Studies," "Environment and Sustainability," "Migration, Diaspora, and the Circulation of Knowledge and Things," and "Negotiating History: Entanglements and Memories" have their own framings as well as programmatic statements that add to the programmatic character of the first section's contribution.

In her contribution, **Mimi Sheller** (Philadelphia) revisits the concept of mobility and traces back its origins to conceptual thinking in the field of Caribbean Studies. In doing so, the author not only (re)inscribes the concept into a particular context and ascribes it a specific agenda within Caribbean Studies and beyond but also highlights the importance of Transarea Studies (such as Caribbean Studies) for the work on theoretical issues.

Conceptual work is also offered by **Annika McPherson** (Augsburg): She works on theoretical notions in the light of the latest paradigm shifts and asks how localized perspectives can and need to be positioned, re-contextualized, and re-theorized within critical dialogues. McPherson addresses "[t]he discursive shift from the 'postcolonial' to the 'decolonial,'" an inquiry leading to the final question: "[W]hat are the respective epistemological and political implications of these and similar (re-)descriptions and (re-)theorizations?" According to McPherson, to engage in these questions means to actively "dis-order" the very notion of knowledge production, emphasizing "practices and socio-spatial relations" aware of "the ever-present risk of discursive violence, appropriation or cooptation" (McPherson in this publication). McPherson introduces the critical concept of "complicity," thereby warning against the pitfalls of "the conceptual separation, exceptionalization and 'Othering' of the Caribbean [...] frequently glossed over in the redemptive vision and promise of 'decolonial' rhetoric" (McPherson in this publication).

A similar agenda drives **Ariel Camejo**'s (Havana) inquiry from a Hispanophone Caribbean perspective, when he asks who constitutes the Caribbean in recourse to which concepts. He is interested in the intra-Caribbean discussion of knowledge and emphasizes, like McPherson, the importance of geopolitics as well as a body politics of knowledge on the Caribbean.

Ralph Ludwig (Halle) introduces a linguistic perspective and parts from the state of the art in Variational Linguistics in the field of French Caribbean Linguistics. Conceiving the Caribbean as a contact space, he pleads for synchronic Creole Studies that investigates the corpus from a macro areal perspective, linking typological and discourse based approaches. Linking linguistic and social creolization, Ludwig urges Creole Studies to always reconnect to their

praxeology, i.e. their relevance in relation to educational politics and lived experience. **Graciela Salto** (Buenos Aires) recapitulates South American research on the Caribbean in the realm of Literary Studies and her contribution visualizes a lively tradition of South-South dialogue. The various material connections due to migration from the Caribbean to South America and an editorial history of Caribbean authors in Argentina give strong evidence of this knowledge circulation. **Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger**'s (Aachen) intervention takes up the South-South dimension and triangulates knowledge circulation between Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. Her exemplary approach to matters such as literary and artistic production illustrates what a multi-sited and transdisciplinary approach is necessary in Caribbean research. **Corinne Mencé-Caster** (Fort-de-France/Paris) interrogates the conflicting processes of heritage making (*patrimonialisation*) in Martinique and the meaning of digital media for these processes. Her contribution stands for a vital field in Caribbean Studies: the implementation and role of digital media in culture(s) of memory.

Since our aim is to interrelate academic theory and cultural practice, this first set of scholarly contributions is complemented and expanded by artistic approaches from the areas of film and literature. They aim not only at the very necessary articulation between theory and practice but also at the aesthetic visualization of new (decolonial) discourses and images. The readings of Jamaican author and filmmaker Esther Figueroa and Haitian writer Kettly Mars as well as **Julia Borst**'s interview with Mars address various of the transversal topics running through this publication such as the link between theory, research and activism, the transfer of knowledge to affected communities, the link between research and politics, environment and sustainability, and negotiating history. The entanglement of economic and discursive power is (subversively) countered by the filmic and literary activities in the case of **Esther Figueroa** (Kingston/Jamaica, director, author, and environmental activist) and the polyphonic tradition of Caribbean literature in the case of **Kettly Mars** (Port-au-Prince/Haiti, writer). In its aesthetics, art condenses on the one hand historical and social processes while creating, on the other, independent models of reality critical of power hierarchies. Communicating with these various issues in a multiplicity of ways the section offers a link between the multi-faceted theory driven approaches and the following section on "Arts and Visual Studies."

3.2 Arts and Visual Studies

In his framing "Arts visuels des Caraïbes: plaidoyer pour sortir des cadres disciplinaires" for this section, **Christoph Singler** (Besançon) provides a meta-perspective.[25] He argues that the different status of the image (when compared to

the logocentric nature of a discourse) situates this section's objects of study in the wider scope of the visual turn and the heightened interest in visual cultural production in various fields beyond Art History, Film, and Media Studies. The framing formulates new tendencies and open questions for the field of Caribbean Visual Art, which until very recently has been a blind spot not only in Caribbean Studies but in Art History and Visual Studies as well. Singler advances the latter point, although some individual artists and art works have been integrated into a global History of Art and others have become emblematic for the widely circulating cultural theories coming out of the Caribbean. He does so taking the example of diasporic Cuban artist María Magdalena Campos-Pons, one of the conference's plenary speakers.

In accord with Singler's argument, we hold that the dynamics in this new field of Caribbean Visual Art become emblematic for glocal developments in and between the Caribbean and the world. In this respect, various questions concerning the circulation of art works as well as the integration of Diaspora artists into a global market come into focus. To highlight only one, **Leon Wainwright** (London) discusses in how far these dynamics promote or hinder a local Caribbean art scene. To envision such a scene, Wainwright takes into account current discussions on the materiality of culture and on geographies of movement, shedding light on the difficulties and frictions of mobility. Also emblematic in this respect is the special focus on Haitian art represented by the contributions of **Carlo Célius** (Paris) and **David Frohnapfel** (Berlin). They address the production of art as regulated by the rules of the art market and look into the ways in which art is perceived and defined through the academic discipline of anthropology on one side and through the lens of Fine Arts and History of Arts on the other. Célius traces the formation of a discourse on Haitian art back to the moment when an ethnological discourse on Haiti emerged and Haitian art was coined 'primitivist.' Vodou, racial memory, and neo-Africanness served in this context as central approaches. Consequently, the author pleads for a critical anthropology of images. Frohnapfel's contribution draws the connection between art market, tourism, and popular art and focuses on curatorial as well as artistic strategies to participate in this market. What happens when these art works are predominantly read in the confines of an identitarian quest and a culturalist discourse when it comes to scientific research and curatorial practices? This inquiry addresses different disciplinary approaches – Art History, Anthropology, Cultural Studies – and their impact on the reading, positioning of Haitian artists and their art in the field.

25 All the following thematic sections are introduced by a specialist in the respective field of interest and contextualized within the wider framework of our volume.

The contribution of **Emiel Martens** (Amsterdam/Rotterdam) opens the section to the broader field of Visual Studies and analyzes filmic discourses on Jamaica, giving a short history of the entanglement of film and tourism (industries) in Jamaica. Martens provides an impressive overview on this little known chapter in early Jamaican film history. Linking filmic discourse to economic, neocolonial, national, as well as transnational concerns, Martens highlights the power of images of the Caribbean and their potential instrumentalization for (neo)colonial as well as national economic concerns. His contribution touches upon the articulation of manifold issues that are also essential to the section that follows.

3.3 Environment and Sustainability

The section "Environment and Sustainability" lies at the heart of this publication. Next to economic and political inequalities that refer back to colonial history, especially ecological inequalities come center stage today. For various reasons "by now familiar environmental threats faced by already marginalised communities in the Caribbean" (Watts in this publication), such as bauxite extraction in Jamaica or new forms of tourism in the region (Figueroa), challenge our notions of conviviality in the most immediate way and testify to the need for sustainable solutions. Environmental changes and the related question of sustainability have developed into core issues that necessarily have to be approached interdisciplinary and studied from different angles. In his framing "Applying the Arts, Humanities and Social Science: The Value of Disciplinary Promiscuity for Practical Governance" **Nicholas Watts** (London) holds that the gathered contributions "demonstrate state-of-the-art approaches in the respective disciplines at the same time as contributing to solutions on the ground, or, on a broader scale, reframing our approach to development." Cultural and scientific dimensions come together when ecological problems are used as levers for changes in the economic, social, and political structure.

Christian Werthmann (Hannover) reflects on the challenges local population and experts (landscape architects) are confronted with, when ecological housing infrastructure is to be implemented in informal urban sectors (at-risk communities) immediately after ecological catastrophes such as the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. The nexus between infrastructure and knowledge implemented (1) by foreign actors (experts, NGO's and other institutions), (2) by actors on a national level, and (3) by self-help of local communities and groups becomes vital for a successful housing strategy. The insight in urban risk management from the perspective of landscape architecture is complemented by geographer **Johannes Bohle**'s (Flensburg) focus on sustainable urban planning in Fort-de-

France/Martinique. His contribution sheds light on the many different aspects of urban planning such as ecocriticism, urban risk management, and the implementation of ecological infrastructure in heavily urbanized areas. He pursues the question how environment, housing conditions, (public) transport, urban infrastructure, and sustainability interact in Martinique.

Enabling and contextualizing community-based activism and self-help is an issue that resurfaces in the two consecutive contributions of Esther Figueroa and Anabelle Contreras Castro. **Esther Figueroa** (Kingston/Jamaica) addresses concrete actions to enable self-help against the ecological threats through bauxite mining in Cockpit Country. From her activist and filmmaker's point of view, Figueroa reflects the involvement of different media (literature, essay, film) with the objective of environmental justice in Jamaica. **Anabelle Contreras Castro** (San José/Costa Rica) gives us an insight into Circum-Caribbean constructions of territory and identity linked to the community based initiative of self-organization *Foro Caribe Sur*. The author links it to questions of neoliberal economic interests (salvaje neo-extractivismo), enforced expropriation of local population (land rights), and the state-run interest in environmental questions and the re-evaluation of nature. On the basis of a discursive analysis, Contreras Castro points out how the discourses of multiculturalism and environmental protection (certain discursive practices of re-naming) are appropriated for a neoliberal agenda. In this context, the author revisits conceived identitarian constructions such as Caribbean and Afro-Caribbean in the light of the heterogeneous population in the Caribbean coastal region.

The call for slavery reparation by the CARICOM Reparations Commission, a regional organization of community activists, academics, and lawyers from different Caribbean countries founded in 2013 lies at the core of **Claudia Rauhut**'s (Berlin) contribution. Drawing the attention to new strategies of Caribbean reparation claims, for instance suing former colonial powers on a state level instead of addressing smaller entities such as companies, Rauhut emphasizes the transfer of these new approaches from the South to the North, i.e. from the Caribbean basin to the USA.

This section closes with an intervention that traces the genealogy of fictional scenarios of disappearing islands: **Daniel Graziadei** (Munich) reads contemporary Caribbean writings by Amir Valle (2006), Lakshmi Persaud (2000), and Olive Senior (2005) in the genealogy of John Donne's "Meditation XVII" (1623) and its master image of the drowning island. These texts reconstitute "allegorical or metaphorical islands" that turn into "fictional island spaces with very real geomorphological and biospheric problems of erosion and extinction."

3.4 Migration, Diaspora, and the Circulation of Knowledge and Things

In recognition of theoretical and methodological approaches as Sheller and Urry (2006), as well as Stephan Greenblatt's *Mobility Studies Manifesto* (2008), the contributions to the section "Migration, Diaspora, and the Circulation of Knowledge and Things" focus on the movement of people, things, and knowledge both within the Caribbean and outside from the perspective of cultural anthropology, sociology, linguistics, literary and cultural studies. In the context of oftentimes circular and transnational migration, modern technologies of communication and increasing possibilities of physical mobility facilitate the formation of transnational networks allowing for the flow of financial, social, and cultural remittances and promoting new forms of diasporic communities. Networks of knowledge between the Caribbean, Europe, and the Americas and the possibilities of their mapping, the complex constellation of links and ruptures, blanks and loops are of special interest here. In her framing "Migración, diáspora y circulación de conocimientos" **Martha Zapata Galindo** (Berlin) takes up the conceptual discussion on the mobility paradigm started in the section "Academic and Artistic Approaches" by Mimi Sheller and reflects on the tensions between the notions of diaspora and the transnational, the notions of mobility and location which are important for the contributions of this section. Pleading for a plurality of approaches, Zapata Galindo shows the benefits of various 'epistemic metaphors' such as 'geopolitics of knowledge,' 'entangled histories,' 'spin' or 'epiphyte' emerging in the discussion on the Caribbean in and beyond this section. **Jean Stubbs** (London) and **Catherine Krull** (Victoria) focus on the Cuban diaspora communities in Canada and Western Europe that have grown considerably after 1989 and in comparison to the classical Cuban Diaspora in Florida show new characteristics, that is combine diasporic and transnational characteristics. The authors link their survey on specific circuits of actors and of know how to conceptual reflections on the term Diaspora, using Robin Cohen's notion of the epiphyte. The following articles trace specific paths of circulation that are undergone by forms of narratives as well as material goods. Highlighting the importance of material culture linked to spatial hierarchies and to social capital, **Sinah Kloß** (Cologne) presents results of a multi-sited ethnography that she conducted in transnational Guyanese Hindu communities on the exchange and consumption of clothing. The socio-cultural practice of sending barrels – 400-litre containers filled with consumer goods such as food items and textiles – is the material basis of this research that examines how intimacy and closeness are (re)created in the course of migration by focusing on clothing and sartorial practices. In her ecolinguistic study, **Alla Klimenkowa** (Göttingen) explores the current usages of the historically and culturally loaded concept 'creole' that marks an American origin but shows

fundamental differences in glocal meanings. Contrasting the Spanish-American notion 'criollo' and the French-Caribbean 'créole/kréyòl' and based on empirical data, her combined diachronic and synchronic approach asks to what extent new socio-cultural settings are able to modify the legacy of historical vocabulary in these linguistic communities. **Gudrun Rath** (Linz) looks at the transatlantic dimension of the notion 'zombie' and zombie-narratives. Contrary to many current scholarly explanations, which reduce the history of the *zombi* concept to African pre-stages, her narrative questions any linear and over-simplifying history of origins, emphasizing the transatlantic connections while at the same time looking at the manifold historical connections with local practices.

3.5 Negotiating History: Entanglements and Memories

The closing section "Negotiating History: Entanglements and Memories" builds upon the methodology of *entangled histories* that enables us to think different cultures of memory and traditions of knowledge that go hand in hand with the pluralization of memory through migration and sheds light on 'missing' links. This final section gathers contributions from History as well as Literary and Cultural Studies that investigate notoriously understudied but still neuralgic points of Caribbean history and position them in global history. In his framing "Historias entrelazadas y representaciones sociales" **Alejandro Gómez** (Paris) links new perspectives on inner Caribbean conflict zones as Dominican-Haitian relations, Caribbean-Latin-American entanglements of the histories of revolution, independence, and abolition in the 19th century that go beyond the so far existing narratives about the age of revolutions. The participation of Afro-Cuban politicians in a national consensus can shed light on the history of race relations and post-slavery memory from another angle: Literary rewritings of post slavery memory; the question of non-narration and non-linearity; the importance of the eco-system that comes into focus in cultural productions.

After the "Haitian turn" (Forsdick 2008; Bandau 2013), a post-2004 awareness of the Haitian Revolution's global significance, Caribbean, Latin-American, and Atlantic as well as Global History have broadened their focus from the concentration on the revolutionary Atlantic to the larger picture of intersecting analyses of independence and abolition movements between the different regions. On the basis of archival research, **Sibylle Fischer** (New York) shows very convincingly that it is only through the "cross-currents" of independence and abolition movements "from imperial Spain to Venezuela, from Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe back to Venezuela, and from Venezuela back to Spain" that we can make sense of Juan Bautista Picornell's conspiracies in Madrid and

Venezuela at the end of the 18th century. It is Fisher's working beyond disciplinary boundaries, combining philological close reading, historiographical research, intellectual history, and frames from network analyses that make her inquiry so fruitful and allow to map the complex flows of influence adding to an international intellectual history of liberationist politics. **Ulrike Schmieder** (Hannover) complements inner-Caribbean cartographies of revolution and conspiracies as she draws on new archival material from the Cuban political journals *La Fraternidad*, *Unión*, and the Afro-Cuban Women's magazine *Minerv*a. Her study makes evident the ambivalent position of Afro-Cuban elites concerning their African heritage, their former status as slaves at the moment of independence, a moment when the reverberation of the Haitian revolution, the so called Haitian fear still determined the Cuban interaction with Afro-Cubans. The race-based inequalities have been a pernicious topic in the contemporary Cuban society since that time.

The material and somatic residues of slavery and its memory lie in the focus of **Adriana López-Labourdette**'s intervention (Bern). Parting from the example of an artwork by Cuban artist Douglas Pérez and a novel by Puerto Rican writer Mayra Santos Febres, López-Labourdette discusses traces and absences of the legacy of slavery in a Caribbean post-slavery discourse. The innovation of this contribution lies in the fact that the works are framed by the Latinamerican theoretical discourse on post-slavery and post-dictatorial memoria and trauma ("trabajos de memoria," Jelin 2002). López-Labourdette insists that the work on somatic memories of slavery and its impact on a racialized presence resist a discourse that declares the trauma of slavery overcome.

Cultures of memory and their entanglement are addressed on two intertwining levels in **Kathleen Gyssels**' article (Antwerp) on the franco-guyanese author Léon-Gontran Damas and his posthumously published poetry. Her contribution renders visible the often neglected and hidden entanglements of memory culture in the French Republic concerning the similarities and discrepancies between Black and Jewish memory culture. Damas reflects upon these in poems such as "À la rubrique des chiens crevés" and in a consequence asks for a re-evaluation and valorisation of the author and co-founder of the *Négritude* movement in the Caribbean and postcolonial discourses.

The fictional coming to terms with conflicting and plural cultures of memory and its other side – amnesia – are addressed in this book's last contribution. In her analysis of *L'empreinte à Crusoé* (2012), a novel by Patrick Chamoiseau, **Juliane Tauchnitz** (Leipzig) revisits topoi of literary history and Caribbean theoretical and identity discourse respectively. Chamoiseau rewrites a European Robinson into a black one and questions the efficiency of the *Créolité* concept and movement that he himself helped to set alive. This *writing back* of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) questions the received binary ethnic and cul-

tural classifications of Robinson and Friday that go along with the genre of robinsonade. Chamoiseau plays with transtextual references and counters the expectations of his readers to include the not yet narrated into the canon/archive of world literature. In Chamoiseau's narrative, a black Robinson who suffers from amnesia and who neither meets Friday or cannibals nor 'civilizes' the island, takes the place of Defoe's European Robinson and his successors. Accepting the human being's place within nature, he refrains from any domestication/domesticizing practice, so that the novel has been read as an "ecological utopia" (Lüsebrink 2013: 237). In its ecocritical dimension the novel hints to the island as a space of endangered conviviality and points back to the crucial topic of "Environment and Sustainability."

This overview over the specific cases of both relations and disconnections discussed in this volume already unravels how theses insightful examples both help to remap and to reshape the field of Caribbean Studies from a comparative and interdisciplinary perspective. Thus, both contemporary and historical, multilingual, and multiethnic perspectives draw attention to yet hidden links and mechanisms or neglected institutional contexts in the glocal processes of (non)circulation of people and things as well as in the production of knowledge in and about the Caribbean. With this volume, we wish to contribute to and stimulate the ongoing discussions concerning this important field.

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I. Academic and Artistic Approaches to ‘the Caribbean’

Mimi Sheller

Caribbean Constellations and Mobility Justice

1 Introduction

Over the past decade a new approach to the Study of Mobilities has emerged across the Social Sciences involving research on the combined movements of people, objects, and information – including commodities, cultures, texts, data, and images – in all of their complex relational dynamics. I shall argue in this article that it is often overlooked how deeply this new social science paradigm is grounded in theoretical questions that first arose within the fields of Caribbean Studies and African Diaspora Studies. While the field of 'mobilities research' is usually understood and presented as 'global,' a field like Caribbean Studies is often understood by outsiders as 'local' or regional, as something mainly of interest to people from that region. In contrast, I want to suggest that the theorization and study of Caribbean and other mobilities constitutes an interconnected field in which the local and the global, the immobile and the mobile, the indigenous and the migrant are not binary opposites but must be theorized together. Following readings of the Caribbean theorist Sylvia Wynter by Katherine McKittrick, Nandita Sharma and others, I want to underline the "*transversal* character of the Columbian exchange" that initiated the 'New World' and underwrites the founding discourses of local versus global, territoriality versus migration – discourses that still shape our problematic understandings of mobility and belonging, the native and nonnative (Sharma 2015: 167).

Mobilities Research focuses on the constitutive role of movement within the workings of most social institutions and social practices and focuses on the organization of power around systems of governing mobility and immobility at various scales. Such systems are culturally shaped and politically governed by mobility regimes that control who and what can move (or stay put) when, where, how, and under what conditions. Mobilities Research focuses not simply on movement per se but on the power of discourses, practices, institutions, and

infrastructures of mobility in creating the effects of both movement and stasis (Sheller/Urry 2006). This 'new mobilities paradigm' has influenced and spread across many adjacent fields, inspiring new kinds of social science questions and lively approaches that intersect with more applied areas such as urban planning, public art, design, and policy (Büscher/Tyfield/Sheller 2016; Sheller/Urry 2016; Sheller 2011, 2014b). Yet in many cases, it has confined its focus to the Global North, or 'the developed world,' without enough attention to its worldwide implications or its relation to fields of study and critical perspectives that have been associated with 'non-Western' regions and scholarship (such as Caribbean Studies, African Diaspora Studies, or more generally Postcolonial Studies). Here, I seek to reposition the 'Caribbean' and the 'Global' within mobilities theorizing.

Mobilities Research brings together studies of transportation, spatiality, and infrastructure whether on land, sea, or air; tourism, transnationalism, and imaginative travel; migration (including circular and return migration); mobile communications, digital connectivity, and virtual travel. Thus, it certainly has the potential to contribute to more transversal perspectives on global processes and relations. By combining different dimensions of understanding uneven circulation, mobility regimes, and (im)mobilities, this field is especially able to highlight the relation between local and global "power-geometries" (Massey 1991). Hence, it should be ideally suited to investigate (g)local processes that transcend, combine, and jump scales and regions. It calls for a multi-scalar and multi-sited approach that acknowledges the relation between bodily encounters (race, gender, class, age, ability, etc.), urban space and transport infrastructures (automobility, public transit, biking, ride sharing, aviation, etc.), national scale infrastructures (land use, inter-city transport networks, communication networks), and global relations of power shaping mobilities and dwelling (air travel, tourism, borders, migration).

Most importantly, though, and sometimes overlooked, is the fact that this 'mobile' approach draws on insights from Caribbean Studies and Postcolonial Theory to highlight the 'cartographies of power' (Hall 2003, cf. Brah 1996 on 'cartographies of diaspora') at multiple scales that inform all kinds of movement and dwelling. Mobilities research draws on traditions in Caribbean Postcolonial Studies and, simultaneously, has new perspectives to offer to Caribbean Studies. The Caribbean region has often been imagined through mobilities, alternatively theorized as a 'rhizomatic' mobile region (e.g., Benitez-Rojo 1996), a complex site for dynamic processes of creolization with far-reaching 'tidalectic' and 'diasporic' island currents (DeLoughrey 2007). Thus, it is a place of complex spatial dynamics and fractal geographies (as discussed in Sheller 2003, 2007, 2009a, 2009b). The notion of '(g)local dynamics' that informs this volume suggests that global flows are incorporated into the local; hence,

localized processes shape, direct, or tame global mobilities. We might ask: How have Caribbean mobility meanings, practices, representations, and infrastructures been (re)structured by (g)local dynamics? And how have Caribbean theorists and writers re-imagined the situated practice of these (g)local mobilities and spatialities?

In this chapter, I wish to contribute to a deeper appreciation of the role of Caribbean Studies and more broadly African Diaspora Studies by thinking through questions of mobilities/immobilities, local/global, and mobility justice/injustice. I will first consider the transatlantic history of im/mobility as an unfolding racial project and then turn to the Caribbean dimensions of mobility justice. My aim is to show how a located Caribbean theorization of the histories and political struggles over (im)mobilities can contribute to an improved understanding of the multiple scales, dimensions, and intersections of global mobility justice.

2 Mobilities and Immobilities as Racial/Spatial Projects

Theoretical perspectives within Caribbean Studies, African Diaspora Studies, and the conceptualization of the Black Atlantic as a dynamic zone of migration, communication, and cultural formation (Gilroy 1993) first highlighted the interconnections between settler colonialism, African diasporic culture, and transatlantic racial formations. Indeed, these formations were built upon various kinds of mobilities and immobilities. Most historical studies of the Atlantic world involve in some way the movements of ships, plants, people, foodstuffs, technologies, texts, travel narratives, visual images, and venture capital. All of these mobilities contributed to the assemblage of "race" in the Americas through the "racial projects" of settler colonialism, the plantation-slavery system, and the resistance against slavery (Omi/Winant 1986).

That is to say, Caribbean, transatlantic, and diasporic histories combine both: the material histories of the circulation of people, commodities, and capital in "the plantation complex" (Curtin 1998) and the cultural histories of the circulation of meanings, practices, moral orders, and representations in the making of 'creole societies' (Brathwaite 1971). Together, such material and cultural relations of uprooting/re-grounding, mobilization/demobilization, and creolization/indigenization were crucial to the making of the modern world as a 'global' and 'mobile' construct in the first place (Ahmed/Castañeda/Fortier/Sheller 2003; Sharma 2015; Nicholson/Sheller 2016). Racial projects are always spatial projects based on controlling mobilities, and spatial projects such as colonization and nationalism are always racial projects.

My own work on mobilities was deeply influenced by the work of Caribbean theorists and writers including Edouard Glissant (1989), Antonio Benitez-Rojo (1996), Kamau Brathwaite (1971, 2005), Michel-Rolph Trouillot (2003), and especially black and African diaspora feminist theorists such as Audre Lorde (1984), M. Jacqui Alexander (2005), and more recently Katherine McKittrick (2006) and Sylvia Wynter (2003; cf. McKittrick 2015). Equally significant were Caribbean literary, poetic, and artistic works, which also engage deeply with ideas of mobility and dwelling. Their thinking informed my interest in Caribbean and global mobilities, race, space, and citizenship. After completing my dissertation, which became the book *Democracy After Slavery: Black Publics and Peasant Radicalism in Haiti and Jamaica* (2000), my own trajectory led to the publication of *Consuming the Caribbean: From Arawaks to Zombies* (2003), which considers the relational mobilities and immobilities of people, commodities, plants, capital, and culture that formed the transatlantic world. And in the same year, my co-edited volume *Uprootings/Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*, with feminist theorists Sara Ahmed, Claudia Castañeda, and Anne-Marie Fortier, suggested our emphasis on roots, grounds, locality, and home, as much as mobilities, migration, and global processes. My chapter on creolization in global culture in that volume is in many ways the origin of my thinking for this chapter (Sheller 2003).

There are complex assemblies of movements *and* moorings within mobility forms, and it is never simply a matter of the world being more mobile now. Mobilities are organized in and through mobility regimes and infrastructure spaces, and such mobility systems presuppose 'immobile infrastructures' (Graham/Marvin 2001) as well as immobile 'others.' These infrastructural and social moorings are not only physical but also involve embedded regulations, legal and juridical systems, bureaucracies, codes and violations, and social practices; they are also generative of distinct dispositions and dynamic topologies with uneven multipliers, switches, and governors (Easterling 2015). Mobilities are never free but are in various ways channeled, tracked, controlled, governed, under surveillance, and always unequal – striated by gender, race, ethnicity, class, caste, color, nationality, age, sexuality, disability etc. Mobility is therefore relative, with different historical contexts being organized through specific constellations of uneven mobilities that may include migration, tourism, commuting, educational travel, medical travel, return visits, temporary work, smuggling, military deployments, offshoring, sex work, or emergency evacuation amongst others.

The right to mobility exists in relation to exclusions from national citizenship and from dominant racial positions, controlled via policing, borders, gates, passes, and surveillance systems. It further relates to architecture, urban design, and everyday practices that limit the right to the city and to the protection of

the state. Even for those within the gates, fragmented public services, hostile policing, and gentrified city centers push the poor and the racialized "other" to the margins. These uneven terrains bring socio-technical infrastructures to the social and political foreground, for they depend not only on the design of the built environment but also on the social practices in which delay, exclusion, turbulence, blockage, and disruption are an everyday experience, especially for those who must dwell in and move through marginalized spaces, policed borders, disrupted cities, or extrastate spaces seeking livelihoods, passage, or asylum (Mountz 2010; Graham 2009).

These barriers to access and controls over mobility are implemented broadly through citizenship regimes, racial projects, border controls, and the shaping of infrastructure space to serve elite interests; they are also enforced more locally via formal and informal policing, gates, passes, clothing, regulation of public space, and surveillance systems that limit the right to move, filter entry and exit, and selectively apply the protection of the state (Cresswell 2006, 2010; Adey 2010; Adey/Bissell/Hannam/Merriman/Sheller 2014). Indeed, the politics of (im)mobilities is fundamental to the making of classed, racial, sexual, able-bodied, gendered, citizen and non-citizen subjects through governing (or resisting) which 'moves' (and which resting places) are allowed or denied to particular bodies (McKittrick 2006; Cresswell 2016).

This politics of mobility/immobility is especially apparent in the Caribbean and the Black Atlantic world, as so many Caribbean and African Diaspora writers, theorists, and artists have observed in their work. These 'black moves' are also inseparable from their gendered and sexualized bodily relations and meanings. Katherine McKittrick also crucially calls attention to black women's geographies not only as spaces of resistance and negotiation of these moves but also as "areas of working toward more just conceptualizations of space and place" (McKittrick 2006: xxvi). She pays attention to a range of 'sites' that contribute to a discussion of "the connections between justness and place, difference and geography, and new spatial possibilities" including the "space between her legs," the slave auction block, and the attic garret as hiding place for runaway slaves. This radical geography offers "a different way of knowing and imagining the world" (McKittrick 2006: xxvi) – and a different way of imagining movement through it.

Mobility, race, and sexuality have intersected historically, and they intersect today in unequal relations of power that make mobility racially/sexually loaded and contested through embodied encounters in particular moments and places (Sheller 2012). All racial processes, racialized spaces, and racialized identities (including whiteness) are deeply contingent on differential mobilities. Despite the attention paid to how multiple and disparate mobilities shape 'mobility politics,' surprisingly little scholarship currently focuses on intersec-

tions of mobility and race/sex/gender. How can a deeper historicization of colonial and postcolonial paradigms of racialized/gendered/sexualized mobilities inform how we understand race, citizenship, nationality, and contested unequal mobilities today? And how might a postcolonial and Caribbean theoretical perspective help us better understand the entangled scales of the bodily, local, regional, national, and global?

Questions of slavery, emancipation, freedom, and citizenship can be understood in relation to these racial histories of (im)mobility (Sheller 2012). Wider histories of liberal citizenship suggest that the right to unhindered mobility of the white, male, citizen helped to produce the nation-state, even while it required others whose mobility is "constantly hindered," including in the contemporary US context: "Arab Americans stopped at airport immigration, Hispanic Americans in the fields of American agri-business or African Americans 'driving while black'" (Cresswell 2006: 161). As Hagar Kotef elaborates in *Movement and the Ordering of Freedom*: "Liberal democracies have always operated in tandem with regimes of deportation, expulsion, and expropriation, as well as confinement and enclosure, implementing different rationalities of rule to which colonized poor, gendered and racialized subjects were subjected." (Kotef 2015: 10–11)

McKittrick further notes that "black Atlantic Cultures have always had an intimate relationship with geography" including "the naturalization of identity and place, the spatialization of racial hierarchies, the displacement of difference, ghettos, prisons, crossed borders, and sites of resistance and community." (McKittrick 2006: xxi) Thus, she deftly links the historical patterns of mobility politics to those of the contemporary moment. All of these, I would add, are also sites of uneven mobilities and struggles for mobility justice; and the Caribbean has been a central location in the theory and praxis of a politics of mobility.

By beginning with the system of transatlantic slavery, and in particular with an interest in women and slavery, one can see that there is a corporeal and inter-personal politics of mobility and immobility that articulates with the macro-scale mobilities of transnational migration, citizenship, and belonging (Sheller 2012). Mobility must be conceived in relation to experiences of spatio-temporal fixities such as stillness, waiting, friction, and even being stuck (Cresswell 2012, 2014a, 2014b). It further stands in relation to negative figures of mobility such as the runaway slave, the vagabond, the hobo, the refugee, the homeless, the street walker, and the rootless. And we might add the figure of the 'respectable woman' as one who is not free to move in many social contexts, who moves under constrained conditions whether due to notions of honor and domesticity, restrictive modes of dress, legal restrictions, or outright threats and acts of violence against women.

Who is able to 'appropriate' the potential for mobility is both a political question (what rights to mobility exist in a particular context and how are they exercised and protected?) and an ethical question (what capabilities of mobility are valued, defended, and extended to all?). Thomas Nail's recent study *The figure of the migrant* develops the relation of Mobility Studies to Migration Studies across longer time scales going back to the Neolithic period and the earliest human migrations. He traces the political meanings of mobility through the figures of the nomad, the barbarian, the vagabond, and the proletariat (Nail 2015). He then analyzes contemporary migration across the US-Mexican border. Focusing on 'expansion by expulsion' (Sassen 2014), he shows how 'land grabs' for purposes of agriculture, mining, or taking water resources have driven migration flows and complex circulations in what he calls a 'kinopolitics.'

Thus, mobility justice must be considered both at a local scale, an urban and national scale, and at a more transnational and even planetary scales, which are not neatly nested but are simultaneous and entangled. Not only does kinopolitics entangle local and global scales, but it also must necessarily entangle racial, gender, and sexual formations. It is through these embodiments that mobility is practiced, contested, appropriated, and negotiated. Kinopolitics is suggestive of a multi-scalar politics of mobilization and demobilization of differentiated bodies through uneven infrastructure spaces and mobility regimes, which I address in the next section in terms of 'mobility justice.'

3 Caribbean Dimensions of Mobility Justice

A comprehensive theory of mobility justice would need to draw on and combine ideas of distributive justice, deliberative justice, procedural justice, environmental justice, climate justice, spatial justice, and the capabilities approach (Sheller, 2018). While I cannot fully outline this framework here, I want to ask a more circumscribed question: What can we learn from Caribbean critical theory in thinking through questions of justice in relation to the politics of mobility outlined in the previous section? Questions of *mobility justice* are crucial to a number of key issues facing Caribbean societies today, ranging from migration, deportation, diaspora and borders, to tourism, ecology, and land use planning, to communication infrastructure, digital access, and cultural circulation. At different historical conjunctures in the forming of Caribbean relations, how has "mobility" been deployed as a form of colonization, exercised as a right of citizens, controlled as a privilege of elites, or contested from below for its exclusions? And how does this politics of mobility relate to multiple dimensions of justice?

Angelique Nixon argues that Caribbean writers and artists have been able to dismantle the silences of globalization by "engaging in and representing movement, migration, and mobility/immobility in the face of tourism and neocolonialism" (Nixon 2015: 17). Thinking about the problem of mobility justice, this view offers some important starting points to begin to ask the following questions:

- Who is able to exercise rights to mobility and who is not capable of mobility within particular situations?
- How do bodily, local, regional, urban, national, and global systems of control over space, territory, communication and speed produce differential (im)mobilities?
- How have sovereign and disciplinary systems historically produced differently marked bodies as unequal mobile subjects, with what shifts toward algorithmic and automated control societies today?
- And what modes of counter power and "subversive mobilities" might inform the kinds of *moves* (Cresswell 2016) that can be made to resist, overturn, or escape these *governmobilities* (Baerenholdt 2013)?

Just as McKittrick begins with the scale of the body to unpick these questions and imagine new geographies, Nixon also focuses on struggles at the scale of the body, sexuality, and their place within the Caribbean tourism industry. She shows how Caribbean writers, artists, and tourism workers have wrested alternative identities and asserted local spatialities against global currents of neoimperialism. Citing my own work in *Citizenship from Below*, she reinforces these positive dimensions:

> We can see emerging out of trans-Caribbean theorizations of sexual citizenship, embodied freedom, and erotic agency a broad terrain of political struggle that encompasses the national, regional, and transnational scales yet locates agency and activism in the body, in the spaces of collective 'work' and in the quotidian interactions between bodies in those erotically charged spaces of work, dance, sex, and sacred service. (Sheller 2012: 277–278)

Here in the tourism labor market of sexual-economic exchanges, we can see struggles for mobility justice that reiterate those that happened on the slave auction block, or, as McKittrick writes of black women's geographies, in the resistance to violent domination over the "space between her legs." (McKittrick 2006: 46–47) This violence echoes in US presidential candidate Donald Trump's crude suggestion "Grab them by the pussy," reminding us that such violent spatial domination continues to be exercised at *that* location.

Other accounts of the geographies of mobility justice turn to transnational migration and its relation to carceral states (another favorite topic of Trump,

whose fantasy of wall-building to keep out 'Mexican rapists' illustrates the white patriarchal conflation of ethnic, national, and sexual domination). Alison Mountz, Jenna Loyd, and their collaborators have argued in an important series of articles that the militarization and carceralization of immigration 'enforcement' (whether through militarized border enforcement, non-citizen detention and deportation, or migrant incarceration) increasingly erodes human rights (Loyd/Mountz 2014; Mountz/Loyd 2014; Mountz/Coddington/Catania/Loyd 2012). They argue that there is a "long-standing connection between US military operations abroad and US immigration at home," with military bases such as Guantanamo in Cuba, long being used "to police the mobility of migrants and asylum-seekers." (Loyd/Mitchel-Eaton/Mountz 2015: 1) The blurring of war powers and domestic policy in the USA connects back to everyday issues of mobility, racial profiling, stop and frisk, and the Black Lives Matter movement. Undocumented migrants are increasingly at risk during everyday encounters with police, especially in contexts of transportation, where minor traffic stops can lead to detention and deportation. Caribbean and Latin American migrants have been especially subjected to this kind of racialized policing, wherein local spaces of mobility injustice (traffic policing) jump scales to become global spaces of mobility injustice (deportation).

A full theory of mobility justice would need to address a) injustices relating to race, gender, age, disability, sexuality, etc. which inform uneven freedom of movement and unequal rights to the city and to national space; b) injustices relating to borders, migration, and other kinds of transnational mobility – slavery, human trafficking, deportation, refugees, etc.; and ultimately also c) injustices relating to the circulation of goods, resources, energy, etc. in a global capitalist system that lacks procedural justice in the deliberation over distribution of planetary matter and the local impacts of the logistics infrastructures that move that stuff. Thus, there are multiple scales to conceive of mobility justice:

— Bodily encounters: social practices shaped by and shaping race, class, gender, age, disability, sexuality, etc. which inform uneven biopolitical (im)mobilities
— Urban space and transport infrastructures of everyday automobility, public transit, biking, walkability, ride sharing, complete streets, access, right to the city
— National territoriality relating to land use, physical and digital networks, surveillance, tracking, and the general governance of mobility regimes
— Global mobility regimes shaping mobility capabilities through control of borders, migration, human trafficking, asylum rules, securitization, militarization

I have also sought to incorporate non-human mobilities into my perspective, looking not only at the mobilities and immobilities of enslavement, migration, or tourism but also at those associated with the accompanying transport of commodities, plants, animals, landscapes, texts, and cultural representations. This has led to my recent work on bauxite mining in the Caribbean and aluminum smelting as part of a planetary urbanism that moves metals and energy around the world, displacing people and ecologies as it does so (Sheller 2014a). Resource extraction and ecological destruction are one of the ways in which uneven global mobility systems construct spatio-temporalities of modern speed and peripheral backwardness, with their associated migrant trajectories. 'Advances' in transportation and communication over the last century were dependent on the extraction of oil, hydrocarbons, and light metals such as copper and aluminium (and more recently rare earth metals) to make and power cars, trains, computers, cell phones, energy grids, and satellites. Energy itself must be mobilized around the world, and mines, drilling sites pipelines, ports, and 'offshore' are all part of the infrastructure spaces of energy flow, including in the Caribbean.

To give just one example of the way that infrastructure space relies on both local and global geographies of unequal mobilities we may regard Haiti. After the earthquake in Haiti, one of the few major projects undertaken by the Interim Haiti Reconstruction Commission (IHRC) was the expansion of the Caracol Industrial Park, an 'offshore' export-processing zone for Korean textile assembly plants. In 2012, President Martelly announced this 'free trade' zone, which was to be accompanied by the construction of a (US funded) deep sea port at nearby Fort-Liberté. This port would especially benefit multinational mining companies with interests in gold and copper mines in the nearby Massif du Nord and would have led to the degradation of the Caracol Bay, an area of important biodiversity, mangroves, and corals (cf. Chery 2012). The point of this example is to show how the disruption of the earthquake was used as a premise for restructuring an offshore 'free trade' zone and expanding logistics geographies that would benefit companies outside of Haiti, give them access to its precious metals, and do nothing to reconnect local infrastructures in the earthquake-affected region. Haitian grassroots movements and bloggers such as Dady Chery were able to mobilize opposition to this project and continue to track its reverberations (including criticism of the role of the Clinton Foundation in brokering such deals, which have become an issue in the US election especially amongst Haitian-American voters in Florida). Thus, uneven geographies of race, class, and capital reproduce an infrastructure space that violates principles of distributive, deliberative, procedural, environmental, and spatial justice.

The Caribbean exemplifies one of the prime global locations for analyzing such complexes of mobility injustice, from colonization and plantation slavery until today. I argue that we need both a deeper historicizing of mobilities research in terms of colonial histories, global geographies, and neo-imperialism, as well as a deeper ecologizing of the material resource bases of mobility in extractive industries. All kinds of mobilities – whether corporeal, communicative, imaginative, virtual, or the physical transit of objects (Urry 2007: 47–48) – are always grounded in earthly materialities which do calamitous damage to the natural environment and to settled ways of life. Such damages often drive warfare, which in turn drives migration flows. Thus, I advocate for a deeper planetary and geo-ecological perspective on mobilities and migration, showing how human and non-human mobilities are deeply interconnected and part of complex extensive systems of planetary urbanization (Brenner/Schmid 2015), which is also importantly a system of racial formation, gendered/sexualized bodily domination, and state carceralization.

This has brought me to argue for bringing in Foucauldian perspectives to mobilities research (Sheller 2016). We need both 'genealogical' attention to histories of the colonial, imperial, and military apparatus that forms a *sovereign terrain for movement* in which there are divergent pathways and differential access, forming the dualities of inside/outside, local/global, and migrant/citizen. We further require 'archaeological' attention to the deeper geo-ecologies of resource extraction and energy use that support the splintered infrastructure spaces and uneven materialities of mobility and immobility and of dwelling and dispossession. Such sovereign terrains and their forces of resource extraction lie at the basis of uneven mobilities, differential racializations, and the reproduction of global and local social inequality.

Sylvia Wynter refers to these spatializations of difference as "archipelagos of poverty" (as discussed in McKittrick 2006: 131–133), linking struggles over race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and ethnicity with struggles over the environment, global warming, severe climate change, and the "sharply unequal distribution of the earth's resources." (Wynter 2003) These geographies, she writes, are "defined at the global level by refugees/economic migrants stranded outside the gates of the rich countries, as the post-colonial variant of Fanon's category of *les damnés*." It is significant that she includes in this group not only "the criminalized majority of Black and dark-skinned Latino inner-city males now made to man the rapidly expanding prison-industrial complex," but also "a global archipelago, constituted by the Third- and Fourth-World peoples of the so-called 'underdeveloped' areas of the world," including Africa, the Black Diaspora, and Haiti (Wynter 2003: 260–261; cf. McKittrick 2006: 131–132). How do we move between these archipelagos and reconnect humanity to each other? How do we become human "After Man," as Wynter asks; or, as Frantz Fanon so

eloquently put it: "Pour l'Europe, pour nous-mêmes et pour l'humanité [...] il faut faire peau neuve, développer une pensée neuve, tenter de mettre sur pied un homme neuf."[1] (Fanon 1961: 238)

4 Conclusion

Increasingly, the project of Caribbean studies is to build more positive imaginings of just futures, "reimagining sites of resistance" and "resisting paradise" as Nixon says (Nixon 2015: 25, 32), or what McKittrick (following Wynter's work) calls the imagining and making of "more humanly workable geographies" and "new modes of humanness" imagined as "interhuman geographies." (2015: 130, 133) This project builds on the longstanding (g)local actions of Caribbean cultural production that creates a new poetics of landscape, alternative soundscapes, more positive sexualities, and transgressive erotic agencies of knowledge, creativity, work, and spirituality. It also suggests a new imagining of mobilities at multiple scales, from the liberation of the body to the unmaking of borders.

In this chapter, I have argued that the contemporary theorization of mobilities within the new mobilities paradigm arises out of the insights of Caribbean and African Diaspora theorists. Theorization in general should better recognize these (g)local origins of the project of deconstructing and reconstructing the politics of mobility. First, I traced the history of transatlantic mobilities as racial projects and the ways in which such racialized, gendered, and sexualized formations have been theorized within Caribbean perspectives. It remains to be further considered how Indian, Asian, Jewish, Middle Eastern, and other mobile diasporic identities come into play within these Caribbean trajectories, adding further layers of complexity to the story told here.

Secondly, I traced the Caribbean dimensions of mobility justice, including the various kinds of questions and political struggles that Caribbean theory and praxis have raised. Ultimately, I conclude that Caribbean constellations of thought and political praxis will help to produce greater mobility justice in the world. In this (g)local context, one can see in prismatic form all the dimensions and scales of the politics of mobility that we are called upon to address today: the tensions around national borders and migration rights; the urban crises around poverty, violence, eviction, and incarceration; the global crisis of environmental sustainability and its relation to transportation, energy, and resource exploitation. By locating our theorization of mobility justice in the Caribbean, I

1 For Europe, for ourselves, and for humanity [...] one must make a new skin, develop a new thinking, try to stand up a new man. (Translation M.S.).

have sought to demonstrate the multiple scales, dimensions, and intersections of struggles for global mobility justice.

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Corinne Mencé-Caster

Mise en patrimoine problématique en Martinique et nouvelles archives numériques des cultures antillaises

1 Introduction

Il n'est guère évident d'aborder la patrimonialisation et les archives dans les Antilles françaises, tant celles-ci semblent polémiques et marquées du sceau de l'idéologie, tout en baignant dans une forme de consensus muet.

Comme dans tous les espaces qui ont subi la colonisation, aux Antilles françaises et particulièrement en Martinique (aire spécifique de la présente étude), la mise en patrimoine est liée à des enjeux culturels et politiques souvent passés sous silence, comme pour mieux consolider le travail d'enfouissement constant de la mémoire historique, et ce, en dépit des revendications constantes pour mettre à jour cette mémoire.

En ce sens, la question des archives numériques ne saurait être abordée sans prendre en compte ce que Christine Chivallon a présenté comme le processus « d'invisibilisation de l'esclavage » (Chivallon 2006 : 21) et d'euphémisation de tous les lieux de mémoire qui portent les empreintes de la colonisation et de l'esclavage, comme les habitations notamment.

En Martinique, la réhabilitation des habitations en espaces patrimoniaux, voire muséographiques, ne s'est pas accompagnée de protestations vives, ni de mouvements de résistance, sans doute parce que les élites politiques locales (élus des collectivités régionales et départementales notamment) ont porté ces projets et induit une forme de ‹ normalisation › des relations au sein d'espaces jusque là cloisonnés.

Il ne faut pas exclure, parmi les facteurs pouvant expliquer cette forme de ‹ normalisation › sans heurts, la curiosité quasi spontanée des descendants d'esclaves envers le monde des *békés* qui leur avait été longtemps interdit : découvrir la maison du maître, mener des projets de patrimonialisation en collaboration avec les *békés*, tendre à s'approprier une partie de leurs biens, ont sans aucun doute constitué des éléments ayant joué en faveur d'une acceptation

quasi consensuelle d'une patrimonialisation qui, en réalité, n'a jamais été réellement problématisée.

De fait, *La Guerre des mémoires* (Stora 2007), quoique toujours latente et perceptible dans les antagonismes sociaux, ne s'est pas réellement développée au niveau de la culture et du patrimoine, parce que les couches populaires, de fait les plus nombreuses, n'ont pas investi ce terrain qu'elles ont laissé aux élites *mulâtres* et *békés*, ainsi qu'à l'administration française présente sur le territoire. S'est donc jouée une forme de consensus tacite autour de la mise en patrimoine, cette dernière s'effectuant sans réelle problématisation, laissant croire à un accord sur les modalités de sa mise en œuvre. Nous définissons la mise en patrimoine comme la démarche qui va permettre à des objets d'acquérir le statut de patrimoine. Par patrimonialisation, nous entendrons le fait de devenir patrimoine pour un certain nombre d'objets. La patrimonialisation est donc dans la subséquence de la mise en patrimoine et pourrait être dite patrimonialité si ce terme existait dans la langue française.

En réalité, cette question est toujours latente et pourrait resurgir, de manière bien plus marquée et violente, à la lumière de la problématique des réparations de l'esclavage. En ce sens, les archives numériques constituent une voie moyenne de conciliation, en rendant accessible à tous (indépendamment de la fracture numérique) des pans de mémoire refoulés par les processus d'édulcoration et d'euphémisation de la mémoire de la période esclavagiste.

2 Une mise en patrimoine non problématisée : le cas de la Martinique

2.1 Qu'entend-on par « patrimoine antillais » ou « martiniquais » ?

Le patrimoine culturel est formé de deux composantes : matérielle et immatérielle. La première correspond au patrimoine architectural, archéologique et muséologique, ainsi qu'aux différentes richesses artistiques. La seconde correspond au patrimoine oral, composé des usages, des coutumes, des arts et métiers traditionnels, des fonds sonores. Le patrimoine culturel immatériel est transmis de génération en génération et est recréé en permanence par les communautés en fonction de leur milieu, de leur interaction avec la nature et de leur histoire ; il leur procure un sentiment d'identité et de continuité, contribuant ainsi à promouvoir le respect de la diversité culturelle et de la créativité humaine.

L'examen du site du *Comité Martiniquais du Tourisme* (2013) est remarquable à ce sujet : dans la rubrique « Culture et patrimoine », on trouve les sous-rubriques suivantes : « Mémoire de l'île », « Musées », « Patrimoine », « Terre de rhum ».

Une première remarque : les musées ne sont pas classés dans la partie « patrimoine », mais constituent une sous-rubrique à part, alors même que la définition du patrimoine inclut traditionnellement la dimension muséologique. Dans la catégorie « Musées », sont recensés les musées ‹ culturels › (Ecomusée, Musée régional d'histoire et d'ethnographie, Musée de la pagerie, Musée départemental d'archives et d'histoire, Espace muséal d'Aimé Césaire, Maison du bèlè), ainsi que les centres de préservation du patrimoine naturel (Observatoire volcanologique, Centre de découverte des sciences de la terre, Domaine d'Emeraude, Musée du coquillage, Art et Nature).

Dans la sous-rubrique « Patrimoine », on trouve pêle-mêle, des habitations (l'habitation Clément), un fort (le Fort Saint-Louis), deux moulins (le moulin Jouan), deux châteaux (Château Dubuc à Trinité et Château Depaz à Saint-Pierre), une distillerie (la distillerie Neisson), deux monastères et, curieusement *La Savane des esclaves*, sur laquelle nous reviendrons plus longuement par la suite. La rubrique « Terre de rhum » pour sa part, comprend uniquement des distilleries.

Quelques commentaires de notre part sur ces modalités de présentation à vocation essentiellement touristique, mais qui ne peuvent manquer de traduire une certaine vision de la mise en patrimoine, et donc de la patrimonialisation qui en résulte.

On note en priorité une volonté de créer une impression de richesse patrimoniale et de diversités des sites, au sein d'une île qui ne fait pourtant que 1000 kilomètres carrés. Mais dans le même temps, se profile une impression de confusion, de difficulté à classer réellement, dans la mesure où, par exemple, une seule distillerie se trouve à la rubrique « Patrimoine », alors que toutes les autres figurent dans celle intitulée « Terre de rhum ». De même, la rubrique « Musées » est envisagée de manière distincte de celle de « Patrimoine ».

Le mot ‹ esclave › ne revient qu'une seule fois : *La Savane des esclaves*, considérée comme objet du patrimoine et donc exclue de la catégorie muséale.

2.2 Mise en patrimoine et tourisme

Ces brèves remarques permettent au moins de prendre conscience de la manière dont les acteurs du tourisme appréhendent les éléments qui relèvent de la culture et du patrimoine. Le tourisme est, à bien des égards, un facteur de développement du patrimoine culturel, cependant, il est aussi, même si on insiste peu sur cet aspect généralement, un élément pouvant induire un détournement insidieux de la valeur patrimoniale vers la valeur marchande.

A la différence des historiens et des conservateurs, « l'objet culturel n'est pas regardé », par les acteurs du tourisme, « fondamentalement dans sa dimen-

sion historique, mais en tant qu'objet pouvant répondre à une demande touristique exprimée ou latente. Dans cette perspective, le patrimoine culturel doit être représenté, valorisé », et comme tel, il entre dans la sphère marchande (Ben-Ncer 2010 : 15). Il devient un objetqui va produire des revenus, de manière directe ou indirecte, grâce à l'effet multiplicateur de l'investissement. Les qualités intrinsèques du patrimoine ne suffisent plus : il faut les mettre en valeur, les scénariser, les flécher, c'est-à-dire réaliser un travail pour les mettre en valeur et les préparer à la consommation par le visiteur. « Pour qu'il soit exposé, ‹ vendu › et ‹ vendable ›, il faut que ce patrimoine soit réhabilité et intégré dans une stratégie de promotion de marketing. » (Ben-Ncer 2010 : 16)

Si ces propos d'Abdelwahed Ben-Ncer semblent convenir à notre analyse, c'est bien parce qu'ils permettent de rendre compte de la dimension marchande, et pas seulement historique ou patrimoniale de l'objet culturel, lorsque ce dernier est appréhendé comme objet touristique. La définition du patrimoine culturel reste encore trop souvent limitée à une approche qui dissimule cette préoccupation ‹ marketing › : l'intérêt de la problématisation de Ben-Ncer est précisément de mettre l'accent sur cette approche de marketing et sur les risques qui en découlent, au lieu de se cantonner à une démarche purement descriptive d'un objet culturel qui ne serait jamais vu que de manière éthérée. Si cette vision ‹ marketing › a un effet positif sur le patrimoine culturel, en rendant possibles des financements pour la réhabilitation des édifices patrimoniaux qui possèdent dès lors un potentiel économique, elle comprend également un risque : l'objet patrimonial peut être aménagé pour répondre aux attentes du touriste. Cela peut entraîner des modifications substantielles des espaces qui deviendraient de plus en plus édulcorés et scénarisés, perdant ainsi leur caractère initial de *Lieux de mémoire* pour devenir de simples tableauxà usage touristique.

C'est pourquoi il est essentiel que la mise en patrimoine résulte d'une concertation entre les divers partenaires territoriaux et fasse l'objet d'une politique conçue et mise en œuvre par ces différents partenaires. C'est ce que l'Unesco dénomme ‹ consensus › et définit comme étant

> […] un concept que partage la majorité des acteurs concernés par la question du patrimoine culturel […] et qui répond à leurs attentes. […] Un consensus partagé, c'est la compréhension de la part des acteurs concernés de ce qui les relie mais aussi de ce qui les sépare. Une définition consensuelle, c'est aussi l'identification des points d'achoppement, s'ils existent, entre les visions des uns et des autres afin d'œuvrer à les aplanir. La mise à plat de ce qui réunit, mais aussi de ce qui sépare, permet d'anticiper les conflits et de travailler à leur résolution. (Ben-Ncer 2010 : 6)

En Martinique, qui sont ces acteurs ?

— L'Etat, et la direction de la Culture,
— les collectivités territoriales, et à travers elles, le Comité Martiniquais du tourisme,
— l'agence de l'habitat, de l'urbanisme et de l'aménagement de l'espace (DEAL),
— l'Université des Antilles et de la Guyane,[1] à travers ses unités de recherche.

2.3 L'absence de problématisation et le primat accordé au tourisme

L'absence de problématisation s'explique en partie par le fait que la question de la mise en patrimoine a été recouverte par celle du tourisme. A la différence des Caraïbes hispanophones où la colonisation a inscrit dans l'espace un riche patrimoine architectural urbain, facteur d'attractivité pour le tourisme, dans les Antilles françaises, la question du patrimoine est plus difficile à appréhender, dans la mesure où le patrimoine architectural urbain laissé par la colonisation est quasi inexistant. Les bâtiments à valeur patrimoniale sont peu nombreux, exception faite de la Bibliothèque Schoelcher, des cathédrales de Fort-de-France et de Saint-Pierre (pour leurs vitraux notamment).

Par conséquent, il n'a pas été aisé d'identifier ou de rassembler un patrimoine martiniquais, lequel n'a pu trouver ses origines que dans la définition établie par le colonisateur, et ce faisant, par l'Etat français dont les hauts fonctionnaires, originaires de la France hexagonale (appelée encore familièrement *Métropole*), sont en général à la tête de toutes les administrations, y compris celles de la culture. De leurs côtés, les élites politiques locales ont surtout cherché à valoriser ce patrimoine culturel en termes touristiques et à collecter des fonds pour le réhabiliter, le restaurer et le promouvoir. Il faut ajouter à cela le rôle de mécénat que se sont octroyés les anciens colons qui ont tout de suite compris l'intérêt qu'il y avait à prendre une part active au processus de patrimonialisation, afin d'éviter autant que possible toute *Guerre des mémoires* (Stora 2007).

Pour bien comprendre ce qu'il convient d'entendre par ‹ absence de réflexion sur la patrimonialisation et primat accordé au tourisme ›, il importe d'ouvrir une parenthèse importante sur les enjeux politiques et culturels de la mise en patrimoine dans un espace insulaire comme la Martinique, où les *békés* con-

1 Nous avons dirigé l'Université des Antilles et de la Guyane entre 2013 et 2016. Cette université, du fait de la scission du pôle Guyane devenue le 1er janvier 2015, Université de la Guyane, a évolué le 25 juin 2015, en Université des Antilles. Cette scission brutale et non préparée suffit, à elle seule, à révéler les traumatismes de l'histoire esclavagiste et coloniale sur des peuples (martiniquais, guadeloupéens, guyanais) qui ont du mal à collaborer et à s'unir, préférant souvent les replis identitaires et les guerres de mémoires.

tinuent d'habiter dans des enclaves qui leur sont propres et où la rupture avec l'ancienne métropole ne s'est pas produite. Il faut aussi ajouter, ainsi que le souligne fort justement Patrick Bruneteaux, qu'« une large partie des élites dirigeantes martiniquaises [formant l'ethno-classe *mulâtre*], demeure mal à l'aise dans l'évocation de l'histoire coloniale » (Bruneteaux 2013a : 134) et qu'elles « se sont alignées dès l'abolition de l'esclavage, sur le principe d'un raturage de la mémoire esclavagiste » (Bruneteaux 2013a : 133). Or, cette ethno-classe *mulâtre*, qui a accédé au pouvoir depuis la départementalisation en 1946, n'a pas eu de mal à s'allier avec les *békés* et les hauts fonctionnaires originaires de la *Métropole*, pour promouvoir une représentation de l'objet culturel et patrimonial résolument touristique, c'est-à-dire dégagée autant que possible de ses attaches avec la violence et la répression de la période esclavagiste.

Pour le dire autrement, et sans aucune intention polémique, la dynamique de développement touristique a permis au pouvoir en place (Etat français, classe *mulâtre*, *békés)* de promouvoir une vision consensuelle de la patrimonialisation, vision non polémique, car fondée sur ce qui était présenté comme un impératif économique, à savoir, le développement touristique de la destination Martinique.

En réalité, cette mise en patrimoine n'est pas issue d'un dialogue avec la population qui n'était d'ailleurs pas intéressée par la question, dans la mesure où les programmes scolaires ne dispensent pas d'enseignement obligatoire sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Martinique, pas plus que sur l'histoire coloniale et esclavagiste. Bien au contraire, on a assisté entre les années 50 et 70, chez les Martiniquais, à une volonté de tourner le dos à une période de misère, liée à un passé de honte que tout un chacun cherchait à nier et à oublier.

Il y a donc eu, pour diverses raisons, une forme de ‹ consensus ›martiniquais sur les modalités de mise en patrimoine, même si ce consensus a été implicite et n'a pas servi les mêmes intérêts. Il n'empêche que globalement un accord tacite s'est fait autour de la notion glissantienne d'« occultation du passé », les uns pour servir des intérêts économiques ou idéologiques en pacifiant les relations et en éliminant tout risque de *Guerre des mémoires,* les autres pour tenter de se libérer d'une mémoire douloureuse, rattachée à un passé présenté par les aïeux comme « devant être destiné à être oublié », pour traduire une expression créole fort courante dans la bouche des anciens « sé bagay pou nou oublyé ».

De fait, les directions culturelles, en parfait accord avec les élites politiques locales, ont eu en quelque sorte carte blanche, pour établir une ligne de continuité entre les représentations paradisiaques inhérentes aux Tropiques (dans l'imaginaire des touristes français et occidentaux) et une réalité muséographique et patrimoniale qu'ils ont façonnée pour qu'elle ne soit pas en rupture avec ces stéréotypes.

Les analyses menées par des anthropologues, spécialistes des diasporas noires des Amériques, comme Christine Chivallon, ont mis en évidence cette « invisibilisation » (Chivallon 2006 : 18) des réalités de l'esclavage plantationnaire en Martinique, comme dans les pays issus de la diaspora noire. Elle s'appuie entre autres sur l'analyse de l'habitation Fonds-Saint-Jacques, à Sainte-Marie en Martinique, mais aussi sur *La Maison de la canne* (qui figure dans la rubrique « Musée » du site internet du *Comité Martiniquais du Tourisme* :

> La Maison de la canne […] opère par immersion dans un [sic] « autre chose », ici le patrimoine technique, monumentalité des pièces présentées – charrue, moulin à bêtes, chaudière, générateur tubulaire, colonnes à distiller, rolles des moulins de broyage, balance à fûts… – en vient à envahir l'espace d'énonciation muséographique et faire du musée un lieu consacré à l'industrie de la canne plutôt qu'à l'institution sociale qui en a gouverné l'invention et l'usage. Les mêmes commentaires peuvent être faits pour les autres musées. On y relève un glissement identique vers un autre domaine que celui fondateur qu'est le système esclavagiste. (Chivallon 2006 : 23)

De même, Patrick Bruneteaux, après avoir rappelé que le musée est une institution du pouvoir, montre comment l'accent est mis sur les techniques de production, la qualité des rhums et l'efficacité économique, à tel point qu'une figure comme celle du Père Labat, réputée pour les mauvais traitements infligés à ses esclaves, en vient à être réhabilitée et magnifiée. L'extrait qui suit est édifiant à cet égard :

> La quinzaine de panneaux de l'exposition située à Sainte-Marie, sur l'ancienne plantation du père Labat, sont ramassés, d'entrée de jeu, dans un titre très évocateur, cadrant le monde plantationnaire comme un espace d'existence presque ordinaire et pour tout dire vivable : « Quatre siècles d'histoire, lieu de vie, lieu de mémoire ». Nous avons rencontré les responsables de cette exposition et leur avons demandé d'où leur venait le choix de l'expression « lieu de vie », vu que *a minima,* « lieu de survie » aurait été plus approprié : « *Si, l'habitation a bien été un lieu de vie, puisque la population d'aujourd'hui en est issue. Ce n'est pas un camp de concentration* […] *puisque toute la société d'aujourd'hui en est sortie. C'est bien la preuve que les gens demeuraient en vie, qu'ils n'étaient pas exterminés. Et il y aurait un certain mépris à croire que les esclaves n'essayaient pas de trouver les moyens aussi de se distraire et même de se cultiver* ». […] Cette expression « lieu de vie » n'est sans doute pas formulée au hasard. On la retrouve sur les habitations privées (Clément, Lamauny) dotées d'une intention muséographique explicite […]. Pour les organisateurs de cette exposition, l'expression « lieu de vie » convient tout à fait, est très pertinente et ne soulève aucune difficulté épistémologique, les justifications orales apportant la preuve supplémentaire de l'intention qui préside à ce choix. (Bruneteaux : 2013b)

Il apparaît ainsi que la mise en patrimoine en Martinique a emprunté les voies de l'invisibilisation et de l'euphémisation des violences inscrites à la fois dans les structures sociales et les réalités esclavagistes. L'absence de dimension phénoménologique de la souffrance dans les plantations et les habitations, devenues alors objets culturels de toute beauté, où les touristes peuvent s'extasier sur l'exquise richesse du mobilier, les peintures, l'architecture de la maison du maître, l'aménagement des jardins, goûter gratuitement à divers rhums, sans qu'aucune visibilité ne soit donnée à l'espace des esclaves, aux objets de torture, en est tout à fait révélatrice.

La Savane des esclaves constitue l'unique exception. Le fait que son promoteur soit un « nègre de la campagne » (ainsi qu'il se définit lui-même dans les échanges oraux que nous avons pu avoir avec lui), sans diplôme, et n'ayant pu bénéficier d'aucune subvention des collectivités ou des partenaires de l'Etat, en dit long sur les orientations de la politique de patrimonialisation, sur la volonté de ses acteurs de ne laisser ouverte aucune brèche et de verrouiller les tentatives de ‹ marronnagemuséographique ›.

En ce sens, la mémoire muséale est essentiellement *mulâtre* et *béké*, comme le souligne Bruneteaux, mais il faut ajouter que cette mémoire est aussi *nègre,* car les couches populaires n'ont eu de cesse d'effacer les traces de cette souffrance, inscrite dans leur phénotype même, et de se projeter dans le monde du *maître*, comme en témoignent le rejet du créole et la course au fonctionnariat. Elles sont néanmoins restées à distance de cette patrimonialisation, même si depuis de nombreuses années, le développement des journées du patrimoine, la nuit des musées et toutes les manifestations visant à ouvrir au grand public l'accès aux lieux de patrimoine ont permis un certain rapprochement entre la population et ces lieux.

3 Archives numériques des cultures antillaises et dynamiques identitaires

Comment s'inscrivent les archives numériques des cultures antillaises dans ce panorama ? D'une manière générale, il faut rappeler que l'université a été globalement tenue à l'écart des diverses politiques de mise en patrimoine. Nous pouvons affirmer sans crainte, en tant qu'ancienne présidente de l'Université des Antilles et de la Guyane entre 2013 et 2016, que l'Université n'a pas pris part à la construction des espaces muséographiques, ni aux projets divers de mise en patrimoine et de réhabilitation des sites patrimoniaux, etc.

Toutefois, à travers les projets menés notamment par le Groupe d'Études et de Recherches en Espace Créolophone (G.E.R.E.C.), d'importants travaux relatifs au patrimoine culturel immatériel ont été conduits : sauvegarde de la

parole des conteurs créoles (la *parole de nuit,* cf. Ludwig : 2010) ; paroles en créole des anciens grâce aux enregistrements effectués par des étudiants de Licence et de Master ; études sur les veillées mortuaires et les rites funéraires ; sur la pharmacopée traditionnelle ou sur les rituels indiens (cf. Laurent/Césaire 1977 ; Lucrèce 2000 et 2016 ; L'Étang 1999 et 2012).

Ces travaux divers et variés, qui ont aussi fait l'objet de thèses de doctorat, sont accompagnés de publications importantes relatives à la vie dans les habitations, mais dans un esprit qui finalement visait davantage à mettre en exergue la culture originale qui s'y était créée, loin de tout sentiment victimaire. De fait, ces études n'ont pas mis l'accent sur la souffrance et la violence au sein de l'habitation-plantation, mais se sont essentiellement attachées à exalter les ressources étonnantes dont avaient fait preuve les descendants d'esclaves pour transformer l'habitation en lieu de créativité culturelle, en lieu de vie. Rappelons que l'*Éloge de la créolité* de 1989 s'inscrit également dans cette dynamique de valorisation et d'exaltation de la culture créole, rejetant toute lamentation et faisant l'impasse sur la dimension phénoménologique de la souffrance.

C'est cette dynamique qui a prévalu et qui a suscité une forme de réveil culturel, lequel s'est traduit par une volonté de récupération et de conservation de tout l'héritage patrimonialde l'esclavage dans les domaines de la danse, du conte et du chant : ateliers de bèlè, de haute taille, de gwo-ka, survalorisation du tambour, etc. Cette prise de conscience s'est accompagnée chez de nombreux défenseurs des cultures traditionnelles d'un violent rejet des cultures contemporaines, en particulier des cultures dites urbaines en provenance des Etats-Unis, de la Jamaïque, etc., accusées de supplanter la tradition et de dénaturer l'identité antillaise ancrée dans la mazurka, la biguine, la valse créole, etc.

Or, l'Université, à travers notamment son département d'Études anglophones, a entamé un important travail sur ces cultures urbaines en contexte caribéen, ayant donné lieu à la réalisation de nombreuses thèses de doctorat (cf. Gadet 2010) et à des séminaires souvent itinérants.[2] La culture du slam a ainsi constitué un élément de liaison intéressant entre cultures traditionnelles et cultures urbaines, par la médiation des percussions qui accompagnent le récitant (slameur).

Ces divers facteurs ont conduit les universitaires de la Faculté de Lettres et de Sciences humaines à s'intéresser de plus en plus à la médiation culturelle (les jeunes générations étant totalement coupées des savoirs traditionnels et les générations plus âgées étant hostiles généralement aux savoirs contemporains) et à la mise en patrimoine dans sa dimension dynamique. Il s'agissait dès lors d'intégrer le patrimoine dans des projets de développement et de ne pas le

2 http://www.lycee-leopold-bissol.com/conference-impact-des-musiques-urbaines-sur-la-jeunesse/

réduire à une vision de sacralisation du passé, ce qui exigeait de jeter des passerelles entre ce legs civilisationnel et les créations de l'homme contemporain, le patrimoine de demain étant ce que nous inventons aujourd'hui. Il s'avérait donc impérieux de faire du patrimoine un espace de dialogue entre les civilisations, les générations et les époques, c'est à dire de ne pas l'enfermer dans une vision puriste,ni une approche immobiledu patrimoine culturel, ou encore une conception linéaire de l'histoire.

Les nouvelles archives numériques des cultures antillaises, à travers le programme MANIOC, sont donc nées initialement de cette volonté de créer un espace de partage des expériences culturelles de toutes époques et de toutes générations confondues, en jouant un rôle important de médiation culturelle et patrimoniale. Le projet collaboratif de MANIOC, fondé en 2006, forme une de ces nouvelles archives numériques mises en œuvre pour réaliser de façon exemplaire le principe des mémoires transmédiales ; pour reprendre leur site :

> Manioc est une bibliothèque numérique spécialisée sur la Caraïbe, l'Amazonie, le Plateau des Guyanes et les régions ou centres d'intérêt liés à ces territoires. Vous y trouverez des documents textuels, sonores, iconographiques et des références concernant l'histoire culturelle, sociale, économique ou politique de ces pays. Manioc apporte sa contribution à la valorisation du patrimoine et à la constitution de la mémoire de demain en mettant à disposition tant des ouvrages anciens restituant la pensée sociale d'une époque que des textes et travaux contemporains issus de la recherche universitaire. Les documents sont mis à disposition à des fins d'étude et de recherche et non dans le but de promouvoir les idées développées par leurs auteurs. Manioc s'inscrit dans une démarche de libre accès au patrimoine et à l'information scientifique. (MANIOC 2006)

Ce travail colossal de numérisation des données des différentes bibliothèques et archives de la Guadeloupe, de la Guyane et de la Martinique témoigne, comme c'est le cas pour la plupart des bibliothèques numériques, d'une volonté de conserver en un même espace des données patrimoniales dispersées, en les rendant accessibles au plus grand nombre. En ce sens, la bibliothèque numérique MANIOC a été conçue comme un outil de médiation. Cette notion d'accessibilité de textes, photos, images, anciens et souvent inconnus du grand public, a été au fondement de la démarche : conserver et mettre en vitrine des documents ignorés de la plupart, y compris des chercheurs, dans la mesure où la démarche de recherche de documents patrimoniaux n'est pas du tout habituelle dans un pays à forte tradition orale comme la Martinique, où les bibliothèques restent des espaces réservés à quelques privilégiés.

Dans le même temps, en constituant un espace de ‹ stockage › des conférences, colloques et séminaires réalisés à l'UAG (devenue depuis UA), MANIOC visait aussi à donner une plus grande visibilité des travaux de recherche menés

à l'université, lesquels sont généralement ignorés de la population antillaise, des écoles, des collectivités, etc.

Au niveau épistémologique, la démarche s'est révélée compliquée, même si la collaboration des bibliothécaires et des conservateurs a fortement contribué à lui conférer une certaine assise pragmatique. En effet, la numérisation des données ne dispense absolument pas d'une réflexion sur le choix des documents, leurs modalités de présentation, l'organisation des rubriques, avec cette dialectique presque impossible entre période de l'esclavage et valorisation des cultures antillaises. S'agissait-il de valoriser ces cultures ou de mettre en évidence leurs contradictions fondamentales, leurs silences, leurs non-dits ?

L'organisation en deux grandes rubriques « Patrimoine » et « Recherche » répond à cette volonté d'offrir une approche dynamique, fondée, d'une part, sur la mise à disposition de documents existants et souvent inaccessibles jusque-là, et, d'autre part, sur les interprétations et études actuelles ou plus anciennes, menées dans le champ des cultures antillaises et caribéennes traditionnelles et contemporaines.

Du point de vue épistémologique, une réflexion a été menée en amont sur la place à accorder à la mémoire de l'esclavage, étouffée par les politiques de patrimonialisation décrites précédemment. C'est pourquoi il a été décidé qu'une grande partie de la rubrique « Patrimoine » serait consacrée à la mise à disposition de photos, d'images, de cartes postales d'ouvrages numérisés (1651 au total) décrivant les mémoires de la période esclavagiste, dans le monde américain et amazonien, à travers les écrits des pères et abbés, les relations de voyages, les chansons, les documents relatifs à l'administration des colonies, les affaires judiciaires mettant en scène des rébellions, des crimes contre les fonctionnaires, les rapports entre l'Eglise et l'esclavage, etc.

Le choix a été fait de ne pas hiérarchiser, mais de présenter un classement alphabétique, afin de se donner le temps de poursuivre la réflexion épistémologique. L'idée étant de mettre à la disposition des chercheurs, doctorants, écoles, professionnels du livre, etc., et depuis chez eux, des ouvrages uniques et exceptionnels qui, jusque-là étaient menacés par des conditions de conservation précaires, afin de susciter des études sur toutes les périodes de l'histoire des cultures antillaises et caribéennes, notamment pour la période relative à l'esclavage : études linguistiques, sociologiques, etc. des mémoires des maîtres d'habitation, des esclaves…

Il faut savoir que, malgré l'important dispositif de communication déployé autour de la mise en place de MANIOC et les présentations régulières effectuées auprès des publics mentionnés plus haut, cette bibliothèque numérique n'a pas trouvé sa place au sein de la culture antillaise, étant consultée presque exclusivement par les chercheurs étrangers. En outre, on a pu noter beaucoup

de réticences de la part des détenteurs des fonds bibliothécaires et d'archives pour la numérisation de leurs données.

C'est récemment que le Conseil de la Culture, de l'Environnement et de l'Éducation (C.C.E.E.), organe rattaché au conseil régional de la Martinique, a produit en 2014 des petits films[3] sur le patrimoine culturel immatériel, sans toutefois jamais consulter les responsables de MANIOC, en travaillant uniquement avec des associations et des personnes dont le savoir est reconnu par la population, sans aucunement être docteur ni universitaire. Il s'en dégage une forme de vision folklorisante avec une survalorisation des danses traditionnelles, etc. mais sans approche critique ni comparatiste suffisante.

La résurgence du négrisme, avec la question des réparations,[4] tend à raviver la volonté de se réapproprier une mémoire de l'esclavage, de revendiquer la mise en œuvre d'une phénoménologie de la souffrance et de la violence dans les espaces qui ont vu se jouer ces rapports entre maîtres et esclaves, comme les habitations. Parallèlement, les jeunes générations, happées par la mondialisation, ne se préoccupent guère de l'époque de l'esclavage, ni de la période post-plantationnaire, immergées qu'elles sont dans un présent sans délimitation territoriale ni spatiale.

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3 Les références quant à la production de films de ce conseil sont consultables sur le site : http://ccee-martinique.fr/le-ccee-de-martinique/les-productions. Il est aussi possible de visionner ces films directement à partir de ce site. Voir en particulier les productions de films du « Pôle Culture » : films sur les instruments de musique, la cuisine traditionnelle, le carnaval, l'indianité, la pharmacopée traditionnelle, la médecine traditionnelle, les traditions écrites et orales, la biguine, etc.

4 Voir en particulier : http://la1ere.francetvinfo.fr/2013/02/04/trois-questions-garcin-malsa-maire-de-sainte-anne-martinique-fondateur-et-president-du-mouvement-international-pour-les-reparations-mir-13351.html ; http://www.martinique.franceantilles.fr/actualite/culture/esclavage-l-unesco-s-empare-de-la-question-des-reparations-271004.php

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Ralph Ludwig

Perspectives for Linguistic and Philological Research in the 'French' and 'Romance' Caribbean

In my discussion of Linguistics and 'Caribbean-Creole Philology,' a term I will explain in a moment, I will refer primarily (but not solely) to the so-called 'French Caribbean.' At the same time, I will question the restrictions to which the study of the Caribbean is so often subjected.

1 Studies on Languages, Cultures, and Media in Particular Societies

Many Caribbean languages have now been more thoroughly investigated than was the case a few decades ago. Detailed analyses, grammars, and dictionaries now exist for many languages and varieties. One well known example is the language constellation in Haiti, which was analyzed extensively by Albert Valdman (2015). A further example is the Palenquero language in Columbia: At the end of the 1960s, Creole studies discovered this language (de Granda 1968; Bickerton/Escalante 1970; Schwegler 2013). Meanwhile, quite a number of studies exist which cover various aspects (grammar, lexis, socio-linguistics) of this Creole language in great detail.

However, many areas and languages still require detailed analysis and investigation. Despite the work which has already been achieved, many individual societies have not been looked at in sufficient detail or require renewed analysis. There are three main reasons for this, which have to do with the accelerated developments of language and communication in the last decades:

— fast processes of change, e.g. changed contact processes
— processes of change in the media/changes in the relation of oral-written language/demand and reality in schools and institutions
— mobility and the diaspora, elements which affect Caribbean societies greatly

In my investigations, I focus, amongst other things, on variational linguistics in several Caribbean varieties of Spanish, French, and Creole from a Romance linguistics point of view. My colleagues and I collaborated, for example, in compiling a dictionary of Guadeloupe Creole (Ludwig/Montbrand/Poullet/Telchid

2013) and in investigating other Creole languages (Ludwig/Telchid/Bruneau-Ludwig 2001); we analyzed several varieties of Caribbean Spanish, among them Puerto Rican Spanish, to name just one example (Deising, work in progress).

Interdependence in the archipelago and the complexity of the case under interdisciplinary investigation are, however, striking. In recent work on Spanish in Puerto Rico, the fact that language contact with English is formative, even more so than 15 years ago, is very evident. Contemporary English/American linguistic influence in Puerto Rico cannot be understood without considering two specific factors: First, the country's intra-Caribbean dissociations (e.g. from Cuba) and second, the ever-changing, macroareal influences (especially an increased influence from the US).

2 Necessity for a Broader Perspective

Therefore, the adoption of a broader perspective is imperative in various fields of research, which in turn causes us to cross frontiers in various directions – and this at a time, in which Caribbean Studies look back on several decades of scholarly investigation of various small territories, including their languages and cultures. In her dissertation, Alla Klimenkowa (2017) has defined the Caribbean as a "contact space." The "cross-border perspective" – which was, of course, always present in Caribbean Studies but has gained in importance over the last few years – applies for various sorts of borders. The synchronic perspective must be extended in view of the diachronic cultural and linguistic processes of constitution. The various language types must be investigated along the lines of their typological contact relations. Out of this a whole complex/set of questions arises as for example: How are Creole languages related genetically to colonizing languages, and how did (and do) they compare historically with today? Can Creole languages be classified quite simply as "normal" languages? To put this claim into perspective, I would like to give a few examples.

3 Areal Crossing of Frontiers

To begin with, the above-mentioned crossing of frontiers holds true for areas. In general, a growing tendency to adopt a macroareal perspective becomes apparent; here, the Caribbean is seen as a complex communicational and cultural space. This is true for a synchronic as well as a diachronic perspective. This appears in diverse fields of investigation, and it does so beyond historical and linguistic studies; one interesting example would be the macroareal investigation of proverbs (e.g. the project *1000 Proverbes de la Caraïbe*, in which Creole

proverbs from Dominica, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, and Haiti were surveyed comparatively as early as the 1980s). One very important contribution towards laying the empirical foundations of comparative trans-Creole studies is made by the *Apics* (*Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures*) under the leadership of Susanne Michaelis at the Max-Planck-Institute in Leipzig.[1]

4 The Frontier Crossing of Etymological Investigations

Etymological investigations present a comprehensive perspective with regard to areal and temporal frontier crossing. This can be observed in Annegret Bollée's project (2012), which aims to compile an etymological dictionary of French Creole languages in the Caribbean (cf. the *Dictionnaire étymologique des créoles français d'Amérique,* short DECA).

— This intended compilation of the existing Creole dictionaries will basically create a complex synchronic Creole dictionary for the French Caribbean in general.
— Secondly, the entries will be explained etymologically, thus shedding light on diachronic linguistic processes, such as linguistic creolization.
— Finally, this is complex cultural history in the making. For example, it is only possible to explain the Haitian word *matelotage* if we begin historically with the sailor, who had to share a hammock with his mates according to their shifts, and then move on to the first settlers, whose male representatives often shared one woman in a very particular form of settlement.[2]

Amongst these etymological macroareal studies, we must also include a couple of other investigations, such as Silke Jansen (2012), Alla Klimenkowa (2017), André Thibault (2012, 2015), and Jean-Paul Chauveau (2015). Historical texts (e.g. chronicles from the 17th and 18th century, which are much more easily available today as electronic data) allow an empirical investigation of earlier linguistic stages in the Caribbean and offer diachronic evidence and parameters for investigating linguistic and social creolization processes (cf. Ludwig 2017).

1 Cf. the overview of Michaelis/Maurer/Haspelmath/Huber (2013a) and the data bank of the *Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Michaelis/Maurer/Haspelmath/Huber (2013b).

2 For *matelotage* cf. Du Tertre 1667, vol. II, 453–454; Oexmelin [1678] 1699, I, 134–135.; Corre 1890: 15.

5 Creolistic Typology

Linguistically, the question of the degree of specificity of particular Creole languages and the question of the relationship between structural, historical, and general cognitive parameters continues to pose themselves again and again; the French Creole languages, for instance, offer such a field of investigation. They do so in relation to each other as well as in their comparison with English, Portuguese, and other Creole languages. The existence of an independent classification as "Creole languages" has recently been demanded by John McWhorter (1998, 2005), while Salikoko Mufwene (2001, 2008) has disputed this hypothesis energetically.

As far as linguistic structures are concerned, the *Apics* attempt to find an answer by comparing most of the Pidgin and Creole languages known around the world typologically. This poses a question which in the end is important for cultural and literary studies, too: What is the peculiarity of the Caribbean area and what does the particular interdependence between the Caribbean Creole world and other Creole worlds consist of?

6 Multi-Faceted Contact in Synchronic Creolistics

From a Creolist point of view, it is increasingly necessary to adopt a more and more macroareal linguistic and social perspective of contact. This means that, for example, the hypothetical scale French/Creole needs to be considered in a structural typological manner as well as through a functional discourse-analysis. In this field of investigation, the influence exercised by contact between the Caribbean and the European and North American diasporas also needs to be taken into areal account.

7 Interdisciplinarity in Linguistics-Literary Studies

Many literary studies also continue to pursue interdisciplinarity, since points of great importance would be lacking without an in-depth consideration of the linguistic aspects of a literary oeuvre. The necessity of such an approach is demonstrated in particular by the novel *La mazurka perdue des femmes-couresse* by Mérine Céco. Long passages of this novel practice an "écriture en alternance." (Ludwig 2015) This inclusion of the linguistic potential inherent in the contrast and conflict between French and Creole is particularly effective here.

As I have emphasized before, this leads to a 'new (Creole) philology' that combines linguistic, literary, and cultural investigation; this discipline therefore

transcends the concept of the 'Creole philology' ("philologie creole") proposed by Jules Faine (1937). The online publication of the periodical *Études Créoles* (*Laboratoire Parole Langage*, University of Aix-en-Provence) is committed to such an interdisciplinary approach (Kriegel/Véronique 2015). Ludwig (2015) also adopted this approach in his compendium of literature in the Creole world.

8 Comprehensive Models and Linguistic Ecology

A basic task of Caribbean investigation in particular is to formulate theories which encourage the intertwining and fusion of disciplines, while explicitly expanding existing theories at the same time. The necessity of formulating epistemological and hermeneutic syntheses is especially striking in Caribbean studies. Important in the field of linguistics are publications which investigate basic processes such as hybridization (cf. Aboh 2015), or the question of the relation between creolization and universal grammar (cf. Aboh/DeGraff 2015). State of the art models regarding thus processes of creolisation and development, in which key words such as language contact and linguistic ecology play a central role, are also considered to cross frontiers and set trends. Our research-group and myself are trying to contribute to the field by proposing a model of linguistic ecology that refers in philosophical terms to Husserl's term of foundation (cf. Ludwig/Mühlhäusler/Pagel 2017).

Conclusion: The Current Relevance of Linguistic and Cultural Caribbean Studies

The Caribbean is a particularly relevant field of contemporary research. This can be said initially for inner-Caribbean studies. Many Caribbean societies are subject to deep-seated and difficult processes of change, in which the connection between language and society proves to be of central importance. This demands linguistic expertise, not only for an understanding and analysis of the processes currently taking place but also quite specifically in the area of educational politics and the demands for solutions to current problems. Indeed, linguistic expertise is crucial even for approaches that confront the differences in literacy and oral competence. A particularly relevant example is the development of education in Haiti after the earthquake in 2010 (cf. DeGraff 2010).

The questions raised by Kamau Brathwaite (1971, 1974), Orlando Patterson (1975), Ulf Hannerz (1987, 1996), and Jean Bernabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant (1989) – which concern the definition of linguistic and social creolization and the respective relation of the two processes – have not lost any

of their relevance on a general epistemic level. This is true above all for language and communication. The Caribbean offers unique insight into general concepts and processes in linguistic genealogy; in universality and the singularity of language; in language mixture, syntax, and pragmatics in various contact processes; and not least in the linguistic transmission from the "old" to the "new" world (cf. Mufwene 2015; Ludwig 2017).

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Ariel Camejo Vento

Saberes en tensión: de la "frontera imperial" a los "bordes coloniales"

En el contexto de un giro socio-político muy relevante para el siglo xx en la región del Caribe, el triunfo de la Revolución Cubana, el intelectual dominicano Juan Bosch popularizó con uno de sus libros fundamentales (*De Cristobal Colón a Fidel Castro*, 1970) la noción de "frontera imperial". En aquel análisis, que pretendía contemplar la historia regional desde la contradicción entre dominación imperial y luchas de liberación nacional, la frontera adquiría el carácter de un espacio de negociación externa que situaba el Caribe al arbitrio de poderes supranacionales, los cuales diseñaron las formas y las vías que dieron cuerpo a una idea de nación y, por supuesto, de cultura nacional. Unos años después, hacia la década de los ochenta, se había consolidado una suerte de *mainstream* intelectual que discursaba sobre el Caribe, desde el Caribe, en tanto territorio conceptual sólido y que hacía posible su visualización, además, como un "paisaje" discursivo (Glissant: 1981), como una "isla" cultural (Benítez Rojo: 1989).

Aunque la síntesis parezca excesiva y otros muchos hechos pudieran mencionarse,[1] lo cierto es que en el lapso de tres décadas (1959–1989) se dibujaron los contornos del concepto de Caribe que suele ser más atendido a nivel académico: uno que apunta hacia los límites regionales, el otro hacia un espacio cultural concreto. Considero que en ese núcleo histórico se condensan unas prácticas y usos en términos de "saber" sobre los que quizás sea oportuno reflexionar hoy. En primera instancia porque, dominada por la idea de la "frontera imperial", se organizó una episteme *Caribe* en la que la región suele ser visualizada como emplazamiento de concreción de un cierto proyecto "civilizatorio" (colonialismo, neocolonialismo, etc.). Una vez sobreimpuesto ese paradigma de la contención, de la domesticación territorial, se despliegan por debajo, y sobre

1 Una hechología que es no solamente histórica sino, y fundamentalmente, discursiva. Piénsese en el auge de la producción literaria y ensayística caribeña en este período, el surgimiento de una institucionalidad de carácter regional del tipo CARICOM, o la consolidación de un espacio para la confluencia y circulación de la producción artística e intelectual de la región a través de las universidades o instituciones como Casa de las Américas.

todo en el horizonte de las prácticas culturales, trayectorias diversas que siguen un afán similar.

Este tratamiento objetual del Caribe, por ejemplo, ha estado ligado fundamentalmente a dos tipos de demandas: unas de tipo conceptual que garantizaran niveles de estabilidad territorial y cultural; y otras de naturaleza epistémica, garantes estas últimas de legitimidad histórica y axiológica. Así, se organizaron de una parte ciertos contornos jerárquicos que permitían estabilizar, regularizar y normativizar comportamientos lingüísticos, discursivos, nacionales, etc., cuyos mecanismos reguladores a nivel metropolitano adquirieron matices conceptuales diversos: balcanización, diversidad, pluralidad, fractalidad… La mirada al objeto cultural "Caribe" sigue estando atada, de alguna manera, a ese régimen de observación que pasa por el prisma conceptual de la fragmentación. Una vez diseñada la frontera, el límite que corresponde a la pedagogía cultural de la Nación-Estado, el observatorio académico despliega el trazado de otras cartografías subsidiarias de ese entramado ideológico: proyectos subjetivos e identitarios, modelos de ciudadanía, repertorios simbólicos… De ahí esos "espacios" discursivos opacos que parecen delimitar el inestable territorio de las prácticas culturales, mundos aislados y previstos por un cómodo determinismo lingüístico que construye la idea de Nación a imagen y semejanza de la Lengua-Cultura (metropolitana).[2]

Por otra parte, las garantías de periodicidad, regularidad, relevancia o pertinencia, son controladas conceptualmente por la metodología temporal e interpretativa de Occidente, hecho que sabemos conduce a numerosas incongruencias analíticas hasta ahora poco atendidas: solapamientos entre matrices ideo-estéticas metropolitanas (Ilustración, Modernidad, Postmodernidad, etc.) y producción cultural colonial; prevalencia de géneros y tipologías legitimadas (escritura vs. oralidad, alta cultura vs. cultura popular); centralismo lingüístico metropolitano (lenguas nacionales vs. *creoles*); por solo mencionar algunas de las más relevantes.[3] Sin embargo, ha sido este a grandes rasgos el movimiento

2 Quizás esa sea una de las causas que explican la incomodidad académica para lidiar con el universo de las culturas *creoles* y sus atipicidades, incluso para los propios académicos caribeños. El universo *creole* de base francófona, por ejemplo, sigue siendo un territorio de tensiones permanentes en tanto sus realizaciones efectivas distan mucho de acomodarse a la idea de una lógica cultural nacional. El propio *Elogio de la Creolidad*, de Chamoiseau, Confiant y Bernabé, es en el fondo un reconocimiento de las dificultades que entraña un tipo de perspectiva nuevamente esencialista al entorno regional, en tanto las prácticas del creole, como lengua, como cultura o como expresión artística, denotan diferencias marcadas al trasladarse de contexto. Piénsese que en casos como los de Guadalupe o Martinica, ni siquiera puede hablarse con legitimidad de expresiones culturales "nacionales". Por no decir que expresiones culturales *creoles*, entendida la creolidad como fenómeno sociohistórico, siguen siendo marginales en muchos países.

intelectual que se ha desplegado sobre el Caribe como entorno conceptual y que conduce siempre a las mismas preguntas: ¿Qué es el Caribe? ¿Cuáles son sus marcas de singularidad? ¿Hasta qué punto es un territorio inteligible, digamos "intelectualizable"?

Enfrentados al escenario del mundo contemporáneo quizás nos encontremos ante un estado de cosas que parece haber cancelado, o al menos suspendido, ese régimen histórico de garantías que permitía "referirse" (hablar de, discursar sobre) al/el Caribe como un horizonte dominado, al menos teóricamente, desde encuadres más o menos estables. O al menos desde los encuadres que proponían las extensiones de las fronteras imperiales, unas fronteras que no son hoy las del colonialismo sino las de la colonialidad como matriz de dominación subjetiva.

En el marco del Seminario Internacional "El papel de la cultura en el Caribe hoy: contextos y desafíos", celebrado en la Casa de las Américas de La Habana a finales de 2014, la profesora Anja Bandau llamaba la atención sobre la necesidad de un acercamiento cauteloso a la cuestión académica de lo caribeño, sometida hoy a posicionamientos mucho más inestables tanto en términos de prácticas como de reflexión cultural. Me interesaron entonces al menos tres zonas de su cuestionamiento que quisiera sintetizar brevemente, para luego mencionar dos núcleos conceptuales sobre los que creo se han acumulado complejidades de muy diversa naturaleza que conducen al movimiento de nuevo tipo que llamo los "bordes coloniales", una especie de reflujo sociocultural que devuelve al Caribe hacia las costas metropolitanas (hacia su geografía, hacia su tradición discursiva y estética) con el peso incontenible de una marea alta.

1. La primera es la que propone la referencia al Caribe en términos de un "lugar" complejo. Ese lugar se resiste a seguir siendo el espacio geográfico llano de los mapas, un emplazamiento vital o existencial; es también, y cada vez con más intensidad, un lugar en el discurso, un territorio de la imaginación que dibuja nuevas cartografías desjerarquizadas. Tradicionalmente examinado como espacio contenido al interior de un concepto: el "Caribe" (que es mar, archipiélago, ámbito de relaciones entre islas y aislamientos), ese encuadre produce objetos y relaciones cómodamente asimilables por una lógica moderna de lo nacional; pero hoy se encuentra atravesado, quizás lo estuvo siempre, por posiciones más laterales, situadas en puntos tangenciales en los que se producen los

3 Siguiendo estos principios epistémicos no resulta extraño comprender por qué el conocimiento del Caribe (de un cierto Caribe) es muchas veces presentado como una suerte de ejercicio de lógica histórica de asimilación, de manera que cada fragmento encuentre su acomodo en el "todo" que le corresponde. Siendo ese "todo" la lógica de la Gran Nación Metropolitana: España, Francia, Inglaterra, Estados Unidos, Portugal, Holanda.

pliegues que muestran y esconden al mismo tiempo prácticas individuales y comunitarias cada vez más alejadas del ideal decimonónico de "pueblo" o de "identidad nacional".

2. La segunda zona de interés se relaciona con el examen de la caribeñidad como un programa, un proyecto, una política de vida, una práctica, una experiencia que se debate hoy entre las dinámicas analíticas de universalidad y singularidad, entre esferas de intercambio con la experiencia más abarcadora de la subalternidad – violencia sociopolítica, dominación, colonialidad – y las que hablan de un relato sui géneris de lo caribeño – plantación, trata, mestizaje, etc. ¿Hacia dónde conduce el discurso que produce lo caribeño? ¿A qué públicos interpela? ¿Cuáles economías, del deseo o del consumo, o de ambas cosas, son satisfechas por esa producción? Más allá de las respuestas variables con que puedan ser completadas estas preguntas, lo cierto es que determinados tópicos de nuestra "singularidad" parecen inscribirse muy bien en el proceso general e histórico de la construcción de "otredades" subsidiarias al relato identitario colectivo (el sujeto europeo) y también, contemporáneamente, como suplemento intelectual al interior de determinadas lógicas analíticas, como las de la academia norteamericana.

3. Y en tercer lugar resulta muy significativa, aunque problemática, la idea de construir lo caribeño como un "campo de dominio intercultural", como territorio desde el que se despliega un análisis extenso y profundo de tópicos y asuntos de la cultura caribeña. Se ha hablado mucho, por ejemplo, del multilingüismo como problema, y las alternativas se polarizan en torno a dos salidas: potenciar la enseñanza multilingüe o incentivar la traducción. Sin embargo, se extrañan las teorizaciones que desde el campo cultural e intelectual podrían derivarse de ambos extremos, atravesando espacios de producción muy diversos entre sí: industria editorial, educación general, vida cotidiana, integración política, etc.

Situado ante ese emplazamiento cenagoso, ese manglar al que nos remite una célebre novela de Maryse Condé (*Traversée de la mangrove*, 1992), un lugar paradójico en el que el mar comienza a endurecerse mientras que la tierra se diluye, cabría preguntarse si aún es posible el planteamiento utópico de una "teoría cultural" propia, cuyas bases conceptuales sigan ancladas en la fijeza normativa del concepto canónico de Caribe, como podría ser, por ejemplo, la emblemática y duradera tesis de la transculturación.

Una antológica caricatura de Gary Larson ("Anthropologists! Anthropologists!") resume con sencillez algunas de estas cuestiones problemáticas, paradójicas. Ante la llegada no anunciada de los antropólogos, dos aborígenes se aprestan a "ocultar" todo rastro de "civilización" que contamine ese mundo "natural", "virginal" que de algún modo constituye un campo del deseo ajeno.[4] De manera jocosa, no obstante, a través del marco y la mirada indiscreta del

espectador se ponen en contacto esa economía del deseo antropológico con otra de signo opuesto que la completa y que no es más que una economía de la satisfacción.

A la mirada antropológica que se interesa por el origen, por un territorio no contaminado, libre del ruido “cultural”, preservado en el orden de las cosas “naturales”; se enfrenta una mirada desde lo que pudiéramos llamar una “política de vida”, una experiencia que se desarrolla como resultante de los roces entre el proyecto civilizatorio y la naturaleza. Esta constelación, en fin, nos sitúa ante el tipo de pedagogía turística que ha minado durante siglos, con variaciones y engalanamientos, el examen de lo caribeño, sujeto más al completamiento de necesidades ajenas, que a los desarrollos propios de una *manera de estar juntos*, ese principio que anima en buena medida la llamada “etnología del cercano” de Marc Augé. En *Pour une anthropologie des mondes contemporains* (2003), Augé se ha referido a la crisis de la mirada antropológica de corte positivista, cada vez más inoperante para explicar un mundo no solamente globalizado, sino también atravesado por la heterogeneidad[5].

La exploración de esas cercanías nos conduce al examen cuidadoso de nuevos conceptos en los que se aglutina la complejidad de comportamientos culturales y artísticos que tienen lugar en ese territorio complejo que llamamos Caribe, un lugar concebido por el discurso y un dominio de la experiencia intercultural que no se reconoce como “interior” de ninguna frontera, sino que disemina sus bordes mediante actuaciones transnacionales, transculturales. Esos conceptos estarían atravesados por dos cuestiones esenciales: territorialidad y cotidianidad.

1 Territorio

El territorio nace en una posición intermedia entre individuo y comunidad, es testigo de una experiencia del lugar que es, cuando menos, doble. No hay territorio sin mirada que trace coordenadas, horizontes, demarcaciones; y al mismo tiempo se marca el espacio de lo propio en medio de la ajenidad del mundo. El

4 La caricatura de Larson muestra a tres aborígenes que, ante la llegada de los antropólogos, se apresuran a esconder objetos modernos (teléfono, televisión, lámpara…) que se supone no deben formar parte de esa escena „natural“. Véase Larson 1984.

5 “… la dimension individuelle (…) et les mondes sociaux qu´elle traverse et structure ne sont pas homogènes. Les valeurs d´un monde (…) peuvent fonctionner dans d´autres mondes (…) A l´inverse, tout ceux qui appartiennent à un même monde ne partagent pas nécessairement les mêmes valeurs: ils n´appartiennent à un même monde que relativement à certains aspects (ni le monde ouvrier, ni le monde paysan, ni le monde artistique ne sont homogènes)”. (Augé 2003: 129)

trazado territorial abre un lugar en el discurso: *estoy aquí*. La escritura del lugar, el discurso sobre el espacio habitado, se superpone al mapa de esa conexión telúrica. Por eso, creo que resulta muy importante que trabajemos más con los conceptos de geo-poética, de geo-historia, de geo-crítica, como fracturas de la frontera ética y axiológica del logocentrismo. Al estar marcados por el emplazamiento, esos nodos discursivos marcan el horizonte de una conexión compleja entre el sujeto caribeño y su "peculiar" relación con el suelo: un desplazamiento que no solo abre distancias, reales y mentales, frente al origen, sino que aplaza continuamente el proyecto de un "pueblo" homogéneo, el cual es situado como eje central del debate identitario: ¿quién soy? Y, todavía mejor, ¿Quién soy / ahora? Nuestro espacio está atravesado por temporalidades diversas que no se resuelven en duración o que son, en ese sentido, débilmente históricas. Vivimos tiempos dobles y triples (el tiempo colonial-moderno, el poscolonial-posmoderno, el pseudocolonial-globalizado), y por consiguiente habitamos un espacio que se abre hacia las dimensiones múltiples dibujadas por esa heterogeneidad: el espacio del migrante, el espacio del desplazado, el espacio de la identidad colectiva y del reconocimiento comunitario, el espacio de los proyectos y las aspiraciones, el espacio de la experiencia concreta, el de la memoria y del trauma: un espacio-bitácora, una isla-bote, un cuerpo-archivo siempre dispuestos a la partida y al desplazamiento, al arraigo y al asentamiento.

Huelga decir que cada vez parece más necesario el encuentro entre las metodologías analíticas de/para el Caribe y esta noción compleja del territorio. En un espacio académico y disciplinar que parece haber domesticado epistémicamente la cuestión de la "diferencia", sería muy oportuno re-colocar el análisis del Caribe/de lo caribeño en el entorno de un relato global de la desigualdad o de la dominación global capitalista; o pensar en las líneas de fuga que implican para el relato de las literaturas nacionales y de las regiones lingüísticas del Caribe un acercamiento desde el comparatismo y la transdisciplinariedad; en las fluctuaciones de "valor" y "función" que implican para la actividad crítica enfrentarse al posicionamiento indeciso y abiertamente transgresor (en términos de canon, de legitimidad social o lingüística, de pertenencia cultural) de gran parte de la producción artística de la región.

2 Vida cotidiana

Las "políticas de vida" que atraviesan la cotidianidad parecen estar llamadas hoy a ocupar un lugar tópico en la reflexión cultural, que si bien no es central, sí incorpora una dinámica diferencial al análisis de los fenómenos artísticos y sociales, desfigurando la solidez normativa de aquellos conceptos desde los que tradicionalmente se producían los enunciados intelectuales y académicos.

La dificultad que implica hoy hablar de manera unívoca desde los territorios antiguamente estables de una práctica artística concreta (artes visuales, literatura, cine, fotografía…) señala la interrelación profunda que emana de las tangencias entre esas prácticas y las formas de socialización individuales o grupales, tanto en el marco regional como a nivel global. La aldea antropologizada en términos de comunidad imaginada, es más el fruto de una cartografía de la razón iluminista que la evidencia tangible de un territorio atravesado por acontecimientos múltiples y hasta divergentes. En ese sentido, estaríamos ante el reto de pasar del análisis de un Caribe proyectado y modelado desde el discurso de la Razón (una lógica cuyo objeto es un concepto: Caribe es…), al "examen cauteloso" de un nuevo estado de ocurrencia: aquel en el que la solemnidad de los comportamientos estabilizados y sintetizados por la tradición (el objeto transcultural) ceden ante el empuje con que los fenómenos de la vida cotidiana, en los nuevos escenarios territoriales, reclaman un espacio propio de representación y visibilidad.

Situados en el marco de esta caricatura, estaríamos abocados hoy a situarnos en medio de esas dinámicas de visibilización y ocultamiento, a ocupar un territorio en el que sean posibles otras solidaridades y otras comprensiones de la diferencia, otras cohabitaciones, otras formas de estar unos al lado de los otros. Más que a un sincretismo en el orden de lo transcultural quizás se nos convoca hoy a la comprensión de esa heterogenidad que emana de las convivencias y las cercanías, y de las contaminaciones que se derivan de los roces entre elementos disímiles. Joel James, el gran pensador santiaguero, cubano, hablaba de nuestra cultura como una gran *nganga* (James 2012), un caldero en el que se acumulan potencias disímiles y cuyo poder emana no de una sumatoria indiferenciada, sino de una relación de cercanías, de solidaridades.

Situada frente a la tesis histórica y ya canónica de la transculturación, esa gran *nganga* nos convoca hoy a un análisis meticuloso de la heterogeneidad cultural, cuestión que en el caso de ese Caribe incómodo, suele ser un borde de trazos muy irregulares: identidades traslaticias, saberes rizomáticos, demandas translocales, crisis de singularidad, etc. Y esos trazos, ya lo sabemos, nos son exclusivos del Caribe. Sus contornos arman un eje de desigualdades y desestructuraciones de alcance mundial cuyas fronteras más que expandirse desde los antiguos centros metropolitanos, parecen ramificarse en bordes incesantes sobre las costas de antiguos saberes.

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Graciela Salto

Las literaturas del Caribe en y desde el Cono Sur: tendencias actuales en investigación

En los últimos años, se advierte un renovado interés por las literaturas y las lenguas del Caribe en las universidades del Cono Sur. Este movimiento coincide con una serie de iniciativas que tienden a promover el diseño y la construcción de comunidades discursivas que trasciendan los límites territoriales y otorguen nuevas significaciones a los vínculos transregionales. Estas iniciativas enfrentan numerosos escollos de índole material y política, pero presentan, a la vez, grandes desafíos para la configuración de ciudadanías culturales que puedan imaginar su adhesión a un ámbito de mayor extensión y complejidad epistémica.

Las literaturas del Caribe han adquirido, en esta coyuntura, un lugar destacado en algunos proyectos y programas universitarios de la Argentina y de Chile. A partir de la lectura crítica del repertorio literario vigente, se han promovido estrategias de gestión académica, editorial y cultural con el objetivo de favorecer una comprensión más acabada de las variables intrínsecas a las múltiples representaciones del Caribe en el imaginario latinoamericanista. En particular, se ha focalizado en una serie de prácticas de lectura que hoy parece necesario revisar, a partir de los desarrollos poscoloniales de la geopolítica del conocimiento y sus advertencias sobre las omisiones y desplazamientos que signaron, durante décadas, las formas de aprehender el Caribe.[1]

En esta exposición describo algunos núcleos de este proceso de revisión crítica de los repertorios literarios caribeños ofrecidos como modelos de lectura y de escritura en algunas universidades del Cono Sur y evalúo, someramente, su incidencia en las formas de producción de conocimiento sobre el Caribe.

1 Walter Mignolo (2009) ha analizado las marcas geográficas, políticas e históricas que determinan la producción de conocimiento y delimitan su validez de acuerdo con el lugar donde se origina y la posición de sus enunciatarios.

1 El horizonte de lectura y las redes caribeñistas

El interés por las literaturas del Caribe en y desde el sur es un proceso basado en varios factores relacionados. Frente a las pulsiones de la globalización económica y de la mundialización cultural, se produjo un fuerte movimiento político tendiente a la integración en bloques regionales latinoamericanos donde el Caribe volvió a ocupar un lugar estratégico que, en cierta medida, había quedado soslayado por la focalización sobre los procesos dictatoriales y posdictatoriales padecidos tanto en la Argentina como en Chile en las últimas décadas del siglo anterior y por las urgencias democráticas de los años siguientes. Este movimiento coincidió, a su vez, con la discusión sobre los límites de las comunidades nacionales como matrices de análisis e identificación sociocultural y con un interés creciente en la ampliación de las fronteras del conocimiento y en el diseño de horizontes más amplios para la comprensión intercultural. La relocalización del área caribeña entre las culturas y literaturas de América Latina fue una de las consecuencias más visibles de este proceso general que tendió a desplazar el foco de las culturas nacionales hacia perspectivas transregionales.

Los estudios literarios cumplieron una función determinante en este proceso, ya que contaban con un archivo documental y simbólico configurado en la larga duración que pudo resignificarse para ofrecer modos de intelección sobre las nuevas configuraciones territoriales. Desde las crónicas publicadas por José Martí en el diario *La Nación* de Buenos Aires (1882–1891) o el magisterio del dominicano Pedro Henríquez Ureña en la ciudad de La Plata (1925–1946), existían numerosos puntos de religación entre el Caribe y el Cono Sur que facilitaron la articulación renovada de una trama de lecturas y de escrituras confluyentes (Díaz Quiñones 2006). Esos vínculos se habían potenciado con el triunfo revolucionario en Cuba y la perspectiva continental que alcanzó esta constelación discursiva, todavía legible en las recientes ediciones de la obra de Roberto Fernández Retamar en la Argentina y en Chile (2010, 2012). Ya en el umbral del nuevo siglo, Susana Zanetti había llevado adelante, en la Universidad Nacional de La Plata, una encomiable tarea de difusión del pensamiento martiano y de formación en las literaturas del Caribe hispanohablante que dieron lugar a varias tesis de doctorado (Chazarreta 2012; Sancholuz 2007, 2010; Tineo 2010), pero no fue, hasta 2005, cuando se hizo visible un conjunto de iniciativas que orientaron y contribuyeron a fortalecer el movimiento académico y editorial en los años posteriores.

En la órbita de la Universidad de Buenos Aires, Celina Manzoni comenzó a dirigir, a partir de ese año, el Grupo de Estudios Caribeños, con sede en el Instituto de Literatura Hispanoamericana. Con una trayectoria cimentada en sus reconocidos estudios sobre literatura cubana, Manzoni (2001) lleva adelante, desde entonces, una sostenida actividad de producción y divulgación académica

de los estudios caribeños en la Argentina (Manzoni 2015; Noya 2005, 2015; Silva 2005; Silva/Pampín 2015). Pocos años antes, había comenzado a formarse en la Universidad de Chile un movimiento similar. Con el impulso de Ana Pizarro y Nelson Osorio, ambos con amplios contactos con la región del Caribe desde la época de sus exilios en Venezuela durante la dictadura de Augusto Pinochet (1973–1990), se observa un interés creciente por vincular las experiencias culturales del sur con las de los países que rodean el mar Caribe. Ana Pizarro publicó en 2002 un libro que tuvo amplia repercusión: *El archipiélago de fronteras externas: culturas del Caribe hoy*, editado por la Universidad de Santiago de Chile. En 2003, esa universidad convocó también a la investigadora alemana Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger para el dictado de un seminario sobre la dimensión africanista del Caribe que coincide con los intereses ya existentes. Los resultados del seminario se volcaron en una publicación conjunta editada en Berlín (Phaf-Rheinberger 2005) y, al poco tiempo, los integrantes del Centro de Estudios Culturales Latinoamericanos comenzaron a organizar en forma periódica las Jornadas Caribeñistas y la edición sostenida de numerosas publicaciones (Oliva/Stecher/Zapata 2011, 2013; Pizarro/Benavente 2014; entre otras). En la confluencia de estos y otros factores es que comienza a desarrollarse por esos años un movimiento caribeñista en Chile que se mantiene con fuerza hasta hoy.

En la misma época, también se formó en la Argentina la Red Académica de Docencia e Investigación en el Área de la Literatura y Culturas Latinoamericanas Katatay que vincula siete universidades nacionales (Comahue, Córdoba, La Pampa, La Plata, Mar del Plata, Rosario y Tucumán). Con el impulso de esta red se organizaron en la ciudad de Córdoba dos congresos internacionales sobre literaturas del Caribe (2010 y 2015), en los que se presentaron algunas de las obras literarias de autores caribeños editadas en el Cono Sur. Entre ellas, las de la dominicana Aurora Arias (2015), del cubano Marcial Gala (2015) y del puertorriqueño Eduardo Lalo (2011, 2013, 2014); se publicaron varios volúmenes críticos (Basile 2009; Basile/Calomarde 2013; Marinone/Tineo 2010; Mateo del Pino 2013; Salto 2010, 2012; Valdez 2015) y se elaboraron tesis de doctorado (Aiello 2012; Bertón 2010; Bonfiglio 2012; Bruno 2015; González 2013; López 2014). Desde 2005, se edita, además, la revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana *Katatay*, donde se publicaron varios dossiers sobre las literaturas del Caribe (Aiello 2009, 2014; Basile 2005, 2008, 2010, 2012; Bonfiglio 2009) junto a estudios de Ana María Amar Sánchez (2008), Francisco Morán (2011) y Juan Carlos Quintero Herencia (2006), entre otros colaboradores externos que abordaron el proceso literario caribeño. La reflexión crítica en torno a esta temática regional circuló, también, en otros circuitos universitarios y editoriales (Caisso 2010, 2012; Daroqui 2005; Estupiñán 2015; León 2013; Puppo 2006), aunque, en la mayoría de los casos, se circunscribió al enfoque de autores y obras pertene-

cientes a las grandes áreas hispanohablantes: Cuba, Puerto Rico y, en menor medida, República Dominicana.

2 Perspectivas de análisis y enfoques temáticos

Este énfasis en las regiones caribeñas donde se habla y se escribe en español se funda en lazos lingüísticos, pero también en las relaciones establecidas desde los primeros modernistas y en viajes, migraciones y exilios que fueron diseñando una tradición de lecturas visible en la cantidad de reediciones de obras clásicas (Del Casal 2012; Martí 2006, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2012). A los lazos establecidos durante el período modernista y el primer vanguardismo por figuras como Martí, se suman los viajes y las estadías de escritores cubanos en el Río de la Plata a lo largo del siglo xx. El poeta Nicolás Guillén, quien visita la Argentina en 1947 y publica aquí la primera edición de *El son entero* (1948), o el escritor Virgilio Piñera (1912–1979), quien se establece con frecuencia en Buenos Aires y publica en la editorial Losada el volumen *Cuentos fríos* (1956), son algunos de los intelectuales que potenciaron las relaciones entre uno y otro espacio cultural y ubicaron la literatura cubana entre las preferencias editoriales y las afiliaciones electivas de las lecturas académicas. El legado simbólico de su revolución y la trama de relaciones que se tejieron con el sur a partir de la figura emblemática de Ernesto "Che" Guevara condensan uno de los núcleos más importantes de religación cultural (Gilman 2011). Otro, se había iniciado en la década de 1940 entre los miembros de las redacciones de dos de las revistas con mayor trascendencia continental: *Sur*, editada por Victoria Ocampo en Buenos Aires durante más de cinco décadas (1931 y 1984),[2] y *Orígenes*, editada por José Lezama Lima y José Rodríguez Feo en La Habana entre 1944 y 1956. Los vínculos entre ambas revistas fueron estudiados por Nancy Calomarde (2010) y, con anterioridad, por Adriana Kanzepolsky (2004). En los dos casos, se destaca el relevante papel de traducción cultural que caracterizó el programa editorial de ambos grupos y los nexos establecidos entre sus miembros, potenciados por la presencia de Virgilio Piñera en Buenos Aires. La trascendencia simbólica de esta red intelectual se puede ver en la persistentes ediciones argentinas de los escritores de *Orígenes* hasta la actualidad (García Marruz 2006; García Vega 2005, 2007; Lezama Lima 2013, 2014; Piñera 2009, 2010, 2014).[3] Si bien estas ree-

2 En la primera etapa, el Consejo de Redacción de Sur estaba integrado por Jorge Luis Borges, Eduardo Mallea, Oliverio Girondo, María Rosa Oliver, entre otros escritores de renombre. A su vez, presentaba un consejo académico internacional integrado por intelectuales de renombre como Waldo Frank, Jules Supervielle, José Ortega y Gasset, Alfonso Reyes y Pedro Henríquez Ureña.

diciones coinciden con una ponderación general del legado de este grupo exceden en mucho el contexto sudamericano, su presencia constante en los programas de enseñanza universitaria y en las reuniones académicas es un índice cierto de los puntos de religación entre Cuba y el Cono Sur.

Otro núcleo insoslayable es la recepción de la poesía del neobarroco, visible en las ediciones reiteradas de la obra de José Kozer (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2007c, 2014a, 2014b) y de Damaris Calderón (2009, 2013, 2014). Entre otros poetas cubanos contemporáneos y en la cantidad de estudios dedicados a sus figuras tutelares se destacan: José Lezama Lima (Basile/Calomarde 2013; Chazarreta 2012; Salto 2010; Silva 2005) y Severo Sarduy (Bertón 2010).[4] En este caso, también se reconoce un disparador relevante en el viaje de Sarduy a Buenos Aires en la década de 1980 y la adhesión entusiasta de los rioplatenses a la renovación teórica que implicaba su propuesta. Los debates suscitados en el *Diario de Poesía* son un ejemplo acabado de la preeminencia neobarroca en el sur y de las adhesiones y rechazos que suscita hasta hoy.[5]

La narrativa y la crónica, en cambio, han ocupado un lugar de menor atención editorial, aunque se han concentrado también en autores cubanos (Padura 2013; Ponte 2010a, 2010b, 2014) o puertorriqueños (Rodríguez Juliá 2009, 2012). Su abordaje, en cambio, ha sido tanto o más relevante en la crítica académica que ha dedicado varias tesis y volúmenes colectivos a su análisis (Basile 2009, 2010; Bertón 2010; Daroqui 2005; González 2013; Marinone/Tineo 2010; Noya 2005, 2015; Salto 2010, 2012; Sancholuz 2010; Tineo 2010). En líneas generales, se observa una prevalencia de estudios sobre la producción literaria de las últimas décadas y una focalización en torno a los procesos de deconstrucción de las matrices que sostuvieron los imaginarios nacionales y los efectos de las transformaciones de la industria cultural y el mercado de bienes simbólicos en locaciones aparentemente alejadas de los movimientos globales. La incidencia de estos cambios y su disimetría respecto a los rasgos más tradicionales de la cultura moderna ocupan, en consecuencia, una porción creciente en la agenda de estudios y en el interés del mundo editorial. La publicación en la Argentina de las obras del puertorriqueño Eduardo Lalo (2011, 2013, 2014) y del cubano Antonio José Ponte (2010a, 2010b, 2014) se inscribe, en gran medida, en este

3 El grupo conocido como *Orígenes* era liderado por José Lezama Lima e incluía la participación destacada de Ángel Gaztelu, Virgilio Piñera, Fina García Marruz, Eliseo Diego, Lorenzo García Vega, Cintio Vitier, Gastón Vaquero, entre otros escritores y pintores.

4 En los últimos años, se destacan también los estudios sobre Sarduy de la investigadora argentina Silvana Santucci (2015).

5 El *Diario de poesía* se publicó en Buenos Aires entre 1986 y 2011 y fue un foro de visibilidad y discusión sobre las tendencias poéticas contemporáneas.. Sobre los debates en torno del neobarroco, puede consultarse el artículo de Martín Prieto (2007).

interés por los elementos disolventes de los imaginarios constituidos y por la sugestiva potencialidad de los nuevos tipos de producción cultural.

Una perspectiva que confluye con la anterior enfoca las dislocaciones territoriales y simbólicas de las diásporas, los exilios y las múltiples migraciones del pasado y del presente. El interés por este enfoque subyace también en la elección de las obras de los autores señalados, pero se extiende a la publicación de Lorenzo García Vega, José Kozer, Damaris Calderón o Virgilio Piñera. Del mismo modo, la problemática del desarraigo y del nomadismo ha dado lugar a varias investigaciones en las que se exacerba la pregunta por las móviles adscripciones identitarias en un mundo en que los flujos poblacionales cuestionan las certezas de los límites nacionales (Amar Sánchez 2008; Basile 2012; López 2010, 2014; Marinone/Tineo 2010; Manzoni 2015; Quintero Herencia 2006; Salto 2010, 2012; Sancholuz 2007; Silva/Pampín 2015).

En todos los géneros literarios – poesía, narrativa, crónica y ensayo – se advierte un predominio de las ediciones y de los estudios críticos sobre las literaturas del Caribe hispano y, en menor medida, por las literaturas escritas en otras lenguas, con la notoria excepción de un movimiento crítico iniciado en los últimos años. Desde el punto de vista editorial, este es un fenómeno causado, en parte, por un público que, a lo largo del siglo xx, afianzó su preferencia por el español para la lectura literaria y circunscribió las otras lenguas a usos específicos, junto a las dificultades crecientes de un mercado editorial globalizado que dificultó los auspiciosos antecedentes de traducción que existían tanto en las editoriales argentinas como en las chilenas. Por estas razones, entre otras, la traducción de libros caribeños quedó reservada, en los últimos años, a editoriales de prestigio, como LOM en Chile o Katatay en Argentina, que apuestan a una diversificación de su catálogo con el objetivo de compensar las disimetrías unificadoras del mercado global, pero su presencia se ha enrarecido en los catálogos de los grandes sellos. En contrapartida, se observa en los dos países un intenso movimiento de apertura hacia la investigación académica de las literaturas producidas en las distintas lenguas creoles del Caribe (Aiello 2009, 2014; Bonfiglio 2009, 2013; Brathwaite 2010; Césaire 2011; Kincaid 2007, 2009, 2011). Este interés se funda en el auge de una perspectiva poscolonial crítica de las categorías étnicas, raciales y de género legadas por la modernidad y en los esfuerzos de los departamentos e institutos universitarios de enseñanza e investigación de lenguas extranjeras que han ampliado su enfoque hacia los múltiples usos y apropiaciones de las lenguas de colonización en los territorios y las islas bañadas por el mar Caribe. Una muestra de esta tendencia se observó en el II Congreso Internacional *El Caribe en sus Literaturas y Culturas*, realizado en Córdoba entre el 8 y el 10 de abril de 2015, donde Francisco Aiello coordinó el simposio "El Caribe francófono: enfoques, problemas, discusiones" y Florencia Bonfiglio el simposio "El Caribe anglófono: aproximaciones y debates", con

notable presencia de expositores en los dos materias. A su vez, las Jornadas Caribeñistas organizadas por la Universidad Nacional de Chile con periodicidad anual se han centrado, desde sus inicios, en estas áreas de interés. Sus resultados más visibles son los dos volúmenes editados por Elena Oliva, Lucía Stecher y Claudia Zapata en 2011, uno de ellos en la editorial Corregidor de la Argentina y la persistencia de la convocatoria anual que reúne investigadores de varias instituciones de la región.

El desplazamiento epistémico hacia los usos poscoloniales de las lenguas de colonización ha producido una notable apertura del horizonte de lecturas y un acercamiento cada vez más complejo a los núcleos problemáticos de las sociedades caribeñas, aunque se nota todavía una aproximación endeble a las culturas de las excolonias neerlandesas. La esclavitud y el vasto campo de la africanidad, en cambio, están ocupando un lugar creciente en la agenda académica (Cordones-Cook 2009; Grüner 2010; Oliva 2014; Pizarro/Benavante 2014; Valero 2014; Valero/Campos García 2015) y, aunque de modo incipiente todavía, se comienza a analizar el impacto medioambiental del neo y el poscolonialismo contemporáneos[6]. La problemática de la esclavitud ha tenido una atención más profunda en los estudios historiográficos, aunque no ha concitado un interés especial hasta las últimas décadas, cuando se inicia un movimiento orientado a visibilizar la problemática en la sociedad actual. En la Argentina, se crea con ese criterio el Grupo de Estudios Afrolatinoamericanos (GELEA) en el Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana "Dr. Emilio Ravignani" de la Universidad de Buenos Aires que ha celebrado varias jornadas para el intercambio de las investigaciones vigentes. En Chile, el Centro de Estudios Culturales Latinoamericanos de la Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades de la Universidad de Chile y el Departamento de Lengua y Literatura de la Universidad Alberto Hurtado han coincidido en la organización de encuentros sobre la temática y lograron consolidar una línea de análisis crítico sobre el racismo y la colonialidad (Oliva 2014). Los estudios literarios siguen de cerca este proceso con la impronta de Ana Pizarro, quien ha logrado condensar sus investigaciones de los últimos años en el volumen editado en forma conjunta con Carolina Benavente sobre *África/América: Literatura y Colonialidad* (2014). Es de esperar que esta tendencia se consolide y que la crítica literaria profundice en un campo que estuvo circunscripto, en gran medida, a la imbricación surrealista del legado africano, pero que logró resultados muy innovadores como el notable libro de Eduardo Grüner *La oscuridad y las luces. Capitalismo, cultura y revolución* (2010). En esta y en otras intervenciones recientes, como el imprescindible volumen sobre las tradi-

6 Véanse, por ejemplo, las ponencias presentadas en las I, II y III Jornadas Internacionales sobre medio-ambiente y lenguajes. Ecolenguas organizadas por la Facultad de Lenguas de la Universidad Nacional de Córdoba, Argentina, en 2008, 2011 y 2013.

ciones culturales caribeñas publicado en la Argentina por Arcadio Díaz Quiñones (2006), se observa la circulación virtuosa de la teoría de Édouard Glissant que abre un panorama propicio para profundizar el análisis de los límites del conocimiento producido en la situación colonial y las rémoras todavía presentes.

Un movimiento paralelo y no menos visible propugna también la apertura de un repertorio anclado todavía en lineamientos de sesgo patriarcal. La tesis de Sonia Bertón (2010) sobre la construcción de la subjetividad en la narrativa de Severo Sarduy, la de María Virginia González (2013) sobre la narrativa escrita por mujeres en la Cuba contemporánea o la de Elsa Maxwell (2015) sobre la autoría literaria femenina en el Caribe anglófono e hispano en el siglo XIX son ejemplos de esta tendencia que resignifica la producción literaria del Caribe desde una perspectiva de género. El último caso es uno de los resultados de un proyecto colectivo sobre esta temática dirigido por Lucía Stecher, Alicia Salomone y Natalia Cisterna en la Universidad de Chile.[7]

En todos los casos, incluso en aquellos en que los desarrollos son escasos, se apela a una memoria compartida que establece fuertes nexos y núcleos de religación transregional, aun cuando las condiciones existentes no favorezcan todavía la inserción institucional de los estudios sobre el Caribe en los espacios curriculares de las universidades del Cono Sur. De hecho, el movimiento reseñado se basa más en iniciativas y motivaciones de equipos y grupos de docentes, investigadores y editores específicos que en propuestas de carácter institucional. Es de esperar que estas iniciativas alcancen un estatuto más firme en los próximos años a los efectos de expandir y profundizar una trama de conocimientos y relaciones interregionales que lleva más de un siglo de existencia y que está en condiciones de ofrecer un amplio repertorio de lecturas sobre problemáticas en común. La descripción anterior es solo una muestra parcial de los estudios sobre el Caribe en y desde el Cono Sur con el objetivo de visibilizar algunos de los avances realizados y promover una integración cultural más efectiva.

7 FONDECyT 1140745 “Constitución de autorías femeninas en el campo literario del Caribe Hispánico: 1830 a 1945” (01–03-2014 al 01–03-2018).

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Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger

The Caribbean: Linguistic Sensibilities, Fluid Geographies, and Modern Slavery

To begin with, I would like to refer to the year 1987 and the publication of the book *El Caribe y América Latina / The Caribbean and Latin America* edited by Ulrich Fleischmann and Ineke Phaf in Frankfurt am Main as a starting point of the history of the study of Caribbean literatures and cultures in Germany. I do not mean to dismiss previous efforts at organizing colloquia or workshops that resulted in publications, such as *Missile and Capsule* (1983), edited by Jürgen Martini, and *Der karibische Raum zwischen Selbst- und Fremdbestimmung* (The Caribbean space between self- and foreign determination), edited by Reinhard Sander (1984); these efforts did, however, not relate to Latin America. In *El Caribe y América Latina,* in contrast, the contributions in Spanish, French, and English cover a much broader field and were the result of a conference with the authors Edouard Glissant (Martinique), Earl Lovelace (Trinidad), Astrid Roemer (Suriname), and the literary critic Jorge Emilio Rodríguez (Cuba) as the invited international guests of the Latin America Institute at the Free University in Berlin in November 1984. This publication was linked to a project on the social history of literature, *La literatura latinoamericana en el Caribe* (1983), directed by Alejandro Losada, who organized the yearly meetings of the AELSAL, of the Association for Studies of Literatures and Societies in Latin America, in Lausanne, Switzerland (Bremer/Losada 1985; Bremer/Peñate Rivero 1988 and 1989). These interdisciplinary approaches influenced Socare, the Society for Caribbean Research, founded in 1988, which – notwithstanding some ups and downs – has prospered ever since for almost thirty years. The papers of its first congress came out in the volume *Alternative Cultures in the Caribbean* (1993), edited by Thomas Bremer and Ulrich Fleischmann, who, with Manfred Kremser, are the 'founding fathers' of this society.

Many scholars held positions on the Socare board over the years: Ulrich Fleischmann (Berlin 1988–2003), Manfred Kremser (Vienna 1988–1999), Thomas Bremer (Halle 1988–2003), Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger (Berlin 1999–2003), Werner Zips (Vienna 2003–2009), Kathleen Gyssels (Antwerp 2003–2009), Michael Hoenisch (Berlin 2003–2009), Anja Bandau (Hannover 2009–), Martha Zapata Galindo (Berlin 2009–2015), Jessica Gevers (Potsdam 2009–2011), Liliana

Gómez-Popescu (Halle 2009–2011), Martina Urioste-Buschmann (Hannover 2011–), Anne Brüske (Heidelberg 2013–), Annika McPherson (Augsburg 2013–2015), Natascha Ueckmann (Bremen 2015–) and Johannes Bohle (Bielefeld 2015–). They all worked or are still working very hard to make the Society for Caribbean Research a success and their achievements can be found on the website of Socare (www.caribbeanresearch.net).[1] Socare's record of edited volumes, which reflect a continuous interdisciplinary approach in which different fields alternatively intervene, are listed there. However, going back to the foundational years of Socare, it seems that the critical dialogue with the social history of Latin American literatures more or less came to a standstill. This dialogue continued to be discussed at the international conferences of the AELSAL and, moreover, of LASA (Latin American Studies Association), with collaborations in the *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamericana*, which just celebrated its fortieth anniversary in 2015.

1 Linguistic Sensibilities

Criticism of Latin American literature only sporadically refers to the Caribbean (Phaf-Rheinberger 2011), which does not mean, however, that Caribbean Studies have nothing to learn from it. Caribbean Studies have been deeply involved in the postcolonial debates since the 1990s, whereas it went almost unnoticed that criticism of Latin American literature has adopted the concept of postcolonialism only in a very restrictive way. One of its representatives, the Uruguayan professor Mabel Moraña, elaborated on Aníbal Quijano's concept of "coloniality of power/colonialidad del poder" (Quijano 2008) as a complementary alternative to postcolonialism. Quijano's concept invokes the continuity of social inequality since early modern times due to the division of labor along racial lines in the newly founded global system of capitalism. Moraña (2008) also demonstrates that this lack of equality lies at the root of the differences between the works of José Maria Arguedas and Mario Vargas Llosa, both authors born in Peru but with a completely different approach toward the/their local background. She scrutinizes their texts through the filter of their affiliation with oral traditions in a language other than Spanish, in Arguedas' case Quechua, and its oppressed presence in the public realm of Peru. Arguedas grew up with Quechua and learned Spanish only later in life. The dilemma for

1 For a better understanding, it has to be added that German universities do not offer positions for Caribbean Cultural Studies, and it should therefore be emphasized that Socare could always count on a group of enthusiastic volunteers supporting its promotion without directly expecting academic acknowledgment for their effort.

him (and for Vargas Llosa) consisted in giving or not giving this oppressed voice a poetic dimension by translating its inner force of resistance against absorption into discursive strategies in Spanish. In her analysis, Moraña lays out in detail Arguedas' famous speech "No soy un aculturado" (1968) delivered upon receiving the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega Prize, and his carefully prepared suicide in Lima in 1969. She contrasts Arguedas' case with Vargas Llosa's win of the 2010 Nobel Prize for Literature, for which – in his case – the local linguistic affiliation plays a minor role and even becomes associated with victimization but nevertheless hailed his entry onto the international stage.

In order to clarify her notion of the 'short circuit' between local and internationally influential languages, Moraña explains how the 'burden of English' (Spivak) creates a double bind in the education system in India: It affects the construction of subjectivity and the processes of representations. The English language clashes with life styles perceived in other languages and histories and, often, is not able to express them. Paraphrasing the title of Spivak's book *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* (2012), Moraña makes a plea for paying attention to linguistic sensibility in the aesthetic education in Latin America and, at the same time, making a connection with its longstanding political and social debate on democratization. In this sense, it seems that her argument regarding educational policies that take the problems of an oppressed linguistic expression in the public realm into account is also very important for the interpretation of literary texts by Caribbean (and, I would argue, also by African) authors in different time periods. This was discussed in detail in the introduction of the book *A Pepper-Pot of Cultures. Aspects of Creolization in the Caribbean* (2003) by Gordon Collier and Ulrich Fleischmann. Fleischmann, a former president of Socare, addresses the sociocultural and linguistic profile of the Caribbean creole cultures, whereas Collier gives a number of specific examples in their respective introductions. This linguistic sensibility is certainly relevant when reading the seminal book *Le discours antillais* (1981) by Edouard Glissant, translated into English by Michael Dash. Theo D'haen (1996, 1997) has convincingly shown, for instance, that Dash downplayed the central role of local interventions in his translation *Caribbean Discourse. Selected Essays* (1989) alongside the references to Deleuze and Guattari. Nevertheless, D'haen does not address the Creole discourse in Glissant's original French text, which was also practically obliterated. The significant chapter on "pa roule tro pre," (Glissant 1981: 349–351) in which Glissant paraphrases this sentence in different ways to show the grades of creolisation of the French "pas roulez trop près," is not included in Dash's translation.

The criteria for this selection process certainly had to do with positioning this cultural essay on the English-speaking book market, and I would like to make a plea to pay much more attention in Caribbean Studies to such 'control-

ling', 'censuring', 'reducing', even 'streamlining' of knowledge for the sake of global circulation. Such an attention makes it possible to understand Kamau Brathwaite's insistence on "nation language" (1984) in his academic work and poetry as an ongoing and explicit resistance against this form of knowledge circulation. This question also applies to the analysis of the narratives of Frank Martinus Arion, one of the foremost writers of the Dutch Caribbean, who recently passed away (at the age of seventy-nine on 28 September 2015). Reviews mostly limit themselves to the celebration of his first novel, *Dubbelspel* (1973) (Double Play. The Amazing Story of a World Record); however, Arion wrote four more voluminous novels on the question how the "short circuit" concept influences his narrative strategies in Dutch and in the Creole language of Curaçao, called Papiamentu, a language that is originally of African-Portuguese origin. Even when Caribbean authors do not live in their home country and enjoy the 'pleasures of exile', they might perceive this dilemma as a question of life or death, of 'to be or not to be', as it was the case for José María Arguedas in Peru and Frank Martinus Arion in Curaçao.

2 Fluid Geographies

The second point I want to address is the question of mapping a region that always seems to be in flux. The Caribbean is divided and has never had a specific Caribbean frontier. By virtue of its waters, the Caribbean connects with and hence seems to extend to all places on the globe. Again, the island of Curaçao is an example. Its population of 141,000 is officially composed of at least fifty different nationalities. This means that its poetic substance can be considered a compound of migrations. Consequently, visual artists are looking for a method to express these flexible belongings by using metaphors of fluidity, for instance, in Nelson Carrilho's little bronze statue *Agua Viva* (Phaf-Rheinberger 2016). Another example is Cuba, a country known for its problematic policies toward migration, remnants of Cold War politics. Notwithstanding, a internationally well-known visual artist from this country, Kcho (Alexis Leiva Machado), makes his work a paradigm of such fluid constellations, of which Vittorio Sgarbi, one of his curators of the 54th Biennale in Venice in 2011, writes:

> The world is made of migrations. People travel in the hope of improving their conditions. Whatever may be the reasons behind the decision to move, you'll always come across somebody who is involved in such situations. Alexis Leyva Machado, universally known as Kcho, justifies in this way an artistic approach that has always been a characteristic of his. Since his earliest artistic outings when he was just seventeen, Kcho has always been committed to

> providing pictorial visibility and conceptual substance to a phenomenon that must be respected and brought to the critical understanding of the world. To this end, he has conceived piles of wrecked and abandoned boats with a view to highlighting the fact that the discarded materials conserve and release the energy of what has been experienced. (Sgarbi 2011: 14)

At this Biennale, Kcho presented his *Monumento final* (Last monument), consisting of fifteen paintings (oil and pastel on canvas) and two installations based on migrants on their way from the North-African coast across the Mediterranean to Europe. He had visited the islands of Lampedusa and Pantelleria, personally interviewed the people there, and observed their situation.

Kcho has his studio in the neighborhood El Romerillo, next to the Instituto Superior de Artes (ISA) in Cubanacán, Havana, one of Cuba's most famous buildings (Loomis 2011). Because of his international successes, Kcho provokes polemical comments in the Cuban art scene (see essays in Santana 2007), but these do not touch upon the main theme in his visual work, migration overseas. He experiments with objects related to navigation such as docks, paddles, oars, boats, rafts, sails, inner tubes, and debris washed up from the ocean or rivers or found in harbors. In his studio in El Romerillo, Kcho built an installation in the style of Auguste Rodin's bronze sculpture *Le penseur* (1882), also reminicent of the wooden statue *O Pensador*, a seemingly very old piece originating from the Chokwe tradition in eastern Angola. Kcho's *El Pensador* is composed of twenty-four boats, being the sum of all their respective routes coming together in one and the same object. His *El Pensador*, made of polyethylene, nylon, paddles, metal, fish blood, and fishermen's sweat comprises legal and illegal transportation. Cuban critics do not compare Kcho's sculpturewith the French or Angolan interpretations of "thinking within"; they do not focus on the concentration on one's inner thoughts. They interpret his work in relation to Cuban authors, and Abel Prieto writes:

> The piece that gives the title to this magnificent exhibition by Kcho, immediately reminded me of the selection of poems *Fragmentos a su imán* by Lezama and especially one of his essential texts: *Los fragmentos de la noche*. There the poet narrates how he has started "an unending combat" against chaos and disintegration in his search for links, coherence and sense. Lezama aspires "corners or fragments" to be tied up and thus managing to form: "the unbreakable web of night, subtle and whole". And he adds: "I wanted to rescue the fragments of the night" and form "a universal substance." (Prieto 2012: 11)

3 Migrations

Following Kcho's conceiving the Caribbean as a compound of overseas migrations, I will take this metaphor as the point of departure for the analysis of Fabienne Kanor's novel, *Faire l'aventure* (2014). The people from Mbour, a coastal city in Senegal a three hour drive from Dakar, call migrating to Europe 'do the adventure' or the 'adventure'. Kanor's book is divided into four sections, reflecting the different geographical backgrounds of the plot: Mbour, Tenerife, Rome, and Lampedusa. The opening sentence sets the tone for the flexibility of frontier society as a whole: "Rien ne disait la frontière, sauf le gosse." (Kanor 2014: 11) This "kid" is Biram Seye Diop, whose *éducation sentimentale* consisted of stories about migration to France – El Dorado – in the past and in the present. At age seventeen, Biram meets Marème Doriane Fall in Mbour. Although their physical contact – one kiss – is very limited, the memory of Marème constitutes a crucial reference in the following years, until he meets her again in Palermo, seventeen years later. Both have migrated to Europe. Biram left Mbour for Dakar and, after some years, headed to Tenerife in a pirogue, a traumatic and dangerous journey. He is a notorious traveller, taking temporary jobs without being qualified for anything in particular. And Marème, who is from Dakar, leaves for France in an airplane. She joins her fiancé in Paris, a journalist. However, after being bitterly disappointed by Parisian life with him, she gets married for the second time: to an older Italian man, who offers her fundamental stability.

Kanor – very much in contrast with current feminist views – seems to identify primarily with the male character, with Biram, in his search for freedom. He resists being domesticated by Europeans; finding Marème again at the end of the book, they spend a night on the beach together. Being with her, Biram considers going back to Senegal but instead of constructing a future with him, a 'free' – man who is willing to return with her to his country and marry her, Marème decides to stay in Italy, which is now the center of her life. She depends for her lifestyle – symbolized by Chanel No. 5, Pierre Cardin blouses, a Samsonite suitcase, one house in Rome and another at the beach near Palermo – on her financially stable husband.

It is evident that Kanor's book stands in the tradition of many works on migration from Senegal to Europe, among them Ousmane Sembène's *Le Docker noir* (1956), *Le ventre de l'Atlantique* (2003) by Fatou Diome, and *Mbëkë mi. À l'assaut des vagues de l'Atlantique* (2008) by Abasse Ndiome, some of which have been adapted to the screen. We might add examples from the Spanish-speaking literature of Africa, such as Donato Ndongo-Bidyogo's short story "El sueño" (1973) and his novel *El metro* (2007), not to mention many other authors. Senegal, however, is a country with a long-standing tradition of migration to

France (Dodgen 2011) and many families live from migrants' remittances home. Senegal's cultural history, obviously, is equally connected to the tradition of *négritude*, personified by its former president Léopold Sédar Senghor and his friends from Martinique and Guyane, Aimé Césaire and Léon-Gontran Damas. Kanor emphasizes the role of *négritude* and of Césaire in particular in the character of Diabang, "le professeur à vie de Littératures Comparées et Francophones, spécialiste de Sony Labou Tansi," (Kanor 2014: 14)[2] an impressive figure who aims to disseminate his knowledge among the young people in Mbour. To do so, Diabang organizes a public lecture once a month on a Sunday on the central square Neem, talking about difficult texts and expressing his aversion to any form of modernization, such as the opening of a casino or the plan to have the Dakar Rallye pass through his city. Modernization, for him, only serves the 'whites,' and Kanor makes the connection with Césaire's *négritude* by quoting some of – as she writes – Césaire's poetic lines: "Car la vie n'est pas un spectacle / Car une mer de douleur n'est pas un proscenium / Car un homme qui crie n'est pas un ours qui danse!" (Kanor 2014: 93–94)

In no way can Diabang be a role model for young citizens. An accident has put him in a wheelchair and he is very poor. Notwithstanding, his belief in dignity, honor, and incorruptibility of men in society is undaunted. The past does not offer positive examples, as we know already from the first pages of *Faire l'aventure*. Biram stands on the balcony of *La Signare*, a building located next to the beach and close to the mosque on the central square. He observes the ocean through his binoculars and is aware of the fact that this building used to be the depot for slaves awaiting transport to the Americas. The phantoms of their shadows still return at night, making loud noises, so the people of the city consider the building to be haunted and avoid it.

Standing on the balcony, Biram remembers the Mami Wata legend, about the sirene, half-fish, half-woman, a common reference on this part of the Atlantic coast. In his vision, this sirene has long hair and is dressed in brand-name clothes acquired during her shopping tours in European capitals. Everyone in Mbour is familiar with her, in this city full of fishermen, who go out on the sea with their pirogues, the boat they perceive as a complementary part of themselves: "La pirogue, c'est traditional. C'est nous, c'est dans notre sang." (Kanor 2014: 37) People used to tell each other about their experiences migrating via Mauretania and other places, heading for Europe, and they used to exaggerate the 'pleasures' considerably. The dangers of this journey, therefore, are viewed

2 Sony Labou Tansi (1947–1997) was an important author, playwright and theater director, born in the Democratic Republic of Congo but living mostly in the Republic of Congo. He continuously satirized political processes and was involved in oppositional movements.

ambivalently in Kanor's novel. When young people disappear with their boat, they are said to have traveled to Brazil or to Cape Verde, until their family is notified otherwise. Biram observes the ritual referring to their tragic destiny, the "Pleureuses de la Petite Côte," (Kanor 2014: 53) the women who wander around crying on the beach, mourning their drowned sons. The sea is thus crucial for memories of migration and social mobility and implies future prospects as well as tragedy.

Kanor won the important 2014 Carbet Prize for Caribbean Literatures with *Faire l'aventure*. Her French language is full of contemporary speech, often playing with expressions from other languages, like Wolof, English, Italian, or Spanish, which constantly coincide in the global world scenario that she depicts. Marème Doriane Fall, a character with a somewhat flat profile, seems to be a contemporary version of La Signare, an expression derived from the Portuguese 'Senhora,' the name for a local woman living in concubinage with a white man in accordance with the "traditions of the country" in times of the slave trade. The Signare had a high status in local society. This is true also for Marème. From the perspective of her family in Dakar, she is a successful woman, because she has made it in Europe by marrying a white man and coming back with costly presents for the family. Marème learns early in life that to be 'black' always influences personal relationships with 'white' men, although these are not generally depicted in a negative way. On the other hand, Biram Seye Diop is a typical representative of the *vague*, addressed by Abasse Ndione in the title of his novel *Mbeke mi. À l'assaut des vagues de l'Atlantique.* Biram is a *vague* in the double sense: 'vague' in French means 'wave' in English but can also be derived from '*vagos*': in the language of slave society, the character who is 'free' but does not wish to work for the whites and is therefore considered a lazybone and good-for-nothing.

We find many of Kanor's stereotypical themes (e.g. the female's preference of choosing to live with a 'white' man, the extreme importance of female beauty, and the trope of the drowned Africans) in *Cecilia Valdés* (1882), the classic Cuban novel on slave society by Cirilo Villaverde. The contemporary Signare – Marème – also aspires to have a high status by living with a 'white' and financially established husband. She is the complete opposite of Mami Wata, who decides herself whether she will go on a shopping tour to Europe for an elegant outfit, without owing anything to anyone or bothering about social status. This more or less burlesque interpretation of the traditional Mami Wata (a water spirit that in local belief was banned since European colonization) is in concordance with a general trend of retrieving the associations with them in postcolonial narratives. When the Europeans arrived, local traditions for addressing water places or the sea disappeared. To display protest against such oblivion, contemporary writers tend to emphasize the existence of these tradi-

tions by bringing their oppressed presence – Mami Wata, Yemayá, Kianda (Krishnan 2012; Sobral 2014; Phaf-Rheinberger 2014) – back to the surface. This reaction against local hiding also extends to linguistic strategies. When meeting Marème after so many years, Biram asks her the crucial question in Wolof: "Li lan la?" (Kanor 2014: 332: 'What is the matter?') Only then does she decide to recognize his presence. The reference to the social situation appears in the musical part of the book, which action obviously takes place in the time of the presidency of Abdoulye Wade (2000–2012). Biram and Marème both know the music of Youssou N'Dour, the star singer from Senegal. When Biram hears the song *Bitim rew*, whose lyrics idolize the migrant figure, he feels that, being a migrant himself, he is able to contribute to the well-being of his country: "We thank you and we pray for you / Yes, Senegal is our country and when back we will sing about you." (Dodgen 2011: 42) Dodgen writes that "migrants are popular symbols in the songs of Senegalese musicians, who sing about migrants as the representatives of continental Senegalese society." (Dodgen 2011: 41)

In contrast, Marème perceives the memories of her two years in Paris, including her experience with the "frères adoptives blancs" (Kanor 2014: 231) of Youssou N'Dour, as a constant confrontation with complex situations and humiliation: "l'Europe l'avait transformée" (Kanor 2014: 232) and her image of France is forever "changé" (Kanor 2014: 232) as well. This is also the case for Biram. After his reencounter with Marème, he dreams that he is back in Mbour, climbing the stairs at *La Signare* again. But now, after his stay in Europe, he finds the former slave depot deserted: no rasping sounds or phantoms are found there any more, and Kanor comments on this in the last sentence of the book: "La foi l'avait plaqué, la mer l'avait batu, mais *ça va*, ce n'était pas la fin du monde." (Kanor 2014: 363)

4 Modern-Day Slave Narratives

Kanor's irony when referring to *négritude* also points to a different direction than merely talking about the 'color' line. Her constant reflections on how to make a living recall the findings in the field of *Global Labor History* (Linden 2008). The question came up whether the category 'slave work' is something restricted to the past or whether it is also valid in the present. Since the beginning of this century, scholars of *Global Labor History* claim that 'labor' has always been studied in accordance with categories based on nation states and industrialization. In reality, however, when projected on a global level, the categories of 'labor' and 'work' are much more complex and have to be studied within a wider environmental context, and this holds true for Africa in particular (Eckert 2015). The connotations of work, for instance, are different in many

situations and societies, as was made visible in an exhibition in the *Haus der Kulturen der Welt* in Berlin, *Arbeit als Einstellung. Labour in a single shot* (Farocki/Ehmann 2015). The curators had made thousands of short single-shot videos about labor situations in fifteen cities on different continents, revealing the myriad of gradations between wage labor and work as such. In a similar way, as the result of many interviews conducted worldwide, the concept of 'modern slavery' came into use, as discussed in Laura Murphy's volume *Survivors of Slavery* (2014):

> This book is a collection of modern-day slave narratives. It marks the reemergence of a narrative genre that many of us thought had died with the last of the survivors of legal slavery in the Americas. Slavery unfortunately did not end with its abolition in any country in the world. Instead, it went underground. It often operates under different and more obscure names, such as *conscription*, *trafficking*, *peonage*. But the basic elements of slavery – the forced labor, the lack of pay, the inability to escape – remain the same. And the drive to tell the story of slavery remains as strong among survivors today as it did during the antebellum period. (Murphy 2014: 1)

Merely imagining the existence of such "modern-day slave narratives" would have been unthinkable in the early days of the Society of Caribbean Research. Much more important and innovative at that time was the effort to decipher to which degree the heritage of the past slave society still influences and survives in the present cultures of the Caribbean, in and outside the region. With her novel, Kanor documents the survival some of its stereotypes, also in Africa. *La Signare* and the *vague* are recognizable characters in Caribbean literature and the presence of Diabang, the representative of *négritude*, has been a symbol of Afro-modernity since the 1930s. It is possible to argue that Kanor's display of this migration reenforces these stereotypes rather than replacing them with other personalities. On Lampedusa, Biram cries out: "Y'en a marre. L'esclavage, c'était hier." (Kanor 2014: 304). The author also extends her ironic approach to the character of Diabang, who says: "Si tout le Sénégal part du Sénégal, je serai le seul à rester." (Kanor 2014: 109) This is a very strong statement, considering that, when interviewed by Bruno Riccio, an Italian anthropologist on migration, a Senegalese migrant commented: "If someone does not emigrate, it is because he has no legs to do so." (Dodgen 2011: 41)

Other things have changed as well since the early days of Socare. Under the presidency of Anja Bandau, the organizational structure has been modernized: Regular workshops and seminars are offered for PhD students and more information is circulating among members. In addition, the connection between African and Caribbean studies is now reaching out to Latin America. Literary criticism of African literature is flourishing, showing an increasing

interest in concepts from Latin America formulated in the twentieth century, such as "New History" (Nascimento 2015: 48–67) and "Magical Realism." (Quayson 2009, Warnes 2009) African critics are beginning to address authors and scholars not only from the Carribean but increasingly from Latin America because of their record of protest against dictatorship, corruption, and bad government. Until now, literary criticism of African literature does not focus on the "coloniality of power," as do scholars working on Latin America. On the other hand, it is also relevant that the discussion of African descent is quickly gaining ground in Latin America (Valero 2015a, 2015b), making it really appealing to promote comparative studies with African literatures.

To sum up, Socare has always been a representative of interdisciplinary studies and has focused on a variety of academic fields alternatively. There is much more to say, but I wanted to stop here, yet not without emphasizing the importance of visual art for Caribbean studies. Yolanda Wood has demonstrated its explosive character and enormous communicative capacity regarding natural phenomena in her study *Islas del Caribe: Naturaleza-arte-sociedad* (2012), and I would emphatically like to see this issue discussed further in future Socare events and publications. A Caribbean author who also displays its different dimensions and tries to break through stereotypes on the level of language is Astrid Roemer (1987), born in Suriname and already present in the aforementioned volume *El Caribe y América Latina / The Caribbean and Latin America.* She was the first Caribbean author to receive the P. C. Hooft prize in The Hague, the most important literary prize in the Netherlands, on 19 May 2016,[3] and an English translation of her "A Word of Thanks" is published in the *Afro-Hispanic Review* fall issue of 2015.

Socare has a solid reputation for breaking through frontiers and language barriers, reflecting the common effort of the society to situate the Caribbean within the broadest parameters of Cultural Studies and beyond. This, sometimes, is only recognized after a longer time and, therefore, I always have the feeling that the work of Socare is just beginning. Consequently, on this occasion, I wanted to lay out some of its aspects showing how times have changed.[4]

3 Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft was the most important Renaissance poet of The Netherlands. The Prize has been awarded since 1947 and, today, the winner receives 60,000 Euros.

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Annika McPherson

Postcolonial Critique and Decolonial Desires in Caribbean Studies

The current field-imaginary of Caribbean Studies is driven by a set of complementary and, at times, contradictory forces – not only along the lines of regional (ethno-)political, language, and economic differences and divisions but also in terms of the conceptual and theoretical frames with which it is approached. While it becomes increasingly difficult to assess or discuss anything like the 'state of the art' even within – precariously delineated – subfields such as Anglophone Caribbean Literary Studies or Caribbean Cultural Studies, there has been a noticeable shift in emphasis within international scholarship from 'postcolonial' to 'decolonial' terminology over the last decade.

This shift is not without some irony, since it arguably was the very 'decolonial' impetus and referential framework of anti-colonial movements and politics which in many ways enabled 'postcolonial' thinking in the first place. Viewed from this angle, the 'decolonial' can be said to constitute both a precursor to and a descendant of 'postcolonial' critical approaches. Yet, they tend to be conceptualized as separate schools of thought with distinct trajectories. Postcolonialism is mainly associated with work based on the trailblazing studies by Edward Said, Homi Bhabha, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (cf. Bhambra 2014: 115), whom Robert Young has famously referred to as "the Holy Trinity of colonial-discourse analysis" (Young 1995: 163). The *Grupo Modernidad/Colonialidad*, or "modernity/coloniality school," in turn, draws on work produced around Immanuel Wallerstein's world-system theory as well as on critical theory and is frequently associated with Aníbal Quijano, María Lugones, and Walter Mignolo (cf. Bhambra 2014: 115). While postcolonial and decolonial approaches both perform inquiries into the politics of knowledge production in their contestation of the colonial world order and its aftermaths across multiple modernities, decolonial thinkers emphasize their reliance on alternative epistemologies and the "coloniality of power" (*colonialidad del poder*, cf. Quijano 2000). They tend to extend the timeframe of inquiry back to the late fifteenth century and focus their geographical orientation southwards to the context of the Americas in the plural (cf. Bhambra 2014: 219), in which the Caribbean has of course played a crucial role.

At the very latest since the eighteenth century and with increasing uprisings against the Transatlantic system of enslavement and colonial oppression, the Caribbean has been at the forefront of anticolonial movements. The Maroon Wars in Jamaica, the Haitian Revolution, or the Cuban War of Independence are but a few of the better-known examples in the long and contested historiography of Caribbean decolonization. The 'Atlantic world' in which these events and processes took place was marked by conflicting positions and aspirations, as Verene Shepherd has pointed out:

> The enslaved struggled for freedom and respect; the non-sugar entrepreneurs strove for upward social mobility in a sugar planter's world, the Creole resented being cast into "local" social status and the coloured struggled for civil rights. At the same time, there was no unified white or free-coloured group pursuing a homogeneous economic ideology. While some whites supported the plantation economic model, others pursued a divergent economic path that was out of step with what we have come to view as the "global" needs of empire. (Shepherd 2004: 49)

From Simón Bolívar's "Carta de Jamaica" (1815) to José Martí's "Nuestra América" (1891) to Marcus Garvey's *UNIA* or Walter Rodney's speeches and writings (e.g. Rodney 1972), Pan-American, Pan-Caribbean, and Pan-African movements have intersected in their efforts at political decolonization. Within a broad range of different positions and politics, since the 1930s, Caribbean thinkers, writers, and critics have furthermore highlighted the necessity of not only political and economic but also of cultural and epistemic decolonization, not least through the highly influential cultural politics of a great variety of artistic and social movements and diaspora networks.

English-language Caribbean writers and critics in this vein include Claude McKay, C. L. R. James, John La Rose, Kamau Brathwaite, and Sylvia Wynter (cf. Donnell 2006). The most well-known *Négritude* writers are Aimé Césaire, Léon-Gontran Damas, and Léopold Sédar Senghor, to whom one needs to add the frequently overlooked women writers Suzanne Lacascade, Jane and Paulette Nardal, and Suzanne Roussy-Césaire (cf. Sharpley-Whiting 2002). René Depestre's writing also looms large in this context as an ambiguous critic of *Négritude* (cf. Depestre 1980). *Antillanité*, *Créolité*, and *Créolisation* writers include Édouard Glissant, Patrick Chamoiseau, Jean Bernabé, and Raphaël Confiant, with narrative interventions into and critique of their conceptualizations by women writers like Maryse Condé and Gisèle Pineau (Gaillot 2007: 7–8). The influences of Latin American *Modernismo* and *Criollismo* are important in the Spanish-language Caribbean not only for writers and poets such as Nicolás Guillén, Luis Palés Matos, and Manuel del Cabral or the broader *Negrismo/Afro-cubanismo* movements but also for the *Movimiento Antillano* (cf. Paravisini-Gebert 2004),

not to forget Cuban women's testimonies, most famously that of *Reyita* (cf. Castillo Bueno 2000 [1997]; Sanmartín 2014; Ueckmann 2015). Dutch-language Caribbean writers positioned on various ends of questions regarding cultural and political decolonization, in turn, include Nicolaas (Cola) Debrot, Albert Helman, Anton de Kom, and, more recently, Cynthia McLeod, as well as Papiamento writers and poets Frank Martinus Arion and Henry Habibe (cf. Arnold 2001).

The discourses of creolization, *métissage*, and *mestizaje* have come to depict an equally wide range of critical conceptualizations of the region. Caribbean critique furthermore frequently relies heavily on the works of Frantz Fanon (e.g. 1952 and 1961), – who has also been appropriated as both a 'postcolonial' and a 'decolonial' critic *par excellence*. However different their respective positions, politics, and approaches may be, one key concern that most of these writers and critics arguably share is what Mignolo has captured in the "conceptual formula […] 'I am where I think,'" which addresses the geopolitics and body politics of knowledge through "the intimate connection among biography ('I am'), geography ('where'), and knowledge ('I think')" (Lionnet/Shih 2011: 29; cf. Mignolo 2011). Based on the importance of such geopolitics and body politics of knowledge across the wide variety of Caribbean thought and writing outlined above, one can certainly state that notions of knowledges in the plural as positioned, situated, and embodied feature prominently in Caribbean contexts *avant la lettre* of feminist standpoint theory (cf. Harding 1991; Haraway 1988) and related debates.

What is at stake in much of this legacy and enduring critique emerging from the Caribbean is nothing less than the very concepts of culture and knowledge themselves, exemplified in questions surrounding the roles and functions of cultural production in their respective specific as well as wider socio-political contexts across the diverse and disparate spatio-temporal relations that have marked and continue to influence the region. Critical junctures in concepts such as transculturation (cf. Ortiz 1995 [1940]) notions of fluid or hybrid identity formations (cf. Hall 1990, 1992, 1995), or conviviality (cf. Gilroy 2004) have been shaped decisively by Caribbean thought and have been appropriated in and transferred to cultural debates across the globe. This broad and disparate realm of cultural inquiry requires inter- and transdisciplinary approaches and, at the same time, alerts us to the urgent tasks of not only literal but also conceptual translations as well as the necessity of continuous reassessment and reflexivity. Both localized in-depth analyses as well as multilingual, transversal, and pan-Caribbean perspectives and conversations are needed in order to challenge the confines of disciplinary comforts or subregional boundedness. Such conversations, however, need to constantly offset particularity and generalization and are prone to misunderstandings.

Postcolonial Studies has been criticized for theoretical and institutional mediation through the 'west' or 'Global North' as well as for viewing formerly colonized countries and regions exclusively through their colonial histories in terms of a center/periphery binary and in relation to western modernity. The 'postcolonial' is thus seen as "the master signifier in all analyses under this field and therefore also ties the Caribbean to 'Otherness,'" as Marsha Pearce has phrased it. In response to this, she instead suggests a "Caribbean Cultural Studies ecosystem" to accommodate the region's diverse conceptual and theoretical perspectives (Pearce n.d.: 2–3). The Caribbean generally appears as a site both inspired by and 'creolizing' or adapting 'western' theories and discourses *and* as a site of radical inquiry and critique of the explicit or implicit assumption of their universality. Hence, the region can be seen as fluctuating between these two poles as what I refer to as a site of 'universal particularity.' In many ways, these poles are aligned with the lines of critique of 'postmodern,' 'poststructuralist,' or 'postcolonial' discourses as shaped mainly by western systems of thought on the one hand and suggestions of alternative, 'decolonial' knowledge production on the other. That these perspectives cannot be neatly separated but are densely interwoven becomes clear e.g. in Rebecca Fuchs' discussion of Cuban critic Antonio Benítez-Rojo's 'plantation machine,' which is offered "as a manifestation of coloniality that is still present in Caribbean history, theory, and literature" (Fuchs 2014: 99; cf. Benítez-Rojo 1996).

Given the suggested entanglement of the discourses of the 'postcolonial' and the 'decolonial,' I invoke the notion of what I call critical 'dis-order' within Caribbean Studies as a means of challenging hegemonic and 'disciplined' perspectives on and approaches to the region. To 'dis-order' something implies an active undoing to enable a different order to emerge in its wake; yet it simultaneously captures the 'messiness' and necessary open-endedness of this process. On the more abstract level of epistemic dis-order, this ties in with what Mignolo calls "epistemic de-linking" and the very "acts of epistemic disobedience" that he describes as indicative of "de-colonial options" within a "particular and local history" (Mignolo 2009: 15). Tellingly – and within Caribbean Studies contexts certainly not surprisingly – Mignolo's arguments and examples rely heavily on Frantz Fanon's thoughts, observations, and theories (cf. Mignolo 2009: 7, 14, 16). Via Sylvia Wynter (2001) and Lewis Gordon (2006), Mignolo presents Fanon's rendition of the "body that engages in knowledge-making to de-colonize the knowledge that was responsible for the coloniality of his being" as a prime example of epistemic de-linking and epistemic disobedience (Mignolo 2009: 17). Fanon, however, can be read both on the basis of and against the grain of 'western' phenomenological and existential theories or Marxist and Hegelian thought. This further complicates the categorical differentiation between 'postcolonial' and 'decolonial' approaches or positions and

instead demands a focus on anti-colonial politics and thought as a common denominator. This is not only a question of positionality but also of address, since, as Tracey Nicholls has pointed out, Fanon's *Les damnés de la terre* "does not speak to the West. It is Fanon conversing with, advising, his fellow Third-World revolutionaries" and implies that "decolonization can only happen when the native takes up his or her responsible subjecthood and refuses to occupy the position of violence-absorbing passive victim" (Nicholls n.d.).

A question related to the geopolitics of knowledge that was raised during the final discussion of the 2015 *Socare Junior Research Conference* "Cultures of Resistance? Theories and Practices of Transgression in the Caribbean and Its Diasporas" in Bielefeld is a case in point: One of the conference's main questions ("What does it mean to study the Caribbean from Germany?") indicated the need to address the significance of the location of inquiry (in this case Germany, Europe, or – more broadly – 'western' social and institutional spaces in the 'Global North') and the positionality of researchers *vis-à-vis* the Caribbean (or the 'Global South') within global knowledge systems. What had sparked the discussion was the observation that Spivak's seminal essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (1988) is often invoked in quite discrepant Postcolonial Studies contexts and applied to examples which do not tie it back to its situated context of emergence. While concern was voiced against such a critical practice in order to avoid a 'one size fits all' approach to 'postcolonial' contexts and to stress the importance of local or regional contextualization, this very attempt to exercise critical caution was perceived as dismissive of the relevance of Spivak's theoretical framework as such. What is at stake in this example, however, is not only the question whether or not the cautionary remark had actually been dismissive of Spivak's text or was justified in its demand for thorough re-contextualization; what is crucial is the manner in which the question was subsequently answered in the plenary, namely with a very *defensive* reaction as to the *intentionality* of the remark rather than its theoretical implications. The overall question, i.e. how localized perspectives can and need to be positioned, re-contextualized, and re-theorized within critical dialogues, remained curiously unaddressed. Such defensive response mechanisms cause many similar debates to remain caught up in the vexing but crucial question of theoretical and epistemic appropriation.

What, then, does it mean for us to *end* such conversations where we should probably *begin* them, especially in international critical conversations? What does it mean for whom to theorize what, and which implicit or explicit assumptions do we make about our respective subject positions *vis-à-vis* our field of inquiry when we ask these questions? What kind of academic politics are at play when we use or perceive these mechanisms as tools of silencing? In the case of the mentioned conference, its title had a very deliberate question

mark behind "Cultures of Resistance?," which was supposed to point out the danger of culturalizing resistance when talking about the Caribbean. For the most part, this question mark seemed to have been overlooked, however. Is the Caribbean thus 'doomed' to resist, as a participant of the 2013 Socare Junior Research conference in Hannover ("Crossing Thresholds: Decoloniality and Gender in Caribbean Knowledge"), had phrased it?

The discursive shift from the 'postcolonial' to the 'decolonial' points to similar lingering questions of positionality and address: Who creates visions, versions, and narratives and to what effect? Whose experiences are taken into account or glossed over? What are the spatial geographies of cultural and knowledge discourses and their respective cultural politics? What roles do Caribbean diasporas and transnational actors play in this context? How to account for international scholarship's increasing emphasis on diversity, frequently at the expense of difference, and especially as far as rights to difference are concerned? How can one offset difference and exceptionalism? In sum, what are the respective epistemological and political implications of these and similar (re-)descriptions and (re-)theorizations? Engaging such questions demands a reshaping and active 'dis-ordering' of the very notion of 'knowledge production' itself, shifting the emphasis towards practices and socio-spatial relations with an acute awareness of the ever-present risk of discursive violence, appropriation, or cooptation. These questions and concerns have of course long been voiced in cultural theory and anthropology (cf. e.g. Abu-Lughod 1991) and are equally relevant in other contexts such as e.g. Chican@/Latin@ criticism or Chicanx/Latinx Studies or Ethnic Studies and Cultural Studies more generally (cf. e.g. Yudicé 2003; Flores 2009; Flores/Jiménez Román 2010).

At the same time, however, the 'decolonial' shift seems to indicate the promise of fulfillment of a deep-seated desire. Such desire is neither new nor unique to the 'decolonial,' as Young's reflections on "Colonialism and the Desiring Machine" demonstrate – via Fanon as well as Deleuze and Guattari – with regard to colonial discourse analysis (Young 1995: 159–181). The tensions and affective dimensions inherent in the conceptual separation, exceptionalization, and perpetual 'Othering' of the Caribbean (cf. also Sheller 2003), however, are frequently glossed over in the redemptive vision and promise of a 'decolonial' rhetoric, which can paradoxically lead to a neglect of the very questions of power that are so central to its conceptualization. When neglecting questions of positionality (which, however, cannot necessarily be simplistically equated with the location of inquiry), critical complicity in effect risks reproducing coloniality through rhetorical containment. Rather than solving the conundrum of the 'postcolonial,' the 'decolonial' can thus also function as a means of discur-

sive beautification, especially if it is invoked rhetorically and not enacted conceptually or methodologically.

As outlined above, the conceptual territory and constellation of Caribbean Studies is marked by the complexity of simultaneous localization and connectivity. While on the one hand, micro-studies zoom in – usually from distinct disciplinary frameworks – on the particularities of specific islands, population groups, or individual thinkers, artists, or texts, macro-conceptualizations tend to gloss over such particularities and instead invoke 'Caribbeanness' on a metalevel (cf. e.g. Benítez-Rojo's elusive "certain way" of being Caribbean, 1996: 10–16) or are inspired by a decolonial critique of global coloniality as derived from world-system theory (cf. Grosfoguel 2011). What seems to be needed to mediate between these micro- and macro-levels of analyses that currently tend to dominate the field is an intermediate meso-level[1]. Such a meso-level of analysis could highlight connections rather than categorical divisions between the 'postcolonial' and the 'decolonial' in application to specific (trans-)regional contexts and across established disciplinary lines of inquiry. While 'postcolonial' analyses have tended to read specific texts as manifestations of or in relation to patterns within colonial discourse and its legacies, 'decolonial' critique frequently draws broader historical strokes and thus paints a different and more general picture. A further dialogue on their overlaps and shared aims as well as challenges (cf. also Bhambra 2014) could serve as such a mediating 'meso-perspective' that allows for a renewed focus on different as well as overlapping modes and imaginaries in and across Caribbean literary and cultural practices. Their comparison against carefully contextualized backgrounds might allow for a different 'order' beyond occidental modes of representation to come into being in the process.

The meso-level perspective can in many ways be aligned with the adaptation of a term from the fields of architecture and geography: the concept of "critical regionalism." The adaption of 'critical regionalism' by literary and cultural studies may be based on the need for a "revised and reconfigured idea of region" (Reichert Powell 2007: 19). Just as critical regionalism is focused on how to approach "this kind of contradictory moment where something unique and isolated seems to be going on, but something else – something complex and interconnected – is also happening," the meso-level of analysis similarly

1 The notion of a meso-level has been invoked in the context of a systems/systemic approach to migration and migrant decision making, where "mesolevel" denotes "regional economies, ethnic territories marked by particular dialects, communities of shared values, religions, and patterns of everyday life" in the sense of an "arena" of socialization and having "to come to terms with larger socioeconomic forces" (Hoerder 2002: 19).

enables "a critical awareness of how [a] spot is part of broader configurations of history, politics, and culture" (Reichert Powell 2007: 18). In Reichert Powell's notion of critical regionalism, the "very act of forging, through cultural criticism, the broader cultural, political, historical, and geographical connections around a particular text, image, or artifact of local cultural conflict" enacts such a new model of region (2007: 19). The meso-level thus allows for aesthetic particularities as well as common features of Caribbean literary and cultural practices to be shown in their multi-layered interconnectivity with complex historical and political contexts. It mediates, as it were, between 'postcolonial' readings that are tied back solely or predominantly to colonial legacies, on the one hand, and 'decolonial' frameworks that tend to invoke a singular or generalized condition of coloniality, on the other.

The liberatory desire that is articulated in both the 'postcolonial' and 'decolonial' referential framework is not to be easily dismissed, however. 'Disordering' has an important affective impetus and dimension, as it is a process that yearns for a language and a way of being beyond the confines of colonial histories and concepts derived from their lasting legacies. Such a yearning can be observed and articulated on either side of the colonial divide as well as in the messy territory of the 'in-between' – which is why complicity is a key aspect and concept that deserves much more critical attention in this context. The many as yet un- or understudied relations and circulations of Caribbean knowledges and artistic contributions that point to a long history of discursive and artistic mobility should not continue to sit apart in distinct disciplinary or language contexts. The manifold temporalities and spatialities of the Caribbean allow for, if not necessitate, transdisciplinary and cross-regional studies. Yet when engaging concepts and theories, one should always remain aware of the danger of reproducing colonial structures and knowledge hierarchies. The negotiation and facilitation of critical conversations thus indeed includes a decolonial willingness to 'learn to unlearn' (cf. also Mignolo and Tlostanova 2012),[2] in which desire seems to play a highly ambiguous but crucial role.

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2 Mignolo has previously outlined the idea of decolonial "learning to unlearn" in adaptation of the principles of the Universidad Intercultural Amawtay Wasi (see http://www.amawtaywasi.org; Mignolo 2007).

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Julia Borst et Kettly Mars

« J'ai beaucoup d'espoir » : conversation avec l'écrivaine haïtienne Kettly Mars sur son roman *Je suis vivant* (2015)

1 Introduction à l'œuvre de Kettly Mars

Kettly Mars, née le 3 septembre 1958 à Port-au-Prince, poursuit d'abord des études professionnelles dans le domaine du secrétariat et de la comptabilité, puis commence à travailler dans l'administration à l'âge de 20 ans. Bien qu'elle découvre très jeune sa passion pour la littérature, elle ne se met à écrire qu'au début des années 90 (cf. Vitiello/Spears 2015 ; Chanda 2015). En écrivant de la poésie d'abord, elle remporte son premier succès littéraire en 1996 avec le prix du concours Jacques-Stephen Alexis de la Nouvelle. Active dans la vie culturelle d'Haïti, Kettly Mars tient une place importante dans le cercle des auteurs haïtiens contemporains qui vivent sur l'île (cf. Ménard 2011b : 229) et jusqu'à présent, elle a écrit neuf romans – dont le premier, *Kasalé*, est sorti en 2003 – pour lesquels elle a obtenu des prix littéraires ou des bourses, comme le prix Senghor de la Création littéraire en 2006, ou le prix Prince Claus et la Bourse Barbancourt en 2011 (cf. Vitiello/Spears 2015). Malgré ces succès, ce n'est qu'en 2010, après le séisme en Haiti, qu'elle abandonne son travail dans l'administration pour se consacrer entièrement à la littérature et à ses activités de traductrice et de correctrice de textes.

Dans son œuvre romanesque, Kettly Mars met en scène la société à travers des personnages bouleversés et insiste sur les liens entre le destin individuel et l'histoire collective du pays (cf. Vitiello/Spears 2015). Elle n'a de cesse de dénoncer les conflits politiques et les tares de la société en Haïti (cf. Chanda 2015), en évoquant les répercussions de l'oppression coloniale qui a conduit à un clivage social et à la survie des régimes despotiques jusqu'aux XX^{e} et XXI^{e} siècles dans l'histoire haïtienne, dont l'époque de la dictature des Duvalier (1957–1986) est l'un des événements cruciaux (cf. Ménard 2011a : 10). Cette période, qui constitue l'arrière-plan dans d'autres textes, passe au premier plan dans le roman *Saisons sauvages*, publié en 2010 (cf. Walsh 2014 : 68). Dans ce texte, la protagoniste Nirvah Leroy s'inquiète du destin de son mari, rédacteur

d'un journal d'opposition et, comme le narrateur le laisse supposer, emprisonné dans les cachots des Duvalier (cf. Bilodeau 2013). Préoccupée par le bien-être de son mari et de ses enfants, elle devient la maîtresse d'un fonctionnaire du régime dictatorial, le secrétaire d'État de la Sécurité publique Raoul Vincent. De manière subtile, Kettly Mars raconte dans ce roman l'expérience collective de la dictature en Haïti à travers le destin individuel d'une femme qui, de la même manière que de nombreux protagonistes de l'écrivaine, à cause d'exigences irréconciliables, est en proie à un conflit déchirant (cf. Chemla 2010). En même temps, la constellation des personnages dans *Saisons sauvages* met en relief un autre motif central de l'œuvre romanesque de l'écrivaine. Il s'agit du conflit entre les différentes couches sociales en Haïti remontant à l'époque coloniale qui est représenté par deux antagonistes : d'un côté, Nirvah – bourgeoise, « mulâtre » et représentante d'une ancienne élite – et de l'autre, Raoul – de milieu plus pauvre et noir, représentant d'une nouvelle couche de parvenus sous le duvaliérisme.

En outre, l'écrivaine revisite la condition des femmes haïtiennes en soulignant une double répression : ces femmes ne souffrant pas seulement de la répression politique et de l'injustice sociale, mais encore des structures patriarcales d'une société qui les marginalise davantage (cf. Borst 2010). Bien que dans les textes romanesques de Kettly Mars ces femmes se soumettent parfois aux désirs des hommes, elles sont souvent présentées comme des personnages subversifs et forts, se révoltant pour briser leurs entraves. C'est le cas dans *Fado*, roman publié en 2008, dans lequel la protagoniste Anaïse lutte pour échapper à une vie de conventions et d'ennui après le départ de son mari. Elle remet en question toute son existence de manière radicale et se réinvente une nouvelle identité en devenant la prostituée Frida. Dès lors, en tant que femme forte et fière, la protagoniste s'émancipe de son rôle social prédéterminé d'épouse abandonnée en se réappropriant son propre corps et en défiant les contraintes sociales que les autres lui imposent (cf. Péan 2008).

Finalement, Kettly Mars aborde le sujet des passions interdites, excessives, parfois même brutales et de nature sexuelle qui sont très souvent des actes de soumission et d'émancipation à la fois, dont Marie, la fille de Nirvah dans *Saisons sauvages*, qui est d'abord violée par l'amant de sa mère et qui s'engage ensuite dans une liaison amoureuse avec lui, n'est qu'un exemple. Ces désirs avides s'observent tant chez des personnages féminins, comme Anaïse/Frida dans *Fado*, que chez des personnages masculins comme le gigolo Rico L'Hermite dans *L'heure hybride* (2005), poussé par un interminable goût des désirs, mais souffrant d'une vie de solitude (cf. Magniez 2011 ; Scott 2015), ou le protagoniste du roman *Aux frontières de la soif* (2012), Fito Belmar. Dans ce dernier roman, Kettly Mars revisite en même temps l'actualité haïtienne, plus précisément le séisme du 12 janvier 2010, et ses conséquences pour la population (cf.

Chanda 2015). Au centre du texte se trouvent cependant les passions interdites du personnage principal : celui-ci est un écrivain qui n'arrive plus à écrire après un premier succès littéraire. Son engagement officiel dans les banlieues, où la population vit sous des tentes dans des conditions déplorables depuis le séisme, dissimule un abominable secret : Fito désire les jeunes filles dont les corps sont vendus dans les camps pour apaiser la misère de leurs familles (cf. Dufour 2012 ; Walsh 2014 : 80–81).

Le séisme de 2010 constitue également le point de départ du nouveau roman de l'écrivaine, *Je suis vivant*, présenté au public en 2015. La catastrophe déclenche une série d'événements qui conduisent au retour du protagoniste Alexandre dans sa famille, celle-ci l'avait fait interner dans une institution psychiatrique plus de 40 ans auparavant. Alexandre, souffrant de schizophrénie depuis son adolescence, est la partie de l'histoire familiale dont personne ne souhaite parler : « un voile qu'on ne soulevait pas » (Mars 2015 : 15). Pourtant, il rentre à la maison familiale des Bernier, exactement un an après le mort du père Francis, qui a adoré son fils aîné, mais qui l'a étouffé en même temps. Ce retour du fils et du frère prodigue réouvre les plaies et contraint les membres de la famille à se confronter à un passé dissimulé et à des souvenirs refoulés qui remontent à la surface. Au fur et à mesure, le lecteur apprend des détails sur le déroulement de la maladie d'Alexandre et sur l'événement tragique qui a mené à son hospitalisation permanente. Les chapitres mettent à nu, petit à petit, les relations à la fois tendues et tendres entre les frères et sœurs, qui sont à attribuer à la position particulière d'Alexandre dans la famille, due tant aux exigences du père vis-à-vis de son fils ainé qu'à la maladie d'Alexandre qui ne cesse de le détacher de la réalité qui l'entoure. Un élément particulièrement intéressant est le jeu des voix narratives dans le roman qui fait changer la perspective de chapitre en chapitre et engendre une multitude de narrateurs à la première personne « sans […] enfermer [l'histoire] dans une expérience subjective » (Mars dans : Chanda 2015). Ces voix incluent les membres de la famille ainsi que les employés de la maison, ou des personnages du dehors qui pénètrent dans l'univers clos de la maison familiale. Chacun de ces témoignages individuels offre au lecteur une nouvelle perspective sur le passé et le présent, si bien que la narration dévoile le panorama complexe des conflits et des relations familiaux (Figure 1 and Audio 1).

Fig. 1 et audio 1. Extrait de *Je suis vivant* (Mars 2015 : 38–44) lu par Kettly Mars le 14 octobre 2015 lors de la soirée de lecture au « Salon Littéraire » de l'Université Leibniz de Hanovre (Allemagne). © Editions Mercure de France (photographie © Philip Bartz). Online resource: http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/id/662643

2 Conversation avec Kettly Mars sur *Je suis vivant* (2015)[1]

Julia Borst : Le début du roman aborde le sujet du tremblement de terre, une expérience décrite à travers la perspective du protagoniste schizophrène, et le pressentiment de son retour dans la maison familiale. Nous apprenons que la clinique où réside Alexandre ferme ses portes à la suite d'un cas de choléra, une maladie réapparue en Haïti après le séisme. Comment as-tu eu l'idée de relier la catastrophe naturelle à cet événement très intime du retour du frère et fils schizophrénique ?

Kettly Mars : En effet, c'est une histoire vraie qui s'est produite dans ma famille. Ce n'est donc pas tout à fait de la fiction. Le retour de ce fils chez lui après 40 ans, à cause de l'épidémie de choléra, est un fait réel. Mais bien sûr, tout ce qui fait l'intrigue, c'est-à-dire les personnages, l'environnement, les his-

1 La conversation suivante est basée sur une interview de Kettly Mars réalisée le 14 octobre 2015 dans le cadre d'une soirée de lecture au « Salon Littéraire » de l'Université de Leibniz de Hanovre (Allemagne). Certains passages sont des réponses aux questions posées par le public. Je tiens à remercier particulièrement les intervenants pour leurs remarques pendant la discussion.

toires personnelles ne sont que fiction. Seul le fil de la trame est une histoire vraie.

En outre, il y a peu de romanciers ou romancières haïtiens qui ont abordé le thème de la folie. Marie Chauvet l'a fait et je pense qu'elle reste la figure principale à avoir traité de ce sujet dans la littérature haïtienne. Parmi les jeunes auteurs, certains l'ont abordé, je pense particulièrement à Makenzy Orcel et ses romans *Les latrines* (2011) et *Les immortelles* (2010). Mais ce n'est pas un sujet que nous abordons d'un cœur léger, parce que la folie est souvent perçue comme une malédiction en Haïti. Il y a un fond de superstition très lourd en Haïti, on croit que tout arrive pour une raison, qu'il n'y a rien de naturel mais qu'il y a quelque chose derrière. Très souvent, les Haïtiens pensent que quelqu'un est fou parce qu'il paie pour une mauvaise action commise par sa famille, ou bien parce qu'il n'a pas répondu à l'appel des esprits vodou de la famille. Quelle est la valeur réelle de la folie dans la société haïtienne ? J'ai des doutes là-dessus. La folie est une maladie, mais comme elle atteint le cerveau, comme elle touche à notre essence, elle est déroutante et, dans les sociétés où les gens sont peu éduqués, on a tendance à mettre tout sur le compte de l'ésotérique, ou sur ce que l'on ne comprend pas. J'ai fait face à des réactions mitigées à la sortie de ce livre, car certaines personnes n'ont pas très bien pris le fait que j'aie parlé de ce thème qui touche ma famille. Certains se sont même vexés que j'aie osé le faire. Mais je pense qu'il est temps de casser ce tabou sur la folie et je prends sur moi de le faire avec tout le respect et toute la sensibilité possible.

Julia Borst : Bien que le séisme soit le point de départ de la narration, l'intrigue de *Je suis vivant* en fait plutôt un roman de « l'après-séisme », qui pose la question de savoir comment continuer à vivre après la catastrophe, un sujet évoqué également par le titre du roman. Est-ce que le séisme représente un tournant dans ta propre vie et écriture ? Et que signifie-t-il pour Haïti en général ?

Kettly Mars : C'est un événement tellement immense que je pense qu'il y aura toujours dans notre histoire un avant-séisme et un après-séisme. Au niveau des artistes, qu'ils soient littéraires, plasticiens ou issus des arts de la scène, la création revient. Nous voyons surgir des productions inspirées de l'événement ou de la période qui suit. Cela devient un repère de nos vies sans que l'on n'y puisse rien. Qu'est-ce que cela veut dire ? Cela veut dire que nous avons connu des mois, des années difficiles après ce séisme et, cinq ans après, nous sommes un peu plus stables. Mais c'est quand même un événement qui me fait voir comment la nature humaine a beaucoup de ressort, beaucoup de force en elle. Je peux même te raconter une anecdote : je joue au badminton avec des amis, dans un petit club pour les plus de 50 ans. L'un de nous avait un frère sur lequel

un pan de mur était tombé. Il a été conduit dans un bateau-hôpital américain posté dans la rade, venu nous aider peu de temps après le séisme. Mais évidemment, il y avait tellement de monde et tellement de gens qui souffraient qu'il fallait y laisser les malades, les familles ne pouvant pas rester. Quand mon ami est revenu deux jours plus tard chercher son frère, plus personne ne le trouvait. Jusqu'à aujourd'hui – cinq ans après – ils ne savent toujours pas ce que ce frère est devenu. Il y a énormément de cas comme celui-ci : des centaines, des milliers d'individus ont été touchés d'une façon ou d'une autre par ce séisme. Evidemment, c'est quelque chose qui reste avec nous longtemps.

Julia Borst : Le fait que le roman ne soit pas raconté depuis la perspective d'un seul narrateur, mais d'une multitude de narratrices et narrateurs, attire l'attention du lecteur.[2] Qui sont ces voix qui parlent dans le roman et pourquoi est-ce que tu as choisi cette polyphonie narrative ?

Kettly Mars : Parce que ce qui caractérise cette famille est, en fait, le silence. Le silence autour de ce frère, le silence autour de la maladie mentale qui est un sujet toujours très sensible dans toutes les sociétés. Et d'autant plus en Haïti où on a une image plutôt négative de la folie car, à cause de la faiblesse des institutions de santé, on retrouve souvent des fous, jeunes ou vieux, dans les rues. C'est quelque chose qui nous blesse et, le plus souvent, on garde le secret autour de la maladie mentale. C'est pour rompre ce silence que j'ai voulu écrire ce roman au niveau familial et au niveau de la société en général. Je trouvais que faire parler chaque personne ouvre sur un petit univers à part, puisqu'ils ne se parlent pas entre eux ; je souhaitais que chacun soit présenté individuellement, même si on retrouve des liens automatiquement dans les chapitres, dans ce qu'ils pensent. Je pensais que cela rendrait plus fidèlement la situation de cette famille et ce silence qui, depuis leur enfance, a toujours été comme une sorte de défense, ou bien une façon pour eux de tout supporter. C'est la situation de ce frère qui la touche profondément.

Julia Borst : De nombreux autres chapitres du roman abordent le sujet de la dictature, ce qui sert de point de départ d'un voyage dans le passé et ouvre l'univers clos de la maison familiale vers l'histoire haïtienne du xx e siècle. À

2 Les chapitres lus par l'écrivaine lors de la soirée de lecture en sont un exemple (cf. Audio 1). Nous y faisons la connaissance de différentes voix narratives : d'un côté, Gabrielle, la sœur benjamine du protagoniste, qui rappelle la relation intime mais aussi ambivalente qu'elle a eue avec Alexandre dans leur enfance ; de l'autre, un narrateur à la troisième personne dont la focalisation est (entre autres) celle de la matriarche de la famille, Éliane, qui contemple son fils Alexandre qui dort (cf. Mars 2015 : 38–44).

travers les perspectives des divers membres de la famille, le lecteur n'apprend pas seulement plus de détails sur la maladie d'Alexandre, il en apprend aussi sur un autre type de « folie » qui règne à l'époque dans la société haïtienne, à savoir le duvaliérisme. Il est frappant que ce motif apparaisse dans beaucoup de tes romans. Est-ce que tu pourrais expliquer les raisons de la présence latente de ce sujet dans ton œuvre ? Quel rôle la dictature joue-t-elle encore dans la société haïtienne de nos jours ?

Kettly Mars : C'est une question qui m'interpelle beaucoup. Comment, après 30 ans de dictature, nous sommes aujourd'hui dans cette situation sociale, politique, économique ? Moi, je suis née avec la dictature, exactement un an après le début de cette dictature, donc elle était une toile de fond durant toute mon existence. Je me rappelle le jour où Jean-Claude Duvalier, le fils de « Papa Doc » [François Duvalier ; complément de J.B.], a laissé le pays. J'étais déjà une femme, j'avais mon premier bébé dans les bras ; cela veut dire que tout mon horizon, tout mon univers a été coloré par cette dictature. Je me rappelle que, quand j'ai écrit *Saisons sauvages*, sorti en 2010, ma sœur m'a appelée du Canada pour me dire de faire attention. Alors que cela faisait 20 ans que la dictature était tombée ! Pourtant, celle-ci est toujours dans notre conscience, par son poids, par les effets qu'elle a encore sur nous, et malheureusement par la détérioration des valeurs qu'elle a inculquées pendant 30 ans.

Aujourd'hui, je trouve encore des gens qui pensent que, sous Duvalier, la vie était meilleure : que l'on pouvait sortir la nuit, que tout était mieux. C'est une forme de révisionnisme qui se fait volontairement. Notre gouvernement actuel est un gouvernement néo-duvaliériste à mon avis. C'est la même mentalité, ce sont les fils des duvaliéristes de l'époque qui sont aujourd'hui au pouvoir. C'est une situation qui est très dure à vivre. Sous la dictature, nous vivions dans un chaos organisé. Il y avait le terrorisme, mais c'était le terrorisme d'État. Aujourd'hui, c'est le chaos désorganisé, on ne sait plus qui fait quoi. Nous connaissons un phénomène de trafic de drogues qui est très important et qui est évidemment en rapport avec la misère qui règne : nos jeunes n'ont pas de perspective d'avenir, le niveau d'éducation est très faible. Pour ma part, j'essaie de comprendre tout cela, j'essaie d'analyser. Pourtant, ce n'est pas forcément une démarche voulue, ce n'est pas quelque chose que je décide de faire. J'aimerais bien écrire des choses gaies, des choses qui font rire, parler d'amants ou d'autre chose. Mais cela vous rattrape puisque vous êtes témoin, vous avez une conscience. Je ne suis donc pas une activiste ni une politicienne engagée, je suis juste un témoin et je me dois de dire la vérité et de dire la vérité des autres aussi.

Quand je compare Haïti avec la République Dominicaine à coté, ce pays avec lequel nous avons tellement de problèmes sociaux, économiques et politi-

ques : je constate que, bien qu'ils aient aussi connu 30 ans de dictature avec Trujillo, ils sont sortis de ce marasme et, économiquement, ils sont 30 ans, voire 40 ans devant nous. C'est pourquoi je me pose la question de savoir ce qui explique cette différence. Il y a tellement de théories, tellement de thèses pour expliquer cette différence. L'une d'entre elles est que les Dominicains eux-mêmes ont éliminé Trujillo. Il y a eu cette catharsis, ils ont fait le geste de casser cette dictature eux-mêmes, tandis que François Duvalier est mort dans son lit et Jean-Claude Duvalier est revenu en Haïti en 2011 après 25 ans d'exil en France et nous l'avons reçu ! Avec tapis rouge ! Il est vrai qu'il y a eu des velléités, des protestations, mais elles se sont noyées dans la foule. Je pense que tant que ces choses-là ne sont pas mises dehors, tant que la justice n'a pas été faite, tant que nous sommes embourbés dans ce marasme, nous aurons du mal à nous en sortir.

Julia Borst : Est-ce que tu crois que les écrivains et la littérature occupent une position particulière dans la société haïtienne en ce qui concerne la dénonciation des problèmes du passé et du present ?

Kettly Mars : Absolument. Il y en a d'ailleurs qui l'ont payé très cher : c'était soit la prison soit l'exil. Ma génération, celle qui écrit aujourd'hui, a beaucoup de chance puisque nous sommes la génération de la non-censure. La majorité de ceux qui écrivent en Haïti sont de ma génération – et certains plus jeunes, mais ceux de ma génération ont eu la chance de pouvoir parler depuis 30 ans. Je pense que c'est le seul acquis que nous ayons et qui soit irréversible : c'est le droit de parler, le droit de gueuler et maintenant, on parle trop peut-être, on dit n'importe quoi. Au moins, nous avons cela d'acquis. Donc la dictature revient, j'aimerais bien m'en défaire, mais j'ai du mal.

Julia Borst : Plus tard dans le roman, des narrateurs qui ne font pas partie de la famille des Bernier font leur apparition, parmi eux Norah qui prend une position particulière dans le roman. Tandis que même les employés de la famille qui servent de narrateurs sont profondément enracinés dans l'univers clos représenté par la maison familiale, Norah est la seule qui vienne effectivement de l'extérieur. Cette jeune femme pose pour Marylène, la sœur aînée d'Alexandre, une peintre internationalement connue qui, pourtant, se trouve dans une crise créatrice depuis le retour de son frère. C'est la raison pour laquelle celle-ci décide de ne plus peindre de natures mortes mais des personnes vivantes.

Le regard de Norah présenté dans *Je suis vivant* est celui d'une « fille de la rue ». C'est un regard qui critique l'univers de la bourgeoisie haïtienne, qui dénonce à la fois le clivage et l'injustice sociaux en Haïti, un pays où, selon les propos de Norah, la bourgeoisie ne sait rien « de la vie dehors » (Mars 2015 : 121).

Quel est le rôle de Norah dans le roman ? Quelle était ton idée quand tu as élaboré ce personnage ?

Kettly Mars : Le roman se déroule à huis clos dans cette propriété familiale, où tout le monde vit ensemble, à l'exception de la sœur Gabrielle, la rebelle. Introduire Norah était une façon d'amener un souffle de l'extérieur dans ce cocon familial, de porter un regard sur ce qui se passe à l'intérieur, puisque Norah est une fille du peuple. Elle vit dans une sorte de bidonville. C'est une femme très intelligente qui a un regard réaliste sur la réalité de son pays. Elle-même veut sortir de la misère et de la pauvreté, et elle a senti toute de suite qu'en entrant dans cette cour et en rencontrant cette femme – cette peintre qu'elle a senti tellement fragile, tellement vulnérable – il y avait là une opportunité pour elle de se faire payer des études, de vivre mieux, et peut-être même de voyager. Donc elle symbolise le regard du dehors, le regard de la ville, le regard du séisme aussi puisqu'elle vit sous une tente encore un an après la catastrophe. C'est une réalité quotidienne, ces jeunes femmes qui vivent de leur corps, de leur charme pour survivre au jour le jour.

Julia Borst : Oui, j'avais aussi l'impression qu'à bien des égards Norah ressemble à d'autres femmes dans ton œuvre qui se servent de leur pouvoir d'attirance et de leur sexualité pour se révolter contre la fatalité de la vie. Quels rôles jouent celles-ci dans tes textes en général ?

Kettly Mars : Se révolter contre la fatalité, c'est très littéraire mais en fait, c'est une question de survie. Il ne faut évidemment pas considérer cela comme cent pour cent vrai. Il y a heureusement une jeunesse saine, il y a heureusement certaines femmes qui ne cèdent pas à la facilité de tomber dans la prostitution. Il y a des gens qui parviennent à s'en sortir autrement. Mais ces femmes sont un phénomène que nous connaissons bien et qui est dénoncé. Ces jeunes filles et ces femmes sont faciles à trouver et, très souvent, les parents les encouragent à faire commerce de leur corps pour aider la famille à survivre, à envoyer un petit frère ou une petite sœur à l'école. C'est une forme de prostitution dont on essaie de masquer le nom mais dont beaucoup profitent. C'est une réalité de la société haïtienne aujourd'hui et ce ne sont pas exactement des personnages de roman, ce sont des victimes. Faire leur portrait, pour moi, est une façon de dénoncer cette situation.

Julia Borst : Norah, que veut-elle exprimer quand elle dit que la bourgeoisie haïtienne ne sait rien « de la vie dehors » ? Quelle est l'origine de ce clivage social en Haïti auquel cette narratrice fait allusion ?

Kettly Mars : C'est son point de vue et il n'est pas forcément entièrement correct ou réel. Puisqu'il y a un tel clivage, une telle différence économique (il y a ceux qui ont les moyens de vivre décemment et ceux qui n'ont rien du tout, si bien que parfois on a presque honte d'aller à l'école, d'avoir une voiture, de pouvoir voyager, alors que ce sont des choses tout à fait banales dans d'autres pays). C'est justement à cause de cet écart tellement énorme entre les couches sociales en Haïti.

Par exemple, le simple fait de parler français est déjà quelque chose qui vous singularise puisque 90% de la population ne parle pas un français correct. Le français en Haïti, c'est presque une langue qui fait une démarcation dans la société et c'est pourquoi, heureusement, aujourd'hui il y a une culture créole et il y a une littérature créole qui est en hausse. Depuis l'année dernière, une académie créole a même été fondée et, nous autres artistes et intellectuels, la voyons d'un très bon œil. Par exemple, à un certain moment, je me posais des questions sur le fait d'écrire en français. J'aime beaucoup le français, c'est la langue que j'ai apprise à l'école, c'est avec cette langue que j'ai découvert la beauté et la littérature. Mais parfois, je me demande pour qui j'écris.

C'est cela la situation. Les choses qui paraissent normales et banales sont très difficiles à vivre dans le contexte haïtien. Donc, Norah a ce point de vue sur la bourgeoisie : ce sont des bienheureux, ils se foutent pas mal de la vie des autres, ils n'ont pas de sentiment. Alors qu'au fond, nous sommes tous affectés par ce qui se passe et nous essayons d'aider, avec nos moyens, nous essayons de faire quelque chose, mais, d'une certaine manière, nous sommes tous victimes de la situation générale.

Julia Borst : Tandis que le tableau que tu nous as peint sur la réalité haïtienne est en partie assez sombre, *Je suis vivant* dresse une vision plutôt optimiste, si l'on prend le microcosme familial en tant que symbole de la société haïtienne. Dès que le retour d'Alexandre s'annonce, les autres membres de la famille craignent sans cesse qu'une situation catastrophique ne se produise. Pourtant, cette catastrophe ne se produit pas.

Kettly Mars : En effet, la catastrophe ne s'est pas produite, et au contraire, le retour d'Alexandre a été l'occasion pour les membres de la famille de se reconstruire, de se rapprocher les uns des autres parce qu'il a fallu déployer de l'énergie pour le recevoir, le mettre à son aise, le soigner, etc. Et bien chacun y met du sien. C'est aussi l'occasion de retomber dans les souvenirs et de retrouver les moments de tendresse. Ce sont d'ailleurs ces moments de tendresse en famille que j'ai voulu faire ressortir. Il n'y avait pas que des moments de frustration ou de peur, il y avait aussi une tendresse qui gardait cette famille unie et

qu'ils ont au fur et à mesure ressentie ; c'est elle qui a permis le retour d'Alexandre au milieu d'eux.

Je sais que beaucoup de lecteurs s'attendaient à cette catastrophe mais, heureusement, elle n'a pas eu lieu. Des lecteurs m'ont posé la question de savoir si pour moi *Je suis vivant* est une allégorie de la vie haïtienne : est-ce que j'ouvre une note d'espoir aussi sur la reconstruction de cette société ? En fait, oui, je suis de ceux et de celles qui ont espoir que Haïti ira mieux. C'est pourquoi je suis chez moi, c'est un pays que j'ai dans la peau, c'est mon pays, c'est là que je me sens bien. Je pense qu'il y a des forces positives qui finiront par faire une masse critique pour changer la situation. Je ne mets pas de limitation dans ce processus, mais je pense qu'il aura lieu. Et nous le croyons fermement et nous travaillons dans ce sens, c'est-à-dire avant tout rester positif, ce qui n'est pas toujours facile, et ensuite dénoncer ce qui n'est pas bon, retourner aussi dans notre passé pour savoir pourquoi le présent est sombre et ne plus commettre les mêmes erreurs. J'ai beaucoup d'espoir.

Julia Borst : Cet optimisme très présent quant à l'avenir dans *Je suis vivant* – et qui d'ailleurs distingue ce roman des autres qui lui sont antérieurs –, dirais-tu que c'est un tournant dans ton travail d'écriture ?

Kettly Mars : Je pense que *Je suis vivant* est celui de mes romans qui se termine le mieux, entre guillemets. Est-ce que c'est une évolution dans mon écriture ? La question se pose. Je n'ai jamais cru aux happy endings, jusqu'à *Je suis vivant*. Ce n'est pas un happy ending, mais au moins c'est une fin apaisée de roman. Jusqu'à présent, j'avais peut-être trouvé un moyen d'éviter des fins trop sombres en laissant des fins ouvertes à mes romans, comme par exemple dans *Fado* ou dans *Saisons sauvages*. Ce dernier est le roman où inévitablement les lecteurs viennent à moi dans la rue ou dans les supermarchés pour me dire : « mais qu'est-ce qui est arrivé à cette femme et sa famille ? » Je leur dis : « je vous laisse terminer pour moi le roman selon que cette héroïne vous ait plu ou que vous l'ayez détestée, vous allez alors lui faire son destin ». Je mets donc en quelque sorte la responsabilité sur les épaules des lecteurs.

Mais effectivement, je sens que je suis à une phase de ma création où j'aimerais ouvrir sur plus d'optimisme. Des fois j'aimerais écrire des choses plus positives, plus enthousiastes, parce qu'il n'y a pas que des choses sombres dans ma vie. J'ai une vie normale, j'ai des enfants, je suis bien chez moi. Quand on dit que Kettly Mars est une écrivaine qui vit – on dit toujours – *encore* en Haïti, c'est comme dire que vivre en Haïti est quelque chose d'anormal. Très souvent, je leur dis : « enlevez « encore », je suis chez moi, c'est un choix ». Évidemment, j'ai peut-être au moins une fois dans ma vie remis ce choix en question au vu des circonstances, des difficultés, mais il suffit de suivre les nouvelles

dans le monde, toute société a ses difficultés. J'ai envie d'être plus positive, ou bien au moins plus satirique, un peu laisser les choses sombres de côté, ce qui est lourd. Et je sens que je suis dans cette phase d'évolution de ma création.

Julia Borst : Merci beaucoup, Kettly, pour cette interview.

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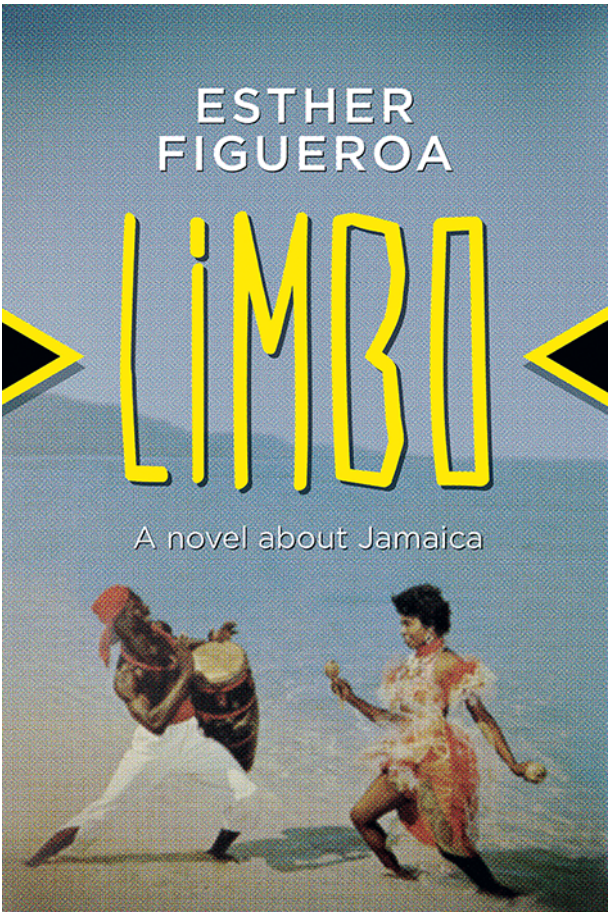
Esther Figueroa

Limbo. A Novel about Jamaica (Reading by the Author)



Audio extracts from Esther Figueroa's reading of *Limbo. A Novel about Jamaica* during the conference "Reshaping (G)local Dynamics of the Caribbean" (Hannover, 16 October 2015).
Online resource: http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/id/662644

II. Arts and Visual Studies

Christoph Singler

Framing — Arts visuels des Caraïbes : plaidoyer pour sortir des cadres disciplinaires

Les arts visuels n'ont pas, à ce jour, trouvé de place dans le discours caribéen, malgré l'intérêt qu'y portaient les écrivains qui l'ont marqué, dont Patrick Chamoiseau, Édouard Glissant, Aimé Césaire, José Lezama Lima, Wilson Harris ou Derek Walcott ; et malgré aussi des artistes comme Wifredo Lam, les peintres du Centre d'Art de Port-au-Prince ou bien Aubrey Williams, pour ne citer que ces quelques exemples. Peut-on imaginer de partir des images pour le discours caribéen, et quel en serait l'apport ? Où divergerait un tel essai du discours logocentrique ?

Dans sa communication appelée « Dreaming of an Island », María Magdalena Campos Pons définit son œuvre comme un voyage de l'individu vers le collectif (Fig. 1). Les fragments qu'elle rassemble en cours de route lui permettent de comprendre où et pourquoi les images qui en émergent s'imposent à elle. Il s'agit de notations au quotidien qui sont autant de témoignages de récits passés sous silence, refoulés par l'histoire officielle. Fruits de la nécessité, ces images seraient à la recherche du langage qui les articulerait, toujours en attente : « a language coming out of it is yet to be born. »[1] Or ce langage reste indéfiniment en suspens. Les images s'imposent d'autant plus, en deçà de leur métaphorisation qui les priverait d'une partie de leur pouvoir. Cependant, Campos Pons évoque l'idée du partage, entre le monde social et l'individu, à travers les images de la mémoire. Autre manière de mettre en récit, le statut des images oscille entre leur caractère fragmentaire et leur aspiration à réunir précisément les fragments dont elles sont faites pour former une constellation, une entité nouvelle présentée sous forme d'installation. Peut-être s'agit-il plutôt du désir, de l'intuition d'un tout, peut-être l'ensemble n'est qu'une vision intérieure que l'artiste mettrait en partage ; reste que les images seraient les différents fragments d'un récit en attente, lequel ne saurait exister sans ces images qui le suscitent tout en ayant une existence isolée, indépendante. Je tente d'éviter le verbe « construire » : le mode d'être de l'image chez Campos Pons est à la fois

1 Campos Pons, María Magdalena: « Dreaming of an Island », enregistrement de sa conférence du 15 octobre 2015.

Fig. 1. María Madgalena Campos Pons lors de sa conférence « Dreaming of an Island » dans le cadre de la table ronde « Arts and Visual Cultures in the Caribbean », Hanovre, 15 octobre 2015 (© Lisa Brunke).

puissant et fragile, dans la mesure où elle ne véhicule pas d'argument ; témoignage, trace, elle est de l'ordre de l'émergence, de l'affirmation existentielle sans hiérarchiser les couches de signification qu'elle rend visibles et déplie, contradictoires ou hétéroclites, distantes ou proches. L'ensemble, l'œuvre, est offert à l'exploration sensorielle qui sous-tend voire interroge constamment l'assemblage des parties. Si la composition est un travail de mise en relation de multiples pièces, le récit reste toujours en voie de s'agencer (Luis 2011 : 164–165).

María Magdalena Campos Pons est une artiste emblématique des Caraïbes à plusieurs titres. Sa pensée est marquée par la trace, le fragment ; la diversité culturelle et historique des pièces qu'elle assemble ; l'intérêt pour les zones silencieuses des récits historiques, l'exploration de la subjectivité, la subjectivité noire, la subjectivité genrée, mais aussi en tant que telle, et l'exploration des liens entre les sphères individuelle et collective, l'enchevêtrement, les imbrications d'histoires transatlantiques, la diversité au lieu de l'universalité. Glissant certainement, mais aussi Homi Bhabha, l'hybridité et le tiers-espace. Et on pourrait y joindre l'art en tant qu'activité dotée de vertus curatives, performance cathartique destinée à guérir les blessures de l'âme. Paul Gilroy prône l'abandon de la prééminence du discursif dans le domaine des arts de l'Atlantique Noir. Ce qui suit reprend ses remarques en les appliquant aux rapports entre image et discours dans l'espace caribéen.

Fallait-il un assouplissement, voire un affaiblissement du statut du Discours – des discours théoriques – pour que l'attention glisse, insensiblement,

vers la culture visuelle caribéenne ? La théorie caribéenne ne s'y intéresse que depuis une vingtaine d'années peut-être, depuis peu donc. Bien sûr, les historiographies nationales existent : Cuba, République dominicaine, Jamaïque, Haïti notamment. Mais ce qui est en jeu, c'est le rapprochement de l'histoire de l'art et du discours sur la, ou les cultures caribéennes, leurs points d'intersection, et en particulier les spécificités des arts visuels par rapport au domaine discursif compte tenu du poids dont le discours a pesé sur la réception des œuvres, peut-être aussi sur la création elle-même. Les particularités des arts visuels et de leur champ (au sens de Bourdieu) tel qu'il fut établi en Occident ont sans doute contribué à cette marginalisation, sujet des textes de Leon Wainwright et de David Frohnapfel. Bien que marqué par les études culturelles, le discours caribéen considère la culture visuelle comme un texte à déchiffrer en fonction d'un code préexistant. Caribbean Art at the Crossroads of the World, exposition organisée à New York en 2012–2013, tentait un rapprochement entre les arts visuels et quelques-uns des grands textes, depuis le Code Noir jusqu'à Edwidge Danticat, en passant par Nicolás Guillén, C.L.R. James, Alejo Carpentier, Fernando Ortiz, Antonio Benítez Rojo, V.S. Naipaul et Glissant, parmi d'autres ; mais elle se contentait d'une juxtaposition où les textes tenaient lieu d'encadrement des images. Pourtant, si les arts caribéens les plus remarqués sont et restent la musique, les arts du spectacle et l'écriture, l'image n'a jamais été absente du mode de pensée des essayistes majeurs de l'Archipel. La question est de savoir en quoi sa présence a-t-elle eu d'incidence sur les idées. Si les études des images mettaient à jour ne seraient-ce que des facettes de la culture caribéenne celles-ci pourraient à leur tour éclairer la réflexion sur ou à partir des Caraïbes. Nous verrions alors plus clairement la performance des images et leur impact non seulement sur la pensée, mais avant tout leur rôle dans la formation tant de la perception de l'espace que de la subjectivité caribéenne.

Le récit d'Emiel Martens est instructif à cet égard. Portant sur les politiques gouvernementales jamaïcaines en matière cinématographique, il montre l'image filmique sous la domination du tourisme. Après l'époque coloniale la Jamaïque a tenté d'inciter les producteurs hollywoodiens à tourner dans l'île, espérant ainsi stimuler l'industrie touristique et créer de l'emploi tout en vendant une image positive du pays. Le projet n'a jamais véritablement pris, la production est restée plutôt sporadique. Doit-on s'en réjouir ? En quelque sorte, Martens prolonge la thèse de Krista Thompson dans An Eye for the Tropics (2007), une analyse de la photographie à l'usage du tourisme dans les Caraïbes anglophones. Les cartes postales produites depuis 1880 env. représentaient des indigènes dociles dans un paysage tropical domestiqué, pré-moderne, à l'usage du touriste (blanc) : une « esthétique de l'occultation » qui bannit tout sujet heurtant la sensibilité des visiteurs, tels les mendiants ou les débordements carnavalesques, au bénéfice d'une vision édénique racialisée et fortement sexuée.

Objets de l'économie visuelle du tourisme, les habitants noirs deviennent exotiques, voire primitifs tout en étant domestiqués conformément au mythe du bon sauvage. Or cette imagerie modifie le regard que jettent les habitants sur leur île et sur eux-mêmes, et Thompson s'inquiète à juste titre du fait que « le sujet postcolonial [...] pour reconstruire son identité et son histoire s'appuyait précisément sur ces représentations coloniales » (Thompson 2007 : 255). C'est contre ce carcan discursif que les arts visuels contemporains doivent œuvrer s'ils veulent retrouver ses potentialités libératrices.

Or leur institutionnalisation, relativement récente et toujours en train de se faire, reste précaire dans la plupart des îles, les disparités nationales étant toujours notables. À ce jour nous disposons d'une seule histoire régionale, Caribbean Art, publiée par Veerle Poupeye en 1998, qui signalait davantage les différences que les points en commun. Depuis, les échanges se multiplient, par le biais de biennales (en particulier à La Havane), d'ateliers d'artistes et d'expositions, phénomène dont témoignent deux volumes consacrés aux pratiques curatoriales qui furent publiés respectivement en 2012 et 2013. Parallèlement s'est développée la diaspora des arts caribéens, dont l'interaction avec les scènes locales commence à s'intensifier. Les premiers signes en ont été le Caribbean Artists Movement (CAM) dans les années 1960 en Grande-Bretagne et l'exode d'artistes cubains après la Révolution en 1959, mouvements qui se sont multipliés depuis en Haïti et nombre d'autres îles suite à la globalisation du marché de l'art, et sans doute aussi au gré des conflits internes. Malgré le succès certain de figures individuelles et le boom de l'art cubain, à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur de l'île, la dispersion a fait naître un sentiment grandissant de marginalisation sur la scène internationale. C'est que ces artistes ne sont pas toujours associé(e)s à l'espace caribéen, par leur choix personnel (ainsi Vicente Pimentel, grand peintre dominicain résidant à Paris), ou sont oubliés sinon passés sous silence par des considérations d'ordre politique plutôt qu'artistique, tels Guido Llinás, pionnier de l'art abstrait cubain dans les années 1950 « mais » exilé à Paris à partir de 1963. Autre cas rarement « revendiqué » par le discours caribéen est le vidéaste Steve McQueen. Fait significatif aussi, María Magdalena Campos Pons dit-elle au début de son intervention qu'elle participait pour la première fois à une conférence caribéenne.

Or l'éloignement physique et temporel n'empêche guère de poursuivre une réflexion sur le passé et le présent du pays dont on est originaire : « Rêver d'une île », le titre choisi par Maria Magdalena, signale que, d'un lieu géographique, celle-ci devient peu à peu une réalité mentale. C'est que le rapprochement peut être salutaire. Si la diaspora ne relie pas nécessairement, du moins crée-t-elle de nouveaux espaces pour l'art caribéen en le déplaçant au cœur de la scène artistique globalisée. Il est indéniable que les artistes caribéens affrontent de grandes difficultés pour se frayer un chemin dans le paysage d'un Nord

globalisé tout en étant en voie de provincialisation, pour reprendre un des souhaits de la pensée postcoloniale. Leon Wainwright dresse un panorama assez sombre de la situation. À l'encontre des théories sur les différentes temporalités, Wainwright insiste sur l'unification d'un temps globalisé dont le rythme et la vitesse sont toujours dictés par l'ex-métropole. Et à l'encontre de Hans Belting, qui soutient que la mondialisation n'a pas produit un monde de l'art contemporain global mais plutôt une régionalisation grandissante, à l'instar de la diversification des « idéosphères » d'Arjun Appadurai, Wainwright constate que l'ex-métropole continue de contrôler l'accès au monde de l'art globalisé. Du point de vue métropolitain, l'art caribéen serait toujours en retard – incapable à jamais de sortir de son statut colonial – condamné à rester l'objet de représentations déformantes. Or, Wainwright rappelle à juste titre un certain nombre de critères qui définiraient l'art mondialisé, dont la mobilité et la circulation des individus. Admettons, avec Wainwright, que cette mobilité caribéenne, loin de mettre en cause une communauté (artistique) « soudée », alimenterait la scène locale et contribuerait ainsi à la formation d'une communauté riche en perspectives dont la durabilité serait cependant bloquée par une globalisation aux critères aliénants sur lesquels la scène caribéenne n'a pas prise. Wainwright évite à bon escient le cadre identitaire, mais comment définir « déformation » ou « aliénant » : quelle en est l'aune ? À la place de l'identité, il introduit un monde de l'art local qui n'en est pas (encore) un. Pour trouver une durabilité, il faudra probablement faire revenir à la revendication ou construction d'une identité, pour changeante qu'elle soit. Quelles options face au marché mondialisé ? Wainwright en appelle à une grève des artistes. Geste utopique, ou plutôt dystopique ? Décrocher, ralentir, se recentrer sur soi – sans doute la grève deviendrait une nouvelle œuvre d'art, inaperçue comme le reste. L'idée n'en est pas moins stimulante, il suffit d'imaginer qu'elle se répande dans le Sud. Toutefois, le problème me paraît plus complexe que Wainwright ne le décrit. En réalité, les arts du Grand Sud semblent bel et bien avoir réussi à occuper un secteur non négligeable du marché mondial de l'art autour de la question identitaire. Les arts des Caraïbes – en particulier des aires francophones et anglophones – s'y insèrent parfaitement. Or ce secteur, qui réduit le questionnement des identités à la dimension culturelle, ethnique, raciale, est pour cette même raison condamné à stagner si ce n'est à disparaître. Non pas parce que la question cessera de se poser : un tel cadre est par trop réducteur. En fin de compte, le repli sur soi auquel appelle Wainwright ne ferait que prolonger le confinement dont l'art caribéen est la victime.

L'approche culturelle a été particulièrement persistante en Haïti, sujet de deux articles dans ce volume. David Frohnapfel et Carlo Célius insistent sur les tensions et débats internes, signes de modernité s'il en est, qu'elle a suscités. Frohnapfel discute les politiques curatoriales au sujet des artistes de la

Grand'Rue de Port-au-Prince, en comparant la stratégie de Barbara Prézeau Stephenson, artiste qui s'est engagée très tôt à les faire connaître à travers sa Fondation AfricAmericA, à celle de Leah Gordon et autres curateurs états-uniens ou européens. Ses résultats sont clairs : à l'extérieur d'Haïti, on cherche à situer ses artistes dans le contexte du vodou ou de la peinture naïve ou art brut, tandis qu'à l'intérieur une approche socio-politique prévaut. Frohnapfel discute également les positionnements des artistes et leurs réponses aux stratégies des curateurs, de sorte qu'ils participent aux choix disponibles, variant entre « dissimilation » (production d'une altérité par un processus d'exotisation des œuvres) et « assimilation » (i.e. aux problématiques formelles de l'art contemporain, dépouillées de considérations religieuses, rituelles ou autres). Tandis que, conscient de l'enfermement que suppose pour lui le vodou comme seule perspective sur son œuvre, Jean Hérard Céleur s'en distancera ou nuancera son influence, d'autres comme André Eugène soulignent leur appartenance, parfois jusqu'à la caricature, à l'opposé des intentions de Barbara Prézeau. Est en jeu ici – une fois n'est pas coutume – une « nouvelle authenticité » que Frohnapfel qualifie de « néo-primitiviste ». À cette vision de l'extérieur il oppose le fait que, au contraire, les artistes de la Grand Rue possèdent une culture mixte et des liens étroits avec le monde de l'art occidental sans pour autant couper leurs rapports avec la scène locale.

Serait-ce pour cette raison qu'ils ne sont pas sortis encore de leur bidonville ? Ils occupent précisément la place que le monde de l'art occidental leur assigne : artistes « néo-primitifs », urbains tout en étant adeptes d'une religion aux racines lointaines. Carlo Célius, en remontant aux débuts de l'art moderne en Haïti, montre que l'art naïf, promu par le Centre d'Art fondé en 1944, constitue en fait un dérivé du primitivisme, invention d'une altérité fabriquée par le processus moderniste. S'il en est ainsi, on ne peut plus faire l'économie d'une révision de la dichotomie art naïf = authentique / art moderne = inauthentique. En fait, Célius situe le tournant ethnographique à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle, lorsque la nation est définie en tant que « communauté culturelle ». L'école haïtienne en est un phénomène concomitant en ce sens qu'elle est née sous le signe du primitivisme, tout comme le discours ethnologique, sans qu'il y ait pour autant relation de cause à effet. Il n'en reste pas moins que depuis les débuts de son institutionnalisation, au moment de la fondation du Centre d'Art, l'art haïtien n'a toujours pas réussi à se désempêtrer de l'aura primitiviste. Dans son livre de 2007, Langage plastique et énonciation identitaire, Célius a dégagé les enjeux à la fois théoriques et pratiques des multiples débats sur cet art, tiraillé entre deux tendances, l'une défendant une haïtianité en s'appuyant sur les « primitifs » (vodou, mémoire raciale, néo-africanité, etc.) et l'autre, en faveur d'une pluralité esthétique mais en butte à une « conception substantialiste de l'identité » héritée du discours ethnologique qui associait l'art haïtien au vodou.

Célius note également que le courant naïf introduit dans le monde de l'art les valeurs des classes inférieures, noires, mettant en question celles des élites haïtiennes. Il s'agissait d'« une véritable irruption des subalternes » qui a reconfiguré le monde de la création plastique. Dès lors le problème n'est pas tant qu'elle soit « primitive » ou « naïve ». Il s'agirait de reconnaître les évolutions stylistiques et d'identifier les apports de l'extérieur prouvant que l'artiste haïtien dit « naïf » ne se contente pas de prolonger une tradition somme toute récente, à l'instar de la technique du fer découpé inventée par Georges Liautaud dans les années 1940. C'est la reconnaissance des arts profanes – non vodouisants – qui est en jeu, mais aussi de toute une panoplie de pratiques et supports tenus à l'écart du modèle occidental. En fait il n'y a pas lieu de trancher dans le débat entre vodouisants et artistes qui n'y adhèrent pas : c'est l'interaction entre des individus et le collectif qu'il faut montrer. La pluralité des positions permet de comprendre les enjeux et les critères qui conduisent à telle ou telle pratique. Célius propose donc d'investir davantage l'anthropologie des images, et en particulier les différents « domaines de création plastique », notamment ceux situés en dehors de ce que les académies de beaux-arts ont pu codifier, pour aller au-delà des dichotomies existantes.

Frohnapfel s'insurge contre les curateurs étrangers qui ne questionnent leur position hiérarchique ni ne signalent leurs partis pris, tels des anthropologues sur le terrain qui oublient l'autoréflexion, qui devrait faire partie intégrante de leur déontologie. Remarque fort juste, mais courons le risque qu'implique le regard extérieur, avec les déformations qu'il peut introduire ; en dernière instance, le principe dialogique n'enlève rien à la responsabilité pour le produit final de la réflexion, que ce soit une thèse, une exposition ou un catalogue, etc. En revanche, abondant dans le sens de Frohnapfel, je plaiderais – à l'encontre de toute ambition encyclopédique – en faveur d'une pratique monographique, sous forme de texte ou d'exposition. L'approche est moins modeste qu'elle ne parait à première vue. En fait, la monographie dont je parle conçoit l'artiste en tant que carrefour : entre influences artistiques – indépendamment de la discipline pratiquée par celui-ci –, le vécu et les contextes politique et historique. Une telle démarche obéit à la volonté de sortir du périmètre de disciplines qui enferment les artistes dans des logiques binaires au bénéfice de positions acquises d'avance. Elle permettrait de tracer des liens au-delà des cloisons imposées par une aire géographique ou culturelle, bousculant les temporalités étriquées de l'historicisme et rendant par là même l'épaisseur historique à l'art caribéen que le contemporain globalisé ne lui accorde pas. Georges Didi-Huberman a rappelé l'anachronisme constitutif de l'image dans un sens très benjaminien, l'image envisagée en tant que « dialectique en arrêt ». C'est de ce point de vue que je reviendrais sur la proposition de Wainwright : interrompre la circulation de la « production culturelle » pour mieux voir ce que le flux charrie –

les images ayant statut de symptômes, idée chère à Carl Einstein déjà – ce serait se retrouver, « sa mémoire et son avenir » (Didi-Hubermann 2000 : 10). Sous cet angle la question posée n'est pas seulement de savoir comment récupérer ce pan de la culture caribéenne si peu étudié par le discours sur les Caraïbes ; à la suite de Didi-Hubermann, on peut se demander si les images – ce qu'elles enseignent sur le regard et sur la façon dont les arts visuels modulent le réel – ne pourraient pas contribuer à une archéologie de ce même discours.

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Leon Wainwright

Materialities and Mobilities: A Note on the Political Geography of Contemporary Caribbean Art

Caribbean art offers a useful vantage point onto current controversies about the materiality of culture and the geography of movement. Where the rhetoric of globalisation has taken hold in the public funding, exhibiting, and scholarly conceptualising of contemporary art, artists have come to experience a mixed picture of the opportunities that are posed by global flows of money, artworks, and the ideas about them. This is the view taken from a round up of fieldwork conducted since 2010 at multiple sites: Suriname, Barbados, Trinidad, Jamaica, Cuba, and Guyana, and their connections to the wider Atlantic. I suggest that the ground-level perspectives of artists – formed from their efforts to make art, to make a living, and to create community – offer a political and geographical field. This article sketches out how the current demands being placed on Caribbean artists and their art to participate in movement presents various choices for the study of materiality and mobility, and with the potential to consolidate a sense of Caribbean community through the arts.

1 On and Off the Art Historical Map

When I first went to the Caribbean to conduct research as an art historian in 2004, for many (if not most) of my colleagues in the United Kingdom it may have seemed that I had conveniently 'dropped off the map' of art history. As much as I winced at that assumption at the time, my colleagues were probably generally right, insofar as the geographical scope of the discipline of art history did not seem to stretch very far in any one direction, at least not much outside Europe and North America, or was at least able to admit a list of other locations in the notional 'non-West' that left the Caribbean well and truly out. When I returned home in 2005, I embarked on writing a book about how the Caribbean has largely been ignored in the tradition of art-focused scholarship generally: how its art has been rendered backward and even provincial, in relation to the supposed cutting-edge of developments in northern Atlantic metropolises. The Caribbean has been subjected to imputations of belatedness with regard to the

pace of its uptake of artistic modernism; to provincialism in its supposed remove from the 'cutting-edge' of art's development; and to anachronism, in the Caribbean's continued attachment to ethnic difference and identity, when the mainstream of contemporary art has reportedly given them up (Wainwright 2011). That volume shows how artists have coped with such a rendering, and how ultimately they have subverted its terms. Painters such as Aubrey Williams, Denis Williams, and Frank Bowling, born in the early days of the twentieth century in what was then British Guiana, are exemplary of the transnational lives that animated a history of art that has come (retrospectively) to offer an urgent critique of Western-centrism, while pointing the way to a more open and liberated view of creativity in which the cultural field centred around the (former) imperial metropolis is transformed through Caribbean participation in the arts. That continues to be true for succeeding generations, e.g. black British artists – artists of African, Asian, and Caribbean backgrounds – who emerged in significant number in the late twentieth century or contemporary art communities of the English-speaking Caribbean and their global diasporas. Whatever the case may be, these artists and art practices have engaged with a 'politics of time' in order to challenge how northern Atlantic, metropolitan culture had treated art and artists of the Caribbean.

The subtraction of the Caribbean from the mainstream of attention to art is more complex a situation than suggested by the commonplace statements advocating for multiculturalism in the academy. A complaint often rehearsed is that Caribbean art and artists are under-represented or 'invisible' in the dominant narrative of modern or contemporary art, with its spatio-temporal ideology of a world-leading art that orbits a Western (white, male) subjectivity. Since the mid-2000s, indeed, the Caribbean, in tune with the wider 'global turn' in art history, has joined a host of other regions – Africa, Asia, the rest of the Americas, their diasporas – and emerged from an unforgivably large blind spot on the notional art historical map. They have come to figure more prominently as a global cultural presence, coming into view through art fairs, exhibitions, biennials, and significant books and articles. One result is that art of the Caribbean now, more than before, seems set on upstaging the older centres of modernism that have dominated the discipline, outshining the sort of art that for so long held the attention of art audiences in the global North. Accordingly, a case could be made that the changing relationship between the Caribbean and the wider world deserves much closer attention by way of the arts, with the arts working as a sort of barometer of the developing climate of global connection that implicates the Caribbean.

2 Mobility and Caribbean Art

These changes are framed by the rather normative view that for art, any art today, to qualify for attention, it really needs to be *mobile*. It has to be not merely international but transnational and migratory, possessed of the ability to overcome or even dissolve boundaries in favour of a more borderless global space. Terms such as 'global contemporary art' ring up many of the same associations as globalisation itself on that score, and a great deal has been invested to polish the rhetoric about the unqualified good that comes with the physical movement of flows and transition (for instance Belting/Buddensieg/Weibel 2013). Moreover, art seems to have been singled out for its ability to assist with cultural intermixing and cross-fertilisation, its work as a medium for global exchange. From that view, art helps to stimulate global networking. And where art seems to be reflexive in critically considering the very patterns of its dissemination and movement, it has been declared to manifest the 'global' qualities that distinguish today's emergent visual creativity.

If this is already a familiar account, then I make no apology for that, since the more closely one scrutinises the dominant view of contemporary art the better. This 'global imperative' has brought with it a new range of attention that admits the Caribbean, and that region's art and artists of the Caribbean are travelling new distances. But I wonder how such movement is experienced on the ground, so to speak, among Caribbean art communities themselves. What is happening to Caribbean communities as they try to enjoy the celebrated connectivity of global mobility?

Overlooked in general about mobility in and for the Caribbean is that movement has always and constitutively been there, having historically shaped the region. Much as in the past, mobility today is both a broad field of challenges as well as opportunities, and it is unhelpful if not impossible to sort migratory movements into those factored by forces of 'push' or 'pull'. Mobility remains integral to an appreciation of the Caribbean as perhaps one of the liveliest and yet troubled cultural landscapes in the world, having undergone dramatic changes in the later part of the twentieth century which it is still coming to terms with today. It has suffered severe economic and political crises since the decades of independence of the 1960s and 1970s, and weathered an array of globalising currents that are putting particular pressures on small islands and territories in this interstitial zone of the Americas. In a climate of mounting national debt and instability, countries such as Suriname saw many years of civil war while other nations (including Jamaica, Guyana, and Trinidad and Tobago) have witnessed numerous episodes of political violence and social unrest. The neoliberal aspirations that shape tourism-oriented economies – Barbados, Curaçao, Aruba – are carried on stormy waves of volatile commercial

return. Whether voluntary or forced, Caribbean migration has continued apace and to a point where the identities of Caribbean people can no longer be easily associated with a single, regional geography. These challenges to a Caribbean community – fractured by distance and threatened with uncertainty – are being faced by a transnational diaspora of people who live on all the shores of the Atlantic. It is a community engaging more deeply than ever in re-establishing and maintaining a sense of connection by countering their displacement by building networks, undertaking travel, and exchanging ideas and information (see for example Sheller 2009).

Yet Caribbean mobility is not all of a piece; its forms have to be differentiated and specified. Obviously, movement is disruptive for a life lived *in situ,* upsetting for a conception of community grounded in one place. It seems to call for other forms of movement, or counter-movements that would serve as vitally necessary in the attempt to compensate for such disruption – providing bridges, avenues or sinews of connection that can sustain communities in their efforts to endure despite the challenges of distance and discontinuity. There are modes of mobility that actively favour those Caribbean people whose lives fall across so many sites, so hectically distributed; but mobility per se holds no guarantees of providing a living or holding a community together. Whether we are speaking of a mobility of the ameliorative sort or not can be evaluated against the background of subjective experience and the degree of individual self-selection and choices over movement. If mobility were simply an unqualified good then the geography of movement would be nothing if not virtuous, a morphology of willed travel and relocation. But that choice is not always there, and there is a need to determine under what contingent material conditions (including with what cultural resources) Caribbean individuals are able to face down the surrounding pressures to move.

The issues attending the politics of interrelations between community, place, and space came to be more palpable in two research projects that ran back to back from 2010 to 2014. Here, we looked at the Dutch-speaking, English-speaking, and Spanish-speaking parts of the Caribbean region and their diasporas. In particular, we addressed in depth the same matter of subjective experience and mobility. Here were complex, often fraught relations that spanned a wide geography, encompassing Suriname and the Netherlands, countries like Barbados, Trinidad, Guyana, Jamaica and the United Kingdom, Cuba and North America.[1] Some of this work resulted in the recently published collection that I edited together with the art historian Kitty Zijlmans, and I want to build

1 "Creativity and Innovation in a World of Movement," was a collaborative research project funded under the first round of Humanities in the European Research Area (HERA), European Science Foundation, that ran from 2010 to 2013. Funded jointly by the

on that to note that there is much more to be done in establishing a view of the movement of art and artists of the Caribbean as they are displayed and promoted within and outside the region itself, in spaces of representation and consumption as various as Rotterdam, Hartford in Connecticut, London, New York City, Liverpool, Nagoya in Japan, Victoria in Canada, Darmstadt in Germany, and so on. Caribbean artists and their artworks are not alone in characterising the sort of conjunction of forces that shape everyday Caribbean lives as people travel and sojourn around the Atlantic in their various bids to maintain community. Yet these tensions, difficulties, points of resistance, agonistic relations, and negotiated practices remain somewhat hidden beneath the more celebratory rubric for contemporary art. In turn, they hold particular implications for how space itself is to be considered, and the need to develop this sort of geographical scholarship has involved art historical approaches coming to level with more synchronic ones, while cutting across disciplines.

What I fear is that academic discourse, with its general enthusiasm for Caribbean examples of migration, exile, transnationalism, and so on, will have added confusingly to the mix of misrecognitions that mask how Caribbean art and artists are struggling in the face of disruptive and even exploitative sorts of movement. Applying the specialist vocabulary of an anthropologist such as Maruska Svasek, we may say that Caribbean identities are certainly formed or forming through being 'in movement', but that various modes of "transit, transition and transformation" (2010) can hamper as well as stimulate visual creativity, and do so in ways that should precipitate a mood of scepticism toward the rhetoric of global mobility as an inherently positive aspect of contemporary life.

In response to these political circumstances, I propose a mode of inquiry that sees works of art as creative, material practices in various states of process along a path of movement, never having reached a final destination or significance. Enlarging on that geography of movement demands an approach that brings out an ethics of understanding artists and communities of the Caribbean, drawing together considerations of mobility with those around materiality and in turn requiring a novel way of seeing each of those terms.

Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) and the Netherlands Scientific Organisation (NWO); 'Sustainable Art Communities: Creativity and Policy in the Transnational Caribbean' ran from 2012 to 2014, with the resulting publication: Wainwright/Zijlmans 2016). The further development of this research, outlined here, was kindly supported by the award of a Philip Leverhulme Prize for History of Art, given by The Leverhulme Trust, UK.

3 The Caribbean and 'the Global'

What I have found personally is that my own travel for the purposes of research has been much like the dominant conceptualisation – free flowing and borderless; elective – but that is not how artists of the Caribbean, in the main, have come to see and undertake movement. In the crucial differences between us, there lies at least another and an important side to the story of the Caribbean's celebrated inclusion under a discursively 'global' heading. Listen to the majority of artists of the Caribbean, those who are not enjoying the spoils of a globalising art scene, and the difficulties and the frictions of movement around the globe will come back into view. They paint not some rosy picture of positive change for Caribbean art communities but one that they wrestle with, in contradistinction to the enthusiasm for global movement. Artists' perspectives share much with the powerful critiques once levelled at globalis/zation, its disadvantages and discontent raised by scholars and through public protest. For example, the artist Winston Kellman, writing from Barbados to highlight a long-running "(dis)connection between local and global expectations for Caribbean arts," (2016: 87) has advanced a personal and contingent response. His politics centre on refusing such "global expectations," specifically that artistic success may be epitomis/zed by the traducing of locally-distinctive identities and art practices. His is one of many appeals to the Caribbean's art communities centred in the region in the hope that they will try to sustain themselves against a global imperative. He singles out the impact of cultural values and markets that diffuse a regime of taste and cultural consumption that does locally-grounded Caribbean experience no favours. Kellman writes:

> The fact that some institutions in the Caribbean region seem to encourage the production of work to meet the market needs of an outward/international-looking audience means, to some extent, that younger artists are in danger of denying their lived realities in order to find acceptance in this more globalised space. (Kellman 2016: 86)

When such 'younger' artists, the emerging generation of practitioners – recent graduates, art students – try to target a more global circulation for their art in the newly establishing network of sites for art's reception, they tend to do so by embracing technologies and media of art production that are themselves a metaphor of "(dis)connection." All such patterns mark out a geography of movement in which artworks and artists apparently detach themselves from the material constraints of the Caribbean at the same time as supplying the semblance or simulacrum of attachment to place that would satisfy the "global" demand for a (manufactured) "local" flavour. There is inspiration to draw here, when recognising the widely felt desire to sustain a robust and vibrant

Caribbean community, for a plethora of critical responses from the arts. It is worth highlighting that Caribbean artists themselves have frequently raised the issue of how to build lasting connections and communities in such a way as to circumvent the economies and discursive categories of 'the global.' Caribbean voices such as Kellman's have asked whatever happened to the region's politics of independence in the wake of twentieth century anti-colonial nationalism, when the soft-power vehicles of cultural resistance and a sense of sovereignty (ascribed to a widening spectrum of creativity in the framing literature on Caribbean culture) seem to have lost their power and direction. Indeed, how may Caribbean communities see the way toward an alternative, longer-term prospect for understanding and supporting themselves in the face of globalisation without reverting to a chauvinistic localism, nationalism, anachronistic or otherwise, and an entrenched identity politics?

That question has led in part to a critical look at the Caribbean's celebrated diversity and transnationalism, finding it to be mirrored in the vocabulary used to effusively promote art's globalising currents. Also, with an eye on Barbados, the art critic and historian Therese Hadchity here sees "the need for a more careful consideration of certain art and artists from the Caribbean which would serve, on the one hand, as a contribution to the ongoing critique of globalisation, and, on the other, to an exploration of current tensions surrounding nationalism in the postcolonial world." (2016: 32) With some justification comes the lamentable conclusion that scholars in the arts, humanities, and social sciences have contributed layers of prose that pose lasting problems for Caribbean artists, obscuring with wishful discourse the actual experience of movement under conditions of patronage and public reception for their art.

Indeed, extolling the alleged benefits-for-all of contemporary cultural exchange in an expanding globalising field seems to give little heed to the fact that for many Caribbean artists, the 'milk and honey' of globalisation are not roundly enjoyed. Influential commentary stands a world apart from the actual struggles to negotiate a livelihood for artists in conditions of inequity. Much of the elaborate theorising about the cultural virtues of global mobility seems unaware of Caribbean experience on the flipside of globalisation. This is an adverse outcome of commodifying the imagined geography of interaction and intermixing that has long been identified with the Caribbean in cultural commentary. At the same time, the salient theorisations of 'global contemporary art' (metropolitan curatorial mission statements and interpretative texts, art criticism, advocacy arguments for the charitable funding of art in the 'global South' etc.) do endeavour to account for the arts as a virtuous space of 'dissensus,' where participants fall out with one another or openly clash, yet always productively, in demonstrations of cultural confluence by indirection. Art of the global contemporary has latterly come to be portrayed as a pedagogical place

of healthy disagreement, fractious yet bountiful social critique. Cultural clashes may be spectacular but are ultimately redemptive. In his overview, Peter Weibel sounds a typically jubilant note: "Contemporary art in the global age addresses the opportunities for a gradual transformation of the culture of this capitalist world system and the attendant difficulties and contradictions as well as the opportunities for developing an understanding of other cultures and their equality, assuming that such art takes such qualities seriously and is worthy of its name." And: "Translations and transfers from one culture to another, in a multilateral and multipolar world, no longer create the hegemony of international art, but the reevaluation of the local and the regional. […] In this sense we are living in a postethnic age; we encounter the postethnic state of art." (Weibel 2013: 24, 27) But those "translations and transfers" are more modest than is boasted of them and there is little agreement that we have reached a "postethnic state." That such authoritative commentators can become intrigued by the potential held at the resistive underside of life in the arts may be a sign of their remove from the actual sites and subjects of struggle. There hegemonies and differences, ethnic or otherwise, are hardly evaporating or in transcendence. The "local and the regional" become alienated when their principles and narratives are mediated and retold in order to satisfy metropolitan taste.

The means to take part in such a scene of reputedly "transformative" encounters are not all shared by art communities of the Caribbean. Nor is the will to enjoin that process, or a sense of hope that it is one that the Caribbean can sign up to on its own terms, even less so without joining forces with similar art communities across the global South. What is the larger purpose of exposing the comfortable distance that permits such liberal hopefulness in cultural globalisation and its twice-remove from Caribbean experiences of conflict, trauma, forced movement and material deprivation?

Through a political economy of art that ranges geographically, we may sketch in episodic and often localised patterns how various stakeholders in the contemporary art scene in the Caribbean and its global diasporas (international art agencies, regional art organisers, and local bureaucrats) are positioned vis-à-vis international money, foreign, regional, or national cultural policy priorities, and, in particular, flows of arts funding. Just as importantly, in that same self-reflexive mode, it is crucial to come to understand how claims for the future for art of the Caribbean and its diaspora have come to shape and direct cultural policy, justified the operations of institutions and organisations for the arts, the morphology of its funding systems, and not least the patterns of movement for its artists. These issues, which bear on the future prospect of sustainability for Caribbean communities, are especially pertinent across the linguistic divisions of the Caribbean. The more common channels for comparing Caribbean experiences cross-linguistically have tended toward Anglophone,

Francophone, and Hispanic contexts, and the spectrum of creolisations among them. But this has overlooked less obvious interactions – English and Dutch – and hidden the losses of dismembering the Caribbean region according to its language units. Bridging the boundary between typically separate linguistic contexts should cause a refocusing on the primary matter of how and for whom different languages feature significantly in the arts, while testing the ways that linguistic diversity may correspond with art's putatively communicative capacities.

Finally, when looking at the challenges of building a sustainable community for the Caribbean according to the means offered by the arts, it is worth pausing to reflect on the burden of expectation that is being placed on the arts to serve such a role. Vigilance is needed toward the danger of instrumentalising the arts, to avoid mistaking them for mere tokens in an economy of international 'exchange,' playing with the arts and their practitioners in a game of cultural translation across linguistic territories. Space has to be cleared for unpacking the normative values that are ascribed to the arts, the unexamined normativity of historically transmitted notions about aesthetics and individual creativity, taking as a starting point the process of defamiliarising all such terms with attention to the specificity and contingency of art as a materialising practice.

4 Materiality and the Imaginary

In an anthology of texts that I edited with the Norwegian museum anthropologist Øivind Fuglerud we underline "the fact that humans have a developed awareness of what goes on outside their immediate material environments, such that the material world is not the boundary of all thought and feeling" (2015: 11). We go on to explain our interest in "a nexus of projected futures and remembrance which enfolds humans with the material world [...] towards a notion of the imagination and a field of imaginaries." (Wainwright/Fuglerud 2015) My focus on art of the Caribbean should encourage the sort of analysis that tackles the enfolding of the imagination by actual material relations in their quotidian state while maintaining an analytical distinction between the imagination and the imaginary. In other words, materiality describes the matter – the fabric, the form – in which the imagination takes palpable shape, becoming perceptible and visible as a *work* of the imagination or artwork. This helps to augment the older material*ist* understanding of social life – accounts that emphasised the material basis of all social relations – by suggesting in new ways that cultural practices offer more than a field or medium for the representation of such relations. Applying that lens to the study of art, the imaginary

takes hold through an "institutionalising" of the imagination (Castoriadis 1987) – creativity in the hands of artists, and materialized through their works – in the process of the imagination coming to merge somewhat messily with the surrounding beliefs and social practices. If merge is really the right word at all since there always remain divergences and convergences between the individual imagination and a more shared imaginary. Within the category of the imaginary can be included not only the actual political economy of contemporary art but its discursive visions, drawn from academic discourse on globalizing cultures, multiculturalist policy in the arts, and indeed the global art market. Such imaginaries may clash with the imagination; the meeting of their horizons indeed may constitute zones of clashing and insuperable difference. This sort of conceptualisation cannot be simply overlaid upon a diagram of aesthetics and politics as interacting but essentially with their origins at poles apart, as in common parlance about objects of 'art' versus those of 'use.' It rather suggests that the imagination may be mediated through social imaginaries to a considerable degree, but that a given work of art may also 'set up' a world where social imaginaries act decisively upon it.

With all that in view, I want in closing to discuss how such a broader theorisation may transpose onto the sites and spaces of mobility for the Caribbean's art communities, in particular how the imagination is given material form and mediated in relation to the imaginaries that frame mobility. That is a response to the simple question: To what extent are the patterns of transatlantic movement that connect the Caribbean and the wider Atlantic world ever really about a beneficial sort of material mobility?

The geographer David Harvey, in his article on 'the right to the city,' (2008) has provided a clear answer in the general case at least. There is nothing virtuous about such global movement. All that becomes mobile along any 'growth path' of movement are the materials (the capital, the goods and services, the human bodies and labour) of global capitalism itself. Bringing that view to bear on art of the Caribbean, we would need to add that such materials are subtended by conceptualisations of 'the global' that demand a requisite field of cultural production and aesthetic value – simply put, the domain of 'global contemporary art'. That discursive field indeed maintains the inequalities of both kinds (material and cultural) between diverse regions of the Atlantic. The key to seeing these inequalities at work relies on being able to disentangle the celebration and associations of mobility (the idealisation of a shared, open, multicultural, and transnational space for art – if you will, a transatlantic imaginary) from the actual experiences of movement and labour for Caribbean artists and their material representations. The results should cause us to question why the agency of artists of the Caribbean is so circumscribed by the morphology of art's infrastructure in the metropolitan North (in areas such as art institutions,

its funding and cultural policy frameworks), and how this geography is marked by the notable institutional absence and policy vacuum in diverse Caribbean countries.

These social relations pertaining to the Caribbean are materialised and mediated through art's ostensible detachment from such conditions of inequality. Accordingly, we should not overlook the falsity of that sense of detachment. There are actual, traceable links between an idealized art of liberalising 'globalism' and the vicissitudes of globalisation. Such relations disprove theories of a virtuous art or cultural activity that the whole world may grasp or enjoin. Apologists for an art of 'globalism' will harp on the historical pedigree of contemporary visual creativity, finding its origins in a conception of art's irreducibly material presence, arguments for its contribution to 'civil society,' and how art's public circulation and visibility, from when Europe's art academies were founded, became the signifier of an inclusive and educated body politic. During the Enlightenment allegedly art came to 'speak for itself,' freed from private patronage and the Church, and we should marvel at its spread and the persistence of such a notion of its civic value. That once-regional (European, metropolitan) and thereby parochial model of art's broader social effectiveness has become widely appropriated at countless urban centres throughout the world in re-localising ways (Jones 2016). But this genealogy needs to reckon with how art today cannot – indeed, if it ever did – 'speak for itself.' How could it? By severing its relation to contemporary capital and surrounding political geography, exercising the cognitive capacity to reflect on its circumstances? Would not such disengagement only work counterwise, by providing the semblance of autonomous creativity, unpredictability and even 'freedom' that capital would then try to exploit (cf. Gielen 2009: 38–40; Dimitrakaki 2012)?

Predictably, there is a corresponding, prevailing discourse that idealises contemporary art and ascribes it similar value for the Caribbean; encouraging the region to sees art as the medium and basis for free transfer, as a nexus of creativity that can spread across national borders and traverse geographical space. Art of the Caribbean is exploited in two discursive and converging currents: the prose of breathless excitement about a present day (art)world-on-the-move, which describes mobility as a leitmotif of culture undergoing globalisation, and the elaborating theorisations of the Caribbean as an abiding example of (g)local relations underpinned by movement. That has helped to make material, to material*ize* in fact particular motivations for urban regeneration or expansion, for distributing resources for the arts and legitimising their denial to others, and for justifying the movement of art and artists from place to place. We need to know more, consequently, about how Caribbean art is being used or produced to satisfy the demand for mobility rather than vice versa, as in those conventional accounts where movement is seen simply to be an inciden-

tal aspect of naming the new, 'global' art. And, crucially, we should ask how the imperative to be globally mobile comes to *actively produce Caribbean artists themselves* by transforming them into materials that can be mediated and made to travel.

5 Mobility, Immobility, and Political Action

Initiated in earnest in the academy during the 1980s, research on diaspora cultures and histories for all its depth of focus has tended, however, not to look directly so much at the matter of movement itself, preferring to address instead the everyday practices and psychic processes that evolve in the found conditions of exile and displacement. Not until the development of a focused sociology of mobility have the diaspora communities that people the Caribbean, on all shores on the Atlantic, come to be understood for their exemplary role in the experience of modernity and contemporary global change (see Urry 2000; Cresswell 2006; Sheller and Urry 2006). This more recent work promises to deepen the existing understanding of the field of cultural representation, especially those cognitive forms of practice that are geared to overcoming the violence and uprooting of transatlantic slavery and indenture. The descendents of those "conscripts of modernity," as the political anthropologist David Scott aptly named them, may have strived in multiple and historically exemplary ways to produce a sense of self, unity, and locality (Scott 2004). Yet for the diaspora cultural consciousness that ensued, that sense of 'home' has been confined to philosophical and mythical places to which communities will never return, altogether "imaginary homelands" as the writer Salman Rushdie called them (1991). In Caribbean Studies more recently have emerged compelling geographies of these cultural longings and strivings, which see the Caribbean region as an interconnected, archipelagic cultural formation, linked corporeally and extra-corporeally with Africa, Asia, and Europe, such as in Édouard Glissant's *Poetics of Relation* (1997). That has inspired a more radical approach which reimagines entire continents as islands and littorals with marine and submarine connection. Its apparent aim is to provincialise everyone, to decentre the entire globe (cf. Stephens 2013), exploding its maps of inequity, its pinpoints of privilege, and swathes of majority underdevelopment. That would make general the particularities of Caribbean experience in an expansive vision of how the entire world in its multiple, intersecting zones continues to come into being through movement.

Reflecting on the lessons drawn from the Caribbean, there is every reason to suggest that scholarship needs to be more mindful of the prevailing moral view that is taken of movement – the moral pressure to see mobility only ever

as a positive phenomenon and to embrace it through participation. There is of course the necessity to move that faces communities of the Caribbean, which is set against the desire for stillness, rootedness, stability – the certainties of local sustainability, the coupling of the sustainable and the local. Notwithstanding the psychic morphology of diaspora's imaginary homelands, however, it seems clear that Caribbean people, within or without the geographical region itself, are very able to distinguish between being 'home' and 'abroad', between forced and voluntary movement, all the more so for being shuttled and shifted from place to place. They understand that the cosmopolitan dream of everyone being a 'citizen of the world' is tainted with liberalistic doublespeak. What it is to be an artist has gone the same way.

There are some illuminating parallels here with our work in the academy. Many of us have heard the call to engage more fully with the dynamics of movement by exploring the global relevance of our respective disciplines. Personally, I have been long immersed in those debates and initiatives in art history that have propelled a sea change in the university curriculum, largely in its efforts to do justice to or to mirror the multiculturalism in our wider society (cf. Wainwright 2010). But to what extent is that informal project of curriculum reform driven by a moral response to global movement? Where is the intellectual space for examining such a question when mobility has become intrinsic to academic modes of knowledge production, a cause and effect of our current 'global turn'? Mobility has a role not only in the expanding global markets of art (or the programmes of art museums as they seek to traverse space) but in the accompanying expansion (and, where I stand in the UK, that also means the market expansion) of our universities and their curricula. Although we undertake movement and practise a moral logic of mobility, we seem exempt from trying to understand it. I worry then that we may at the same time lose a sense of the inequalities pertaining to the conditions, means, and experience of mobility, especially the right to choose when and where to move or whether to stay put and not to move at all. That right is evidently not shared by all and has come to seem more of a privilege.

Finally and consequently I will sound a simple note about political action (indeed, what else?). We may wonder what artists of the Caribbean can do in order to change their less than ideal circumstances, and how they can avoid the 'ambivalent mainstreaming' as Stuart Hall described their problematic inclusion in the metropolitan art world. Indeed, how can Caribbean artists avoid their sense of community being unsettled, misrecognized, 're-purposed,' or pressed into the service of global capital? There is no easy answer to this last question; some may argue that we are all in the same boat in our search for fixed points of identification, trying to escape uncertainty in a world generally made unstable by movement. Here is one suggestion: Maybe Caribbean artists

should refuse to participate until the terms of engagement and conditions of movement improve and until rights over mobility are made clear and extended to all. And perhaps we should halt the development of a 'global' art curriculum for the academy in solidarity with them and with artists like them from elsewhere in the world. In any case, I look forward to the day when the artworks and artists I am studying become as mobile or, even better, as electively *immobile* as I am, when the tables are truly turned in this contested political geography.

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Carlo A. Célius

Art et anthropologie : perspectives à partir d'Haïti

Le couple art/anthropologie est perçu avec une grande suspicion par nombre d'artistes et de critiques en Haïti. Lors de la présentation à Port-au-Prince, au mois de mars 2015, de l'exposition *Haïti deux siècles de création* (Grand Palais, Paris, novembre 2014 – février 2015),[1] un critique d'art avait une seule interrogation : l'exposition était-elle reçue comme une manifestation artistique ou ethnologique ? Aucune réponse à sa question ne parvenait à le satisfaire. Aussi l'a-t-il réitérée plusieurs fois lors des discussions et échanges postérieurs avec plusieurs personnes, mais aussi dans des articles de presse. Il n'a malheureusement pas vu l'exposition. Je lui ai suggéré de se pencher sur sa réception critique, de la confronter au discours des commissaires et au contenu du catalogue, sans oublier de considérer les types d'exposition généralement tenus dans l'établissement concerné. Vraisemblablement une telle démarche ne lui paraissait pas nécessaire. J'en suis venu à me demander s'il était vraiment à la recherche d'une réponse à une interrogation pour lui essentielle. Car, en fin de compte, c'est le choix des commissaires qui était en cause. Selon lui, l'accent mis sur une catégorie d'artistes au détriment de ceux qu'il considère plus représentatifs serait dû à une injonction « ethnologique » ou « ethnologisante » et non à une perspective librement conçue, de nature strictement « esthétique ». Paradoxalement, les artistes qu'il cible, en l'occurrence ceux qui pratiquent la récupération, sont ceux-là mêmes que promeut Mario Benjamin,[2] artiste souvent présenté comme le chef de file de « l'art contemporain haïtien ». De fait, la présence de celui-ci dans le comité scientifique de l'exposition a sans doute influé sur l'orientation globale qui a été adoptée.[3] Au lieu de déployer un vaste panorama allant du XIXe siècle à nos jours, comme il a été envisagé au départ,[4]

1 Cette présentation illustrée, organisée à la Fondation connaissance et liberté, réunissait une des deux commissaires, Mireille Pérodin-Jérôme. Jérôme, deux contributeurs au catalogue, Sterlin Ulysse et moi-même puis un quatrième intervenant, Emilcar Similien, dit Simil, artiste, chargé de formuler une appréciation critique de l'exposition et du contenu du catalogue.

2 Cf. entre autres *Fête de la sculpture*, 2007.

on a privilégié des figures de ce que j'appelle « la nouvelle scène artistique » (Célius 2015), en les accompagnant de quelques œuvres-repères d'artistes d'autres courants et d'autres périodes, attestant d'un univers de création depuis très longtemps constitué, diversifié et dynamique.[5] Or Mario Benjamin n'a jamais caché son aversion pour toute approche qu'il perçoit comme « ethnologisante » de la production plastique d'Haïti et des œuvres des principaux artistes qui ont été mis en avant.

Je mets face à face ces deux protagonistes pour souligner qu'on rencontre habituellement une sorte de « réaction épidermique », souvent confuse, mais compréhensible sinon légitime, de la part d'acteurs du monde artistique d'Haïti dès lors qu'il s'agit d'art et d'anthropologie. C'est dire que ce n'est pas sans risque (d'incompréhension, de rejet…), que j'ai conçu et réalisé un numéro spécial de la revue *Gradhiva*, paru peu de temps avant la fin de l'exposition du Grand Palais (Célius 2015b).[6] Car *Gradhiva* a été d'abord une *revue d'ethnologie et de muséologie* avant de devenir une *revue d'anthropologie et d'histoire des arts*. Le mot « histoire » dans la nouvelle dénomination est souvent passé inaperçu, sans doute en raison de l'orientation globale de la revue, mais aussi et surtout du fait que celle-ci est publiée, depuis 2005, par le musée du quai Branly. On connaît le débat qu'a suscité la création de cet établissement justement sur les rapports entre art, esthétique et anthropologie.[7] D'ailleurs, le soupçon de primitivisme ou de néo-primitivisme considéré comme étant au fondement de la conception de l'établissement n'est pas encore levé, comme en témoigne une étude menée auprès des publics parue il y a peu (Debary/Roustan 2012). Les responsables du musée ne sont pas sans l'ignorer, puisqu'ils ont rappelé, par exemple,

3 En dépit de sa désapprobation du résultat final, comme dans un entretien accordé à Marie Richeux sur France Culture le 20 novembre 2014. En effet, il conteste l'approche globalisante adoptée, au motif qu'elle présente l'inconvénient de mélanger, selon une perspective qui serait trop commune dès lors qu'il s'agit d'Haïti, des artistes et des œuvres qui n'auraient rien à faire ensemble. Mais Philippe Dagen rapporte qu'« Il admet qu'en évitant l'exhaustivité, l'exposition n'est pas ‹ la grosse soupe › qu'il redoutait » Dagen (2015 : 84). Pour qui prête attention aux déclarations de Benjamin, il apparaît qu'il énonce fréquemment des positions contradictoires.

4 D'où le titre retenu, après maintes discussions, par la présidence du Grand Palais, qui ne correspondait point tout à fait au contenu final de l'exposition.

5 Le principal souci, dès le départ, était de tenter d'aller à l'encontre d'une vision stéréotypée de « l'art haïtien », réduit à un seul type de création (l'art naïf), aux caractéristiques définies et qui serait né, comme par miracle, dans les années 1940.

6 Le numéro n'a pu paraître au moment de l'ouverture de l'exposition, comme cela avait été envisagé au départ.

7 Parmi les nombreux publications, voir *Le Débat*, n° 147 (2007) et 148 (2008) ; Desvallées 2008, Price 2011.

dans une des notices de l'exposition *Les Maîtres de la sculpture de Côte d'Ivoire* (15 avril – 26 juillet 2015), que plusieurs artistes non-européens refusent d'y être exposés, ne voulant pas être associés à un « musée d'ethnologie ».

C'est bien, en ce qui concerne Haïti, cette question du primitivisme qui est en cause. Le primitivisme, regard hiérarchisant, renvoyant l'autre à une condition première, est une projection. Il est au fondement de l'avènement de l'« art naïf »[8] dans le pays ; il est au cœur du débat sur l'haïtianité artistique ; il constitue la base sur laquelle repose l'essentiel des stéréotypes entretenus sur « l'art haïtien ». Faut-il pour autant se contenter de le dénoncer et de le rejeter purement et simplement ? Ce serait éluder les problèmes qu'il soulève qui demandent à être analysés. Le mieux est de tenter une mise à distance critique du phénomène pour l'analyser dans ses diverses dimensions, pour chercher à en comprendre les fondements, les temporalités, les effets et les usages.

Une telle relecture affecte nécessairement l'école haïtienne d'ethnologie (Célius 2005). Non pas parce qu'elle serait à l'origine de l'art naïf et/ou qu'elle l'aurait manipulé pour l'enfermer dans le vodou comme on a pu l'écrire (Pierre 2013 : 243–244). Il est difficile, après analyse (Célius 2007 : 291–361), de conclure à un rapport d'engendrement d'un phénomène par l'autre, en dépit du renversement paradigmatique opéré par le tournant ethnologique. Amorcé dans les dernières années du XIX^e^ siècle pour s'institutionnaliser dans les années 1940, celui-ci opère un changement d'envergure consistant à redéfinir la collectivité en termes de « communauté culturelle ». Ainsi la Révolution, l'indépendance proclamée en 1804 et l'institution subséquente d'un nouveau corps politique ne suffisent plus à elles seules, comme dans la pensée du XIX^e^ siècle, à caractériser, à circonscrire le « nous » collectif, à spécifier l'identité collective. On revendique désormais des « valeurs culturelles », en commençant par celles héritées d'Afrique qui lui sont constitutives et qu'il convient d'inventorier, d'analyser, de promouvoir. Advenu dans un tel contexte, entre 1945 et 1950, le courant d'art naïf a pu être perçu comme une des manifestations de cette « révolution culturelle » (Souffrant 1988) enclenchée par l'ethnologie. Cependant, à y bien regarder, on est en présence de deux phénomènes concomitants, liés par un même horizon conceptuel englobant, le primitivisme. Le discours ethnologique a, avant tout, facilité les choses, en offrant des repères adéquats et en créant une atmosphère intellectuelle favorable à la légitimation du nouveau courant artistique. Devenu discours de référence qui informe tous les autres, l'ethnologie s'impose à celui qui s'élabore et se développe sur l'art. Notons que bien des questions soulevées par l'apparition du nouveau type d'art intéressent,

8 J'ai restitué ailleurs les débats autour des différentes dénominations proposées, avant d'expliquer les raisons pour lesquelles je retiens dans mes analyses l'appellation « art naïf ». Cf. Célius 2007.

au premier chef, la nouvelle discipline. Non seulement ce sont les catégories sociales qu'elle privilégie qui sont concernées, mais aussi on discute d'identité, d'authenticité, des rapports de l'art au religieux, au sacré, de l'importance du vodou, de la mémoire, etc. On recherche les liens avec l'Afrique. On s'interroge sur le meilleur qualificatif à adopter : populaire ? naïf ? primitif ? L'ethnologie a été souvent interpellée, aussi bien par l'objet en lui-même que de manière explicite par des personnalités du monde artistique comme Jean Chenet (1947). Mais les ethnologues, en commençant par leur chef de file, Jean Price-Mars, n'ont pas répondu à cet appel ; ils ne se sont pas penchés sur la création artistique (Célius 2007 : 345–361, 2009). De telles études auraient peut-être permis à la discipline de clarifier pour elle-même certaines notions, d'ouvrir des pistes de réflexions inédites et, éventuellement, de réviser quelques-uns de ses postulats. Ces recherches auraient été sans doute d'un apport considérable pour le discours sur l'art qui se déployait autour de la problématique de l'haïtianité (Célius 2007). Les discussions alors engagées ont abouti à la cristallisation de deux grandes tendances. La première, longtemps dominante, a trouvé dans l'ethnologie des arguments pour soutenir que l'art naïf est le seul mode de création à même d'exprimer l'haïtianité, en posant le vodou à la fois comme génitrice, horizon indépassable pour les explorations créatrices et repère sur lequel fonder tout jugement ou toute explication possible. On en vient à parler d'atavisme, de mémoire raciale, d'art néo-africain, etc. La seconde tendance s'est évertuée à nuancer ces propositions, en réfutant l'exclusivisme naïf, en multipliant et en complexifiant les critères d'évaluation, en révélant les limites de toute explication monocausale. Elle a élaboré une approche intégrative, incluant toutes formes de création dans une définition complexe de l'haïtianité, en ouvrant les perspectives d'une histoire de l'art de longue durée. Cependant, elle bute sur une conception substantialiste de l'identité, donnée par l'école d'ethnologie, qui ne lui a pas permis de surmonter bien des dilemmes inhérents au paradigme primitiviste, celui-là même sur lequel repose le courant de pensée qu'elle s'est efforcée de dépasser.

De véritables enquêtes ethnographiques vont être menées à partir des années 1970, surtout par des chercheur/es états-unien/nes. Parmi eux/elles : Robert Farris Thompson, Karen McCarthy Brown, Marilyn Houlberg, Donald Cosentino, Patrick Arthur Polk, Katherine Smith.[9] Leurs travaux fournissent des descriptions et des analyses précieuses qui enrichissent notre connaissance surtout de l'univers visuel du vodou. Néanmoins, ils tendent à tout expliquer, à

9 Cf. Cosentino 1998. Il s'agit d'un catalogue d'exposition sur les arts sacrés du vodou, qui fournit un bilan significatif des recherches sur le sujet. Tous les auteurs cités y ont participé, sauf Karen McCarthy Brown (1971, 1995). Smith a contribué au catalogue d'une autre exposition organisée par Cosentino (2012). Voir aussi Polk 1997.

percevoir toutes formes de création par le seul prisme du vodou. Ce faisant, comme le souligne Edward J. Sullivan (2015), ces études n'aident pas à dépasser les stéréotypes déjà bien sédimentés sur « l'art haïtien ».

Les nouvelles perspectives théoriques et méthodologiques à élaborer impliquent, comme je l'ai déjà suggéré, une mise à distance critique du primitivisme. Prenons l'approche dualiste de « l'art haïtien » sur laquelle repose, au nom du primitivisme, la valorisation d'une catégorie de créateurs et la marginalisation d'une autre. D'un côté, « l'art naïf » est crédité d'une « authenticité absolue », pour reprendre un qualificatif attribué à Hector Hyppolite par André Breton, de l'autre « l'art moderne » est considéré comme inauthentique, non haïtien, relevant du mimétisme occidental. Une analyse minutieuse des conditions d'apparition du genre naïf dans le pays, qui prend en compte plusieurs paramètres en articulant divers niveaux de considérations, tend à infirmer une telle dichotomie, qui, pourtant, s'ajuste parfaitement à la thèse courante selon laquelle il existe « deux Haïti », dont rendraient compte les antinomies: élite/masse, lettré/illettré, ville/campagne, créole/bossale, État/nation, citadins/paysans, français/créole, christianisme/vodou, etc.[10] En fait, l'art naïf advient en Haïti à la faveur d'une « incidence esthétique ». Il résulte, en effet, d'une rencontre fortuite entre un regard et une œuvre ; un jugement esthétique a été prononcé qui s'est transformé en « parole instauratrice ». En visitant les réserves du Centre en 1945, le critique d'art cubain José Gómez Sicre découvre une œuvre du peintre Philomé Obin, alors considéré comme un apprenti-artiste. Contrairement aux dirigeants de l'établissement, Gómez Sicre voit dans ce tableau une œuvre d'art à part entière et le dit. En d'autres termes, il soutient qu'il y avait de l'art là où la conception artistique et esthétique en vigueur au Centre ne permettait pas de le reconnaître. Il a donc émis un jugement ontologique à caractère valorisant sur l'œuvre d'Obin qui correspond au changement de formulation opéré par la modernité artistique dans le jugement esthétique, ainsi que l'a établi Thierry de Duve (1984, 1990). Son énoncé ne peut pas se traduire par la formule, héritée de Kant : « Ceci est beau », mais plutôt par « Ceci est de l'art ». En d'autres termes, la conception de l'art alors en vigueur, nourrie des thèses de l'école d'ethnologie, n'a pas permis de reconnaître dans le tableau d'Obin une œuvre d'art à part entière. Elle a été fortement perturbée par le jugement de Gómez Sicre, comme en témoignent les désapprobations, les refus et les réticences. En mettant en crise la vision artistique et esthétique en vigueur, Gómez Sicre a élargi le champ des possibles. Notons qu'il identifie le tableau d'Obin à une pratique déjà labellisée. Ce faisant, il l'y inscrit et rend possible l'acceptation de créations apparentées, entraînant la mise en place du

10 Pour une critique de l'approche dualiste dans les études sur Haïti cf. Célius 1998a, 1998b, 1999, 2013, 2014.

nouveau courant artistique. Les œuvres sont assimilées à l'« art naïf », genre déjà constitué sous l'impulsion du primitivisme tel qu'il a été reformulé à partir de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle par l'avant-garde européenne. Dans ces conditions, c'est du procès moderniste d'invention d'une altérité primitive que résulte l'art naïf. On comprend mieux la dichotomie art naïf/art moderne. Défini comme « art autre »par la modernité artistique qui l'a inventé, l'art naïf ne saurait participer de la modernité. C'est donc le discours de la modernité sur elle-même qui exclut de son auto-représentation une altérité (une des altérités) qu'elle s'est construite et qui lui est constitutive. L'art naïf, de ce point de vue, participe des mouvances de la modernité.

Dès lors la dichotomie naïf/moderne est à réviser. Il y a lieu aussi d'évaluer les effets du primitivisme tel qu'il a été mobilisé dans l'avènement et la promotion de l'art naïf. En effet, parce qu'il s'inscrit dans le paradigme primitiviste, l'art naïf remet en question les échelles de valeurs d'une société haïtienne alors fondées sur l'idéologie de « La Civilisation ». L'ébranlement est d'autant plus significatif que l'instauration du nouveau genre artistique s'accompagne de la promotion sociale de gens issus d'une catégorie sociale inférioriséе. On en mesure la portée quand on sait que seuls les « beaux-arts » étaient légitimés jusque-là par les élites dans un dessein d'auto-valorisation. Il y a là, au final, une véritable irruption de « subalternes »qui a entraîné une profonde reconfiguration du monde de la création plastique du pays : subversion des beaux-arts par l'imposition d'un type inattendu de représentations figurées et, de fait, initialement rejeté ; élargissement de la base sociale des beaux-arts ; stimulation du développement de courants divergents ; visibilité de l'univers artistique du vodou notamment ; établissement de nouveaux rapports entre pratiques de création différentes ; nouvelles dynamiques de circulation de formes, de thèmes, de motifs, de signes, de symboles, de propositions stylistiques, réorganisation et développement du marché.

Une telle situation invite à une remise en perspective théorique et méthodologique, en partant de l'état des connaissances. Sur le plan interne, compte tenu des thèses longtemps en vigueur, on peut retenir deux acquis essentiels : d'une part, la mise en évidence de l'existence des beaux-arts depuis la période coloniale (Lerebours 1989), d'autre part, l'établissement de l'existence d'un autre univers de création, spécifique, celui des « arts sacrés du vodou » (Cosentino 1998). Si, à partir des années 1940, il y a une reconfiguration de l'univers artistique, impliquant de nouveaux rapports entre ces deux univers, il convient de s'interroger sur la nature de leurs relations avant cette date. Ce qui conduit à s'interroger sur la formation respective de ces univers de création, leurs structurations, leurs dynamiques internes, sur les implications de leurs mises en relation, sur la nature de ces relations. Il faut aussi se demander s'il n'y aurait pas au moins un autre espace de création, présentant des caractéristiques dis-

tinctives (ne serait-ce que par la destination ou l'espace de circulation des objets ou images créés), comprenant les décorations murales urbaines, les décors des « tap-tap » (véhicules de transport en commun), les enseignes, etc.

Ces considérations nous entraînent forcément sur le terrain des interminables débats sur la définition et la dé-définition de l'art (cf. Rosenberg 1992), sur ses conditions d'existence, sur son étendue, ses limites… Plusieurs travaux se sont évertués à déconstruire la conception essentialisée de la notion d'œuvre d'art (Schaeffer 2008, 2009) ou les « ontologies friables » (Cometti 2012) qui s'y rattachent. Si l'anthropologie avait offert ses bases au primitivisme, elle fournit tout aussi bien des ressources à des courants de pensée qui s'évertuent à reconceptualiser les approches de la création artistique. Du côté des historiens de l'art, on en appelle au travail pionnier d'Aby Warburg, mais l'horizon des réflexions et des enquêtes s'étend considérablement si l'on considère les travaux de David Freedberg, Hans Belting, Georges Didi-Huberman ou encore Victor I Stoichita, pour s'en tenir à quelques noms. Du côté des anthropologues, l'éventail des propositions n'est pas moins étendu, de Frantz Boas à Philippe Descola en passant par Alfred Gell. Les études postcoloniales et les études de genre sont aussi d'un grand apport, les travaux sur l'art et la globalisation ouvrent également des perspectives. Considérant ces mouvances, James Elkins (2007, 2010, 2011), documents statistiques à l'appui, regard informé sur l'univers académique, en arrive à un constat sans appel : l'histoire de l'art est et demeure un discours occidentalocentré. Ce constat est moins étonnant qu'il n'y paraît. Car l'histoire de l'art est générée par le système des beaux-arts auquel elle reste fortement attachée.[11] Même les réflexions tendanciellement égalitaristes sur « l'art global » (Belting 2007) comportent des points aveugles (Jones/Nelson 2015 ; Thea 2016) qui, dans bien des cas, donnent l'impression qu'on serait tout simplement parvenu à la phase ultime de l'expansion maximale d'un modèle, d'un domaine, celui des beaux-arts qui se maintient en se transformant. L'histoire qu'on voudrait globale semble alors prendre l'allure de la recherche d'un discours d'accompagnement adéquat. Or le défi, que semblent pointer l'anthropologie des images, les études visuelles d'une manière générale, fil rouge des différentes mouvances qu'on vient d'évoquer, semble être de parvenir à penser la « création plastique », en tant que « foyer de production d'images », parmi d'autres, dans une société donnée, plus précisément dans ses diverses formes d'organisation, de cristallisation, dans le temps et dans l'espace.

En effet, l'anthropologie des images présente le grand intérêt d'offrir un horizon suffisamment vaste pour rendre possible une mise à distance des for-

11 Ces considérations ont été soumises à Elkins, qui y a apporté sa réponse, dans un entretien (réalisé avec deux autres auteurs) où il développe ses points de vue sur d'autres aspects de sa démarche et de ses réflexions, cf. Célius/Raux/Venturi 2015.

mes de création circonscrites sous la notion d'art. On dispose aussi d'un autre point de départ que celui qu'offre cette dernière notion pour toute approche comparative étendue d'univers sociaux et sociétaux distincts, plus précisément de leurs iconosphères. Les recherches peuvent donc se focaliser sur les types d'images, les conditions de leur production, leurs modes de valorisation, l'étendue de leur circulation, leurs caractéristiques formelles, leurs usages… C'est en ce sens que je parle de « foyers de production d'images ». Parmi ces foyers se distinguent ceux qui regroupent la classe d'objets relevant de la création plastique. D'où la dénomination : « domaine de création plastique ».

La création plastique comprendrait une classe d'objets résultant de la matérialisation de l'imaginaire à partir de quelques éléments de base, dont le trait (le dessin), la forme, la couleur et le volume. Le traitement technique de ces éléments, leur combinaison, les matériaux utilisés, les types d'objets qui en résultent, leurs fonctions, leur mode de valorisation varient d'une société à une autre, d'une époque à l'autre et, probablement, d'une entité sociale à l'autre dans une même société pour une période déterminée. Ce sont ces formes d'organisation des pratiques de création plastique que j'appelle « domaines de création ». C'est à ce niveau que se constituent des normes, des conventions, des genres ; c'est là que s'établissent la nature et les critères de jugement, qui définissent les types de discours, les fonctions des objets et leur mode de circulation. Les relations entre les domaines varient selon les périodes en raison de circonstances particulières.

Les beaux-arts constituent un domaine de création plastique parmi d'autres, mis en place en Europe à partir de la Renaissance italienne. Le sens spécialisé de la notion de « beaux-arts » (les arts du dessin) se confirme entre les XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siècles. Il se double en même temps d'un sens extensif qui fait coïncider les entités des beaux-arts (écoles, musées des beaux-arts, histoire des beaux-arts) et celles de l'art (écoles et musées d'art, histoire de l'art). Une synonymie réussie d'où découle la classe essentialisée d'œuvres d'art. On comprend à quel point la fin proclamée des beaux-arts n'implique pas encore la fin des effets hégémoniques du système des beaux-arts, comme je l'ai laissé entendre plus haut mais aussi comme en témoignent d'ailleurs ne serait-ce que dans leur dénomination écoles, musées, périodiques, enseignements, etc. De plus, toute la conception commune de l'art, celle qui est la plus largement partagée, a été façonnée et reste tributaire de la longue tradition des beaux-arts. Ce qui contraint dans une très large mesure de nombreuses conduites esthétiques.

Le domaine des beaux-arts s'est institué, s'est développé et est devenu dominant au moment où s'amorce, s'étend et se consolide l'expansion européenne ; expansion dont l'une des modalités est la colonisation, elle-même liée, dans un premier temps, à la traite négrière. Les situations de contact ainsi créées ont grandement contribué à instaurer les beaux-arts comme un élément

constitutif de la culture européenne. Définis comme une valeur intrinsèque des sociétés dites policées, civilisées, ils servent à évaluer les créations plastiques des sociétés non européennes et à les positionner sur l'échelle de « La Civilisation ». C'est cette opération de hiérarchisation qui qualifie les formes de création non européenne d'« archaïques », de « primitifs », de « premiers », et même de « naïfs » dans le cadre d'une reformulation du primitivisme, dont Ernst Gombrich (2004) a établi la longue généalogie dans le discours sur la création artistique depuis la rhétorique antique. Ces considérations sont fondamentales pour aborder les créations plastiques dans les sociétés, comme Haïti, issues de la colonisation européenne.

Lorsque à partir des années 1930–1950 se constitue l'espace discursif sur la création plastique en Haïti, on a formulé la thèse d'un vide artistique antérieur à cette période. Le courant discursif qui fait reposer l'authenticité haïtienne, l'haïtianité artistique, sur le seul art naïf, utilise cette thèse du vide pour asseoir sa démonstration, pour apporter la preuve d'un art pur, « pur de tout alliage », innocent, premier, littéralement sans tradition, sans rien en face de lui. Le vide postulé est, en fait, celui des beaux-arts. Le courant discursif haïtien a fini par montrer qu'il y a bien une tradition des beaux-arts qui remonte à la période coloniale. Mais la thèse du vide s'accompagne d'un autre versant : si les beaux-arts ont fait défaut, l'art qui est advenu tient à la permanence de l'Afrique, la mémoire raciale, l'atavisme. Cette explication vient tout aussi conforter l'idée d'un art pur, primitif, premier, l'Afrique étant ici synonyme de primitivité. « L'Afrique » aurait donc resurgi (en dépit de la traite et de l'esclavage…, souligne-t-on à volonté) sous la forme d'un « miracle de la couleur » en Haïti ; une véritable « énigme » pour André Malraux, « l'Afrique » n'ayant « pas de peinture », selon lui (Malraux 1976 : 314). La poursuite des recherches a abouti à l'introduction de nouvelles donnes. Elles ont établi l'existence des « arts sacrés du vodou » (Cosentino 1998).

L'historicisation des beaux-arts permet d'asseoir l'existence de ces domaines. Elle invite à penser les enjeux des images dans l'univers colonial et les conditions de la formation de ces domaines. Elle ouvre la perspective d'une analyse minutieuse du processus d'implantation du domaine des beaux-arts, afin d'établir les implications de leur appropriation et de leur maintien, ou de la constitution de leur hégémonie par les élites, et enfin d'évaluer les effets (multiformes) de leur remise en cause au XX^{e} siècle. Tout cela tend à redessiner un cadre global à articuler, au besoin, à des échelles d'analyse circonscrites, celles des œuvres, des images, des créateurs, pris dans des ensembles ou individuellement.

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David Frohnapfel

Anticipations of Alterity: The Production of Contemporary Haitian Art through Inter-*klas* Encounters

1 Introduction

This article analyzes how a new artist group called *Atis Rezistans*, also known as the artists of *Gran Ri*, emerged in the artistic scene in Port-au-Prince in the early 2000s and how these artists from weak socio-economic strata have been presented around the world in different curatorial frameworks by various curators in the last fifteen years.[1] Since their first exhibition at *Le Centre Culturel AfricAmericA* in Port-au-Prince in 2001, the artists and their artworks have moved between extreme socio-economic strata and within hierarchical social interactions. The members of this group live in a *bidonvil* (shantytown) and struggle against extreme poverty on a daily basis; their art objects, however, are presented in museums by international curators and consumed by educated elites. The exhibition history of the group started in the late 1990s when artist André Eugène opened his ateliers as a *musée d'art* (art museum) and invited art enthusiasts to witness the works produced in the informal neighborhood between Grand Rue and Rue du Magasin de L'Etat (Fig. 1).

From this neighborhood, the group's art pieces travelled first to the art institutions of Port-au-Prince (e.g. *Le Centre Culturel AfricAmericA*, the *MUPANAH* museum, and the *Institut Français*) and expanded from there into the wider Caribbean. Since 2004, the art objects have also been presented in the United States and in European art museums since 2007. Attached to these different locations are also different curators, which express varied ideological agendas within their curatorial practice for the art works. In this context, Bruce Ferguson understands exhibitions as ideological media. He argues that exhibitions are by no means neutral rhetorical transmissions of information but "strategic system[s] of representation." (Ferguson 1996: 178) Following Ella Shohat

1 I would like to thank Sarah Dornhof and Nanne Buurman for their insightful comments on an early, unpublished version of this article.

Fig. 1. Installation shot of André Eugène's musée d'art in Port-au-Prince, photo © David Frohnapfel, 2015.

and Robert Stam, it is not enough to say that art is constructed. We have to ask constructed for whom and in conjunction with which ideologies and discourses (Shohat/Stam 1994: 180). This article will show that by analyzing the systems of representation which have framed the institutional representations of artworks by *Atis Rezistans* particular ideological formations come to light which often reveal more about the curators' perspectives than about the artists' individual points of view. The tension between curatorial framing and individual artistic statement is, of course, not particular to *Atis Rezistans*. I will argue, however, that the case of *Atis Rezistans* exemplifies an aggravation of very common practices in the art world, i.e. the fact that "curators prioritized a method of exhibition making by using extant art objects and artifacts, employing them as *illustrative fragments* […]." (O'Neill 2012: 5) I am speaking of aggravation because such disconnection becomes all the more revealing when artists and curators are separated by their socio-economic position, formal education, and ethnic background. The art works by *Atis Rezistans* address a wide range of very diverse topics. Their artistic interest is difficult to be framed by a single term and their practice is often not clearly determined. Their work includes but is not limited to (1) socio-critical topics about Haitian society, (2) political themes, (3) *vodou*-inspired works, (4) animal depictions or (5) autobiographic stories. All

these topics (and more) are presented next to each other in the artists' autonomous exhibition spaces in Haiti. As soon as the art objects travel to art institutions, however, *vodou* and *poverty* become the dominant defining frameworks for the artworks. In other words, their sculptures become *illustrated fragments* to talk about (1) *socio-economic alterity* and (2) *cultural difference*. *Atis Rezistans*' main purpose in international exhibitions is to mediate their vision of Haitian popular culture and Haitian popular culture is almost always equated with *vodou* religion. The members of *Atis Rezistans* are required to represent not themselves as creative individuals but as representatives of their Haitian popular culture. In Maksaens Denis' documentary *E Pluribus Unum* (2002), the founder of the group Jean Herald Celeur formulated the importance of *vodou* for his artistic practice:

> Because when I began to work by taking inspiration from Vodou, I felt more liberated. I express myself much better […] Vodou is merely an inspiration. Many people believe that Vodou is sorcery. Diabolic stuff. But they do not see the true aspects of Vodou, which are a specific language. A freedom to think. (Celeur in Denis 2002)

Celeur's affirmative understanding of *vodou* as a decolonial "freedom to think" radically changed in the last thirteen years. In one of our interviews in 2014, Celeur described a typical situation where *vodou* is used by foreign curators to restrict his creative productions:

> For an exhibition in Paris I created three large bird sculptures. Visitors repeatedly asked me which lwa [*vodou* spirit] represents a bird in Haiti. I had to laugh about this question. I explained to them why I was laughing and told them what my birds are really all about. When I visited Britain a couple of years ago I saw a swarm of beautiful birds playing in a park. My friend explained to me that these birds are only here in summer but will return to Africa in winter. Triggered by this story I imagined a world without borders. If my daughters would become birds they could just leave Haiti and travel freely around the world without restrictions. But anything you do as a Haitian artist they try to limit and reduce to vodou. If you make glasses for a sculpture they will probably ask you, 'so which lwa is using glasses in Haiti. It must be a gede spirit, right?' Anything I create becomes vodou in their imagination. It is so ridiculous and it limits my creative vision. (Celeur 2015)

What happened between 2002 and 2014? Why did Celeur shift his understanding of *vodou* as a form of free artistic expression to *vodou* as a discourse restricting his creativity? I argue that Celeur had to realize that the most valued attribute required of Haitian artists is their cultural difference. Here, I refer to art historian and artist Olu Oguibe, who described this situation in his book *The Culture Game* (Oguibe 2004: xii). The struggle that 'non-Western' contemporary

artists seem to face on the global scale is not 'Western' resistance to difference but the "insistence of difference." Oguibe explains: "It is not that any one [sic] would want to disavow difference, for we are all different one way or another, after all. The point is that this fact of being ought not to constitute the crippling predicament that it does for all who have no definite ancestry in Europe." (Oguibe 2004: xiv–xv)

I argue that the socio-economic tensions and hierarchies which exist between artists from a *bidonvil* neighborhood in Port-au-Prince and curators from a *klas piwo a* (higher class) produce rhetorical and curatorial figures of difference and at the same time material artistic responses which negotiate such curatorial frameworks in return. *Atis Rezistans* are not mute 'subalterns' manipulated by curatorial ideas; they employ their own agency by creatively reacting to different anticipations for Haitian art. In this unbalanced situation of power, artists often negotiate the expectations, desires, exoticisms, or instructions of their curatorial networks very directly and in a nearly 'auto-orientalistic' manner (Fig. 2).

Elizabeth McAlister reminds us that the question whether popular culture in Haiti is conservative or progressive and characterized by resistance or accommodation misses the point: "The relevant question may be: How does popular culture help people survive?" And she goes on to explain that "repressive contexts tend to generate double-voiced, allegorical, and parodic expression." (McAlister 2002: 180) *Atis Rezistans*, for instance, actively and very strategically try to use visiting curators as a resource to improve their precarious living situation. Curators function as "control officers" (Oguibe 2004: xii) of the global art system; Haitian artists have to convince such gatekeepers so as to partake of global art circuits. My interlocutors repeatedly discussed their annoyance that *blan* (foreigners), researchers, curators, artists, and tourists visiting the neighborhood are predominantly interested in their relationship to the religious system *vodou*. Several artists even mentioned that as soon as they refuse to become interlocutors for the religious system, they will not be able to see the particular curator or researcher again and thus risk to vanish entirely from the artistic or academic discourse.

Haitian curator and artist Barbara Prézeau Stephenson and her early curatorial work for *Atis Rezistans* between 2000 and 2006 will be of importance for the issue at hand. My focus on Prézeau Stephenson is due to the fact that she has proposed an important counter-narrative that barely finds recognition in the ongoing discussion of *Atis Rezistans* in Europe and the United States. It is not that her individual curatorial practice substitutes a Haitian truth for 'Euro-North-American' falsehood. But it is symptomatic and very telling that a female Haitian curator, who works predominantly in Haiti and strongly favors horizontal, decentering, and pan-Caribbean artistic networks, barely finds rec-

Fig. 2. Sculpture Bawon Kriminel by Papa Da a.k.a. Jean Alphonse Junior, photo © David Frohnapfel 2014.

ognition for her work in Europe and the United States. Unfortunately, Haiti's first biennale project curated by Prézeau Stephenson, the *Forum Transculturel d'Art Contemporain*, still lacks academic attention. While the focus of my work is mainly informed by hierarchical inter-*klas* relationships between the members of *Atis Rezistans* and their various curators, it is equally important to explicitly underline the remaining hierarchical constellation between different curators.

2 Urban Sculptures

Prézeau Stephenson is one of the leading advocates for Contemporary Art in Haiti. She founded *Fondation AfricAmericA* in Port-au-Prince in 1998 as a platform and administrative structure to support contemporary Haitian artists. Such autonomous, artist-run initiatives (like *Fondation AfricAmericA* in Haiti, *Fresh Milk* in Barbados, *Alice Yard* in Trinidad and Tobago,or *NLS* in Jamaica) fulfill important functions for the visual arts in the Caribbean, a region that often struggles with a lack of local institutional support and with invisibility in a trans-regional context. Many artists presented in today's international exhibition circuit, artists who form the new canon of contemporary Haitian art, started their careers with *Fondation AfricAmericA*. Prézeau Stephenson's agenda for *Fondation AfricAmericA* was rooted in a pragmatic principal: contemporary artists from Haiti first of all need administrative, financial, and educational support to be able to be recognized on a supra-regional level. Her engagement with *Atis Rezistans* started in 2000, when the two founding members of the group, Jean Herald Celeur and André Eugène, introduced themselves to her and invited her to see their sculptures and assemblages. The following year, she curated their first exhibition outside the *Gran Ri* neighborhood, an exhibition entitled *Baka, Monstres et Chimeres* (*sculptures urbaines II)* at the newly founded *Le Centre Culturel AfricAmericA*. With her curatorial work, Prézeau Stephenson laid the groundwork to open-up the neighborhood for a new contemporary art clientele, helped to free the artists from being perceived as producers of tourist craft, and enabled them to transition into the prestigious field of contemporary art. Further, Prézeau Stephenson helped the artists to connect with an important network of established art agents from Haiti (e.g. installation artist and painter Mario Benjamin, gallerist Reynald Lally, video artists Maksaens Denis, curator Giscard Bouchotte, and gallerist Mireille Pérodin Jérôme, among others). There is barely any academic research examining these local inter-*klas* dynamics. *Atis Rezistans* are mainly culturalized by a marginalized socio-economic position and described as the expression of an allegedly 'authentic working class' culture of the *mas pèp-la* (common people) and as a form of 'subaltern' resistance from below. Prézeau Stephenson also established the first guided tours through the neighborhood to give visiting art professionals the chance to witness the urban contexts of art produced in Port-au-Prince. In the following years, Prézeau Stephenson continued this practice of showing the neighborhood mainly to Caribbean, Latin American, and African art professionals who visited Port-au-Prince on occasion of the *Forum Transculturel d'Art Contemporain*. The *Forum*, a biennial founded by Prézeau Stephenson in 2000, is intended to strengthen transnational bonds between contemporary artists from Haiti and art professionals from the wider Caribbean, Africa, and the Americas.

Prézeau Stephenson's strong focus on *horizontal* networks and South-South relationships stands in a symbolic trajectory with the first installments of *La Bienal de la Habana* in the 1980s and early 1990s and is intended as an artistic space of decolonial resistance that "provide[s an] alternative space to the art routes inherited from modernity." (Niemojewski 2010: 100)

According to Prézeau Stephenson, her interest in *Atis Rezistans* originated in an art historical reflection. She used Celeur, Eugène, and Frantz Jacques a.k.a. Guyodo to illustrate the shift in Haitian artistic production from a predominantly peasant origin to an *urban* milieu. The early 'masters' of Haitian art – Hector Hyppolite, Jasmin Joseph, or Philomé Obin – worked in a time when 89% of the Haitian population was still employed in the agricultural sector, whereas today over 40% of Haitians live in urban centers (Prézeau Stephenson 2012: 64). Prézeau Stephenson links this shift in location of artistic production to a shift in media (from painting to sculpture). The medium sculpture had been perceived as tourist craft, and Prézeau Stephenson started a series of *sculptures urbaines* exhibitions that highlighted the medium's importance within the artistic scene in Haiti. The artists' socio-economic position became a central curatorial framework to present the art works of Eugène, Celeur, and Guyodo. The three artists were accentuated as artists from an informal neighborhood in the city center of Port-au-Prince and their art works became culturalized expressions of a marginalized societal position: "Daily violence, hunger, thirst, air and water pollution, and the constant clamor of engines and horns, have distorted, bent, and compressed the torsos, faces, and jaws [of the sculptures] packed into the city center workshop/garage." (Prézeau Stephenson 2008: 101)

The fourth *urban sculpture* exhibition took place in Barbados in 2003. On occasion of the *Annual Congress of the International Association of Art Critics (AICA)*, which centered on the topic *Popular Art and Public Art*, Prézeau Stephenson presented art works by Eugène, Celeur, Maksaens Denis, Killy, Jean Camille a.k.a. Nasson, as well as her own sculptures. Through the parallel presentation of artists from very different socio-economic strataand educational backgrounds, her exhibition presented the artistic milieu of Port-au-Prince as an urban milieu. A central piece of the exhibition was a chair created by Celeur in the late 1990s (Fig. 3).

Prézeau Stephenson was the first curator who exhibited this particular object as a contemporary art piece and highlighted its artistic value. Similar pieces have been produced by Celeur anonymously for the *Marianne Lehmann Collection* in the mid-1990s. The *Lehmann Collection* is an ethnographic art collection of mainly ritual *vodou* artifacts based in Port-au-Prince. However, the ritualistic or religious use of many of these objects was questioned by art professionals working in Port-au-Prince during my research. Prézeau Stephenson made a clear point by integrating this 'chair' piece into a contemporary art set-

Fig. 3. Installation shot of Prézeau Stephenson's *Urban Sculpture* exhibition in Bridgetown, Barbados, in 2003. The photograph shows the installation of three art works by Jean Herald Celeur. Photographer unknown (Photo courtesy *Fondation AfricAmericA*).

ting; she thereby drew a line between ethnographic ritual artifact and contemporary art object. Celeur confirmed in an interview that the *vodou*-inspired works he produced for the *Lehmann Collection* had never been intended for ritual use and were mainly produced for commercial reasons (Celeur 2014).

Indeed, Prézeau Stephenson's descriptions of the art pieces factored out the use of *vodou* iconography as a source of inspiration in several exhibitions. This perspective stands in sharp contrast to all following exhibitions by other curators after 2004. Prézeau Stephenson bypassed the existing *vodou* narrative of the group and concentrated mainly on their socio-political relevance by encouraging the artists to respond to current events in Haiti. By highlighting the socio-political within her curatorial framings, she strategically undermined anticipations of cultural alterity that have clung to (and restricted) Haitian art since the foundation of the *Centre d'Art* in 1944. According to Prézeau Stephenson, the presentation of Haitian art often comes along with the preconception that art in Haiti is supposed to be without dependency on a socio-political reality and without political discourse. Following Kobena Mercer, art historian Wendy Asquith speaks of a *hyper-visibility* of Haitian artists; this *hyper-visibil-*

ity, however, did not lead to an open integration in an art historical narrative. Instead, it marked these painters discursively as "primitive," "naïve," or simply as "unchanging" and thus placed them chronologically before the canon of 'Euro-North American' art history (Asquith 2014: 6). A name closely associated with this exoticizing perspective on Haitian painting was writer, art dealer, and curator Selden Rodman. According to art historian Edward J. Sullivan, Rodman's books created one of the most vigorous stereotypes that exist within the domain of Caribbean art (Sullivan 2012: 362). The "joyous nature" of Haitian art described by Rodman assured that the vast majority of the public in the United States and Europe would associate Haitian cultural production from a *klas anba* (lower class) with the "joyful," the "intuitive," and the "child-like." Rodman holds *vodou* accountable for that joy and argued that *vodou* gives these 'peasants' their deep "spiritual satisfaction." (Rodman 1988: 18) Prézeau Stephenson's engagement with a new generation of artists from lower socio-economic strata challenged exactly these former discourses of Haitian art as an apolitical and socially unaware artistic practice: "[E]ach one of [*Atis Rezistans'*] sculptures is a cry of revolt." (Prézeau Stephenson 2008: 101) Prézeau Stephenson's collaborations with the group primarily took place in an extremely precarious period for Haiti, and her exhibitions reflect this delicate social situation. The interim period between 2004 and 2006 following president Jean-Bertrand Aristide's departure is considered one of the worst in Haiti's history; it is marked by an extreme rise and spread of violence, including kidnappings and increased numbers of victims of gun violence (Schuller 2008: 200). On occasion of Prézeau Stephenson's 4th *Forum* with the title *Exploited Bodies (Corps Exploits)*, sheorganized the *Sculpture Pour La Paix* exhibition at *Musée du Panthéon National Haïtien (MUPANAH)* with Celeur, Guyodo, Eugène, and the Togolese visiting artist Kossi Assou. Each artist created a sculpture out of weapons for the yard of the *MUPANAH* museum. These weapons had been confiscated in Haitian neighborhoods experiencing gang violence and had been made available for the artists.

The artist Eugène dressed himself on the day of the opening with dark sunglasses, which had colorful skull images printed on its lenses and wore a black silk hat (Fig. 4). Skulls, sunglasses, and silk hats are symbols commonly associated with the *gede* spirits.[2] Eugène thus performatively countered Prézeau Stephenson's more assimilating curatorial approach with his own embodied *vodou* narrative. While Prézeau Stephenson tried to factor out such potentially stereotypical interpretations of Haitian art, Eugène returned them to the

2 Art historian Veerle Poupeye kindly called my attention to Eugène's self-fashioning. She attended the exhibition opening in Barbados in 2004.

Fig. 4. Portrait of André Eugène with skull sunglasses and silk hat, photo taken by Reynald Lally in Port-au-Prince in 2013 (photo courtesy Reynald Lally).

discourse by using the *vodou* narrative to claim his Haitian identity in this foreign artistic milieu in Barbados.

Prézeau Stephenson's first exhibitions in Port-au-Prince produced quite a shock in the audience. The board of the private museum *Musée d'Art Haïtien du Collège St Pierre* asked for the closure of one of her exhibitions shortly after opening. According to Prézeau Stephenson, the art pieces had been considered too vulgar and too ugly by the museum's staff: "I have been asked why we have to show these horrible things in exhibitions? And my answer to them was that reality is a lot uglier than these art objects. When you go to their ateliers this art piece is beautiful in comparison to what you are going to see." (Prézeau Stephenson 2014) In her study on Haitian *rara*, Elizabeth McAlister describes the hidden political dimension that can be expressed through vulgarity, obscenity, and sexual innuendo in popular Haitian culture. McAlister reads these vulgarities within postcolonial conditions and as the last bastion of uncensored speech for the *mas pèp-la* (common people) in the Haitian public sphere (cf. McAlister 2002: 61). Vulgarities and obscenity give the *mas pèp-la* a free space untouched by the literate *klas*. The literate *klas* in Haiti is in turn able to confirm their own 'civilized' and 'refined' status by rejecting such popular obscenities:

> Vulgarities, expected of the poor by the rich, are the lyrical route by which disenfranchised Haitians carve out expressive space in the public arena. Because of the cultural politics wherein obscenities are disdained and dismissed, obscenity becomes a form of speech that allows the powerless to nav-

> igate into spaces of opposition, community, and a certain kind of powerful publicity. (McAlister 2002: 65)

Prézeau Stephenson's first exhibitions have been censored because she broke down this inter-*klas* agreement: By transferring the allegedly 'subaltern' obscenities from the streets of Port-au-Prince into museums, these works invaded the 'high art' spaces of the *klas privilejye*.

Prézeau Stephenson, as a trained art historian, deals with the strong hierarchy between her and the artists by trying to coach the artists to be prepared to work autonomously in institutional art settings. This perspective, of course, risks paternalism and forces artists from lower socio-economic strata directly into *boujwa* ("bourgeois") concepts of art presentation. But Prézeau Stephenson also increased the audience for the artists' own exhibition spaces by inviting art professionals into the neighborhood to visit the *musée d'art* on *Atis Rezistans'* own local terms. By keeping both social spheres in mind, Prézeau Stephenson works like a cultural broker and her curatorial work offers mediation between two different exhibition modalities of two different socio-economic milieus. At several installments of the *Forum Transculturel d'Art Contemporain*, the audience was able to witness both social spheres simultaneously and thus experience the art works presented by the artists in their own *musée d'art* and compare that experience to more institutional environments like *Le Centre Culturel AfricAmericA*. Prézeau Stephenson also experimented to transfer the artists' autonomous curations into institutional environments. Guyodo's first solo exhibition (*GUYODO* at *Centre Culturel AfricAmericA* in 2004) is surprisingly the only exhibition in the fourteen years of exhibition history which tried to transfer local exhibition modalities into institutional art spaces (Fig. 5).

3 *Vodou* as an Authenticating Mechanism

Prézeau Stephenson's decision to ignore the existing *vodou* narrative in the presentation of Haitian art for several exhibitions needs to be understood as a curatorial strategy that tries to counter redundant and generalizing expectations for Haitian art and to break away from the idea of Haitian art as an apolitical discourse. *Vodou* as a Haitian art discourse is very much a given in the common understanding of Haitian art and culture. Prézeau Stephenson tries to offer a new reading by leaving out particular aspects of artistic practice that relate to a common knowledge of Haitian culture. Prézeau Stephenson actively undermines the ongoing naturalization-processes of expected discourses for Haitian art in Europe and the United States by opposing these persisting stereotypical expectations, which often use *vodou* as a stimulus of exotic desires.

Fig. 5. Exhibition GUYODO at *Le Centre Culturel AfricAmericA* in Port-au-Prince, curated by Barbara Prézeau Stephenson in 2004. Photographer unknown (photo courtesy *Fondation AfricAmericA*).

Art historian Wendy Asquith has identified these expected types of content and inspiration for Haitian art as "vodou, naiveté, primitivism, market scenes, and idyllic landscapes." She also rightfully added "catastrophe" as a new legitimate discourse for artistic productions from Haiti since the earthquake of 2010 (Asquith 2013: 227). In the genealogy of exhibiting *Atis Rezistans*, it is important to point out that as soon as an international art circuit got involved, *vodou* became the defining characteristic in the presentation of the artists. Prézeau Stephenson's emphasis on the socio-economic alterity of the group became interwoven with an interest in cultural alterity. I do not wish to imply that Prézeau Stephenson understands political resistance and *vodou* as oppositional. Historically, both are very closely intertwined since the Haitian Revolution of 1791 (Dubois 2005; Ramsey 2014), and Prézeau Stephenson's work as an artist is evidently informed by an awareness of this circumstance. The religious system *vodou* has been a medium to articulate strong political and decolonial agendas. But since the North American occupation between 1915 and 1934, *vodou* has also become a crucial mechanism to *other* and demonize Haitian society. It was no coincidence that exactly around the time of occupation, the North American movie industry started to transform the local religion into a racist trope of hor-

ror and fear. It formed part of a larger racist discourse that tried to legitimize and reinterpret North America's aggressive hegemonic expansion into the Caribbean as a civilizing mission by demonizing Haitian society in the process (Hurbon 1995: 181). Pseudo-ethnographic and racist writings like *The Magic Island* by William B. Seabrook, first published in 1929, were crucial in this process. The international imagination regarding Haiti became closely intertwined with these varied exoticizing and racist projections of *vodou*.[3] Considering this history of changing signification, every exhibition about *vodou* art or *vodou*-inspired art also faces these racist imaginations. Consequently, audiences are not blank slates when they attend exhibitions but filled with prejudicial ideas and racist projections.

It is a network of 'Western' curators and scholars, among them Donald Cosentino, his former student Katherine Smith, art historian Marilyn Houlberg, and British photographer and curator Leah Gordon, who put a strong emphasis on *vodou* and the on *gede* spiritsin particular as a cultural, religious, and political framework for producing the art works by *Atis Rezistans*. The *gede* or *Guédé* are a family of *vodou* deities (*lwa*), which are closely connected to death, life, sexuality, and the cemetery (Métraux 1959: 83). McAlister describes these *gede* spirits as social critics from 'below':

> In Vodou, jokes using betiz are the special province of Papa Gede, the bawdy spirit of sex and death who tirelessly works, jokes, and heals. The Gede are quick to satirize the ruling order in general, and with it anybody in authority or in a position of respect. Elsewhere I have written that by linking sex irrevocably with satire, the Gede spirits are the ultimate social critics in Vodou, uniquely able to make political commentary in both domestic and national arenas. Through the jokes and betiz, both Papa Gede and the Rara bands become free to parody, to question, and to laugh […]. This is because betiz opens a philosophical space for opposition and rejection of the suffering of the world through laughter. (McAlister 2002: 60–61)

3 An important historical factor was François Duvalier's use of the *vodou* religion, which he used to strengthen his regime since its beginning in 1957. From the start, Duvalier constructed himself as a *père spirituel* (spiritual father) by using visual motifs associated with the *gede* spirits, *Bawon Samdi* in particular. Thus, he encouraged rumors to be a spiritual leader and powerful *bòkò* himself. Kate Ramsey describes: "Although Haitian governments had long regarded Vodou as a potential parallel power, no president had attempted to co-opt this decentralized religion on the scale undertaken by Duvalier. […] Just as Duvalier sought to install members of his secret police, the *tonton makout* (themselves named after a childhood bogeyman), in the hierarchies of the governmental, military, and civil society institutions, so he recruited oungan, manbo, bòkò, and sosyete sekrè officers to join his force and, after 1962, to serve in his civil militia, the Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale (VSN)." (Ramsey 2011: 251)

Exhibition catalogues show that allocating *Atis Rezistans* in the frame evoked in McAlister's description, the curator network tries to counter racist representations of Haitian culture and to find mechanisms to highlight socio-political dimensions in *vodou* aesthetics. The most important exhibitions in this trajectory in recent years have been *Lespri Endependan: Discovering Haitian Sculpture* (2004), *Death & Fertility: Haitian Pavilion at Venice Biennale* (2011), *In Extremis: Death & Life in 21*st *Century Haitian Art* (2012), and *Kafou: Haiti, Art and Vodou* (2012). All these exhibitions helped in the process to integrate *Atis Rezistans* seamlessly into a historical narrative of the *vodou*-inspired arts of Haiti. The exhibition curated by Donald Cosentino and Elizabeth Cerejido took place at the *Frost Art Museum* in Miami in 2004 and started this process. Like Prézeau Stephenson's exhibitions, *Lespri Endependan* dealt with the importance of sculpture as an artistic medium in Haiti but presented the history of Haitian sculpture mainly through the influence of the *vodou* religion. Backed by important art institutions in Europe and the United States, this curator network was able to produce a discourse that became quickly naturalized as a dominant framework. Cosentino shifted the focus from in general to the subcategory of the *gede* spirits (Cosentino 2013: 36). North American writer and journalist Amy Wilentz remarked critically in her review of the exhibition *In Extremis* (2012) that this framework represents a problematic voyeuristic outsider expectation on Haitian culture (Wilentz 2013). The repeating focus on the *gede* spirits can indeed be understood as an expression of a wider discourse that dramatizes Haitian art in a sensationalistic manner and very much plays into the hands of socio-voyeuristic and exotistic fascination, an instance that often comes along with poverty, catastrophe, and Afro-Caribbean blackness. A recurring description of the art works by *Atis Rezistans* is *post-apocalyptic* or *apocalyptic* and is also rooted in this dramatizing gesture:

> Their assemblages transform the detritus of the world's failing economies into distinctly urban apocalyptic images, whose take on Vodou evoke a cyber-punk science fiction vision. Their use of readymade and recycled components is only partially driven by economic necessity; for them, it also carries an inherent social commentary on Haiti's position in the global economy […]. (Gordon 2012a: 24)

Gordon goes on to compare the art works to a biblical new-born Adam that "leaps from postindustrial waste, raising specters to haunt the dark landscape of globalization." (Gordon 2012b: 109) The aspect of time in these metaphors is significant. While the "naïve painters" of Haiti have been marked as timeless and anachronistic and positioned in an archaic time before art historical narratives, their contemporary counterparts seem to have hurried ahead into a post-apocalyptic future. What both descriptions have in common, to speak with

Johannes Fabian, is that they deny these artists coevality (Fabian 2002: 31). The discourse remains allochronic and therefore creates an asymmetrical temporal opposition that positions the artists in a time that is not *ours*. The term "post-apocalyptic" should not be understood descriptively for the art works but rather as a comment of curators' understanding of the current world system. *Atis Rezistans'* functionin current curatorial framings is never based on individual creativity. Rather, they are stand-ins for Haitian culture, religion, and their socio-economic strata. Gordon reflects furthermore about the devastating downside of aggressive capitalism and expands Prézeau Stephenson's more local socio-economic context to a global systemic level as she describes the art works as "a Mad-Max-like vision of a free-market economic future going to hell in a handcart." (Gordon 2012b: 24). The poverty of the group needs to be constantly re-evoked because the artists stand in for millions of anonymous urban poor suffering under the circumstances of neo-liberal capitalism.

Although the *vodou* aspect of some of the art works connects them to a wider system of visual culture from an anthropological and religious perspective, most curators clearly define these objects as secular art pieces produced for exhibitions (Cosentino 2015: 27–28). British curator Alex Farquharson highlights the secular aspect of the art works presented in his exhibition in his curatorial statement for *Kafou: Haiti, Art and Vodou*: "[Kafou] is very much an art exhibition, one that acknowledges rather than blurs the interstice between work of art and ritual object […]." (Farquharson 2012: 9) It is significant that photographer, filmmaker, and curator Leah Gordon offers a contrary reading to this secular perspective on Haitian art. She was part of the larger curatorial staff of *In Extremis* and also co-curated *Kafou*. Gordon became the unofficial manager of *Atis Rezistans* around 2009. She established herself as a curator for the presentation of art works by *Atis Rezistans* at a time of growing international interest in the artists. Her documentary *The Sculptors of Grand Rue* (2008) was screened in both exhibitions to give a local context for the art pieces and offered the artists a platform to talk about their art, religion, and their experiences of living in an informal neighborhood. The documentary that can be found online helped to widely disseminate the *gede* framework (Gordon 2010). One scene in this documentary is of particular interest for our discussion: Gordon presents Eugène feeding a human skull integrated in one of his sculptures ritually in his exhibition space in Port-au-Prince. This scene introduces a new component into the discourse, which Prézeau Stephenson explicitly denounced: the ritual use of art objects. Gordon further uses this particular scene as a general introduction to speak about the artists at conferences. In an interview published in the exhibition catalogue to *In Extremis*, Gordon describes how *Atis Rezistans* artist Jean Claude Saintilus shifted places with a *gede* spirit called *Mazaka La Kwa* several times in the course of the interview (Gordon 2012c).

She presents the conversation as a continuous monologue by Saintilus and leaves out her own interview questions in the process. Throughout the interview, Saintilus dissolves into an avatar of the *gede* spirit and is barely talking about his artistic practice. The interview transforms him into an interlocutor for Haitian spirituality and the *gede* spirits in particular. His perspectives on his art, his aspirations, or points of view are to a large degree absent in this conversation or solely expressed in relation to his spirituality. I am not disputing Saintilus' religious worldview or the fact that this conversation happened in this form or another. But this perspective endangers Haitian artists to once again become exotic fictions that produce radical alterity. Here, such fictions are based on curatorial selection processes, processes which blur the line between art and religion in a way similar to the skull-feeding scene in Gordon's documentary. Gordon's perspective produces problematic responses like the following by literary scholar Carolyn Duffey: "The simultaneity of life and death is also always evoked in the works of the artists in their training program, as it is in the vodou altars in the homes/ateliers of the *Atis Rezistans,* who define themselves as *oungans* (priests)." (Duffey 2015) Duffey transforms all members of *Atis Rezistans* into *houngan* (*vodou* priests); she gives a very culturalizing dimension to *vodou*-inspired art works and fails to ask about individual discursive strategies for the use of *vodou* in these art works. This perspective also demonstrates disregard towards local *houngan*, who lose the status of religious specialists as Duffey implies that every member of *Atis Rezistans* can easily become a *vodou* priest. This obstructs the chance to ask why a particular artist is using *vodou* for particular discursive reasons in carefully manipulated and constructed pieces of art. Indeed, political and socio-critical content in the art works of *Atis Rezistans* are not exclusively narrated through the lens of *gede* spirits. In this culturalizing perspective, the danger remains that Haitian artists are transformed into objects of primitivist desire; thus, they are only offered a place in 'Euro-North American' museums if they are able to prove that they are a redemptive, exotic, and religious alternative to 'Euro-North American' modernism. I argue that in this particular case, a dissimilating mechanism of presentation becomes a cultural *Othering*; it pretends to correspond to a reality in the life of these artists but instead displays them as objects of exoticist fascination. Christopher Steiner describes how artists in *Côte d'Ivoire* stage a ritual use to satisfy the demand among 'Western' clients for 'authentic' objects, i.e. items that supposedly are produced solely for local communities (Steiner 1994: 74). Steiner explains how the ascription of a ritual use of art objects becomes an authenticating mechanism for European collectors, because it imbues art objects with a local meaning that transcends the relationship-triad between object, local artist, and visiting collector. The members of *Atis Rezistans* are cross-culturally intertwined with the 'Euro-North American' art world and

linked to the contemporary art establishment in Port-au-Prince since the late 1990s. By staging a local ritual use for their art works, Gordon in collaboration with Eugène distances the art pieces from being productions for traveling curators (and for Gordon herself, for that matter) and instead invents a new local meaning. This strategy performatively and fictionally produces authenticity for these works. It also re-opens the door for an exoticist fascination that culturalizes the artists in the process. In the terminology of Victor Li, this perspective can be described as *neo-primitivism*, i.e. a primitivism in the service of the West's own self-criticism. Here, the 'primitive' is seen as a corrective to the malaise of Western modernity (Li 2006: 15). Cultural or socio-economic alterity needs to be constantly re-evoked, because a contemporary neo-primitivist searches for an alternative to the threat of a homogenizing modernity and aggressive global capitalism. They find this alternative in lower socio-economic strata in Haiti and the *vodou* narrative of their artistic practices.

I do not wish to imply that we can reduce the use of *vodou* solely to a hierarchical negotiation between foreign desire and local pandering. Coming back to Celeur, *vodou* is and remains important as a heritage claim and as a decolonial space for creative thinking. But a process of cultural, temporal, and racial *Othering* has fixed the art works by *Atis Rezistans* as an easily consumable and readable commodity for 'Western' audiences in relation to *vodou*. It is no longer the Haitian artist who is able to decide what *vodou* means for his or her individual artistic practice. This process has culturalized and reified the art works so that they conform to a common knowledge of Haitian culture, which produces a fixed generalizing reality.

4 Conclusion

The members of *Atis Rezistans* compete for very limited resources in close proximity. Many curators and scholars seem to forget that visiting curators and scholars are one of the main resource these artists are fighting about. It is important to describe these artworks as inter-*klas* negotiations which are not produced in a cultural vacuum. So far, there is very little academic research which examines these hierarchical inter-*klas* dialogues; instead, the artists are culturalized by their marginalized socio-economic position and described as allegedly 'authentic' expression of Haitian 'working class' culture. It is significant that *vodou* became a source of *representational conflict* within the neighborhood but never presented as such in exhibitions. Instead, it is normalized and culturalized, because 'this is what Haitians do.' Artists like Guyodo or Celeur position themselves critically to *vodou*-inspired art by other artists of the group (e.g. Eugène, Saintilus and Papa Da, whose names are closely connected

to Gordon's curatorial work since 2009). However, every artist in the neighborhood, Eugène included, made it very clear that *vodou* is only one source of inspiration among many others. Adjusting the iconography of their art pieces to visitors is a common selling strategy for all artists living in the neighborhood who have to sell in order to support their families. If visitors want to see the *vodou* spirits *Damaballah* or *Bawon Kriminel* in their sculptures, many artists will not oppose this wish, although the particular sculpture was originally intended to discuss a different theme. After I realized that many artists try to adjust the descriptions of their art pieces to my own interest in *vodou*, I asked Celeur in an interview how important it is for an artist to be honest. He explained in return:

> Let's say that the foreigners who are coming in this neighborhood are only interested in our truth in relation to *vodou*. They want us to be *vodou*, so we give them *vodou*. They come here and want to know everything we know about *vodou* and not only about our art pieces. Maybe therefore many of the artists here don't say what they really think. (Celeur 2014)

In renouncing *vodou*, Haitian artists from lower socio-economic strata are not renouncing a religious worldview but the work of a network of 'Western' curators who produce a very narrow reified 'ethnic slot' for European and North American audiences. This established a rewarding system for Haitian artists who willingly reify their cultural differences. All artistic expressions that do not relate to *vodou* risk becoming invisible because, after all, *vodou* is what 'they' do.

Nirmal Puwar describes such processes of inclusion as an almost "benevolent imperialism" of 'Euro-North American' institutions, which enable women of color, for example, to speak out of charity and guilt:

> The participation […] of racialized "others" is thus as marked subjects who can't escape their "ethnic" identity. The racial particularity [non-Western artists] are said to carry is highly visible, while the particularity of whiteness […] is invisible. […] It is on these limited and narrow terms that recognition is most easily granted. (Puwar 2004: 70)

Very aware of this institutional 'ethnic slot' system for Haitian artists, Prézeau Stephenson decided to fade out the *vodou* narrative for several exhibitions to open the door for new readings and alternative interpretative approaches for Haitian art which helped to produce spaces where artists from lower socio-economic strata could claim their individuality as contemporary artists. She concentrated on socio-political relevance by encouraging Celeur, Guyodo, and Eugène to respond to current events in Port-au-Prince and countered former

interpretative approaches for Haitian art, which presented artist from weak socio-economic strata as apolitical, religious beings.

Curator Okwui Enwezor asked what distinguishes the practices of curatorial fieldwork from those of ethnography (Enwezor 2012: 21). One very crucial difference is that many curators I analyzed do not describe how their personal hierarchical involvement as part of this artistic network influences the art works and the artistic field they are moving in. Curators assume a hierarchical position similar to cultural anthropologists during fieldwork but without necessarily applying anthropological and sociological methods to reflect their practice as an embodied practice and to make their hierarchical position within the neighborhood visible. Instead, they present curatorial selected end-products and thereby write themselves out of object histories. Drawing on Nelly Richards, I argue that it is not enough to occasionally present objects from marginalized communities but to go further and ask,

> [...] to what degree has [the] heterologous recuperation of the marginal (of the decentred) become anything more than a simple declarative position, or contributed effectively to modifying the institutional-discourse pact, endorsed by the official chain of powers and functions of the centre? It is a question – strictly speaking – of ascertaining whether or not the alleged fragmentation and dispersal of the centre modifies the categorization of power that established imbalances with regard to exchanges of value and meaning. (Richards 1994: 263)

The social-relationships these travelling objects and artists encounter on their journey remain embroiled in hierarchical social interactions. The mechanisms of power are not dispersed by generously transferring artistic objects from marginalized groups into centralized institutions, because they express themselves in personal relationships.

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Emiel Martens

The History of Film and Tourism in Jamaica

In the summer of 2006, the Sandals Resort in Ocho Rios on the north coast of Jamaica served as a location for the Hollywood film *License to Wed* (2007). The resort was chosen as the setting for the closing scenes of the Warner Bros. romantic comedy starring Robin Williams, Mandy Moore, and John Krasinski. While the actual filming on the property took less than a week, the entire production lasted well over a month. In total, almost one hundred cast and crew members flew to the island for the film's location shooting. In Jamaica, the filming was praised for bringing major economic benefits. According to the *Jamaica Gleaner* (*JG*), Jamaica's oldest and largest newspaper, the shooting had injected US$3 million into the economy through the use of local labour, goods, and services (*JG*, 28 April 2010). The success was largely attributed to Dell Crooks, at the time Jamaica's film commissioner. Originally, Warner Bros. intended to shoot the film's ending at one of their studio backlots in L.A. However, at the 2005 Locations Show of the Association of Film Commissioners International, Crooks met the location manager of *License to Wed* and invited him and his team to come to Jamaica instead. She offered them tax incentives and preferential treatments, including highly reduced rates on air travel and accommodation. Considering the full package, and especially its low cost, the *License to Wed* team decided to move the production of the ending to Jamaica (personal interview, 21 June 2006).

Sandals Resorts and Air Jamaica were willing to offer substantial discounts as they considered the film as a unique promotion opportunity. Not only was Jamaica written into the script (instead of serving as a generic tropical locale), the film's plot also showed the island as a perfect holiday destination. In doing so, the 10-minute sequence taking place in Jamaica was considered a high-value product placement for Air Jamaica and, even more so, for Sandals, where most of the filming took place. Around the US premiere of the film in July 2007, Sandals, in collaboration with Warner Bros., launched a major marketing campaign aimed at "promoting *License to Wed*, Sandals and Jamaica." (*JG*, 26 July 2007) The Jamaican company pushed a new holiday package, the *License to Wed* Bundle Package, offering customers reduced rates and special discounts on several

romantic amenities. The package was promoted in the US by travel agents and through TV and print ads, multi-city promotions, and a consumer sweepstakes program (*Travel Weekly*, 5 July 2007). Then, during the countdown to the film's DVD release in the US in October 2007, a new sweepstakes contest was launched where American couples could win an all-inclusive honeymoon holiday. This time, Warner Bros. and Sandals Resorts entered a partnership with Air Jamaica and MyWedding. Overall, from the initial meeting to its final promotion, the project had been running for almost three years.

The location shooting of *License to Wed* offers an insightful example of the close ties between today's film and tourism industries. The film's production and marketing expose a synergistic relationship between the two industries. Since the 2000s, scholars have increasingly explored the connections between tourism and media (Crouch/Jackson/Thompson 2005; Thurlow/Jaworski 2010; Gravari-Barbas/Graburn 2016). Correspondingly, film tourism, i.e. the rapidly growing trend of tourists visiting the locations where movie productions have been filmed, became a new field of inquiry within both media and tourism studies. Most researchers either looked at the phenomenon from a marketing perspective (Beeton 2005; Hudson/Ritchie 2006; Croy 2010) or investigated the experiences of film tourists through ethnography (Roesch 2009; Reijnders 2011; Zoeteman 2011). While most of these studies focused on the tourist activities generated *after* the making and release of a film, Ward and O'Regan (2009: 216), among others, have proposed to approach film tourism as a type of "long-stay business tourism" *during* the location production as well. In other words, Ward and O'Regan (2009: 218) point to the ways in which tourism boards (and particularly film commissions) increasingly respond to "the film producer as a long-stay business tourist, and film production itself as potentially another event to be managed and catered for."

Both types of film tourism are often referred to as recent phenomena. However, although their current size and scope are indeed unprecedented, both types (or at least their envisioned potential) originated almost as soon as cinema emerged as a medium. In the case of Jamaica, the interwoven history of film and tourism began in the early twentieth century, when the first filmmakers arrived on its shores. The aim of this article is to review the foreign feature films shot in Jamaica throughout the twentieth century and up to the present, and to demonstrate the close ties between film and tourism on the island during this period.[1] Although recent studies have begun to explore the current connections between film and tourism, relatively little attention has been paid

1 This is of course not to say that there are no "home-grown Jamaican creators of film" (JG, 29 June 2008). From the 1970s onwards, local feature filmmakers started to emerge on the island. While the films they produced, from *The Harder They Come* (1972) to *Des-*

to the historical intersections between the two. Historical studies on the collaboration between the film and tourism industries in the Global South are particularly scant. In fact, the film and tourism histories of countries in the Global South have received little scholarly notice in comparison to their counterparts in the Global North. Despite the emergence of "postcolonial cinema historiography" (Ponzanesi/Waller 2012: 11), the film histories of the Caribbean have largely remained unexposed. Jamaica's film history has been hardly dealt with, especially in relation to the island's tourism industry. This article could serve as a starting point to fill this gap. While film and tourism in Jamaica could and should be discussed in relation to empire and (neo-)colonial conceptions and uses of tropical paradise (Martens 2013), the focus here is, for the first time, on mapping the practices of film and filming on the island throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first century and on the tourism activities and developments that came with them.

1 "Advertisement without Cost": Early Film Production in Jamaica

Moving pictures were introduced in Jamaica in 1897, a little more than a year after the first commercial film projections in Europe and the US. That year, film projectionist Edwin Porter teamed up with showman Harry Daniels to tour the Caribbean. According to Ramsaye (1929: n.p.), "Porter and Daniels bought a Projectorscope […] and set sail for the ports of the ancient galleons." They first travelled to Jamaica, where they hosted the earliest known public screening of motion pictures on the island on January 5, 1897. In the following years, motion picture shows rapidly grew into a popular form of entertainment in Jamaica. Various travelling film exhibitors toured the island every year, presenting their films in a variety of public venues. In October 1904, for example, the *Jamaica Gleaner* announced a series of moving picture shows in Kingston organized by the Ireland Brothers. Like many other film exhibitors, they offered their audiences glimpses of European and American cities. The newspaper reported that the Ireland Brothers brought the "finest collection of views" from London, Paris, Berlin, and New York (*JG*, 21 October 1907). Concurrently, as in the rest of the Caribbean, the motion pictures shows held in Jamaica occasionally contained views of the islands. According to Paddington (2003–2004: 108), "the early exhibitions often included sequences of local scenery and some local news that were filmed by the film companies' agents to promote the sale of their equipment and to attract the local audiences to the screenings." The first moving pic-

tiny (2014), are not the focus of this article, they are listed in Appendix II. For Appendix I see https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1699316/126622_14.pdf.

tures known to depict Jamaica consisted of "a number of views in and around Kingston" (*JG*, 11 September 1901) filmed by Guy Bradford, an itinerant cameraman and travelling exhibitor. He shot a series of films in Jamaica in 1901 to be released by the British Warwick Trading Company. Bradford may therefore have been the first cameraman in Jamaica.

The first time that moving pictures were discussed in the *Gleaner* as tools to advertise tourism appears to be in 1906, when the West India Committee, a colonial institution promoting commerce in the West Indies, emphasized the opportunities of films for overseas publicity. Algeron Edward Aspinall, at the time the Committee's Secretary, published a letter proposing a scheme for "advertising the West Indies by means of biograph cinematograph views." (*JG*, 12 March 1906) He found British photographer and cinematographer Alfred J. West willing to travel to the British West Indies to secure "a series of cinematograph, or moving, pictures" of "our life, industry and scenery" for "exhibition overseas." (*JG*, 26 March 1906) After visiting various other Caribbean islands, West arrived in Jamaica in March 1906. From the start, the *Gleaner* applauded West for "his endeavours to popularise our colonies" as an investment location and tourism destination (*JG*, 6 October 1906). Covering West's trip across the island, the newspaper reported that the filmmaker had secured moving pictures of "the magnificent scenery," "vegetable life in the locality," "the vegetable products of the island," and "the activities of life here," all with the intention to display "what a magnificent opportunity the island presents" to potential investors and tourists (*JG*, 4 April 1906). *Westward Ho! Our Colonies* (1906–1907), as West entitled his series of travelogues, scenics and phantom rides, included twelve short films depicting Jamaican industries, sceneries, and "scenes of life." (*JG*, 6 October 1906) The West India Committee anticipated that the series, which was to be shown across the UK and throughout the British Empire, would become "a splendid advertisement […] for the West Indian Colonies." (*JG*, 5 May 1906) They considered West's films as "a valuable advertisement without cost" and expected that "many of the visitors eventually become interested commercially in the islands and purchase properties." (*JG*, 5 May 1906) Indeed, as early as the 1900s, moving pictures were regarded as effective means of free publicity for Jamaican trade and tourism.

The first fiction filmmakers arrived in Jamaica in the 1910s. By that time, most major British and American film companies relied heavily on studio filmmaking, but some firms still sent out crews to different parts of the world. One of them was the Vitagraph Company, a prolific American production company. As early as 1910, they sent a team to Jamaica to shoot a short fiction film on the island. Though not much is known about the production, the resulting moving picture, *Between Love and Honor* (1910), was announced in American film trade magazines as a "powerful drama of fisher folk life […] photographed amid the

beautiful scenery of Kingston, Jamaica." (*The Moving Picture World*, 28 June 1910) The moving picture was a 10-minute drama made with a small cast that presented a "story of heart throbs and absorbing interest" (*The Moving Picture World*, 28 June 1910). As such, *Between Love and Honor* probably became the first fiction film ever made in Jamaica.

2 The Controversy over the "Farrell Features": Protecting Jamaica's Infant Tourist Trade

A few years after the filming of *Between Love and Honor*, the London-based British and Colonial Kinematograph Company (B&C) came to Jamaica for a location shooting. Founded in 1909, its members began travelling throughout the British Empire to obtain film footage by 1912. Their filmmaking trips were sponsored by Elders & Fyffe, a British banana shipping company that had just entered the passenger market. The "full company of artistes" arrived in Kingston in January 1913 (*JG*, 3 January 1913). Over the next two months, they shot several "views of local industries and scenes" (*JG*, 27 January 1913) on the island as well as a series of "big dramas," (*JG*, February 1914) nine in total: *Favourite for the Jamaica Cup* (1913), *Tom Cringle in Jamaica* (1913), *The Old College Badge* (1913), *A Flirtation at Sea* (1913), *The Creole's Love Story* (1913), *The Overseer's Revenge* (1913), *The Planter's Daughter* (1913), *Lieutenant Daring and the Labour Riots* (1913), and *Lieutenant Daring and the Dancing Girl* (1913).

The B&C series extended the links between cinema and tourism into the realm of fiction filmmaking. Not only were the productions the result of an agreement between a film and transportation company, the public response they provoked in Jamaica also showed the local interests and perceptions regarding fictional film practices on the island. While early filmmakers producing travelogues, scenic views, and phantom rides were readily embraced by tourism promoters, B&C "met with strong opposition, as members of the Jamaican public, articulating their concerns through the press, condemned the company's representation of Jamaica" (Rice 2009) in its fiction films and particularly in *Lieutenant Daring and the Labour Riots*. This film was part of a "series of 13 *Lieutenant Daring* films between 1911 and 1914 relating the adventures of a naval officer who saved Great Britain from the plots of assorted spies and anarchists." (Chapman/Cull 2009: 3) The episode shot in Jamaica caused "quite a furore in certain quarters in Kingston" (*JG*, 19 April 1913) as the film portrayed the colony as a dangerous place and, as such, could negatively affect the island's infant tourism trade.

The debate broke out when a reporter of the *Jamaica Gleaner* visited the film location. According to Taylor (1993: 117), the reporter "saw some scenes

acted with such realism that he began to wonder what effect the picture would have on the people overseas who saw it". He was particularly alarmed by a scene that featured "an uprising in which black rebels decide to besiege and burn the home of a white missionary," for which the B&C Company had hired a group of banana plantation workers who were instructed to "bring along their cutlasses and forks." (Taylor 1993: 117) Ernest Price, Reverend and Principal of Calabar College, responded with a letter to the newspaper, expressing his disapproval of the company's work. He stated that "the Jamaican public should resent the action of men who come here and enlist some of the poorer people in a show which libels their own race." (*JG*, 29 January 1913) According to Price, the film would leave the impression that "the people of this island are half-savage, that 'missionaries' here live in danger of their lives." Price emphasized the potential harm that this impression could cause to tourism: "The way to encourage tourists is not to allow cinematographers to suggest that Jamaicans 'rush up' to houses 'armed with cutlasses and pitchforks' and attack the people within." (*JG*, 29 January 1913)

James O'Neill Farrell, one of the performers and B&C's chief of publicity, attempted to refute the accusations by arguing that Jamaica would not feature in the film as an identifiable setting. He claimed that the tourism industry would only gain from their filmmaking efforts as they had taken moving pictures depicting "places and things a tourist would like to see." (*JG*, 29 January 1913) Price, however, was not convinced by Farrell's explanation. In a further letter, he stated that "the whole thing is ridiculous, and is bound to convey a wrong impression, and the absence of the printed word 'Jamaica' from the films will not affect it a bit." (*JG*, 31 January 1913) Other Jamaican citizens stressed similar discontent. According to one reader, the B&C pictures would do no good for tourism as "no one desires to visit a country which is the abode of such 'cutthroats' as the pictures depict." (*JG*, 31 January 1913) Another reader denounced the "gross-misrepresentation of Jamaican conditions" and wished that the Jamaican government would "exercise a rapid censorship" as "our tourist trade [will] suffer if a scene like that is thrown on the screen abroad." (*JG*, 1 February 1913)

The debate on the "Farrell Feature[s]" (*JG*, 13 February 1914) illustrates the early nexus between film and tourism in Jamaica, providing insights into how local tourism advocates thought of the connection between the two in the early twentieth century. According to Rice (2009), "the discourses surrounding the production of these B&C films indicate that there was already a popular awareness of, and concern for, the influence of film on foreign perceptions of Jamaica." While being "fake pictures," (*JG*, 31 January 1913) early tourism promoters were afraid that they would produce a strong reality effect "on the minds and hearts of the people abroad who see them." (*JG*, 31 January 1913)

Later, when the films were classified as not detrimental to Jamaica's tourist image, they were praised for "depicting several scenes laid in Jamaica […] clear and distinct" (*JG*, 7 February 1914) and providing the Jamaican tourism industry with valuable free publicity. It seems that tourism promoters gradually became aware that fiction films were becoming the most popular choice "for use at motion shows all over the world" (*JG*, 29 January 1913). From this moment onwards, fiction filmmakers visiting Jamaica would almost invariably be hailed for their contributions to the island's tourism promotion.

3 *Pearl of the Antilles* (1915) and *Flame of Passion* (1916): "The Last Word in the Advertisement of a Place and People"

A year after the release of the Farrell features, another film company visited the island, this time from New York. In March 1915, about 25 members of the Terriss Feature Film Company arrived in Kingston to make "two large feature films" on the island (*JG*, 4 March 1915). The company had recently been formed by Tom Terriss, "one of England's foremost actors." (*JG*, 12 April 1915) He decided to travel to Jamaica for "the making of the organization's initial photoplay[s]." (*The Moving Picture World*, 3 April 1915) From the start, the Jamaica Tourist Association (JTA), set up in 1910 by a group of local business men with the objectives of "making the island better known, providing the visitor with reliable information, and using every effort to make the island more attractive from a tourist's standpoint," (*JG*, 4 November 1910) showed great interest in using Terriss' films as tools to advertise Jamaica abroad. Their interest was driven by the hope for free publicity in a time that their advertising budget had nearly dried up following the outbreak of World War I. Due to limited resources, they were unable to set up "an extensive system of advertising" while "the attractions of rival resorts" such as Cuba and Hawai'i, two islands under heavy control of the US (which did not participate in the war until 1917), were "being liberally displayed." (*JG*, 19 October 1915) Alternatively, the JTA tried to capitalize on the possibilities of non-conventional promotional tools, including moving pictures produced by other's resources. According to the *Gleaner*, the Terriss films represented valuable publicity in times of global conflict:

> In these days when everything goes adverse it will be gratifying to learn that Jamaica is to have a big boom abroad through the moving picture shows; two famous plays are to be acted here amidst Jamaica scenes by artistes of considerable reputation, for moving picture purposes. Everyone will immediately recognise the vast benefits Jamaica will derive from such a scheme. (*JG*, 4 March 1915)

The JTA anticipated that the Terriss Feature Film Company would "help to popularise the island as a tourist resort" through "their pictures and the reports of the members." (*JG*, 19 October 1915) By now, with the spread of feature-length cinema exhibition worldwide, especially of American fiction films, the *Gleaner* considered moving pictures as "the 'last word' in the advertising of a place and its people." (*JG*, 14 May 1915)

The two moving pictures filmed by Terriss, *Pearl of the Antilles* (1915) and *Flame of Passion* (1916), marked the first feature-length dramas made in Jamaica. During the eleven weeks that the production team stayed in Kingston, the *Gleaner* regularly reported on the location filming. In these reports, the company's efforts were continuously linked, if not equated, with the island's tourism promotion agenda. It was emphasized that the "new motion pictures dramas" would prominently feature "Jamaican scenery," and that the island's stagnant tourism industry was expected to "benefit largely by the work Mr. Terriss." (*JG*, 14 May 1915) The local business elites especially welcomed Terriss' representation of Jamaica as a "producer's field." (*The Moving Picture World*, 26 June, 1915) The Business Men's Association of Kingston, for example, hoped that the company's recognition of Jamaica as "a producing place of pictures" would "turn attention of other picture producers to the 'Gem of the West Indies.'" (*The Moving Picture World*, 1 May 1915)

For the first time in Jamaica's film history, the local business elites explicitly aimed to seize the potential associated with hosting a film production. As such, the production marked an early instance of the idea of location filming as a form of business tourism, with film producers being addressed as long-stay visitors. Local entrepreneurs tried to create such a pleasurable experience for the members of the Terriss Company so that they and other film companies would be persuaded to shoot more moving pictures on the island – an attempt that, at least initially, seemed to succeed. In an interview with the *Gleaner*, Terriss indicated that he was so pleased with his stay in Jamaica that he planned to return to the island to build a film studio (*JG*, 14 May 1915). Although Terriss never carried out his plan, he did induce another film company to the island. A few months after his return to New York, Terriss announced that through his efforts "a very large organization for taking moving pictures" was to spend "a great deal of money" in Jamaica (*JG*, 24 August 1915). He further added that his films "turned out to be so extraordinarily successful that is has filled other people with a desire of coming down to Jamaica." (*JG*, 24 August 1915) Once more, Terriss was praised for the "splendid service" of "booming us." (*JG*, 24 August 1915) The *Gleaner* stated that "through the efforts of Mr. Tom Terriss, Jamaica is coming in for a lot of useful advertisement abroad, and it would seem that this island will, in [the] future, figure large in moving picture shows." (*JG*, 24 August 1915)

4 *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916): "The Greatest Advertising Boom in the History of the Island"

The company Terriss had lured to Jamaica was the Fox Film Corporation, which had just been formed by American theatre chain pioneer William Fox. In August 1915, a team of "moving picture artists" (*JG*, 11 September 1915) arrived in Kingston. The team consisted of about thirty studio representatives, including general director Herbert Brenon and silent-era film star, "Australia's Diving Venus, Annette Kellerman." (*The North Western Advocate and the Emu Bay Times*, 20 February 1917) According to the *Gleaner*, the delegation was "really the first batch of a large number of the leading moving picture actors and actresses that will come to these shores." (*JG*, 31 August 1915) Their trip resulted in five films: *A Wife's Sacrifice* (1916), *The Spider and the Fly* (1916), *The Marble Heart* (1916), *The Ruling Passion* (1916), and *A Daughter of the Gods* (1916). The latter, an aquatic fantasy adventure set in "The Land of the Orient," (*JG*, 1 November 1915) was by far the most ambitious production ever made in Jamaica. In fact, the four other pictures were primarily "by-products of the great drama," (*JG*, 3 February 1916) mainly filmed to "offset the expense of the big one." (*JG*, 19 October 1915) With a record-budget of over one million dollars, *A Daughter of the Gods* allegedly became the most expensive production ever attempted by an American film company (Gibson 2005). Largely for this reason, it was reported that *A Daughter of the Gods* would become "the greatest advertising boom in the history of the island." (*JG*, 11 April 1916)

Jamaica's tourism advocates did much to "facilitate the operations of the company." (*JG*, 4 March 1916) During the filming in Jamaica, which took over seven months, Brenon received "special permission of the British government" (*Pinnacle News*, 20 March 1917) to film at various locations across the island. The shooting reportedly made quite a significant impact on Jamaica's economy. It was claimed that Brenon had "spent on native labour here over $165.000," including "dressmakers," "an average of 550 people […] in the Manufacturing and Construction Departments," and "from time to time in the capacity of extra actors, 61.000 local people." (*JG*, 27 April 1916) According to the newspaper, he even established "a special municipality" for the thousands of locals hired during the production (*JG*, 8 October 1915). Concurrently, the team's stay in Kingston and their transportation to the various sets across the island created many temporary jobs in the accommodation and transport sectors. The *Gleaner* stated that "the company maintained its own transportation facilities […] and its own automobile service […] during their operations." (*JG*, 27 April 1916) On average, the production team consisted of "230 people." (*JG*, 27 April 1916) For the duration of their stay, they lived in the Myrtle Bank Hotel in Kingston. Apart from occupying its rooms, they also built "huge laboratories" on the property to

develop their film recordings so as to avoid the trouble and expense to send them back to New York (*JG*, 19 October 1915). At the same time, the "headquarters of the Fox Film Company in Jamaica" were set up at Rose Gardens in Kingston (*JG*, 3 February 1916), which allegedly became "the finest outdoor moving picture studio that has ever been built." (*JG*, 19 October 1915)

Apart from coverage by regular reporters, the *Gleaner* published a series of articles on the filming written by James Sullivan, Kellerman's husband and manager, who had accompanied his wife. In these articles, Sullivan stressed the indirect economic benefits through the island's inclusion in what he called "the greatest film play of modern times." (*JG*, 28 October 1915) He anticipated that *A Daughter of the Gods* would publicize Jamaica's natural scenery "in a way no amount of advertising could have done" (*JG*, 20 December 1915) due to the great scope of popular cinema across social classes and national boundaries:

> [Cinema is] an entirely new channel that spreads its separate threads to the far distant parts of the world, for the Kellerman picture is such that it will be understood by all classes of people. Picture […] this vast audience […] hoping that sometime they will be able to visit this little island of Jamaica and gaze at these scenes in reality. This is what I want the Jamaicans to realize and prepare for. (*JG*, 28 October 1915)

The expectations with regard to the tourist potential of *A Daughter of the Gods* engendered considerable enthusiasm among local tourist advocates. They realized "the benefit that is sure to accrue to the island from the picture" (*JG*, 4 March 1916) and supported the showcase of "the beauties of our land" to "millions of people all over the world." (*JG*, 28 October 1915) Like with the Terriss features, the JTA expressed the hope that the film would help promote Jamaica as a tourist destination. Clearly, the location shooting of *A Daughter of the Gods* brought the awareness of cinema as a promotional instrument and the collaboration between film and tourism stakeholders, more generally, to a new level. The film not only set the tone for Hollywood blockbusters but also for interlocking advertisement ventures between the film and tourism industries. In the years to come, Jamaican tourism promoters aimed to further capitalize on the international film location market.

5 *Love's Redemption* (1921) and *Satan's Sister* (1925): Jamaica's Desire to Become "Tropical Hollywood within the Empire"

After the filming of *A Daughter of the Gods*, tourism advocates wished that more Hollywood studios would come to Jamaica to produce moving pictures. One Jamaican expressed the general desire as follows:

> I'd like to see Jamaica become a sort of tropical Hollywood. I would love to have moving pictures companies coming down here year after year to make photoplays that require a tropical setting. That would be one of our best advertisements abroad, […] the travelling public would decide that a country favoured by the moving-picture people must indeed be well worth visiting. (*JG*, 16 November 1925)

The commentator advised the newly established Jamaica Tourist Trade Development Board (JTTDB), which was set up in 1922 to develop "the tourist business of the island" (*JG*, 19 March 1923) alongside the JTA, to assist foreign film companies "in any effort they might put forward to establish tropical studios here." (*JG*, 18 November 1925) The "propaganda work" (*JG*, 27 June 1925) of the JTTDB mainly focused on placing advertisements in the British and American print media. However, they also wished to produce a "moving picture depicting scenery and industrial life in Jamaica." (*JG*, 25 April 1924) In fact, from the very beginning, the JTTDB emphasized the importance "to arrange for moving pictures of Jamaica." (*JG*, 23 March 1923) By late 1923, the board's committee had hired a team of "motion picture camera men" from Canada to produce "film propaganda on the island." (*JG*, 13 March 1924)

The initiative to produce "moving picture views" of Jamaica (*JG*, 12 March 1923) for tourism promotion purposes was widely supported by the local business elites. However, they also advised the board to focus on inviting foreign companies to make fiction films on the island. One of them noted that "the Tourist Development Board will do still better if it manages to get in touch with a company or companies who will produce not only travelogues but plays of Jamaica," as that would "increase its usefulness and benefit Jamaica immensely." (*JG*, 30 November 1923) In a similar vein, another commentator stated that it would be "an immense flip" for the tourist trade if the government would allocate funds for "an up-to-date moving picture company to visit these shores and to arrange to tell in pictures with short, pithy stories the charms of this wonderful land." (*JG*, 24 August 1923) Despite these recommendations, only two production teams would travel to Jamaica during the 1920s. Thus, following *A Daughter of the Gods*, only two fiction films were shot in Jamaica in the remainder of the late silent era: *Love's Redemption* (1921) and *Satan's Sister* (1925).

The arrival of the team of *Love's Redemption* was announcedas the first "American moving picture concern […] coming to Jamaica to make films here" after "a lapse of several years." (*JG*, 19 October 1920) In October 1920, a party of the Norma Talmadge Film Corporation came to Jamaica. The party was headed by Norma Talmadge herself, one of the most popular female film stars of the late silent era, and her husband Joseph Schenck. In contrast to *A Daughter of the Gods*, *Love's Redemption* was identifiably set in Jamaica, displaying "large picturesque settings." (*Variety*, 13 January 1922) The beauty of the Jamaican

locale received much attention in the film's advertisements. Most billings mentioned the film was "enacted amidst the vines and vistas of Jamaica" (*Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1922) or that it "was made on the island gem of the Atlantic – Jamaica," adding that "all the tropical beauty of this garden spot has been retained." (*The Charleston Daily Mail*, 2 April 1922) Many reviewers praised the film's "real tropical scenery." (*The Janesville Daily Gazette*, 9–10 September 1922) According to one reviewer, "the choice of exquisitely beautiful exterior shots photographed on the island of Jamaica" was "one of the most valuable assets of the production." (*Moving Picture World*, 1 January 1922) *Love's Redemption* clearly displayed Jamaica as the "beauty spot of the West Indies" (*Manitoba Free Press*, 14 January 1922) – very much the destination image of the island that local tourism promoters pursued.

The second runaway production in the 1920s, *Satan's Sister*, was an adaptation of the 1921 novel *Satan: A Romance of the Bahamas* by Henry de Vere Stacpool. In January 1925, a party of the UK-based Balfour-Welsh-Pearson Company arrived in Kingston "to make a picture on Jamaican soil." (*JG*, 22 January 1925) The filming of "the outside scenes" of the moving picture (*JG*, 13 January 1925) spanned about one month and took place on multiple locations in and around Kingston, Montego Bay, and Port Antonio. According to the *Gleaner*, "a number of local people" got hired for the production (*JG*, 13 January 1925). On February 9, 1925, the party completed their work and left for "the mother country," (*JG*, 10 February 1925) where *Satan's Sister* was released in May that year. The hosting of the production had given local tourism promoters the idea to focus more on attracting British instead of American film companies. After all, Jamaica was a British colony and could be of assistance to "the resuscitation of the British film industry" in the face of Hollywood's dominance (*JG*, 7 August 1925). The island could, it was thought, function as a year-round sunshine location of the British Empire in the same way as California serviced the American film industry. In August 1925, the JTTDB sent a cablegram to British film producer Oswald Stoll, pointing him to "Jamaica's advantages" as a film location:

> If permanent sunshine [is] essential for [the] proper development [of the] British film industry. Jamaica's glorious climate can give 365 days of it every year. This combined with scenic beauty and charm would assist British producers to quickly rival the productions of foreigners and lead to the establishment of a British Hollywood within the Empire. (*JG*, 7 August 1925)

However, the call of the JTTDB never got answered. In fact, it would last almost another thirty years until the next British production company made its way to Jamaica, when Coronado Productions came to film *Saturday Island* in the early 1950s.

6 *Ouanga* (1935), *Obeah* (1935) and *The Devil's Daughter* (1939): "The Secret Places of Paradise Island"

With the introduction of sound in the late 1920s, filmmaking became a highly centralized and standardized studio process, making runaway productions a rare occurrence in the US film industry. Although shooting on location was believed to add realism, most studios considered it as too expensive and risky. As a result, location filming chiefly remained the domain of independent, low-budget producers who found studio rental more costly (Hozic 2001: 92–93). Throughout the 1930s, three small American film companies would head to Jamaica to produce a horror adventure film dealing with black magic. First, in 1933, Ouanga Productions, a Toronto-based company, decided to set sail to the island after the location shooting of their black-and-white film *Ouanga* (1935) had failed in Haiti. Then, in the following year, the Arcturus Picture Corporation journeyed from New York to Jamaica to shoot several sequences of their independent film *Obeah* (1935) on the island. Finally, in 1939, the crew of *The Devil's Daughter* (1939) landed on Jamaican shores.

Ouanga marked the first feature film production to be shot in Jamaica in eight years. Having moved into the sound era, the film became "the first talking picture to be made in Jamaica." (*JG*, 16 November 1933) While *Ouanga* was being shot on the island, the discussion on "Jamaica's possibility as a big movie location" (*JG*, 25 October 1933) flared up again. A member of Ouanga Productions explained to the *Gleaner* why Jamaica was an ideal film location:

> Jamaica possesses [...] very many advantages from the point of view of making moving pictures [...]: it has a light and climate every bit as good as Hollywood; Magnificent natural scenery; is easily accessible from New York; it is British; and the people of Jamaica are orderly and intelligent, which is a good deal more than we can say of some of the other countries around the Caribbean. (*JG*, 25 October 1933)

Ouanga premiered in Britain in 1935, more than a year after the location shooting. From then, it would last another seven years before the film got released in the US. According to Senn (1998, 41), the film "was not shown in America until early 1942," when it was briefly exhibited "under the new title of *The Love Wanga*" before languishing in obscurity. The hope that the film would boost Jamaica to "a higher rung on the ladder of movie-making history," (*JG*, 4 October 1933) again, largely failed to materialize.

The next feature film to be shot in Jamaica was *Obeah*, another horror adventure film, this time set in the South Seas. The Arctures Picture Corporation, headed by director-producer F. Herrick, arrived in Jamaica in April 1934 to shoot sequences of their production on the island. In total, the filming took

place over a period of eight weeks in both Kingston and Port Royal. According to the *Gleaner*, the location filming of *Obeah* "afforded employment to a total number of approximately one hundred and fifty Jamaicans who acted in the capacities of actors, actresses, assistants, electricians, etc." (*JG*, 12 May 1994) Once more, a local resident pointed to "the benefits that would accrue to the island if pictures were made here." (*JG*, 17 October 1934) He claimed that Jamaica had much to offer to foreign film companies as the island was able to supply "all a film company can desire – sunshine, scenery, climate, cheap labour, etc." (*JG*, 17 October 1934) Like the year before, when *Ouanga* was made on the island, hope increased that Jamaica could become a shining location for international filmmakers.

However, in the remainder of the 1930s, only one additional feature-length film production was shot on the island – another low-budget horror movie, now designed for the all-black film circuit. In August 1939, the production team of *The Devil's Daughter* landed on Jamaican soil, for the first time "by 'plane.'" (*JG*, 10 August 1939) The film they came to make was a reworked remake of *Ouanga*, again written by George Terwilliger but this time directed by Arthur Leonard, an American filmmaker who wanted to enter the African-American film market (Senn 1998: 47). The cast of the "Sensational All-Negro Drama" was made up of "a troupe of first-class coloured artists" and included the "internationally known coloured star, singer and dancer" Nina Mae McKinney (*JG*, 16 August 1939). The film, which was tentatively named *Daughters of Jamaica* (*JG*, 31 August 1939), presented a much altered version of Terwilliger's original tale. As the working title suggests, Jamaica was made the setting of the film, associating black magic with the island.

The British government saw *The Devil's Daughter* as a chance to demonstrate throughout the Empire that Africa-derived religions were nothing more than primitive superstitions. When the film was released in Jamaica in 1940, now carrying the title *Pocomania*, it was explicitly stated that the British Board of Censors had "permitted the exhibition to the public […] on understanding that it made clear to the public that it has been passed for the purpose of demonstrating the wickedness of pocomania and other pagan rites." (*JG*, 14 February 1940) Interestingly, following its release in Jamaica, the *Gleaner* almost exclusively focused on the picturesque qualities of the production. According to the newspaper, the film merely functioned as a travelogue providing emblematic images of the island: "*Pocomania* takes full advantage of the natural beauties and background of Jamaica by weaving the story in the framework of a Travelogue, which opens the picture and leads the story." (*JG*, 17 February 1940)

7 From Errol Flynn to *A High Wind in Jamaica* (1965): Putting Jamaica "on the Film Map"

In the winter of 1947, Errol Flynn, "the dashing hero of Hollywood motion pictures," (*JG*, 2 January 1947) arrived in Jamaica on his yacht, the *Zaca*. Although popular myth has it that Flynn washed ashore near Port Antonio, in fact he docked at Kingston Harbour after having been lost at sea for a few days. After staying in Kingston a few days, he decided to travel the north coast to see what the island had to offer "in the line of entertainment." (*JG*, 10 February 1947) According to the actor, Port Antonio was "one of the most beautiful spots he had ever seen." (*JG*, 20 February 1947) When Flynn left, he said that he would return to Jamaica to "carry through certain plans" for tourism development in the area (*JG*, 20 February, 1947). In the following years, and until his death in 1959, Flynn made Port Antonio his second home. He bought Navy Island, the Titchfield Hotel, some other properties, and 5,000-acres of coastal real estate that became known as the Errol Flynn Estates. At the same time, Flynn prompted both Hollywood film celebrities and production companies to travel to Jamaica, reportedly putting the island finally "on the film map." (*JG*, 5 October 1950)

Flynn's stay on the island was immediately translated in terms of tourist potential, especially among the Hollywood elite. When Flynn was asked by a *Gleaner* reporter if more people in Hollywood were getting interested in Jamaica because of his connection with the island, he answered:

> I can assure you I have been selling Jamaica and Port Antonio in particular to all my friends – and with air travel so convenient Jamaica is not such a remote place as it was previously. It is now quite near to Hollywood and there is no reason why others from Hollywood should not be influenced to come out and acquire holdings here. (*JG*, 21 August 1947)

In the next few years, Port Antonio, the proclaimed birthplace of Jamaican tourism, gained a new reputation as a playground for the rich and famous.

Flynn also revitalized the hope that Jamaica had the potential to become a favourite film location for Hollywood producers. In 1948, he set out to make "a moving picture of the sea world which surrounded Jamaica." (Flynn 1959: 385) The film, which was tentatively titled *The Zaca Jamaican Adventure*, was to become "a full length technicolour film" starring Flynn and his then wife Nora Edington (*JG*, 21 May 1948). According to Flynn, the film would help Jamaica's efforts to become a tourist resort:

> The film is intended to show how lovely Jamaica is, how its people live, laugh, sing and play. […] The film will show as much as possible of the fish

> life around the island […]. This I hope will be a contribution which I am very happy to make to the general welfare of the Jamaican people. (*JG*, 21 May 1948)

Another production that Flynn took under his wing was *Sunken Treasure*. This moving picture was originally "the first picture" initiated by Kingswood Films (*JG*, 4 May 1950), a production company founded in Jamaica in the late 1940s by Hollywood filmmaker Robert Cumming with the purpose of producing films on the island. Kingswood Films received "strong backing" from the Jamaican government (*JG*, 15 May 1950) and even attracted "local investors" to support their first film (*JG*, 19 April 1951). However, when the film was nearly completed, the production entered into financial difficulties and legal battles. The company got defunct and was revoked as "a recognised motion picture producer in Jamaica." (*JG*, 11 July 1952) The Jamaican investors were able to obtain "the film with a cleared title (including the story rights) and a guarantee from Flynn Enterprises that [they] would now complete the film in Jamaica." (*JG*, 11 July 1952)

However, neither *The Zaca Jamaica Adventure* nor *Sunken Treasure* would eventually be released as feature-length movies. *The Zaca Jamaica Adventure* got delayed due to Flynn's divorce from Nora Eddington and was not released until late in 1951. By this time, the film had been reduced to a 20-minute short entitled *The Cruise of the Zaca* (1951) and consisted of footage of several 'scientific' cruises as well as scenes of Flynn and Eddington in Jamaica. *Sunken Treasure* was never completed nor released. Once more, the vulnerabilities of movie production and location filming were exposed. Like so many times before, foreign film projects were announced, often with much fanfare, and then never started, completed, or released. The fickle and erratic nature of the commercial film industry, dependent on so many external factors, makes it a risky enterprise to rely on for host communities.

Through the remainder of the 1950s and in the early 1960s, Jamaica came to host about a dozen of location shootings, eight of which were Hollywood productions: *City Beneath the Sea* (1953), *All the Brothers Were Valiant* (1953), *2000 Leagues under the Sea* (1954), *Island in the Sun* (1957), *Sea Wife* (1957), *Dr. No* (1962), *Father Goose* (1964), and *A High Wind in Jamaica* (1965). Particularly the latter, *A High Wind in Jamaica*, brought the potential of Jamaica as an international film location once more to the fore. In the summer of 1964, the film's production team sojourned on Jamaica's north coast (*JG*, 23 June 1964). During their ten week stay, they "established a film colony at Rio Buena." (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) When the film premiered in Kingston in July 1965, the screening was attended by several government officials and tourism operators (*JG*, 14 October 1965). They all showed great interest in developing Jamaica as a film-

ing location as they rated international runaway productions as offering great benefits in terms of tourism revenue and promotion abroad.

Within the next few weeks, the Jamaican government signed an "exclusive contract" with Hollywood producer William Marshall to "produce films in Jamaica for five years" on a regular basis (*JG*, 1 May 1964). Around the same time, the American company Cinema City Productions bought some land from the government to set up "Jamaica's first movie studio." (*JG*, 24 October 1964) The agreement followed after the filming of *The Confession* (1964) on the island in 1964. Though Marshall had reportedly "already scheduled […] three [films] for 1965," (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) he never materialized any of them. In a similar vein, Cinema City Productions was never able to realize the stream of film production that the launch of the film studio promised. In 1965, they shot *Brown-Eyed Picapie* "at Jamaica's first permanent movie studio, Torada Heights, just outside Montego Bay." (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965) However, the film was never released and no other production by Cinema City ever got made. Still, although both filmmaking initiatives did not get off the ground in the years to come, which seems to be a recurrent pattern, the "film bonanza" (*JG*, 28 August 1964) of the early 1960s reportedly brought Jamaica into the popular consciousness as an "ideal film-making island." (*Miami News*, 21 July 1965)

8 The Establishment of the Jamaican Film Commission: Securing "the Island's Role as a Tropical Paradise for Celluloid Dreams"?

Despite its image of being a go-to film location, from the mid-1960s until the mid-1980s Jamaica only hosted about a dozen American and European feature films. These included *Oh Dad, Poor Dad, Momma's Hung You in the Closet and I'm Feeling So Sad* (1967), *In Like Flint* (1967), *The Mercenaries* (1968), *Live and Let Die* (1973), *The Devil's Garden* (1973), *Vudu Sangriento* (1973), *Papillion* (1973), *Evil in the Deep* (1976), *The Treasure Seekers/Jamaican Gold* (1979), *Piranha 2* (1981), and *Eureka* (1981). According to Joseph Treaster, at the time correspondent for *The New York Times*, "filmmaking [in Jamaica] collapsed, like tourism and many other enterprises, as political turmoil and violence engulfed the country" during the 1970s (*New York Times*, 12 June 1988). This collapse lasted until the late 1980s, when a new wave of runaway productions started to evolve. This wave was largely the result of the work of the Jamaican Film Commission (JFC), which was launched in 1984 "to help restore Jamaica's economic health" (*New York Times*, 27 August 1984) by the then Prime Minister of Jamaica, Edward Seaga. The commission set out to offer foreign filmmakers "tax incentives, waivers on customs restrictions […], escorts and guides for scouting shooting sites and, at a modest fee, the rental of jeeps, tanks, helicop-

ters and troops from Jamaica's small army." (*New York Times*, 27 August 1984) The activities of the Jamaican Film Commission, the first of its kind in the independent Caribbean, sparked a modest cycle of Hollywood productions to be filmed on the island in the years to come.

The first indication of this cycle was the Warner Bros. comedy film *Club Paradise* (1986), featuring Robin Williams playing "an ex-fireman trying to run a swinging Caribbean resort during the middle of an island revolution." (*JG*, 9 November 1985) According to the *Gleaner*, Sally Porteous, the first director of the JFC, was able to win the film project in a context of "stiff competition from a number of other Caribbean islands." (*JG*, 30 July 1985) Almost the entire film was "made on location in Port Antonio" (*JG*, 6 June 1985) over the span of about three months. The filming got "considerable press" coverage on the island (*JG*, 9 November, 1985). Most reports emphasized the benefits of employment and earnings resulting from the project:

> The film's US$5 million expenditure benefitted a range of persons and sectors in Jamaica including a Jamaican cast and stand-ins, transportation and shipping, set dressers and prop manufacturers, office and site rental, utilities and equipment and caterers. The increased activity which the film brought to Port Antonio during filming […] further benefitted hotels, clubs and entertainment complexes in the parish. A substantial amount of money was also spent in giving Port Antonio a face-lift including the painting and repairing of some of the town's landmarks. (*JG*, 30 July 1985)

When the film team left the island, the Port Antonio community placed a major notice in the *Jamaica Gleaner* to thank them for the business they had brought to the area (*JG*, 6 July 1985).

In the remainder of the 1980s and the 1990s, the JFC assisted the location shooting for fifteen Hollywood feature films: *Cocktail* (1987), *Clara's Heart* (1988), *The Mighty Quinn* (1989), *Lord of the Flies* (1990), *Marked for Death* (1990), *Prelude to a Kiss* (1992), *Cool Runnings* (1993), *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1993), *Legends of the Falls* (1993), *White Squall* (1996), *The Man Who Knew too Little* (1997), *Belly* (1998), *How Stella Got Her Groove Back* (1998), *Shattered Image* (1998) and *Instinct* (1999). In addition, several low-budget independent feature films were shot on the island, e.g. *Together at Last* (1986, Finland), *Fury in the Tropics* (1986, Spain), *Hammerhead* (1987, Italy), *Popcorn* (1989, UK/USA), and *Fool's Paradise* (1997, USA). Many of these films were partially or completely laid in hotel settings, usually along the north coast. At the same time, nearly all of them used Jamaica as a backdrop for exotic adventure or romance (or a mix of the two), seemingly cementing "the island's role as a tropical paradise for celluloid dreams." (*New York Times*, 12 June, 1988)

However, from the 2000s onwards, Jamaica's role as a location for Hollywood films gradually declined. Although the film commission "continued to market Jamaica as a destination for film production," (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2010, 18.3) the number of feature film projects realized on the island between 2000 and 2015 experienced a significant drop. During this period, the overseas feature films shot on the island were few indeed. In fact, *A Perfect Getaway* (2009) and *Knight and Day* (2010) account for the only major Hollywood studio productions – and thus "high-impact film investments" (*JG*, 10 February 2010) – administered by the JFC since the 2006 location shooting of *License to Wed*. Though merely incidental, these two productions received wide coverage in the *Gleaner*, once more stressing Jamaica as "a prime location for films." (*JG*, 29 June 2008) In 2008, the newspaper interviewed film commissioner Crooks on the filming of a 2-minute sequence for the American film *A Perfect Getaway*, which had just taken place along the cliffs of Negril along the northwest coast. She stated that filming on the island was "good for an inflow of exchange, as well as for the hotel, catering and technical equipment industries." (*JG*, 29 June 2008)

The direct economic benefits of location filming were again, and even more so, emphasized in 2010, when the JFC facilitated the shooting of some scenes for the 20th Century Fox blockbuster *Knight and Day*. According to the *Gleaner*, JFC's "facilitation of the film project included scouting locations, facilitating waivers and approvals, as well as VIP clearance." (*JG*, 10 February 2010) Filming took place at Frenchman's Cove and Pellow Island (also known as Monkey Island) in the Portland parish. The five-day production of the "funny spy movie with adventure and romance" starring Tom Cruise and Cameron Diaz, allegedly "pumped US$1.35 million (J$121 million) into the economy and created employment for 80 Jamaicans." (*JG*, 26 June 2010) The location shooting of *Knight and Day* reportedly provided high value to local businesses: "Some 100 crew members from overseas worked on the project, resulting in full occupancy levels of hotels and a demand for providers of transportation and catering services throughout the filming of the project." (*Jamaica Observer*, 29 August 2010) Although the film created some controversy in the Jamaican newspapers as the plot did not identify the setting as Jamaica (and would therefore allegedly attract less tourists to the island), the high and quick investment return on *Knight and Day* prompted the Jamaican government again, as in the entire century of film and tourism that preceded, "to explore ways of bringing more films to the shores of Jamaica." (*JG*, 26 June 2010)

9 Epilogue: "Trinidad Wanted the Production"

As this article has demonstrated, the over one hundred-year history of film and tourism in Jamaica has been one of high expectations and sporadic deliveries. Still, despite the uncertain and unpredictable nature of film tourism, the Jamaican Film Commission continues to "present Jamaica as a filming destination" (*JG*, 23 January 2017) – this while in today's global marketplace the competition among tropical film locations has become even more intense. Over the past few years, Jamaica has missed out on hosting several foreign film crews. For example, in 2012, the JFC failed to attract the production of *Home Again* (2012), a Canadian feature film about "three young people deported 'home' to Jamaica after being raised abroad since infancy." (*JG*, 28 April 2013) The film's producer, Jamaican-born Canadian filmmaker Jennifer Holness, intended to shoot the film in Jamaica but eventually went to Trinidad instead – where it became "the biggest production […] ever done." (*JG*, 28 April 2013) This was, apparently, due to the low level of tax credits and professional services offered by the JFC. According to Holness, "it was impossible for us to think we could film in Jamaica […], when all failed. […] We spent C$1.2 million in Trinidad and got back 35 per cent, because Trinidad wanted the production." (*JG*, 28 April 2013) Kim Marie Spence, at the time Jamaica's film commissioner, responded that the JFC "did not have the negotiating power" to compete with Trinidad, which drew criticism within Jamaica's public sphere for this "big loss" (*JG*, 28 April 2013) – and familiar promises to do better in the future. Looking at Jamaica's history of film location production, the road to success might indeed be a hard one to travel.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix I

See https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1699316/126622_14.pdf.

Appendix II: Overview of Jamaican Feature Films, 1972–2015

Title	Year	Director	Additional Information
The Harder They Come	1972	Perry Henzell	Considered the first Jamaican feature film, largely set in Kingston
The Marijuana Affair	1974	William Greaves	Diasporic cinema (USA), not released until 2011
No Place Like Home	1975	Perry Henzell	Not released until 2006
Smile Orange	1976	Trevor Rhone	-
Rockers	1978	Ted Bafaloukos	Foreign director (Greece), largely shot and set in Kingston
Children of Babylon	1980	Lennie Little-White	-
Countryman	1982	Dickie Jobson	-
Milk and Honey	1988	Glen Salzman	Foreign directors (Canada), co-writer Trevor and Rebecca Yates Rhone, largely set in Canada
The Lunatic	1991	Lol Crème	Foreign director (UK)
The Journey of the Lion	1992	Fritz Baumann	Foreign director (Ger), shot and set in Jamaica, the UK and Africa
Kla$h	1995	Bill Parker	Foreign director (USA), largely shot and set in Kingston
Dancehall Queen	1997	Rick Elgood & Don Letts	Foreign directors (UK), shot and set in Kingston
Third World Cop	1999	Chris Browne	Shot and set in Kingston
Shottas	2002	Cess Silvera	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Miami and Kingston
One Love	2003	Rick Elgood & Don Letts	Foreign filmmakers (UK)
Rude Boy	2003	Desmond Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Los Angeles and Kingston
Gangsta's Paradise	2004	Trenten Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Los Angeles and Kingston
Runt	2005	Michael Phillip Edwards	Diasporic cinema (Canada), largely shot and set in Los Angeles and Jamaica
Glory to Glorianna	2006	Lennie Little-White	Largely set in Montego Bay

Title	Year	Director	Additional Information
Cop and a Bad Man	2006	Trenten Gumbs	Diasporic cinema (USA), largely set in California
The Candy Shop	2008	Joel Burke	Shot and set in Kingston
Surf Rasta	2008	Rick Elgood	Foreign director (UK)
Better Mus' Come	2010	Storm Saulter	Largely shot and set in Kingston
A Dance for Grace	2010	Orville Matherson & Junior Powell	Diasporic cinema (USA), shot and set in Georgia and Kingston
Ghett'a Life	2011	Chris Browne	Largely shot and set in Kingston
Out the Gate	2011	R. Steven Johnson & Qmillion Riddim	Diasporic cinema (USA), largely set in Los Angeles, the directors are collectively known as the Village Brothers
Home Again	2012	Sudz Sutherland	Diasporic cinema (Canada), shot in Trinidad & Tobago with additional footage in Canada
Kingston Paradise	2013	Mary Wells	Largely shot and set in Kingston
Destiny	2014	Jeremy Whittaker	Diasporic cinema (Canada), shot in Jamaica with additional footage in Canada

N.B.: Akin to continuing debates around what is national cinema, the question of what is a Jamaican film is not easily answered. Warner (1992: 52; 2000: 71) has defined a Caribbean film as a film that is "produced in the region by and with a majority of Caribbean personnel, and whose conception, realization and flavor present a distinct Caribbean world view." For the purpose of this overview, I largely follow Warner's definition. In addition, while Warner (1992: 52) did not (yet) "include films by Caribbean filmmakers that are set outside the Caribbean," this overview includes films made by Jamaican diasporic filmmakers. Furthermore, only (completed) Jamaican feature-length fiction films that have had an official theatrical release and/or international film festival selection have been selected.

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III. Environment and Sustainability

Nicholas Watts

Framing — Applying the Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences: The Value of Disciplinary Promiscuity for Practical Governance

The prospects for sustainability of environment and society both globally, and in the Caribbean, looked to be improving at the end of 2015, in the wake of UN agreements on the 2030 Agenda (the Sustainable Development Goals: SDGs) and the Paris Agreement, even if these were more aspirational than fixed commitments. By the end of 2016, the mirror image of this picture threatened to prevail. Any return to the path of resilience and democracy in the region, and among the Caribbean diaspora in increasingly racialized societies of developed countries, will depend on understanding of and empathy with the needs, rights, culture, the identity of Caribbean peoples. The apparent intractability of applying developed country norms of welfare and planning to the poorer nations of the Caribbean has to be addressed by developing hybridised approaches. The irony of graduation from low-income country (LIC) to middle-income country (MIC) status, when graduation then cuts middle-income SIDS (Small Island Development States) off from access to preferential ODA (official development assistance) funding, also demands attention. They remain subject to the typical vulnerabilities of SIDS (extreme weather events, sea-level rise etc.) in a context when environmental hazards are being exacerbated and compounded by the risks from neo-populist, protectionist, and racist agendas in the anglophone developed world, as reflected in nationalist populist calls for cuts to ODA and threats to the implementation of the Paris climate accord. 'The Caribbean' and its peoples are once again under threat from an increasingly atavistic global community.

This section of the volume addresses these challenges through a number of lenses. It is, in Rivke Jaffe's words at the conference, 'disciplinarily promiscuous,' and productively so. The chapters bring ecocriticism to life, proving its seminal relevance to understanding Caribbean life and identity. They address the potential in realistic, pragmatic approaches to development of human settlements, drawing on the ingenuity and energy of communities in informal settlements. They highlight issues of regional governance and local self-determination as well as the role of art and protest in asserting local identity and rights in the face of the resource depredations of globalisation. They further demon-

strate how, through the process of glocalisation, global crises take on local form and stress the importance of empathy and trust in stakeholders. In framing people differently, the chapters help us empathise, in the hope that the international community will treat people differently and with respect. Such a portrayal of community mobilisation gets us closer to civil society.

The chapters provide innovative responses to what are by now familiar environmental threats faced by already marginalised communities in the Caribbean. The authors address challenges from a range of perspectives that emphasise different fields of study and knowledge bases consistent with the aims of the SDGs, while simultaneously offering a critique of the utility of the 'sustainability' label. What is inspiring about them is that they demonstrate state-of-the-art approaches in the respective disciplines at the same time as contributing to solutions on the ground, or, on a broader scale, reframing our approach to development. Further, they develop long-standing themes of sustainability research and echo experiences common across similar 'glocalities' across the globe: the inverse relation between the originators of planetary risk and those who suffer from climate change, extractive industries, tourism development, and international land speculation. They show that, whatever disciplinary specialism is engaged, the researcher/activist can make a difference to both the framing of problems and the shift in perspective to help the victims help themselves to solutions. The chapters are both conceptually rich and practical.

The apparent heterogeneity of the contributions (they come from the francophone, Hispanic and anglophone Caribbean, from different disciplines and types of environment) belies their combined effect of shedding light on both perennial issues of community and economy in the Caribbean as well as on local manifestations of global processes that have material effects that threaten the livelihoods, culture, amenity, and customary rights of indigenous and traditional communities. If you will, they highlight the impact of neoliberal policies of economic growth that may or may not lead to 'development' and where the main benefits are enjoyed by actors outside the communities or country.

Key themes are: the indispensability of respecting the traditions; customary rights and agency of indigenous and established local communities engaged in subsistence livelihoods; the threats to these rights and livelihoods from globalisation; the value of different disciplinary perspectives in supporting awareness and mobilisation to resist these threats; the struggle for slavery reparations; and the perennial difficulties of securing regional cooperation in the governance of common pool resources of the Caribbean region itself.

The first two authors, a landscape architect and a political geographer (Werthmann and Bohle), take a bottom-up, participatory perspective on the development of informal settlements in full recognition that the Caribbean population is an urban one, and that the state lacks capacity to implement an

effective, top-down approach to urban planning. Complemented by Rivke Jaffe's presentation at the original conference, they build on and refine traditions from the UN Habitat and World Urban Forum conferences since 1976, where participatory development of human settlements has long been championed by practitioners on the ground but usually hampered by traditional training. The latter insists on application of global norms and standards that are unaffordable in context, especially where there is lack of clarity over property rights and the boundaries between legal and non-legal aspects of development and settlement governance are blurred.[1]

These contributions firmly reframe the discourse around human settlements to recognise the culture, claims, and capabilities of residents of informal settlements (slum-dwellers), while drawing attention to the need for supply of basic services and security of tenure (property rights). Along with anthropologist Jaffe's work on hybrid governance (i.e. the partnership between state forces and [criminal] community powerbrokers, or 'dons,' to maintain law and order in informal, organically grown settlements) and Jaffe's analysis of the class and ethnic dimensions of pollution (often referred to as environmental racism), these interventions recognise and value the contribution of the community and serve to de-emphasise the tourist gaze (Urry 1990) of the Caribbean. Rivke Jaffe addressed distributional issues linked to environmental problems and deprivations. Her presentation at the conference (not reproduced here, but see her seminal publications[2]) addressed the concentration of environmental problems in low income areas in Curaçao, which reflect a racism more institutional than personal but which embody a 'blame the poor' narrative. While contributions do not focus on tourist mega-projects in detail, it is worth noting the common practice of carefully gating tourist developments in ways that foster an apartheid of tourists and locals, a move that often bars locals from access to beaches and the coast in breach of customary use rights for fishing or recreation – a process usually driven by foreign investors.

1 Contributions

Christian Werthmann describes the incremental and collaborative reconstruction strategies in Haiti following the devastating 2010 earthquake in a complicated national political context and pressures to 'reconstruct better.' Whereas donors and big international NGOs (BINGOs) seek short-term, high-visibility

1 Consider, for example, Turner 1972, with which the pieces by Werthmann and Bohle resonate.

2 Rivke Jaffe 2016.

outputs, there is a need for a more measured approach that ensures democratic process, support, and security of tenure and draws on community capacity for long-term self-build development. The state can and must supply infrastructure services, land, and guarantee public space and basic communications infrastructure. The lessons here are relevant to the challenges of rapid urbanisation throughout SIDS and the South and also remind us that the Caribbean, for all our 'Caribbean imaginary' of isolated beaches fringed by rainforest, is in fact a highly and increasingly urbanised region. Werthmann's approach points up the problems of sovereignty that emerge when the disaster aid budget runs at four times the national budget and when decision-making authority may rest with external rather than internal actors.

Werthmann raises vital questions about post-disaster recovery as well as development of informal settlements in their own right. The magnitude of the losses in the earthquake was reflected in the rush of aid funds and agencies to Haiti, and the resulting failure to use the funds effectively. International NGOs may be in competition with one another, and the local state or NGOs may exercise little sovereignty over what is spent and how. The problems of the receiving community will be exacerbated by uncertainties over land tenure rights, by risks in building in allocated locations and by the initial focus on new-build rather than upgrading existing, informal settlements. Werthmann also presents a striking example of the effective engagement of graduate students in a mutually enriching learning and capacity-building process, reminding us of the need for external researchers to reflect on how to engage in the region.

Political geographer Johannes Bohle writes about spatial geographies of identity and knowledge in the Caribbean, a core theme of glocalisation. He presents two cases in Martinique's capital Fort-de-France in order to examine institutional and non-institutional practices for sustainable urban living: First, the 'ÉcoQuartier' *Bon-Air*, built according to European planning norms, and second, the marginalised communities of the informal settlement *Trénelle-Citron*. Bohle gives the historical context to two distinct approaches to 'sustainability' in a Caribbean perspective on urban development that is sensitive to the importance of community inclusion and capacity-building. Efforts to reconstruct face fewer but stronger hurricanes that can destroy new buildings in an instant. Bonaire has 40 percent unemployment, and 40 per cent of residents over 50 years old. The policy here was to demolish and rebuild, prioritising existing inhabitants, who feared gentrification and that the proposed rebuild would not be affordable. Trénelle-Citron is an illegal and unstructured settlement of 8000 people, with wooden houses, reinforced using mutual help and traditional social practices.

Esther Figueroa is a polymath film-maker, writer, educator, linguist and environmentalist who gives a compelling illustration of the benefits of combin-

ing methodologies of documentary film, dissent and protest in efforts to engage with the authorities who, under the mantle of 'development,' are charged with facilitating resource extraction activities that threaten amenity and social cohesion, thus undermining community rights. The examples of resistance to threats from plans to mine bauxite in Cockpit Country in Jamaica and to build a transhipment port in the Portland Bight Protected Area communicate a social movement's conflict with national state and international economic actors over the environmental rights of local communities, 'whose' land contains valuable bauxite resources the extraction of which will denude and desertify their environment. The documentary shows the relative powerlessness of local communities faced with the exigencies of globalisation, the need for SIDS with huge debt burdens to maximise extraction of raw materials and the labelling of their resistance as 'unpatriotic.' She also demonstrates the non-monetary costs imposed on the community in a contribution that resonates with the work of scholars of environmental racism, who show how environmental contamination is usually focussed on the least privileged communities. She comments on the 'slow lives' lived in deep rural communities and on Rastafarian rejection of the dominant development paradigm. Cockpit Country's longstanding status as a source of bauxite extraction is poignantly counterpointed by a local tradition of self-sufficiency and Maroon autonomy. Her documentary film has had a policy impact: the local government has promised to map the boundaries of the permitted mining area. This is an effective means of mobilising in communities that are dispersed, with low levels of literacy. It is, in short, contextually appropriate and fits the terrain, showing how a research organisation can help publicise and organize local campaigns. Figueroa provides a deeper contextualisation in the history of slavery and exploitation of nature in production of the commodities of empire; she further highlights 'national sacrifice zones,' where pollutants are routinely dumped on 'victim' communities. She also shows the value of nature to the local community that goes unrecognised by developers.

Anabelle Contreras Castro then engages in a constructive criticism of identity issues of a 'Costa-Rican' Caribbean, a region on the north-east coast adjacent to Panama, raising the issue of cultural-political diversity and integration in the face of manipulation of the physical environment by outside investors who, in partnership with the state, expropriate land under the pretext of environmental protection. Once again, land tenure and property rights feature from an anthropological perspective.

The *Foro del Caribe Sur* was founded to combat the enforced expropriation of local communities and to reconceptualise this region, historically an imaginary space for diverse groups – conquerors, pirates, priests, scientists, travellers, tourists, businesspeople – to project their own visions and dreams. This included the United Fruit Company; construction of the railway; the 'crusades'

to convert the indigenous peoples to Christianity; contemporary calls for tenders for major projects won by foreign companies; projects such as Maharishi Mahesh Yogi's followers' 'Global Land of World Peace,' a quasi-autonomous 10,000 hectare 100 Million dollar commune and bio-banana plantation; and the location of a US Ministry of Defense department. In the eyes of external investors, the diverse local population is either seen as an impediment or is reduced to the role of labour. Several indigenous groups live here in reserves: *cabécares*, *birbis*, and there are several important nature reserves. Over the last 40 years, the 'framing' or conceptualisation of the area has changed, especially with the passing of the 1977 Indigenous Law setting up the Park of Friendship as well as the ongoing development of sex tourism etc. This all changed the way the region's inhabitants think of themselves and their environment, which includes imagining it as a place of resistance. The land is no longer a 'swamp' but a 'wetland'; the people no longer 'blacks' but 'afro-Caribbeans'; and the label 'pais ecologico,' or green tourism, is applied, ignoring social inequalities. Contreras Castro argues that these labels are a farce that serves to disguise the exploitation of the land. Under the new Maritime-terrestrial Law (*Ley Maritimo-Terrestre*), some land occupancy is no longer legal. Reserves are also proposed, which involve conflict between a government seeking to create a conservation area, letting the territory as concessions, and residents, who sought legal clarification of their property rights and who found themselves in competition with foreign landowners. State intervention under the cloak of nature protection to expropriate and develop projects results in a climate of distrust.

Cultural anthropologist Claudia Rauhut focuses on Caribbean leadership in a Caribbean-based transnational struggle for slavery reparations. Based on self-representation, declarations and reports as well as empirical data from research in Jamaica, Rauhut argues that the CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC) "has spurred the revitalization of the US reparations movement and fortified the transregional networks of activism." (Rauhut in this volume). She sees the Caribbean as one of the most powerful sites of recent reparations activism offering new approaches to the question, especially with respect to its actors, potential beneficiaries, targeted institutions and collective goals. While former Caribbean reparation activists orientated themselves towards US organizations, especially the National African American Reparation Commission (NAARC), the strategy of targeting not privately owned companies or banks but European governments was readily adopted by NAARC in taking legal action against the US government. Rauhut interprets this as transfer of knowledge from the Global South to the Global North, that signals – at least symbolically – an inversion of, and challenge to power relations in transregional networks.

Daniel Graziadei points us to the poetry of the Anthropocene. He develops a picture of the continuity of island, sea and globe and thereby addresses the theme of glocalisation head-on: he thematises the process of postcolonial culture-building, as well as the manner in which we all share in the 'human ecumene,' including the rest of creation. The local becomes a metaphor for the global. Graziadei's stimulating contribution takes us further into the role of literary ecocriticism, imaginative geography and the failure of island societies under pressure from sea-level rise and the forces of globalisation and migration. Graziadei gets to the heart of our tragically shifting relations with nature and the need for conviviality of humans and other species. His is a radical call to wake up to the challenges of the Anthropocene, a call now all the more resonant as the forces of populism threaten to engulf and obliterate any such commitment to reflexivity.

Finally, Soares returns us to the perennial and more traditional issue of the attempt to secure regionally integrated governance structures for the Caribbean, in this case, for fisheries in the anglophone Caribbean. This implies both finding appropriate mechanisms for management of the global commons, and the Caribbean Sea itself, as well as solutions to the numerous maritime boundary disputes in the Caribbean. These disputes have bedevilled international relations, in particular between the hispanic and the anglophone Caribbean, reminding us of the differential but enduring impact of colonial histories, as seen in the current disputes between Belize and Guatemala and between Guyana and Venezuela. Barbados and Tobago also clash over flying fish. Again, this piece addresses property rights as well as political geography, although there is cause for optimism in progress being made by the Caribbean Regional Fisheries Mechanism, notwithstanding the failure by CARICOM to agree a Common Fisheries Policy.

2 Summary

In sum, these contributions from contrasting methodological and disciplinary perspectives draw attention to the persistence of challenges to the Caribbean environment, both at the local and at the regional level. They point to some key components of resilience and also serve to show how approaches first promoted in the 1970s are re-emerging, re-envisioned but consistent with earlier calls for relevance and for participatory decision-making. This in turn recognises the legitimacy of agency of local communities and indigenous peoples, faced as they are with challenges to their customary use rights of the terrestrial and marine environment in a neoliberal process of globalisation and the institutionalisation of the 'tourist gaze' in sex and wedding tourism, tourist mega-pro-

jects, and extraction of natural resources from oil and gas to fish and forest. That some of this may happen with support of the big international NGOs (the BINGOs) and under the guise of 'nature conservation' reflects similar themes across developing countries globally, in the wake of glocalisation. Primary resource users (farmers, fishermen, indigenous peoples) lose their customary rights to access the resources they depend on, for example in losing access to beaches for fishing; likewise, communities that have enjoyed historic access to the amenity of an unspoilt natural environment lose out to extractive industries. While the murder of activists combating deforestation is not documented here, other local problems associated with the migration of global capital are.

The political and policy responses are instructive. Werthmann and Bohle demonstrate the value of including residents of informal settlements in both the planning and the construction of their own habitats, in effect formalising the informal, an approach echoed in Jaffe's work on hybridisation of law and order, where community leaders in slum settlements work in *de facto* cooperation with the police, so that order can be maintained in settlements where the police are reluctant to enter. Rauhut's contribution, an apparent outlier in the context of environment and sustainability, pinpoints the necessity and potential effectiveness of transregional alliances of nation states in reparation activism within CARICOM, the Caribbean as a whole and beyond and underlines the progressive stance the CARICOM Reparations Commission is taking by appealing to former slave-owning states as opposed to privately-owned companies or individuals. She underlines the changing dynamic of the reparations debate at a time when one former colonial power, the United Kingdom, is reduced from the role of sovereign to supplicant, post-Brexit. She also reflects the structural origins in colonial history, and slavery, of themes of environmental exploitation of local communities addressed in other contributions here.

Graziadei, in drawing on the literary tradition to interrogate the island trope, presents us with a fine-grained and sophisticated reflection on the publication's theme of glocalisation: how can islands today, any more than in the 17th century when Donne was writing, be considered separate from global continuities? However, their vulnerabilities lie both in their histories in the context of slavery and colonisations as well as in the 'tourist gaze' or the paradisiacal imaginary.

Distributional impacts of globalisation are addressed head-on by Figueroa, who reminds us of the fact that those with least power suffer most from environmental depredations. And her documentary methodology provides both support for mobilisation and a record of the process of calling the authorities to account, demonstrating the power of the documentary in the political process. Contreras Castro highlights the disingenuous allocation by the state of mineral

extraction rights under cover of nature protection legislation that has excluded traditional users from their environment.

Taken together, the contributions of Figueroa and Graziadei demonstrate the value of the arts and humanities in raising awareness of threats to communities and to nature in the Caribbean. Werthmann and Bohle further underline the value of an emancipatory approach to the residents of informal settlements and by implication the value of removing barriers to self-help development when the resources for a state-led, paternalistic programme are not available. At the same time, the state is clearly charged with supplying the communities with the land and the infrastructure – water, sanitation, utilities – they require to support long-term resilience of both community and habitat. Lastly, Soares reminds us of the challenges of multi-level governance of the Caribbean Sea, with nation states slow to develop an adequate system of regional governance of fisheries and the marine environment, undermining the sustainability of the livelihoods of small-scale fishers in the (unrealistic) hope of profit from a growing industrial fishery.

These contributions highlight key issues in Caribbean studies as well as the value of having the Socare research community add to the range of disciplinary and ideological perspectives on the Caribbean. They also demonstrate persuasively that contributions of value to both problem awareness and solutions (or perhaps more realistically, improvements) may emanate from any one of the full range of disciplines – and the value of having these perspectives evidenced so persuasively, as they are here.

We should also, as a community engaged in scholarship, research, and advocacy, reflect on the legacy of our own work. As we critique the actions of BINGOs and international speculative investors, we need simultaneously to consider what glocally enhanced capacities researchers from outside the region leave behind.[3]

This section is also evidence of a welcome collaboration between Socare and the Caribbean Studies Association (CSA), in which leading members of Socare are actively engaged. The Environment and Sustainability Strand of the CSA has been working since the 2003 Annual Conference in St Kitts and Nevis to raise the profile of research and policy in the arts and social sciences related to environmental rights and challenges across the region. One key criterion applied to the SDGs is universality: the SDGs apply equally to developing and industrialised countries, so that a shared understanding of the distributional

3 See, for example, the approach of the UN SIDS partnership "Learning from the Sharp End of Environmental Uncertainty in SIDS" at https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/partnership/?p=7918 or in a shorter version at http://www.sids2014.org/index.php?page=view&type=1006&nr=2705&menu=1507

consequences of growth or 'development' in the Caribbean can help focus attention on changes required in industrialised countries to transcend the destructive dynamic of globalisation and apply its more constructive opportunities.

Both the CSA and Socare demonstrate a commitment to environmental and social justice as well as an openness to the range of disciplinary perspectives represented here. The arts complement the social and natural sciences in the search for a developmental paradigm that is convivial for all beings on the planet. This 'disciplinary promiscuity' benefits from the writings of social scientists, economists, geographers (Eyre 1989; Watts D. 1990; Girvan 1991; McGregor/Barker 1995; Miller 1996; Meeks/Lindahl 2001; Watts NSJ 2007; Jaffe 2016) and literary critics (DeLoughrey/Handley 2011), as well as recent engagement with nature, sexuality and the politics of the body (Sheller 2003, 2012 and this volume). All of these point to the consolidation of an interdisciplinary corpus from small island states in particular, from which thinkers for the theorising and implementation of the 2030 Agenda should draw: an emergent paradigm that recognises both the potential contribution of the marginalised in industrial as well as developing countries as part of the renewal the planet needs as well as the value of the contribution to this paradigm by academics from SIDS.

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Christian Werthmann

Learning from Canaan, Haiti's Third Largest City (?) Born in the Aftermath of a Catastrophe

On January 12, 2010, a 7.0 earthquake hit Haiti. The consequences were dramatic. More than 300,000 people perished, over 300,000 were injured, and 1,3 million people were rendered homeless. The magnitude of human loss was especially huge in Port-au-Prince, as the epicenter of the quake lay close to the densely populated capital with its over 2 million residents. Most building stock did not have the proper reinforcements to withstand a major quake. Shortly after the catastrophe, the focus of most aid organizations on the planet was on Haiti. Large funds were promised by the international community (a term that was coined to describe all foreign actors, whether in the form of governments, agencies, or NGOs) to realize the Haitian government's Action Plan for National Recovery and Development. Later, it became known as "Building Back Better" – a popular term at the time that had already been used for similar reconstruction efforts after the Indian Ocean tsunami in 2004. As part of this 'international community,' I was able to witness differing approaches to reconstruction in an academic capacity. In the following, I would like to outline a few general observations regarding the creation of new housing in the aftermath of a catastrophe in a country with limited capacities. Particularly the case of Canaan, the largest informal post-earthquake settlement in Haiti, gives valuable information.

1 Housing in Haiti after the Earthquake

In 2011, one year after the earthquake, Port-au-Prince was still in dire circumstances. There were over 300,000 homes in ruins. More than half a million residents lived in tent camps and in temporary shelters, i.e. flimsy structures made from wood and tarp. Lots of debris remained in the city, blocked roads further slowed down reconstruction efforts. Despite a multi-billion pledge of the international community, no sizable housing projects were underway or completed. The sudden foreign money influx, however, had negative consequences also. Haitian sovereignty to decide how and where they wanted to reconstruct was

curtailed by an imbalance in decision making power. For example, the aid budgets of international organizations and governments in 2010 were four times higher than the total internal revenue of the Haitian government (UN 2011: 4). International donors set accountability demands for their pledges which were hard to meet in the difficult post-disaster situation. In the end, only 1% of all aid distributed in 2010 went to the Haitian government and practically nothing to Haitian NGO's (UN 2011: 14). This lopsided allocation and the consecutive loss of Haitian sovereignty over the reconstruction process have been well documented by the UN (cf. Paul Farmer's 2011 report as Deputy Special Envoy for Haiti) and reached a wide audience through Raoul Peck's revealing documentary *Assistance Mortelle* (2012).

In summary, the year after the catastrophe in Haiti was characterized by a capital that was still in ruins; there was a tremendous pressure to rebuild and a disproportionally large executive power of outside organizations, who held the power over the majority of reconstruction funding. In 2011, despite hundred thousands of people living in tents, no substantial housing project had been established yet. There were various obstacles that prevented the formal construction of new housing. Land ownership was contested, and the identification of land that could carry new housing entailed a long and complicated process. If a piece of land was finally identified formally, it was sometimes deemed unsuitable for housing because of natural risks. For example, the first officially inaugurated housing project in Zoranje was situated in a floodplain (Werthmann/Thompson/Weissman 2012). Another strategical problem was that the need of housing was equated with building *new* housing, while the complicated task of reconstructing existing informal neighborhoods (which constitute the majority of Port-au-Prince) received very little attention. Only in 2011, urgently needed neighborhood rehabilitation began in earnest. The 16/6 project, for instance, was launched to relocate internally displaced citizens from six camps into 16 rehabilitated neighborhoods (Haiti Libre 2015).

In this context, it is important to remember that the formal sector had not been able to produce *any* new housing in and around Port-au-Prince one year after the earthquake. At the same time, the informal sector started to build a new city. 15km north of Port-au-Prince, a settlement was initiated that would eventually become what some say is the third largest city in Haiti. Known today as "Canaan," the settlement consists of several substantial neighborhoods: Village Moderne, Jérusalem, Mosaïque, the camps Corail Sector III and IV, Onaville, and Canaan itself. Population estimates differ greatly and range between 50,000 to 200,000 residents; no reliable census has been conducted, which makes precise city ranking impossible (Fig. 1 and 2).

Fig. 1. Canaan in March 2011, one year after the earthquake (© Christian Werthmann).

2 The Rise of Canaan

The unofficial settlement was initiated through an official act. In 2010, 6,000 displaced residents needed to be relocated from a camp in Port-au-Prince that was threatened by flooding and mudslides (International Organization for Migration [IOM] 2013). Residents were resettled in the area that is known today as Canaan, at the foot of the Chaîne des Matheux mountain range in a camp named Corail-Cesselesse. With the erection of the official camp, the Haitian government announced a public expropriation of 50 square kilometers in the area. This expropriation initiated an informal urbanization wave that has been referred to as the "biggest land grab of Latin America." (Valencia 2013) Many families and residents living in harsh conditions in the capital perceived the expropriation as an opportunity to build a better future and moved out to Canaan. They decided to rather live in the punitive conditions of this dusty hillscape far away from basic services, water, and electricity, without many transportation options and little access to economic opportunity, than to further endure the hardships of the camps in Port-au-Prince. First, the settlers began with the construction of simple dwellings made from wood and tarp. More and more people began to loosely occupy a vast area of roughly 30 square kilome-

Fig. 2. Canaan in March 2011, one year after the earthquake (© Christian Werthmann).

ters. From the beginning, Canaan attracted not only displaced residents from Port-au-Prince but also young rural migrants who wanted to escape the grinding poverty of the countryside. After a while, informal real estate speculation commenced as people saw Canaan as a potential business opportunity. Practices like informal land speculation and trading but also extortion and gang activity have been reported (Haiti Grassroots Watch [HGW] 2013b). Further, an informal construction industry had taken form. In neighborhoods like Onaville, concrete foundations of spacious houses with brick walls and small modest dwellings stand side by side. Thousands of people put their hope, their work, and their money into the 'promised land' of Canaan. There are no exact figures assessing how much private funds have been invested into informal land transactions, construction material, and labor, but casual estimates have ranged from 10 to 90 million USD (Hannemann/Stephenson 2013). Although conditions are far from ideal, Canaan is still growing (as of 2016).

The emergence of Canaan and its various neighborhoods has not been without resistance. Initially, the Haitian government was very much opposed to another unregulated development for good reasons. Informal occupation of land resulting in *bidonvilles* has been the de facto urbanization mode of large parts of Port-au-Prince and the country in general; an estimated 86% of the

population live in slum-like conditions as defined by UN-Habitat (UN-Habitat 2001), lacking at least one of five conditions deemed acceptable for adequate housing (access to safe water, basic sanitation, durable housing, land tenure and acceptable household density). The reasons for the existence of such substandard living quarters are manifold. Among other factors, fragmentary governance history and complex land ownership modalities have resulted in a lack of affordable housing options, which partially forced low-income but also middle-income citizens into informality (Leslie 2011). Urbanization as a result of informal activities is therefore omnipresent in Port-au-Prince, including all its inherent deficits regarding basic infrastructure, sanitation, or transportation. The earthquake tremendously exacerbated the demand for appropriate housing by making 1,3 million people homeless overnight. The initial vision of "Building Back Better" backed by large international donors promised a different future, where housing was planned; Canaan therefore presented an undesired phenomenon. Given the history of unregulated growth in Haiti, it is no surprise that it was hard for the Haitian government to acknowledge the existence and potential legality of Canaan.

Resistance was also fueled by the fact that the land which now constitutes Canaan was originally designated for a different use. It was slated to become a business park. Before the earthquake, 10 square kilometers had been dedicated for an Integrated Economical Zone projected by a Haitian group of business owners called NABATEC S.A. (International Finance Corporation 2011). Having lost the land, these owners were now seeking compensation from the government (HGW 2013b).

In addition to these legal squabbles, claims that the site of the official camp Corail-Cesselesse was in fact unsuitable for housing fueled the debate. Because Corail-Cesselesse sits in a flood risk area, housing projects, so the argument, should never have been realized there (HGW 2013a). Later this claim could be substantiated by flood risk modeling of students from the Technical University of Munich (Hannemann/Werthmann/Hauck 2014; Heimhuber/Hannemann/Rieger 2015).

Given the government's conviction that there should have been no informal settlement in the first place and that further settlement should be discouraged, major aid organizations initially stayed away from Canaan. Ironically, some residents claimed that the later absence had positive side effects, since some aid organizations seemed to create unrest by distributing free handouts in the nearby Camp Corail (HGW 2013b). Only a handful of small organizations tried to help Haitians in their settlement efforts; most were left to their own devices.

With time, the settlement consolidated further, and it became apparent that Canaan's residents were here to stay. Looking at the sheer number of resi-

Fig. 3. Larger house constructions signal informal real estate speculations by more affluent citizens of Port-au-Prince (2013) (© Johann-Christian Hannemann).

dents and the acute lack of alternative housing options, the impossibility and futility of relocation became evident. In 2013, the government (and the international community) changed course and started to plan for improving the area. In 2015, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the American Red Cross (ARC) issued a call for proposals for a 14 Million USD project entitled *Canaan Upgrading and Community Development* (CUCD), a project designed in close collaboration with the Government of Haiti's Unité de Construction de Logements et de Bâtiments Publics (UCLBP). The program seeks to "expand livelihoods opportunities, improve living conditions, and become a safer, more integrated community." (ARC 2016) One focus lies on social engagement and the preparation for future disasters. Given the size of the settlement, the public infrastructure, and the restructuring that is needed to support Canaan and all its neighborhoods in a sustainable way, the potential impact of the *Canaan Upgrading and Community Development* project can be but limited and needs to be understood as a hopeful first step (Ward 2015; (Fig. 3, 4, and 5).

Fig. 4. The neighborhood Onaville in 2013. Housing construction is now more durable. The residents have started to plant gardens. In the background, erosion and landslides are visible in the mountain range (© Mariana Aramayo Donoso).

3 A New Mode of Engagement

Questions of how Canaan will develop in the future are paramount (see also the report of our research group: Hannemann/Werthmann/Hauck 2014). Yet a few important lessons can be drawn from Canaan's genesis with regard to post-earthquake reconstruction and in the context of housing for low-income citizens in general:

- Land is key.
- Understand housing as a process.
- Support people and not products.

After a major catastrophe with so many citizens living in camps, there was obviously great pressure on the state, the private sector, and the international community to provide housing. However, Canaan has proven that the key issue is not the provision of finished housing but the provision of land for people to build housing. Once the land was released along the Chaîne des Matheux mountain range, the individual desire of rebuilding one's own life was able to manifest itself there a thousandfold. This urge was so strong, that people were will-

Fig. 5. Canaan with its various neighborhoods continues to grow with new construction in less desirable places like steep slopes (2013). (© Johann-Christian Hannemann).

ing to take their belongings and move far away from the city onto a dry patch of land without infrastructure. In this sense, Canaan is a true *Arrival City* (Saunders 2010) that is built on hope and the wish to progress. Therefore, Canaan should not be denigrated as a "slum," but as a huge construction site of a city in progress. Society should not block but rather use this energy to support the residents in their individual quest to move ahead. In order to better understand the development process of Canaan and find ways to assist the settlement, a small group of students of the Technical University of Munich have been engaged in the area since 2012. The interdisciplinary composed group called *Urban Strategies for Onaville*[1] focuses on the participative development of landscape and urban areas in Onaville (a sub-neighborhood of Canaan consisting roughly of 11,000 inhabitants). The engagement mode is simple, low-budget, and works on a grass-roots level. Individual TU master students of landscape architecture, urbanism, environmental engineering, and environmental resource management work on- and off-site as part of their final thesis in collaboration with TECHO-Haiti. TECHO-Haiti is a Chilean non-governmental youth organization which

1 Initially formed under my guidance and now led by Prof. Regine Keller and Johann-Christian Hannemann, the group members represent various disciplines such as landscape architecture, urbanism, environmental engineering, water resources engineering, river basin management, ecological sanitation and silviculture.

has had a permanent presence in Onaville and engages Haitian volunteers since the inception of the settlement. In a community center, challenges on the ground are discussed with residents in so-called work-tables (creole *tab travay*). Much research has been dedicated for the identification of and adaptation to environmental risk, foremost flooding and erosion; two serious issues that initially were not fully apparent to citizens who were new to the Onaville site. Students have produced contextual knowledge through modern technologies such as GIS analysis, digital flood and urban scenario modeling; such knowledge subsequently informs the work-tables and is discussed with the residents. For example, residents have been made aware of flooding risk in their area. Besides rising awareness and knowledge in the community, concrete actions were identified that could be executed with small budgets by the residents themselves. For example in 2013, residents have started to implement simple but highly symbolic activities, such as mounting street signs and names.

Besides jointly developing knowledge in the community, the group *Urban Strategies for Onaville* made this contextual knowledge available to Haitian planning authorities such as the Comité Interministériel d'Aménagement du Territoire (CIAT) and the Unité de Construction de Logements et de Bâtiments Publics (UCLBP) and to current site actors of the international community such as UN-Habitat, USAID, and the ARC.

Throughout this bottom-up work, the group found that one of the most important challenges was to engage in effective and sensible communication with residents. As the goal was to create knowledge and potential approaches in concert with the residents in the work-table setting, students developed a mode of simple hand sketching in order to communicate e.g. environmental principles of water systems or their computer-generated flood hazard modeling.[2] Over the course of time, these sketches led to the development of small manuals on specific topics, which the participants could keep after the workshop was over. For example in 2014, these manuals were distributed in form of fliers to over 200 households so as to make residents aware that they are living in flood risk zones. While the universal language of drawing by hand is a proven example of a communication approach that transcends language and cultural boundaries, there seems to be ample room for further innovation (Fig. 6 and 7).[3]

2 Sketching also helped to communicate research findings and potential risks with illiterate residents.

3 For example into the communication method of "singing": There is apparently a Haitian tradition of the oral transmission of critical knowledge through singing as overheard by a colleague in a community meeting where the text of the songs described how to behave in a hurricane (Ergin 2012).

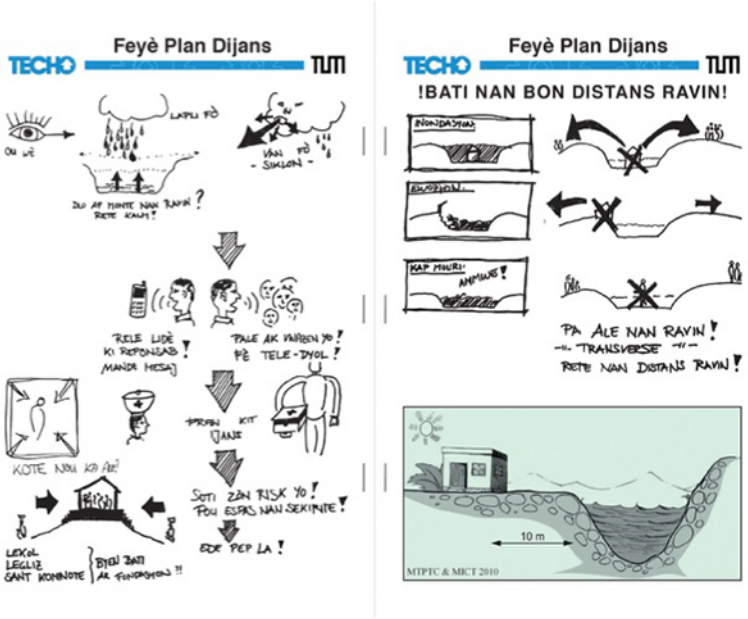

Fig. 6. Section of a community manual for disaster risk management (© Johann-Christian Hannemann).

Fig. 7. Work session situation (© Johann-Christian Hannemann).

4 The Way Forward

The TU Munich group experiences in Canaan raise the wider question whether one could steer the individual forces of spontaneous construction in order to generate self-built cities without the negative side effects of uncontrolled construction.

Indeed, there have been attempts to do so since the 1960s. Planners and governments experimented with approaches that purposefully blended formal and informal construction processes (Werthmann/Bridger 2015: 171–176). In the so-called *Sites and Services* approach (World Bank 1974), land is made available, parcels are laid out, streets are built, and basic infrastructure is provided or built together with future residents. Housing options range from providing an empty parcel for full self-construction to the provision of half houses to fully built-out dwellings (pending on the construction capacities of the individual household). Construction training is offered to build houses properly. Environmentally risky and sensitive areas are avoided, and community formation is initiated through group construction and collaborative planning. Public space is set aside. Housing and urban development is understood as a long-term process and not as a finished product. Future residents are not considered passive recipients of handouts but are seen as the real shapers of their new community supported and guided by expert knowledge. Their capacity to fulfill this role is enhanced by social and financial support.

Although the approach sounded very promising, *Sites and Services* methods of the 1960s unfortunately did not enter mainstream practice. Compared to the instant provision of finished housing, visible success can take decades to manifest itself in these incremental cases. Therefore, an incremental housing approach appears unattractive for politicians (and donors), who would like to be rewarded with instant progress (see the Zoranje housing example in Haiti as a study in case: Werthmann/Thompson/Weissman/Brickman Raredon/Ergin 2012). However, in the face of massive global urbanization, where most governments with exploding urbanization rates cannot afford to provide finished housing for the huge numbers of low-income housing seekers, an incremental housing approach might be the *only* viable alternative compared to informal urbanization. Therefore, the core principles of *Sites and Services* have been revived and further refined by many contemporary planners and designers. In Chile, some of the most recent examples of incremental housing developed by Pritzker price winner Alejandro Aravena and his team can be visited (Elemental 2016). In Egypt and El Salvador, the positive gestation of 30 year old *Sites and Services* projects has been documented by MIT scholar Reinhard Goethert (Werthmann/Bridger 2015: 171–176; SIGUS 2008). Shlomo Angel of New York University has proposed some very simple rules for city expansion through dirt

grids (Angel 2011), and David Gouverneur of Pennsylvania University has put forward a system of robust armatures to plan for "future informal settlements." (Gouverneur 2015: 163–200) Individual approaches differ and, obviously, have to be adapted to the cultural and economic realities of each country and region.

However, it is clear that humankind has to find solutions to direct the massive urbanization wave of the next decades into better channels. The rise of Canaan taught us a very important lesson in this context. It has proven again that a group of individuals can be a formidable force for building a city when they are given land. The main challenge lies in the democratic, collaborative, and fair channelization of these forces, the acceptance of incremental housing processes by politicians and the donor community, the adequate provision with infrastructure and public space, and a fundamental financial and legal reform to enable the provision of affordable land in appropriate locations.

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Johannes Bohle

Sustainable Urban Planning? Reflections on *Bon Air* and *Trénelle-Citron*

La ville de Césaire est une ville d'intégration.
(Philippe Kenjah Yerro: "Variations sur l'en-ville en crise", 2013, 209)

1 Introduction

Accounts of the Caribbean reflect that the Caribbean was, during the colonial period, a mostly rural region. This has dramatically changed, as approximately two-thirds of the populations now live in urban areas. Consequently, issues of environment and sustainability in the Caribbean should be regarded as urban issues. According to Martinican urbanist Bruno Carrer, the Caribbean city is currently in crisis (Carrer 2013). Whether this crisis is seen as social, financial, economic, climatic, or environmental, sustainability is presented as the solution.

Fort-de-France (Martinique) presents a good example for studying how multi-faceted and contested (g)local discourses of sustainability are thriving and it is these discourses which re-shape urban spaces in the region. For the last 70 years, urban planning in Fort-de-France has been influenced by its long-time mayor Aimé Césaire and his successors, who, as the quotation above highlights, have pursued a specific urban policy, namely that of integrating the incoming, uprooted rural populations into the *mangrove urbaine* (Césaire 1956 [1939]; Letchimy 1992; Yerro 2013).

The text at hand examines challenges and perspectives for sustainable urban planning in the Caribbean by analyzing two sites in Fort-de-France: the *cité* Bon Air (a public housing ensemble) and the *bidonville* Trénelle-Citron (a former informal settlement). The two main challenges for these sites are housing conditions and public transport. The analysis of both shows that with recourse to spatial planning and sustainability different conceptualizations come into being. Urban planning framed discursively as *sustainable* may not necessarily prove *adequate* for all sites and their respective histories.

Sustainability represents the widely promulgated vision for urban planning, as Wilson summarizes: "Sustainability is typically defined as a neat and tidy mix of nature, entrepreneurial restructuring, strategically built and placed physical infrastructure, enhanced environmental planning and imposing of pollution controls, and ideally situated growth nodes in one small package." (Wilson 2015: 1) As a consequence, the notion of sustainability is not value-free. Hence, in this text, sustainability is understood as an apparatus (*dispositif*) in the Foucauldian sense. That means "[…] a thoroughly heterogeneous ensemble consisting of discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions […]." (Foucault 1980: 194) The two chosen examples reflect different understandings of sustainability. In the *Bon Air* project, it is a technocratic understanding: sustainability shall be achieved by distinct architectural forms and the usage of specific material(s). In *Trénelle-Citron*, another understanding frames sustainability within identity: sustainability is conceived as a form of living in accordance with inherited forms of living.

2 Reflections on Sustainability from a Political Geography Perspective

With regard to the analysis of sustainable urban planning in the Caribbean from a political geography perspective, two main points have to be considered. First, the dynamics evolving around sustainability as a discursive field for international, regional, national, and local politics and policies. Second, the challenge of adequate scalar framing of environmental problems.

As a buzzword and (to some extent) discursive polish for greenwash campaigns, the term sustainability is difficult to grasp and to put in a useful critical context. Nevertheless, there are two ways in which it proves useful. First, sustainability is important for the Caribbean territories in their quest for climate justice, most notably within the political agenda of the SIDS (Small Island Development States). With recourse to discourses of sustainability and linked imaginaries, as well as images, of low-lying islands threatened by sea level rise, SIDS are able to intervene on the discursive field of global and international politics and decision making, predominantly on the scale of United Nations bodies. In this way, discourses of sustainability help to communicate concerns about their threatened position due to climate change.

Second, sustainability has great potential to challenge dominant growth and development paradigms as it reminds one of the interactional character of human-environment relationships. For instance, the shift to sustainable livelihoods puts greater emphasis on people's capacities to cope with challenges and

adapted forms of living which are less oriented to exploitation of the environment. On the one hand this changes the perception of individuals or societies as passive and vulnerable, to rather active and thus functions as form of empowerment. On the other hand, this results in practices which might allow better living conditions and less environmental degradation (Prudham 2009; Rhiney 2015).

The adequate scalar framing of environmental problems may be identified as a major epistemological challenge. For instance, "[p]olitical ecologists have argued for the need to problematize global environmental discourses and their tendency to gloss over local difference and localized environmental practices and values." (Allen 2014: 524) The predominant focus on top-down and/or bottom-up approaches can lead to a biased understanding of scale and thus risks that some problems are obscured due to the overemphasizing of one particular scale of analysis. The trend towards technocratic solutions for social and environmental problems intensifies this issue. This becomes obvious when looking at vulnerability maps, as well as global climate models and scenarios. These work on a spatial resolution that is too wide-meshed to capture small islands like Martinique on a regional scale; they are even less adequate to elaborate on the microclimatic conditions on the island itself (ECLAC 2010). However, these maps, models, and scenarios are the basis for political action and decision making. To acknowledge the intertwined and cross-scalar character of a phenomenon may help to avoid obscuring its nature by privileging one scale over another (Dodman/McGregor/Barker 2009).

While social and environmental challenges in the Caribbean result from a place-specific history and geography, such challenges should be acknowledged without using spatially deterministic explanatory models. Taking this into consideration may help to understand the importance of local history and identity for the development of place-based solutions as the following discussion of examples from Fort-de-France will show.

3 Urban Sprawl and Urban Planning in Fort-de-France

Although representations of the Caribbean environment tend to create the image of islands bathed in shimmering colors like green (lush forests), yellow (edenic beaches), and blue (clean waters), the majority of Caribbean people live in a far less colorful reality made up of grey concrete buildings and brown dusty roads. Estimations of the region's population living in urban areas range from 65% (Dodman/McGregor/Barker 2009: 366) to 70% (Marc/Saffache 2011: 435). Although the Caribbean has to be understood as mainly urban, there is a clear lack of urban studies of the region (Jaffe/de Bruijne/Schalkwijk 2008).

Therefore, the re-shaping of urban Caribbean landscapes needs to be examined further, particularly with regard to transportation and living conditions.

After decades of uninhibited urban growth and sprawl and the rise of (to some extent subsequent) social urban problems like violence, segregation, exclusion, and exposure to natural hazards, the search for sustainable urban forms of living has become more prominent. Unlike in other regions of the world, in most parts of the Caribbean it is nearly impossible to draw on indigenous experience and knowledge. At the same time, one should be careful when applying and transferring policies and practices that were adapted for and created in other parts of the world to the local Caribbean situation (Verrest/Moorcroft/Mohammed 2013). Sustainable urban planning is an urgent matter, postulating that a sustainable city has fewer problems. It should not be forgotten that there is an underlying discourse inherent to this understanding of sustainability, namely that the marginalized urban populations are the cause of environmental problems and not the victims of environmental degradation and global change (Jaffe 2016). The key question for the analysis of the two following examples from Fort-de-France is therefore: How is sustainable development framed and which reasons drive the actions taken?

In the colonial period, Fort-de-France was Martinique's secondary city, mainly of military significance. After the capital St. Pierre was destroyed by the volcanic eruption of *Montagne Pelée* in 1902, Fort-de-France became the political and economic center of the island. In the beginning of the 1950s, the population began to grow rapidly, from 60.000 in 1954, to 100.000 in 1969 (Martouzet 2001). Today, there are 87.000 people living in the *commune* of Fort-de-France, and 162.000 in the *arrondissement* of Fort-de-France (INSEE 2014). This population growth may be attributed to the decline of sugar cane production which led to a rural exodus. The migrating rural population settled in the non-urbanized areas surrounding the town center, notably along the coast, along the courses of rivers, and on the steep hills. The town center itself was (and is) located in a drained former mangrove below sea level. In other words, settling in and around Fort-de-France was and continues to be marked by risk and exposure to natural hazards such as flooding or landslides (Mavoungo/Saffache 2005).

Transport is a major issue for Martinican society. The geographical location of its capital Fort-de-France, the small amount of public transport possibilities, and the wide dispersal and use of private cars are key factors in this context (Martouzet 2001). In 2010, Martinique counted 204.400 cars, which corresponds to 515 cars per 1.000 inhabitants. Most trips are made in the Fort-de-France area which leads to up to 118.000 cars per day on the main bypass *la Rocade* and to daily traffic jams. These occur notably in the morning and in the afternoon, because 81 per cent of the employees take their own car to commute

(DEAL de la Martinique 2014; Tailamé 2011). It is clear that the resulting expenditure of energy and pollution creates environment and health issues. In this context, a recent report of the International Development Bank (IDB) states: "Commuting to work not only has clear disadvantages in a country which imports all of its oil, but also results in an increase in greenhouse gas emissions." (McHardy/Donovan 2016: 8) In order to relieve stress from the road system, a new public transport system will be inaugurated in the course of the year 2016. The *Transport Collectif en Site Propre* (TCSP) is a system of buses with exceptional length (24m). Running on a separate lane parallel to the motorway, it connects the airport with downtown Fort-de-France, the section with the highest traffic volume ("Toutes vos questions sur le TCSP!", 2015).

The other major issue for Martinican society is living conditions. Key to the understanding of this issue is the historical integration of the incoming rural population into the city. Two distinct patterns can be discerned regarding Fort-de-France's incoming rural population: They either created informal urban settlements themselves or were put in public housing ensembles by the administration. Indeed, Bon Air and Trénelle-Citron are characteristic for these patterns. Bon Air is a *cité*, a public housing ensemble, and Trénelle-Citron is a *bidonville*, an (originally) informal settlement.

The Bon Air ensemble is located about one kilometer northeast of the town center, halfway to the city bypass *la Rocade*. It was constructed in 1964 and most of the units were sold to the residents in the 1980s. Currently, there are 321 accommodation units in three buildings, 90 per cent of them occupied. Almost 500 people live in the buildings which have fallen into decay since the property company pulled back in 1987. In addition to the buildings' decay and their exposure to especially seismic risks, many of the inhabitants face a difficult social situation: 40 per cent are unemployed and 40 per cent are over 55 years old (Ville de Fort-de-France & GIP-GPV 2009).

In 2006, planning began for the project *Bon Air ÉcoQuartier Caribbéen*, whose aim is to establish the first eco-neighborhood in the Caribbean. The plan is to tear down the buildings and to rebuild them at the same location. In order to achieve the goal of being the first eco-neighborhood in the Caribbean, the planning committee has defined guidelines for the project, the main points being: the use of natural resources (rain water, solar energy), the use of local building material, the integration of the inhabitants into the construction process during all stages, and a construction which benefits from the site's topography (notably, the view and the natural cooling by winds). During the destruction and reconstruction of the buildings, the inhabitants shall be accommodated in a nearby neighborhood. Integration into the city's infrastructure is of crucial importance for the project and the new buildings are planned to be better connected to the surrounding districts and to the new public transport TCSP.

500 units are planned and 320 of them will be council flats. The current inhabitants have priority for buying or renting units in the new buildings. Nevertheless, many of them fear that they will not be able to pay rent or buy in the new eco-neighborhood. They assume prices or rent will be significantly higher ("On dirait qu'on vit dans la poubelle!", 2015). Demolition is about to start and the project is planned to be finished in 2022 (GIP-GPV 2010).

In the context of Bon Air, sustainability is discursively framed as linked to a harmonious lifestyle and local identity. Structural modifications in the new buildings (local building material, use of natural resources) and an architecture adapted to local conditions (earthquake-proof, ventilation, etc.) shall be "[…] in harmony with our lifestyle." (GIP-GPV 2010, Translation J.B.) Through a mix of old and new residents, in terms of age and years lived in Bon Air, the new construction aims to "[…] maintain the Bon Air spirit" (GIP-GPV 2010, Translation J.B.) and make the buildings attractive for new residents. Comparing the official discourses (local lifestyle harmony and *Bon Air spirit*) with the worries of the residents, the new eco-neighborhood Bon Air finds itself in the tension between sustainable development as improvement of living conditions and sustainable use of natural resources, on the one hand, and fear of gentrification and its effects (high living costs, uprooting, segregation), on the other.

The second case presented in this text, the district of Trénelle-Citron, is located north of the town center and separated from downtown Fort-de-France by the city bypass *la Rocade*. It covers the hill between the riverbed of the *Rivière Madame* in the west and the top of the *Morne Garnier* in the east. This corresponds to an area of approximately 44 hectares and a difference in altitude between 110 and 130 meters. It is unknown how many people are currently living in the area. However, realistic estimations suggest around 5000 inhabitants (Gauvin/Carrer 2015). The settlement of the area occurred unstructured and illegally. The settlement's evolution is emblematic for several similar cases in Fort-de-France and may be subdivided in four phases.

At the beginning of the 1940s, in a first phase called *la squattérisation*, rural population occupied the land and established first provisional dwellings, mainly using wood and corrugated iron. The second phase was characterized by the replacement of the first dwellings by single-story houses resembling the typical rural *case créole* grouped around a free space in the middle of several houses, also described as a *lakou*. This *lakou*-structure is widespread in many marginalized Caribbean neighborhoods. It consists of a multi-household arrangement, where several dwellings share a common plot of land and often common access to resources like, for instance, potable water (for a detailed discussion of this and additional meanings of *lakou* see Rey 2001). One important element of this *lakou*-structure is a backyard garden (*jardin créole*) which provides herbs and vegetables. Over time, these houses were reinforced (a phase

called *la durcification*) and then eventually expanded to multi-story buildings. Characteristic for the evolution of the area is the system of mutual help in the community, called *technique du coup de main*. The structural (dwelling around a communal yard) and social (mutual help) organization of the settlement has led to a variety of social practices which regulate access and living together in the area (Chamoiseau 1992; Rey 2001; Saffache 2000).

From the beginning, the population of the area was not just tolerated by the local authorities but actively supported. Rapidly, the area was connected to the urban infrastructure. At the same time, the incoming rural population was discursively portrayed as the basis of a new self-confident black Martinican identity. This discourse was mainly introduced by the mayor and chairman of the *Parti Progressiste Martiniquais*, Aimé Césaire (Césaire 1956 [1939]; Fonkoua 2013). Until today, there is a strong link between the party and the marginalized populations of districts like Trénelle-Citron.

I have argued elsewhere that in Trénelle-Citron, current quarrels about urban planning are dominated by competing discourses of risk, security, identity, development, progress, and heritage (Bohle 2015). While expert and academic discourses emphasize the exposure to natural hazards and the danger of living in the area, political and institutional discourses highlight aspects of local identity, social cohesion, and heritage, and thus favor little intervention. From the governmentality perspective taken here, clientelism, like in other Caribbean urban marginalized communities, seems to be the driving force behind urban planning practices (Bohle 2015).

Today, one can observe a rediscovery, or reappraisal respectively, of the backyard garden which provides the inhabitants with medical plants, fresh fruits, and vegetables (Marc/Saffache 2011). The backyard garden is seen as an economic strategy and as a space of social cohesion and interaction. Its origins go back to practices of the enslaved African people in the plantation system. Hence, it links the heritage of indigenous and enslaved people to today's population of marginalized communities. It thus connects the rural and the urban. In this way, backyard gardens are considered as possible local archetypal practice of sustainable development (Marc/Saffache 2011).

4 New Trends and Future Ideas

A recent project which addresses the outlined key challenges for sustainable urban planning in Fort-de-France seeks to build a cable car (*téléphérique*) which connects downtown with the settlements on the surrounding hills. In this regard, cable cars in Medellín (Colombia) serve as an example. The main idea is to better connect marginalized areas like Trénelle-Citron to the city center and

to improve the interconnectivity of the different infrastructure options (for instance, the TCSP, the network of local buses, the ferry system, the airport, etc.). The project's other main aspect is to guarantee the mobility of an increasingly aging population. Due to the described evolution of Trénelle-Citron, there is not much space for traffic, just a few very narrow streets and limited points of entry. Many buildings are only accessible via stairs or by passing through backyards. Trénelle-Citron is indeed enclosed and separated from downtown. There is a need to use special vehicles to assure services; small buses, for instance, are used for the existing transport route and quad bikes for mail delivery. A cable car might be the way to support a connection between downtown and the area, especially for people with limited mobility. In this way, it may be able to bridge the gap between the enclosed area and the city. The advantage of a cable car lies in its rather facile implementation. A cable car would not require significant changes in the urban structure and could be easily adapted to the area's topography. The main challenges are the high costs and the needed system's adaptation to risks like earthquakes and hurricanes (Gauvin/Carrer 2015). The project is still at a very early stage, but it nevertheless illustrates an adaptive approach to improve urban integration in Fort-de-France without demolishing buildings and/or changing the character of the area.

5 Conclusion

Sustainability is never neutral. The text at hand shows how sustainability might be understood as an apparatus that shapes urban planning. The two presented sites in Fort-de-France reflect two different outcomes of this apparatus: the one is characterized by technocratic approaches that reflect European ideas of sustainability as a development paradigm to some extent; the other by locally adapted and inherited popular practices based on solidarity and mutual help.

Taking a normative standpoint, one might advocate an integrative approach to urban planning in the Caribbean, favoring place-based solutions. That means bringing together popular local practices and technical measures adapted to social and environmental circumstances. The above presented sites in Fort-de-France contain useful elements for such an endeavor. Priority should be given to improve people's living conditions and reduce environmental degradation. Both are inseparably entangled, as Aimé Césaire underlines: "Avant de parler du logement, il faudrait […] parler de l'habitat." (Césaire 1992: 7)

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Environmental Justice in Jamaica: Documentation, Dissent, and Protest[1]

For ten years, I have been part of a movement to stop bauxite mining in Cockpit Country, Jamaica. As part of this effort, I have produced two documentaries, six short videos, and managed media campaigns including radio, television, print and social media.[2] In this plenary, I present the demands for environmental justice by communities organized against the expansion of the bauxite industry in Jamaica as examples of dissent and protest and explore the role documentation plays in the organization, participation, and dissemination of such dissent and protest.

Those with the least formal power and status suffer the most from the impacts and outcomes of environmental degradation, i.e. pollution, deforestation, dumping, water diversion, droughts, floods, disease, or population displacement. In any society, there are those who are considered less than others, and sacrifice on their part or their erasure for the 'Greater Good' is often an accepted part of national discourses of unity and progress. For example, during Ronald Reagan's presidency in the 1980s, National Sacrifice Zones were proposed where rehabilitation would not be required: policies included the dumping of toxic waste on native lands and removing native peoples off Indian Reservations so that toxic uranium mining could take place without rehabilitating the land or compensating those affected (Ojibwa 2014). Long before the development of these National Sacrifice Zone strategies, all empires and colonial powers have used their colonies/satellites/zones of control as sites of extraction and dumping grounds for unwanted waste and unwanted people. For example, the Pacific Ocean was a Sacrifice Zone long before Japan began dumping Fukushima nuclear waste into it in 2011. In addition to decades of nuclear, ballistic, and missile testing, fourteen nations dumped nuclear waste into the

1 This paper is a reworking and updating of my original talk in the plenary "Environment and sustainability in the Caribbean" in October 2015.

2 For the video productions I refer to my youtube channel: https://www.youtube.com/user/mediavagabond/videos.

Pacific Ocean between 1946 and 1993 (International Atomic Energy Agency 1999).

Following the logic of Sacrifice Zones, Riverton City dump, Jamaica's largest garbage disposal facility (noxious and consistently on fire), is situated on the outskirts of Kingston in the middle of low income communities, many of whom make a living scavenging from the dump. The massive unplanned expansion of urban areas such as Kingston, which went hand in hand with a catastrophic lack of proper waste disposal, began to a large degree by the impoverishment and displacement of rural communities. Similarly, bauxite mining, beginning in Jamaica in the early 1950s, is a principle cause of rural population displacement. It caused the migration of over 300,000 people who relocated to urban areas within Jamaica. Additionally, many more increased Jamaica's massive diaspora, primarily in the United Kingdom but also in North America (Windsor Research Centre 2014).

In Jamaica's 2016 election, the People's National Party's (PNP) election slogan was "Step up the Progress," and the Jamaica Labour Party's (JLP) slogan was "From Poverty to Prosperity." The JLP won by one seat. With only 47.7% of the population voting, 2016 was the lowest voter turnout since universal adult suffrage in 1944, except for 1983, when the PNP boycotted the JLP's snap election (The Caribbean Council 2016). This low participation can be viewed not merely as apathy but rather as a form of dissent and protest, a rejection of the electoral and political system. Jamaica is an oligarchy, a society of extreme inequality with a small percentage of the population holding most of the wealth and a large percentage of the population surviving on impossibly low wages and suffering from high levels of unemployment, underemployment, self-employment, and dependency on remittances and patronage. After over 500 years of colonial rule (first Spain, then Britain) that included centuries of genocide, slavery, and other forms of unpaid labour and a political economy completely based on extraction and environmental destruction, ideals of Progress and Prosperity were fundamental to struggles for pre-independence sovereignty and continue as the focus of the post-independence national discourse. Decades of frustration over Jamaica's seeming inability to take off and achieve prosperity fuel an intense development discourse that promotes a united nation "on a mission"; in this context, the proponents of progress seek to achieve First World status by 2030 by means of Jamaica's development plan 'Vision 2030.' (Planning Institute of Jamaica 2009) Any critique of these development goals, material aspirations, and world view (or criticism of the nation state or persons and institutions representing the nation state), is labeled unpatriotic, elitist, disrespectful, out of order, heathen, backward, racist, and hostile to the interest of the Jamaican people. Therefore, even mainstream advocacy groups and NGOs that represent those reviled and/or excluded from the national discourse (such

as LGBT and feminist organizations) also embrace and quote Vision 2030 in their mission, vision, and public statements (see for example The Jamaica Forum of Lesbians, All-Sexuals and Gays/J-FLAG, and We-Change).

Where is a place for democratic dissent in such a deterministic and conformist framing of citizenship? Despite such monolithic aspirations for unity, not everyone is integrated into citizenship and the nation state, not everyone has the capacity to participate, not everyone wants to perform middle class respectability, not everyone agrees with the values, presumptions, and trajectories of capitalism or modernity. Thus, these divergent parts of the population show their alienation, disassociation, and dissent in varying ways. The unlettered and functionally illiterate have little access to the formal economy; deeply rural communities continue to live "slow" lives, engaged with the rhythms of nature and farming, immersed in African cultural continuities and idiomatic Jamaican language. Religious minorities, such as Rastafarians, counter white supremacy and the equation of blackness with badness and inferiority, decry the pursuit of wealth and materialism as vanity, and reject the nation state as the core of identity or authority. And urban Jamaicans with limited economic opportunities aspire to 'live life large,' performing a "loud" culture that does not aspire to middle-class niceness, rejecting, in particular, the cult of respectable married womanhood and polite femininity (cf. Cooper, 1995).

1 The Case of Bauxite Mining in Cockpit Country

Since the 1950s, the government of Jamaica has granted bauxite companies prospecting and mining licenses for almost all of Cockpit Country – a large segment of the Western interior of Jamaica. Because of its karst geology and wet limestone forests, this region has high levels of endemic plants and animals. It is the source of seven major rivers (including the country's two largest) and provides over 40% of Jamaica's fresh water. The forests are important carbon sinks and help cool Jamaica's temperature. Besides its ecological value, Cockpit Country is also culturally significant. It is home to the Leeward Maroons, who, along with the Windward Maroons, fought the British and achieved a sovereign status in 1740 (well over two centuries before the rest of Jamaica). It is further home to indigenous knowledges and practices of self-sufficient rural Jamaicans, whose farming is important for the country's food security, and whose daily lives are not wedded to the prevailing economic activities of servicing tourists, hustling, scamming, and vending imported goods.

Bauxite is a combination of minerals that comprise the ore from which aluminum is made. Approximately 30% of Jamaica's soil contains mineable levels of bauxite (Jamaica Bauxite Institute). Bauxite mining is strip mining, i.e. it

includes the removal of all ground cover and top soil. Numerous access and haul roads are built to accommodate very large digging and hauling equipment. The impacts of mining and alumina processing (Jamaica does not do aluminum smelting) include deforestation, soil degradation, noise, air and water pollution, chronic respiratory and other environmental illnesses, loss of habitat for animals, loss of lands for human cultivation, introduction of invasive species, climate change, destruction of the natural and built environments, community disruption and dislocation, and the impoverishment of communities mined or slated to be mined.

In 2006, the government of Jamaica renewed two prospecting permits in Cockpit Country. In response, a coalition called Cockpit Country Stakeholders Group (CCSG) formed to create public awareness and to stop bauxite mining in Cockpit Country. They held formal and informal meetings with communities throughout Cockpit Country, discussing the social, economic, and environmental effects of mining and listening to community concerns. So as to support these efforts, I made a film with Diana McCaulay of Jamaica Environment Trust called *Cockpit Country – Voices from Jamaica's Heart* in 2007. It features a cross section of concerned citizens, including a pastor and St. Ann parish council member, displaced residents from St. Ann, small farmers, Maroon leaders, environmentalists, students, as well as a sience teacher, a high school principal, and an entrepreneur from Cockpit Country. Available as a free DVD and on Youtube, *Voices* was (and still is) screened with informational materials across Cockpit Country at rum shops, schools, churches, in town squares, community centers, and homes. It was also televised on national television. Partly because of the film's reach, the public outcry against mining in Cockpit Country was so loud that the then government (as well as the opposition) promised there would be no mining, and commissioned the University of the West Indies at Mona to implement a boundary study for Cockpit Country to conduct public hearings, and report final recommendations to the government. This was accomplished in 2013 (Webber and Noel 2013), but no government of Jamaica has publicly defined the boundaries of Cockpit Country, nor whether mining will be banned from inside such boundaries.

In May of 2015, the Noranda Bauxite company (ownership: 51% Rusal, 49% Government of Jamaica) breached its mining license by expanding beyond permitted boundaries, cutting a bauxite road into privately owned land at the crossroads of the St. Ann farming communities of Madras, Caledonia, and Gibraltar. In addition, Noranda was (and though since declared bankrupt, still is) conducting prospecting activities across the eastern edge of Cockpit Country. The threatened St. Ann border communities are very aware of the degradation in neighboring districts (such as Lime Tree Garden, Caledonia, Tobolski). A number of male residents are/were long-term employees of bauxite mining

Video 1. Cockpit Country Petition Video.(© Esther Figueroa)
Online resource: http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/id/662647

companies, and having themselves participated in the destruction of such places, are very much aware of what would happen to their own communities if mining were to expand. Residents of Gibraltar, for example, are very proud of their recently expanded school and a very prominent historical Baptist church; having witnessed churches and schools in other communities being bulldozed or ruined, they are fearful that in addition to the loss of their farming lands, such institutions (central to community cohesion, cultural continuity, and economic opportunities) will also be damaged or destroyed.

Located in northern Cockpit Country, Windsor Research Centre (WRC), an original member of CCSG, has been the main force behind research and valuations of Cockpit Country's ecological and social systems. WRC disseminates educational materials, is involved in lobbying, comments on official development plans, and works with communities to resist bauxite mining and other forms of threats to the natural environment and their way of life. Through donor grants, WRC has given over thirty Cockpit Country communities money to assist with organizational meetings, transportation, communication, strategic planning, outreach, media, and advocacy. Upon receiving information from community members on Noranda's actions, Michael Schwartz of WRC documented Noranda's illegal expansion and then met with the affected communities, who quickly organized to oppose the incursion (Video 1).

On July 21 2015, over a hundred people held a rally at the Caledonia crossroads. WRC paid for transportation, lunch, and refreshments, facilitating community members from across Cockpit Country to come together in solidarity. At this point an important question arises: Can there be a protest without media coverage? I had sent out press releases and informational packages to most media outlets. The protesters were expecting media coverage and had discussed strategies to get the media's attention, how best to communicate their messages, and had made placards for the occasion. Of the print media, *The Gleaner*, one of Jamaica's leading daily newspapers, published a piece about the protest ahead of the event but refused to send their leading environmental journalist to cover the rally. However, Peter Espeut, environmentalist and independent *Gleaner* columnist, attended and wrote about the protest and bauxite mining as a human rights violation in his weekly column. *The Jamaica Observer*, also a daily press, sent a crew and published a news piece the day after. AP's[3] journalist stationed in Jamaica did not think the story was worth covering. Of Jamaica broadcast television, CVM sent a crew, and later in the week aired a feature on their Live @ Seven talk show. There was also a person from a local cable station recording parts of the event. Of radio, IRIE FM, the leading radio station in Jamaica, has been a partner publicizing the threats to Cockpit Country, but the journalist who was to cover the event failed to do so. Given the absence of some media outlets and tardiness of others, I became the de facto official media correspondent, because I was documenting the entire event and was familiar to many of the participants. This allowed the rally to begin without other media outlets in place, and the protesters were assured both a record of their efforts and an audience, thereby validating their actions and promoting their goals.

The rally began formally with prayers and welcomes from community leaders representing Gibraltar, Madras, and surrounding areas, who gave their reasons for being against the mining and exhorted their audience to say "No to Noranda" and "No to Mining." Then, a stream of community members from across Cockpit Country and as far as Montego Bay and Kingston spoke in solidarity about the importance of Cockpit Country and the dangers of mining. The process was very democratic and supportive, each person communicated in their own way, and participants were patient with the varying styles and lengths of storytelling that included pedagogic discourse, poetry, impromptu song, call and response, humor, religious references, and Jamaican vernacular culture and language. The speakers made frequent appeal to a power higher than politicians or multi-national corporations, referencing ancestors who had slaved, suffered, and fought for freedom so their descendants could have the

3 Associated Press (AP) is one of the largest news gathering organizations worldwide.

land; they referenced God and Jesus, who had given the land to them so they could be nourished and prosper; they referenced nature as the source of life and their duty to care for the land and pass it on to future generations. They stressed their collective rural identity and traditions through story-telling, emphasizing the richness and fertility of the land; they named, the many plants they grow and which serve as food and medicine, drew attention to the health benefits of clean air and water and their closeness as a people, all the while contrasting this, their own lifestyle with the urban blights of murder, thieving, and mistrust. As one speaker put it: "If you have a ramgoat tie pon you bedfoot when you wake up a morning you no see the ramgoat, the ramgoat gone!" This verbatim quote is an example of the contrast between rural life and the changes that come when one is no longer self-sufficient. With the destruction of their way of life by mining activities, one can expect the introduction of changes in their social environment, that is, the way people relate to each other. The emergence of stealing is shown as one consequence.

After everyone had their say there was a break for lunch. By this time, Noranda officials had called the police and several police cars were parked at the site, including a hostile officer clad as a civilian who was videotaping everyone. But the protesters were confident, relaxed, articulate, and high spirited in contrast to the presumptions of Noranda officials, their security, and the police, who were expecting burning road blocks, shouting, property damage, and mayhem. Coincidentally, there was a small bush fire nearby, and the police were ready to spring into action claiming the protesters had set it. No protesters had been near the fire and in fact several tried to put it out. I argued with the police – who were intent on breaking up the rally – that they were not to react to the fire since it had nothing to do with the protesters. Tensions increased as we moved to the second stage of the rally, a bauxite mining site in Caledonia. Noranda security had used their vehicles to block the entrance to the haul road and were standing guard. Several police vehicles were stationed and the superintendent from St. Ann was in attendance. The same 'plain clothes' officer was again videotaping the protesters, who stood on the side of the road with their placards when two young brothers from Madras arrived with drums. The protest turned to singing and dancing, improvising folk and revival songs. It was the most free and joyful community dissent I have ever documented in Jamaica (Video 2).

In contrast, on September 23 2015, several busloads comprising about 60 community members from across Cockpit Country (organized as Cockpit Country Communities for Conservation) came to Kingston to deliver letters petitioning various government agencies to not renew pending prospecting licenses and not allow bauxite mining in Cockpit Country. They began their tour at the National Environment Planning Agency and ended with a late after-

Video 2. Cockpit Country Rally Video. (© Esther Figueroa)
Online resource: http://heidicon.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/id/662648

noon press conference in the building of the Ministry of Mines. Their second stop on the tour was Mines and Geology; this government division is based on the 1947 Mining Act and has "general supervision" over all prospecting, mining, and quarrying in Jamaica (Mines and Geology Division.) Here, the group was informed that the Commissioner of Mines was unable to meet with them and that their letters should be given to the security guard. Eventually, it was decided that two group representatives would deliver the letters. After much verbal wrangling, a director of a financial department (who had been observing the proceedings) reluctantly agreed to accept the documents in the parking lot. But when Elderslie community leader Clavie Johnson objected to being "outside in the elements," he agreed to allow "two persons and no camera" to come to his office to deliver the letters. The rest of the group continued to wait outside, Clavie returned and reported that the position of Mines and Geology was that they did not have enough time to prepare for such a large group and felt that they could not adequately accommodate them. This, of the younger members of the group replied, was "pure stupidness." The petitioners had been met with hostility and inhospitality and felt disrespected and disregarded by their government.

2 The Importance of Media Coverage

Documentation was crucial in both the St. Ann rally and the Cockpit Country trip to Kingston. The logic behind both activities was that media coverage would reach larger numbers of Jamaicans, who would then become aware of the threat bauxite mining poses, empathize with these communities, and thus pressure the government and support efforts to stop bauxite mining in Cockpit Country. Over the years, Cockpit Country stakeholders have achieved high levels of media engagement, so both events were successful in getting media coverage and follow up. In addition, my documenting both events as an insider and collaborator gave the participants a sense of safety, support, self-worth, and agency. Police, security personnel, and other authorities are less likely to inflict violence on the public if cameras are rolling; but if there is violence or disrespect, it is documented and participants have video footage as evidence to back up their claims. Thus, while the 'plain clothes' officer was videotaping the St. Ann protesters, I was videotaping him. And when at Mines and Geology the staff treated the Cockpit Country residents with disrespect, I was both questioning the offenders and filming their actions. This gave the participants a sense of their humanity, that their self-worth was still intact no matter the treatment.

The St. Ann rally was designed for media coverage, my camera therefore provided a secondary audience to the primary audience at the rally. Participants could perform in the full knowledge that there would be a larger and more durable audience than the one in attendance; the event would live on beyond the moment. In addition to the speeches they gave, they also spoke individually to my camera. One woman called me over and gleefully showed me sweet potato plants growing through the pavement of the bauxite road; it was a powerful visual metaphor, she was showing me that they as a people, their farming, and their way of life could not be defeated. At Mines and Geology, my camera was seen as a threat by government personnel and I was forbidden to enter their building. But for the participants, my camera was protection, validation, and created transparency. For the record and following this sentiment, community leader Clavie spoke directly to my camera explaining the processes the group was experiencing. For example, that they would rather present their letters to the Commissioner of Mines, but since they could not do, that they assented to present it to another member of the division. This framed his actions as personal and collective agency, and showed that they were making strategic choices on their own behalf.

Documentation (whether research based power point slide shows, informational newsletters and hand-outs, documentary films, or educational videos) has been central to the time consuming process of organizing in Cockpit Coun-

try, a place with far flung communities separated by rugged terrain and bad roads. It was my two films, *Cockpit Country – Voices from Jamaica's Heart* and *Cockpit Country is our Home* which were shown to over 20 communities in the most recent set of meetings and organizing. Because of low literacy levels, face-to-face communication, film and other visual and oral mediums are most effective. In these films, community members see and hear people like themselves, recognize the landscapes, animals, and plants they are familiar with; this helps build trust and confidence, which then leads to participation. Since one of the goals of the movement is visibility, a dissemination of media in multiple formats and platforms and aimed at general and targeted audiences is required. Documentation also creates an archive for future actions. We have evidence of the damage, the lack of proper land rehabilitation, what officials have stated and what they have promised; but most importantly, we have proof that communities came together for a common cause, took actions for themselves, the earth, and generations to come, and that they did so with creativity, joy, hope, and commitment. Thus, we have proof of a truly inspiring and rare moment in Jamaican democracy.

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Anabelle Contreras Castro

Nuevas construcciones de territorialidad e identidad en el Caribe Sur: reimaginar la identidad y la territorialidad desde el *Foro Caribe Sur*

1 Introducción

El Caribe costarricense, como muchos de los Caribes, tiene ya más de cinco siglos de ser depositario y producto de sueños y prácticas de dominio y saqueo iniciados con una espacialización del poder por parte del sistema colonial, que surgió de la mano de su racialización. Ninguna es anterior a la otra, estas se han fundido para existir al interior de un patrón de poder que también es capitalista, patriarcal, euro/occidentalocéntrico y heteronormativo, entre otros componentes, todos de máxima toxicidad. Se trata aquí del lugar en donde desembarcara Cristóbal Colón durante su último viaje en 1502, que es poseedor de tal exuberancia que muy a menudo se cita una carta, de dudosa procedencia, en la que supuestamente el almirante invasor dice estar en "una tierra con un gran litoral lleno de bellezas naturales nunca antes vistas, y muy rica en oro".[1]

Este relato fundacional, originalidad del documento aparte, ya da una somera idea de las dinámicas que tendrían lugar desde la conquista. El presente escrito es un acercamiento a cómo, se discute y re-imagina actualmente el territorio, la territorialidad y la subjetividad, reflejados en las acciones del *Foro Caribe Sur*, una agrupación que nació en el año 2013 como respuesta a la más reciente amenaza de expropiación de los habitantes ubicados en la *inalienable* zona marítimo-terrestre (los primeros 50 metros a partir de la pleamar ordinaria), justificada como medida contra la privatización de las playas y para la defensa del ecosistema al interior de áreas protegidas. Pero como bien sabemos, la protección de la naturaleza solamente es una excusa, pues según la ideología

1 Me refiero a la carta escrita desde Jamaica el 7 de julio de 1503, en la cual relata el cuarto viaje, contenida en el *Libro Copiador de Colón*, aparecido en Tarragona, España, en 1985. Sobre este no hay unanimidad respecto a si se trata de cartas escritas por él. Anteriormente se conocían dos versiones de esta: el *Manuscrito de Salamanca* y la *Lettera Rasissima*, todas presentan diferencias.

neoliberal, por lo que dicha amenaza despierta serias sospechas acerca de las intenciones verdaderas pero ocultas de parte del gobierno y las empresas privadas. Con ese texto se quiere mostrar cómo el Caribe Sur se imagina actualmente, renovando relatos autoexplicativos para funcionar también como 'lugar de resistencia' a partir de algunos hechos, históricos como actuales, que se expondrán a continuación y que nos sirven de ejemplo para entender el Caribe Sur, o sea su territorio y su identidad, en términos de geografía cultural. Para tal ejercicio, que enlace lo social o comunitario, lo histórico y lo espacial, resultará de gran utilidad la teoría del espacio desarrollada por Edward Soja (1989, 1996).

2 Algunos acontecimientos relevantes

Ante la incalculable biodiversidad del Caribe costarricense, tanto conquistadores, piratas, curas, científicos, viajeros y coleccionistas, como empresarios y turistas, muchas personas no han podido escapar a la tentación de proyectar ahí sus fantasías de dominio y saqueo. Para muestra de ello, vale la pena mencionar las plantaciones de cacao durante la colonia, las de banano iniciadas por la compañía *United Fruit Company* y luego por otras empresas, con la consiguiente construcción del ferrocarril (1871–1890) que emprendió el estadounidense Minor Kith, y las cruzadas para 'evangelizar indios' llevadas a cabo por la iglesia católica y otras de corte protestante. Asimismo, vale agregar algunas de las más recientes fantasías. Por una parte, la licitación, promovida por el gobierno costarricense, que ganó la compañía norteamericana *Xplorations* para la exploración y eventual explotación de hidrocarburos en 5634 kilómetros cuadrados que incluyen dos bloques ubicados dentro del Mar Caribe, desde el Parque Nacional Tortuguero hasta el Refugio Nacional de Vida Silvestre Gandoca Manzanillo, y dos bloques terrestres. Esta empresa vendió luego parte de sus derechos a *MKJ y Harken*, que después de su primera exploración, hecha con detonaciones sísmicas en el fondo del mar, anunció la posibilidad de obtener miles de barriles de petróleo así como gas natural (Oil Watch 2004a, 2004b). Por otra parte, es sumamente ilustrativa (y digna de un relato garcía-marquesiano) la propuesta hecha en el año 2002 por la organización de europeos y estadounidenses *País Global de la Paz Mundial*, fundada por el Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, de formar una comunidad utópica, coronar a un rey en Talamanca, y crear ahí el país Rika Shanti Rastra, con moneda propia, ministros y embajadores, y $100 millones para cultivar 10.000 hectáreas de banano orgánico (cf. Herrera 2002). Por último, y no menos absurda, está la actual presencia del Comando Sur del Departamento de Defensa de Estados Unidos en las costas caribeñas.

Sin embargo, para quienes han gobernado en el país, el Caribe hasta hace poco fue importante apenas por la ubicación del único puerto que conecta con Europa, y por las plantaciones de banano; por lo demás, ha sido un espacio habitado por gentes que no han merecido, ni para bien ni para mal, estar entre sus planes de desarrollo. Esta situación prevaleció hasta que en las últimas décadas del siglo anterior, como ya se señaló, se convirtió en espacio de gran potencial para pactos entre gobiernos neoliberales y diversas compañías extranjeras, tanto con fines de abrirle paso a megaproyectos turísticos como para la extracción de minerales.

Paralelamente, este Caribe, habitado por indígenas, costarricenses de diversas procedencias, incluso afrodescendientes ya antes de la construcción del ferrocarril recibió gentes de muchas nacionalidades que después de haber finalizado la obra se quedaron a lo largo del litoral, convirtiéndolo en la zona étnica y culturalmente más diversa del país. Para los empresarios de los grandes proyectos planificados o realizados, este suele ser un espacio habitado por gentes que servirían solo como mano de obra, o bien por gentes que sobran y estorban y, así, estas se enteran de los planes proyectados en su territorio mediante los noticieros y documentos redactados en un estilo sumamente críptico.

Lo que aquí nos ocupa, específicamente, es lo que en adelante llamaremos el Caribe Sur, que va del pueblo de Cahuita, pasando por Puerto Viejo, Manzanillo y Gandoca, hasta llegar a su límite en la frontera con Panamá. Dicho territorio alberga las reservas de los indígenas cabécares y bribris, dos áreas protegidas, un parque nacional que cuenta con una reserva coralífera, áreas de desove de tortugas Baula, Carey y Verde, y el humedal Estero Río Carbón. Es, asimismo, lugar de descanso y paso para muchas especies de aves migratorias. Y así es generalmente descrito, incluyéndo a la gente en la descripción de la biodiversidad, gente que se mimetiza y desaparece en el paisaje 'natural'.

A partir de las últimas tres décadas del siglo pasado, los habitantes del Caribe Sur se han visto forzados a un intenso, e incluso inédito proceso de reconfiguración de la idea de territorio, de sí mismos, de sus relatos de identidad y su territorialidad, y de acciones de renovada ideologización de su espacio. Algunos de estos son:

— La *Ley Indígena* en 1977 y la suscripción de Costa Rica del *Convenio sobre Pueblos Indígenas y Tribales en Países Independientes* de 1989, que llevó a la creación de las reservas indígenas Kekoldi, Bribri, Cabecar, Talamanca, Telire y Tayni.
— La creación del Parque Internacional La Amistad (PILA) en 1982, considerado Reserva de la Biosfera, y su declaración de Patrimonio Mundial por la UNESCO en 1983 y Parque Internacional de la Paz en 1988.

— La creación del Refugio Gandoca-Manzanillo (REGAMA), en 1985, y un conjunto de áreas protegidas, que incluyen la reserva biológica Hitoy-Cerere, el Parque nacional Cahuita y el Parque Internacional la Amistad. Están conformados por 5,013 hectáreas de tierra, 4,436 hectáreas marinas. El REGAMA abarca un 70% de la región del Caribe Sur. Su hoja de ruta, fue acordada en 1998 (el consenso se logró en 12 reuniones y talleres de consulta con el personal del área de conservación. Con la sociedad civil se realizaron 16 sesiones de discusión, además de ocho reuniones y cuatro talleres de consulta abierta).
— La creación en 1998 del SINAC (Sistema Nacional de Áreas de Conservación), como dependencia del Ministerio de Ambiente, Energía y Telecomunicaciones (MINAET).
— La recomposición de su población (éxodo de pobladores y llegada de residentes extranjeros, muchos de ellos hoy propietarios de tierras y establecimientos comerciales).
— La recepción de turismo (como parte de procesos de conversión del territorio nacional en un atractivo turístico) y la presencia de prácticas propias del turismo sexual.
— La transformación de pueblos de pescadores en pequeñas ciudades.
— Las negociaciones de los gobiernos con empresas extranjeras para planes de desarrollo en el territorio del Caribe.
— La resistencia por parte de sus pobladores, con significativos éxitos, ante algunos de estos planes.

Resulta obvio suponer que ante todos estos cambios, se hayan modificado también las formas de auto-pensarse y explicarse de la población. Vamos a revisar algunos de los efectos de diversas amenazas para acercarnos a la auto-comprensión que se tiene en el Caribe como lugar de resistencia.

3 Del suampo al humedal

Antes de que el turismo llegase a ser la primera fuente de recursos para el país, y con ello se comenzara a transformar su enorme riqueza natural en imágenes comerciales, el Caribe Sur era poco más que un suampo, palabra derivada del término en inglés swamp, de connotación despectiva ya que, tradicionalmente, un suampo, como un manglar y un pantano, era un lugar insano, hábitat de ranas y mosquitos, cuyas tierras aledañas carecían de valor. Esa idea moderna de 'selva caótica' se conjugaba con el hecho de que ahí vivían 'negros e indios', es decir, gentes homogenizadas por categorías coloniales, que fácilmente desaparecían fundidas con una geografía desde siempre racializada y descartada

como lugar de interés para el desarrollo. Lo mencionado ha causado situaciones tan concretas como la falta de agua potable, luz eléctrica y carreteras, pero también que quede fuera de planes de desarrollo que explotan y destruyan los ecosistemas.

La apertura de Costa Rica al turismo y la invención de etiquetas como "país ecológico" y "destino verde" (Blog City Express Hoteles; Traffic American 2015), coincidió con la onda multiculturalista, venida del norte a partir de los años noventa, que nos enseña a amar la biodiversidad y a obviar las desigualdades. De modo que pasó por ese Caribe un Adán que renombró las cosas con nuevos conceptos para darles particular existencia y, desde entonces, la zona otrora llamada atlántica pasó a *caribeña*, de habitada por 'negros e indios' a *culturalmente diversa*, los que eran 'negros' pasaron a ser llamados *afro-caribeños, afro-descendientes* o *afro-costarricenses*, los 'indios' *habitantes originarios* y el suampo adquirió el elegante nombre de *humedal*.

Pero, más que simples virajes de nomenclatura, este renombrar el mundo obedece a una transnacionalización de nociones propias de procesos enmarcados en esta fase capitalista neoliberal, que cada día tiene menos que ver con la supuesta protección de los ecosistemas para liberarlos de la depredación local o foránea. Por el contrario, el Caribe Sur se mantiene bajo la mira de múltiples ojos del salvaje neo-extractivismo, ante el cual los gobiernos locales transan gustosos. Asimismo, los cambios conceptuales señalados han repercutido en la forma en la que los habitantes de todo el país, y con ellos los del Caribe Sur, se auto-perciben y replantean su territorialidad.

Esta revalorización de la naturaleza coincide, ya en los años ochenta, con ciertas iniciativas de parte de varios gobiernos (Calderón, Figueres y Rodríguez) que aumentarían una década después con el fin de ofrecer este espacio a la exploración y explotación petrolera. Más tarde, sus habitantes también estuvieron a punto de asistir a la construcción de una marina en Puerto Viejo para 398 yates sobre 18.5 hectáreas de arrecife, promovida en el año 2007. Ambas iniciativas fueron motivo de grandes protestas y organización comunal, que parece haber afianzado la autopercepción de 'lugar de resistencia'.

Actualmente, la amenaza mayor, por parte de instituciones gubernamentales, es la de la expropiación. Esto implicaría demoler pequeños negocios y casas ubicadas en refugios y parques, algunas de las cuales están asentadas en terrenos que sus dueños poseen como patrimonio familiar hace cerca de cien años. Ya en 1915 había una ley que reconocía como ciudad a Cahuita y en 1926 a Puerto Viejo, de modo que existen personas con títulos anteriores a la Ley Marítimo-Terrestre. Además, cabe aclarar que la creación de refugios y parques en la zona incluyó promesas de titulación de tierras que no llegaron a concretarse. Como explica Blanca Arce, habitante de Puerto Viejo, quien no nació en la zona, pero vive ahí desde hace muchas décadas:

> El refugio se crea por iniciativa de algunos pobladores, el objetivo era que la gente quería obtener la seguridad jurídica de sus terrenos, no era para la conservación porque la gente conservaba por su propia forma de vida, eso nunca se dio […]. El gobierno lo quiere para darlo en concesión, pero en concesión ¿a quién? (Arce 2015)

De nuevo, esta convergencia de distintas y conflictivas territorialidades – locales, nacionales y transnacionales – rediseña esta geografía de poder como una arena de contiendas por la soberanía, la autonomía, los derechos ancestrales, las relaciones de posesión, discursos y prácticas jurídicas, control y recomposición de actividades espaciales que reflejan diversos contenidos ideológicos y formas de desigualdad.

Esta amenaza de expropiación fue sustentada, por parte del gobierno, con el imperativo de que debía actuarse en defensa del medio ambiente, pero el fantasma de malas experiencias pasadas revive acompañado de la sospecha de que detrás de esas aparentes buenas intenciones hay procesos transnacionales en marcha, lo cual inquita a la vez que impulsa el enfrentamiento. No queda claro por qué, de repente, sean tan urgentes y necesarias las expropiaciones.

Cuando el gobierno pretende imponer lo que entiende por medidas reguladoras, afecta a diversos niveles las auto-percepciones y las percepciones del espacio. A la vez, limita la capacidad local de organizar, recrear y reapropiarse del territorio de sus moradores. De ahí las palabras de Edwin Patterson, habitante de Puerto Viejo y exdiputado de la provincia de Limón, que inspiraron el título de este apartado: “el suampo era para los negros y el humedal es para los turistas”.

4 De propietarios a invasores y precaristas en terrenos del Estado

Las acciones del Estado avanzan y ya algunos habitantes de las familias más antiguas han sido incluso acusados penalmente, tal es el caso de Selvin Brown, originario de Puerto Viejo y nieto de uno de los primeros pobladores. Como lo explica Blanca Arce, su esposa:

> Aquí, primero no se aplicaba la Ley de Zona Marítimo-Terrestre dentro del Refugio, ahora sí, cuando se suspende un plan solo nos mandan a decir, la inseguridad jurídica es tremenda, en estos momentos no tenemos nada, ni permiso de uso del Ministerio, ni concesión de la Municipalidad, antes de pasar a ser refugio teníamos una concesión de 99 años, que era una condición, después se pasa de condición a permiso de uso […], el permiso es por cinco o diez años, ahora el último término que hemos tenido es que somos precaristas en terrenos del Estado, es una violentación de los derechos adquiridos, históricos […]. (Arce 2015)

Entonces, es ante esta inseguridad total que los pobladores del Caribe Sur decidieron unirse para enfrentarla. Como es lógico pensar, esta acción de unir más la comunidad requiere de medidas que cohesionen, tal es el caso de las emprendidas por el *Foro Caribe Sur*. La situación precaria cambia la relación de los pobladores con sus propias tierras ancestrales. De modo que una respuesta común es reformular los discursos sobre 'quiénes somos' y 'de dónde somos'. Pero, como ya se aclaró antes, la zona del Caribe es la más diversa del país, entonces ¿qué significarían términos como "identidad caribeña" o "afrodescendientes" a estas alturas del siglo y después de haberse dado los procesos antes enumerados? ¿Es aún posible el uso de estos denominadores? O bien, ¿Con cuáles elementos se reconstituye el discurso local sobre la comunidad cuando el enfrentamiento con el Estado debe darse al interior de una comunidad tan heterogénea con esta de la que hablamos aquí?

Por lo tanto, todo lo mencionado se da en una zona geográfica que así se convierte, una y otra vez en lugar de resistencia y espacio de gestión de diversas acciones para su defensa, acciones que replantean las formas de relatar la historia y reinventar el presente. Como ejemplo ya fue hecha una petición a la Defensoría de los Habitantes, por parte de la señora Myrna Pierre Dixon, de la Mesa Nacional Afrocostarricense (Conciencia Limonense 2011), para que estudie la posibilidad de acusar al Estado de Costa Rica ante la Corte Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, en caso de que no se proceda a reconocer los títulos de tierras y los derechos ancestrales de sus pobladores.

5 *Foro Caribe Sur:* repensar la identidad y reapropiarse del territorio como actos políticos

Las comunidades étnicas de nuestro subcontinente, compuestas por personas que siguen siendo 'los otros' a más de cinco siglos de haberse inventado la idea de raza como principio organizador del patrón de poder colonial (cf. Grosfoguel 2007), están asentadas en zonas de riquísima biodiversidad, que según la lógica moderna, se denominan *recursos naturales*. Pero para estas comunidades en las que viven millones de personas, ese es su territorio y continúa siendo trascendental, en términos tanto de relación espiritual con la tierra como de mera subsistencia. Como lo aclara Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui (2013), en muchas partes de América Latina las nociones de territorio, dignidad y soberanía han marcado el contenido con propuestas políticas de diversos grupos étnicos:

> La noción de territorio tiene una dimensión de autopoiesis del espacio, de creación de espacios que son reconocidos como espacios habitados, como espacios vivos, como marcas de la relación entre humanos y naturaleza que

> inicialmente fueron zonas de refugio, fueron territorios donde se refugiaron las comunidades perseguidas […]. La noción de territorio es más una semiopraxis del territorio que una conceptualización digamos nominalista o política, o basada en fronteras, es un espacio productivo pero a la vez es un espacio de autogobierno, es un espacio en el que se reproduce la vida a través de un pacto tácito entre humanidad y todo el mundo inanimado, es una visión cosmocéntrica y relacional, que se opone a la visión antropocéntrica racional e instrumental del territorio que de algún modo está encarnada en el Estado Nación como una postura productivista […]. (Rivera Cusicanqui 2013)

Como ejemplo cabe mencionar el *Foro Caribe Sur*, creado el 23 de abril del año 2013, en el cual han convergido, en distintos momentos, tanto organizaciones comunitarias como personas, pobladoras del Caribe Sur, que trabajan por la defensa del derecho a la tierra. Su objetivo primordial ha sido realizar esfuerzos para informar a los habitantes de esos territorios sobre leyes, adoptar medidas legales, animar a los pobladores más antiguos a defender los derechos adquiridos sobre sus tierras y revitalizar la comunidad a través de un rol permanente de muy diversas actividades políticas, intelectuales y culturales. Entre estas, por ejemplo, festivales de calipso, homenajes a los abuelos y abuelas fundadores, torneos de pesca, charlas informativas sobre temas varios, y conversaciones con caribeños de otros países que pasan por el lugar y tienen experiencias de lucha similares. Este foro reúne tanto a afro-descendientes y costarricenses de diversas procedencias, como a extranjeros de muchísimas nacionalidades y se sitúa, ante prácticas y enunciados racistas, como un centro que reaviva memorias de sobrevivencia y lucha, y potencia diversas discusiones en torno a las ideas de raza, comunidad pluricultural y territorio.

El *Foro Caribe Sur* cuenta con miembros activos y funciona, en gran parte, como un medio (foro virtual) que divulga voces y enfoques, no difundidos por otros medios o redes, sobre temas relacionados con su objetivo de lucha por la defensa y mejora del territorio y sus habitantes, ya definido en 2013. Su blog y su página de Facebook, con mas de 11.000 seguidores, muestra un trabajo periodístico comprometido. Hay que enumerar algunos de los significativos logros de sus miembros más activos:

— La promoción de distintas iniciativas comunitarias para la participación de sus pobladores en el proceso de la toma de decisiones sobre asuntos que les atañen, con miras a que estas sean consideradas por las autoridades.
— La participación en una iniciativa comunitaria que presentó una propuesta para formar parte eventualmente de un régimen especial (agosto de 2014) para la zona, que reconozca su aporte cultural y ecológico y su modelo de economía familiar.
— Su participación en la comisión comunitaria para el alcantarillado (2015), que logró el suficiente peso como para que las autoridades correspondientes

desistieran de construir un recolector submarino para aguas residuales, logrando a la vez no perder el dinero asignado y utilizarlo para tratar esas aguas, sin contaminar el mar ni la tierra, por medio de una planta de tratamiento total.
— El aporte de importantes criterios y metodologías participativas en los debates de las sub-comisiones de Ordenamiento Territorial, la organización de foros universitarios y locales sobre el tema (2015–2016), así como el aporte de criterios y metodologías para la participación comunitaria en la consulta sobre la propuesta de un Parque Lineal para Puerto Viejo y la inclusión de un arquitecto de la zona en el diseño del Parque (2016).
— El compromiso con los derechos históricos, la promoción del turismo cultural y ambiental empezando por los recursos autóctonos comunitarios, la defensa de todos los ambientes marinos y costeros, la diversidad de producción (orgánica) agrícola, la pesca responsable, hasta las construcciones, compras y ventas legales de territorios y el respeto a los derechos adquiridos por los pobladores del Caribe Sur.
— Los proyectos afirmativos para la comunidad multicultural y multiétnica de la zona, el fortalecimiento de las relaciones inter-generacionales mediante la inclusión de jóvenes y niños en diversos proyectos, la promoción de la perspectiva de género y del desarrollo de las mujeres en variados espacios, la inclusión de innovaciones tecnológicas para la participación en redes sociales, las iniciativas para promover la seguridad, la cultura del cuidado, el procesamiento de la basura y la expresión artística.

A partir del 2016 se ha convertido en el *Foro Virtual Caribe Sur*, que cuenta con la presencia de una periodista, dos comunicadores y un consejo editorial que continuarán desarrollando espacios virtuales y comunitarios para que las voces y perspectivas de la comunidad tengan expresión en los medios, sobre todo con énfasis en la metodología de participación comunitaria en los proyectos para la zona y la representación de pobladores y pobladoras en las instancias comunitarias de decisión.

6 Cierre

A pesar de que a menudo se habla en el país de una 'identidad caribeña', y nunca se especifica qué significa, al observarse el *Foro Caribe Sur* poco queda a la imaginación, pues de sus integrantes proceden ya sea de muchas zonas del país o son de diversas nacionalidades; el pueblo ya no es el de hace un par de décadas. Por ello, se ha hecho necesario elaborar un discurso auto-explicativo capaz de hacerle frente al desafío que significa la defensa, que por supuesto

tiene que ser inclusiva y reflejar dicha heterogeneidad. Así, la reivindicación de la cultura con el prefijo 'afro' no bastaría, ya que así se estaría excluyendo a no pocos pobladores, importantes afectivamente para la economía local.

Por otra parte, tampoco se puede abandonar la reivindicación de las raíces africanas y sus respectivas huellas en manifestaciones culturales incluso si se pretendiera hacerlo, lo que no es el caso. Esto por varias razones: Primeramente, dicha reivindicación es lo que parecería más pertinente en el resto del país, no así una reivindicación de extranjeros alegando derechos de propiedad de tierras costarricenses, ya que aún no se les ve como integrantes de la comunidad nacional. Segundo, no se puede celebrar una cultura local que sea producto de la mezcla de todas las culturas presentes y llegadas recientemente porque esta aún no ha surgido. Y no se puede realizar una especie de festival de las diferentes culturas ya que hay pocos extranjeros por país. De modo que, al hacerse actos culturales, lo afro está posicionado por encima de cualquier otra manifestación.

Sin embargo, el discurso auto-explicativo tiene como referencia la composición multicultural de la comunidad, y lo hayamos por ejemplo en las explicaciones de dos personas que representan, por una parte, la diversidad de procedencia de los habitantes y, por otra, rastros de identidad de vieja data. Glenda Halgarson Brown, afro-descendiente de fundadores de la comunidad y directora de la *Casa de la Cultura Marcus Garvey* de Puerto Viejo dice:

> Después de que el cacao y otras fuentes se debilitaron entró el turismo, y como comunidad en sí no se había recibido el apoyo, los que han ayudado a construir en gran parte son personas que vienen de otros países desde hace más de treinta años, que han ayudado, junto con los locales, a ir construyendo este crisol que tenemos aquí en la zona del Caribe Sur. (Halgarson Brown 2015)

Vemos aquí como el concepto de comunidad o identidad afro es desplazado por metáforas tales como crisol, ya de vieja data en el continente, que sí incluyen a los extranjeros y costarricenses de otras zonas.

Por su parte, María Suárez, pescadora y residente puertorriqueña que vive en Puerto Viejo desde hace tres décadas, explicó así, en la Defensoría de los Habitantes, las razones por las que hay que cuidar a la comunidad:

> Lo que hace a este lugar tener las características de lo que puede ser el mundo en el futuro, si resolvemos los problemas del racismo y la discriminación, es que en esas ciudades (se refiere a aquellas multiculturales de los países ricos) a la caída de la noche cada uno se va para su guetto, aquí no, aquí se va a dormir a hogares integrados (se refiere a familias con integrantes de diversos orígenes). (Suárez 2015)

María relata que, ante esta explicación, una funcionaria de la Defensoría le preguntó "¿cuál es la gran cosa de esa característica?", a lo que ella responde:

> La gran cosa es que la mayoría de conflictos y guerras hoy en día son alimentados por las diferencias y los pleitos raciales, de discriminación étnica, aquí no hay pleitos sino una convivencia que tiene contradicciones, tensiones, pero que va más allá de que todo el mundo exista junto en el día y en la noche cada quién para su guetto. (Suárez 2015)

Asistimos, pues, a la construcción de un discurso de comunidad heterogénea de carácter no utópico ubicado en una geografía re-imaginada, pues contempla el conflicto y las tensiones, generadas por prácticas respecto al espacio, pero sin descartar la posibilidad de una comunidad autónoma. La efectividad de las acciones del *Foro Caribe Sur*, no tanto a nivel político como en términos de reconstrucción de subjetividad y cohesión, se puede comprender mejor con los aportes propios del *giro espacial* y, de este, la operación que Edward Soja (1996) llama *trialéctica del espacio*, esto es, el ejercicio de entender el mundo enlazando lo social, lo histórico y lo espacial. Soja, apoyado en la teoría de Henri Lefebvre (1974), llama primer espacio, o *espacio percibido*, a aquel relacionado con lo material, segundo espacio, o *espacio concebido*, a aquel ligado a lo mental y subjetivo, a las imágenes y representaciones de la espacialidad, reflejadas en discursos ideológicos y epistemológicos, y tercer espacio, *espacio vivido* o *espacios de representación*, a aquel ligado a la experiencia social, al mundo simbólico, el de las percepciones, el biográfico (cf. Lefebvre 1974: 14, 17, 42–43). Como advierte el mencionado autor, cada espacio contiene a los otros constituyendo así una complejidad, y cada manera de pensar el espacio es a la vez real e imaginada, concreta y abstracta, material y metafórica.

Repensar y enlazar así la geografía y la cultura, y ver la segunda como constituida en el espacio nos permite interpretarlo a la vez como espacio cultural. Observar las percepciones del espacio nacidas de la experiencia, con un ejemplo concreto como el que aquí se expone, es lo que nos lleva finalmente a una *geografía cultural*. El ejemplo ofrecido nos muestra un lugar de resistencia que, por su larga data, es a la vez real y simbólico, una noción de territorio como locus en el cual se construye lo social y comunitario a través de narrativas geográficas que generan y articulan el presente en clave de lucha y defensa de las condiciones que posibilitan la sobrevivencia.

En ese sentido, los alcances del impacto del *Foro Caribe Sur*, reflejados en una renovada idea de su comunidad y territorialidad, están al servicio de la lucha por la defensa de los derechos ancestrales. Muchas de las acciones que realiza el foro tienen como fin apropiarse cada día un poco más de su territorio y, con ello, de todo lo que se contruye desde y para él. Todo ello sin saber si la lucha por conservar ese patrimonio llevará a ese Caribe a buen puerto o, en su

terrible defecto, al destino que señala el capitalismo en su actual fase, tan altamente perversa.

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Claudia Rauhut

Caribbean Leaders in the Transnational Struggle for Slavery Reparations

In 2014, heads of Caribbean governments of the CARICOM states (Caribbean Community and Common Market), a regional association mainly comprised of the Anglophone countries which were British colonies, adopted a ten-point action plan entitled 'Reparatory Justice Framework' (CARICOM 2014a). This program was designed and presented by the CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC), a regional organization of community activists, academics, and lawyers from different Caribbean countries founded in 2013.[1] The CRC claims reparations for the long-term damage caused by the enslavement of dozens of millions of Africans during the transatlantic trade. The CRC seeks in particular to engage European governments, as descendants of former colonial powers which actively participated in the slave trade (such as Britain, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark), in a dialogue on reparatory justice.

This article deals with the agenda of the CARICOM Reparations Commission (CRC), focusing on the arguments raised by Caribbean leaders and their transnational mobilizations on behalf of slavery reparations. Emphasizing the pivotal role of Jamaicans in both the historical and the present struggle in the Caribbean, I first reconstruct the national as well as international domain within which the Jamaican National Commission on Reparations (NCR) actively advocates for reparations, and address first of all British reactions and policies. I then elaborate on the transnational networks of activism established between the CRC and the US-based National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC), arguing that the Caribbean claims might be conceived as a model for global reparation approaches. The observations here generally rely on the self-representation of the respective reparation groups based on analyses of their websites, declarations, and reports. I also include empirical data from preliminary research in Jamaica in 2014, where I conducted interviews with different members of the NCR; conversations with its chair, Verene

1 See the detailed plan at the following site: https://ibw21.org/commentary/caricom-reparations-ten-point-plan/.

Shepherd, will be of particular interest here. While this article only focuses on the globally visible leaders of the Caribbean movement, in my research I also pay attention to the more heterogeneous social actors, including community activists and their particular positions and narratives in relation to reparations.[2]

1 'Reparatory Justice Framework' for the Caribbean

In a broader sense, the Reparatory Justice Framework of the CRC appeals to the 'righting of a wrong' by implementing measures of compensation at different levels, in order to address the living legacies of the crimes committed against indigenous populations and enslaved Africans and their descendants. In particular, the CRC calls on European states to officially apologize for slavery and to undertake measures to repair its long-term damage. This agenda relies to a great extent on the famous Durban declaration, a document resulting from the 2001 UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa. The conference's final declaration condemned slavery as a crime against humanity and called on the former European colonizing countries for an official acknowledgement and an apology (United Nations 2001). For the first time, it was recognized on a global, international level that slavery has caused structural marginalization and racial discrimination that persists to this day and directly affect the lives of Africans and people of African descent. According to Caribbean activists, however, the Durban agenda has not been sufficiently adopted by European governments: these activists see the new CRC initiative as a kind of renewal of Durban principles, but with a stronger emphasis on the aspect of reparatory justice.

As a key issue, the CRC attributes present fundamental development problems in Caribbean societies to the long-term patterns of inequality caused by centuries of slavery, colonial exploitation, ongoing resource extraction, and the colonial-racialized social orders established during the slavery period. All these structural constraints have significantly affected the economic, social, and cultural developments of many Caribbean countries, and, as reparationists argue, have led to persistent structural damage. Consequently, the CRC's ten-point action plan envisions reparations not as individual compensation for the

2 I would particularly like to express my gratitude to Verene Shepherd, who took time for an interview. She has not only shared her insights with me, but has substantially inspired my reflection on the topic, as other activists inside and outside the NCR have done. For a stronger empirical engagement with their arguments in favor of reparations, cf. Rauhut, 2017. More empirical insights will be explored in my current research project on transregional entanglements in Caribbean activism for slavery reparations.

descendants of the victims of the slave trade, but rather as collective measures for the whole of society. The CRC therefore calls for investment in education, health, work, culture and further requires debt cancellation in order to fight structural poverty, social and economic disadvantage, and racial discrimination of the Afro-Caribbean majority population (CARICOM 2013). Reparations are clearly envisioned as collective measures for coming to terms with the still unresolved legacies of slavery.

The current claims are unthinkable without the historical, longstanding reparations struggle involving numerous individual and collective calls for slavery reparations in different periods. Studies of the reparations issue have increased in the last 20 years and include examples from the US, Africa, Europe and South America as well from the English-, Spanish-, French- und Dutch-speaking Caribbean. While being strongly aware of the different experiences and approaches to reparations, this article focuses on the Jamaican case and further reflects on its current relation to some US American organizations.[3]

The CRC's recent call has however achieved a new level of public and political recognition, as it is supported for the first time not only by community activists, human rights advocates and academics, but also by national governments and international organizations. In addition, it has spread globally through a tremendous media presence and its reception by other international reparation groups. A considerable degree of this success is due to Hilary Beckles, who has chaired the CARICOM Reparations Commission since 2013. He is probably the most prominent and charismatic voice of the current Caribbean reparations movement. Beckles is a professor of history (and current Vice-Chancellor) at the University of the West Indies at Cave Hill, Barbados, and is known for his important work on the history of slavery and abolition in the Caribbean and on the resistance against colonization, enslavement and slavery. In his widely quoted book Britain's Black Debt. Reparations for Caribbean Slavery and Native Genocide (2013), he offers an overview of the global reparations movement, focusing on Caribbean protagonists from a historical perspective.

3 Some reparation approaches in the Spanish-Speaking Caribbean and in Latin America use the term Afro-Reparaciones, cf. for instance Mosquera Rosero-Labbé/Barcelos 2007, cf. especially the contribution of Lao-Montes. For the official avoidance of talks on slavery reparation in France in relation to its former Caribbean colonies, especially in politics and public memory discourse cf. Forsdick 2015. With regard to the Dutch Speaking Caribbean, Suriname, a member state of CARICOM, has established a National Reparation Commission in 2013, cf. http://www.loopsuriname.com/tags/national-reparation-commission-suriname.
A short overview on activism and debates on slavery reparations in Africa is provided by Howard-Hassmann/Lombardo 2008, and with regard to Great Britain by Barkan 2001. The example of the US is going to be examined in this article.

Beckles' book immediately became a sort of guidebook and political manifesto for the current CARICOM claims. He has promoted his ideas on numerous lecture tours, not only in the Caribbean but also at different public institutions, mainly universities, in the USA, Canada, and Europe. Based on a variety of empirical data, he reconstructs in detail the self-enrichment of British royal families, churches, merchants, and intellectual elites through the system of slavery. He relies on a thesis first presented in the 1940s by Trinidadian historian Eric Williams: Europe's wealth and hegemony is rooted in slavery, as the unpaid forced labor of millions of enslaved Africans in highly efficient plantation economies in the Caribbean, and the profits gained by exporting sugar and other raw materials, became the basis of the industrialization process in Europe, mainly in Britain (Williams 1944). As this analytical argument is central to the reparations approach, Beckles pays tribute to Eric Williams and many other Caribbean intellectual and activist leaders in the reparation struggle, past and present (Beckles 2013: 4).

2 Jamaica within the Caribbean Reparation Movement

Jamaicans have played a key role in the historical struggle for reparations, not only in the Caribbean region but also at a global level. The government's establishment of a National Commission on Reparation (NCR) in 2009 was unprecedented in the region. Since 2012, the commission has been chaired by Verene Shepherd, historian and director of the Institute for Gender & Development Studies at University of the West Indies at Mona (UWI) and Jamaican delegate at the CARICOM Reparations Commission. Before analyzing some of her central arguments, I will briefly summarize the historical dimensions of the long-standing reparation activism in Jamaica. This analysis is based on activists' personal accounts, the Report of the Jamaican National Commission on Reparation (2013), and diverse academic publications.

Before the government became involved, there had been a long history of activism for reparations in civil society. Here, Jamaica's Rastafarians were always at the forefront. This group view themselves as continuing the time-honored tradition of resistance against slavery and colonial domination, exemplified since the 17th century in the whole Caribbean and other parts of the American continent by the maroon rebellions. The maroons were enslaved Africans who escaped from plantations and mines and successfully resisted Europeans during the colonial period. Today, in Jamaica (and other Caribbean nations), some communities declare themselves to be descendants of maroons. In Jamaica in the 1930s, some of these self-declared descendants were the first people of African descent to ask the Jamaican government for compensation

for the violence and dislocation they experienced during slavery. Specifically, they asked for land where they could settle their communities (Blake Hannah 2006: 122).[4] Under leader Leonard Howell, the Rastafarians founded their group in the early 1930s as a particular cultural-religious community in Pinnacle, a rural village 20 miles from Kingston. Their practice of 'reasoning' (talking together and exchanging ideas in a non-hierarchical way, often accompanied by spiritual drumming and smoking ganja) contains narratives of anti-colonial struggle, resisting mental slavery, and rejecting the colonialization of thought (Chevannes 1994; Zips 2006). Furthermore, the use of proper language, clothes, religion, crafts, and forms of education and production, as well as the revaluation of African practices are considered decolonial practices which are supposed "to replace those of the Western world system, labelled 'Babylon.'" (Andwele 2006: 15) The Rastafarians have always pointed to the need to talk about slavery through the lens of reparatory justice. Since the 1960s, some Rastafari elders have repeatedly petitioned the British Queen to facilitate their repatriation to Africa as a form of reparation (Shepherd 2008: 25). Both the current NCR and CARICOM's calls for reparation pay tribute to the pivotal role of Rastafari by including repatriation to Africa (for those who desire it) as the second demand in their ten-point action plan (CARICOM 2013). In the 1990s, Jamaican Rastafari leaders started to work on a broader and more organized reparation agenda that went beyond African repatriation. In 1990, the first committee for reparation founded by George Nelson (a.k.a. Ras Makonnen) participated in the first World Conference on Reparation in Lagos, Nigeria. Nelson subsequently planned to host an International Conference on reparation in Jamaica, before suddenly passing away in 1992 (Report on the Work of NCR 2013: 24). In 1993, Abuja, Nigeria hosted the first Pan-African Conference on Reparations for African Enslavement, Colonisation and Neo-Colonisation, where Jamaicans participated with a small delegation. The final Abuja proclamation called for a stronger exchange within the global reparation struggle between Africa and the African diaspora and appealed to the

> Heads of States and Governments in Africa and the Diaspora itself to set up National Committees for the purpose of studying the damaged Black experience, disseminating information and encouraging educational courses on the impact of Enslavement, colonisation and neo-colonialism on present-day Africa and its Diaspora. (The Abuja Proclamation 1993)

Today, the Caribbean – a central region of the African diaspora – is the only region in the world where national commissions for reparation have been foun-

4 For extensive literature on *maroonage* and many other practices of resistance in the Americas, cf. Agorsah 1994; Thompson 2006; Zips 1999.

ded with the support of governments (even if this came 15–20 years after Abuja). Abuja is generally considered a precursor to the Durban conference in 2001. According to Beckles, it was particularly due to the Jamaican delegation, headed by the Rastafarian Barbara Makeda Blake Hannah and other Caribbean activists, that the topic of reparations was debated, even if not in the substantive way they would have desired. Although a consensus could not be reached between the African, European, and Caribbean delegates with regard to legal grounds for reparation, Beckles nonetheless considers the Durban declaration of immense importance, as it laid the groundwork for strengthening the contemporary Caribbean movement. Especially academics, human rights activists, national governments, and international organizations became more involved, making common cause with the long tradition of activism in civil society (Beckles 2013: 191).[5]

Returning to Jamaica, Blake Hannah officially founded the Jamaican Reparation Movement in 2002. It raised considerable public awareness through activities, speeches, debates, and disputes around the celebrations of the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade in 2007, which took place throughout the region as well as in Britain. The Jamaica National Bicentenary Committee, chaired by Verene Shepherd, has repeatedly criticized the hegemonic way of remembering and honoring exclusively the British abolition movement and their role in ending the slave trade. Such a circumscribed history effectively erases from the public memory the preceding 300 years of enrichment by means of a brutal system of exploitation of Africans, as well as the active role of the enslaved people themselves in fighting slavery from the public memory (Shepherd/Reid/Cavell 2012: 14–15; Shepherd 2008: 26–27). Highly offended by the "no apology strategy" of Great Britain, the Bicentenary Committee started to systematize (based on historical documentation and activists' voices) the arguments for slavery reparations in order to reinitiate a debate in Jamaica (Shepherd/Reid/Cavell 2012). The committee also lobbied for the establishment of a National Commission on Reparation (NCR), which was finally set up by the Jamaican government in 2009, first chaired by anthropologist Barry Chevannes, and from 2012 onwards by Verene Shepherd. Due to Shepherd's broad engagement as a scholar, activist, and public voice in local, national, and transnational arenas, the case for reparations has gained a lot of attention and public interest in Jamaica and globally. Together with a coalition of other academics, lawyers, human-rights activists, and representatives of Rastafari groups within the NCR, she has systematically worked on the issue. Not only has she (and her

5 For more on the issue of reparation as discussed in Durban, see also the works of Mazrui 2002 and Howard-Hassmann/Lombardo 2008, which in particular deal with an African perspective on reparations, a view that cannot be elaborated here.

team) prepared a detailed report for the government, but she has brought the topic to national and international institutions and media. All the same, in our interview (which took place in February 2014 in her office at the UWI), she mentioned that the case for reparations is still not sufficiently known to the population – not for lack of interest, but because of systematic disinformation within the education system as well as in the general public discourse. For a long time, according to Shepherd, very little attention has been paid to the memory of slavery. For this reason, the NCR campaigns all over the country in order to raise greater awareness of the reparations agenda and, in particular, to reach people outside of academic and activist contexts. For instance, they have produced a radio jingle, organized several public lectures in the Emancipation Park in Kingston, arranged workshops in schools and colleges as well as in work centers, and convened various youth forums on reparations in cooperation with the African Caribbean Heritage Institute of Jamaica. Education and the spread of knowledge are the focus of ongoing activities and have, according to Shepherd, already achieved considerable resonance among the Jamaican population.

3 States Talking to States

The Jamaican government's support in providing the resources to build a national commission in 2009 is considered as an extremely important achievement by my interlocutors. This is the case for two major reasons: firstly, they feel that their voices were heard and that their claims were discussed seriously among the broader public and in politics. This wider dialogue also helped the movement to grow outside of Rastafarian and academic contexts. Secondly, the national government's support meant that the matter could be discussed between states. In order to transcend a bilateral or unilateral approach (e.g. Jamaica addressing Great Britain only), Shepherd and her colleagues at the CRC envision a regional approach. The CRC is therefore working to encourage the establishment of other national commissions across the region and to facilitate dialog and exchange between them. Shepherd and the chairs of the now 15 existing national commissions meet regularly in order to investigate the particular cases for reparation in each country and to advance a common agenda on how to appeal to European governments.

> So we are happy that CARICOM is on board, because this fight is going to require the support of heads of government. States talking to states, right? This approach is critical because all of the strategies we were using in the past have not worked. So, here is another chance. Let's see where it goes. (Shepherd 2014)

Here, Shepherd indirectly refers to the longstanding initiatives from Rastafarians, community activists, human rights advocates, and academics that had never been responded to by either the Jamaican or the British governments. Thus, while the call for reparations is not entirely new, the fact that the call is now coming from a broader civil coalition and is finally supported by the Caribbean states is truly a watershed. For activists, it means obtaining political backing and recognition of their claims within their local and national contexts. It also opens up new perspectives for negotiations with new actors and within new global networks and arenas. Indeed, it is widely due to the pioneering work of the CARICOM Reparations Commission that many prime ministers of Caribbean states finally signed the commission's ten-point action plan in 2014 and thereby signaled governmental support for the case for reparations.

As to what parties will be addressed, both the NCR and the CRC are quite clear. In the report of the NCR, for instance, it is argued that rather than addressing private persons, banks, or companies, the most appropriate institutions to pursue are governments themselves. They are viewed as representing the successor states of those colonial powers that created the legal, political, economic, and cultural-racial framework in which the organized crime of slavery was made possible: "TTA [Transatlantic Trade in Africans] was a state-sponsored enterprise, made legal in the colonies by the British colonial regime." (Report on the Work of NCR 2013: 58). Shepherd also underlines the state's role, remarking: "[…] our position is that African enslavement was a state-sponsored system and so our claim must be against the state. If other companies or churches wish to apologize (and some have), thatcis fine, but our case is against the state." (Shepherd 2014). Therefore, the Jamaican Reparations Commission as well as the CARICOM Reparations Commission encourage dialogue between the Caribbean and European states and motivate regional governments to bring cases against European governments ('states against states') – above all against Britain, the strongest former colonial power in the region.

4 Mobilizing in the International Arena

Not only the states themselves, but also international organizations like the UN are considered as important global arenas. Activists strategically consult with them or are themselves active in the UN because such involvement results in visible international support. Again, Verene Shepherd is highly engaged on that level. As a former chair (2009–2012) and member of the 'UN-Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent' (until 2015), she has actively worked towards placing the issue of reparations on the agenda of the UN decade for 'People of African descent: recognition, justice and development.'[6] Over the

course of this decade (2015–2024), the UN will provide funding for educational and social programs and measures directed towards improving the living conditions of people of African descent across the continent and towards fighting racism and the structural inequalities they face on different levels. According to Shepherd, it was only after lengthy and complicated negotiations, especially with regard to the inclusion of reparations for slavery, that the UN decade finally began in 2015:

> There is some resistance to some aspects of the Program of Action, articulated for instance by the EU. The call for reparations is a part of it [of the resistance, CR]. But I don't see how we can eliminate reparations as a part of it [the program of action, CR] because itis really the movement for the 21st century. So we will have to see. There is a draft program of action, but it has not been implemented. The implementation has to start at the level of states. But in terms of the working group, the theme that we are proposing for the decade is recognition, justice, and development. (Shepherd 2014)

Shepherd underlines that the UN decade's programmatic outline of recognition and justice is unthinkable without addressing the issue of reparations. In order to raise this topic, she has constantly leveraged her simultaneous engagement as a delegate in the CRC and as member of the UN-Working Group. The program of activities for the decade delivered on December 1, 2014 still remains quite vague. It is noticeably defensive with regard to options that might be pursued in favor of reparations. Hence, it only insists in a very general way that nation-states apologize for the crimes of slavery and, further, that the states in question "find some way to contribute to the restoration of the dignity of victims." (United Nation General Assembly 2014: 7 § [i]). Finally, it appeals to international and regional organizations to "use the decade as an opportunity to engage with people of African descent on appropriate and effective measures to halt and reverse the lasting consequences of slavery […]" (United Nation General Assembly 2014: 7 § [d]). At the level of United Nations, UNESCO begins to focus more on the topic of reparations. In 2015, they held an international conference in St. Kitts and Nevis on the occasion of the 20th Anniversary of the Establishment of the UNESCO International Scientific Slave Route Project. By coopting Hilary Beckles as the current vice president of the International Task Force and designating him as key note speaker, the UNESCO Slave Route Project sent a clear signal that it will explore the issue of reparations

6 The Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent (WGAD) was established by the United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner in 2002 with a mandate to study and report on racial discrimination faced by people of African descent and to propose measures for its elimination. Cf. OHCR 2014

within its international work on the memory of slavery and the remembering of its victims (CARICOM Today 2015).

Beckles and Shepherd are colleagues, both at the UWI and in the CARICOM Reparations Commission and collaborate closely. They are active in local, national, and international scenes and are frequently requested by national and international media and many civil and state organizations for interviews. This is especially true for Beckles, who, as the spokesperson of the CRC, has been invited to nearly every country in the Caribbean and to universities in Europe and the US to give lectures and lay out the Caribbean case for reparations. Beckles constantly refers to other instances of reparations for colonial injustices in order to emphasize the global relevance of reparations, as well as its possibility and legitimacy. In his speech in the House of Commons on July 16, 2014, he strategically located the Caribbean agenda in a global context while presenting a programmatic target: "This 21st century will be the century of global reparatory justice." (CARICOM 2014b). It is largely due to Beckles' and Shepherd's intensive engagement that the matter of reparations has had such a tremendous impact and that public and political attention has finally been achieved at the level of states and international organizations like UN and UNESCO. The way through the institutions and procedures of international organizations may very well be difficult and exhausting. However, the international arena at the level of nation-states is considered indispensable for obtaining official recognition, eliciting global awareness, and applying a certain amount of political pressure in relation to the issue of reparations.

A subsequent question would be how arguments, people, resources, and indeed the social dynamics of activism itself might be conflictual, especially when it comes to issues of representation (who speaks for whom?), knowledge circulation, and the mediation between local, national, and international arenas.

5 Building Transnational Networks with US Activists and Organizations

The agenda of the CRC has been enthusiastically received not only by regional governments and international organizations, but also by numerous civil society organizations throughout the Americas and Europe. In particular, it has been echoed strongly by activists and organized groups in the USA – a country with a long history of struggle and intense debate over reparations. Historians, political scientists, lawyers, economists, and journalists have broadly documented the chronology of the movement and analyzed the arguments for and against reparations. They cite the numerous individuals and groups who have demanded reparations for slavery at different times. A few examples may be

mentioned here: the formerly enslaved people themselves after they achieved their freedom; the Union troop leader General Tecumseh Sherman who, when slavery ended in 1865, implemented the granting of land and provisions to former slaves who had fought under him ('40 acres and a mule') (Barkan 2001: 284); the United Negro Improvement Association and the Pan-African-Movement of the 1920s; the Civil Rights Congress of the 1950s; the Black Power movement in their manifesto from 1968; the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N'COBRA) in 1987; US Congressmen John Conyers and his bill H.R. 40 Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act;[7] the Congressional Black Caucus (founded in 1989) via the TransAfrica Forum in 2000, and so on.[8] The extent to which these US-based groups were influenced by Caribbean activists and debates (and vice versa), and the actual routes of the transnational circulation of knowledge and practices in relation to the issue of reparations during the 20th century remain to be investigated. A more organized cooperation has only recently begun. Immediately after the CRC announced and circulated its ten-point action plan in 2014, Beckles and other Caribbean leaders were invited to various meetings organized by reparation groups in the USA, such as the 'National/International Reparations Summit,' which took place in New York City in April 2015. Along with Beckles, the delegates from different National Commissions of Caribbean countries entered into a dialog with participants from Europe, and North, Central, and South America.

The summit was convened by Ron Daniels, director of the Institute of the Black World and convener of the National African American Reparations Commission (NAARC).[9] The NAARC views itself as an umbrella organization for group leaders from several civil organizations such as N'COBRA, Congressional Black Caucus, or John Conyers. The main objectives of the summit were not only to provide a forum for exchange, but also to reorganize the already

7 John Conyers first introduced the bill 'H.R. 40' in 1989 and has reintroduced it several times. It has always been rejected by US congress. https://www.congress.gov/bill/114th-congress/house-bill/40/all-info.

8 I am not able at this point to explore in more detail the complexity of the activists, groups, claims, and lawsuits in relation to reparations for slavery in the US. Martin/Yaquinto (2007) give a good overview of the different organizations that claimed reparations during the 20th century and reproduce numerous original statements and manifestos. For further academic readings engaging in favor of reparations in the US, cf. Darity 2008; Munford 1996; Robinson 2001.

9 The IBW is a proactive institution which mainly supports the issue of reparations by circulating related audio materials, speeches, maps, academic readings, and announcements on its website, where the speeches and materials of the reparation summit are also available. http://ibw21.org/reparations/.

existing activism in the United States and, finally, to revive the famous bill H.R.40 Commission to Study Reparation Proposals for African Americans Act, repeatedly introduced to US congress by John Conyers since 1989 and still considered to be the strongest initiative to date. It proposes reparations as a national (not an individual) concern that needs to be studied within a congressional commission and discussed at the governmental level. Since the US Congress never accepted H.R.40, the NAARC is currently looking into new strategies for reworking and reintroducing the bill. The Final Communiqué of the New York summit therefore honors John Conyers "as a champion of the reparations movement" (point 7) (IBW 2015). It also declared a "Decade for Reparations and in that context, applauded the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Declaration of 2015–2024 as the Decade for People of African descent which should advance the demand for reparations" (point 8) (IBW 2015). The Communiqué finally agreed that the "CRC […] will support the National African-American Reparations Commission (NAARC) by encouraging and facilitating Caribbean political leaders, artists, civil society activists and scholars to participate in various NAARC educational and mobilizing/organizing initiatives […]" (point 2) (IBW 2015).

Inspired by the example of CARICOM, the NAARC calls for the establishment of a national commission in the US similar to the CRC. It further proposes developing a reparations program like the 'Reparatory Justice Framework' presented in the CRC's ten-point action plan.[10] Ultimately, Caribbean and US-activists affirmed that the summit was a "tremendous success" and "will provide a huge momentum to the growing global reparations movement," as the Jamaican daily press Jamaica Observer reported on the event quoting Don Rojas, Director of Communications and International Relations at the IBW (Jamaica Observer 2015).

6 The Caribbean Reparation Claims as a Model?

For the first time in the history of the US reparation movement, Caribbean leaders are asked to assist US organizations and activities. What can be learned from the Caribbean case? The CRC has clearly spurred the revitalization of the US reparations movement at the level of organization and by the articulation of precise claims against the states in question, and has fortified the transregional networks of activism. The manifold activities in the local, national, and global contexts described in this contribution highlight the Caribbean as a core center

10 Cf. http://www.caribbean360.com/news/major-us-black-group-host-caricom-reparations-summit#ixzz3sX9BLYWB.

for contemporary activism for reparations. Verene Shepherd, accordingly, states:

> […] we are planning a huge global conference in the Caribbean, because right now most of the conversation on reparation is taking place in the Caribbean. Other people now are looking to us, while before the US was leading […]. (Shepherd 2014)

To shift the attention toward Caribbean leadership, as Shepherd suggests, might impact the arguments and organizational dynamics of different agendas across the region, including the United States. I argue that it might also open up new approaches in the wider academic debate. For a long time, public and academic discussions regarding reparations for slavery generally looked to the US as a reference and thereby established a US-centered approach. The respective discourses were thus homogenized through the lens of the particular experiences and dynamics within the US – not because other regional experiences and activism did not exist but rather because their voices were ignored to a great extent within the US-dominated debate. It is only recently that the pivotal historical and contemporary role of Caribbean leaders and experiences in the struggle for reparations has become more recognized and visible, at least at the level of activism. The Caribbean example offers a new approach to the issue of reparations in terms of the actors involved, potential beneficiaries, targeted institutions, the sites of negotiation, and the orientation of concrete collective goals.

The inherent strength of the CRC agenda, and what distinguishes it from the claims coming from the US, is that it does not particularly address private people, companies, insurances or banks but European governments. It thus aims to persuade regional governments to deal with reparations as a national concern and to directly negotiate with European political leaders. This strategy was immediately adopted by the NAARC, which (even more than before) has pushed for a national conversation on reparations in appealing to their own government in the US. Caribbean leaders are contacted by groups from around the globe, not only by those fighting for reparations but also by academic and political institutions. We might even argue that a new dialogue has been initiated on a more level playing field, resulting in a kind of knowledge transfer from south to north. The topic of reparations might therefore be discussed beyond the lens of US experience and expanded by means of alternative, innovative, and complementary approaches. Highlighting the Caribbean claims might finally contribute to overcoming the marginalization of the Caribbean in terms of political activism and in the social sciences. Paying more attention to the region and its impact on critical knowledge production might inspire both global activism and academic research on reparatory justice.

Of course, it is impossible and not the goal of activists to standardize a common agenda between different Caribbean and US reparation groups. The Caribbean region itself is shaped by different forms of slavery, colonial histories, languages, cultures, and politics and hence different approaches to reparation. Indeed, there is a risk of overlooking many other regional, historical, and political perspectives on reparations within the region due to the current international focus on the CRC call and the Anglophone-Caribbean approach. With regard to the French-, Spanish- and Dutch-speaking Caribbean, there is a relevant, individual, and organized activism debating the legacies of slavery, forms of activism that could not be included here.[11] Related projects might not always apply the term 'reparation,' but nevertheless address similar issues, e.g. fighting structural inequalities and racial discrimination. Demands for reparations are not to be considered as belonging to the exclusive purview of CARICOM or the Anglophone Caribbean but are part of a much broader and longstanding struggle across the whole region, where border-crossing networks of people, practices, and ideas selectively influence each other. Even if they do not always transcend barriers in communication, mobility, and political status (which, again, can be interpreted as the result of the colonial divide in the region), activists are nonetheless transnationally connected to different degrees because of language, opportunities for mobility, and political systems. This is also true for the United States. The current activism for slavery reparations in the Caribbean and in the US should therefore be empirically investigated and analyzed; we should regard it not as a singular national phenomenon but from the standpoint of transregional entanglements. An analysis must take into account the different perspectives within the Caribbean itself and in the context of the region's transatlantic interrelations to reparation discourses and activists in the US, Europe, and Africa. Reparation activists in their concrete localities deliberately establish transnational connections to other activists and debates in order to strengthen their respective claims. While they do not have a common or uniform agenda, they are all motivated by the shared concern of confronting the legacies of slavery and colonial exploitation through a framework of reparatory justice.

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11 With regard to the Spanish-Speaking Caribbean some examples are mentioned in Mosquera Rosero-Labbé/Barcelos 2007; for the French Speaking Caribbean cf. Forsdick 2015.

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Daniel Graziadei

Donne Decolonized: The Sinking of the Island of Conviviality into the Mare Tenebrosum

1 Islands and Humans between the I and the We

"No man is an island" says the famous phrase from "Meditation XVII" of the 1623 *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions, and severall steps in my Sickness* by the metaphysical poet and Anglican dean of St. Paul's, John Donne. It can be found on postcards, in collections of aphorisms, song texts, and many other forms of popular reutilization.[1] Apparently, Ernest Hemingway's novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940) is responsible for the meditation's contemporary fame, which Gillian Beer calls "an extreme example of reading old texts into new history." (Beer 1989: 6)[2] The idiosyncrasy of the meditation's spatiality lies in the tension between the negation of an isolated island as self-sufficient solitude and the affirmation of a continuous identification with humanity as a continent.

Arguably, the meditation's *imaginative geography* (cf. Said 2003: 49–73) has undergone a substantial change in order to address a variety of twenty-first century social and ecocritical challenges in contemporary Caribbean literatures. Some of the most interesting and decolonizing appropriations of Donne's lines address disputed manners of conviviality between the I and the We, between self-relation and interdependence, between the private and the communal, between isolation and interconnection, between competition and coop-

1 "[A] text most of us know, at least in part, not so much from its source, […] but probably from Ernest Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (the movie version of which stars Gary Cooper and Ingrid Bergman), or […] from the countless novels, TV shows, greeting cards, and newspaper articles, in which the phrases 'no man is an island', and 'for whom the bell tolls' are regularly recycled with portentous urgency." (Perloff 1994: 1)

2 As Hemingway's novel is situated in the Spanish civil war, there is no explicit intertextual link to the form and imagery of the meditation. However, central to the novel are the actions and relations between individuals and parties within the developing trenches that divide the country and the planet between communist and fascist totalitarianisms.

eration; these appropriations hint towards the idea that the island and man(kind) have undergone a *translatio/n* (Italiano/Rössner 2012: 9–12)[3] allowing for "a cliché" to retain "the capacity to reawaken as insight, perhaps as warning." (Beer 1997: 47) This article follows contemporary Caribbean rewritings in their reconstitutions of the island(s) not as an allegory of an impossible isolation of the self but as a literary place that is home to a creolizing postcolonial society struggling to live together as one island nation or community within a globalizing world.

As the subtitle of my paper suggests, the *Mare Tenebrosum*, one of the obstacles that was speculated to impede the crossing of the Atlantic Ocean since the mythical drowning of Atlantis[4], points towards a tradition of failing and thus (literally or literarily) drowning island communities. The question of the island status is thus closely related to questions about the establishment, preservation and dissemination of *conviviality*[5]. It does not regard peaceful conviviality between humans exclusively: Some of the texts facilitate an understanding of conviviality that goes beyond anthropocentric limitations. Therefore, this paper does not revolve around cultural identity construction via the island trope but focuses on the sinking or disappearing of islands which force their failing societies to leave. The texts in question produce several different forms of drowning, and the allegorical or metaphorical islands turn into fic-

3 "[T]he development of post-structuralist thinking and post-colonial theory have helped to recognize that translation is no substitution at all […], but a process of negotiation and re-negotiation between two contexts which cannot remain without consequences for both contexts, too." (Italiano/Rössner 2012: 10) "[C]ultural interaction and cultural practice of communication as the performative negotiation of differences between identity constructions […] is what we call cultural translation or translatio/n." (Italiano/Rössner 2012: 12)

4 O'Gorman refers to the Medieval belief that the earth-island had additional archipelagoes to the East, including Cipango, and to the West, including Atlantis (1993: 67–70). Apparently, the belief that the Atlantic was a dark sea and thus part of the uninhabitable and even inaccessible part of the planet was dominant until crossings became institutionalized (after Columbus' first voyage). Cf. Alexander von Humboldt and Ernst Friedrich Apelt who both refer to Arabic geographers and the dictum "[…] *mare tenebrosum* […] *ultra quod nemo scit quid contineatur* […]" (Humboldt 2011: 227; Apelt 1845: 158). To be precise, the Arabic name for "The Sea of Darkness" is *"Bahr-al-Zulma"* or "*al-Zulamat* (mer de l'obscurité)" (Simar 1912: 77). Dust winds might be a possible explanation for the claimed obscurity and density of the sea: "Das Meer westlich von Marokko hieß im Altertum *Mare tenebrosum.* Zwischen 1551–1855 sind 127 Staubfalljahre festzustellen." (Passarge 1929: 302)

5 Alexander Langer's comes to the conclusion that the most peaceful form of conviviality is possible in mixed groups without ethnic markers (cf. Langer 1995). Paul Gilroy wants "to make it as easy for people to imagine a world without racial differences as it is for them currently to imagine the end of the world." (Gilroy 2004: 167)

tional island spaces with very real geomorphological and biospheric problems of erosion and extinction. At the same time, the generic island will turn into decidedly specific islands.

In order to show this change it is therefore necessary to take a short look at Donne's "Meditation XVII" and discuss its spatial conceptualization. Only then, sites of postcolonial intertextuality can be investigated in order to discuss the forms and consequences of this religious text's appropriation.

2 "No man is an Iland"

> No Man is an *Iland*, intire of it selfe; every man is a peece of the *Continent*, a part of the *maine*; if a *Clod* bee washed away by the *Sea*, *Europe* is the lesse, as well as if a *Promontorie* were, as well as if a *Mannor* of thy *friends* or of *thine own* were; Any Mans *death* diminishes *me*, because I am involved in *Mankinde*; And therefore never send to know for whom the *bell* tolls; It tolls for *thee*. (Donne in Mueller 2015: 299)[6]

John Donne's "Meditation XVII" negates the idea of a completely detached singular identity conception with reference to every individual's partaking in the human ecumene[7]. The meditation uses the island as a negative contrast to the *continens*, a continuity called humanity in global interconnectedness, where the bell never tolls for an anonymous dead person but always for me and you as well. Identity in the sense of a "sameness of essential [...] character" (Merriam-Webster) between all human beings is thereby a quality of the continent, and life on earth is convivial, everyone partakes in it.

While Jonathan Scott argues – in opposition to Brendan Simms' geopolitical reading – that "Donne, while using geographic language, was not talking about geography," (Scott 2011: 11) the spatial constitution of this text that makes "use of Metaphysical mode and Senecan style" (Raspa 1987: xxii) can be read in line with ancient and medieval imaginations of an earth where the inhabitable part (*orbis terrarium*) is restricted by an uninhabitable *orbis alterius* (cf. O'Gorman 1993: 67–70). The breaking away from the continent and the

6 "No man is an island, entire of itself; every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main; if a clod be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as if a promontory were, as well as if a manor of thy friend's or of thine own were, any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind, and therefore never send to know for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." (Donne 1839: 575)

7 Donne's meditation seems to take a strong stance for an inclusive ecumene that comprehends all human beings. Arguably, it is informed by the ancient Greek concept of *oikouménē*, the inhabitable part of the world, and by the cartographic vision of a *mappa mundi*, a medieval map of the world.

movement into the *orbis alterius* envisions an end of sameness, a fundamental change, a loss to be mourned. In other words, "Meditation XVII" conceptualizes the island as an impossible process of complete self-sufficient insulation, only reachable via death because no living man is as clearly delineated and distinct, both isolating and insulating as Donne imagines the lithoclastic detritus from the continent. His islands are thus *transareal* movements towards death by drowning.[8]

3 "Poetry is an Island"

One of the most visible adaptations of John Donne's famous line from "Meditation XVII" can be found in Derek Walcott's 1992 Nobel Prize lecture "Fragments of Epic Memory" where he asserts that "Poetry is an island that breaks away from the main."[9] When reading Walcott's suggestion in context, one can assume an equation of the main with the institutions of language and knowledge handling – academia – he mentions right before[10]. On a topological level, the rupture and the distancing movement of the self-marginalizing subject in its diminishing relation to the center are important qualities. Here, the island as in-between, as watery land off the coast of the common has also a decisively engaged quality of resistance inscribed into its trajectory, into its breaking away. Furthermore and contrary to Donne's topology, Walcott certainly does not allude to poetry as an impossible or dying form, nor, for that matter, to islands as lonely places of death.

Consequently, if poetry is an island, the qualities of this island are neither negative *insularity* nor what I like to call *Insularism*, a knowledge production that promotes a stereotypical and institutionally reinforced island-construction as prone alterity from an exoticist point of view.[11] On the contrary, Walcott's

8 Ottmar Ette defines islands as crossroads of transareal movements that accumulate and register movements (cf. Ette 2005: 148), yet this case is more complex as the islands' movement crosses areas, spheres, and realities.

9 "Poetry is an island that breaks away from the main. The dialects of my archipelago seem as fresh to me as those raindrops on the statue's forehead, not the sweat made from the classic exertion of frowning marble, but the condensations of a refreshing element, rain and salt." (Walcott 1993: 196)

10 "There is the buried language and there is the individual vocabulary, and the process of poetry is one of excavation and of self-discovery. Tonally the individual voice is a dialect; it shapes its own accent, its own vocabulary and melody in defiance of an imperial concept of language, the language of Ozymandias, libraries and dictionaries, law courts and critics, and churches, universities, political dogma, the diction of institutions." (Walcott 1993: 196)

writing of the island is a poetic endeavor *against Insularism.* In 'Isla Incognita' (written 1973 and published in 2005)Walcott circles cautiously around the question "Quales est natura insulae?" (Walcott 2005: 52) and proposes that the island has to be unburdened of stereotypical reduction "if it is to be rediscovered." (Walcott 2005: 51) While an ironic apology to the colonially schooled gaze for the exuberance and overflow of tropical fauna sets the tone, his highly subversive renunciation of island exotism starts with a plea to erase the topos in order to rediscover the place: "Erase everything, even the name of this island, if it is to be rediscovered. It is the only way to begin." (Walcott 2005: 51)

4 The Island from a Nissological Perspective

This plea for erasure implies a deconstructionist and a *nissological* agenda (of studying "islands on their own terms")[12] which in turn leads to a critique of both the visualization of a clearly delimited terrestrial entity – be it blank, desert, or crowded (with intertexts) – and the creative reinterpretation of the sound /aɪ/ as a first person pronoun: They both discard the island's etymological "roots in ea, a proto-Indo-European word for river, thus representing water" (Royle 2007: 33) and its "particular and intense relationship of land and water." (Beer 1990: 271)[13] Such a foregrounding of a glocal *negotiation of difference* between *land and sea* and *roots and routes* exposes the one-sidedness of the land centered perspective.[14] The clearly defined distinctiveness, discreteness, and alterity of a land isolated from all other lands by means of the sea turns out to

11 The term arises from combining Pedreira's aforementioned pejorative *Insularismo* with Edward Said's critique of *Orientalism.*

12 "Following Christian Depraetere […], McCall called this bold, islands-driven focus *Nissology* (after νησί – [*nisi*] the Greek word for island). Its key mandate: sharing, advancing, and challenging existing theorization on islands and island studies; while avoiding, delimiting, or debunking false or partial interpretations of the island condition." (Baldacchino 2007: 16)

13 Ea is to be found in "the Old Norse word for island […] ey (modern Danish has ø)." (Royle 2007: 33) "The concept 'island' implies a particular and intense relationship of land and water. The […] word itself includes the two elements: 'island' is a kind of pun. 'Isle' in its earliest forms derived from a word for water and meant, 'watery' or 'watered'. In Old English 'land' was added to it to make a compound: 'is-land': water-surrounded land. The idea of water is thus intrinsic to the word, as essential as that of earth. The two elements, earth and water, are set in play. An intimate, tactile, and complete relationship is implied between them in this ordering of forces." (Beer 1990: 271)

14 The term arises from combining Pedreira's aforementioned pejorative *Insularismo* with Edward Said's critique of *Orientalism.*

be imprecise and partial as there exists no clear delineation of the island because one of its constitutive elements – water – allows for no such limit but forces us to perceive the island as a negotiation between isolation *and* relation.

Nevertheless, erosion and drowning of land are actual problems for low-lying islands and coastlines. The struggle of small sea-shore and island communities to remain above the water line becomes patently visible in Lucian Segura's film *1.5 Stay Alive* (2015). The documentary tries to raise awareness for the grave impact of climate change on the Caribbean (particularly due to ocean temperature and sea level rise) and stresses that remaining below a 1.5 °C global average temperature rise would give the Caribbean marine environment and coastal cultures a 50% chance to survive. A global average temperature of 1.5 °C above preindustrial levels lies, however, 0.5 °C below the 2 °C agreed upon by the sixteenth session of the Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC Framework Convention on Climate Change in Cancun 2010 (cf. United Nations 2011: 3).

Arguably, the endangered literary islands discussed in the following build upon island(s) in the archipelago as used in Caribbean cultural theory and literatures, the ecological and political problems experienced on the shores of the Caribbean Sea, and the island as a recurrent *pars pro toto* of the endangered planet.[15] Their drowning points towards the endangerment of our global habitat and towards the (current) incapability of the industrialized nations to change from an anthropocentric and hyper-capitalist culture of extraction to a peaceful practice of biocentric conviviality and renewal.[16] Thus, the sinking of these islands concerns local and foreign readers alike.

15 Richard Grove underscores that "during the fifteenth century the task of locating Eden and re-evaluating nature had already begun to be served by the appropriation of the newly discovered and colonized tropical islands as paradises" and shows that the rapid destruction of these Caribbean islands due to sugar monocultures led to "local attempts […] to try to prevent excessive soil erosion in the wake of clearance for plantations." (Grove 1995: 5) Within this re-evaluation of paradise as paradise lost "[…] the island easily became, in practical environmental as well as mental terms, an easily conceived allegory of a whole world. Contemporary observations of the ecological demise of islands were easily converted into premonitions of environmental destruction on a more global scale." (1995: 8–9)

16 Cf. Naomi Klein 2014: 64–95 for the question of "Capitalism vs the Climate" and for a way of changing the course from extraction towards renewal cf. Klein 2014: 419–466.

5 Island(s) in the Archipelago

Furthermore, tropical islands – and especially the individual home-island in its connection to the archipelago and the earth – have repeatedly been used in Caribbean cultural theory to characterize philosophical, social, cultural, and political aspects of the relation between the local and the global (cf. Graziadei 2011b: 274–281, 2016: 238–248). The layered and paradox qualities of island spatialities and icons allow for widespread metaphorical and allegorical usages. While Antonio Salvador Pedreira's negative assessment of Puerto Rico's *Insularismo* (1934)perpetuates a denigrating racist, misogynist, and imperialist perspective on the Antilles that blames tropical island climes and creolization for weakening the population's potential to become an aggressive and competitive nation,[17] Lezama Lima's delineation of a *teleología insular*[18]– to be foundin his 1937 Colloquium with Juan Ramón Jiménez – allows for positive island hopping and island hoping[19]. Especially affirmative decolonizing visions of islands in the archipelago can be found in Antonio Benítez Rojo's theoretical work – which focuses on postmodern transcultural repetitions of the island(s) within the Caribbean *meta-archipielago*[20] – and in Édouard Glissant's whole oeuvre, which opens from the Antillean condition to the *All-World* (*Tout-Monde*) in creolization and relation[21]. While these theories also include the second defining element of islands and archipelagoes, namely water, Kamau Brathwaite's

17 For a positive evaluation and a resume of the different parts of *Insularismo* cf. López-Baralt 2011: 55–62. More critical positions on the determinism, racism, misogyny, as well as the bellicose, bourgeois and superficially hispanophile perspective inherent in Pedreira's answer to the question "¿cómo somos? o […] ¿qué somos? los puertorriqueños globalmente considerados." (Pedreira 1979: 1–2) Cf. Flores 1979: 43–45 and San Miguel 1997: 42.

18 Here, the geographical island is put aside and the island as a problem of cultural history and sentimentalism comes to the fore. The theoretical and poetical advancement of this island teleology seems to be guided by a mythical, epic, transgressing, and communal pretension (cf. González Cruz 2004: LXVIII).

19 For island hopping and island hoping cf. Depraetere/Dahl 2007: 84–94.

20 "The Caribbean is the natural and indispensable realm of marine currents, of waves, of folds and double-folds, of fluidity and sinuosity. It is, in the final analysis, a culture of the meta-archipelago: a chaos that returns, a detour without a purpose, a continual flow of paradoxes; it is a feed-back machine with asymmetrical workings, like the sea, the wind, the clouds, the uncanny novel, the food chain, the music of Malaya, Gödel's theorem and fractal mathematics. […] Let's say good-bye to Hellas, applauding the idea of a forgotten sage, Thales of Miletus: water is the beginning of all things." (Benítez Rojo 1997: 11)

21 From his first important book on the Caribbean, *Le discours antillais* (from 1981 into the early 1990s), right through the rather globalized and expanding *Tout-Monde* phase

anti-dialectic marine *alter/native tidalectics* as delineated in "Caribbean Culture – Two Paradigms" and his *conVersations with Nathaniel Mackey*[22] move further towards defining (Afro-)Caribbean culture as aquatic. Apart from Pedreira's *Insularismo*, all the mentioned theories construct a strongly positive and emancipated view of the Caribbean, of archipelagoes, and islands in the sea. They are engaged in the project of writing a different earth, in constructing a decolonizing, anti-imperial geography where the geopoetical forces – earthquake, tsunami, volcano eruption, and hurricane – are destructive yet creative potencies (cf. Maximin 2006).[23] These critiques of a discourse centered on continents and large cold water islands with an imperial history propagate a *sea of islands* situated within an *oceanic world* (Epeli Ha'oufa)[24], a global community based on marine and geological continuity; they form the philosophical background of contemporary Caribbean literary island production.

6 The Total(itarian) Destruction of an Island(-society)

In his aforementioned Nobel Prize Lecture, Walcott compares the performance of the Hindu Epic *Ramayana* in the Trinidadian village Felicity to another Asia Minor Epic, "the *Odyssey* […], presuming that the audience knew the trials of Odysseus, […] while nobody in Trinidad knew any more than I did about Rama,

(around 1997) and the final *Philosophie de la relation* phase (around 2009), a constant negotiation between the local visibility of traces of global movements and relations are central to Glissant's work, which includes philosophical treaties, novels, short stories, and poems.

22 Poet and scholar Kamau Brathwaite is responsible for both *alter/native* and *tidalectic*. Brathwaite constructs the first neologism via a dividing slash in order to highlight that the term for choice between different things or views encloses also native alterity. It points towards the existence of a local alternative that opposes the colonial or imperial dictate. Brathwaite's second neologism replaces the prefix dia- with tidal- and thus completely shifts the focus from reasoning and coming to an understanding via dialogue towards a tidal and thus maritime communication. In "Caribbean Culture – Two Paradigms" he writes that "tidal dialectic(s) or tidalectics [are] our native version (less optimistic, perhaps) of Eurodialectics." (Brathwaite 1983: 54) *Tidalectics* seems to share with Homi K. Bhabha's *negotiation* the vision of "a temporality that makes it possible to conceive of the articulation of antagonistic or contradictory elements: a dialectic without the emergence of a teleological or transcendent History" in which "hybrid sites and objectives of struggle" are made accessible (Bhabha 2008: 37).

23 For a discussion of various takes on geopoetics (of the island) cf. Graziadei 2011a.

24 The planet earth, one could say while paraphrasing Hau'ofa, is mostly covered with water, and maritime thinking is of utmost importance to the biped whose body contains more than fifty percent water.

Kali, Shiva, Vishnu, apart from the Indians […]." (Walcott 1993: 192) This highly polemical "apart from the Indians" highlights the failing of cross-ethnic conviviality and interchange. This segregation bears a risk that Trinidad-born and British-based writer Lakshmi Persaud illustrates with the sinking of an artificial (and fictitious) island.

Her novel *For the Love of My Name* (2000) is situated on a fictionalized version of Guyana under Forbes Burnam's autocratic rule (from 1964 to 1985): an artificial island by the name of Maya[25]. According to different voices in the novel Maya had been created via dam building during the era of Dutch colonization and had been sustained under British rule via the investment of a considerable part of the sugar income in dam maintenance. Central to the stability of its physical is its social geography: Only within a viable conviviality of the Forest, Country, and Urban Mayans (that is the Taino-, the Indo-, and the Afro-Caribbean part of this multi-ethnic post-colonial society), the soils and dams are tended and survive the onslaught of the sea. As the social balance between the various groups vanishes under racist and revengeful Afro-Caribbean post-colonial totalitarianism, the dams break. From the beginning of the novel, all we are left with are repeated descriptions of the drowning of the island:

> There are religious, mystic, tectonic and economic explanations as to why the island of Maya sank. And though I was there and did feel a pending catastrophe, I offer a rational reason and leave viewers to make up their own minds: […] There was no Noah's ark. […] The surrounding ocean opened its gigantic mouth and from reports given by passing aircraft, within six hours the island of Maya was swallowed. (Persaud 2000: 16)

Contrary to the certainty about the drowning of the island, textual uncertainty regarding the reasons for the sinking of the island is upheld throughout the novel. Cultural explanations are listed next to tectonic and ecological reasons; all are figured as processes with a potential impact on the physical world of the text, all are suspected to have the power to sink an island. The island of Maya exists only in embedded narratives, as narrative flashbacks in different media: in oral narratives, in a documentary film that is screened in a museum dedicated to the drowned island, and in the accompanying brochure (cited above). In fact, in the first chapter a first person narrator who is interested in the lost culture and the cult of Masks on the submerged island visits "The Library of Mys-

25 One possible reference of this toponym is the concept of *MÂYÂ* which "is central to understanding Hindu mythology. The concept of mâyâ provides the supporting structure both for the magical effectiveness of the austerities and powers of Hindu mythology and for a fundamental rejection of any worldview that involved taking such illusions seriously." (Williams 2008: 214)

teries" (Persaud 2000: 11), marvels at the masks, photographs, and dresses, reads two "Poems of Remembrance" (Persaud 2000: 13–14), and finally reaches a room where the screening of a scientific documentary about "The Purple Masked Mayans" takes place. The following forty-eight-and-a-half chapters supposedly consist of a transmedial narration of this documentary[26]. The story of the sinking of the colonial island construction Maya due to the post-colonial racism and totalitarianism of a regime of masques allows the highlighting of the problematic suppression of ethnic, cultural, historical, and political differences during the process of decolonization that took place under the rule of Afro-Caribbean pan-Caribbeanism[27]. While Maya survives either on the movie screen and in the artifacts of a museum (or in the words and on the pages of this novel), the insular society dies and only parts of it survive via relocation and as permanent *ex-isles* adapting to the "loss of the particular" (Bongie 1998: 18) in different migration hubs, potentially forming diaspora communities[28].

7 Drowning Island(er)s via Emigration

Emigration from a (sinking) island to anywhere else is equally important for the spatiality of Amir Valle's *Santuario de Sombras* (2006). This detective novel focuses on the different possibilities, means, and hazards of illicit mobility and starts in a new kind of *mare tenebrosum*: "Mucha mierda. [/] Las aguas infestadas de una mierda que se le metía hasta en la sangre." (Valle 2006: 11)[29] These

26 The documentary ends in a slow cross-fade into the lecture theater thus raising metafictional awareness: "As Marguerite walked homewards, the lights of the lecture theatre came on and I was left with the sea-wall crumbling before the waves." (Persaud 2000: 338)

27 Both Walcott's and Naipaul's Nobel Price lectures highlight this problematic reduction of the ongoing processes of creolization. Naipaul stresses the dichotomy between the physical and epistemological absence of the Amerindians and the presence of indentured Indians. Columbus' disorientation and misnaming allows for the same term (Indians) to be used for exterminated and forgotten first nations like the Chaguanes tribe, the "rather large aboriginal tribe" of the Warahoons, and the indentured laborers "[…] we Indians, immigrants from India." (n.p.)

28 The biblical dispersion of the Jewish people is used in extension to name the "scattering of a people from an established or ancestral homeland," "people settled far from their ancestral homeland," "the place where these people live" (Merriam Webster) as well as transnational cultural formations and solidarities that arise from this situation. In the case at hand there exists not one people to be scattered, but three ethnical groups. Furthermore, the homeland is irretrievably gone.

29 'A lot of shit. The waters infested by shit that meddles even in the blood.' (Translation D.G.)

excrement infested waters are the very grim and disturbing outcome of glocal dynamics that arise from the tension between an insulating policy and a population with a great desire to leave. The number of people that are shown drowning and dying during their intents of clandestine emigration adds a level of literal corporeal drowning to the intellectual brain drain. The same tension and movement is later reshaped via the allegory of the drowning island in order to express the failure of a viable conviviality within an aging revolution. In a mediatized twist, the erosion of the sociogeographical structure of the island society turns numeric reality within the virtual country of official news and is interpreted as a drowning of the island. "[L]o que indicaba una sola cosa: la isla se hundía, y esas estadísticas […] se hacían reales en ese país virtual que aparecía en los noticiarios de la tele." (Velle 2006: 50)[30] But this island has an archipelagic structure that includes the whole marine region and especially small tropical islands on the fringes of the international sea that can be read as iconic and consumable in the terms of Mimi Sheller[31], while at the same time being both physical places on the deadly smuggling routes and spiritualistic, existential, and traumatic formations within a third space of negotiation and pass-over. In the nightmare of a traumatized survivor of a fake smuggling trip in the third introductory part "Asco," (Valle 2006: 14–15) the island turns into a negative *île déserte* that is drowning in vermicular life-forms which are the effect of an open mass grave.

> […] y ese sueño que le revuelve las entrañas con arqueadas de un asco feroz: caminaría por una isla sin cocoteros ni mangles, todo desierto; se hundiría hasta los tobillos en una masa apestosa de gusanillos blancos que contorsionaban y revientan bajo sus pies hasta formar una nata babosa, como esperma sucia, que se le pega a la piel mientras busca la ruta; caería de cabeza, […] y su cuerpo se estrellaría contra la esponjosa viscosidad pestilente que yace al fondo de la fosa: torsos y manos y brazos y piernas y cabezas arrancadas y pies y muslos y tripa.. y rostros blancos, como de ángeles muertos, como de fantasmas dormidos. Y siempre los gusanillos blancos… los gusanillos blancos… los gusanillos blancos. (Valle 2006: 15)[32]

30 'Which indicated only one thing: the island was drowning, and these statistics turned real in this virtual land that appeared in the TV news.' (Translation D.G.)

31 "The familiar sun-sea-and-sand imagery used in Caribbean tourism promotion may seem like an endlessly repeated cliché that hardly requires any further analysis […], a more generic, global, and empty signifier of 'the tropical island' could hardly be imagined." (Sheller 2003: 36) According to Sheller, this icon is a central marker of the "consumption of the ecological environment of the Caribbean in the widest sense and its reinvention as a 'nature' and 'landscape' for Northern Atlantic inhabitants' pleasure and use." (Sheller 2003: 36)

The living mass of white worms unites – again – the corporeal with the metaphoric in the form of the anti-imperial rhetoric of the Cuban government.[33] The metaphorical and virtual drowning of Cuba due to massive emigration allows for the actual drowning of emigrants, killed by highly mobile and bipartisan smugglers on the fringes of international waters. Body fluids and bodies cloud the waters and submerge pristine islands under the buzzing life of decomposition. In the nightmare of the survivor, great care is taken to specify that there are neither iconic coconut palms nor the rich ecosphere of the less photogenic mangrove forests on this desert island covered by a mass of pestilent worms and body parts. There is a deserted beach, the most "stereotypical image in countless variations," (Courtman 2004: xviii)[34] but in at least one highly traumatic real situation such a transient zone is also covered with dead human bodies, some landed, some floating.[35] As it is typical for the plots of detective novels, only belated elucidation is offered. But the intelligence shows nonetheless

32 'and that dream that revolts the guts with arches of fierce revulsion: he would be walking over an island without coconut palms nor mangroves, all desert; sinking ankle-deep into a reeking mass of little white worms that twitch and burst underneath his feet until forming a slimy cream, like dirty sperm, that sticks itself to the skin while searching the route: he would fall headlong, and his body would bang against the spongy and pestilent viscosity which lies at the bottom of the grave: torsos and hands and arms and legs and heads wrenched off and feet and thighs and guts… and white face, like those of dead angels, like those of sleeping ghosts. And always the little white worms… the little white worms… the little white worms…' (Translation D.G.)

33 The color white takes on rather complex and controversial qualities. On the one hand, white is the color of the faces of the dead which are compared to those of dead angels and sleeping ghosts. On the other hand, white is associated primarily and in traumatic repetition with the 'little white worms' that cover the island. Crushed under the feet of the dreamer their white changes to 'dirty sperm.' "[T]he image of Cuban exiles as *gusanos* (worms) […] originally emerged among the ideological defenders of the Cuban Revolution […]. […] Fidel Castor's government applied a cold war rhetoric to the Cuban exodus, branding the exiles as counterrevolutionary, unpatriotic, elitist, corrupt, selfish, and pro-American." (Duany 1993: 168)

34 "The image of the beach, for example, is only one possibility amongst many of the stereotypes that are associated with the Caribbean. […] In travel literature on the region, the archipelago of French, Dutch, Spanish and English speaking islands are reduced to a single exquisitely unproblematic cipher: the deserted palm-fringed beach. This image, emptied of all historical meaning, has endured for hundreds of years perhaps because it trades on deep longings for a fresh (pre-Columbian) beginning. It promises endless rediscoveries of a Caribbean that can still offer a solitude and innocence that the overcrowded and polluted beaches of other resorts can hardly embody." (Courtman 2004: xiii)

35 "Desnudos, tiesos. [/] Los pedazos de esos cuerpos atontándote… y esa imagen de infierno terrenal. [/] El infierno a su lado. Cuerpos apestan. Nada idílico ese oleaje que los mece y los arrastra sobre la arena en la orilla. Quedarse abrazada sólo a la cabecita y

that all forms of corporeal mobility – be it outlawed migration or promoted tourism – are exploited and obstructed by criminal organizations and corrupt state officials in multiple entanglements. And while the island of Cuba is virtually and demographically sinking, the archipelago and the international community are deeply involved in this traumatizing event and ongoing situation.

8 Gone already? Gone.

The physical and figurative drowning of islands and their communities is, however, not always related to inner divisions, totalitarian systems plagued by harsh laws and economic decline. Olive Senior's "Rejected Text for a Tourist Brochure" (2005)[36] expands on a self-compromising poetic gesture of the lyrical I under hyper-capitalism. This highly ironic poetic mockery of tourist advertising challenges, subverts, and annihilates all imaginations and especially visualizations of the island paradise as an external and accessible place[37]. One has to admit that there exists no overt indication of the land's island status, but the motto of the poem taken from Michael Smith's *Jamaica* localizes the poetic space on a specific island of the misnamed Greater Antilles[38].

> "I saw my land in the morning
> And O but she was fair"
> — M.G. Smith, "Jamaica" (1938)
> (Senior 2005: 53)

el pecho de tu propio hijo, sentir que te moja el líquido de sus vísceras podridas cuando esas otras manos te lo arrancan: 'Está muerto, señora, está muerto,' y no descubrir que ya se ha podrido, que sus ojos abiertos ya no te buscan, y solo Dios sabe a qué vacío miran." (Valle 2006: 13)

36 First published 2005 in the monograph *Over the Roofs of the World* it is also the first poem featured in the anthology *Caribbean Dispatches. Beyond the Tourist Dream* (2006).

37 For a change from the search for paradise all over the earth towards a search for paradise within oneself in 20th century French, Austrian, and Latin-American literatures, cf. Rössner 1988.

38 "The term [Caribbean], of course, is a mistake, but one that Columbus covered sensibly by calling the region the 'West Indies.' […] Then the Spaniards called these islands *Las Antillas* from the Portuguese *Antilhas*, similarly pronounced, referring to a legendary set of islands in the far west of the Atlantic. That, too, had no known historical validity, but the name was picked up by the French as *Les Antilles* and the English later identified the *Greater Antilles* and the *Lesser Antilles*, so completing the European authorization of the mistake." (Allsopp 2001: 33) Jamaican Poet and Anthropologist Michael Garfield Smith (1921–1993) joined "the protests against Crown Colony Government in Jamaica […] striving towards self-awareness, self-respect, and self-government […]" with this "song, which every schoolchild in Jamaica should know." (Hall 1997: 9)

Between the motto and the first line of the poem, a substantial *translatio/n* starts to unfold. The past tense and the classicist lyrical voice shift towards a more colloquial tone of the present that will later turn into a clear reference to Roots Reggae Music[39]. Instead of the perception of an I/eye, the invitation to perceive visually now extends to a lyrical you: "Come see my land." The reading 'You' is called upon to come and see for yourself/themselves and with your/their own eyes. What remains the same is the sell-out of a specific locale that is branded as the Other.

> Come see my land
> Come see my land
> before the particles of busy fires ascend;
> before the rivers descend underground;
> before coffee plantations grind the mountains into dust; before
> the coral dies; before the beaches
> disappear
> Come see my land
> Come see my land
> And know
> That she was fair.
> (Senior 2005: 53)

Special insistency drives this call for personal contact: The anaphora *before* and the conclusion of the first stanza in the past mark this urgency on a structural and rhetorical level. On a semantic level, it is the ecological destruction exemplified by the topological antagonism of rising fires and subsiding rivers as well as by the devastating effect of coffee plantations on the mountain. This, I would like to argue, is a poem of the Anthropocene: the dying coral and the disappearing beaches can be read as symptoms of human induced climate change. Nevertheless, the lyrical I of the poem does not beg for the lyrical you to stay at home and emit as little greenhouse gases possible; on the contrary, the third stanza of the first part reiterates the first line's invitation twice – "come see my land" – and finishes with a translation of the second verse of the motto: Instead of "and O but she was fair" it plays with homonyms telling the reader: "and know / that she was fair." As we could argue with Richard Grove, it depends on the very concept of beauty in relation to non-human surrounding if the walled hotels of the 21st century, the sugar cane and banana fields of colonialism, the extensive agriculture of the precolonial era, or the untouched wilderness of the prehuman era would qualify as fair.

39 "Jamaican reggae music is a good example of a product born from local creativity and content that is now exported to all major international markets." (Jessen/Vignoles 2005: 34)

In any case, the difference between the present tense of "Come see my land" and the past tense of "she was fair" plays on nostalgia. At the final turn, a deconstruction of the I-land as well as the tropical island trope via the total sell-out and poetic destruction of the semantic island space becomes visible.

> Oh, them gone already? No Problem, Mon.
> Come. Look the film here.
> Reggae soundtrack and all. Come see
> My land. Come see my land and know, A-oh,
> that she was fair.
> (Senior 2005: 53)

With the sudden realization "Oh, them gone already?" and the reiteration of the cool, laid back way of reasoning that is heavily advertised as part of the tourist image of the island, the invitation is not canceled. Again, you are invited to come. Instead of seeing the last elements of the island's biosphere that by now is completely destroyed, or consumed, you are invited to join a change of media and watch a documentary about the island's beauty. Not any documentary, but one that sports the necessary signifiers to continue to propagate the imagery and soundscape that has been fostered throughout the poem: "Reggae Soundtrack and all." This media change continues the exploitation, serving the sensationalist and escapist gaze virtually even after the destruction of the poetic island via transmedial translation into globally popular songs and videos, leaving no space for an unmediated, livable local place and a viable community outside the hyper-capitalist tourist complex.

9 Conclusion: No Man is an Island, but the Island is Drowning

From this brief look at three drowning islands from contemporary Caribbean literatures one can conclude that in the case of "no man is an island," an old assertion is still being confronted with new perspectives and contexts, being transformed in the process, and yielding highly astonishing and productive results. Therefore, one has to ask: What are the consequences of this transformation of the European islands of impossible singularity to Caribbean islands of failing conviviality?

The Caribbean revisions of John Donne's denigrating usage of the island as an allegory for the impossibility of a life in isolation from mankind perform various processes of *translatio/n.* All of these examples seem to build on the substantial deconstruction the island trope underwent in contemporary Caribbean cultural theories and produce decolonialized *imaginative geographies* that challenge *insularism.* On the one hand, Walcott's Nobel Prize lecture

claims that "poetry is an island that breaks away from the main," thus supplanting the subject and inverting the quality as well as the outcome of the movement while continuing to build on the allegorical spatiality of the source.[40] On the other hand, in the novels and the poem the erosions of the fictional islands (Maya, Cuba, Jamaica) transform the island of impossibility into densely populated islands with very contemporary sociopolitical and ecological urgencies.

In the fictional worlds of the two novels and the prose poem discussed, massive political, financial, and ecological exploitations threaten the biogeographical islands and unveil them as sites of endangered conviviality in the Anthropocene. Via the drowning of its islands, these texts continue to transmit the intertext's *memento mori* and appeal for an all-encompassing, humble, and deeply compassionate humanity while being very clear and outspoken about the social and ecological erosions as well as the unjust and deadly repartition of mobilities that challenge the Caribbean and our planet today.

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40 If one assumes that the *Devotions* might qualify as poetry (cf. Raspa 1987: xxi–xxii), they and their islands of impossibility necessarily form part of Walcott's island of poetry breaking away from institutionalized knowledge production. The creative transformation of the aphorism thus not only offers continuation and variation but also a potential inclusion of the original sentence, meditation, part, and collection in the allegory.

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IV. Migration and Knowledge Circulation

Martha Zapata Galindo

Framing — Migración, diáspora y circulación de conocimientos

En *The Black Atlantic* Paul Gilroy escogió la imagen de barcos en movimiento entre Europa, América, África y el Caribe "as a central organizing symbol" (Gilroy 1993: 4) como un punto de partida para su investigación: La imagen del barco – "a living, micro-cultural, micro-political system in motion" (Gilroy 1993: 4) – puede representar e invitar a reflexionar sobre los flujos de las ideas y artefactos culturales. Gilroy lanzó a través de este símbolo una pregunta que James Clifford resumió más tarde en *Routes. Travel and translation in the late twentieth century*: "the question of how cultural analysis constitutes its objects – societies, traditions, communities, identities – in spatial terms and through specific spatial practices of research" (Clifford 1997: 19). Ambos autores apuntaban no sólo a las coyunturas culturales complejas e interactivas que están enmarcadas en el espacio y el tiempo, sino también hacia las historicidades construidas y en disputa en espacios de desplazamiento, interferencia e interacción (Clifford 1997: 21–25).

No es casual que los efectos del giro espacial en la ciencia, que marcaron profundamente la reflexión de Gilroy y Clifford, también hayan tenido un impacto fuerte, primero, sobre los estudios de migración y diáspora, y después sobre la reflexión acerca de la circulación de conocimientos y prácticas culturales. En el caso de los estudios sobre el Caribe, en los que tanto la migración como la diáspora son constitutivos para entender sus asentamientos urbanos, sus movimientos de personas, su organización social, económica y política, su cultura y sus identidades múltiples (Cohen 2008; Goulborne 2009; Hall 1994; Sheller 2010) este giro problematizó la relación entre raíces y rutas, entre movimientos y localizaciones, cuestionando finalmente si el Caribe como "significante de la migración" (Hall 1994: 39) y la diáspora como estado ontológico son suficientes para entender la complexidad de procesos en la región (Misrahi-Barak/Raynaud 2016: 26).

El fenómeno diaspórico y sus expresiones culturales nos remiten también a las narrativas fundacionales de lo caribeño: "Créolité" (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant), "Créolisation" (Glissant), "Négritude" (Césaire/Senghor/Damas), "Black Atlantic" (Gilroy), que manifiestan que el Caribe "is the product of ocea-

nic movements and interactions of a global scale that have come together in an unfinished process of becoming" (Cubero 2011: 9). El Caribe y su representación como lugar de complejas interacciones múltiples, de historias y narrativas compartidas, de movimientos y flujos continuos (Bandau/Zapata Galindo 2011: 9–14) constituye, ahora más que nunca, un reto que demanda una pluralidad de aproximaciones desde diferentes áreas de conocimiento y desde distintos paradigmas.

Las contribuciones de Alla Klimenkowa, Sinah Kloß, Catherine Krull y Jean Stubbs y Gudrun Rath sobre la circulación de conceptos, términos, prácticas y conocimientos dentro y fuera del Caribe hacia diferentes localidades del hemisferio norte y sur, que forman parte de esta sección, ponen a prueba los marcos teóricos disponibles desde diferentes disciplinas y objetos de estudio para hacer frente a estos retos. Esto no es nuevo, ya que sabemos que la región del Caribe y sus diásporas como objeto de estudio han contribuido continuamente a desarrollar conceptos centrales como el de diáspora, que originalmente estaba restringido sólo a los casos históricos de las diásporas judías, griegas y armenias (Cohen 1992: 168, 1996: 514), ampliando su definición con nuevas dimensiones teóricas que sirvieron de fundamento al marco de referencia analítico para el estudio de procesos de diasporización, que superó el predominio de la mirada étnica, que definía a la diáspora a través de la observación etnográfica de grupos específicos, facilitando así su esencialización (Butler 2001: 193–194), y abrió las puertas para pensar una tipología ideal de diásporas.

Clasificando a la diáspora caribeña como desterritorializada, Robin Cohen logró pensar a las comunidades diaspóricas sin referentes territoriales específicos y como portadoras de culturas e identidades móviles y multi-locales (Cohen 2008: 123–124). Apoyándose en estas consideraciones Catherine Krull y Jean Stubbs dirigen su atención en "Through a Diasporic or Transnational Lens? Post-'89 Cuban Mobility and Migration in Canada and Western Europe" hacia las redes sociales de los migrantes cubanos, objetivando en su análisis estrategias con las que se crean espacios multidimensionales internos y transfronterizos, que son mutables, tienen límites flexibles y fronteras permeables.

Bajo el impacto de los efectos que produjo la reflexión sobre el espacio en las ciencia sociales y humanas se cuestionó el ya desgastado concepto de 'nación' para dar paso a nuevas categorías como la de 'transnacionalismo' que permitieron objetivar procesos en los que "migrants forge and sustain multistranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement [...] to emphasize that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders" (Basch/Glick Schiller/Blanc 1994: 8). Abriendo con esto las puertas a la formulación de nuevas categorías como la de lo 'translocal', para ampliar el rango de su aplicación, se logró desarrollar un marco analítico más amplio (Faist 2006: 3, Levvit/Nyberg-Sorensen

2004: 3; Portes/Guarnizo/Landolt 1999: 218–224; Smith 2005: 235–236). Los resultados de Sinah Kloß en su investigación antropológica empírica "Staying in Touch: Used Clothes and the Role of Materiality in Transnational Guyanese Gift Exchange" muestran que el valor epistemológico de estas categorías radica en su potencial para describir fenómenos relacionados con "mobility, migration, circulation, and spatial interconnectedness not necessarily limited to national boundaries" (Greiner/Sakdapolrak 2013: 1).

Aun cuando algunos autores consideran que la noción de transnacionalismo se dirige en contra del 'nacionalismo metodológico', afirman a su vez que su "primary concern still rests on the transgression of and exchange beyond national borders" (Greiner/Sakdapolrak 2013: 2), razón por la cual tienden a favorecer la categoría de lo "translocal", sin embargo, la categoría de lo 'transnacional' ha logrado adoptar una perspectiva que rebasa los límites de la nación, incluyendo dimensiones más allá de la movilidad de personas como la agencia de sujetos, en la que la emergencia de redes juega un papel central para facilitar los desplazamientos de migrantes y sus recursos, tanto materiales como simbólicos. Esto es algo que se vuelve evidente cuando Krull/Stubbs discuten las tensiones entre el transnacionalismo y la diáspora y le apuestan a un marco analítico más dinámico que teoriza las diásporas desterritorializadas en espacios transnacionales relacionales que pueden ser considerados desde la perspectiva de diferentes escalas socio-espaciales con un carácter fijo y fluido simultáneamente.

La geografía del conocimiento también ha hecho aportes significativos para entender procesos de producción y caminos de difusión de los conocimientos en el contexto de la historia de la ciencia (Agnew 2007; Harris 2011; Livingston 2003). Se ha impulsado, por ejemplo, el rescate de conocimientos vernáculos, marcando su determinación cultural. También se ha discutido el papel de la colonia en la construcción de las jerarquías del conocimiento y se ha enfatizado la importancia de la producción de conocimientos locales y sus formas de transformación a través del contacto con conocimientos provenientes de otras geografías (Harris 2011: 70–76; Mignolo 2000: 91–93).

Alla Klimenkowa muestra en "Identifying *Kréyòl* and *Criollo* in the Contemporary French Caribbean and Spanish America" de qué forma la movilidad transregional de los recursos lingüísticos a nivel global determina los usos y los significados de lenguaje, sin perder de vista que estos usos también se adaptan a distintos hábitos comunicativos locales que rearticulan herencias históricas y transforman sus significados. Por su parte, Gudrun Rath en su aproximación comparativa "*Zombi* Narratives: Transatlantic Circulations" al analizar las rutas del concepto de Zombi desestabiliza trayectorias establecidas de los desplazamientos entre Europa y el Caribe para descubrir entrelazamietnos conceptuales y figuras dinámicas en constante transformación.

A pesar de que aún no existe un marco teórico de referencia para estudiar el tránsito de conocimientos y prácticas culturales en el Caribe, contamos, sin embargo, con una gama de "metáforas epistémicas" (Rincón 2000) como puntos de referencia importantes: "Travelling Cultures" (Said 1978; Clifford 1997), "Entangled Histories" (Conrad/Randeria 2002), "Hybridity" (Bhabha 1994; Puri 2003), "Geopolítica del saber" (Mignolo 2000). A esta lista se podrían agregar las metáforas de "Epíteto", propuesta por Cohen (2015: 6) y retomada por Krull/Stubbs, para reflexionar sobre las trayectorias de la diáspora cubana, o la de "Spin", que introduce Rath, apoyándose en Sansi & Parés (2011), para explicar cómo entiende la circulación de las narrativas *zombi*. Mientras que la metáfora de "Spin" permite resaltar las conexiones históricas de estas narrativas con espacios transatlánticos, asi como sus entrelazamientos con múltiples prácticas locales, la de epíteto ayuda a enfocar los análisis de las diferentes diásporas desde sus formas específicas de dispersión, así como a revisar sus diferentes conceptualizaciones. Existen también otras aproximaciones teóricas con las que podemos ubicar los aportes de las contribuciones a esta sección. Se trata de reflexiones dentro del 'paradigma de movilidad', desde las "migraciones marginales" o sobre la "circulación de saberes y prácticas culturales". Asumiendo los impulsos del 'giro espacial', estas aproximaciones aceptan los desafíos de los estudios de la diáspora. Aunque no existen en este momento como teorías acabadas, representan impulsos epistemológicos exploratorios para avanzar en la elaboración de un marco teórico y analítico más general.

1 El 'paradigma de movilidad'

La 'movilidad' es un nuevo paradigma que combina preguntas sociológicas sobre desigualdades, poder y jerarquías con dimensiones espaciales de la geografía, como territorio, fronteras y escalas, así como con el interés antropológico en discursos y representaciones, configurando un campo transdisciplinario que se interesa por "historical and contemporary regimes, technologies and practices" (Sheller 2014: 6), así como por cuestiones normativas de movilidad y justicia. El enfoque plantea las siguientes preguntas como punto de partida: ¿Cómo se produce y efectúa la (in)movilidad? ¿Cómo se generan resistencias a ella? Asumiendo una perspectiva histórica desde los estudios coloniales y postcoloniales para explicar procesos de desmovilización y removilización a nivel local y global, incluyendo diferentes escalas espaciales, pregunta por las formas en que se producen, practican y representan las movilidades en relación a las categorías de género, clase, raza y otras formas de desigualdad y exclusión (Sheller 2014: 6).

A primera vista parece ser que los estudios sobre movilidades (*Mobility Studies*) comparten todo lo relacionado con el espacio, el tiempo y el movimiento, con el manifiesto *Cultural Mobility* (Greenblatt 2010) y con las *geografías del conocimiento* (Harris 2011; Agnew 2007). Una mirada más diferenciada revela dos dimensiones importantes: En primer lugar, el paradigma de las movilidades estudia configuraciones de sujetos, dispositivos, redes, regulaciones, prácticas cotidianas y sus entrelazamientos.[1] En segundo lugar, toma en consideración la distribución desigual del acceso a recursos materiales y simbólicos, que sirven de base a la movilidad, utilizando para esto el concepto de 'capital de redes'. Con esto problematiza la distribución desigual de este capital, así como las condiciones de posibilidad para la movilidad, insistiendo en la democratización de los recursos y asumiendo una perspectiva de movilidad justa (Sheller 2011: 3).

Dejando de lado el contexto de la movilidad justa, tanto Kloß como Krull/Stubbs experimentan con formas de capital social para explicar cómo se configuran formas de circulación de conocimientos y prácticas. En el caso de Kloß, el intercambio de objetos incide en la configuración del capital social local, transformando las prácticas locales y las formas de transacción entre los sujetos diaspóricos. Kloß da un paso más allá en su investigación y reflexiona sobre la materialidad del capital social en el marco de la economía del regalo y muestra cómo los lazos sociales están determinados por afectos que circulan en formato de mercancías simbólicas ('puja sari'). Krull/Stubbs se aproximan desde otra perspectiva a las redes. Se interesan por los circuitos culturales y las redes científicas que prefiguran las estrategias de la migración, ya que, en su caso de estudio, la movilidad es un antecedente de la migración y ésta adopta un carácter móvil, es decir, la migración no se termina en el lugar de destino, sino que puede continuar hacia otro lugar.

2 "Migraciones marginales"

En el libro sobre *Marginal Migrations. The Circulation of Cultures within the Caribbean*, editado por Shalini Puri, se propone una nueva configuración para

1 En *Consuming the Caribbean* Mimi Sheller muestra la forma en que estas dimensiones son productivas para analizar los flujos móviles del consumo cultural contemporáneo: "The ties that bind the Caribbean to other places [...] are premised on everyday practices of consumption that occur through economies of movement, touch, and taste in overlapping fields of economic consumption, political consumption and cultural consumption. In recognising such circuits of consumption it becomes evident how various mobilities are crucial not only to the formation of world systems of trade and production, but also to the constitution of world systems of consumption." (Sheller 2003)

la investigación dentro de los estudios sobre la diáspora caribeña que reconoce la relevancia de "las literaturas, culturas, y economías de las migraciones intra-caribeñas" (Puri 2003: 1), especialmente en el marco de las migraciones contemporáneas. Con esta publicación Puri cuestiona la orientación de gran parte de la investigación a fenómenos de circulación hacia metrópolis del hemisferio norte y pregunta, si los resultados de un enfoque hacia los movimientos de personas, conocimientos y prácticas culturales al interior de la región pueden contribuir a reconfigurar la teoría sobre la diáspora y la geografía de los movimientos culturales en otra dirección: "how might we conceive of intra-Caribbean migrations – of people, cultural products, practices, and forms – not just as an economic resource, but, to use the suggestive formulation of the Jamaican sociologist Orlando Patterson, a 'sociosymbolic resource'?" (Puri 2003: 3).

Puri ofrece alternativas teóricas para los estudios de la diáspora. Sus propuestas se dirigen hacia: rehistorizar la teoría, para entender mejor los movimientos intra-caribeños contemporáneos; resaltar la importancia de reflejar las asimetrías del poder y la forma en que los centros académicos metropolitanos funcionan como instancias reguladoras de la investigación y la circulación del conocimiento sobre el Caribe; contribuir al estudio de las trayectorias de las migraciones rechazando sus reducciones a modelos que homogenizan la diversidad de la región, reduciéndolas a un modelo simple de movimientos entre centros metropolitanos y periferias marginales. Las "migraciones marginales" revelan cómo tanto los centros como las periferias están en constante movimiento y contacto con otras localidades. Los centros también pueden estar en los márgenes del Caribe y en los márgenes también hay centros (Puri 2003: 3–6).

De las cuatro contribuciones a esta sección dos analizan procesos de circulación no sólo extra- sino también intra-caribeños. Se trata del análisis de Rath en el que se estudian conexiones entre varios espacios, así como la multidireccionalidad de las interconexiones de los espacios para poder destruir las perspectivas simplistas lineares y proponer una visión más compleja que permite visualizar diferentes procesos de resemantización del concepto de Zombi en distintas localizaciones. Klimenkowa introduce también una nueva perspectiva hacia la circulación del conocimiento que analiza los usos del lenguaje desde las diversas localidades para después elaborar una cartografía y estudiar las relaciones específicas que pueden incidir en movimientos circulatorios. Ambas contribuciones nos hacen reflexionar sobre la necesidad de superar la dicotomía entre estudios de migración intra- y extra-caribeña, para poder entender la complejidad de las rutas y patrones de la circulación.

3 Circulación de saberes y prácticas culturales

En el libro *El Caribe y sus diásporas: Cartografías de saberes y prácticas culturales* las editoras se interesan por la circulación de saberes y "prácticas culturales dentro de la migración –al interior y al exterior del Caribe" (Bandau/Zapata Galindo 2011: 9). Su aproximación parte primero de cartografiar los movimientos de personas, saberes, prácticas y artefactos en la región del Caribe, para después construir una geografía de lugares y regiones "como un sólo espacio geopolítico en el que los saberes y las prácticas culturales circulan más allá de las fronteras lingüísticas [...] y de la geografía de la región caribeña" (Bandau/Zapata Galindo 2011: 10). A diferencia de otros planteamientos, en este caso se habla de saberes, utilizando el concepto foucaultiano que permite incluir distintas formas, conformados por una diversidad de prácticas discursivas (Lettow/Zapata Galindo 2011: 32–33). Se enfoca en capturar relaciones, contradicciones y conflictos que caracterizan la apropiación del saber y que también están marcados por ambivalencias en la historia e incorpora una perspectiva desde la epistemología histórica (Bachelard, Canghilehm) para remarcar la importancia de pensar a los saberes desde sus movimientos históricos, sus instituciones y sus condiciones de producción materiales y simbólicas.

Apoyándose en el concepto de obstáculos epistemológicos de Gastón Bachelard y en el de las metáforas epistémicas derivado de las ideas de Bachelard, de Certeau y Bono (Lettow/Zapata Galindo 2011: 35–36) propone explicar la forma en que los saberes y las prácticas se transforman, considerando las confusiones (en un sentido positivo) que acompañan los actos de saber y que tienen influencia sobre la forma en que los conceptos, ideas y prácticas se traducen y resemantizan, cuando son recogidos de espacios globales o locales para ser incorporados a nuevos contextos culturales. Además, introduce el concepto de "estaciones de relés" (relay stations) como puntos estratégicos o lugares de cruces y encuentros diaspóricos por los que pasan los saberes y las prácticas (ciudades, estaciones de radio, revistas, editoriales, universidades, think thanks, redes, movimientos sociales, etc.). Sienta las bases para reconocer que la circulación de saberes y prácticas entre diferentes contextos lingüísticos necesita de un aparato organizacional que facilite su traducción y diseminación, a la vez que determina las condiciones de posibilidad bajo las cuales las modificaciones de sentido ocurren en los contextos locales (Costa 2006: 67–68). El paradigma de la circulación de saberes y prácticas en el caribe y sus diásporas también se interesa por cuestiones de espacio y lugar, así como por las cartografías del poder que se refieren a la producción de saberes desde abajo, desde el cruzamiento de fronteras, desde las desigualdades y las formas en que se relacionan con las configuraciones de poder.

Los conceptos utilizados, la forma de plantear las preguntas de investigación y los resultados de todas las contribuciones de esta sección aportan elementos valiosos para seguir afinando los conceptos analíticos a los que se refiere la circulación de saberes y prácticas culturales, algo que revela la necesidad de impulsar la investigación sobre el Caribe y sus diásporas. Los y las lectoras del presente libro podrán profundizar en muchos otros aspectos relevantes de cada uno de los artículos de este libro. Queda un último aspecto a mencionar que se deriva de los análisis de Krull y Stubbs sobre las nuevas migraciones cubanas hacia Canadá y Europa Occidental. Tomando el concepto de "estaciones de relé" (relay stations) como concepto analítico para entender las trayectorias de la migración amplían su aplicación para poder ilustrar las estrategias que utilizan los migrantes. De esta manera logran hacer visible cómo los lugares que aparentemente son el destino de la migración, Toronto, Montreal, Berlín o París, son rearticulados como lugares de cruce diásporico dentro de los 'circuitos culturales' en los que se reconfiguran las rutas de la migración, interconectando redes de conocimientos y filtrando lo que puede circular por ellas.

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Catherine Krull and Jean Stubbs

Through a Diasporic or Transnational Lens? Post-'89 Cuban Mobility and Migration in Canada and Western Europe

"The Cuban identity is something rooted in me […] no one can take that from me." (Canada)

"Cubans are like seeds in the wind – we are everywhere." (Spain)

"We are all descended from travelers […] I've come to believe […] there has to be a historical memory […] something within us that on arriving we can say 'Here I am' […] I feel I belong everywhere." (France)

"I have adapted to this society and have also acquired some ways of behaving that you have to take on […] to integrate in this system." (Germany)

"I came to this country like an orchid. The orchid lives from the air, it has aerial roots, it's not grounded […] work and home aside, there was nothing else keeping me rooted to this country." (UK)

Quotes from Cuban migrants interviewed in Canada and Western Europe

Canada and Western Europe catapulted into renewed prominence in their relations with Cuba after the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall. Never having broken with post-1959 revolutionary Cuba, nor having joined ranks with the United States in its embargo on the island, they stepped into the void left by the Soviet Union's 1990s desintegration and curtailed relations with Cuba. As Cuba plunged into an economic crisis of catastrophic proportions with devastating social fallout, and as the Cuban revolutionary government strategized to reposition the country in the global economy, Canada and Western Europe resumed a similarly critical role to the one they had played in the early 1960s, before Cuba's relations tightened with the Soviet bloc. Despite Canada's proximity to the US and the European Union's close identification with US interests, bilateral constructive engagement on the part of both Canada and Western European countries positioned them as front-runners for Cuba in trade, investment, tourism, and cooperation, as well as recipients of coveted Cuban exports – cigars, rum and culture, not least art, dance, and music. A seemingly logical if unintended accompanying development was that Cubans would become

increasingly mobile and migrate in growing numbers to Canada and Western Europe.

Cubans did so in what proved to be a sysmic post-'89 shift. The context was a re-invention of Cuba to ride the crisis and rebrand the country at home and abroad, targeting the overseas tourist market. This was accompanied by gradual Cuban state openings to, and depoliticization of, migration, especially when not entangled in the dominant Cuba-US axis. In January 2013, Cuba lifted most barriers to travel, and in December 2014, Cuba-US relations took an announced turn towards normalization. Cuba had by then become a country of net emigration, and by 2016, alongside a population of almost 11.5 million on the island, an estimated further two million Cubans were abroad. The migration continued to be skewed to the US and heavily concentrated in the Miami area, but there had also been significant new flows elsewhere in the Americas and across Europe, with Canada and Western Europe in line as destinations of choice.

The flows were often not unidirectional, and circulatory migration became a recognizable component involving one or more destination countries and Cuba. Alongside work in the burgeoning tourist sector, having family members abroad sending remittances and making return trips to the island were what enabled many Cubans to survive and (in the case of some) branch out as *cuentapropistas* and build up small family businesses. Since many who emigrated were young men and women of working and childbearing age, circulation became of prime importance in mitigating the loss of Cuba's young working support base for an aging population.

We charted the parameters of this in two recent articles (Krull/Stubbs 2017, 2018), drawing on research conducted in Canada and four core countries of Western Europe, namely, France, Germany, Spain, and the United Kingdom.[1] Our focus was primarily on major cities where Cubans gravitated most: Mon-

1 The project, conducted since 2011 and nearing completion, has involved historical and sociological research, ethnographic site visits, and in-depth interviews with Cuban migrants to explore their motivations, experiences, and perceptions and the ways in which commodities, generations, gender, class, race, and culture have had an impact. Our research was also designed to examine the extent to which there are observable patterns that are similar to or different from those of other migrants, especially those from the Caribbean and Latin America. The project was made possible by funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), for which we express our thanks, as also to institutions, colleagues, and the many Cuban migrants themselves, who have nurtured our research in countless ways. We are especially indebted to Anja Bandau and Christoph Singler, who organized our 2012 project workshop in Paris and incited us to think more closely about the role played by the circulation of knowledge, ideas, and values and by cities as "relay stations" for this (cf. Bandau/Zapata Galindo 2011 and, for Paris, Bandau/Mallinckrodt 2010). We also extend thanks

treal and Toronto in Canada and, in Western Europe, the capital cities of Berlin, London, Madrid, and Paris; however, other cities with significant concentrations, such as Barcelona in Spain and Marseille in France, were also considered. In this article, we shift tenor. In the first part, we take our cue from Cohen's (2015) celebration of epiphytes as a metaphor for diaspora to reflect on the tension linked to the politics of exile between the concepts of diaspora and transnationalism in the recent study of the Cuban migration to the US and Spain. We contextualize this in studies of transatlantic Caribbean and Latin American migration seen through either a diasporic or transnational lens.

In the second part, we conceptualize the Cuban migration to Canada and Western Europe as both diasporic and transnational. Central to our argument is that, as governments, ministries, and private sector in both sender and receiver countries rebranded and reimagined post-'89 Cuba 'from above,' Cubans appropriated this 'from below,' devising their own ways of riding hardship through diverse forms of mobility and migration. We illustrate this through the dynamics of select (g)local relations and disconnections: cultural circuits in the arts, citizenship and immigration policy know-how, language proficiency, school and science networking, and shared ideas and values.

Drivers such as these enable us to characterize the post-'89 migration to Canada and Western Europe as a generational diasporic cohort that has evolved in singular response to the vestiges of Cold War and globalization. Highly transnational in its practices and thinking, this cohort is forging new hybrid identities that depart from the US-Cuba binary divide in ways we explore here.

1 Botany and Diaspora

The quotes at the beginning of this article, which were echoed in many of the interviews conducted for our study, resonate with Cohen's "Seeds, Roots, Rhizomes and Epiphytes: Botany and Diaspora" (2015). Cohen alluded to the "good gardener's guide" in his now classic first edition of *Global Diasporas* (1997) – "scattered seed," corresponding to the original Greek origins of the notion of diaspora; "uprooting" and "transplanting/replanting," as applied to victim and labor diasporas; and various other references, such as "cross-pollinating," "dividing," and "grafting." After discarding botany as metaphorically fanciful in

for the invitation to present our work at the 2015 Hannover conference on *(G)local Dynamics of the Caribbean: Relations and Disconnections*, which gave rise to this article.
Note: Interviews were conducted in either Spanish or English but mostly Spanish and translated into English for the project. All interviewees were guaranteed anonymity.

the second edition of *Global Diasporas* (2008), Cohen returned to it in 2015 as a useful tool for analysis.

Seeds, he argued, were integral to the etymology of diaspora, both in the sense of being sown and dispersed; however, we needed to think more about *how* diasporas were dispersed. The image of the dandelion was frequently used, evoking a perhaps "postmodern lightness of being." (Cohen 2015: 3) The quest for roots, however, continued to be a frequent leitmotif, especially among groups who suffered violent uprooting, such that Dufoix in *La dispersion* (2012) returned to a certain centrism of origin. In contestation, Cohen appreciated routes and the reaction against trees of knowledge from a single rootstock in Deleuze and Guattari's *Mille plateaux* (1980), whereby knowledge was seen as a multiplicity of loose connections, nomadic in nature, like the shoots of rhizomes. He singled out Glissant's *Poetique de la Relation* (1990) in the rhizomatic making and remaking of the Self-Other and constantly unstable process of creolization rather than one fused culture of *Créolité*. He also referred to the journal *Rhizomes*, founded in 2000, as further consolidating the Deleuzian approach.

Cohen's concern, however, was that rhizomes spread subterraneously, which could fuel machinations of migration as an unwelcome underground process. By contrast, an epiphyte, like an orchid, as illustrated by Misrahi-Barak and Raynaud in *Diasporas, Cultures of Mobilities* (2014), affixes non-parasitically to other plants, drawing nutrients from the air and rain. Cohen made explicit the connection between epiphytes needing the support of a tree, just as diasporas may need the support of a country, yet not harming it, providing their own shelter and adding beauty.

2 Diaspora and Transnationalism

How does Cohen's work on diaspora resonate in the Cuban case? His early *Global Diasporas* volume was timely in the field of diaspora studies, the new seeds for which he acknowledged were sown by cultural theorists such as Hall (1990), Clifford (1992), and Gilroy (1993) and further nurtured in *Diasporas*, founded by Tölölyan in 1991. Simultaneously, in the early 1990s, a short-lived literary journal was published in Havana, entitled *Diaspora(s)*, by a small group claiming "insile";[2] and the term diaspora gradually gained acceptance in Cuba

2 *Diaspora(s)* refers to a small poetry collective founded in 1993 by Carlos A. Arguilera, Rolando Sánchez Mejías, Pedro Márquez de Armas, and others as well as the small independent journal they produced. The plural form reflected the dispersal of Cuban culture

and abroad as more neutral than the term "exile," which had been applied to and used by Cuban Americans.

The Cuban sister concept to creolization was that of transculturation, developed by Ortiz (1995 [1940]) and celebrating Cuba's fusion of peoples and cultures while critiquing any static notion of *cubanidad*. The end-of-century Ortiz revival, in Cuba and abroad, challenged essentialism, and a Cuban American discourse was advanced that was both transcultural (Benítez-Rojo 1990; Fernández/Cámara-Betancourt 2000; Font/Quiroz 2004; Perez-Firmat 1989, 1994; Rojas 2005) and transnational (Duany 1997, 2011, 2014; Fernández 2005; Portes 1996; Portes/Guarnizo/Landolt 1999; Portes/Puhrmann 2015). Duany was one who early balked at the telluric images in much of the writing on Cubanness, full of references to roots, uprootedness, transplants, mother earth, and the trunk of national culture. He called for "a new language, an aesthetic of traveling cultures, border crossing and nomad identities." (Duany 1997: 4) He saw aerial and aquatic metaphors as more appropriate to Cuba's *longue durée* migration history, and he drew conceptually on Cohen and others cited above to explore the shared history of the Hispanic Caribbean vis-a-vis the US and the Cuban American *pueblo disperso* in his later work. Embracing a broad concept of diaspora that involved movement, displacement, and hybridity, he called for a comparative transnational perspective of historical processes between sending and receiving countries that varied according to cycles, events, and crises prior to and during the most recent era of globalization. For him, borders (as distinct from the legal spatial boundaries set by states) constituted blurred geographical and cultural zones whose scope was far more diverse and expansive than the narrower economic, social, and political practices that Portes and others had identified as globalization and transnationalism "from below."

Duany endorsed the approach taken by Flores, who, in *The Diaspora Strikes Back* (2008), characterized Cubans in New York City as stemmed not so much from a nationally defined diaspora but from broader Caribbean and Atlantic counterstreams, a group "disengaged from explicitly national moorings and comprised of an already transnationalized mix of multiple cultural traditions." (Flores 2008: 7) Flores also embraced Cohen and cultural studies theorists, and he added Van Hear, whose *New Diasporas* (1998) emphasized the political dimension of situating unprecedented global migratory patterns in the end-of-Cold-War era. Revolutionary developments in communications technology and transportation, Van Hear argued, combined with the loosening of demographic constraints and ideological instabilities resulting from the Cold War impasse. Flores termed this new era "the cauldron of rapid and extreme shifts in

and the need to deterritorialize Cuban culture, since literary boundaries on and off island were no longer clearly delineated (Hernández-Reguant 2012).

the configuration of world power," (Flores 2008: 22) emphatically marking off "new diasporas" with a transnationalism "from below" in their everyday practices, negotiating life in multiple locations and political and economic systems, and creating multidirectional cultural flows and innovations.

Most recently, López, in *Impossible Returns* (2015), influenced, among others, by Cohen and Glissant, titled her introduction "The Poetics of Return." She began by acknowledging Eckstein's analysis in *The Immigrant Divide* (2009), whereby the new historically grounded generation of Cubans (in the Mannheimian sense) leaned more toward maintaining ties with the island. However, she posed a significant question: "A Diasporic Community or a Trans-Nation for All?" She returned to Tölölyan's notion of diasporas as "exemplar communities of the transnational moment" (López 2015: 11) and Safran's essay in the foundational 1991 issue of *Diasporas*, in which he linked the Cuban case to the Armenian, Turkish, and Palestinian, among others. She referred to Cohen's 1997 critique of Safran's centrality of homeland as the axis around which diasporas coalesce and recognized how diasporas link places of origin and settlement – roots and routes, evoking the journey, evolving identities and shifting, non-essentialist positionings. She also accepted the transnational paradigm as applying more to the over 50% of Cubans who had arrived in the US after 1990. However, unlike Flores and Duany, she shared the narrower understanding of transnationalism as practices directly linked to homeland over and above "homing desires," which excluded Cuban American exiles. For her, the concept of diaspora was thus more inclusive and more acceptable than transnationalism in the Cuban American context.

3 Reimagining the Cuban Diaspora

Is there a similarly observable tension between diaspora and transnationalism in the case of the Cuban migration to Canada and Western Europe? In contrast to the abundance of studies on the Cuban migration to the US, there is a relative paucity of study elsewhere. A major exception, however, is Berg's *Diasporic Generations* (2011), highlighting both Cuba and Spain's contested past and histories of migration. Drawing on Mannheim's historically grounded generations, Berg identified three diasporic generations: exiles (1960s – early 1970s), children of the revolution (late 1970s – early 1990s) and migrants (from the mid-1990s). The three arrived in very different periods in Spain, during and after Franco, and were each shaped by very different formative periods in Cuba, such that they had little in common with each other. Berg and Eckstein (2015) would subsequently link their work comparatively on the US and Spain, calling for a reimagining of the Cuban diaspora, highlighting its heterogeneous chang-

ing profile, which is increasingly more pragmatic, more removed from notions of *la patria* and more comparable with that of other recently arriving immigrant groups.

Berg signaled the need for further comparative analysis of immigration from former Caribbean colonies to metropolises with historically and politically divergent processes of colonization and decolonization and different modes of incorporation and postcolonial discourses of identity and belonging (cf. Bosma/Lucassen/Oostindie 2012; Cervantes Rodríguez/Grosfoguel/Mielants 2009). Berg referred specifically to a comparative study of the UK and Spain, and we broaden this out, drawing on Cohen's (1997) conceptualization of the Caribbean as a deterritorialized cultural diaspora, both at home and abroad, with multiply displaced populations and continuing migratory traditions, and a heightened sense of hybridity, diversity, and difference. With reference to France, the Netherlands, and the UK, Cohen argued that new deterritorialization processes took place when conditions in the birth homeland were such that conditions in the diaspora were attractive. Homeland was displaced to colonial and postcolonial metropolitan centers promising cultural and economic opportunity. Cohen's argument was that Caribbean diasporas in global cities proved particularly adaptive, simultaneously holding on to ethnicity and also establishing transnational and intercultural ties, bending them to more cosmopolitan outcomes and purposes.

To our knowledge, there has been no attempt to date to situate the Caribbean migration to Canada within the deterritorialized cultural diasporic paradigm. There, the focus has been rather on the trajectory of one or other of the major Caribbean concentrations in Montreal and Toronto. The latter was primarily from the English-speaking Caribbean, while the former included the vestiges of an earlier anglophone Caribbean population but was overwhelmingly from Haiti (cf. Austin 2013, Mills 2016). Moreover, in Canada, as in Western Europe, Caribbean migration has been overshadowed by the migration from Latin America, similarly concentrated in major cities. Study of the Latin American migration has highlighted waves triggered by political events and more recently the economic migrants from South and Central America (viz. for Canada, Pozo 2006, 2009). The recent migration in Europe has been such that McIlwaine in *Cross-Border Migration among Latin Americans: European Perspectives and Beyond* (2011a) argued strongly for a transnational rather than diasporic approach. For her, the scale and diversity of flows and networks across multiple borders on the part of more "transient migrants" (cf. Levitt 2004) with "liquid life paths" (cf. Faist 2009) and with little focus on exile or mythical return was such that diaspora had limited relevance.

In this context, how are we to conceptualize the post-'89 cohort of Cuban migrants to Canada and Western Europe? It is our contention that this cohort

lies ambiguously positioned in the post-'89 forces of globalization and configurations of world power. It is highly transnational and is also a historically grounded deterritorialized diaspora, one that is post-Soviet and contrapuntal to Cuba's Cold War relations with the US, which only since 2014 have shown any significant signs of thawing. Cubans headed to Canadian and Western European city "contact zones," reminiscent of Flores' 2009 characterization of New York City. These cities in turn functioned as "relay stations" (cf. Bandau/Mallinckrodt's 2010 earlier characterization of Paris) creating new multidirectional counterflows. From the disconnects of their post-'89 world, Cubans forged new relations manifest through a range of visible cultural circuits, especially music and the performing arts, and also through less-acknowledged counterstreams of know-how, knowledge networks, and ideas and values, to which we now turn.

4 Cultural Circuits

Let us first consider how the rebranding of Cuba in Canada and Western Europe enabled Cubans to forge their own circuits of culture beyond those officially endorsed at the state level. In tandem with the new tourism, Cuba introduced differential, more open, and flexible migration policies in the 1990s cultural sector, facilitating the mobility of writers, artists, dancers, and musicians to travel and work abroad (Bustamante Salazar/Soralla Fernández 2015). The stage was set for increased mobility to lead to increased migration in the cultural sphere.

An early unsettling twist to the new cultural openings came in the case of Spain, where, "the 'diaspora' trope debunked Miami as Cuba's oppositional capital, highlighting the rise of Europe as a preferred destination for young educated Cubans, many of whom wished to extricate themselves from traditional exile politics." (Hernández-Reguant 2009: 79) Madrid was promoted as an alternative center for Cuban diasporic culture and, in 1996, saw the launch of the journal *Encuentro*[3], a publication designed to transcend the political polarization between Cubans on the island and those abroad. Publication finally

3 The Asociación Encuentro de la Cultura Cubana was founded in 1995 with the aim of publishing the journal *Encuentro* (Encounter), whose first issue was in summer 1996. The editor was Cuban writer and filmmaker Jésus Díaz, who had recently left Cuba, and co-editor was writer Pío E. Serrano, who had left Cuba in the 1970s and founded his own publishing house Verbum. Despite the express intention of contributions from Cubans in Cuba and abroad designed to break down the boundaries, the tensions continued and contributions by Cubans abroad predominated. The entire collection has been digitalized: http://www.cubaencuentro.com/revista/revista-encuentro/

ceased in 2009, for financial reasons, and no other such initiative materialized elsewhere in Western Europe or in Canada.

Many Cuban migrants we interviewed tended to distance themselves from politics. They were circumspect, if not oppositional, in their views when it came to the politics of older Cubans in Miami. As a young Cuban in Montreal put it, "in Miami the extreme right is very strong and this confrontational environment with the Cubans I really do not like. They are very extremist." By contrast, it was important to him that "Canada has always had good relations with Cuba," just as to another young woman it was important that "Cuba has never had a negative view of Canada as it has of the US." This made choosing to migrate there less politically traumatic.

Similarly cautious views were expressed towards new Cuban dissidents in Madrid and the small but vocal group of dissident Cuban writers in 1990s Paris (cf. Navarrete 2007). Cubans in cities such as Barcelona and Marseille celebrated their distance from Madrid and Paris in this respect and possessed (similar to cohorts in London and Toronto) the ability to blend into their city's ethnic diversity and cultural cosmopolitanism. In the words of a Cuban in London, "We came to a very cosmopolitan city […]. There's a myriad of cultures and I never feel left out or that I belong to a different place." In a similar vein: "Toronto was appealing to me," commented another. "I liked the dynamic of city, the multiculturalism. I liked Montreal also, but […] didn't see myself learning French."

Berlin and Montreal presented political and cultural ambiguity for Cubans, carrying the baggage of pre-'89 divided Germany and post-1960s Quebec separatism and the province's assertion of *Francophonie*. Quebec's Quiet Revolution of the 1960s had created political affinity with Cuba, translating into closer state-to-state relations and events; yet this was compounded by the sovereignty movement promoting a more unicultural French-speaking Quebec.

Cubans experienced Canada and Western Europe in the broader context of the influx of peoples bound up in the colonial, neocolonial, and postcolonial past. Paris had long attracted artists and intellectuals from Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America, including Cuba. By the twenty-first century, there were signs of Madrid, London, and Berlin gaining over Paris in attraction, as also Toronto over Montreal.

Despite the momentous political times, Cuba became identified more by culture than politics, and London in particular proved emblematic. The city was already reverberating with rhythms brought by African and Caribbean migrants, and when the new turn-of-the-century wave of migrants from Cuba and Latin America added their stamp, London was established as a world music capital and Cuban music 'frontier.' (Hernández-Reguant 2012)

Ever since the 1990s *Buena Vista Social Club* phenomenon, Cubans – to coin the words of Perna (2014) in his study of music and tourism – have been selling Cuba by its sound. The marketing success of World Music's London-based Nick Gold and American guitarist Ry Cooder and the documentary by German director Wim Wenders were seen by many in Cuba as a stereotypical throwback creation for overseas consumption. However, *Buena Vista* has constantly reinvented itself, replacing not only aging members but also others who chose to stay over while on tour abroad. They joined other Cuban musicians in a range of genres, from popular to classical music, jazz, and hip-hop. Cuban culture more broadly made its mark via art exhibitions, film showings, theatre, ballet, and contemporary dance; but it was music, and especially salsa, that became the single most popular form, often mixed with other Caribbean and Latin American musical forms (Román-Velázquez 2009). There was a veritable explosion of salsa clubs, salsa classes, and themed trips to Cuba involving resident Cubans. The more the circuit widened, the more musicians, dancers, and artists came, the more Cubans networked to find ways of staying.

Variations on the London experience reverberated across the major cities of Canada and Western Europe, whose ethnic diversity made for a vibrant cultural scene from Berlin to Barcelona (cf Kummels 2005; Sánchez Fuarros 2013); Madrid and Paris to Marseille; Toronto to Montreal. In 2008, Montreal celebrated a major Museum of Fine Arts Cuban retrospective, which was organized at the state level by Cuba and Quebec. However, Montreal had long been bringing Cuban musicians to its renowned jazz festivals and today has clubs like Diez-Onze where resident Cuban jazz musicians play. In Toronto, it was the music scene that also contributed to artists, filmmakers, writers, and many other Cubans who saw the city as a most desirable place to live and work.

Cuban musicians interviewed commented on the fluidity in how this has come about. As expressed by a Cuban musician residing in London since 2004: "I came to study and see, you know, it was like 'let's see' sort of, but of course what happens is that […] once you come to a place like this doing what I do, it's like every cell in your brain explodes." Of the musicians he studied with in Cuba, he states, almost all are scattered abroad. A Cuban musician in Toronto felt: "My life as a musician has taken a 180-degree turn. I've been able to explore new musical genres […]. It's also been amazing to be able to work with excellent musicians from different parts of the world who converge in this city." Cuban music today, another musician in Madrid affirmed, is being created in cities like Madrid, Paris, and Berlin, and Cuban musicians have opportunities and ease of movement to play in all those places. Living in Madrid, he added, "helped me rediscover Cuba musically and artistically and in many ways. That's a privilege, a joy."

Not everything came easy. As one Cuban musician in Barcelona reminisced: "It's not the same coming on tour as living here. I thought everything was sorted. I thought it was a case of getting here, working, doing any kind of work to make a start. I'd no idea I'd need to have my residency to be able to work, be legal… I'd no idea!" Many, however, did do their homework before taking such a step, such that, while the cultural circuits are more visible, other circuits of knowledge were brought into play.

5 Citizenship and Migration Policy Know-How

From statistical studies carried out in Cuba of those emigrating, we know that many emigrants were young and had professional training and qualifications (Casaña Mata 2006–2007; Martín Romero/Araujo González 2008). The interviews for our project, conducted on a snowballing basis, were with Cubans ranging in age from their twenties to their sixties but grouped more around those who were in their thirties and forties. They were the ones who 'came of age' experiencing the dislocation of the 1990s and envisioning a bleak future for themselves and their families, despite the education and training they might have. Those who were older tended to have migrated later as part of family reunifications or to give their own offspring better opportunities in life. They were informed, 'tech savvy' and 'tech connected' on Facebook, blogs, and a host of news and social media websites. They built on personal, familial, study, and work contacts, circulating know-how regarding conditions and opportunities in various countries and their citizenship and migration policies.

Researchers in Cuba have singled out the citizenship and migration policy drivers in the case of the Cuban migration to Spain (Oroza Busutil 2014) and Canada (Marrero Peniche/Gutierrez Guerra 2010), of which Cubans took good advantage. Each of the two territories could be an end-site in itself and also act as a springboard to moving on.

Post-'89 Spain transformed from an emigrant to an immigrant country, receiving large numbers of Latin Americans, including Cubans. In the context of Cuba having long been a colony of Spain (until 1898) and having continued to receive large numbers of Spanish immigrants in the early twentieth century, many Cubans could lay claim to Spanish ancestry (González Yanci/Aguilera Arilla 2002). Knowledge of how to claim citizenship spread across the island and abroad, spiking especially after Spain passed its 2007 Historical Memory Law. In the words of one young Cuban migrant in Madrid: "If I was to leave Cuba, I was aware I needed to have all the necessary documentation so that it'd be as legal a status as possible. So, since my grandparents were Spanish, I got my citizenship." She continued: "My grandparents moved to Cuba when they

were very young, about 26 years old. And, as my father says, 'your grandparents did it, and now you're doing it now, that is migrating for a reason.'"

Cubans lined up outside the Spanish Consulate in Havana to file for their Spanish passports and more recently were on their smart phones and tablets in open-air Wi-Fi spots, swapping information with friends and relatives over IMO, the Cuban-supported app. Not all necessarily intended to relocate to Spain, especially after the 2008 recession, of which they were well aware, sometimes firsthand from returning migrants. Some wanted to have their passports ready for any eventual overseas travel, made possible from the Cuban side since January 2013. This might well have included following in the footsteps of others we interviewed, who, like many Latin Americans, had travelled to Spain and from there trampolined to the UK as well as other parts of Europe (cf. McIlwaine 2011b, 2012) and to the Americas on visa waivers.

Canada, by contrast, has long been an immigrant country and Canadian immigration policy played in Cuba's favor. Discriminatory as it has evolved regarding the 'ideal immigrant' on a point system, with required proficiency in either English or French, the goal is that a large proportion of immigrants hold a university degree and high-status professional positions. From the Cuban end, knowledge spread of Canada as a good and safe place to go, with a high standard of living and welcoming in its multiculturalism. This was gleaned through contact in Cuba with the many Canadian tourists travelling there (who today far outnumber any other foreign nationals) or from firsthand knowledge from Cubans who had studied, worked, or travelled in Canada. This ranged from Cubana airline crews flying in and out of Canada to Cubans who had relocated, whether through marriage or government immigration programs.

Quebec has its own control over immigration, aimed at strengthening *Francophonie,* as well as offsetting its declining birth rate, and Cubans interviewed described opting for Quebec as a more affordable and quicker route, one that might otherwise not have been their first choice. As one Cuban in Montreal recalled: "I already knew about it, I knew I could afford it and that it didn't take long to get into it." He added, "It's very different from Canada's, which is really expensive and which had a much reduced list of professions that they need. I knew I could have more chances to apply to Quebec's migratory program and be accepted." In another couple's experience: "In the process of looking for options, we were very lucky that we came across the immigration program offered by the government of Quebec. Through this program, we were able to leave together, and to get to the new place with a legal status and the support of the government." In their words, "To be honest, we weren't sure about where we wanted to settle down. We didn't come with a fixed idea." Within a year, however, they had their visas for Quebec and knew they had

Cuban friends already in Quebec who could help them on arrival. In effect, they knew they wanted to leave and chose the easiest exit strategy.

They joined many others in the wave of migration to Canada, where, from 2001–2011, the proportion of those who were foreign born rose dramatically, registering 20.6% in Canada's 2011 *National Household Survey*, which made it the highest among the G8 Countries. Selection based on country of origin was wide ranging, and illegal immigration did not pose much of a problem, since the porous border with the US meant illegals could head south. Cases known to us of Cubans going south, often to Florida, were spurred by family ties or in search of warmer climes and proximity to the island. Several interviewed more recently also said they knew Cubans living in Canada who were only now contemplating heading south because they feared the US might soon repeal its Cuban Adjustment Act, which accorded them special status.

6 Language Proficiency

In Canada, Cubans were but one among a fast-growing plethora of visible minorities with Latin Americans as a whole growing the fastest of all, making Spanish Canada's third language today. Cubans interviewed were demonstrably on the ball, spreading the word about professions particularly welcomed by Canada, the online application process, and the required language test in either English or French. As of the 1990s, English replaced Russian as a taught second language in Cuba, while many of those speaking French had acquired it in Cuba at the Alliance Française. There, in addition to language training, they sought advice and made contacts both for France and Quebec. In the words of one young woman who put this to good use: "While I was studying at the Alliance Française, I heard about this option. I knew it was possible for Cubans to apply to this program and immigrate to Quebec." Similarly, one who had been a journalist in Cuba and considered Ecuador and the Dominican Republic, declared: "I studied French for one year at the Alliance Française and then we submitted our application to the Canadian immigration program in Montreal. This was the easiest way to leave the country."

Cubans interviewed in the UK highlighted the role of the British Council in fostering English-language teaching in Cuba and an interest in British culture, and several had initially traveled to the UK through the British Council or on UK Government Chevening Scholarships and Fellowships. These are highly selective, designed as "a unique opportunity for future leaders, influencers, and decision-makers from all over the world to develop professionally and academically, network extensively, experience UK culture, and build lasting positive relationships with the UK." (Chevening 2015) In Cuba's case, they are skewed to

the sciences, computing, and information technology. Chevening posters are prominently placed outside the British Embassy and Residence in Havana, and the rate of return to Cuba is high. However, among those we interviewed were some who married and stayed on to do their PhD and others whose trajectory suggests that more than a few subsequently returned to the UK, where they had partners or friends who helped them settle or move on to a third country of residence. In effect, mobility led to migration, and migration itself could be mobile.

Limitations on German language provision in Cuba were such that Cubans interviewed in Germany attached importance to enrolling in courses to learn the language and immerse themselves in the culture to meet residence and citizenship requirements. One young Cuban who married a German paid privately in Cuba to have three months' intensive German language from a Cuban who had studied in the former GDR before she and her husband filed their application for her to go to Germany. She then attached importance to further language training: "The more integrated you are, the better you are seen in society, and the better accepted […]. If you speak less German, it's harder to get a job, it's harder to communicate […]. I'm in Germany, so I try to integrate." And, as another young Cuban found out quickly, "Well, I thought that with my knowledge of English, I was going to be able to start a life, and at least survive at the beginning until I learnt German, but that wasn't the case […] and thanks to the help from some people I was able to learn quickly."

Cubans singled out Berlin's Humboldt University and Leipzig University for language training, a role each had also played pre-'89, and those who had prior English-language proficiency turned to apply their language skills to learning German. All stressed how important this was to integrate well into German society and culture, as did those in France regarding assimilation into French society and culture. In Montreal, Cubans often expressed a discomfort regarding Quebecois *Francophonie* – itself a factor in some cases for their subsequent drift to Toronto. Even when proficient in English, Cubans felt this mattered far less in Toronto's (and in London's) cosmopolitan world.

7 School and Science Networks

Interviewees who came of age in Cuba's crisis of the 1990s spoke of many, if not almost all, of their year group now residing outside Cuba. This held true for university graduates and those who had studied at selective medical, military, and special senior high schools, the most elite of which was the Lenin school in Havana. In the words of one interviewee in Madrid, "from my group, from

when we were at the Lenin School until after university, well you can count on your fingers how many have stayed."

Our findings concur with those of Berg's "La Lenin is my passport" (2015) in that former cohort groups keep in regular online contact, logging onto internet sites and social media groups, as well as maintaining offline friendships transnationally. Their links are defined most by the need to stay in touch and share memories, thus creating a transnational web of relationships and material support. Berg suggested that the selective elite schooling, designed to school professionals and cadres for Cuba's socialist system, had engendered a political embarrassment for the revolutionary government when their graduates left to seek betterment in capitalist systems abroad. However, we found this politicized context of state-diaspora relations dissipating over time.

Cuban state investment in human capital was nonetheless seen as risky (Pérez-Ones/Núñez-Jover 2009) and occasioned stricter controls in certain sectors. They were tight on the medical profession, though many Cuban doctors and nurses can be found abroad. One who has spent time in both Spain and the UK described how the process of requesting her *liberación*, (the term given to being released from the medical field) was stalled at the municipal and provincial levels in the late 1990s, although, in her words: "At that time it wasn't so difficult. I always say to people that I got on the last train, because after that you had to spend two years working in another place, wherever they sent you, and then that was increased to five years. I was liberated in eight months."

Cuba's medical *cooperantes* serving abroad, both nurses and doctors, also maneuvered transnationally as well as defecting, albeit in relatively small numbers. The mobility of academics, scientists, and engineers was directed mainly to OECD countries and designed to guarantee a sustainable scientific culture in the global "market space." (Arencibia Jorge/Araújo Ruiz/Torricella Morales 2004) The ensuing transnational knowledge networks are only just beginning to be studied.

Our interviews with professionals across academia, the media, science and engineering, the corporate world, and NGOs evidenced how a good number had started out collaborating with colleagues abroad, while in Cuba or off-island on study or work visits. These connections had developed into substantive relationships leading to longer-term overseas study and work opportunities. Not all who took the step to migrate sustained work in their profession but, if part of an established network, had the potential to carve out advantageous conditions. Those who left Cuba under duress might have severed contact with Cuba – or Cuban authorities and colleagues had severed contact with them. Others, however, actively sought ways of working with those back home.

In this respect, our findings mirror those of a recent biometric study of Cuban scientific collaboration by Palacios-Callender, a Cuban biochemist resi-

dent in the UK, who teamed up with British informatics professionals concerned by the asymmetries of researcher mobility and migration. Palacios-Callender and Roberts in "Help Academic Diasporas Seed International Collaborations" (2015) argue that mobility and residency in the developed world gives exposure to the "triple helix" of academia, government, and industry; enables learning to work with people from other cultures and religions; and aids in attaining local knowledge that can help home countries.

Palacios-Callender's pilot study identified 103 Cuban researchers active in Europe, 74 in top-ranking universities, who collectively had collaborated with 990 institutions in 57 countries, and over one half (56) had co-authored at least one paper with colleagues in one of 34 institutions in Cuba. Heavily weighted to Western Europe and against the US, the distribution reflected the contrast between only 20% of the migration of Cuban scientists going to the US and the overall Cuban migration to the US, which topped 80%. Her final study spanned the period 1990–2010 and used the PubMed free online database (cf. Palacios-Callender/Roberts/Roth-Berghofer 2016). From 1989 to 1994, Cubans' publications in international journals increased 211%, while decreasing 60% in national publications due to lack of resources in the publishing sector. The distinctive turn in 1990s international collaboration was from the Soviet Union to Spain, along with a diversification to Canada, Belgium, Denmark, Japan, and Austria, followed by the UK, Switzerland, and France. During 2000–2010, international collaborations rose from 43.5% to 60% of all publications. Western Europe topped the list, followed by Latin America, then Asia (principally Japan), with North America lagging behind and Oceania registering just a handful. In Western Europe, Spain accounted for over 30%, with Belgium, Germany, and the UK following, in descending order, with 13%, 12%, and 11%. In North America, the region with the highest overall scientific output, the Cuban share was lower, with Canada and the US each around the 7% mark.

Significantly, the collaborative scientific networks were concentrated in immunology and microbiology, biochemistry and molecular biology, biotechnology, medicine and pharmacology-toxicology pharmaceuticals, and chemical sciences – all priorities for Cuba's continuing commitment to science as a way of promoting social welfare over individual and corporate interests while also overcoming isolation.

8 Border-crossing Ideas and Values

This brings us to a concluding note, which is how Cubans in Canada and Western Europe have found attractive not only cultural and economic opportunities but also prevailing ideas and values. These range from a welcoming ethos of

social and ethnic diversity, multiculturalism, and cosmopolitanism to respect for the individual as well as society – despite the increasing anti-immigration phobia in Western Europe, so markedly exposed in the UK's recent Brexit referendum. Interviewees across the board valued liberties and civil rights, and also the provision of public services from education, health, and welfare to transport and recycling, which they saw as tempering the excesses of a US-style capitalism. They celebrated not needing a car in their cities, which they described as "safe," "cycleable," and "walkable;" and they decried the excessive consumerism and materialism of the US, not least Miami.

Some explicitly self-identified as center-left, if not socialistic. In the words of one who has been in London for many years: "There are a lot of things I believe in that go with socialist mentality. I want good things for everybody." She elaborated: "I believe in social care, education for everybody, everyone can access the medical care. And what I truly believe is that these are more important in this country than in other European countries, even in Germany, even in Belgium, even in France."

Each of the countries under study presented differing scenarios and suffice it here to single out two that were quite distinct, namely Germany and Canada. Germany stood out due to the special relations of the pre-'89 eastern-bloc German Democratic Republic (GDR) with post-'59 Cuba, the post-'89 severance of those relations, and Cuba's rapid move for the return of those Cubans who had been working and studying in the GDR after the Berlin Wall came down. During the Soviet period, both the former GDR and Cuba were bolstered economically, educationally, and culturally as a showcase for the Soviet bloc, fostering a special place in their respective imaginaries (cf. Hosek 2012). Only vestiges remained of the pre-'89 academic programs that sent Cuban students to universities of the former east, in Berlin, Dresden, Halle-Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Rostock, and little, if anything, survived of the former east's docks and industries where some 30,000 Cubans had worked between 1975 and 1990. However, among Cuba's returnees were those who retained an enduring empathy (Vogel 2009), and more than a few opted to settle in Germany (Brandhorst 2013; Pérez Naranjo 2013), albeit to the West rather than the depleted East, Berlin being the exception as having straddled both.

Cubans saw Canada as a place opening up to them with new opportunities without needing to sever connections with homeland or heritage. Cubans identified with this before travelling to Canada, and once there, they helped propagate the image through their use of the internet and social media and the ease with which they could travel to and from Cuba. Since they came legally to Canada and the politics of Cuba were not anathema to most Canadians or their governments, they could choose whether to engage in discussions and activities touching the revolution and its ideals. They could also stay or leave, if able

to engineer it, though many expressed reservations about "heading south" and becoming embroiled in Miami politics.

Driven by conditions on the island and the desire to take advantage of opportunities opening up with Cuba's repositioning and rebranding, Cubans in Canada and Western Europe proved highly adaptive, blending into the multicultural cosmopolitanism of new urban environments while also striving to assimilate and integrate when and where need be. In the maelstrom of new (g)local dynamics in relations and disconnections, they dispersed through Caribbean and Latin American cultural contact zones of major cities and charted new horizons in which to forge transcultural and transnational practices and thinking. As expressed by a Cuban artist in Paris: "I didn't come like a flying insect or butterfly, to fly around the city of light… I didn't come looking, I came to participate, to collaborate and share my knowledge." People try to box you in and put you down, he said, but "I try to be like the mist, like the wind, like Macandal […] who could be with a concept and a direction everywhere, to make life impossible […] for those who want to sink the human condition. I would like to save the human condition for myself and others if possible."[4]

Such diverse post-'89 Cuban border crossings can be seen as counterstreams to those caught up in the Cold-War vestiges of the US-Cuba axis, better situated within Cohen's notion of a deterritorialized Caribbean diaspora grounded in rich cultural capital. And, fanciful though it may seem, Cohen's metaphor of the epiphyte captures them well: lightly rooted in their diverse diasporic spaces, not parasitic, rather adding something new.

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4 Macandal, a legendary figure in Haiti, shrouded in myth: a slave who escaped the plantation in what was then St Domingue to lead Maroons against enslavement imposed by French colonial rule, renowned for escaping capture and execution, his soul and spirit still wandering Haiti. In Cuban writer Alejo Carpentier's classic novel *El reino de este mundo* (1949), Macandal had the magical capacitiy of metamorphosis and salvation (see chapters 6 and 8 of the novel), and the artist was alluding to this in his own journey to Paris – a city where Carpentier himself lived for many years, before and after the Cuban Revolution.

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Sinah Kloß

Staying in Touch: Used Clothes and the Role of Materiality in Transnational Guyanese Gift Exchange

1 Going 'Foreign'

"I got all my Indian Wear inside some bag down there," Shivanie explained, stood up from the bed, on which we were sitting, and bent down to grab a suitcase and two travel bags from underneath her bed.[1] Laying them on the mattress she described: "I keep them in a special place, because we do not wear them every day." She opened the suitcase and revealed a colorful variety of neatly stored garments that she categorized as 'Indian' on the basis of style and ornamentation. One by one she took out sets of garments, mostly ready-made 'Indian Wear' and Indian garments that she had sewn herself during her teenage years. The self-made ones, she elaborated, were older than the ready-made clothes, as Indian Wear had only become available to the majority of rural Guyanese during the 1990s. According to her, most of the ready-made Indian clothes that she owned had been sent by relatives and friends who had migrated to North America. Shivanie is a 31-year-old Guyanese Hindu housewife, who lives with her husband, parents-in-law, and children in the countryside of Berbice – a region in eastern Guyana.[2] Here, work in the agricultural sector, particularly the cultivation of sugar and rice, continues to provide the most significant sources of income for much of the local population, including Shivanie's working-class family. During my anthropological research, which I

1 All names in this article have been changed to ensure my informants' anonymity.

2 'Indian' denotes an ethnic group in Guyana, which is socially constructed through othering processes, particularly in relation to Guyanese 'Africans.' (Seecharan 2011; Ramey 2011) Guyanese Indians construct their ethnic identity on the basis of an (alleged) descent from Indian indentured laborers, who arrived under colonial rule in then British Guiana between 1838 and 1917. As discussed elsewhere, Hindu and Muslim socio-religious practices represent and performatively (re)create this 'Indian' identity today, for example through the practice of wearing 'Indian Wear' on religious occasions (Kloß 2016).

focused on the exchange and consumption of clothing in transnational Guyanese Hindu communities, I conducted a multi-sited ethnography among Guyanese Hindus in Berbice as well as among members of the Hindu-Guyanese immigrant community in Queens, New York City, between 2011 and 2013.[3] Through participant observation and ethnographic interviews in both 'nodes' of this transnational network (Brickell/Datta 2011; Greiner/Sakdapolrak 2013), I examined how intimacy and closeness are (re)created in the course of migration by focusing on clothing and sartorial practices. During my various stays in Guyana, I lived with Shivanie and her in-law family and was furthermore able to visit her parents and relatives 'overseas' in New York.

In our conversation on Indian clothing, Shivanie recalled the history of each *gharara* and *shalwar* that she presented to me (Fig. 1).[4]

Not only did she remember on which occasions she had worn these clothes but also how or from whom she had received them. Standing next to her bed, she picked up a red gharara, its top and long-skirt adorned with silver beads and sequins. I had seen her wearing this garment before, during a special ceremony at a *mandir* (Hindu temple). 'Indian Wear' – a local term for clothes defined as Indian – is only worn on religious occasions in Guyana. My Hindu informants usually dressed in Indian Wear when they performed a *puja* (Hindu ritual to venerate deities), when they addressed deities and sought their blessings in public or semi-public contexts. They may thus be defined as 'puja clothing' (Kloß 2016: 53–61). The red gharara, Shivanie explained, was her favorite and very special to her. Her mother had sent it all the way from New York City, where she had worn it once or twice before she had passed it on to her daughter.

Radica, Shivanie's mother, had migrated to South Jamaica in Queens with her husband and two sons in 1994. Although the entire family left Guyana at that time, Shivanie decided to remain in Guyana to live with her future husband in her parents-in-laws' house. Radica's migration is not an exceptional case: Guyana has experienced and continues to experience large numbers of emigration each year. This migration is so extensive that it is sometimes referred to as an 'exodus' of Guyanese (Halstead 2002: 276). Guyanese frequently comment that today more Guyanese live outside Guyana than within Guyanese

3 The author thanks Christiane Brosius and Anne Brüske for their invaluable comments on this research. Fieldwork for this article was funded by the Heidelberg Center for Transcultural Studies (HCTS) and the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD).

4 Shalwars and ghararas are defined as 'Indian' dress for women in Guyana. Shalwar refers to an outfit consisting of long pants and a long, loose top that covers at least the hips of the wearer. Ghararas are outfits that consist of a combination of a long skirt and a top. Ready-made ghararas are usually heavily ornamented with beads and sequins. Both types of dress are usually bought in a set with a shawl.

Fig. 1. Women in a yellow gharara, pink, green and apricot saris, and orange and white shalwars at a temple festival in Guyana, Februrary 2013 (© Sinah Kloß).

national borders. They list the strenuous living conditions, Forbes Burnham's authoritarian rule, and an economic crisis coupled with the 1980s food crisis as triggers for this vast outward migration; these push-factors, I argue, are also coupled with the 'American Dream' that prevails among most Guyanese. In this context, the US or more generally the 'foreign,' a term Guyanese apply to denote 'overseas nations,' have become an epitome for a better life.

Regardless of whether the migration was considered legal or illegal, contact among migrants and those who remain in Guyana was often maintained to the extent that transnational families and communities developed. By 'transnational' I refer to movements and connections across national borders that result in the establishment of 'transnational social spaces,' creating practices that do not exist in either of the localities but are a result of transnational migration (Glick Schiller/Basch/Blanc Szanton 1995). Transnational social spaces produce new social phenomena that are a result of this interconnectedness (Pries 2001). Not any international practice or connection may be considered as transnational, however. Only when there exists a certain density and continuity of interactions between social actors in the sending and receiving societies, a social space may be considered transnational (Faist 2001). First-generation

Hindu-Guyanese migrants in New York and their relatives in Guyana have established such transnational communities and maintain these on a long-term basis.

When transnationalism or transnational practices are discussed in academic literature, the lower cost for international communication or financial remittances are addressed often, highlighting them as support for families at 'home'. Less frequently, the relevance of material remittances and transnational gift exchange practices are highlighted. Apparel continues to be exchanged in transnational communities and households, and they move on and travel; it is therefore important to address the topic of transnational gift exchange practices and to raise the question: what is the role of materiality in transnational migration? This article demonstrates how material gifts and remittances, particularly clothes, create, visualize, and materialize relationships between people who are separated as a result of migration. It addresses questions such as: how is contact and touch facilitated by material gift exchange? How is intimacy (re)created between giver and receiver through the exchange of clothing?

2 The Practice of Sending Barrels

Most transnational gift exchange and particularly the exchange of clothing is facilitated by the socio-cultural practice of sending barrels.[5] Barrels are 400-litre containers filled with consumer goods such as food items and textiles, which Guyanese migrants in North America pack and which are then shipped to Guyana to be "shared" (distributed) among family members and friends. The sending of barrels is a practice conducted by a large number of Caribbean migrants, and shipping companies have specialized in providing this service to various Caribbean nations. Barrels are sent throughout the year, Christmas forming the high season. According to my Guyanese informants, the average cost of barrel contents was around US$ 600 and a cost of US$ 130 for packaging and postage in 2012. In the limited literature in which barrel-sending has received attention, the practice was discussed as a means to support nutrition and prevent poverty in the home country. Scholars and barrel-senders noted that the primary items sent and listed were staples such as rice, flour, and/or oil (Plaza 2014). While staples continue to be among the sent items, my Guyanese informants, who regularly send or receive barrels, point out that specific branded and luxury consumer goods such as ketchup or instant cake mixtures are

5 The most common method of sending gifts, however, is to hand a small parcel to a relative or friend who is travelling to Guyana or North America. These gifts are usually food items or garments in much smaller quantities than the quantities sent in barrels.

included. For instance, when preparing meals in her kitchen, Shivanie casually (and at times, emphatically) pointed out that the food item she was using or the package we were looking at had been sent to her by her mother in her latest barrel. However, most items and brands that are frequently 'barreled' have become available for purchase in Guyana – if not in rural areas then usually in the urban centers of Georgetown, Linden, and New Amsterdam. This raises the question: why are barrels still being sent if the items could be purchased locally and senders could chose to send monetary remittances instead?

This question becomes even more relevant when taking into consideration that the practices of packing, sending, and receiving barrels are discussed in terms of fatigue and stress. Barrel-sending, when interpreted in terms of gift exchange, is a practice that (re)creates, visualizes, materializes, and maintains relations, families, and communities even in the course of migration. Barrel-sending is a creative and connecting practice which requires efforts on both sides and thus (re)produces relations through a joint effort. It is an action of transnationally sending and receiving gifts, a practice that is indicative and the result of transnational migration. Regardless of whom and where I asked about sending or receiving barrels, Guyanese always referred to the process in terms of 'fatigue' and sacrifice. Senders describe the process of packing and sending barrels as tedious and costly. According to them, it takes time, money, space, and patience to pack a barrel (Kloß 2016: 228–231). For example, Basmattie expresses her feelings with regard to the 'fatiguing' process of packing barrels:

> No, because you got to go *shop*, you got to go *shop* and then it's you alone, then you got to go shop, is a lot a *ting*! And then, […] you get working, when you come home, you're tired, then you got to shop every day, got to shop lil by lil, lil by lil. But if you find like… have somebody to *help* me, […] and, two person go and you shop, which mean you can full up you barrel…
> (Basmattie, 63, female, Richmond Hill/New York)[6]

Basmattie is a 63-year-old Hindu-Guyanese widow who migrated to New York City in 2006. Between 2006 and 2012, she sent three barrels 'home' to Guyana, as she explained in our extensive conversation in her basement apartment in Richmond Hill in April 2012. She defined the receivers of her barrels as her extended family as well as neighbors and members of her former Hindu temple

6 "No, because you got to go *shop*, you got to go *shop* and then it's you *alone*, then you got to go shop, it is a lot of *things*! And then, […] you have to work, when you come home, you're tired, then you got to shop every day, got to shop little by little, little by little. But if you find like… have somebody to *help* me, […] and, two people go and you shop, that means you can fill your barrel."
Unless stated otherwise all quotes in Guyanese Creole have been translated into English by the author.

community. Her daughter usually was the addressee and therefore responsible for the distribution of the items that Basmattie had packed. As her motivation to send barrels, Basmattie highlighted that her friends and family in Guyana are "happy" about and "glad" of the items she sends.

Barrel-receivers in Guyana similarly describe the practice of barrel-receiving as fatiguing; a circumstance that is often met with surprise among those Guyanese who do not send or receive barrels. They sometimes interpret these complaints as ingratitude or voracity of fellow and allegedly greedy Guyanese, especially those who live in the capital Georgetown. Barrels are usually transported to the port of Georgetown, where they need to be picked up because the international shipping fare only includes an on-site drop-off.[7] Particularly barrel-receivers who live in Berbice or other rural areas describe the process of 'clearing' the barrel as a hustle, trouble, or stress. They need to travel to Georgetown to clear their barrels and arrange their transport to Berbice, a trip my informants describe as expensive and time-consuming – 1.5 to 2 hours each way by car, longer by cheaper mini-buses. Recipients need to deal with customs and taxes, a procedure that often includes the bribing of custom officials or porters of shipping companies.[8] In this context, Parvathi, a 57-year-old widow from rural Berbice, described that her son-in-law usually takes over the clearing of the barrel for her. She explained: "Me nuh able wi de barrel stuff! Me nuh able wi duh ting! That fuh go clear de barrel! When you meet, sometime they break you barrel! And they tief out a whole set a stuff!"[9] Similarly, my host sister-in-law Shivanie elaborated that her husband takes charge of clearing the barrels which her mother sends, as this part requires a lot of strength. He would usually borrow someone's truck or minibus, as the 400-liter containers require a lot of space to be stored on the way back to the countryside. Fuel and bridge tolls make this undertaking costly for the mostly working-class rural population, who describe even the much shorter trip to New Amsterdam as negatively affecting their budget if undertaken on a weekly basis. Particularly for those people who do not hold a driver's license or for elderly people in Berbice, the process of clearing barrels becomes a nearly impossible task. Shivanie

7 Only few people afford or are willing to pay for door-to-door delivery. In case the 'door-to-door' option is booked, this almost doubles the transportation price to US$ 200.

8 In a letter to the editor of the daily Guyanese newspaper Stabroek News, a barrel-receiver complains for instance: "Before you see your box/barrel, some of the porters would make an impressive show looking for it and would take a long time unless you offer a 'top-up' ($1,000); if there's more than one they claim that it must have 'automatically' separated and that takes longer and the 'top-up' increases." (Bates 2012: n.p.)

9 "I cannot stand this barrel stuff! I cannot handle that thing! To go and clear the barrel! When you reach there, sometimes they have unsealed your barrel! And they've stolen a whole lot of stuff!"

and her family thus considered the process of clearing as fatiguing. Consequently, the practice of sending barrels needs to be interpreted as a twofold effort, because the process of receiving barrels is part of the practice and effort of sending. Through this practice and on the basis of joint efforts and actions, families and communities are (re)established transnationally. Barrel-sending is a practice that emphasizes communal and familial relations.

Despite the efforts and the expenditure for packaging and postage, barrels are usually discussed in terms of saving money. Most of my informants emphasized and acknowledged that the items they send are cheaper in North America. In this regard, the sending of monetary remittances would result in a subjective 'loss' of money, as local items would be bought at a more expensive rate that would exceed the cost of barrel transportation. Indeed, shopping for and spending money on barrels are practices of thrift, practices in which the money saved and spent is directed towards and invested in the maintenance of family (Miller 1998). For example, Basmattie remembered that besides sending food, curtains, and clothing, at one point her main objective for sending a barrel was to provide her family with a grass cutter:

> …Wan time I sent home in wan a de barrel, […] you know de grass cutter? The thing you slash the grass with it in Guyana? I buy wan a duh and loosen it up, in two well three pieces and ah put it in de barrel. Ah wrap it up like wid towels, towel. And ah put it in de barrel and ah sent it fuh dem. Because is like so expensive dey, and I pay like a hundred and thirty dollar fuh it heh, and duh is like twenty-five thousand Guyana dollar and is like, over fifty, sixty thousand dollar in Guyana. So I mail de barrel and ah put wan fuh dem. And they onto now, because when you see the yard in de front, they cut the grass with it.
> (Basmattie, 63, female, Richmond Hill/New York)[10]

The act of purchasing and sending the grass cutter as well as the expenses related to its sending were expressed in terms of saving money.

10 "…Once I sent home in one of the barrels, […] you know the grass cutter? The thing you slash the grass with in Guyana? I bought one of these and loosened it up, in two well three pieces and put it in the barrel. I wrapped it up with towels, towel. And I put it in the barrel and I sent it to them. Because it is so expensive there, and I pay like a hundred and thirty dollars for it here, and that is like twenty-five thousand Guyana dollars and there it costs like, over fifty, sixty thousand dollars in Guyana. So I mailed the barrel and I put one for them. And until now, because when you see the yard in the front, they cut the grass with it."

3 Creating 'Touch' through Used Clothing

Clothes are usually among the items sent in barrels. The vast amount of these barreled clothes consists of garments that are considered 'used.' The practice of handing on used clothing is a common phenomenon in Guyana and is described in general as thrifty behavior, because it is considered inappropriate to dispose of clothes as long as they are deemed wearable. A garment that a person no longer wears is given to a friend or family member, who will reciprocate this gift at a later point in time. For instance, mothers pass on garments to daughters, sisters, and so on, and as a result (re)create social relations and families. The exchange of (used) clothing creates relations between people, defines givers and receivers, links and delineates families, and "provides an opportunity to evaluate their relationship, defining 'insiders' and 'outsiders.'" (Norris 2010: 107) Most Guyanese living in the rural areas of Guyana experienced a clothing boom in the 1990s. This increased the numbers of garments that can be given and "handed on," intensifying the practice of sharing used apparel among family members and friends. Especially when clothes are categorized as 'used,' tacit but significant rules of exchange apply, which may either create social closeness or increase social distance. As is the case for all kinds of gift exchange, negotiations of social hierarchy are intricate to these practices. Receivers of gifts are in lower status positions compared to the senders. In order to re-establish prior status or subvert this hierarchical positioning they need to reciprocate the gift (Mauss 1966; Parry 1986).[11] When clothing that is considered unwearable or of bad quality is handed on, particularly if it is categorized as 'used,' this practice reinforces and influences hierarchy between giver and receiver. The handing on of items which need to be fixed expresses and emphasizes hierarchical relations, whereas the process of handing on 'wearable' garments is more likely to express equal and friendly relations (Norris 2010).

While pointing out the various sets of clothing in her suitcase, Shivanie was able to identify precisely who had given her which garment in which context. The red gharara, which she had described as her favorite, had been sent to her by her mother in one of the barrels. Barrel-sending thus enables the continuous exchange of garments among Guyanese and has become an intricate aspect of maintaining familial relations that are affected by migration. The practice also influences negotiations of social status and hierarchy, however. Guyanese migrants in North America usually have greater financial means to send clothing; further, they have the exclusive possibility to send barrels

11 For an elaboration of Hindu-Guyanese gift exchange, hierarchy, and reciprocity cf. Kloß 2016, chapter 5.

because shipping companies offer this service only from North America to the Caribbean. Guyanese in Guyana (seek to) reciprocate these gifts by handing small parcels filled with pickled goods, dried fish, or *cassareep* (cassava sauce) to an acquaintance or relative who travels to North America.

Migrant Guyanese usually acquire a higher status for having migrated and for demonstrating their higher economic capital. But also within the community in Guyana, social hierarchy is contested and negotiated through barrels. By receiving goods that are visibly 'foreign', for example ready-made and fashionable Indian Wear or branded food items (like in Shivanie's case), those who stay at 'home' acquire social and cultural capital that transforms their status in the local community. By displaying these specific goods and emphasizing that specific items have been sent from a relative living abroad, one demonstrates and creates social capital (Bourdieu 2010) and enhances one's status by visualizing the family's access to the 'foreign' and 'overseas nations.' Through barrels and 'foreign' goods, the general status of the transnational family is raised due to the intricate display of social, cultural, and economic capital.

Used clothes and their exchange manifest the presence of absent family and people. Gifts of used clothing are imbued with the identity, spirit, or substance of their givers and former wearers, and thus exceed the capacity of merely defining and (re)creating relations. They actively transform people and bodies. In this context, transnational gift exchange exceeds the idea of creating contact, but its material implications facilitate a means to stay in touch. In this analysis, I do not use the terms 'touch' and 'contact' interchangeably. Based on my ethnographic observations and interviews, I propose touch to be a temporary union, which implies a transformation of objects that touch physically, sensorially, and/or spiritually. The 'act of touching' creates contact that results in a temporary proximity and possibly union between two entities. Touch exceeds contact, in the sense that it exceeds a mere proximity or closeness of two or more entities but emphasizes a process, a transformation, an exchange, and/or transmission between entities such as clothing and bodies.

Garments, which my Hindu-Guyanese informants regard as material objects, create a temporary union with the body. This temporary union is based on the transmission between entities and a temporary amalgamation. According to them, humans and objects are in a constant process of exchange and are therefore not distinct. Instead, bodies and dress are regarded to "exist in dialectic relationship to one another." (Entwistle 2011: 139) For instance, cloth may 'take on' its wearer by receiving human smell, sweat, or shape (Stallybrass 2012). Body fluids such as sweat are excreted by (human) bodies. They transpire or are transferred to clothes and other items of dress with which they are in contact. They become attached to and part of material objects and vice versa: while bodies may transform the color, feel, or structure of textiles, clothes on

the other hand also impact human bodies, for example if they cause wounds when rubbing the skin or when they mold bodies, as is the case with corsets or brassieres.

Touch, in this context, has to be understood as the transmission of substances and essences between bodies and clothing. In this sense, touch is a reciprocal process that influences both body and garment, as "to touch is to be touched." (Turney 2012: 305) According to Guyanese Hindus, during acts of consumption, for example when clothing is worn or gifted, substances and energies are transferred between bodies and dress. Clothes become dwelling structures that may contain and store these substances (Kloß 2016: 233–248). Particularly worn clothes are considered to contain such substances and energies that may be transported to a subsequent wearer. In this sense, the "gift of a piece of cloth is the gift of a detached fragment of oneself; it links the giver and the receiver, bringing them into a more intimate relation yet creating a hierarchy in the process." (Norris 2010: 118) When Shivanie's mother sends garments to her daughter that she has worn before, she sends clothes that are symbolically linked and related to her and also carry her smell or energies. The exchange of used clothing hence offers a special means of facilitating intimacy and forms an intricate part of (re)creating transnational families and communities through the maintenance and recreation of physical touch.[12]

4 Exchanging Auspicious Clothing

The exchange of clothing and the (re)creation of touch exist on various levels in the described context of (Guyanese) Hinduism. Clothes are also exchanged between deities and humans, for example in ritualized gift-giving processes termed *charhaway*. Guyanese Hindus give garments to deities during puja, the ritual veneration of deities in front of their *murtis* (representations and manifestations of deities). In particular, they charhaway saris and dhotis, styles of clothes that are categorized and considered to be the most 'authentic' Hindu clothing. The offered items are placed next to the *murti* on the altar, an act through which the deity receives the clothing. He or she then consumes and touches it, and ultimately transforms it into an auspicious object. The garment becomes imbued with blessings and divine energies as a result of this divine consumption and the proximity to the murti (Fuller 2004). Murtis do not solely

12 Elsewhere I elaborate how used clothes are considered to become a likeness of their former wearers. Highlighting the aspect of material similarity, I argue that these conceptualizations further contribute to the creation of closeness and intimacy in migrant families and communities (Kloß 2016).

wear painted clothing but are dressed in ornamented Indian-style clothing. In case the offered garment is later chosen by the temple committee to be the next apparel the murti will be adorned in this transmission intensifies.

Guyanese Hindus consider items offered to and (partially) consumed by deities, including clothes, as a kind of *prasadam*. Prasadam may be translated to '(auspicious) leftovers' and refers to objects that have been offered to a deity and have been transformed through mutual touch. As these objects are described to be imbued with divine power and energy, the devotee internalizes and incorporates this power when consuming the prasadam, for instance when he or she eats or wears edible or sartorial leftovers. This practice, intricate to all pujas, performatively reconstructs the hierarchical relations between deity and devotee, marking and creating the deity's superiority (Fuller 2004; Michaels 2004). Textile prasadam and clothes offered to a deity 'store' divine blessings and energies and therefore must not be discarded as waste. My informants frequently explained that a human body needs to wear such blessed clothes in order for the blessing to 'transfer'. For example, Pujari Romesh, who arrived from Guyana in the mid-2000s and is head pujari and founder of a Guyanese temple in Queens, explains in a conversation on murti clothing: "What comes off of the murti, you have to wear it! You have to wear it. After you finish with it, then it could do decoration with it."

In the Guyanese diaspora in New York, a large number of migrants are able to afford saris and dhotis for offerings during puja. Only the affluent are able to purchase ready-made Indian Wear for the practice of charhaway in Guyana, however, and the rural Guyanese population usually offers five yards of cloth as a kind of 'substitute'. The relatively lower cost of US$ 10 for a simple but ornamented 'puja sari' and their higher purchasing power enables Guyanese Hindus in Queens to not only offer one sari in the course of a puja; often, a family offers various saris and dhotis to the respective deities. In some temples, this practice leads to an excess of offered charhaway items, as murti clothing is only changed twice a year and the vast amount of garments cannot be worn by the murti. Temple communities and committees hence send this surplus in barrels to affiliated temples in Guyana. Here, surplus saris are given to members to be worn as 'puja clothing' in the future, and the most beautiful garments are taken aside to be dressed on murtis when it is time to change their clothes. This sending of 'surplus barrels' demonstrates how material gift exchange facilitates the (re)creation of transnational communities, (re)creating transnational social spaces by transforming old and molding new patterns and structures that only exist as a result of migration.

Material gift exchange is furthermore affected by place, national borders, and other aspects such as citizenship. As material gifts are not free-floating objects that cross time and space unrestricted and without hindrances, notions

of place and locality continue to be of relevance when analyzing the practice of exchanging (used) clothes and transnationality. Generally, place and locality remain important influences in the formation and maintenance of highly mobile, transnational communities and families (Greiner 2010; Verne 2012; Greiner/Sakdapolrak 2013). The concept of translocality highlights this aspect. Translocality has to be understood as a "form of 'grounded transnationalism' – a space where deterritorialized networks of transnational social relations take shape through migrant agencies." (Brickell/Datta 2011: 3) The concept highlights the situatedness of people who are mobile but also of those who are not. It focuses on people whose lives and environments are influenced by global and local dynamics and puts emphasis on specific 'nodes' and localities which influence people and their transnational socio-cultural practices (Hannerz 1996; Smith 2001). Material objects, which travel between and connect the various nodes of transnational networks, cross national borders and are impacted by transportation, import, and customs formalities. My informants, for instance, frequently explained their ongoing struggles for being granted duty-free concessions to import surplus saris to the various temple communities. They expressed their discontent about the alleged favoritism of government officials who are said to discriminate Hindu groups as opposed to Christian groups. They frequently point out that Christians do not need to apply for duty-free concessions concerning imported altar wine and bread (Kloß 2016).

Citizenship and nationality are furthermore relevant in transnational gift exchange. As discussed earlier, material gifts have a specific capacity in providing and facilitating contact and touch. This gains particular significance in the context of 'illegal' migration. A significant share of international migration from Guyana to North America has taken place under conditions defined as illegal. Shivanie's mother Radica, whom I introduced earlier, arrived in the United States with her family as illegal immigrants in 1994. 18 years later, at the time of my fieldwork, she and her family were finally granted US citizenship. She explained that they had spent approximately US$ 30,000 on fines, immigration fees, and lawyers. As it was impossible for her to leave the country, travel home, and visit her daughter during this period, sending parcels and barrels with gifts provided the only means for her to maintain touch. She, like many others, elaborated that letters and cards, which she often tried to send in the beginning, never "reached" and "got lost" in the postal system. She described how she spoke to her daughter regularly on the phone and sent text messages, but that this did not feel to be "enough." Indeed, I witnessed that Shivanie and Radica were texting each other various times a day when I was living with Shivanie in Guyana. Even during our conversation on Shivanie's clothes, her mother was somewhat 'present' in the bedroom by way of text messages. However, both of them expressed happiness and feelings of closeness whenever a

'physical' gift arrived. In the red gharara that Radica had imbued with her identity and essence, which she had handed on, and which was now lying on Shivanie's bed, Radica was present on a symbolical and material level.

5 Conclusion

Materiality and local contexts influence the creation of transnational families and communities. As elaborated in this article, the exchange and consumption of used clothing present a special means to (re)create familial closeness and hierarchy. The practice of barrel-sending, which always includes the practice of barrel-receiving, enables and requires joint actions and joint efforts between dispersed communities and families, a process usually described as 'fatiguing' but upheld in the name of family devotion. The sending of barrels, which enables the continued exchange of used clothing in Hindu-Guyanese families, further facilitates the continuity of touch.

Two years after my doctoral fieldwork and a year after the legalization of her family's status, Shivanie was also granted permanent residence in the US through a family-based immigrant visa. In 2014, she moved to New York City to live with her family, taking along her children who, by now, have settled in their new Queens home. Shivanie had been expressing her intention of leaving Guyana and reuniting with her family from the beginning of my fieldwork, as was commonly the case for Guyanese with relatives in North America. However, her hopes and wishes remain yet to be fulfilled, because her migration and subsequent US legal restrictions have separated Shivanie's family once again, although on a different level. Her husband was unable to join her due to the fact that they were only married by Hindu and not Guyanese state law. She thus needed to legally marry him and file yet another application for a family-based immigration visa with the US government. As this process may take several years and because Shivanie is unable to visit her husband as she is unable to afford the high costs of travelling, she has resorted to sending barrels and parcels filled with food items, chocolates, and clothing, recreating touch and familial closeness for the time being.

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Alla Klimenkowa

Identifying *Kréyòl* and *Criollo* in the Contemporary French Caribbean and Spanish America

1 Introduction

Historically, Spanish *criollo* and French *créole* (in French Creole *kréyòl*) show important trans-regional similarities in their usage as markers of an American origin referring to people and facts of colonial reality. The commonalities in their semantics and extension can be easily explained by ecolinguistic[1] parameters that characterized both linguistic communities in the colonial context. The principal aim of this contribution is to examine whether the current usages of both terms still preserve traces of that shared linguistic past. Addressing this question, I will try to explore paths for a better understanding of how such a historically, culturally, and cognitively loaded concept as CREOLE affects current usages of the term, exemplified by Spanish America and the French Caribbean, and to what extent new socio-cultural settings are able to modify the legacy of historical vocabulary in these linguistic communities. In this endeavour, I rely on Jan Blommaert's view of language as a social and mobile entity which functions across spatial and temporal scales and whose diachronic and synchronic features are deeply intertwined (2010: xiv). The reader will be offered a contrastive survey of modern usages of *criollo* and *kréyòl* based on empirical data, interviews, and field notes collected during my research on Martinique and Guadeloupe in 2012 and during my research stays in Spain and the Dominican Republic, where I interviewed various speakers of American Spanish.[2] Armin Schwegler's (2003) synchronic study of modern Spanish *criollo* highlighted a

1 The ecolinguistics accounts for linguistic forms and linguistic behavior from the perspective of interrelations between language and its complex environment, i.e. cognitive and socio-cultural factors (see Haugen 1972; Fill 1993, 1996; Ludwig/Mühlhäusler/Pagel, 2017).

2 The empirical data on the usages of the creole term *kréyòl* were obtained primarily during my three-month-long field research on the French Antilles in 2012. The main

considerable complexity in the usage of the term. My own investigation approaches this issue from a broader perspective, first by looking at the historical background of synchronic data and second by contrasting the usages in Spanish America and in the French Caribbean.

2 The Past Meets the Present

The usage as a glossonym may constitute the most noticeable difference between *criollo* and its counterpart in the French Caribbean. Beyond the frame of scientific, academic speech, ordinary Spanish speakers hardly use this word to designate language. Even in the Dominican Republic, speakers prefer the term *kréyòl* to the Spanish version *criollo* in reference to the Creole language of neighboring Haiti. In current everyday parlance, *criollo* and *kréyòl*, especially as personal designations and markers of local origin, continue, however, to demonstrate an interesting match of developmental trajectories.

To highlight the continuity of the historical usage of *criollo* as a conventionalized indication of local origin for people, plants, and animals in Spanish America, it should be noted that speakers have been employing this word in reference to endemic plants since the 16th century. Describing local olives in the province of Lima, the Dominican friar Reginaldo de Lizárraga (1909: 498) wrote between 1590 and 1602: "a las aceitunas llamamos criollas: son las mejores del mundo" ('we call the olives *criollas*: they are the best worldwide').[3] In the beginning of the 17th century at the latest, the use of *criollo* expanded to refer to various facts of colonial reality, for example, to name the biggest ship built in America in 1605, *La Criolla* (Bolland 2004: 168).

In a similar way, the French term *creolle/créol/créole* meaning *originaire* ('original') or *né dans cette Isle* ('born on this isle') was applied to diverse refer-

objective of the conducted interviews with over 100 creole speakers on Martinique and 170 on Guadeloupe (including the islands Désirade and Marie-Galante) was to investigate the currency of the use of the historical vocabulary once common in the entire Caribbean. Along with the lexeme *kréyòl*, the current use of *mawon* ('to disappear; to avoid') and *bosal* ('dirty' on Guadeloupe) were explored, too (Klimenkowa 2012, 2015). The method of semi-structured interviewing was chosen in order to maintain the flexibility and naturalness of the conversation. The interviews took place mostly on local markets and on the streets in various urban and rural communities.
The usages of the Spanish equivalent *criollo* presented here were collected on my research trips to Valencia and Seville where I interviewed various speakers from Mexico, Colombia and Peru. These data were enriched through my observations in the Dominican Republic (the Samaná region).

3 All translations into English are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

ents in the island colonies. The Dominican missionary and a famous travel writer Jean-Baptiste Labat (1722: 124) used, for example, the expression "la graine creolle" with the following explanation of the adjective *creolle*: "c'est-à-dire, née dans le pays" ('it means, grown in the country'). Adjectival *créole* also possessed the meaning 'typical for the creoles,' as demonstrated by the example, again from Labat (1722: 118), *ragoût creolle* referring to a dish usually cooked by creole women on Martinique and Guadeloupe.

The inherited meaning 'local, traditional' can be easily recognized in the current use of both terms *créole* (*kréyòl*) and *criollo*, their extensions, i.e. the sum of potential referents a lexical term can be applied to, underwent, however, significant modifications.

2.1 *Criollo* as a Personal Designation

The results of my research support Schwegler's conclusion (2003: 53) concerning the decrease of the usage of *criollo* as 'a person originally from X' in everyday speech of ordinary speakers in Spanish America. Thus, the meaning of the word which was a primary from a historical perspective can be attested now in less than half of the Spanish-speaking countries of America. As Schwegler (2003: 60) shows, its referential value extends from a general meaning 'a person from a given country' to a narrower one 'a person from a particular place' or 'from a rural area.' The complete absence of this usage in Mexico, according to Schwegler's data, remains astonishing given the fact that some of the oldest attestations of *criollo* in reference to people originate precisely from the former viceroyalty of New Spain that covered the territories of modern Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean.

There are two factors to be considered in connection with the decrease of this usage. The first is of an axiological, connotative nature. Since the connotation of *criollo* adopted either an elitist or a pejorative referential value over time, the neutral, almost unrestricted usage of the word as an origin marker for people[4] could hardly survive. The second factor can be attributed to the sociopolitical setting marked by independence movements and strong separatist tendencies in America in the 19th century; here, the usage 'born in/originally from X' became too general in order to express one's own Mexican, Peruvian, or

4 Both in Spanish America and the francophone Caribbean, the term was used between the 16th and 18th century irrespective of skin colour and legal status of the referents (see for Spanish America Levilier 1921; Lavallé 1982; Boyd-Bowmann 2003, s.v. *criollo*, for the French Caribbean Du Terte 1667, Labat 1724, Chanvalon 1761 and Moreau de Saint-Méry 1797). The only exception was the indigenous population of America.

Colombian national identity. The decrease or at least the backgrounding of the usage of *criollo* as a neutral marker of origin does not represent, however, a consequence of postcolonial development only. This tendency manifested itself in colonial times.

As soon as colonial society in its attempt of a congruent classification of social categories and groupings moved the focus from a person's place of origin to a place in a social and legal hierarchy, the conceptualization of *criollo* also changed. Following Bennett (2009: 105), the term identified a person across new scales, bearing on his/her cultural background. Historically, *criollo* performed a very decisive function as a social distinction marker. It differentiated, on the one hand, American-born slaves (*criollos*) from newly arrived inexperienced Africans (*bozales*, see Klimenkowa 2012) and, on the other, locally born descendants of Spanish colonists (also *criollos*) from European Spaniards (called *españoles*, *chapetones*, or *gachupines*[5]). The first differentiation disappeared as soon as the slave trade was abolished and new slaves ceased to arrive from Africa. The latter enjoyed a far longer currency, but due to the political rivalry between local elites and the more prestigious social group of European ('pure-bred', non-mixed) Spaniards, the originally widely used designation *criollo* tended to be rather associated with *mestizos*, so that it obtained a clear socio- and ethnocentric connotative touch. Consider, for example, the description of *criollos* given by Juan de Cárdenas, a Spanish physician travelling in the West Indies in 1591 (1988: 110): "me consuelo que [...] con ser ellos nacidos y criados en Indias y tener mucho más posible, edad y experiencia que yo, no han sido para otro tanto, estimando en más la pompa y hornato de sus personas [...]."[6] Connected to negative moral qualities, such as vanity, laziness, and immorality, *criollo* was seldom accepted as a self-designation by the creole elite who preferred the name *españoles*. At the same time, according to Stephens (1999, s.v. *criollo*), the word was current until the middle of the 20th century as a 'racial' term with an elitist connotation and used to differentiate the offspring of prior Spanish colonists and people of mixed origin (*castas*).

The function of *criollo* as a social distinction marker is outdated for most contemporary speakers. But interestingly enough, a pejorative connotation of the word when applied to people has survived in some regions of Spanish

5 In the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, both terms *chapetón* and *gachupín* served as pejorative designations for European Spaniards who were not familiar with the way of life in the colonies. A contemporary author, de Vargas Machuca (1599: 215), provided the following definition: "Chapetón, o Cachupin, es hombre nuevo en la tierra" ('*Chapetón* or *Cachupin* is one newly arrived on this land').

6 'I am consoled that although they were born and grew up in the West Indies and are possibly older and more experienced than me, they did not go beyond estimating above all the glory and decoration of their own person.'

America. According to my informants from Peru, the expression *¡Qué criollo eres!* (lit. 'What a creole!') denotes the qualities 'vulgar' and 'audacious.' In the Andes-region, the term also refers to devious persons who try to make use of others.

2.2 For Whom Does *Créole* Stand in the French Caribbean?

My interviews conducted on Martinique and Guadeloupe revealed a similar developmental trajectory in the use of *créole* (*kréyòl*). Neither the nominal nor the adjectival usage of the term as a personal designation is current today, but the interpretation of this usage is quite polemical within the political discourse of the French Antilles.

The perception of *créole* as a designation used exclusively for American-born children of French colonists had begun to take hold in the 18th century. An ecolinguistic motivation of this trend is identical to the development of *criollo*. Due to the decrease of slave influx at the end of the 18th century, the fundamental prerequisite for the usage of *créole* to differentiate American-born slaves also vanished. In contrast, the distinction between *créole* elites of European origin and the French coming from Europe was further maintained. Historical illustrations, post cards, as well as census data from Martinique and Guadeloupe from the beginning of the 20th century (see Ludwig 2008: 71–72) show that the group of *créoles* did not comprise only whites but also (and first of all) mulattoes (*métis*), a fact that displays another interesting parallel with *criollo*. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the use of the word on the islands and its definitions in European lexica from the 18th until the 20th century is more than baffling. Under the lemma *créole*, the 4th and 5th edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (1762, 1798) provided the following entry: "CRÉOLE. s. m. & f. Nom qu'on donne à un Européen d'origine qui est né en Amérique. Un créole, une créole."[7] Consider now the advice in Dupré's *Encyclopédie du bon français* (1972, s.v.): "le 'bon usage' a imposé de n'employer créole que pour les Blancs."[8] Since the 19th century, the term has produced its own political 'discourse-on-*créole*,' contributing to more public consciousness about the historical use of the word on the Antilles. The debate was ignited upon the statement of the white minority on Martinique who – as the supposedly 'real' autochthonous population of the island – claimed the designation *créole* exclusively for themselves (Confiant 2009: 115).

7 'Name given to an original European born in America. A creole man. A creole woman.'

8 'the usage prescribes to apply *créole* only to whites.'

As my own experience on the francophone Antilles shows, the use of *créole* when applied to persons of African origin is very unusual. The same can be claimed for the use of the term as a designation for people in general. The only context where adjectival *créole*/*kréyòl* may be met (and where we can recognize some historical traces) is in the contrast between local whites, called *blan kréyòl* (lit. 'creole whites'), and the French, called *blan fwans* (lit. 'French whites').[9]

When compared with the use of *criollo*, the social and lexical demarcation line runs, therefore, across different parameters in Spanish-speaking America and the French Caribbean. In both linguistic communities, speakers appeal to the historical reference of *criollo*/*kréyòl* to the offspring of European colonists. By this means, Spanish *criollos* differentiate themselves from the mixed population, whereas French *créoles* set themselves apart from European whites. Again, the deviation of these trajectories can be understood when viewed from an ecolinguistic perspective. It is useful to remember the traditional and everlasting Iberian code of honor *limpieza de sangre* (lit. 'blood purity'), according to which any 'mixture of blood' was condemned.

Both *criollo* and *kréyòl* are much more widespread when used adjectivally in combination with names of local dishes, animals, plants, and customs. The following sections address these usages in more detail.

3 *Criollo* & *Kréyòl*: Adjectival Usages

Criollo and *créole* (*kréyòl*) are very often used in characteristic compounds where both appear as modifiers restricting the meaning of a correspondent head noun. Typical motives for denotation are local origin and reference to autochthonous traditions and authenticity. For example, in the Dominican Republic, the expressions *cacao criollo* or *gallina criolla* refer to 'home made cacao' (sold in nuggets on local markets, Fig. 1) and 'a locally bred hen' (opposed to its bigger and white counterpart, imported from America or Europe [*de gringos*]) respectively. Examples from Schwegler (2003: 49–50, 53), such as *caballo criollo*, *pan criollo*, and *fiesta criolla* highlight first of all the quality 'vernacular', 'local', 'traditional', or 'typical for a given place/region.' There is, however, an interesting detail that differentiates this usage of *criollo* from that of *kréyòl*.

9 Beyond this contrastive context, Antilles-born whites are mostly called *béké*, from Igbo word 'white; European.' (Bollée 2012: 221) For their continental counterparts, the name *métro*, from *métropolitain* 'continental French' is more common.

Figures 1 (left) and 2 (right). *Left:* Cacao criollo; the Dominican Republic (© Alla Klimenkowa). *Right:* White criollo yautia (left, in a blue box on the table) and purple Puerto Rican yautia (right) at the central market in Samaná, the Dominican Republic (© Alla Klimenkowa).

3.1 Deictic Gradation vs. Referential Vagueness

Viewed from a diachronic comparative perspective, the lexeme-inherent reference to a person's spatial location enabled the speaker communities in Spanish America and the French Caribbean (but also in Brazil and on Cape Verde) to construct the concept of *criollo*, *créole*, or *crioulo* according to correspondent local communicative settings that were not universally identical. The repetition of this trend is still observable, though on a smaller scale, in Spanish-speaking America. Depending on the communicative context, *criollo* can denote the meaning 'local,' 'regional,' or even 'national.' Because of such reference flexibility, we can conclude with Schwegler (2003: 53) that the term hardly qualifies as a pan-Latin-Americanism. The same collocation used in different regions, for example *fiesta criolla*, may express different things and imply different referential values. In Chile and Ecuador, it refers to a 'national (i.e. a Chilean or Ecuadorean) *fiesta*.'(Schwegler 2003: 49–50) Speakers in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico would use the term in a similar way, as synonymous with the expression 'from this country'. In Panama, it means, in contrast, a festivity 'typical for a certain place.' In Peru, adjectival *criollo* seems to be associated with coastal areas of the country, as confirmed by my informants. In this deictic continuum, Mexico and Paraguay can be placed at one of its extremes. According to Schwegler (2003: 53), this usage is unknown here.

By comparison, speakers on Martinique and Guadeloupe prefer explicit specifications to the implicit (i.e. lexically unspecified) deixis of *créole* (*kréyòl*). Otherwise, this term appears to be too vague to express the Aristotelian cate-

Figures 3 (left) and 4 (right). *Left:* Christophine Martinique; Fort-de-France (© Alla Klimenkowa). *Right:* Igname St. Martin 'yams from St. Martin'; Fort-de-France (© Alla Klimenkowa).

gory of *differentia specifica*. The participants of my interviews compared it with the adjective *carayibeyen* 'from the Caribbean' in a sense that *kréyòl* can also refer to any Caribbean island. This explains the preference for more precise expressions better suited to convey the meaning 'local,' 'from here.' We may mention French expressions here, such as *de chez nous* or *local* as well as their Creole equivalents *a/an nou*, *bòkay/bokaz*, *bòkay nou*, *icidan* (on Guadeloupe) and *iciya* (on Martinique). In order to make the reference even more explicit, local market vendors use compounds with a correspondent toponym as a modifier, such as *fri a Gwadloup* ('fruits from Guadeloupe'), *biten Marigalant* ('a thing from Marie-Galante'), *christophine Martinique* ('christophine from Martinique') (Fig. 3), *igname Saint Martin* ('yam from St. Martin') (Fig. 4), etc. Two informants from Guadeloupe commented that the designations *Gwadloup* or *péyi* ('from this country') when applied to local products are much more definite than the adjective *kréyòl* which may equally imply Martinican or Cuban origins. The Creole expression *tikaz kréyòl an-nou*, attested also in Guadeloupe, is especially illustrative in this respect. The head noun *tikaz* ('small house') is specified by two modifiers: *kréyòl* refers to the general Antillean tradition of house construction and the prepositional phrase *an-nou* ('our') points to the origin from Guadeloupe.[10]

The linguistic choice on both Lesser Antilles islands is indeed justified, for the term is used as a synonym with 'local' on other Caribbean islands. For example, the Dominican *criollo* bears unequivocally on the original products of this country und serves synonymously with 'Dominican.' Thus, *criollo* yautia

10 On the French Antilles, local goods of simple quality are often unspecified, whereas imported and grafted plants carry a correspondent marker. For example, *citron greffé* refers to a grafted variety, whereas *citron* points to the indigenous, naturally grown lime.

(i.e. edible tubers similar to potatoes or yams) means here yautia original from the Dominican Republic. Due to its white colour, it can be easily distinguished from its purple Puerto Rican equivalent (Fig. 2).

3.2 Metonymy at Work

Among expressions that denote foreign origin of goods, plants, or animals and thus differentiate them from those produced on Martinique or Guadeloupe, we can find *lòtbò (péyi)* (lit. 'from a country on the other shore [of the ocean]'), *ondòt koté* (lit. 'from the other side'), *déwò* (lit. 'from outdoors'), *vini* (lit. 'incoming'), as well as the proper name *fwans* ('France/French'). However, in current collocations, such as *farin fwans*, *ponm fwans*, *patat fwans*, or *zongnon fwans*, the modifier *fwans* does not convey the meaning 'coming from France' but rather denotes European, often imported products in general. The aforementioned examples refer to the contrast between wheat flour and manioc flour; between European/North-American apples and autochthonous fruits named *ponm* (*ponm-dlo*, *ponm-sité*, *ponm kannèl*, etc.); between round potatoes and sweet potatoes; and between European onions and the local variety respectively. An interesting example of semantic change can be observed here.

Due to metonymy, the modifier 'French' was perceived as the prototype of the conceptual category EUROPEAN/FOREIGN. In addition, this adjective underwent a meaning shift from a geographical name to a marker for a high quality. This semantic evolution can be explained from an ecolinguistic perspective very well. If *fwans* served as a distinction marker in colonial times already, it must have implied an evaluation nuance from the very beginning. As Figueroa Lorza (1984: 372) argues, imported commodities were usually considered to be of better quality than the local ones, not least because they represented traditions, taste, and expectations of the socially dominant group. Over time, this led to the formation of a more general meaning 'European/imported,' which can be attested in the use of *fwans* in Antillean French and Creole. As a marker of origin, this adjective is hardly motivated in current use. Due to a metonymic meaning shift, it rather refers to positive characteristics, still mostly associated with France or Europe as cultural models. Thus, the Creole expression (recorded on Martinique) 'made like in France' is understood as a compliment for a job well done. When applied to vegetables, fruits, or pastry, adjectival *fwans* conveys the meaning 'good-looking, big, fine, or tasty.' The interviewed speakers commented that this label, though highly subjective, is used as a marketing strategy ensuring good selling.

In reference to quality, *kréyòl*, in contrast, indicates poor value. In this respect, the word is used synonymously with the adjective *gwosomodo* ('coarse,

simple'). Applying this marker, speakers seem to imply some kind of contrast, be it in reference to quality, appearance, or origin. This tendency can be easily observed in the usages of adjectival *kréyòl* when applied to animals.

Expressions, such as *bèf kréyòl*, *kabrit kréyòl*, *kochon kréyòl*, *chyen kréyòl*, or *kòk kréyòl* clearly refer to local origin of the respective animals, but by means of this modifier, speakers simultaneously indicate further qualities typical for these varieties. When compared with a European breed, creole animals are smaller in size but much more robust and do not require special care. The interviewed speakers commented that these animals do not represent a particular breed and grow in their own yard on simple food. The expression *chyen korosòl* often used for creole dogs (*chyen kréyòl*) is very representative in this respect. *Corossol* as the name of a wild tree very common on the Antilles often denotes something simple (see Ludwig/Montbrand/Poullet/Telchid 2013, s.v. *korosol*). One of my informants on Guadeloupe described 'creole cattle' as follows: "*bef à nou* est *bef* créole, adapté au climat, au soleil, à quantité de manger, à peu nourriture pendant la carême; souvent croisé avec les autres races moins résistantes"[11] (Fig. 5).

If we consider *kréyòl* und *fwans* as a contrasting pair, Spanish may provide with *criollo* and *de Castilla* ('from Castile') a remarkable counterpart, a fact that shows another parallel in the usage of *criollo* and *kréyòl*. Similarly to the modifier *fwans*, the prepositional phrase *de Castilla* originates from the colonial context and performs a clear evaluative function. Figueroa Lorza (1984: 372–373) and Alvar (1969: n.p.) attest its usage in various regions of Spanish America in reference to particularly smart animals, tasteful and extraordinary beautiful fruits, as well as to very valuable objects. *De Castilla* also differentiates cultivated plants from wild ones and conveys the meaning of superiority in one or another respect. But again, this modifier, similarly to *fwans*, displays a metonymically motivated meaning shift. Nowadays, the expression is much more general and does not necessarily refer to Castilian origin but can be equally applied to an American context.

Returning to the aforementioned example *gallina criolla* from the Dominican Republic, another semantic parallel with *kréyòl* is of note. Apart from the reference to the Dominican origin, *criolla* also highlights the quality of this specific hen variety to lay eggs (*ponedora*), whereas imported hens are rather appreciated for their flesh. One of my informants commented that "la gente casi no la quiere comer" ('people seldom wish to eat it [the creole hen]'). When describing the manner of cooking, the expression *a lo criollo*/*a la criolla* means, on the one hand, 'prepared with local products' but, on the other hand, 'cooked

11 'our cattle is creole cattle, adapted to the climate, to the sun, to food amount, to scarce food during a fasting period; often cross-bred with other, less robust races.'

Fig. 5. Bèf kréyòl 'Creole cattle'; Guadeloupe (© Alla Klimenkowa).

in a simple way.' (Schwegler 2003: 51) In this usage, the word rather transmits a pejorative note. Consider examples with adjectival *criollo* or diminutive *criollito* obtained from my informants from Bogotá (Colombia) and Toluca (Mexico), such as *maís criollo* (lit. 'corn of poor quality,' 'corn with small grains') and *pasto criollo* ('pasture of bad quality'). At the same time, the term may underline also positive qualities. The expressions *papa criolla* and *manzanas criollas* (used in Colombia) refer to the good flavour of the mentioned plants, potatoes and apples. This usage could be attributed to the current trend to esteem naturally grown traditional plants because they grow without fertilizers (also Schwegler 2003: 51). An informant from Bogotá described 'creole apples' as follows: "manzanas criollas son de la tierra, pequeñas, pero muy buenas, sin fermentales, chiquitas."[12]

Like the already discussed flexibility of spatial reference of today's *criollo*, its usage as a quality marker is all but clearly-cut. Whether it is used in a positive or a negative sense depends very much on the given region, the communicative context, and the referent itself. Schwegler's study (2003: 50, 60) also men-

12 'creole apples are grown in this country, they are small but taste very good, without fertilizers, little ones.'

tions this astonishing semantic ambiguity of the word, often resulting in quite contradictory interpretations given by speakers. For instance, when using the adjective *criollo* in reference to a dog, speakers usually mean a common stray dog. At the same time, my informants from Mexico and Colombia described *caballo criollo* as a big and beautiful horse breed with a characteristic trotting. For Schwegler's informants from Nicaragua (2003: 50), 'creole horse' means a foreign, pure-bred variety. Considering this kaleidoscopic diversity of regional usages, connotations, and referential values of *criollo*, Schwegler's criticism (2003: 61) of lexicographic works (for example *Nuevo diccionario de americanismos* by Haensch/Reinhold 1993) is well-deserved as they generalize and simplify the term's meaning.

3.3 Proper Name vs. Generic Term

Apart from their function as modifiers, *créole*/*kréyòl* and *criollo* also serve as proper names of particular dishes, plants, or animal varieties. Nevertheless, their usage as generic terms clearly dominates. Thus, the collocation *comida criolla* (lit. 'creole food') usually refers to a number of traditional dishes typical for a certain region or even for some particular place. In the Dominican Republic, speakers exemplified this expression naming *habichuelas con dulce*, *guisado*, and *sancocho*. In contrast, in Limón (the coastal province of Costa Rica with a high percentage of Afro-American population), *comida criolla* is restricted, according to Schwegler's study (2003: 50), to rice and beans. Figueroa Lorza (1983: 365) gives further examples in Colombia that illustrate the usage of *criollo*/*-a* as a proper name of particular varieties of sugar cane, potato (papa), beans, cotton, and yam. When applied to animals, it can designate both a particular local breed of sheep, horses, cattle, and fowl as well as cross-bred varieties. The main designation motif is definitely local origin of given animals. Figueroa Lorza (1983: 375) does not exclude, however, a possible reference to quality inherent in the term.

As a generic term, adjectival *créole*/*kréyòl* is usually applied to diverse cultural referents, such as jewelry (*chenn kréyòl*), songs (*chansons créoles*), dress (*wòb kréyòl*) (Fig. 6), and cuisine (*manjé kréyòl*), associated both with long-standing traditions on the French Antilles as well as with colonial history. Thus, on Martinique and Guadeloupe, generic *bijou créole* designates various examples of traditional golden jewelry with very specific patterns that are also reflected in their conjuring names. Among them are *zanno ponm-kannèl* (earrings formed as the local fruit *ponm kannèl*), *may konkonm* (chain whose oval links remind of cucumber seeds), or *tèt kréyòl* (jewelry with a female head) (Fig.

Fig. 6. Chenn & wòb kréyòl 'Creole jewelry & dress'; the carnival in Forte-de-France (© Alla Klimenkowa).

7). The probably best-known pattern *zanno kréyòl* refers to characteristic golden round earrings.

Creole expressions *manjé kréyòl* and *kuizin kréyòl*, the counterparts of Spanish *comida criolla* and *cocina criolla*, further imply that given dishes are prepared with locally grown products. By means of these labels, the islanders differentiate between traditional and French or European cuisine in general and use them as another marketing strategy to attract tourists. Just to name some of the typical creole dishes, we can mention *kalalou*, *féwos*, *matoutou*/*matété*, *zakra*, and *soup zabitan* (also called *soup-a-kongo* on Guadeloupe) (see also Jourdain 1956: 94–95). During my research, I attested only two instances of the usage of *kréyòl* as a proper name. On Martinique, speakers still use the expressions *bannann kréyòl* (also called *bannann jòn*) for 'plantain' and *kann kréyòl*

Fig. 7. Pendant Tèt kréyòl; Guadeloupe (© Alla Klimenkowa).

(also called *kann kongo*) as a designation for a local variety of very sweet but less resistant sugar cane.

4 Summary and Conclusion

Apart from a common decrease of their usage as personal designations, two further central tendencies can be observed in the use of modern *criollo* and *kréyòl* that are still current in everyday parlance. First, their new developmental trajectories are less centripetal when compared with historical usages; the use of the terms is rather context-driven and determined by different communicative settings. Second, their semantics shows a noticeable ambiguity that again derives from the first mentioned aspect. This sociolinguistic picture does not allow for the perception of *criollo* and *kréyòl* as a pan-Latin-Americanism or a pan-creolism. They do not have an identical referent in the Latin-American context or even in the Caribbean. Blommaert's observation (2010: 1) seems to be confirmed that despite globalization and an intense mobility of linguistic resources, the world has not become a village sharing the same language. Both terms in question adapted to varying local communicative habits. Consequently, their meanings are not universally identical even within the space of the same country, as examples from Spanish-speaking America demonstrate. And still, the following trans-contextual features, typical for both *criollo* and *kréyòl* are noticeable.

Adjectival usages referring to cuisine, animals, plants, and cultural customs are widespread in both linguistic communities but simultaneously demonstrate their peculiarities. Spanish *criollo* meaning 'local/indigenous' allows varying interpretations from a deictic point of view and can signify 'typical for

a specific place,' 'regional,' or 'national.' Its counterpart *kréyòl* conveys a more general reference to the traditional background and, therefore, implies the particularity of the Antillean reality as opposed to French or European innovations. In concrete communicative situations and in reference to concrete subjects, speakers on Martinique and Guadeloupe prefer more explicit designations.

These linguistic preferences provide evidence for the extremely disperse cultural content both terms are imbued with; such content may indeed be called *glocal*, i.e. representing a synthesis of general and specific, inherited and newly adopted features. A kaleidoscopic diversity of concepts and expressions, their trans-regional mobility, the asymmetry of their distribution, and a perpetual re-interpretation are intrinsic to language use. In the context of global communication, these properties seem to have obtained a new dimension of intensity and complexity (Blommaert 2010: 1–2). And maybe it is globalization processes that help us grasp an extremely strong link between language and social life. As this contribution demonstrates, many peculiarities of the current use of lexical terms can be explained from an ecolinguistic perspective, i.e. by looking at the diachronic and synchronic socio-cultural contexts. An evident currency of use of *criollo* and *kréyòl* prove the entrenchment of these historical cultural key concepts in the collective memory of respective communities. At the same time, we see how the contemporary communicative contexts affect and (re-)shape this historical legacy through its ongoing re-interpretation.

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Gudrun Rath

Zombi Narratives: Transatlantic Circulations

> Is Egypt the origin of sorcery? Is it Africa? Does it matter? What matters is that the amulet allegedly comes from somewhere else, a mysterious arcane place – the place of sorcery.
> (Luis Nicolau Parés and Rodger Sansi: *Sorcery in the Black Atlantic*, 2011, 8)

1 Circulation and Circularity

To think of zombies as travelers might be a curious thing to do. Since 1968, when George A. Romero published his trendsetting Hollywood horror film *Night of the Living Dead*, zombies have been represented as slow and sluggish undead creatures feeding on human brains. And although the living dead have by now developed what we could call a global visual language based on their recognizability, zombies are usually not taken as an example for cultural multiplicity. At best, their supposed 'origins' are identified with the Caribbean, especially Haiti. This identification of the zombie as a 'Caribbean reality' has been repeated insistently since the 1930s, when, during the US-occupation of Haiti, Hollywood films like *White Zombie* (1932) used supposedly 'specific' images of the living dead to underpin the stereotype of 'barbarian' Afro-Caribbean cultures and consequently justify the US-occupation (Sheller 2003; Dash 1997).

In this paper, I would like to go beyond the endlessly repeated cliché of the zombie as a threatening cannibal and reframe this supposedly well-known concept by taking it back to the historical space of the Atlantic. I would like to conceptualize the *zombi* as an utterly mobile example for the circulation of concepts and narratives within this transatlantic space.[1] Accordingly, I want to question simplistic scholarly explanations for the cultural background of *zombi(e)* narratives, which in my view tend to reinforce stereotypes.

1 The spelling 'zombie' has been chosen here to allude to current filmic representations, while the term 'zombi' is used to refer to the specific historical Caribbean variant. For a discussion on the terminological implications see Moreman (2011b: 3–4).

I am aware of the problematic fact that the term 'circulation' may sound far too neutral and evoke the image of a closed circuit that moves in some kind of 'natural flow' which obliterates human agency (cf. Pratt 2006). The circulation of *zombi* narratives does not present anything 'natural' nor does it have a single directionality. Still, I prefer this term to other recent suggestions describing the historical interrelatedness within the Transatlantic like J. Lorand Matory's "Atlantic dialogue" which basically implies only two possible interlocutors (Matory 2014: 45). I think it is important to underline the connections between various spaces as well as the multidirectionality that connected and keeps connecting West and Central Africa, Europe, the Caribbean, and the USA. Concepts that circulated within this transatlantic space were never fixed nor simply 'survived' the journey from West Africa to the Caribbean, as the anthropologist Melville Herskovits suggests (cf. Matory 2014: 36–39; Kummels/Rauhut/Rinke/Timm 2014: 13). Instead, and that holds true for the *zombi* as well as for other narratives and concepts of magic, they were multiple, bound to different local forms at the same time and – because of this multiplicity and simultaneity – highly ambiguous. With Roger Sansi and Luis Parés I would like to think of this *circulation* as a kind of *circularity*: "[…] the circle is, after all, a spin, whose dynamic energy generates a supplement" (Parés/Sansi 2011: 7).

Concepts, of course, never travel by themselves. They are carried away, translated and at times intentionally transformed by human actors whose practices and agency are a constitutive part within the dynamics of a spinning circulation[2]. In the following, I will consider three different instances of this spin. I will especially focus on the circulations between Europe, Africa, and the Caribbean.

The latter, within this network, has a unique history as a space of convergence. I will firstly refer to the discussion of the 'African past' of Afro-Caribbean concepts. I will secondly discuss possible relationships with narratives of the living dead in early modern Europe. While these first two steps will methodologically make use of a comparative approach to concepts and etymologies I would like to begin by recalling some specifics of *zombi* history.

2 Zombification / Transformation

Most 20th century *zombi* narratives with a focus on Haiti center around one aspect: The *zombi* as an undead body or spirit subdued to the will of a sorcerer. According to these narratives, the sorcerer forces the enslaved undead to work

2 Concepts get, furthermore, attached to objects, yet this materiality does not fix them, but open spaces for multiple usages, ritual performances and interpretations.

even beyond death. In scholarship that considers zombies beyond their horrifying careers in films, the figure is often used to refer to the long colonial and neo-colonial history of Haiti. After the Spanish colonization of the island Hispaniola, the Eastern part of the island, today's Haiti, officially came under French rule in 1697. Known as Saint-Domingue, it became the richest of the French colonies thanks to a profitable sugar industry driven by slave labour. Following the first successful slave revolt in 1791, Haiti became the world's first "black republic" in 1804, only to be occupied again between 1915 and 1934, this time by the United States (Buck-Morss 2011: 50; 58). The figure of the zombie has often been employed as an image for this long history of colonization, as Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert argues:

> The various western horror genres may have made of the zombie a terrorizing, murdering creature, as evident by the number of horror films that have made the zombie the most recognizable Caribbean to the Gothic genre in film and literature. […] [In Haiti, on the contrary, G.R.] Zombification conjures up the Haitian experience of slavery, of the dissociation of a man from his will, his reduction to a beast of burden at the will of his master. (Paravisini-Gebert 2002: 239)

The idea of zombification is linked to the concept of the multiple soul as encountered in Haitian *vodou*, where the *ti bon ange* (the 'little good angel') can be distinguished from the *gros bon ange* (the 'big good angel'). In the corresponding narratives, a *bokor* (sorcerer) steals the *ti bon ange* and keeps it stored away in a ritual container, leaving the person without will, consciousness, and personality. A *zombi* is thus a person who is missing an integral part of his or her soul, characterized by the continuous quest for wholeness (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 467). This well-known version of the figure, the *zombi corps cadavre* – the body without a soul nowadays represented in pop-cultural contexts – exists alongside another version, the invisible *zombi astral* – a soul without a body – which, surprisingly, has not made its way out of the Caribbean (Davis 1988: 8).

The *zombi* has largely been pinned on the Caribbean state and represented as "purely Haitian" (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 467). Yet the idea of zombificationor enslaved spirits is not a distinguishing feature of Haitian cultures: similar concepts exist all along the Afro-Caribbean Atlantic, as for example in Brazilian *Candomblé* or Cuban *Palo Monte*, in both of which the work with the enslaved spirits of the undead is an important feature (cf. Matory 2008). Similar narratives can also be encountered in Surinam or Jamaica, as the anthropologists Hans Ackermann and Jeanine Gauthier have argued (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 479).

It was also Ackermann and Gauthier who directed attention to parallels between the Caribbean *zombi* and West and Central African terms and concepts. As for the term *zombi*, one (out of many) possible etymological explanations links the term *zombi* to the African *Nzambi*, which, amongst other things, designates the creator-god of many Bantu-speaking groups in the Congo area. Others put it in relation to terms like *ndzumbi* (a term referring to corpses in Gabon) or *zumbi* (a term referring to revenants in Angola) (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 467). Anthropological research has furthermore frequently drawn parallels to similar concepts of the soul found in present-day Benin, Cameroon, Togo, and Nigeria but also in Egypt (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 469–473). Today, most scholars agree that these parallels point to the *zombi* as both conceptually and etymologically reaching back to West or Central Africa, from where most researchers believe it to have crossed to the Caribbean as a result of the transatlantic slave trade. By the time it was appropriated by Western gothic narratives, it had continued to be transformed on a global level. The *zombi* can thus look back on a long history of inner-Caribbean ramifications as well as West African pre-stages.

In this linear perspective, researchers have shaped the *zombi* as a classical example of an Afro-Caribbean concept derived from a mythical and original 'African past':

> To speak of the character of the Haitian zombi, therefore, is to speak of the evolution of African myth into Haitian myth, of a process by which the African, as he became Haitian, was able to retain the essential nature of his heritage and at the same time renew it. (Laroche 1976: 44)

Until today, researchers continue to emphasize linear connections between an African past and a Caribbean present when addressing the historicity of the *zombi* concept[3].

But the first known written mention of the term is encountered in the 1697 novel *Le zombi de Grand Perou*, probably printed on Guadeloupe and attributed to the French galley-prisoner Pierre-Corneille Blessebois[4]. While this text makes it clear that the journey of the *zombi* most probably begins much earlier than in the seventeenth centuries' Caribbean, the starting point of its voyage does not seem as clear as some researchers might think. Of course, African contributions to the concept cannot be doubted. But a close look at the usage of the concept in the above mentioned text (as well as similar West and Central African concepts and terms like *Nzambi*) question an over-simplifying

3 To mention just one recent example within this line cf. Rutherford (2013: 31).

4 Murphy argues that the text itself does not provide an explanation of the term for its readers, suggesting general knowledge of the same (Murohy 2011: 48).

linear perspective. Such a perspective imagines Africa as a unique point of origin and then proceeds to the Caribbean, leaving possible European contributions completely out of view.

3 Jesus, Mary, and Nzambi

As for a possible African history of the concept, it might not come as a complete surprise that it was precisely the anthropologist who coined the term of the 'survival' of arcane African knowledge for the Caribbean who also underlined connections between the *zombi* concept and similar African pre-stages. In his study *Dahomey. An Ancient West African Kingdom*, Herskovits refers to beliefs in ghosts in Dahomey (present-day Benin):

> It will be noted that though reference to ghosts has been made from time to time, the concept of the ghost has thus far not figured in the discussion of the souls of man. Ghosts are called […] ('dead-not-embarked'), which is to say that if the proper funeral ceremonies have not been performed for a man, he wanders between the world of the living and the world of the dead. […] Thus it was recounted several times how one individual or another, who was thought to be dead, had been encountered in Togoland or on the Gold coast or in Nigeria. Such individuals, however, did not recognize their old friends, even though addressed by name. They were soulless beings, whose death was not real but resulted from the machinations of sorcerers who made them appear as dead, and then, when buried, removed them from their graves and sold them into servitude into some far-away land. Herskovits. (1938: 243–244)

Herskovits furthermore affirms: "The correspondence of this belief to that of the *zombi* in Haiti will be obvious to students of Haitian custom." (Herskovits 1938: 244). Indeed, most enslaved people in Haiti had been deported from the coasts of present-day Congo and Angola (Heusch 1989: 306). Thus, Herskovits' hypothesis had a great resonance throughout Caribbean studies, most prominently in Joan Dayan's classic *Haiti, History and the Gods*. Dayan comments on Herskovits as follows: "Born out of the experience of slavery, the sea passage from Africa to the New World […], the zombi tells the story of colonization." (Dayan 1998: 36–37). This uncritical reliance on Herskovits is contradictory to previous arguments in Dayan's prologue which question Herskovits' perspective on the Caribbean as a space constituted by African imports (Dayan 1996: xviii).

Similar narratives about enslaved undead souls were also noted in other regions of Africa, such as the Congo, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of Congo, or Cameroon. In the latter case, they have been explained by the capture of young people by Hausa groups (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 478). Wyatt

Mac Gaffey argues that in Zaire, the historical slave trade has shaped contemporary narratives about sorcery, "regarded as the illicit traffic for profit in the souls of persons killed and transported by occult means" (Mac Gaffey 1986: 82). As it remains unclear whether such narratives already circulated before the transatlantic slave trade, Mac Gaffey's comment recalls the necessity of continuously taking into account the reshaping usages of the past made in the present, an argument that also and particularly holds true for *zombi* narratives.

The linear explication of the *zombi* concept passing from Africa to the Caribbean (as favored by Herskovits and apparently also by Dayan) privileges one kind of historical derivation while leaving aside a whole array of other possibilities. On the one hand, the quest-for-origins-perspective becomes much more complicated if one takes into account the fact that Portuguese conquerors and Christian missionaries had already been present in the region of the Congo River before the beginning of the transatlantic slave trade. On the other hand, most of the textual documents that refer to supposedly 'original African beliefs' have been authored by European missionaries or travelers with a clear political or religious agenda and can therefore hardly be viewed as 'evidence' of African cultures. Rather, they provide evidence about the European researchers and their way of constructing knowledge.

We encounter specific complications when we try to approach the historicity of the *zombi* concept via etymological comparison. In order to explain the derivations of the *zombi* through the African-origins-looking glass, the already mentioned term *Nzambi* has often been suggested. This term mainly designates the creator god of many Bantu cultures, who is only consulted if all other possibilities to achieve justice and revenge have been exhausted (Ackermann/Gauthier 1991: 467; Garraway 2005: 182). But the term has been present in missionary texts written along the coast of Central Africa since the year 1600; this region encompasses today's Cameroon, Congo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Angola. As Bakongo groups, for example, often referred to Jesus and *Nzambi* in the same phrase, anthropological research mainly focused on the question if (and to what extent) the concept was a syncretistic one. In *Études Bakongo. Sociologie, religion et magie*, Joseph Van Wing – himself working as a missionary – states:

> *Desu, Maria, Nzambi ukumbona.* Jésus, Maria, Nzambi me voit. Mais y a-t-il une relation entre Desu et Nzambi? Personne ne le sait. Les formules, qui expriment leurs idées concernant Nzambi, portent la marque authentique des Bakongo. Leur contenu a-t-il été modifié ou enrichi par la prédication chrétienne à San Salvador-Sundi-Mbata-Matari? Peut-être; mais il est impossible pour le moment de préciser davantage ces apports. (Van Wing 1959: 306–307)

Further anthropological research has confirmed Van Wing's suspicion and portrayed *Nzambi* as a highly syncretistic concept (Mac Gaffey 1986: 78; Hirschberg 1963; Thiel 1983). Interestingly enough (and this might constitute one of the most evident parallels to the Caribbean *zombi*), *Nzambi* is also a multiple concept, referring to a whole variety of meanings within different local versions. Amongst other functions, *Nzambi* is mentioned as an invisible being that has a special relation to the world of the dead. Within the hierarchy between the living and the dead, *Nzambi Mpungu* occupies the highest position (Thiel 1983; Hischberg 1963). For the concept of the *zombi,* all etymological and conceptual parallels remain speculative. In the end, they contribute to a reaffirmation of Africa as 'the place of the occult'. Recent research has challenged this construction: In *Critique de la raison nègre* (2013), Achille Mbembe, for example, argues that the expression 'Africa' most often designates repressive stereotypes, regardless of any real relation between signifier and signified:

> S'agissant du terme 'Afrique', tout part effectivement de l'extraordinaire difficulté de produire une image vraie associable à un mot lui aussi vrai. Car peu importe en vérité le sujet qui parle ou qui s'exprime. Chaque fois qu'il est question d'Afrique, la correspondance entre les mots, les images et la chose importe peu, et il n'est pas nécessaire que le nom ait un répondant ou une chose réponde à son nom. […] Le nom 'Afrique' renvoie donc non seulement à ce dont nul n'est censé répondre, mais encore à une sorte arbitraire primordial – cet arbitraire des désignations auxquelles rien en particulier ne semble devoir répondre sinon le préjugé inaugural dans sa régression infinie. (Mbembe 2013: 83)

This critique of using the term 'Africa' based on preexisting expectations has to be taken seriously when it comes to Afro-Caribbean relations. In the field of Caribbean studies, researchers like Stephan Palmié have questioned the search for 'African origins' (Palmié 2002; 2008; 2013). For Palmié Africa is "less a foundational past than a possible future" (Palmié 2008: 13–14). He regards the terms 'Africa' and 'Africanity' as theoretical problems rather than ontological givens and points out that "Africa" is not just a place "but a trope that encodes and evokes complex, historically sedimented, and contextually variable bodies of knowledge" (Palmié 2008: 11).

The identification of the trope of 'Africa' with an "occult past of sorcery" has a long history indeed (Parés/Sansi 2011: 5). Yet as research on sorcery within a transatlantic frame has successfully shown, such identification tells us about the discursive quest to keep Africa and Europe conceptually apart rather than providing useful information about 'Africa.' As Luis Parés and Roger Sansi rightfully assert:

> […] discourses of sorcery, witchcraft and fetishism have been used historically to separate Africa from the Atlantic and ultimately to deny the existence of the Atlantic as a space of culture. By projecting Africa as the place of sorcery and the occult, as opposed to Europe and the Enlightenment […], the discourse of the West has denied the possibility of intermediate spaces, which were European, African and American at the same time. (Parés/Sansi 2011: 5)

The history of the *zombi* concept has to be situated precisely in such an "intermediate space". The, thus, is not only a figure with multiple origins; it is a multiple and transformative figure itself (Rath 2014a).

4 Magic and Necromancy in Early Modern Europe

The multiple origins of the *zombi* also become evident in its etymology. Studies have not only traced the term back to Bantu languages but also to the French word for shadows, *les ombres*. Indeed, the contribution of European cultures has to be considered not only etymologically but also on a conceptual level. Narratives of conjuring spirits and undead bodies within the context of ritual magic have been present in Europe at least since the 9th century and became highly popular in Western Europe in the 12th and 13th centuries through translations from Greek and Islamic sources into Latin. One of the most famous narratives about necromancy was published in the 7th century. Isidor of Seville states that

> [t]here are magicians who are commonly called 'evildoers' (maleficus) by the crowd because of the magnitude of their crimes. They agitate the elements, disturb the minds of people, and slay without any drinking of poison, using the violence of spells alone. […] With their summoning of demons, they dare to flaunt how one may slay his enemies with evil arts. They make use of blood and victims, and often handle the bodies of the dead. Necromancers (necromantius) are those by whose incantations the dead, brought back to life, seem to prophesy, and to answer what is asked […]. (Isidor of Seville 2006: 182)

In these narratives, practitioners were male literates at court, often also clergymen. Their rituals comprised gaining control over spirits of the dead, who were banned into a bottle or a mirror and then commanded to comply with the wishes of the magician. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the focus of persecutors turned from the male magician to the female witch, and the traffic with spirits became one element of persecution. The discussion focused on the question whether the spirits could be mastered by men or if it was rather the magicians who were mastered by the spirits (Kieckhefer 2013: 19–20; Levack 1983: 23).

Beyond the conceptual level, there are other, more visible connections when focusing on the circulation of narratives of magic between Europe and the Caribbean. On the one hand, popular manuals for practicing ritual magic, like the Petit or the Grand Albert (the first dating from 1668, the second probably written in the 13th Century, with a French translation dating from 1703), were transferred from Europe to the Caribbean (Revert 1951: 92). On the other hand, the circulation also comprised human agents. Researchers have stated that some Europeans convicted for the supposed practice of magic were banished to the Caribbean (Bernier 2001: 659). Although such accounts are rare and cannot be considered representative, what they do indicate is that the circulation of narratives (and repressive discourses) was not limited to Africa and the Caribbean.

Interestingly enough, the first text that features the term *zombi* alsolinks Caribbean discourses back to Europe. *Le Zombi du Grand Pérou, ou la comtesse de Cocagne* (1697) raises a number of questions regarding the intra-Caribbean and Caribbean-European circulation of the *zombi*. Hailed as the "first colonial novel" by its eventual publisher Guillaume Apollinaire, it seems likely that *Le Zombi du Grand Pérou* was first printed in Guadeloupe (Murphy 2011: 48). The text is attributed to the author Pierre-Corneille Blessebois, a French author condemned to the galleys for deserting the French army. Blessebois was also involved (as a witness) in a 1679 trial on black magic at the French court, known as the "Affaire de Poison". Colonial archives register a conviction against him on Guadeloupe. But official documents also state that "the verdict was given in the defendant's absence", and all traces of Blessebois' eventually disappear (Garraway 2005: 173; Houdard 2007).

In the text, the author draws a connection between several notions of the *zombi* and *sorcellerie*. The text's narrator, who arrives on a sugar plantation on Guadeloupe as a French *engagé*, is requested by the Creole lady of the house to transform her into a *zombi*; she wants to scare her lover and thinks the *engagé* has learned magical practices during his journey from Europe. Although the narrator does not have this kind of magical knowledge, he accepts just for the fun of it. When the lady finds out that she has not been turned into a *zombi* but rather humiliated in front of the whole plantation society, she seeks revenge. Accusing him of being a sorcerer, he is eventually charged and finally condemned. The text thus reads as a commentary on the persecution of alleged magicians that had been prevalent since colonization. Rather than shaping the *zombi* as a concept related to African slaves, the text particularly exposes the part Europeans played in the cultural imaginary. Thus, the text can be read as a provocative mode of resistance against plantation society, as the French *engagé* takes sides with the enslaved Africans and ridicules the ruling French and Creole elite (Rath 2014b). Researchers have thought of sorcery as a relational con-

nection that mediates power asymmetries between the dissimilar – men and women, Europe and Africa, master and enslaved, the strong and the weak (Parés/Sansi 2011: 11). Accordingly, this text shapes the magic of the *zombi* as a narrative weapon through which established power relations can be questioned.

5 Zombi Multiplicity, Past, and Future

Even though the first text to mention the term raises more questions than it answers, what remains clear is that *Le Zombi du Grand Pérou, ou la comtesse de Cocagne* brings into focus the *zombi* as a figure of the Transatlantic. I have argued that if we take into account Blessebois' *Le Zombi du Grand Pérou, ou la comtesse de Cocagne,* European contributions to the *zombi* concept have to be taken into account. Contrary to many current scholarly explanations, which reduce the history of the *zombi* concept to African pre-stages, this narrative questions any linear and over-simplifying history of origins.

This also holds true for a closer examination of possible West and Central African pre-stages of the concept. Although *zombi* narratives undoubtedly bear African traces, any reduction of *zombi* narratives as 'purely Haitian' on the one hand and a West and Central African 'residual' on the other tend to reinforce preexisting stereotypes. These stereotypes – which have for a long time represented Africa as a 'place of sorcery and the occult' and Haiti as a 'place of cannibals and evil magic' – are still perpetuated today and have to be questioned, particularly so in academic scholarship.

The history of the *zombi* concept is not only based on an 'African past' but also on European narratives of magic. At least that is what the history of the term *Nzambi*, other possible African similarities, and *Le zombi du Grand Pérou* suggest. And yet, the concept cannot be reduced to either of these lineages. What remains is the *zombi* in continuous transformation. The figure of the living dead, one could argue, has not only reached a global level when it became highly popular in Hollywood films. It was and always will be a global and multiple figure, sprawling across the Transatlantic in diverse forms and meanings.

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V. Negotiating History: Entangled Histories and Memories

Alejandro E. Gómez

Framing — Historias Entrelazadas y Representaciones Sociales

Desde hace algunos años, historiadores han insistido en calificar el pasado del área caribeña como una 'historia compartida'. Para ello se basan principalmente en el pasado esclavista asociado a las plantaciones, y en los estigmas raciales que pesan sobre las personas afro-descendientes de color. Las abolíciones de la esclavitud no significaron el fin de los sufrimientos de los miembros de ese sector socio-racial, sino el principio de un nuevo y largo camino al total reconocimiento de sus derechos políticos y como seres humanos. Las heridas generadas en aquella época sobrevivieron en forma de trauma colectivo a las abolíciones de la esclavitud del siglo XIX, e incluso se profundizaron por las actitudes racistas amparadas por el incipiente darwinismo social. Todo ello condujo a la conformación de sistemas representativos extremadamente diversos, los cuales si bien a los largo del tiempo cambiaron para adaptarse a las nuevas realidades socio-políticas, siguieron reflejando una sensibilidad común asociada a dichas heridas.

Un buen ejemplo de esa diversidad representativa es el trabajo de Kathleen Gyssels, en el cual vemos cómo a principios del siglo XX las obras de algunos emblemáticos escritores de la *négritude*, como lo fue Léon-Gontran Damas, reflejan la existencia de representaciones asociadas al trauma en cuestión, pero con rasgos que responden a la época en que vivieron estos autores. En este sentido, vemos cómo su escritura sigue un estilo literario moderno, abordando sin complejos el "peligroso" tema de las relaciones interraciales, y no dudando en comparar la tragedia de los descendientes de esclavos con la Shoah y la discriminación hacia los judíos. Para estos escritores, ambos fenómenos tenían un origen común: el racismo del hombre blanco.

La cuestión estilística de Damas, que evoca el trauma de los descendientes de esclavos pero de una forma moderna más abstracta, también pareciera tener eco en otras expresiones representativas. En este sentido, mediante el estudio de una obra del pintor cubano Douglas Pérez, Adriana López-Labourdette pretende encontrar en sus motivos "vestigios" del pasado esclavista. Su análisis lo articula con el surgimiento de un nuevo tipo de narrativa de memoria, no dependiente del archivo o el testimonio, para alegar la elaboración de "otros

modos de remembranza". A nuestro entender, la pervivencia en estas fuentes pictóricas de la sensibilidad por el pasado esclavista pone en evidencia nuevas formas contemporáneas de representación de ese aspecto traumático de la 'historia compartida' del espacio caribeño.

Pero la 'historia compartida' del Caribe no se reduce solamente a la esclavitud y al racismo hacia los negros; ya que en realidad, es muchísimo más diversa. En efecto, la historia de ese espacio está compuesto por un sinnúmero de historias conectadas, cruzadas y entrelazadas de distintos tipos (comerciales, militares, sociales, políticas, etc.), así como por una multitud de actores (de paso o residentes) y de categorías sociales producto del colonialismo europeo y del mestizaje, tanto biológico como cultural. Como consecuencia de ello, existen también otras representaciones sociales asociadas o no con las referidas anteriormente.

Una de las más enigmáticas, y a la vez más silenciadas y – por qué no decirlo – también más vilipendiadas, en el imaginario caribeño (por la confrontación que representa con los ideales de la negritud) son aquéllas relacionadas con los libres de color. Este actor social era indispensable para el mantenimiento del sistema colonial, pues hacía de barrera entre los blancos y los negros. Esto se debía principalmente a que los miembros de este sector socioracial se identificaban más con los primeros, cuyos privilegios ansiaban y cuyo "pensamiento racial" compartían. Esta situación les llevó a desarrollar una identidad que podríamos definir como "blanqueada"; sobre todo en aquellos individuos o linajes que tenían ascendencia europea, como en el caso de los mulatos y los pardos.

Estas diferencias saltan a la vista en el texto de Ulrike Schmieder, quien estudia las posturas intelectuales (tanto hombres como mujeres) de varios individuos de color de condición libre a través de sus escritos publicados en periódicos editados por ellos mismos en Cuba a fines del siglo XIX. Estos personajes no sólo luchaban contra la esclavitud, por eliminar las diferencias entre pardos y negros, o por los derechos civiles de los afro-descendientes de color, sino que también se mostraban favorables al separatismo como único medio de lograr una nación más igualitaria. Para intentar convencer a la elite blanco-criolla, aceptan la inferioridad de la "raza de color", y rechazan su "herencia africana". También aseguran que en Cuba no había peligro de "guerra racial" a la haitiana, y argumentan la necesidad de dar educación como medio eugenésico para civilizar a los afro-descendientes de color. Es importante destacar en este trabajo los escritos de las mujeres de color, quienes comparan el racismo hacia los negros con la discriminación hacia las mujeres; un síntoma representativo, una vez más, de una época distinta esta vez a escala occidental.

En este mismo orden de ideas, las fronteras geo-históricas se extienden mucho más allá de las *sugar islands*, creando el Gran Caribe o Golfo Caribe con

los espacios continentales con lo rodean. El escritor e historiador colombiano Germán Arciniegas en su obra *Biografía del Caribe* (1955: 219),[1] comparó las Antillas Menores a puntos suspensivos como queriendo reflejar una historia inconclusa o aún no contada, escenificada en los espacios continentales que se extienden desde las regiones septentrionales de América del Sur, pasando por Centro América, hasta llegar al sur de los Estados Unidos. El resultado es una suerte de "u" acostada abierta sobre el Atlántico, la cual podría ser vista, desde un punto de vista geo-histórico, como una apertura que conduce a nuevas e importantes interacciones históricas también 'compartidas'; llegando incluso a fusionarse en un único y gran espacio con el Mundo Atlántico.

A este respecto, el texto de Juliane Tauchnitz muestra un paisaje representativo acorde a este mundo supra-caribeño, pues en el mismo se hacen a la vez presentes la tragedia de la trata de esclavos atlántica y la circulación de personajes generados por el comercio triangular. Estas representaciones las encontramos en la obra analizada: *L'empreinte à Crusoé* (2012) de Patrick Chamoiseau; una novela contemporánea en la cual se revisita la temática original del *Robinson Crusoe* de Daniel Defoe (publicada a principios del siglo xviii). En esta nueva versión se relativiza la alteridad mediante el uso de un falso Robinson, quien en esta ocasión toma la forma de un "cazador sabio" negro de origen africano. Al mismo tiempo, la autora muestra como la obra en cuestión también busca limitar, desde una perspectiva narrativa, la influencia de la creolidad a través de la formación de un nuevo mito propio a la trama.

Las consecuencias de las articulaciones del Caribe con el espacio atlántico fueron particularmente importantes durante la era de las revoluciones. En este periodo, las rutas usadas tradicionalmente por mercantes, contrabandistas, corsarios, y barcos de guerra fueron utilizadas para difundir el espíritu de las luces, las doctrinas abolicionistas y los ideales revolucionarios. En los espacios coloniales gran caribeños, estas ideas fueron apropiadas por los actores coloniales, tanto los "de arriba" como los "de abajo", dando lugar a numerosas iniciativas políticas y económicas, pero sobre todo a un sinnúmero de conflictos militares, políticos, y sociales. Estos comenzaron en las Antillas francesas desde al menos 1790, entrelazados con la revolución en la metrópoli, y extendiéndose luego a otros espacios coloniales de otras potencias europeas en la región, sobre todo a los territorios bajo la égida española.

En vista de que se trataba de sociedades altamente racializadas, los referidos conflictos estuvieron marcados fuertemente por esta variable. De aquí que Sibylle Fischer insista sobre la necesidad de estudiar las conspiraciones menores con aspiraciones de establecer igualdad racial, como medio para ver más

1 Acriniegas, Germán (1955 [1945]). *Biografía del Caribe*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana.

allá de las aspiraciones de soberanía que caracterizaron los estudios de historia de las ideas de las revoluciones hispano-americanas. En su trabajo aborda el caso de la conspiración de La Guaira suscitada en 1797. Al respecto indica que se trató de una conspiración íntimamente entrelazada con la conspiración de San Blas descubierta en Madrid en 1795, ambas lideradas por el mallorquín Juan-Bautista Picornell. La autora alega que, a pesar de las promesas de igualdad racial y de abolición de la esclavitud, su objetivo era más reformista que independentista. Con ello retoma un proceso revolucionario a priori caribeño para reubicarlo en el corazón del Atlántico español.

Es particularmente interesante en el trabajo de Sibylle Fischer la explicación que da al encuentro de Picornell con un francés de nombre Lafont, quien al contarle los pormenores de los "horrores" de la revolución en Saint-Domingue, le habría disuadido de continuar llevando adelante un proceso similar en la América española. Esto último es un elemento clave, pues es una muestra más de cómo aquellos eventos podían hacer cambiar de opinión a importantes actores políticos de la región. En efecto, este cambio de postura (que encontramos en otros revolucionarios blancos de la época) podríamos asociarlo, aunque en forma más amplia, al "miedo a la africanización" evocado en el trabajo de Ulrike Schmieder. Este era un fenómeno que encontramos en sociedades esclavistas no sólo en otros territorios coloniales caribeños sino también africanos e incluso índicos (como en la isla francesa de La Réunion), lo que nuevamente desdibuja los contornos del Caribe para llevarlos esta vez a una escala global.

Como se puede apreciar, los trabajos que conforman el presente aparte expresan miradas distintas a la diversidad histórica de espacio caribeño, al mismo tiempo que relativizan sus confines geo-históricos; lo que a su vez se refleja en las representaciones sociales surgidas en el mismo, desde fines de la modernidad hasta nuestros días. En términos más específicos, estos textos reflejan, cada uno a su manera, la multitud de sistemas representativos asociados a los traumas colectivos de la esclavitud, a las percepciones racializadas de los afro-descendientes (tanto negros como las distintas categorías de "color quebrado"), y a los múltiples entrelazamientos existentes con el espacio atlántico; bien fueren políticos, como en el texto de Sibylle Fischer, o través de la trata, como en el de Juliane Tauchnitz.

De tal manera, los trabajos reunidos aquí ponen de relieve una vez más, desde disciplinas distintas y casi sin proponérselo, la necesidad de relativizar los paradigmas temáticos preexistentes y de abrir las escalas de análisis (tanto espaciales como temporales) en aras de explicar las sensibilidades y las conexiones con otras regiones de un espacio tan extremadamente complejo como lo es el caribeño.

Sibylle Fischer

Mapping Caribbean Intellectual History: The Conspiracies of Juan Bautista Picornell

The call for a globalization of intellectual history and a pluralization of its sources is by now familiar. But while intellectual history as a discipline no longer confines itself to the study of Europe, the recent revisionism does not in itself amount to a decolonialization of the way intellectual history is practiced nor does it necessarily aim to do so. In his recent *Foundations of Modern International Thought* (2013) David Armitage, for instance, makes a compelling argument that inverts the flows of influence in the revolutionary age as they are conventionally conceived by shifting the focus from political theory, constitutions, and rights declarations – traditionally seen as of European provenance – to declarations of independence. Declarations of independence were the quintessential expression of revolutionary politics, he argues, and they were born in the Americas. He thus places the "conjuring of states out of colonies" (215) – a process that began 1776 with the Declaration of Independence of the British colonies and continued with the antislavery revolution in Saint Domingue and the independence movements in the Iberian colonies – at the center of the commotions that came to define political modernity in the Atlantic.

This mapping of intellectual history does not work terribly well for the Caribbean, where the issue of governance was inseparable from that of black slavery.[1] In a region where European colonization had become practically synonymous with an economy based on slave labor, racial hierarchies were deeply entrenched and a significant percentage of the population were free people of color. It follows that insurgencies were often related to the struggle against the institution of slavery and the racial hierarchies that subtended it. In the late

1 Historians of the Iberian Atlantic have long argued against assigning exemplary status to the American Revolution for the Spanish American Independence movements and have, in more recent years, pointed to the French invasion of Spain and the abdication of Fernando vii in 1808 as the central events (e.g. Guerra 1992). I cannot here discuss this extensive historiography. However, it should be noted that this Ibero-Atlantic perspective also generates a blind spot as it tends to ignore the plurality of liberationist movements in the Caribbean prior to 1808 and the centrality of the issue of racial equality and slavery.

eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, we find a bewildering array of political projects circulating throughout the Caribbean. The best-known example of Caribbean heterodox politics, which cannot easily be subsumed under the label of independence movements, is probably Toussaint Louverture's anti-slavery project, which culminated in the 1801 colonial constitution for Saint Domingue. It declared Saint Domingue "free and French" and included as its first article of substance a ban on slavery, which in turn presented a profound revision of Article One of the 1789 Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen in France (Fischer 2016). But there are other cases, too, in which it is questionable that the underlying visions are best understood in terms of aspirations to national sovereignty. We might think of the little-known conspiracies of Fermín Núñez, a Venezuela-born criollo who appears to have conspired against Spanish rule in Spanish Santo Domingo in 1816 and 1817, possibly in an effort to gain independence from Spain under Haitian republican protection; or, to cite a better-known example, the Coro rebellion in Venezuela in 1795, which called for the abolition of slavery and racial equality and was violently suppressed by the colonial government. In both cases, it seems that the issue of local autonomy was seen as only instrumentally related to the more central goal of racial equality. What I propose then is that we take seriously the plurality of political projects in the Caribbean and their deep connections to the issue of race. All too frequently, insurrectional movements prior to 1808 or 1810 have been dismissed as merely reformist, purely local, tied to Ancien Régime politics, or otherwise limited in their liberationist aspirations. This view entails an implicit ranking of political goals, which does not become less problematic on account of not being explicitly justified. Clearly, national independence was not always seen as the only alternative to Bourbon colonialism and the social hierarchies it entailed. To pretend otherwise means erasing from our intellectual landscape a variety of subaltern or otherwise contested projects, most particularly those relating to issues of race.[2]

The case of the twin conspiracies in Madrid 1795 and in La Guaira 1797 which are the topic of this essay are particularly interesting in this context. At their center stands the figure of Juan Bautista Picornell, a university-educated Spaniard from Mallorca, who in 1795 led a conspiracy (usually called the San Blas conspiracy, as it was discovered on Saint Blas day) against the Bourbon King Carlos IV and his Prime Minister Manuel Godoy. A mere two years later, Picornell was found to have been at the heart of a conspiracy in La Guaira, a harbor town near Caracas, where he had been imprisoned after the discovery of the Madrid plot. In the literature, the conspiracy in La Guaira is often referred

2 For a trenchant critique of the erasure of the contributions of people of color to the independence process in Spanish America, see Lasso 2007: 1–13.

to as the *Gual y España* conspiracy, after their criollo leaders, Manuel Gual and José María España; it is traditionally assimilated to the independence movements that began with Venezuela's first declaration of independence in 1811. The literature on the San Blas conspiracy is limited and usually considers the events as part of the social upheavals and court conspiracies in Bourbon Spain. Most historians have viewed the two events as separate, linked only by the figure of Juan Bautista Picornell. The possibility that the two conspiracies may have been related has been considered only by those who attribute an overarching Jacobine agenda to both. As I will show in the following, however, some of the more enigmatic aspects of the conspiracies and the political discourses that were put into circulation can be explained if we read the two events as part of an evolving story in which the two conspiracies are deeply connected – connected, however, through a variety of local emancipatory and strategic goals, which in no way can be reduced to Jacobinism.

The political and diplomatic map that becomes visible when we read the American files of Juan Bautista Picornell in conjunction with the Spanish files suggests flows of influences and political intentions that do not mirror the borders of empires at the time. But neither is the map simply a preview of the disintegration of the Spanish empire and the establishment of independent nation states in the Americas after 1810. One of the lasting puzzles regarding the 1797 conspiracy in fact concerns governance. Did the leaders embrace secessionist ideas? If not, what were their ideas and models of governance? As I will suggest in the following, the map that emerges from the 1795 and 1797 files imagines an inversion of the power relations between metropolis and colonies and claims political initiative for the colonies. Since neither one of the conspiracies under consideration came close to succeeding, we will never know all the details of the agenda the conspirators were pursuing, nor will we know how much agreement or disagreement there was among the various participants. We should note, however, that with the revolutionary reversal of the direction of influences the political models that were invoked change. In the La Guaira conspiracy, we find occasional references to earlier colonial insurgencies, but we also find a gaze increasingly trained on the French territories in the Caribbean rather than on metropolitan France. For the conspirators in 1797, the first postslavery territories in the Atlantic were not the specter of doom that they represented for the colonial elites in the Caribbean.[3] Yet, at the same time, some conspirators also seem to have thought of the planned uprising as a preventive strike against slave revolts and race war. In the end, the twin conspiracies of 1795 and 1797 show that an intellectual history which prioritizes aspirations for national sovereignty obscures not only the plurality of emancipatory

3 For recent studies that complicate this story, see Ferrer 2014 and Daut 2015.

projects in the revolutionary age but also the creative energy and theoretical depth of projects that prioritized racial equality.

Admittedly, it would be easy to miss these crosscurrents in Atlantic intellectual history. Unlike the sermons and treatises of metropolitan abolitionists, colonial declarations and plots that included a demand for racial equality never reached the international stage. Our knowledge about them comes from the archives of the colonial state, through the records of criminal investigations, the declarations of witnesses, confessions (often extracted under torture), and on rare occasions the clandestine writings of the conspirators. We also need to consider that the state sometimes had a stake in presenting conspiracies in a certain light – obfuscating larger political ramifications, for example, or casting them as Jacobine, thereby associating them with the beheading of the Bourbon King in France and the Terror. Remapping intellectual history thus requires us to work with compromised materials. This should not lead us to disregard them: Not only do these records allow us to develop a better grasp of the range of political options and aspirations at the time; they also promise to give us important examples of how race in fact worked as a political category at the time, thereby shedding new light on the occlusion of this issue in the Spanish American independence movements after 1816.

1 Madrid, February 3, 1795

Juan Bautista Picornell (1759–1825) does not occupy a prominent place in the official chronicles of eighteenth-century Spain.[4] The archival files pertaining to his case are voluminous and involve a confusing array of activities from the 1780s in Madrid until well into the nineteenth century, but official history gives him short shrift. He makes a brief appearance in the works of the Spanish enlightenment philosopher and statesman Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos and the writings of some foreign diplomats established in Madrid during the reign of Carlos III and Carlos IV, but prime minister Godoy does not mention him in his memoirs. In his detailed chronicle of Bourbon rule in Spain, the 19th-century historian Andrés Muriel, who himself was eventually forced to leave Spain on account of his collaboration with Joseph Bonaparte's government, readily dismissed Picornell as insignificant. Contemporary observers and Spanish historians alike have thus tended to portray Picornell as an opportunistic conspirator whose talents were no match for his ambitions and whose political goals were as confused as they were unrealistic.

4 On Picornell and the San Blas conspiracy, see Warren 1942, 1943; López 1955; Zavala 1969, 1973; Aguirrezábal/Comellas 1982 and Michelena 2010.

Students of the *Gual y España* conspiracy in La Guaira have typically held more favorable views (e.g. Aizpurua Aguirre 2007 and Soriano 2017), especially if they considered the 1797 events as early manifestation of a national liberation movement (e.g. Zavala and Michelena). That view, however, often comes at the cost of disregarding some of the unorthodox aspects of Picornell's writings and activities. His more outlandish claims, such as being an emissary of the Spanish King in Venezuela, as having connections in the upper levels of Spanish government or access to massive funds – all claims amply documented in court testimony – are usually dismissed as baseless fantasies or lies even by sympathetic readers of the files. Here again, Picornell is cast as an opportunistic conspirator with illusions of grandeur and limited understanding of the ways of the world. While these views cannot be dismissed out of hand, it seems to me that such post-hoc character analytics should be the last resort and that the principle of "charitable interpretation" posited by many philosophers of language should not be dropped quite so readily when studying figures in intellectual history whose actions come to us through the criminal archive. As I will show in the following, there are ways in which we can make sense of the political vision behind Picornell's intellectual production without having to take recourse to a Burkian psychology of revolution. This does not mean that Picornell's claims need to be understood as strictly speaking true.

Picornell was educated at the liberal University of Salamanca, where he studied philosophy and theology and developed a lasting interest in education. Still in Salamanca, he published a few short essays and translations from French on issues of general pedagogy as well as questions about how one might instill patriotic sentiments in children in a monarchy. Eventually, he moved to Madrid, where in 1784 he joined the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* and the *Real Sociedad Bascongada,* both enlightened associations founded with the blessing of Carlos III in the mid-eighteenth century in order to promote knowledge about recent advances in industry and the arts. Picornell first came to the attention of the state in 1789 with a petition for a license to open a public school in Madrid, which was apparently declined.

We do not know what precipitated Picornell's transformation from a marginal member of the enlightened circles in Madrid into a conspirator who went into hiding in the popular neighborhood of Lavapiés and began to operate clandestinely under an assumed name. Did he really believe he could overthrow the government with the support of a few impoverished neighbors? And even if he did, what were his aims? When the plot was discovered on February 3, 1795, the prosecutors were in no doubt about its goals. In the words of the *consejero* Francisco Pérez de Lema, the plot hoped to "trastornar y mudar nuestro gobierno a imitacion de Francia." (AHN Estado 3161–1: 1.)

There are, however, significant mysteries attached to the events. In the months leading up to the discovery of the conspiracy, Picornell had been handing out alms to the indigents in his neighborhood. In the files, we find petitions that suggest that people were sending him somewhat formal applications and that he was able to deliver the cash. Since Picornell was an unemployed teacher without any known source of income, one wonders where this money came from. A couple of years later, in Venezuela, it was reported that he had boasted of having had access to vast amounts of money as well as important allies in the Spanish government. These, of course, may have been inflated or simply false claims aimed to boost his standing among locals and persuade them to join his plot. But the possibility that his activities were supported, however indirectly, by some members of the political elite cannot be excluded. I will return to this point.[5]

There are other questions that remain unresolved. Why would Picornell publish a book about how to bring up monarchist patriots and within a few years try his hand at a Jacobine plot, if it indeed was of such persuasion? Why did the prosecutors drop the investigation into elite support quite so readily? Why would a Spanish subject who barely escaped with his life in an ill-fated plot in Madrid join another conspiracy in Venezuela, a conspiracy, moreover, that embraced issues that seemed unrelated to those behind the Madrid plot? How was it possible that Picornell played a central role in a local conspiracy in La Guaira from his prison cell without some degree of official connivance? And

5 To this day, historians disagree regarding Picornell's political goals and the question of whether he had elite support. Those who see Picornell as embracing a Jacobine credo believe that he acted with covert French (possibly Masonic) support; those who believe that, to the contrary, Picornell wanted to promote modest reforms of the Bourbon monarchy believe that he was supported by the so-called *Partido Aragonés*, which strongly opposed the reforms carried out under Floridablanca and Cabarrús. Neither account is terribly satisfying as they both leave central aspects of Picornell's intellectual production unaccounted for. Ultimately, we may be running into the problem that political divisions in eighteenth century Spain do not map onto the the left-right scheme which we inherited from the French Revolution and which informs historians' disagreements about Picornell. Any reader of the historiography on Bourbon Spain will be struck by the fact that figures like Floridablanca, Aranda, Cabarrús, or Godoy have trickster-like capabilities of alternatively appearing as staunch conservatives, as cold-blooded modernizers, as supporters of absolute monarchy, as sympathizers of the Scottish Enlightenment, even as supporters of the French Revolution. We may need to consider the possibility that these shape-shifting qualities are not limited to elite figures. In fact, we may want to think about the notion of "tyranny" in Spanish political discourse from this perspective. In any event, the tendency to view a figure like Picornell through leftwing or rightwing conspiracies has severely hampered our ability to recognize the centrality of the colonial question in Spain and that of racial liberation in the colonies.

why would that same person eventually become a Spanish agent and provide intelligence on Bolivar's military activities?

The papers that were found in the hideouts of Picornell and his co-conspirators in Madrid do not necessarily support the state's conclusion that this was an anti-monarchical conspiracy of Jacobine inspiration. A hand-written manifesto by Picornell proclaims that the planned uprising would reduce the king's authority to its "justos y verdaderos limites" (AHN, Consejo 11937) but would not violate the dignity of the king as long as he did not try to recover absolute power by secret or violent means.[6] Clearly, there is an echo of the events in France, though it takes the classic form of disavowal: We will not follow the example of the French radicals as long as the king does not follow that of his cousin in Paris. But there are other echoes as well. Consider the complaints that are listed at the start of the manifesto:

> El Pueblo plenamente convencido de que todas quantas miserias y calamidades afligen à la Nacion son efectos del mal gobierno; viendo al Estado Eclesiastico vejado, el noble abatido, y el plebeyo en la mayor opresion e infelicidad, las ciencias sin proteccion, las artes sin foment, la agricultura destruida, el comercio arruinado […]. (AHN, Consejo 11937)

The problem here is "mal gobierno," not illegitimacy of monarchical rule. The grievances of the old nobility and the clergy are listed along with complaints that are reminiscent of the developmentalist discourse of eighteenth-century associations like the *Sociedad Bascongada* and the *Sociedad Económica*, whose much repeated aspiration was "mejorar la industria popular y los oficios, los secretos de las artes, las máquinas para facilitar las maniobras, y auxiliar la enseñanza."

As a member of both societies, Picornell clearly would have had knowledge of the conversations in Madrid's political circles. His contact with Francisco Cabarrús, the controversial financial advisor of Carlos III, is documented in the archive and shows Cabarrús taking a vastly more critical stance with regard to Spanish absolutist rule than Picornell was willing to take at the time (Zavala 1969). In the meantime, we should note that the *Sociedad Bascongada* was in fact a successor to the *Compañía Guipuzcoana,* which until 1785 had a monopoly in the trade with Venezuela and had its seat in La Guaira. We can safely assume that colonial policies were an important topic of conversation in these associations in Spain at a time when Spain had become increasingly dependent on colonial revenues. Some members of the state bureaucracy had embraced physiocratic economic theories, which led them to believe that only a

6 The possibility that the San Blas conspiracy was aiming for a constitutional monarchy has been mentioned by López 1955; Elorza 1970 and Aguirrezabal/Comellas 1982.

liberalization of trade combined with substantial political autonomy for the colonies would lead to a long-term increase in colonial revenue (Stein/Stein 2003; Kuethe/Andrien 2014). The Bourbon reform efforts, faced with resistance from entrenched interest groups in the colonies as well as in Spain, were largely confined to making the tax collection system more effective. Political autonomy never became part of the official agenda.

Further research of the members and program of the enlightened societies at the time may generate more details about the conversations that were taking place in the 1790s and the possibility that the San Blas conspiracy occurred in an environment where colonial issues were of paramount importance. The only establishment figure with obvious colonial interests that appears in the Spanish and the American files of the 1795 and 1797 conspiracies is Francisco Leandro de Viana, Conde de Tepa.[7] José Lax, one of those convicted in the trial in Madrid, lived in the mansion of the Conde de Tepa, where he had found employment as a tutor. It was in his room that the San Blas conspirators began to meet. The criminal records in Spain mention the Conde de Tepa four times in connection with the San Blas plot, and even in the Venezuelan investigations his name comes up again as one of Picornell's supposed supporters in the Spanish government.

When Picornell and his co-conspirators began to meet in his house, Viana was a wealthy *indiano*, an important figure in the colonial administration, and an active member of the *Sociedad Bascongada*. After having served as a *fiscal* in Manila, he was appointed *oídor* at the Audienciain New Spain in 1768.[8] There, Viana married a rich *criolla*, acquired a fortune through the pulque trade, and secured a nobility title. At the behest of Viceroy Bucareli, he wrote a report about the reforms proposed by José de Gálvez, one of Carlos III's most hard-hitting reformers, which came to withering conclusions regarding the proposed administrative reorganization of New Spain. Upon his return to Spain in 1776, Viana rose through the ranks of the Bourbon colonial administration, where he was known as a stead-fast advocate for trade liberalization. Though he did not return to Mexico, he never liquidated his colonial properties. In honor of the Mexican origins of his wealth, he sent a painting of the Virgen de Guadalupe to his hometown of Lagrán in the Basque region and continued to promote the

7 On Viana, see Yuste 1992; Barbier 1990; Benavides 2015. Aguirrezábal/Comellas (1982) identify the Conde de Tepa as Viana.

8 On the figure of the Conde de Tepa in the archival files, see Aguirrezabal/Comellas (1982), who argue that Picornell's support in Madrid should be sought among the members of the *Partido Aragonés*. López (1955) by contrast believes that Picornell's clandestine support in Madrid rested with Freemasons. However, the existence of Masonic Lodges in Madrid at the time remains controversial.

cult of the virgin. His attachment to the colony seemed to have been a lasting one.

The prosecutor in Madrid vehemently rejected any suggestion of Viana's involvement in the San Blas plot and no concrete evidence has emerged that would link him to the conspiracy. In the end, the authorities concluded that while the plot had seditious intentions, it was hatched by a handful of malcontents who lacked popular support and connections to the political establishment. However, as several scholars have pointed out, it is hard not to feel that the authorities gingerly stepped around any evidence that might incriminate respected figures in the Bourbon administration. Such procedure would not be without precedent. In the large-scale uprising of 1766, commonly referred to as the Motín de Esquilache, too, authorities appear to have gone out of their way to discard any evidence that pointed toward machinations of a discontented elite behind the uprising in the streets.[9] The investigation in 1766 assigned responsibility to the Jesuits, though most historians agree that there was practically no evidence for this conclusion. Interestingly, the events which had forced Carlos III to make significant concessions to the rioters and forced him to dismiss the Márquez de Esquilache, the minister who had overseen colonial reform, were remembered in 1796. In his assessment of the San Blas trial, the *consejero* Pérez de Lema insists that the conspiracy was quite different from the earlier uprising (which he does not name or date), in that this time there was no involvement of powerful men. Picornell's crime was merely "un acto de carnaval, o de entremes." (AHN, Estado 3161–1: 19) This may have been the case; but it is also possible that the interests behind the San Blas conspiracy have been misrecognized by those who reviewed the files, both at the time and with the hindsight of the historian. The evidence that would link the Madrid events to the issue of the colonies is only circumstantial or contextual. But once we take into account the peculiarities of the events in La Guaira, it is not implausible to think that the two conspiracies were more closely connected than we have been led to believe and that they reflect a political landscape that vanished with the independence wars, when national sovereignty became the main goal.

After a lengthy trial, Picornell and his co-conspirators were sentenced to die at the gallows. Very quickly – so quickly that the authorities could not possibly have read the entire file of the trial – the sentence was commuted to deportation to Spain's prison camps in its colonies. Within a few months, the conspirators were reunited in La Guaira, Venezuela, and promptly began to plot again.

9 For a reconstruction of the *Motín de Esquilache*, see Stein/Stein (2003), who conclude that popular discontent was manipulated by establishment figures for their own purposes. Kuethe/Adrien (2014) dismiss this view as conspiracy theory.

2 La Guaira, Summer of 1797

What ensued in La Guaira is what turns the minor incident in Bourbon Spain into an event on the Atlantic stage. On June 4, 1797, less than a year after their arrival in the colony, the *reos de estado*, as they were typically referred to, escaped from their prison cells. No insurrectional activities had materialized, but the investigation after the prison break revealed a vast web of political and educational activities, which involved local *criollos*, *peninsulares*, and a significant number of free people of color. While the colonial regime conducted one of the most exhaustive and long-lasting investigations in the history of the Spanish empire, Picornell was moving from island to island in the Antilles, from Saint Domingue to Guadeloupe, and on, trying to avoid capture by the agents of the Spanish government. While the authorities in Venezuela were interrogating local people who had been drawn into various subversive *tertulias*, the leaders of the conspiracy were searching for new venues of political organization on the Caribbean islands.

Tucked into the considerable documentation about Picornell in the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid is a curious personal letter from Le Cap, in the French Caribbean colony of Saint Domingue. Signed simply Lafont, the letter is addressed to a group of unnamed friends in France. The only thing we know about M. Lafont is what the letter tells us: that he had been spending about four months in Saint Domingue, that his *habitation* in Jeremy had been destroyed by the English during their invasion of Saint Domingue, and that he was, at the time when he wrote the letter in June or July of 1798, in Le Cap, ready to depart for safer shores. Lafont only briefly touches on the situation in the French colony, and what he has to say is not good: Crime has triumphed and the colony will not be of any use to France "unless different measures are adopted." (AHN Estado 3161–1, no. 113)

The letter conforms to the pattern of countless missives from white *colons* who found their fortunes ruined by the turmoil in the colony. What follows is different, however, and it explains why the letter ended up in Picornell's file. He had had, Lafont tells his French correspondents, the great pleasure of meeting "votre camarade d'infortune P." Lafont does not spell out the name but identifies him sufficiently to bring the letter into Picornell's file: "C'etait lui que etait à la tête de l'insurrection de Caraque." Lafont goes on to report that before departing for Guadeloupe, where the French commissioner Victor Hugues held P. in great estimation, P. had given Lafont a copy of a pamphlet he had written titled *Discourse to the Americans*, which he was including in the letter "as proof of P.'s passion for his cause." (AHN Estado 3161–1, no. 113)[10] Lafont ends his report on P. on a more critical note, however: "Ses intentions sont pures, mais

je l'ai en detorné [sic] de son projet en lui presentant le triste tableau de St. Domingue."

The letter does not provide any further details about the nature of the plans that Lafont tried to dissuade Picornell from. Did he think he could garner support for an attempt to overthrow the colonial government in Venezuela with support from Saint Domingue? Was he thinking of instigating a slave insurrection? Was he perhaps gathering information about how the Saint Domingue insurrection succeeded where he had failed in La Guaira? The phrasing suggests that Picornell was thinking of Saint Domingue as a model – but a model for what? We may never be able to give a definitive answer to these questions. However, the extensive files on the 1797 conspiracy contain significant amounts of writing by Picornell himself and some of his co-conspirators, which provide material that allows us to develop some plausible conjectures.

Upon his arrival in La Guaira in 1796, Picornell had quickly entered into contact with local people who were gathering in various informal groups (*tertulias*).[11] While Picornell was not allowed to leave his prison cell, locals had permission to visit him regularly. He was given access to writing materials and produced a significant number of texts from his cell, which were then copied and circulated for purposes of political education.[12] We also know that when Picornell arrived, there were over 1,000 deportees from Santo Domingo in La Guaira, from both the French and the Spanish side, among them probably Picornell's "friends in misfortune" mentioned in Lafont's letter from Saint Domingue. Court testimony speaks eloquently of the conversations between the deportees confined to La Guaira and local populations about the events in Saint Domingue.

The materials that were discovered in the course of the investigation of the conspiracy are heterogeneous and reflect a variety of points of views. They aimed to persuade different audiences, deployed different textual genres, foregrounded different issues, and were written at different moments. All of this affects the propositional content and should caution us against rash generalizations. We also need to keep in mind that the texts Picornell wrote for popular audiences were destroyed, so we have to rely on court testimony to get a sense of what they might have said. Yet, court testimony requires more complex con-

10 The *Discourse* is no longer part of the file, but copies of a text with the same title authored by Picornell, can be found elsewhere in the files of the conspiracy.

11 For an analysis of the diverse groups that were eventually subsumed under the *Gual y España* label, see Aizpurua Aguirre 2007.

12 For a detailed analysis of the way in which local circumstances and agendas were reflected in the texts that circulated and the role of the free people of color, see Soriano forthcoming.

textualization and cannot be taken at face value. The texts that did survive certainly merit a close textual reading (more than can be done in the space of this article). I will here limit myself to signaling some striking aspects of the materials that have not found the attention they deserve.

Even considering the complexity and heterogeneity of the evidence, there are a few aspects that seem fairly clear. Spanish rule is denounced as tyrannical and exploitative and slavery as a crime. A new, more egalitarian government would liberate America from oppression and open commerce to all nations. The primary goals of the conspiracy were free trade, the immediate abolition of slavery (with compensation to slave owners), the elimination of Indian tribute, racial equality, and the abolition of taxes and tariffs. In one of Picornell's more formal texts, titled *Constituciones*, a provision regarding racial equality is included as Article 32:

> Se declara la igualdad natural entre todos los habitantes de las Provincias y Distritos: y se encarga que entre Blancos, Yndios, Pardos y Morenos reyne la mayor armonia, mirandose todos como hermanos en Jesu-Cristo iguales por Dios, procurando aventajarse solo unos a otros en merito, y virtud, que son las dos unicas distinciones reales y verdaderas que hay de hombre a hombre, y habra en lo sucesivo entre todos los Yndividuos de nuestra republica. (López 1955: 354)

One of Picornell's texts written for popular instruction is described in court testimony as a *Dialogue between a black Lieutenant-Colonel of the French Republic and a black Spaniard, his cousin* (see Soriano forthcoming: chapter 5). Apparently it took the form of a catechism and told the story of a black 'Spaniard' who encounters his 'French' cousin dressed in full military regalia, who tells the 'Spaniard' that in France all men were equal and free, and that people of color had equal access to military and political positions.[13] Another text is sometimes referred to as *Revelación al venerable Siervo de Dios Fray José María de la Concepción*. According to court testimony, it told the story of a priest who had a dream vision of José Leonardo Chirino, the leader of the antislavery rebellion in Coro, 1795, who was executed by the authorities. In the dream, Chirino appeared as a martyr who exhorts the *americanos* to recover their liberty and assures them that they could count on the Almighty for help. The priest who reports the revelation to the bishop is promptly accused of sedition and incarcerated. When he appeals to God for help, he is miraculously granted pen and paper and proceeds to write down a *Discurso a los americanos*, thus

13 I use single quotation marks for French and Spanish because neither term should be read as an unequivocal indication of origin. Both could either refer to colonial or metropolitan origins. Given the context, I am inclined to believe the former was intended.

giving a fictitious origin story for another text in fact authored by Picornell. Presumably, this is the same text that had been included in Lafont's letter from Saint Domingue. Equally interesting is a text referred to as the *Letter from a Grandfather in Cádiz to his Grandson in America*, in which the grandfather tells his grandson that Spain is suffering under tyranny and that agriculture, commerce, and the arts have fallen into neglect. He then relates to have heard rumors of rebellion in America and exhorts his grandson to join the struggle for liberty.

Lest we believe that 'liberty' was simply code for independence – a reading not supported by the textual evidence – secession was not the main goal of the 1797 conspirators. To be sure, the term is mentioned in a few of Picornell's texts, most notably in his *Constituciones* of 1797, but it never became the rallying cry. Demands for equality and liberty rights did. And while Picornell's texts by and large advocate for a republican form of government, related archival materials suggest that some of his allies thought that the main problem was not monarchy itself, but rather the way in which it ruled over the colonies.

The most important topic in Picornell's educational texts is racial equality. This centrality probably needs to be understood in part as an attempt to gain the support of the free people of color and does not necessarily indicate that racial issues were at the top of the agenda of the leaders of the conspiracy. Yet, the way the issue is presented merits our attention.[14] Along with a reference to universal liberty and equality in France, we find an appeal to Christian beliefs: The black leader of a slave revolt is a "martyr" and all humans are "brothers in Christ." The fact that the "Frenchman" is a high-ranking black soldier deserves notice, too, since military regalia is not a right but an honor (see also Soriano forthcoming: chapter 5). The scene certainly bears witness to a concern with racial equality; however, the staging shifts our attention away from mere legal equality and abstract citizenship toward social equality and prestige. It thus roots the claim for racial equality in the history of the Spanish Empire and perhaps the restrictive *castas* system rather than French universal rights declarations.

Also relevant for a full appreciation of the scene of the *Dialogue* are local precedents. In 1794, the French commissioner Victor Hugues retook Guadeloupe from British forces and French royalists by recruiting those who had been enslaved for the service of the Republic and tying emancipation to this service (Dubois 2004: 192–194). Clearly, the news would have traveled; but we should also remember that there were over 1,000 deportees from French and

14 The files contain various accounts of the educational texts by witnesses and the accused. For a survey of the various texts and testimonies about them, see Soriano forthcoming: chapter 5.

Spanish Santo Domingo in La Guaira and that these deportees had been in conversation with local people. It was in the French colonies rather than in France that the meaning of equality was taken to center around racial equality, and it was the uprising in the early 1790s in Saint Domingue that launched an idea of universal liberty that was incompatible with black slavery. At the same time, we see in Picornell's *Dialogue* traces of the racial history of the Spanish Empire. There is, first of all, the derivation of racial equality from Catholic doctrine rather than secular principles of universal rights; but just as important is the fictional staging of specific grievances of the free people of color under colonial hierarchies of color. Both sources for framing racial emancipation – one French Caribbean, the other Hispanic – point toward intercolonial and cross-Caribbean flows of influence that are obscured when the *Gual y España* conspiracy is presented as a 'French-inspired' event and a precursor to Venezuelan independence.

The second issue that stands out in the texts produced in the context of the La Guairaconspiracy concerns the puzzling presence of Spain. What lessons did Picornell expect to derive from a fictitious letter of a Spanish grandfather to his grandson in the colonies? Why did he not simply argue that the *peninsulares* in the colonies should cut their ties to the homeland and join forces with the *criollos*? This is what Bolívar and other leaders of (the) nineteenth-century independence movement(s) did. But Picornell's argument does not try to drive a wedge between *criollos* and *peninsulares*. Quite to the contrary: We find time and again the assertion that once the insurrection had started, Spanish soldiers would not take up arms against their American brothers, that the Spanish king was sympathetic to the cause of the *americanos*, and that there was support in the Spanish government. Consider the following passage from a *pasquín* written by Manuel Gual:

> Levántense pues españoles con alusión a este pasquín puesto en las esquinas de Madrid y del Palacio Real en que figuraban varios españoles sentados en una mesa sin nada para comer, preguntándose ¿qué hacemos? y responden. Levantarse […]. Españoles paisanos y soldados se os ofrece la ocasión de formar vuestro gobierno independiente, vuestras leyes arregladas a la justicia que distingue el hombre político del hombre salvaje, conservando vuestra religión en toda su pureza las iglesias y los ministros. (Gual en Michelena 2010: 391)

Starvation in Spain is invoked to incite resistance in the colonies – resistance that is of both *españoles, americanos,* and *europeos*. Like Picornell's *Letter from a Grandfather in Cadiz*, Gual's *pasquín* invites us to think of a colonial uprising not in opposition to Spain, but as the realization of a revolution that failed in Spain. Further research may well turn up the *pasquín* Gual refers to in his text

and help us to understand better the thinking behind this vision of Atlantic relations. It is possible that the *pasquín* pertained to the San Blas conspiracy; but it is also possible that it was drafted at the time of the Esquilache uprising, when a great number of satirical pamphlets were in circulation. Among the papers confiscated at Gual's home was, after all, a copy of an anonymous pamphlet which had circulated in 1766 titled *Constituciones y Ordenanzas para un nuevo cuerpo en defensa del Rey y de la Patria*. Therefore, it would seem that the Venezuelan conspirators had an (at least minimally) active interest in the 1766 events in Madrid and thought of their activities in a transatlantic context. But given that there is plenty of court testimony that recounts Picornell's story of the events in Madrid and thus connects the goals of the San Blas conspiracy to those of the conspiracy in La Guaira, we can take this a step further. It seems that Picornell and Gual did not think of the interests of Spanish subjects in Europe and in America as necessarily in conflict. Spain may well benefit from the *americanos* taking political initiative. Even the Spanish king is included in this list of potential beneficiaries and supporters of the planned colonial rebellion. The conspirators at times present themselves as royal emissaries, and Picornell apparently maintained that the Spanish monarch would prefer to let go of the colonies in America as a means for putting Spain's economy back on track, just as he had done in the case of the Plaza de Oran on the Northafrican coast. In this context, we may wonder whether it was not a mistake when one of the most thorough studies of the 1797 conspiracy reprints a text titled *Soneto Americano*, one of the revolutionary songs used by the conspirators in their meetings, but leaves out two verses that read "Viva el Rey Supremo y el Vicario actual." (López 1955: 375)[15]

Clearly, the Spanish king did not support Picornell and his co-conspirators (though it is possible that there was some support for the plot from within the local administration). The more consequential point, however, is that the conspirators seemed to have thought that the interests of *españoles americanos* and *españoles europeos* actually coincided. Picornell clearly thought that the Spanish population at large would follow suit if the colonies shook of the yoke of tyranny. Might he not have thought that starting a revolt from the colonies might achieve what he had failed to achieve in Madrid? And if Picornell did have some support from elite circles in Madrid in 1795, he might very well have thought that some segments of the government would support him if he turned out to be more successful in the colonies. If that was the picture the conspira-

15 López argues that the original *Soneto americano* was composed by Manuel Cortés (one of the accused conspirators) and that the verses in praise of the king were added by a certain Montesinos Rico later and thus do not belong to the original.

tors were working with, it would not be surprising that they would insist on solidarity between European and American populations.

All of this creates a complex framework for rethinking the potential impact of the revolution in the French colonies on the Spanish American mainland. It is clear that Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe were not simply the model for the conspirators in La Guaira. Some conspirators, probably including Gual, believed that a rebellion in La Guaira would be a preventive strike against slave revolts and race war. Yet, there is no indication that any of the conspirators were opposed to the agenda of abolition and racial equality. Unlike many slaveholding *criollos* the conspirators of La Guaira may have drawn a clear distinction between slave revolts (and the violence that inevitably came with them) and a politically constituted postslavery state. But Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe may have served as a model in another respect as well. The relationship between the colonies and the metropolis had changed considerably in the French empire in the 1790s. The French colonies in the Caribbean had in fact achieved a high degree of autonomy; they had abolished slavery and warfare had, at least for some time, come to an end. The coalition of antislavery forces and French republicans had kept French royalists at bay in the colonies. Toussaint Louverture and the French Commissioners had arrived at a power sharing arrangement, and Saint Domingue was all set to be an equal partner in a republican French empire. That is not how things worked out in the end, but it is what it looked like in 1797. If a radical reversal in the relations between metropolis and colony was on the horizon for the conspirators in La Guaira, it may well be that France's brief experiment with a transatlantic empire of equal citizens was one of the possible alternatives to what had become the Spanish model of imperial governance. But that, too, put the issue of slavery and racial relations squarely in the center of the agenda.

With Madrid in the grip of an entrenched bureaucracy and the Spanish state utterly dependent on colonial revenue, the conspirators may well have hoped that a revolution in the colonies would shift the balance of power in the empire and inaugurate something akin to France's short-lived empire of equal citizens. If the American colonies could be turned into a lever to dislocate tyranny in Spain, then imperial relations would certainly be transformed, whatever state form was adopted. Looking at the materials of the twin conspiracies of 1795 and 1797, one is struck how relatively unimportant the issue of state form seems to be. In the case of the San Blas conspiracy, it is difficult to say whether the goal was to bring about a change in state form in Spain. In La Guaira, there was plenty of talk about creating republics in America but that coexisted with pledges of allegiance to the king. There was some talk of independence, but it was never clear who exactly would be the subject of a declaration of independence. Freedom from tyranny and racial equality were the cen-

tral concerns. As the example of the French colonies showed, they could be attained through a number of political arrangements and the local elites were not necessarily a good guarantor for these goals in the colonial territories.

It is not surprising, then, that Picornell would have gone to Toussaint Louverture's Saint Domingue to discuss his future plans, and from there to Guadeloupe, to talk to Victor Hugues. Chalking up Picornell's agenda to an 'influence of the French Revolution' clearly does not even tell half the story. It is through the cross-currents from imperial Spain to Venezuela, from Saint Domingue and Guadeloupe back to Venezuela, and from Venezuela back to Spain, that we can come to understand why Picornell ended up writing intelligence reports on Bolívar's endeavors: National independence was not his main agenda, and Bolívar had no interest in exporting his revolution to Spain. If we map intellectual history through independence revolutions, we stand to lose sight of these complex flows of influence and, with it, of an intellectual culture that fully understood that liberationist politics in the Caribbean were unthinkable without addressing the issues of slavery and racial hierarchies.[16]

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Ulrike Schmieder

Periódicos afrocubanos: la Independencia y el distanciamiento de la élite afrocubana de Haití, África y la esclavitud

El propósito de este artículo consiste en analizar los aportes del grupo de la élite afrocubana en la prensa política al final de la época colonial para reconstruir sus objetivos políticos. Además se explora la argumentación utilizada por ese grupo para convencer a la población blanca y negra cubana de que aquellos objetivos fuesen compatibles con los intereses de la naciente nación cubana, la cual era concebida como la unión de ciudadanos de todas las razas o etnias. Bajo este enfoque se investiga el único periódico afrocubano femenino para ver cómo se distinguían las opiniones de líderes masculinos y femeninos afrocubanos y como la interdependencia entre género, raza y clase sale a la luz en este como en los otros periódicos.

1 Juan Gualberto Gómez, *La Fraternidad* y el Directorio de las Sociedades de la Raza de Color

> En punto al problema de las razas cubanas, somos los más resueltos campeones de la unión de blancos y negros. […] Lo único que hay es que entiendo que sin libertad y sin igualdad no cabe que exista fraternidad. El siervo jamás amó al tirano, ni pudo nunca el que se miró despreciado por que se le tenía como inferior, sentir afecto por el soberbio que le ultrajaba y humillaba. De ahí la firme convicción que aliento de que combatiendo las preocupaciones y las desigualdades, y trabajando por que desparezcan no por el rebajamiento del blanco, sino por la elevación del negro, presto á mi pais servicio tan positivo como pudiera prestarle el que á más brillante empresa se consagrara. (*La Fraternidad*, 29.8.1890)[1]

Este texto citado fue publicado en el periódico cubano *La Fraternidad* (1879–1890), fundado para combatir la esclavitud y luchar por los derechos civiles y políticos de los antiguos esclavizados. El fundador de *La Fraternidad*, Juan Gualberto Gómez (1854–1933), era hijo de padres esclavizados. Aquellos habían

1 En las citas textuales mantengo la ortografía de la época.

comprado su libertad en el vientre y le habían posibilitado una educación escolar en La Habana y una formación profesional en París. Allí – en la capital de Francia – Gómez vivió la revolución y el nacimiento de la tercera República Francesa en 1870 (Horrego Estuch 2004: 1–15).[2] Después de haber sido desterrado de la isla entre 1880 y 1890 por haber participado en la lucha a favor de la Independencia, Gómez fue encarcelado y condenado "por proposición a la rebelión" a causa de un artículo publicado en *La Fraternidad* en septiembre de 1890, titulado "Por qué somos separatistas". La revocación de la sentencia por el Tribunal Supremo de España permitió la promoción pacífica de la separación de Cuba de España.[3]

Gómez actuó como presidente del Directorio de las Sociedades de la Raza de Color. El Directorio fue fundado en 1886 y reunieron a las Sociedades de Instrucción, Recreo y Socorros Mutuos, establecidas a base de la constitución española de 1876 y de la Ley de Asociaciones, la cual fue promulgada en Cuba en 1886. A través de estas sociedades los recién liberados organizaron su vida social y representaron sus intereses frente a las autoridades coloniales. Con la Gran Asamblea de las Sociedades de Color en 1892 lograron que se emitieran varios decretos del Gobierno colonial contra la discriminación racial. En 1894, el Directorio fue disuelto por Gómez, que en ese tiempo fue el representante del Partido Revolucionario Cubano en la isla, con el fin de centrar todos los esfuerzos políticos en la lucha por la Independencia (Hevia Lanier 1996: 2013).[4]

Con las frases citadas inicialmente Gómez esboza los lineamientos políticos de la pequeña élite intelectual afrocubana. Su formación intelectual le hizo posible que defendiera los intereses de la "raza de color" en un momento histó-

2 Gómez fue miembro de la Asamblea constitucional en 1900 y 1901 y enemigo destacado de la Enmienda Platt, diputado del parlamento 1914–1916 y senador 1917–1924. A pesar de su competencia como líderes de la "raza de color", Gómez y Martín Morúa Delgado participaron en la rebelión del Partido Liberal (1905, en ocasión de la intervención estadounidense de 1906) contra los fraudes electorales de los conservadores, en la que el general negro Quintín Bandera fue asesinado (Pappademus 2011: 21, 78, 86).

3 Archivo Nacional de Cuba (ARNAC), Asuntos Políticos, leg. 183, exp. 5. Causa, rollo y un incidente seguido contra Juan Gualberto Gómez "por proposición a la rebelión en un artículo 'Por qué somos separatistas'", del periódico *La Fraternidad*, 24.9.1890. Sobre el artículo "Por qué somos separatistas": Deschamps Chapeaux 1963: 57–62.

4 Según Fernández Calderón, Gómez fue presidente del Directorio desde 1890 (Fernández Calderón 2014: 51). Según Hevia Lanier, la fundación del Directorio a fines de 1886 se basó en una idea de Gómez, quien en aquel momento vivía desterrado de la isla. La inauguración oficial del Directorio tuvo lugar el 2 de julio de 1887 en el Centro de Cocheros de La Habana. Los miembros del directorio eran Santiago Pérez (presidente), Miguel Gualba (secretario) y Juan Gualberto Gómez (presidente de honor). En septiembre de 1891 Gómez fue elegido Presidente efectivo y Pérez llegó a ser Presidente honorario (Hevia Lanier 1996: 17, 20, 22–23, 42; Hevia Lanier 2013).

rico en que los cubanos blancos por un lado seguían teniendo graves prejuicios racistas y sufrían el temor de perder sus privilegios como blancos, pero por otro lado eran cada vez más conscientes de que necesitaban a los afrocubanos para alcanzar la independencia nacional. El mensaje de Gómez es muy claro: Solamente puede haber una alianza patriótica entre las razas si a cambio de su ayuda la gente de la "raza de color" obtenía los mismos derechos que los blancos. Esta autodefinición pretendía particularmente superar las diferencias hechas entre "morenos" y "pardos", las cuales habían sido instituidas por el poder colonial con el fin de jerarquizar y dominar a los afrocubanos. La lucha antidiscriminatoria se desarrolló en un ámbito social en el cual el así llamado racismo científico dominaba el pensamiento de los blancos a ambas orillas del Atlántico, tanto en el mundo hispanoamericano como en el anglosajón (Naranjo Orovio 2002; MacMaster 2001: 20–85; Finzsch 1998; Andrews 2004: 117–151).

2 Los intelectuales afrocubanos independentistas y su pensamiento

Los afrocubanos veteranos de la guerra de los Diez Años (1868–1878) de Cuba contra el dominio colonial español y de la Guerra Chiquita (1879) de los afrocubanos contra el tratado de la Paz de Zanjón, mantenían su posición pro-independentista. Aunque la segregación racial en los espacios públicos, escuelas y en la universidad había oficialmente acabado por decretos del gobierno colonial (Labra 1894: 33–35), todos los esfuerzos del gobierno español entre 1886 y 1895 para ganar el apoyo de los recién emancipados no lograron impedir que la gran mayoría de aquellos veteranos afrocubanos y de sus descendientes se pusiera de lado de la revolución independentista entre 1895 y 1898. Eran los despreciados negros los que formaban la mayoría de las tropas cubanas (aproximadamente 60 % de los soldados y 40 % de los oficiales, Ferrer 1999: 3) y que por fin vencieron a los ejércitos españoles. Existe solamente un único cuento que enfoca esa participación en la guerra desde la perspectiva afrocubana: La narración del soldado Ricardo Batrell que luchó en 1912 en Matanzas, la provincia que en ese tiempo fue la más devastada por la guerra y donde el Ejército Libertador Patriótico (ELP) inicialmente se conformó casi exclusivamente de negros. Batrell describe situaciones de solidaridad entre los militares blancos y negros en el ELP, pero sobre todo resalta situaciones en las que los soldados negros fueron discriminados, al no ser ascendidos a los rangos militares correspondientes a pesar de su coraje y auto-sacrificio en las batallas. Según Batrell, tenían que entregar armas conquistadas en combate con las tropas españolas a oficiales o tropas blancas, causando pérdidas mayores entre los soldados afrocubanos. Incluso

fueron acusados equivocadamente de traición (Batrell 2010: 12, 40, 80, 104–141). Los trabajos de Aline Helg y Ada Ferrer sobre el racismo de militares blancos contra los afrocubanos en las tropas patrióticas confirman el relato de Batrell, al citarlo como valiosa fuente para estudiar el papel de los afrocubanos en la guerra (Helg 1995: 55–90; Ferrer 1999: 157–194).[5]

Entre los intelectuales afrocubanos que luchaban por la Independencia al lado de Gómez se encontraba su amigo, el tabaquero, educador y periodista Rafael Serra (1858–1909).[6] El eterno rival político de Gómez, Martín Morúa Delgado (1856–1910), tonelero, escritor y político, hijo de una antigua esclava africana casada con un español, opositor de organizaciones separadas de la "gente de color" (Guillén 1984; Horrego Estuch 1956), llegó tarde a posiciones autonomistas hasta separatistas, solamente en reacción a la política de genocidio del General Weyler, Gobernador General y comandante en jefe de las tropas españolas (Helg 1995: 44, 84).

Desde principios de la década de 1890, las potencias europeas comenzaron a dividirse el continente africano. Justamente aquellos europeos que se habían beneficiado durante cuatro siglos del comercio transatlántico de esclavizados y de la esclavitud en el Nuevo Mundo legitimaron esa apropiación con la argumentación de que invadieron el continente para abolir la esclavitud africana y la trata de negros "musulmana"[7] y porque consideraban que los africanos "sal-

5 Las posiciones de las autoras en relación al papel que adscriben al racismo son distintas. Para Helg el racismo no solamente fue predominante sino que la alianza interracial fue un mito para engañar a los afrocubanos. Según Ferrer, había esa alianza interracial y a la vez los prejuicios racistas. Según ella, muchos cubanos, tanto negros como blancos, creían en la unión de los cubanos, la cual posteriormente fue sacrificada a favor de una reconciliación entre blancos españoles y blancos cubanos.

6 Serra se expresó a favor de la Independencia, según ella alcanzable a través de la revolución de los cubanos blancos y negros unidos y a favor de una "República absolutamente democrática" de los trabajadores. Serra editó los periódicos *La Armonía* (1879) y *La Doctrina de Martí* (1896–1898). Véase Fernández Calderón 2014: 30. Respecto a sus posiciones políticas véase Serra 1896, sobre su biografía (1858–1909) véase Deschamps Chapeaux 1975.

7 Para la justificación del comportamiento europeo véase los documentos "Acte général de la conférence de Berlin de 1885", 26.2.1885 y "Déclaration concernant la traite des esclaves. Article 9" (http://mjp.univ-perp.fr/traites/1885berlin.htm). Sobre la conquista de África a fines del siglo XIX véase Iliffe 1995: 187–212. De facto, Inglaterra y Francia abolieron la esclavitud en los territorios adquiridos en África muy lentamente, y Alemania hasta 1918, cuando perdió sus colonias, nunca. Después de la abolición no existía trabajo libre asalariado, sino más bien regímenes de trabajo forzoso. El trato de los trabajadores forzados se distinguió muy poco de la esclavitud. Sobre la lenta desaparición de la esclavitud en África y sobre el trabajo forzoso bajo el control de potencias europeas, véase Fall 1993; Lovejoy/Hogendorn 1993; Cooper 1996; Getz 2004; Deutsch 2006; Rodet 2010.

vajes" no eran capaces de auto-gobernarse. Ante estas percepciones prejuiciosas Gómez trató de convencer a sus compatriotas blancos que el otorgamiento de derechos civiles y políticos a los afrocubanos no significaría la "africanización" del país. La idea de que la Cuba independiente sería un país africanizado, y – siguiendo esa idea racista – por lo tanto un país atrasado, bárbaro y salvaje, circuló como un espectro por la sociedad cubana. El alto porcentaje de afrocubanos en las tropas de la república cubana en la guerra de los diez años, el ascenso de algunos de ellos a altos grados militares (el famoso Antonio Maceo, el "titán de bronce", José Maceo, Guillermo Moncada, Quintín Bandera, Jesús Rabí, Flor y Emiliano Crombet, Agustín Cebreco) y el liderazgo de oficiales afrocubanos en la Guerra Chiquita, brindaron la oportunidad a los españoles de fomentar los temores a la africanización en la población blanca. Los representantes oficiales de la monarquía se aprovecharon de esa oportunidad para mantenerla fiel a España y de presentarse como la supuesta protectora contra este peligro (Ferrer 1999: 47–67, 76–89).

Ante estos temores los intelectuales afrocubanos no defendían el continente africano y sus sociedades contra esta imagen negativa, dominante en Europa y las Américas. Los periodistas afrocubanos más bien se distanciaron de la herencia africana y pidieron ayuda para obtener acceso a la educación que les haría posible superar sus raíces africanas.

En un artículo sin firma que lleva el título "Con bala rasa", publicado en 1888 en *La Fraternidad*, el autor anónimo se expresa contra el contenido de un artículo del periódico *El Pueblo Soberano*, órgano público del Partido Autonomista, el cual no quería admitir miembros de la "raza negra":

> Nosotros, *pertenecientes á esta Africa á que no se quiere volver* deseamos, lo hemos dicho varias veces, tanto como los que tal proclaman alejarnos cada dia más de ella; pero necesitamos la ayuda ofrecida (no sabemos si por pura fórmula) por los que ahora se espantan *de que están o está africanizando* […].
> El siervo de la gleba cubana ha desaparecido para dar paso al ciudadano con todos los derechos y deberes; su voz tiene que oirse, en el deber de atender sus justas quejas están los que, á titulo de cubanos, dirigen la sociedad que, por más que se niegue se *africaniza* cada día más. Nosotros queremos más que nadie, evitarlo, y como hombres libres, dada la relativa libertad que aquí se disfruta pedimos la parte proporcional que nos pertenece dentro de este carácter. (*La Fraternidad*, 10.8.1888)

Detrás de la formulación "está africanizando" se esconde un conflicto dentro de la población afrocubana. Aunque solamente una minoría muy pequeña de africanos trató y logró de regresar a África después la emancipación (Sarracino 1988; Otero 2010), no todos los antiguos esclavizados se distanciaban de sus raíces africanas. Los miembros de los cabildos africanos, obligados por el estado colonial a refundarse como asociaciones, fomentaron abiertamente "el recreo a

uso de África" en los estatutos, es decir cultivar costumbres como p. e. fiestas con música africana que incluía tocar tambores.[8]

Muchos afrodescendientes no permitieron que se les prohibiera la santería, el Palo Monte o cualquier otra religión de origen africano (Zeuske 2004). Además, un número sustancial de blancos se adhirió a la religión de la Sociedad Abakuá (el llamado ñáñiguismo), cultivada originalmente por los carabalíes (como fueron llamados en Cuba los africanos procedentes de la región nombrada Calabar por la ciudad portuaria y el río Calabar en el Sudeste de Nigeria) y transculturizada en Cuba, muy influyente en los obreros portuarios de La Habana, Matanzas y Cárdenas (Sosa Rodríguez 1982; López Valdés 2007: 287–349; Palmié 2007; Miller 2009). Muchos procesos contra supuestos ñáñigos se dirigieron tanto contra hombres blancos como negros.[9] Gómez defendió los derechos de los cabildos reformados a sociedades, pero se distanció de los ritos de los ñáñigos, miembros de esas sociedades secretas que practicaban el culto Abakuá. Tanto para los blancos como para los afrocubanos educados según el modelo europeo, aquellos ñáñigos representaban barbarie, brujería y criminalidad. Esa percepción se relacionaba al rumor de que los rituales del culto Abakuá incluían sacrificios humanos.

La vitalidad de la herencia africana dificultó mucho el trabajo de aquellos periodistas afrocubanos que trataban de convencer a los cubanos blancos de que los afrodescendientes no tenían nada que ver con África. Desde 1791, con el estallido de la revolución exitosa de los esclavizados de Haití, el temor a la africanización de Cuba se vinculaba al miedo a la haitianización de Cuba (Gonzá-

8 Archivo Histórico Provincial de Matanzas (AHPM), Asociaciones Africanas, leg. 1, exp. 8. Expediente relativo a la sociedad africana de recreo y socorros mutuos, "Nuestra Señora de Regla", de Canasi, incluye: Reglamento, 23.12.1890–07.5.1895. Reglamento, capítulo 1, § 2: "Al propio tiempo proporcionará á sus miembros el recreo á uso de Africa tanto para dar solaz al ánimo, como recordar las costumbres de su país."

9 En los siguientes casos la justicia persiguió por ejemplo a ñáñigos de diferentes etnias, sospechosos de simpatizar con la Independencia:
AHPM, Religiones Africanas, exp. 86. Instruido contra cuarenta ñáñigos. 19.12.1896–20.2.1897. Las 40 personas (21 "Dones" = blancos, 10 "pardos" y 9 "morenos") fueron acusadas de "tildados como cuatreros y desafectos a la causa de la nacionalidad de España".
AHPM, Religiones Africanas, exp. 89. Expediente relativo a causa instruida contra 34 ñáñigos, incluyendo la relación de los mismos, 2.1.–24.4.1897. 20 "blancos", 5 "mestizos" y 9 "negros" fueron considerados "cuatreros perjudiciales en sumo grado á la sociedad".
AHPM, Religiones Africanas, exp. 92. Comunicación al Gobernador de Matanzas sobre 52 individuos de diferentes razas, acusados de ñáñiguismo y desafectos a la causa española, 6.4.1897.
AHPM, Religiones Africanas, exp. 94. Comunicación referente a reunión de ñáñigos sorprendidos por la policía, resultando en 10 individuos detenidos, 19.–23.10.1897 (de los 10 acusados uno fue "pardo" y uno "moreno").

lez-Ripoll 2004; Ferrer 1999: 94, 112–113). Como el Haití independiente se había retirado de la economía global capitalista azucarera, manteniéndose mediante la pequeña agricultura de subsistencia y mercados locales (con excepción de la exportación de café en pequeñas cantidades), había llegado a ser el símbolo del retraso económico y social[10] y de la ruralización arcaizante. En este contexto, el vodún era temido y percibido como una hechicería africana peligrosa que impedía el desarrollo.

Entonces, otro periódico afrocubano de Gómez, *La Igualdad*, publicó en mayo de 1893 una serie de tres artículos, titulados: "Cuba no es Haití", "Lo que pasó en Haití" y "Lo que pasará en Cuba", argumentando contra el *Diario de la Marina* que había evocado el temor a una guerra de razas en Cuba y a la expulsión de los blancos como había ocurrido en Haití. A pesar de los prejuicios contra África encontrados en estos artículos, aquellos textos revelan el conocimiento sobre África y Haití, el que circulaba en ese tiempo en el espacio atlántico. Ese conocimiento incluía cierta comprensión de las causas políticas y sociales de los sucesos en Haití. Contra la imagen funesta de todo el continente africano surgió una versión más diferenciada. En "Cuba no es Haití" se dice:

> Los portugueses y los españoles reclutaban principalmente sus esclavos cerca de las embocaduras del Congo ó en la porción del Golfo de la Guinea habitada por los pueblos más pacificos del Africa. Los franceses, en cambio, siempre trataron más con las belicosas tribus senegalenses, con los mandingas briosos y con los indómitos dahomeyanos. De donde resulta que en tanto que los negros en Cuba en su mayoria, son oriundos de los dulces habitantes de la cuenca del Congo, tan asimilables y sumisos á los europeos, los de Haití, por lo comun procedían de las guerreras aglomeraciones que aún hoy oponen resistencia á la civilización europea. ("Cuba no es Haití", *La Igualdad*, 13.5.1893)

Además del argumento de las distinciones entre los pueblos africanos se recurrió a las diferencias históricas, sociales y demográficas entre Cuba y Haití. Según tal argumentación no habría guerra de razas y expulsión de los blancos en Cuba

> [...] porque mientras en Haití de cada 25 individuos, 24 eran de color y 1 solo blanco, en Cuba, de cada tres individuos, 2 son blancos y 1 solo de color; des-

10 El "retraso" era entendido como sinónimo del retiro de la isla de la producción masiva de azúcar para el mercado mundial, sin que jamás alguien se preguntase si los haitianos no tenían el deseo y el derecho de vivir como campesinos libres de la pequeña agricultura. Al mismo tiempo, los problemas económicos de la isla nunca habían sido vinculados a la enorme recompensación financiera que Haití tuvo que pagar a Francia por su independencia o con la devastación ecológica heredada de la economía azucarera. Sobre la demanda de repago véase Beckles 2009.

> pués porque los negros haitianos eran recien llegado del Africa y no tenían cultura ninguna, en tanto los de Cuba, han nacido casi todo en este país, y poseen los propios elementos de civilización europea como las demás clases populares [...] y porque las condiciones de carácter y filiacion antropológica del elemento negro haitiano no son idénticas, sino contrapuestas á veces, á las del elemento negro en Cuba. ("Cuba no es Haití", *La Igualdad*, 13.5.1893)

En el artículo "Lo que pasó en Haití" se señaló además que la rebelión de los esclavos no había sido la consecuencia de la "barbarie africana" sino el resultado de la dureza excepcional que marcaba la esclavitud en Haití en concordancia con las crueles estipulaciones del *Code Noir*. Además:

> En los primeros tiempos, la revolución de Haití no fue una guerra de razas sino una lucha de los intereses, en la que los combatientes, que son los blancos, y que solo representaban una ínfima parte de la población, llaman a su defensa á los negros, para cometer despues la imprudencia de negarles la libertad á que se creían con derecho. Ellos mismos les ponen las armas en las manos; así es cuando quieren volverlos a su antiguo estado, encuentran su resistencia, y entonces, y sólo entonces, la lucha toma otro carácter. ("Lo que pasó en Haití", *La Igualdad*, 25.5.1893)

En Cuba por el contrario "la legislación de este país era mas humana con el esclavo". Tras la revolución de los blancos que recibió el apoyo de la población afrocubana, a los negros "[...] se les reconoce la igualdad de derecho, se les proclama ciudadanos de la republica que se trata de fundar, se les abre la puerta á los honores, ascienden a los más altos puestos del ejército" ("Lo que pasó en Haití", *La Igualdad*, 25.5.1893).

En Cuba, según *La Igualdad*, los patriotas blancos fueron más justos con los combatientes negros que anteriormente los dueños blancos con los esclavizados. La argumentación es ambigua porque incluye una advertencia subversiva a pesar del elogio a los cubanos blancos: Negar a la gente de color los derechos adquiridos hubiera sido peligroso, porque en este caso Cuba habría podido llegar a ser un segundo Haití.

Por fin en "Lo que pasará en Cuba" se destaca otra diferencia entre Haití y Cuba con respecto al estallido de la "guerra de razas":

> [...] Tiene explicacion el hecho de que los negros haitianos que constituían la casi totalidad de los habitantes de estas colonias; que carecían de lazos de afectos con la población blanca; que experimentaban hacia la población blanca una aversión justificada. [Los negros decidieron – inciso de la autora] posesionarse en absoluto de un país en el que solo parecían poder vivir como esclavos maltratados o como dominadores absolutos. [En Cuba – inciso de la autora] La raza negra que aquí vive en minoría y que posee una gran suavidad de carácter, una inteligencia clara y una profunda intuición patriótica, no puede mirar con agrado la perspectiva de una guerra de razas. Solo iría a ella,

> violentamente provocada por la injusticia, arrojada á esta temible extremidad por persecuciones inicuas, lanzada á la rebelión por un sistema de vejaciones y ofensas crueles que teniendo que escoger entre la muerte segura o la muerta probable, se decidiera por la última. ("Lo que pasará en Cuba", *La Igualdad*, 27.5.1893)

El texto define nuevamente que los cubanos blancos no deberían sobrepasar un determinado límite en los malos tratos a los negros para no provocar la haitianización de la isla. El artículo termina con algunos párrafos optimistas:

> Estimado el negro, garantido su derecho, mirado por el blanco como un conciudadano y un hermano, elevado a la consideracion social por ese gran impulso de justicia que imprimen á las colectividades las revoluciones necesarias, – lejos de ser causa de discordia será el precioso elemento de regeneración de esta sociedad, que cuatro siglos de burocracia corruptora y de tiranía inculta, ha ido debilitando, hasta cierto punto.
> Aquí no pasará lo en que en Haiti, sino lo que en Colombia y Venezuela, donde el genio de Bolívar borró las diferencias de raza de tal suerte que en los partidos políticos que aquí se disputan el triunfo, figuran por igual blancos y negros, que anteponen las opiniones doctrinales á los instintos de raza, que han acabado por desaparecer. ("Lo que pasará en Cuba", *La Igualdad*, 27.5.1893)

Por lo tanto la propagación de una visión positiva del futuro era más importante que el rechazo de la herencia cultural de África. Los intelectuales no sabían (o no querían saberlo porque necesitaban un ejemplo positivo) que la situación de los afrodescendientes en Venezuela y Colombia no era tan ideal como se la presentaba y que el mismo Bolívar había luchado contra la "pardocracia", ejecutando a rivales afrodescendientes (Ramos Guédez 1999; Helg 2004: 195–209; Lasso 2003; Chambers/Chasteen, 2010: 197–202). La prensa afrocubana trató de informar y de educar a los afrocubanos, siguiendo la idea de que era necesario "elevar la raza". Tal idea marcó también los objetivos de líderes afro-norteamericanos en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX como fue el caso de Theophilus George Steward, un educador, clérigo y militar afro-estadounidense, que escribió sobre la necesidad de "elevate the blacks by labor, study and thought" (Miller 2003: xiii). Para obtener este fin se difundieron cuentos de vidas ejemplares en las revistas afrocubanas. *La Fraternidad* publicó en 1889 un artículo sobre el político afro-estadounidense Frederick Douglass, antes esclavizado, luchador abolicionista y autor de una famosa *slave narrative* (*La Fraternidad*, 21.2.1889 [Frederick Douglass], Foner 1969). *La Igualdad* escribió en 1893 sobre los méritos de la actriz afrocubana, Catalina Medina, y del tapicero Juan Bertaut (*La Igualdad*, 30.3.1893 [Catalina Medina], 20.4.1893 [Juan Bertaut]).

3 La facción olvidada: los afrocubanos pro-españoles

El grupo independentista o patriótico alrededor de Gómez no representó a *todos* los afrocubanos. Había además una fracción de intelectuales afrocubanos, entre otros por ejemplo Casimiro Bernabeu y Fuentes, Rodolfo Fernández-Trava y Blanco de Lagardere, Manuel García y Albuquerque, los que se organizaron alrededor del periódico *La Unión* (dirigido por Rodolfo Fernández-Trava y de propiedad de Casimiro Bernabeu y Fuentes) en el *Casino español de Personas de color de la Habana*.[11] Estos hombres fueron abolicionistas y partidarios del gobierno español que por fin había dado la libertad a los esclavizados con las leyes del 13 de febrero de 1880 (introducción del patronato en vez de la esclavitud) y del 7 de octubre de 1886 (abolición final de la esclavitud).[12] Este grupo fue silenciado en la historiografía cubana porque sus posiciones no cabían en la historia oficial nacional. Según esa, la resistencia esclava, la lucha abolicionista e independentista eran movimientos precursores de la revolución socialista, la cual supuestamente ha solucionado los problemas de los afrocubanos.[13]

Rodolfo Fernández-Trava expuso que la raza de color no debería servir como "carne de cañon de miserables y cobardes incendiarios" como había ocurrido durante la guerra de los diez años. Según él, los cubanos blancos solamente habían abusado de los negros para llegar a aquellos puestos de poder que habían sido ocupados anteriormente por españoles.[14] El mismo periodista escribió un libro contra aquellos prejuicios racistas predominantes en la élite criolla blanca, que se dirigían particularmente contra los estereotipos negativos sobre las mujeres de color, basándose la idea cristiana de la igualdad de todos los

11 Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Madrid, Ultramar, leg. 4883, caja 3= tomo 7 del expediente Esclavitud, doc. 66. La *"Union. Periodico. Dedicado á la defensa de los intereses de la raza de color,"* del 25.7.1880, citación de este número.
Fueron otros periódicos afrocubanos pro-españoles: *El Ciudadano, Hijo del Pueblo, El Heraldo, La Lealtad, La América Española.* (Barcia Zequeira 2011; Barcia, 1996: 246; Garve, 2012: 54). Este grupo pro-español se organizó en el Batallón de Honrados Bomberos de la Habana. Rodolfo Fernández-Trava fue nieto del famoso negrero Pedro Blanco. Sus padres eran Rosa, princesa "mandinga" (por eso Fernández-Trava utilizó el seudónimo "el Mandinga"), hija de Pedro Blanco, y Buenaventura Fernández Illescas, un sobrino de Pedro Blanco, con el cual Rosa estaba casada. En sus escritos se refirió varias veces a esta complicada herencia (Barcia Zequeira 2012: 361–362).

12 Véase Scott 1985: 128, 196 y Schmieder 2017: 222–223, 231.

13 Para esta posición válida hasta la crisis de los años 1990 véase ejemplarmente Serviat 1986. Para una posición reciente más crítica acerca del racismo que refleja lo máximo posible de crítica en Cuba véase Morales Domínguez 2012.

14 AHN, Madrid, Ultramar, leg. 4883, caja 3= tomo 7 del expediente Esclavitud, doc. 67, escrito de Fernandez-Trava, Matanzas de 23.4.1880.

seres humanos. En este libro negó la supuesta suavidad de la esclavitud en Cuba, destacada por los independentistas con el propósito de subrayar la amistad entre cubanos blancos y negros, base ideológica de la alianza interracial patriótica. Según Fernández-Trava, los negros fueron acusados falsamente por sus dueños blancos de haber complotado para supuestas rebeliones y de haber organizado la conspiración de 1844, la cual existía solamente en la imaginación de aquellos amos, porque:

> […] á esos les convenia que el Gobierno prestase oidos á sus calumniosas denuncias, porque así se les facilitaba el camino para deshonrar á nuestras mujeres, convirtiéndolas en *torpes esclavas del placer y del deleite*, y para envilecer á nuestros hombres, para hacer fusilar, azotar y deportar á INOCENTES […]. (Fernández-Trava 1889: 40)

La posición de Fernández-Trava frente a la Independencia también se revela en la "Exposicion al Congreso de los Diputados elevada á nombre de la Raza de color de Cuba" de 1881:

> […] Los hombres de color no somos revolucionarios, los revolucionarios son los patronos. Nosotros queremos la Constitucion vigente, ellos la Colonia. Nosotros la voluntad del Parlamento, ellos sus intereses. Nosotros las garantias constitucionales, ellos el privilegio. Nosotros que Cuba sea igual á las demas provincias españolas, ellos que Cuba sea menos con la Colonia […].
> […] proclamais la ley que nos hace ciudadanos libres de estas provincias españolas, y decretos que todos los hombres sin distincion de colores ni de razas, son ciudadanos españoles y gozan de todos los derechos de la Constitucion.[15]

En las fuentes citadas Fernández-Trava se distancia de los cubanos blancos, a los que equipara con los propietarios de esclavos cuyos crímenes no puede olvidar. Los acusa además – no en vano – de haber abusado de los afrocubanos en favor de sus propios intereses. Según él, los cubanos blancos mandaban a los afrocubanos a luchar y a morir en la guerra contra España para que los blancos después pudieran ocupar los altos rangos en el nuevo Estado. Al mismo tiempo Fernández-Trava recuerda a los españoles que la lealtad de los afrocubanos se gana solamente con la abolición de la esclavitud y el otorgamiento de la igualdad civil y política. Lo que falta en su argumentación es el reconocimiento de que no todos los cubanos blancos fueron ricos hacendados y poseedores de esclavos. En este sentido hay que remarcar que la alianza interracial de los

15 AHN, Madrid, Ultramar, Cuba, Gobierno, legajo 4815, Exp. 1, Fernandez de Trava, Exposicion al Congreso de los Diputados elevada á nombre de la Raza de color de Cuba, La Habana, 15.9.1881. El texto reúne argumentos de la Biblia como de las ciencias sobre la igualdad de los seres humanos.

independentistas funcionaba también porque muchos cubanos blancos eran campesinos y trabajadores pobres.

4 Las mujeres afrocubanas y la revista *Minerva*[16]

Miguel Gualba, el colaborador de Juan Gualberto Gómez en la redacción de *La Fraternidad*, también editó la revista *Minerva. Revista quincenal dedicada a la mujer de color*, publicada entre noviembre de 1888 y julio de 1889. El objetivo de esa revista era educar a los afrocubanos a través de las mujeres. La idea era dirigirse a las mujeres en su calidad de esposas y madres y convencerles de la causa de la Independencia.

En esta revista publicaron autoras afrocubanas, entre otras Úrsula Coimbra de Valverde, (profesora de piano, de inglés y de francés), África Céspedes (poetisa), Catalina Medina (actriz) y la poetisa y ensayista Lucrecia González Consuegra (Barcia 2011: 82–88). La autora María Ángela Storini, antes esclavizada, había adquirido experiencias internacionales al haber acompañado a sus dueños a los Estados Unidos, Francia, Alemania e Italia. En ese contexto cabe destacar, que como consecuencia de la esclavitud y la falta de "escuelas de color" o "escuelas mixtas" la tasa de alfabetización en la población afrocubana era por cierto baja, pero que el *gender gap* con respecto a la instrucción era menor en la población de color que en la población blanca.[17]

Las autoras de la revista lucharon igualmente contra la discriminación racial como contra la subordinación de las mujeres, a favor de la Independencia de Cuba y por la educación de las mujeres. En esta lucha recibían el apoyo de hombres simpatizantes, como Martín Morúa Delgado cuyo discurso "La mujer y sus derechos", leído en y publicado por la sociedad "El Progreso" en Cayo Hueso, Florida en 1887 y 1889 respectivamente, fue publicado por la redacción de *Minerva* (Barcia 2011: 91). Morúa también fomentó la educación de su hija de una manera excepcional para la época: Arabella Morúa Granado, excelente alumna de la Escuela Normal de la Habana, fue colaboradora de la revista *Minerva* en su segunda aparición (1910–1915) (Fernández Calderón 2014: 91, 95).

16 Lamentablemente los ejemplares de la revista *Minerva* que se encuentran en la Biblioteca Nacional de Cuba están en tan mal estado que ya no se los entrega. Por eso me puedo referir solo a pedazos publicados por María del Carmen Barcia y Carmen Montejo Arrechea (Barcia 2011; Montejo Arrechea 2004).

17 En 1887, 1.852 muchachos blancos y 1.149 muchachas blancas atendían una escuela en la provincia de Matanzas y 678 niños de color y 614 niñas de color. ARNAC, Censo de población de 31 de diciembre de 1887 a 1° de enero de 1888. Provincia de Matanzas. Matanzas 1888, p. 11–12.

Para tener una idea del programa de la revista cito aquí a Úrsula Coimbra de Valverde:

> Nosotros, hasta ayer abyectos á causa de la ignorancia, trabajamos hoy, y al elevarnos á una altura que no enaltece, damos prueba palpable de la sensatez que preside nuestros actos.
> Yo al proclamar estas verdades, me siento orgullosa de pertenecer a una raza que por sí sola y a costo de sacrificios, procura elevarse a la altura de las demás y mucho trabaja y estudia a vencer […] ("Gratitud. A mis amigas y colegas del periódico *Minerva*", en Barcia 2011: 93)

La aspiración a la educación como medio de emancipación de ambos sexos unía a todas las autoras de *Minerva*, como insistió Felipa Basilia: "[…] al tener una mujer educada el esposo podría contar con una compañera en lugar de con una esclava" (*Minerva*, 15.5.1889, "La mujer antes de la razón" en Barcia 2011: 87).

África Céspedes relacionaba la opresión de la mujer con la opresión de la "raza negra". En "Reflexiones" dijo:

> La mujer negra sañudamente tratada por sus viles explotadores, viene hoy a ser el blanco más a donde dirigen sus saetas envenenadas aquellos mismos que más traficaron con su noble sangre en los luctuosas días de la esclavitud […]. Por eso, enervando nuestro espíritu con el duro tratamiento de ayer y el torpe juicio de hoy, nos preparamos a la defensa en el constante batallar porque estamos pasando, y tal haremos hasta que se nos considere tal como somos, y no como a cada artista pirata le ha parecido o convenido a sus medrosos fines. ¿Nos invitáis a luchar? ¡Pues lucharemos! […] Reflexionemos, pues, sin hacer separación alguna de la raza, sobre el juicio que de la mujer tiene formado la mayoría de los hombres y hasta algunos meritones de baja esfera, al mismo que a nosotras, las que de la raza negra, se nos considera en las últimas capas de este infame juicio. (*Minerva*, 28.2.1889, en Montejo Arrechea 2004: 76–77)[18]

El rechazo de la herencia africana también se detecta en *Minerva* a través de varias polémicas contra los bailes africanos. El baile fue incluso condenado como "una de las principales causas de nuestro decaimiento moral y físico […]" (E.T. Elvina, "Notas quincenales" *Minerva*, 15.2.1889, en Barcia 2011: 84). Supuestamente este discurso fue una forma de emanciparse de la imagen de la mulata que baila lascivamente para atraer a los hombres. Al distanciarse del estereotipo de la prostituta mulata, África Céspedes no juzgó a aquellas mujeres que tenían que venderse por causas económicas, sino que señaló "el desenfreno

18 Barcia (2011: 85) también cita ese artículo, pero hay diferencias entre los textos que yo – sin tener acceso al original – no pude aclarar.

de los hombres" como causa de la prostitución (*Minerva*, 28.2.1889, en Barcia 2011: 85).

Las autoras de *Minerva* claramente esperaban de los hombres de su etnia que se casaran con las madres de sus hijos, reconocieran y alimentaran a su prole y tomaran una actitud responsable con la cual se deberían alejar del pasado esclavo, en el cual se negaba muchas veces a los esclavizados a tener una familia legal: "La época […] de los hijos de padres no conocidos pasó ya. […] nuestra condición de esclavas cortaba nuestras aspiraciones hacia lo grande y sublime que es el matrimonio." (*Minerva*, 15.5.1889, Notas quincenales en Barcia 2011: 88) Los antiguos esclavizados cumplían con esta exigencia de forma muy variada. Por un lado, muchos reconocían a sus hijos después de su propia emancipación y la emancipación general (Morrison 2007; Schmieder 2014: 32). Por otro lado, los casamientos legales siguieron siendo la excepción en la población afrocubana (particularmente en el Oeste esclavista). Aquí se tiene que tomar en cuenta que la sociedad cubana se caracterizaba por una baja tasa de matrimonios en general, comparada por ejemplo con la taza de matrimonios en los Estados Unidos.[19]

La afrocubana nonagenaria Reyita Bueno, entrevistada por la antropóloga Daisy Rubiera Castillo, relata en la historia de su vida, la gran inestabilidad de las familias de los antiguos esclavizados y sobre el abandono de muchas mujeres afrocubanas por los padres de sus hijos. Las hijas muchas veces crecían en casas ajenas como sirvientas porque sus madres no podían mantenerlas. Allí eran explotadas y mal tratadas (Rubiera Castillo 2012: 30–32, 38–41).

Aunque la élite afrocubana solía casarse entre sí, Gómez, hijo de esclavizados casados, no se comportó siguiendo este modelo y no tuvo solamente hijos con su esposa legítima. Se casó con Manuela Benítez Mariscal, pero tuvo hijos también con otras dos mujeres. Los reconoció, pero no pudo ser un padre presente para todos ellos (Horrego Estuch 2004: 20, 28, 45).

Los hombres y las mujeres afrocubanos lucharon juntos contra el racismo de la sociedad post-esclavista, pero las mujeres tenían que sostener una lucha adicional por su triple opresión y explotación (por clase, raza y sexo) y de vez en cuando también contra el abandono de parte de sus parejas. El ideal de ganar respectabilidad a través del matrimonio legal y fundar una familia estable para muchas mujeres constituyó un ideal inalcanzable.

19 Tasas de matrimonios 1899: 15,7 % Cuba vs. 35,7 % Estados Unidos (1895). En toda Cuba: el 20,4 % de la población blanca y el 6,1 % de la población afrodescendiente estaba casado. En Matanzas, antiguo centro de la esclavitud de masas muy devastado por la Guerra de la Independencia, el 13,4 % de la población blanca y el 2,6 % de la población afrodescendiente estaba casado (Sanger 1900: 118, 119, 125).

5 La Independencia y las esperanzas destruidas

A pesar de que los intelectuales afrodescendientes intentaban incorporarse a la nación cubana y no oponerse a aquella, sostenían un contra-discurso subalterno que se dirigía contra el discurso hegemónico racista de la élite criolla blanca. Todos los afrocubanos perdieron la lucha por la utopía anhelada por José Martí, Antonio Maceo y Juan Gualberto Gómez de una Cuba en la cual ya no habría ni blancos ni negros sino cubanos. Aunque la República Cubana de 1901 introdujo el sufragio universal masculino, sin exclusión por raza (Fuente/Casey 2009), la discriminación racial en la vida cotidiana permanecía presente.

El acceso de afrocubanos a la educación superior quedó restringido, el número de profesionales afrocubanos era exiguo. Los afrocubanos no tenían acceso a buenos puestos en el servicio público y en la economía privada. Una gran parte de la economía cubana, incluyendo los medios de transporte, los servicios de electricidad, de teléfono y el sector comercial, se encontraba en manos extranjeras, estadounidenses o españolas en particular. Los propietarios extranjeros practicaban un racismo segregacionista radical. Los administradores empresariales preferían inmigrantes europeos frente a cubanos, y blancos frente a afrocubanos. La inversión extranjera en propiedades agrícolas redujo drásticamente la ya pequeña cantidad de propietarios y arrendatarios afrocubanos. La situación de las mujeres afrocubanas fue la peor entre todos los afrocubanos. Encontraban trabajo solamente como empleadas domésticas, lavanderas, costureras, trabajadoras rurales, obreras industriales, o vendían alimentos en la calle. Los grandes almacenes solamente empleaban a mujeres blancas como vendedoras. Las profesiones como secretaria o enfermera quedaban también en manos de las blancas. (Helg 1995: 91–135; Fuente 2001: 99–171).

Los líderes políticos blancos incluso llegaron a ordenar la gran matanza de 1912 de sus antiguos hermanos en armas, los miembros del Partido Independiente de Color (PIC), fundado en 1908 por Evaristo Estenoz y Pedro Yvonnet. Aquellos miembros eran una minoría radical de afrocubanos que había perdido la fe en la unidad de las razas en la República Cubana. Las ideas del PIC eran rechazadas por la mayoría de los afrocubanos y por los líderes políticos afrocubanos más influyentes como Martín Morúa Delgado (quien incluso introdujo en 1910 un anexo a la ley electoral cubana que prohibió la formación de Partidos políticos a base de una "raza", dirigido explícitamente contra el PIC) y Juan Gualberto Gómez (Helg 1995: 165–170, 211–212). El odio y el miedo ante "el peligro negro" eran tan fuertes que incluso los afrocubanos que no estaban relacionados con este partido, fueron asesinados durante la masacre por el mero hecho de ser negros (Castro Fernández 2002: 182–219; Helg 1995: 193–226). La matanza de 1912 se volvió un tema tabú hasta hace poco, como también los linchamientos de "brujos negros" en Matanzas y en Regla en 1819, que fueron acu-

sados de haber secuestrado niños blancos para comerlos durante cultos religiosos "bárbaros" (Helg 1995: 238–239).

La visión de una Cuba sin racismo actualmente parece más lejana que nunca (Fuente 2012; Morales Domínguez 2012).[20] Las causas de este desarrollo son demasiado complejas para explicarlas aquí detalladamente. Sin embargo se deberá señalar algunos factores que contribuyeron a esa situación: Los problemas después de la caída del bloque socialista han aumentado la desigualdad socioeconómica entre los blancos y negros, por ejemplo porque más blancos reciben remesas del extranjero, tienen casas donde pueden alquilar habitaciones a turistas y acceden a empleos en el turismo. Al mismo tiempo la élite académica cubana consiste en gran parte de personas que pertenecen a la clase media blanca. Ésta siempre mantuvo una actitud paternalista frente a los afrocubanos, subsumiendo la historia de ellos a un discurso nacional hegemónico según el cual los revolucionarios blancos liberaron a los negros pobres.

Con este artículo también quise dar más publicidad a las pocas autoras que se dedican en Cuba a la historia afrocubana, particularmente a Oilda Hevia Lanier, la pionera de los estudios sobre el Directorio de las Sociedades de las Razas de Color.

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20 Para ver el debate actual: http://www.afrocubaweb.com; http://negracubanateniaqueser.com.

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Juliane Tauchnitz

Tendances escapistes et les limites de la *Créolité* dans *L'empreinte à Crusoé* de Patrick Chamoiseau

1 La robinsonnade à l'extrême

En 2002, sept ans après sa mort, une collection de textes et d'entretiens sur *L'Île déserte* de Gilles Deleuze fut publiée, comportant l'article « Causes et raisons des îles désertes ». Dans cet écrit, le philosophe juge sévèrement la fameuse narration de Daniel Defoe, *Robinson Crusoé*, en constatant qu'« [o]n imagine mal un roman davantage ennuyeux, c'est une tristesse de voir encore des enfants le lire » (Deleuze 2002 : 15). Mais il ne s'arrête pas là, il se plaint également que le compagnon, Vendredi, soit « trop vite dégoûté de l'anthropophagie » et que « tout lecteur sain rêverait de le voir enfin manger Robinson » (Deleuze 2002 : 15).

Malgré cette critique tranchante, on a vu naître tout un genre littéraire et filmique basé sur ce roman du début du XVIII^e^ siècle. Rousseau, en abordant l'éducation de l'homme, voulait que son Émile ne lise que ce livre[1] pour connaître l'humanité (cf. Rousseau 2009 : 264–269). Marx, en décrivant la différence structurelle entre la productivité d'un seul individu qui vit hors de la société et celle d'une « réunion d'hommes libres » (Marx/Engels 1962 : 92, traduction J.T.),[2] Hegel, en présentant la dialectique du ‹ maître › et de l'‹ esclave › (1840 : 108–111) – ils se sont tous référés au texte de Defoe duquel Deleuze semblait tant s'être lassé. De plus, ces quelques exemples ne comprennent pas les maints

1 Rousseau justifie son choix de lecture pour Émile en expliquant que : « [v]otre plus grand soin doit être d'écarter de l'esprit de votre élève toutes les notions des relations sociales qui ne sont pas à sa portée ; mais, quand l'enchaînement des connaissances vous force à lui montrer la mutuelle dépendance des hommes, au lieu de la lui montrer par le côté moral, tournez d'abord toute son attention vers l'industrie et les arts mécaniques […] » (Rousseau 2009 : 267).

2 Version originale : « Verein freier Menschen ».

ouvrages filmiques ou écrits qui se concentrent de manière transtextuelle sur l'histoire de Robinson Crusoé.

Une de ces œuvres sera l'objet de la présente contribution. Il s'agit de *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* de Patrick Chamoiseau, publiée en 2012, qui pousse à l'extrême l'idée de la robinsonnade, en éliminant l'Autre et en renvoyant, de manière absolue, le personnage principal à lui-même. Dans ce cadre, je poursuivrai deux axes qui se conditionnent l'un l'autre. D'abord, j'esquisserai les fêlures entre les desseins décrits dans le récit et leur actualisation effective. Car dans *L'Empreinte à Crusoé*,il y a des divergences frictionnelles entre, d'un côté, le désir de narrer la ‹ non-narration ›, l'‹ impensable ›, d'écrire un flux transitif borgésien de réflexions ‹ sans commencement ni fin › et, de l'autre, la réinscription dans une lignée littéraire dite occidentale (dont les romans de Daniel Defoe – publiés en 1719/1994, 1719/1990 – et *Vendredi ou les limbes du Pacifique* de Michel Tournier, publié en 1967, en sont les exemples les plus évidents).

Cela est lié au deuxième axe plus général de cet article : celui de remettre en question la fonction, la flexibilité et enfin la persistance du mouvement (théorique) de la *Créolité* tel qu'il est présenté dans le roman et dont Patrick Chamoiseau était un des fondateurs à la fin des années 1980.

2 Une structure narrative établie

Pour m'approcher du hiatus entre une narration qui se veut « inénarrable » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 250) et son texte en effet ‹ narré ›, il me paraît nécessaire de commencer par la fin de *L'Empreinte à Crusoé*, texte que Chamoiseau ne veut absolument pas qualifier de roman. Cela permettra de développer mes explications en partant d'une similitude textuelle des œuvres de Chamoiseau ce que le sujet particulier de *L'Empreinte* pourrait nous faire oublier à première vue.

Nous sommes confrontés à un Robinson naufragé sur une île déserte. Or, il ne s'agit pas de Robinson, malgré ce qu'il croit lui-même à cause d'une amnésie totale.[3] Il s'agit d'un homme, noir, qui était la main droite du véritable Robinson Crusoé, un marchand d'esclaves, lors de ses voyages entre l'Afrique et le soi-disant Nouveau Monde. Il s'appelle en vérité Ogomtemmêli, issu d'une « lignée de grands chasseurs savants » africains (Chamoiseau 2012 : 227) et qui était devenu fou – raison pour laquelle on l'avait abandonné sur cette île. Quand le capitaine Robinson le retrouve 12 ans après, Ogomtemmêli ne le reconnaît plus et lui raconte son histoire – lui raconte le récit que le lecteur de *L'Empreinte*

3 La conviction du personnage qu'il s'appelle Robinson Crusoé provient de l'inscription dudit nom que portait un baudrier que le personnage a trouvé auprès de lui après son ‹ naufrage › (cf. Chamoiseau 2012 : 25).

tient entre ses mains. Plus exactement, l'histoire qui semble durant quasi toute la lecture du roman[4] (hormis la fin), être celle de Robinson, et celle du naufrage, probablement un des plus connus dans le contexte des sujets littéraires, n'est ni le récit sur Robinson ni celui de son naufrage, il s'agit plutôt d'un bagne intentionnel dans lequel le personnage pense être enfermé en raison d'un hasard tragique. Ce qui reste de Robinson, ce n'est qu'une trace.[5]

Or, si nous laissons à part pour un instant le thème du texte, ainsi que le nombre extrêmement réduit des personnages qui s'inscrivent dans un contexte spécifique et qui se distinguent des histoires que Chamoiseau a publiées avant, nous nous apercevrons de la répétition d'une structure narrative imbriquée : le roman se révèle être un récit d'un personnage à un autre – à l'instar de *Texaco* (1992) ou, plus implicitement bien sûr, d'*Un dimanche au cachot* (2007). Ce « *coup de théâtre* », comme l'appelle Lüsebrink (2013 : 238), est donc moins surprenant si on le compare avec l'œuvre de l'auteur.

La composition narrative déjà appliquée et connue ne diminue pourtant pas le choc de la découverte que cet autre ‹ Robinson › faisait partie du système esclavagiste – tout en provenant de l'Afrique lui-même. Le choc est double puisque dans un premier temps, le lecteur apprend que cet homme noir défendait lui-même les cruautés de la traite – idée à laquelle nous étions déjà confrontés par exemple dans le roman *The Known World* de l'écrivain étatsunien Edward P. Jones (2004) où le personnage noir Henry Townsend, dans l'Amérique d'avant la guerre de Sécession, était propriétaire d'esclaves. Cette conception ébranle encore aujourd'hui à cause des prétendues binarismes entre Noir et Blanc dont Fanon avait déjà parlé en 1952 et qu'il avait brisés en constatant que « [l]'homme est ce par quoi la Société parvient à l'être » (1952 : 9). Le deu-

4 Bien qu'il soit peut-être plus logique à première vue de classer l'ouvrage de Patrick Chamoiseau justement et généralement en tant que ‹ récit ›, nous gardons ici la notion de ‹ roman › : d'un côté parce que le récit est un terme encore plus général que celui de roman, embrassant toute sorte de texte narratif, de l'autre parce que *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* s'inscrit dans la lignée des romans sur le topos de Robinson. Et comme ce sera montré par la suite, le texte de Chamoiseau ne se distancie pas dans tous les aspects du roman ‹ traditionnel › européen. En plus, Chamoiseau, quant à lui, emploie les deux notions de manière synonyme (cf. Chamoiseau/Douaire 2008).

5 En plus, celui qu'est le personnage en vérité, l'africain Ogomtemmêli, n'est pas une invention littéraire de Patrick Chamoiseau. En effet, le personnage remonte à un vrai savant du peuple des Dogon, dont le nom était Ogotemmêli et qui avait perdu sa vue suite à un accident. Cet Ogotemmêli vivait sur le territoire de l'actuel Mali, autrefois colonie de la France (le ‹ Soudan français ›). Et c'était l'ethnologue Marcel Griaule qui avait passé des dizaines d'années en faisant des recherches sur ce peuple longtemps classé primitif et sauvage (Griaule 1966 : 11 ; voir aussi Graziadei 2015 : 428).
Il n'y a d'ailleurs pas d'explication pour l'écriture différente du nom propre chez Chamoiseau (faisant d'Ogotemmêli Og*om*temmêli).

xième moment choquant consiste en ce que le lecteur de *L'Empreinte* doit réaliser son propre jugement ou ses idées préconçues, car il avait présupposé tout naturellement que Robinson devait être blanc (cf. Lüsebrink 2013 : 238).

Cette série de chocs est cependant (du moins partiellement) basée sur une interprétation réduite du fameux Robinson de Daniel Defoe dans l'ouvrage de Chamoiseau, car ce dernier peint le capitaine Robinson comme le personnage type d'un esclavagiste qui montre certes des scrupules envers Ogomtemmêli, mais qui en outre accepte volontairement toutes les implications de la traite négrière sans la remettre en question. Le Robinson ‹ originel › de 1719 en revanche était plus complexe et avait déjà, bien qu'adoptant ce système, une certaine conscience de la fausseté inhérente à ce ‹ marché › cruel d'êtres humains. On le voit lorsque le Robinson de Defoe décrit comment il avait introduit devant quelques marchands brésiliens l'idée d'acheter des esclaves en Guinée. Ces planteurs le priaient de leur acheter une telle main-d'œuvre – mais clandestinement, étant donnée l'interdiction de la traite au Brésil à cette époque. Robinson n'explique pas seulement cet entretien avec les planteurs, mais il répète aussi à plusieurs reprises le mot « secret » et justifie en quoi il serait juste de gagner d'argent de cette manière (cf. Defoe 1994 : 42–43). Néanmoins, en donnant des raisons qui devraient légitimer cette entreprise, il reconnaît d'une certaine façon son illégitimité.[6]

Toutes les réflexions préalables sont indispensables pour montrer d'un côté, comment *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* prépare les ‹ chocs › auxquels le lecteur est

6 « It happened, being in company with some merchants and planters of my acquaintance, and talking of those things very earnestly, three of them came to me next morning, and told me they had been musing very much upon what I had discoursed with them of the last night, and they came to make a *secret* proposal to me ; and, after enjoining me to *secrecy*, they told me that they had a mind to fit out a ship to go to Guinea ; that they had all plantations as well as I, and were straitened for nothing so much as servants ; that as it was a trade that could not be carried on, because they could not *publicly* sell the negroes when they came home, so they desired to make but one voyage, to bring the negroes on shore *privately*, and divide them among their own plantations ; and, in a word, the question was whether I would go their supercargo in the ship, to manage the trading part upon the coast of Guinea ; and they offered me that I should have my equal share of the negroes, without providing any part of the stock.
This was a fair proposal, it must be confessed, had it been made to any one that had not had a settlement and a plantation of his own to look after, which was in a fair way of coming to be very considerable, and with a good stock upon it ; but for me, that was thus entered and established, and had nothing to do but to go on as I had begun, for three or four years more, and to have sent for the other hundred pounds from England ; and who in that time, and with that little addition, could scarce have failed of being worth three or four thousand pounds sterling, and that increasing too – for me to think of such a voyage was the most preposterous thing that ever man in such circumstances could be *guilty* of » (Defoe 1994 : 43 ; soulignée par J.T.).

confronté à travers la suite du livre et de l'autre, comment Chamoiseau applique ici la technique entrelacée qu'il a fait sienne et qui, derechef, rend possible cet effet de surprise, à la manière des romans policiers qui peuvent toujours être lus sous deux perspectives différentes selon Umberto Eco : la première fois en tant que *lecteur sémantique*, guidé vers une fin inattendue, la deuxième fois comme *lecteur critique* qui connaît le sort de l'histoire et retrace tous les indices qui étaient cachés dans le texte (cf. Eco 1995 : 29–31).

Pourquoi ces propos restent-ils pertinents dans notre contexte ? Dans la mesure où ils révèlent que le roman suit des règles déjà bien instaurées – ou mieux : que ce dernier reprend une organisation structurelle fréquente dans les écrits postcoloniaux – ainsi que la conception même de la *réécriture* et de l'appropriation d'un sujet du soi-disant ‹ canon › littéraire. Si l'on veut alors analyser ce que serait cet « inénarrable » dans *L'Empreinte* que Chamoiseau évoque à plusieurs reprises, il faut essayer de le détecter ailleurs – s'il y a vraiment « non-narration » !

3 La notion de « non-narration »

Qu'est-ce que ce terme signifie ? Le texte lui-même s'empresse de donner une réponse en fin de livre : présenté comme une espèce d'annexe, on voit ajouté un « Atelier de l'empreinte » comportant des notes qui dévoilent la vision – ou devrions-nous parler d'idéologie ? – que le texte prend pour base. Il s'agit d'explications sur ce que le récit « n'a pu se résoudre à laisser secret », comme le désigne Isabelle Constant (2015 : 61). Dans cet « Atelier », il y a des réflexions qui paraissent être en continuité avec les explications que l'on trouve dans *Écrire en pays dominé* – dans ce que l'auteur appelle la *Sentimenthèque*[7] – où Chamoiseau avait analysé la différence entre le romancier occidental et le conteur créole qui « ne sait pas ce qui va résulter de sa parole, et sans doute ignore-t-il qu'elle ouvre à une inprogrammable renaissance humaine » (1997 : 188). Or, dans *L'Empreinte*, cette pensée est développée ainsi :

> Ne plus raconter, déclencher des possibles. Exploser les péripéties en des bulles de perception.
> *

7 La *Sentimenthèque* est le sentiment que Chamoiseau lie à la mémoire de ces lectures : « [t]ant de lectures depuis l'enfance m'ont laissé mieux que des souvenirs : des sentiments. Mieux qu'une bibliothèque : *une sentimenthèque* » (Chamoiseau 1997 : 24). Ce qui est étonnant dans notre contexte, c'est que déjà dans *Écrire en pays dominé*, l'écrivain avait fait référence à ce vieux Dogon Ogotemmêli qui a emprunté le nom au personnage principal de *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* (cf. Chamoiseau 1997 : 24).

> Renoncer à l'histoire et semer des possibles, infiniment. (Chamoiseau 2012 : 243)

Une telle conception de l'écrit qui n'est plus qu'un « flux de conscience » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 239) et qui s'approche de l'*écriture automatique*, renonce complètement à l'engagement de l'écrivain – engagement qui était jadis constitutif de l'*Éloge de la Créolité*, texte sous forme de prologue (et non de manifeste) qui ouvrait le débat sur une culture créole *en devenir* et sur le rôle de la littérature dans ce processus ; un texte qui contenait cinq exigences de la littérature (à partir des théories d'Édouard Glissant, surtout celles formulées dans *Le discours antillais*, 1981 ; voir Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 33–50). Mais l'importance de cet engagement initialement mis en avant par le mouvement de la *Créolité* s'est affaiblie au fur et à mesure (cf. Tauchnitz 2014 : 120) – de la sorte que la véritable influence de Glissant se réduit dans *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* à l'évocation de quelques termes, sans y inclure leur contexte conceptuel : bien sûr, le terme de « non-narration » s'approche encore de la *Relation* glissantienne, c'est également indiqué dans l'« Atelier » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 241). Mais il y a une différence décisive : à cette notion d'Édouard Glissant le *relaté* / la narration est inhérente – Derrida l'avait déjà mentionné dans son *Monolinguisme de l'autre* (1996 : 39)[8] tandis que Chamoiseau a pour volonté d'effacer maintenant ce côté (narré) du terme. La notion de la *Relation* dans toute sa complexité n'est donc plus appropriée pour décrire la position de Chamoiseau.

Ce qui est également essentiel dans ce contexte, c'est de poser la question du statut de l'« Atelier ». Comme nous l'avons vu, Isabelle Constant lui admet une position d'annexe, c'est-à-dire un statut métatextuel qui est situé hors de la fiction du récit principal. Kathleen Gyssels souligne pareillement que « [h]is ‹ Atelier de l'Empreinte › is non-fiction and reveals in fact many echoes to previous novels. The ‹ Atelier › is like the artist's scrapbook »[9] (Gyssels 2014 : 292).

8 Il faut remarquer ici que Derrida avait bien vu la narration comme étant inhérente au terme de la ‹ relation › – mais il ne l'avait pourtant pas lié à la notion de *Relation* d'Édouard Glissant. Cependant, ce dernier définissait sa *Relation* aussi au sens du récit : « [n]ous avons dit que la Relation n'instruit pas seulement le relayé mais aussi le relatif et encore le relaté. Sa vérité toujours approchée se donne dans un récit » (1990 : 40 ; cf. aussi Tauchnitz 2014 : 45–46).

9 « L'‹ Atelier de l'Empreinte › est non-fiction et révèle en fait beaucoup d'échos à des romans précédents. L'‹ Atelier › est comme l'album de collection de l'artiste » (traduction J.T.).

4 Sans commencement ni fin ?

Cette compréhension de la « non-narration » va de pair avec l'idée d'un livre *sans commencement ni fin,* ce qui se reflète au niveau de l'*histoire* lorsque le faux Robinson ne considère plus un jour l'île comme « […] menaçante, mais [comme] une étendue, sans commencement ni fin […] » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 160), ou lorsqu'il décrit l'empreinte trouvée sur une plage comme n'ayant « pas d'âge, ni commencement ni fin […] » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 217). Et cela se révèle également au niveau du *discours,* car le texte est dépourvu de tout signe final de ponctuation ; on y trouve plutôt une juxtaposition perpétuelle de points-virgules (dont la fonction, d'ailleurs, est pareillement expliquée dans l'« Atelier »). C'est pour cela que le texte commence en minuscules et se termine par des points de suspension.

J'aimerais m'arrêter un instant sur cette structure formelle, car elle montre parfaitement cette divergence entre la vision et la ‹ réalité › du livre. La première phrase commence de la manière suivante : « seigneur, je naquis de nouveau en cette année dont je ne savais rien, en cette heure d'équinoxe sur mon île oubliée […] » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 19). Par ce début de phrase, plusieurs traditions littéraires sont évoquées : d'abord, bien évidemment, le texte fait une référence directe au *Robinson Crusoé* de Daniel Defoe dont la première phrase était : « I was born in the year 1632, in the city of York, of a good family, though not of that country […] »[10] (Defoe 1994 : 8). La transformation du Robinson ‹ originel › est déjà visible ici car lorsque celui-ci parle de sa naissance au monde, le Robinson de Chamoiseau parle de sa (re)naissance sur l'île. Et tandis que le premier personnage avait précisé la date et le lieu de sa naissance, le dernier reste très vague dans ses descriptions – tout à l'instar de Flaubert dans *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (1979) en parodiant avec sa première phrase toute la littérature balzacienne. Mais le début du Robinson de Chamoiseau se réfère également à la situation de la *Créolité* lue en tant que *conditio*[11]puisque la culture créole, dans toute sa complexité hétérogène et avec ses différents éléments culturels et anthropologiques, est seulement née comme telle au moment où « le joug de l'Histoire [les] a réunis sur le même sol » (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 26).

10 Version française : « En 1632, je naquis à York, d'une bonne famille, mais qui n'était point de ce pays ». La version française est tirée de l'*Édition groupe Ebooks libres et gratuits*, en traduction par Pétrus Borel de 1836 (http://www.ebooksgratuits.com/pdf/defoe_robinson_crusoe_1.pdf).

11 Toutefois, il faut remarquer que cette compréhension de la théorie de la *Créolité* comporte déjà une réduction (essentialiste) dudit concept car la *Créolité* est (ou était) à la fois *conditio* ainsi que *stratégie* (cf. Tauchnitz 2014 : 85–96) ce qui souligne sa « dynamique constante » (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 50).

Mais il y a aussi un autre aspect décisif : la phrase initiale de Chamoiseau débute par « seigneur, je naquis […] » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 19) ce qui, malgré la typographie en minuscules, est incontestablement une formule d'introduction. Ainsi, le livre nous fait une promesse de non-commencement qu'il ne tient pas. Car le texte n'est pas *sans commencement*. Il n'est pas non plus *sans fin,* car le récit d'Ogomtemmêli se termine à un moment donné. Le *discours* s'écarte de l'*histoire*. Et cela nous renvoie de nouveau à la structure imbriquée du texte déjà présentée plus haut. Vu qu'il s'agit d'un récit du personnage africain pour le capitaine Robinson, il doit avoir un début et une fin ; tout d'abord d'un point de vue pragma-linguistique : la situation conversationnelle a un cadre temporel bien défini.

Cependant, la conception textuelle renoue avec la pensée de Jorge Luis Borges, qui, dans son célèbre conte « El libro de arena » (1975), inventait un tel ouvrage que Mallarmé avait déjà en tête et qui dépasse ce problème : « Me dijo que su libro se llamaba *El libro de arena*, porque ni el libro ni la arena tienen ni principio ni fin » (Borges 1999a : 69).[12] Cette idée résulte de l'incapacité de tout écrit à rompre avec sa linéarité inévitable. Dans *El Aleph* (1949), Borges l'avait explicitement décrit : « Lo que vieron mis ojos fue simultáneo ; lo que transcribiré, sucesivo, porque el lenguaje lo es ».[13] (1993b : 662 ; cf. aussi Toro 2008 : 19)

La volonté de surmonter ces conditions inéluctables de la langue semble être une des tâches primordiales de *L'Empreinte*. Et l'élaboration syntactique particulière, la juxtaposition non-hiérarchique et en spirale des réflexions du personnage-narrateur s'éloignent effectivement des textes que Chamoiseau avait rédigés avant (sauf *Les neuf consciences de Malfini*, 2009), ainsi que de la majorité de la littérature jugée canonique (si nous mettons à part ici des romans tels que *Ulysses*, 1922, de James Joyce). Toutefois, il faut le dire nettement, il ne s'agit pas d'un texte sans commencement ni fin. De plus, ce récit ne devient pas moins récit juste parce que l'auteur évite ou refuse d'accepter ce terme de catégorisation.

5 L'origine de l'écosystème

Ce fossé à l'intérieur du roman nous amène au deuxième axe de cette contribution : examiner si *les visions* développées dans ce récit correspondent encore à

12 « Il me dit que son livre s'appelait le *Livre de sable*, parce que ni ce livre ni le sable n'ont de commencement ni de fin » (Borges 1999b : 552 ; cf. aussi 1993a).

13 « Ce que virent mes yeux fut simultané : ce que je transcrirai, successif, car c'est ainsi qu'est le langage. » (traduction J.T.)

la vision conçue par le mouvement théorico-culturel de la *Créolité* et par la créolisation glissantienne qui en est une sinon *la* base éminente.

Cette révision sera liée à deux domaines thématiques prépondérants du roman : la conception de l'écosystème et celle de l'origine. Le terme d'écosystème a été employé assez tôt par les auteurs de la *Créolité*, d'abord pour désigner des règles décrivant leur système langagier entre créole et français (cf. Bernabé 1993) ; mais ils ont également utilisé la notion comme « synonyme du changement social » (Tauchnitz 2013 : 131, traduction J.T.)[14]. Mais très vite, le terme fut réintroduit dans son champ de signification originel, en tant que ‹ label › pour toute préoccupation écologique (cf. Tauchnitz 2014 : 155–157. *L'Empreinte à Crusoé*, considérée sous ce point de vue, paraît donc une suite logique de cette transformation de l'extension de la *Créolité*. En effet, la majeure partie de l'ouvrage inclut des réflexions sur l'environnement biologique, la confrontation terrifiée du personnage *face à* la nature luxuriante qui se métamorphose graduellement en ‹ convivance › harmonieuse *avec* son environnement. Cette situation est pourtant illusoire, car la *con*vivance exige un tissu social pour « vivre avec » (traduction du latin *convivere*, cf. Gaffiot 1934 : 427) – une modalité qui n'est pas donnée ici. Plus encore, à cause du manque total de l'Autre, de Vendredi, l'isolement du personnage est poussée à l'extrême (cf. Gyssels 2014 : 293–295), son développement comme être humain est ainsi très limité sinon empêché, comme on le voit dans la citation suivante :

> […] mes doigts seuls suffisaient à me nourrir ; j'étais devenu habile pour piéger des oiseaux à la main […] ; les animaux ne percevaient plus en moi une possible menace […] ; j'étais devenu de même nature que les grands arbres, de même feu que les fleurs, de même frisson que les herbes coupantes ; c'est vrai aussi que mon regard sur eux n'était chargé de rien […] (Chamoiseau 2012 : 202–203)

Derrière l'approche sensuelle de la flore et de la faune se cache un acte de déshumanisation absolue. Le personnage se débarrasse de toute capacité d'homme et efface ainsi toute particularité humaine en se réfugiant dans un escapisme inouï. De manière très provocatrice, on pourrait demander qu'elle serait la différence entre cet Ogomtemmêli volontairement déshumanisé et la « chosification » dont parlait Aimé Césaire autrefois (2004 : 23) et qu'il identifiait à la colonisation qui « déshumanise l'homme même le plus civilisé » (Césaire 2004 : 21). Est-ce que la civilisation *per se* un signe négatif qu'il faut nier ? Et comment serait-ce conciliable avec le potentiel de la *Créolité* en tant que mouvement d'hybridité qui consiste en la négociation souvent douloureuse, mais nécessaire et féconde, entre des entités culturelles qui partagent un espace réel,

14 Version originale : « […] Synonym von sozialem Wandel […] »

virtuel ou pensé ? Le principe d'une telle théorie est une « mosaïque constitutive » identitaire (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 27) qui élimine toute sorte de pensée d'origine. S'il y a encore une origine, elle ne peut pas être détectée dans un quelconque passé, mais elle est (toujours) présente, c'est-à-dire changeable, fluide.

Ce qui est curieux, c'est que cette origine, cette espèce de commencement unique est évoquée en permanence dans le roman. Au début, le personnage veut connaître sa provenance, ce qui est impossible en raison de son amnésie. Il s'invente alors un passé à partir du nom qu'il croit être le sien et qu'il « commen[ce] à habiter » (cf. Chamoiseau 2012 : 31). En ce, le roman suit la logique de l'*Éloge de la Créolité* qui part du fait que leur « Histoire […] est naufragée dans l'Histoire coloniale » (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 36) et qu'il leur faudrait une « connaissance poétique, […] littéraire » pour re/créer leur passé (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 38).

Isabelle Constant observe qu'avec cette narration, Chamoiseau « […] passe […] au roman des débuts du monde, de l'origine » (2015 : 111). Ainsi elle répète sans remettre en question ce que le roman communique. Cependant, ce n'est pas l'origine du monde, c'est tout le contraire : c'est sa négation. Ici, nous voyons que la pensée écosystémique et celle de l'origine sont étroitement liées. Si la théorie de la *Créolité* se référait à une origine quelconque, il s'agirait du « chaos originel » (Bernabé/Chamoiseau/Confiant 1993 : 28) du contact de personnes issues de cultures différentes. Cependant, dans *L'Empreinte à Crusoé*, le terme d'origine est ramené à sa signification première – comparable au changement significatif de la notion d'écosystème. Ainsi, le véritable fondement décrit dans le roman est celui d'une personne seule dans un espace naturel délimité, ce qui provoque un renoncement successif de ses traits humains. Et lorsque le faux Robinson prononce « […] je n'avais plus besoin d'une origine-bateau ! » et qu'il dessine plutôt son « arbre géographique » (Chamoiseau 2012 : 164), ce n'est pas une distanciation, mais un abandon total de la base de la *Créolité* telle qu'elle fut formulée dans l'*Éloge*, car ainsi le personnage ne se réfère plus à une origine suite à la traite transatlantique – à un rhizome au sens de Deleuze et Guattari (1980), mais il fonde un nouveau mythe, une racine unique de sa culture – qui n'est même plus culture puisque c'est exactement ce à quoi il renonce.[15]

15 Je tiens à remercier Anja Bandau pour le commentaire que ce jeu de mots de ‹ l'arbre généalogique › envers ‹ l'arbre géographique › n'est pas anodin puisque l'expression qui remplace la généalogie rompt également avec le concept inhérent au terme premier – celui d'une quelconque filiation biologique en faveur d'une filiation qui dépend du lieu du sujet. En effet, ce remplacement terminologique est très problématique car ce que Chamoiseau dessine dans son roman, c'est un sujet tout seul face à (ou plutôt avec) la

Comme nous l'avons vu, la robinsonnade que Patrick Chamoiseau a publié en 2012 sous le titre *L'Empreinte à Crusoé*, est un projet de relecture postcoloniale (et anticoloniale) du texte ‹ fondateur › de Daniel Defoe. Pour réécrire une robinsonnade qui fait partie du soi-disant canon de la littérature européenne, et pour la réécrire ‹ à rebours ›, le texte de Chamoiseau a l'intention d'exprimer l' « inénarrable », d'écrire une non-narration « sans commencement ni fin ». Cependant, on a montré que cette stratégie échoue – d'un côté, à cause de l'inévitable linéarité de l'écriture, face à laquelle déjà Jorge Luis Borges s'était résigné, et de l'autre, à cause de la composition narrative que l'auteur martiniquais emploie et qui peut être décrite comme une technique entrelacée. Cette technique établit un récit qui révèle clairement un début et une fin bien circonscrits. De plus, le roman affaiblit quelques notions fondamentales du concept de la *Créolité,* tels que l'‹ écosystème › ou le refus de relier une culture avec la conception d'une ‹ origine'. Ainsi, le texte ne peut pas être lu comme une continuation ou une évolution du mouvement de la *Créolité*, mais plutôt comme une distanciation de celle-ci. *L'Empreinte à Crusoé* témoigne à la fois de la tentative d'un développement continu des conceptions initiales de la *Créolité* et fait preuve d'une simplification et ainsi d'une réduction des idées complexes de l'*Éloge*.

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nature. Le jeu de mot est alors dénué de sens dans ce contexte parce que cette filiation est exactement ce qui est néanti dans le texte.

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Kathleen Gyssels

"A la rubrique de chiens crevés": Léon-Gontran Damas Facing Memory Wars in Posthumous Poetry

1 French Caribbean 'k/Not' of Memory

Fanon's famous warning in *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952) was predated by several poems from Guianese poet Léon-Gontran Damas' (1912–1978) first collection of poems, *Pigments*[1]:

> Le Juif et moi: non content de me racialiser, par un coup heureux du sort, je m'humanisais. Je rejoignais le Juif, frères de malheur. Une honte!
> De prime abord, il peut sembler étonnant que l'attitude de l'antisémite s'apparente à celle du négrophobe. C'est mon professeur de philosophie, d'origine antillaise, qui me le rappelait un jour: "Quand vous entendez dire du mal des Juifs, dressez l'oreille, on parle de vous." Et je pensais qu'il avait raison universellement, entendant par-là que j'étais responsable, dans mon corps et dans mon âme, du sort réservé à mon frère. Depuis lors, j'ai compris qu'il voulait tout simplement dire: un antisémite est forcément négrophobe. (Fanon 1952: 98)

Following Fanon's call for dialogue between Blacks and Jews, Damas develops in the posthumous collection of poetry his earlier statement uttered in *Pigments*, first published in 1937. Afraid of the mass destruction caused by WWI and threatened by a new war, the young poet wrote in 1937 on a massacre that would be perpetrated by Hitler, without mentioning him. Consider the poem "Bientôt":

> Bientôt
> Vous les verrez
> Bouffer du Nègre
> Sept jours fascistes sur sept (*P* 51)

1 I refer throughout my analysis to the reedition of *Pigments* and *Névralgies* from 1972 by the abreviation *P* and *N*, respectively. English translations from *Pigments* are from Lillehei 2011.

For the poet, Blacks and Jews would endure the same treatment by the Nazis who "gobble up Blacks" like they "gobbled up Jews" and this on "seven fascist days / out of seven." Generally, authors from the French Antilles have avoided tackling the question of the respective victimization of Blacks and Jews, at least in Damas' generation. The question of mourning, the loss of their respective departed during the Wars is however foregrounded in the poem "SAVE OUR SOULS" (capital letters in the original edition of *Pigments*). In this poem, indeed, Damas warns against a catastrophe that will strike both Blacks and Jews. Together with "Et Caetera," "SAVE OUR SOULS" testifies to Damas' pre-war preoccupation and anxiety given the threat of a new World War. Hence his claim to disobey the order to "mobilize," and not to go fighting the Germans but to fight instead the French colonizer in Senegal (and other colonies). To strengthen the bonds between oppressed groups has also been Fanon's will. *Peau noire, masques blancs* as well as Damas' verses might have been taken up by his friend Césaire who, two years later, emphasized in *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*:

> Je serais un homme-juif
> Un homme-cafre
> Un homme-hindou-de-Calcutta
> Un homme-de-Harlem-qui-ne-vote-pas (Césaire 1995a: 20)
>
> I shall be the Jew-man
> A kaffir-man
> A Hindu-from-Calcutta-man
> A man-from-Harlem-who-does-not-vote (Césaire 1995b: 84–85)

Illustrative of Fanon's call for precaution and awareness of the fact that anti-Semitism and racism are two faces of the same "médaille," Damas pictures this odd reality, hesitant between the singular and plural in his title:

> REALITE / S
>
> à la manière
> du Juif
> du Jaune
> pour l'évasion organisée en masse
> de l'infériorité (*P* 71)
>
> REALITY
>
> To have up to now done nothing
> destroyed
> built
> dared

in the manner
of the Jew
of the Yellow Man
for the organized mass escape
from inferiority (*P* 63)

One realizes how *Pigments* paves the way for transcending the Black community's fight for "visibility" (cf. Ellison's *Invisible Man*, 1952) by stressing solidarity with other minorities. In his posthumous poetry only delivered in 2012, Damas weaves this "knot of memory" even more tightly by bringing to the surface that (although victimized by the same system, namely Nazism) Blacks nevertheless suffered from neglect in the postwar commemorations and in the different cultural remembrances of the victims of Holocaust. Their under-representation was explicitly yet polemically addressed in "A la rubrique des chiens crevés"[2] ("Obituaries for Dead Dogs"), and the oblivion of Blacks who were imprisoned or died in concentration camps remains a neglected domain of research. One also has to recall that some of Damas' close friends had been deported to the camps. Befriending Jews, his first editor Guy Lévis Mano had survived the camps, while Desnos, mistaken often to be a Jew, was deported for his anti-communist journalism and died shortly after Theresienstadt had been liberated by the allied forces. Damas expressed his solidarity with the Jews; likewise, other Black artists in France would call for a cross-cultural resistance across the borders of ethnicity and nationality in the Republic and abroad.[3] We may assume that Césaire's famous *Cahier* (1939) and his subsequent essay *Discours sur le colonialisme* (1955) have benefited from Damas' insights and call for a joint struggle against racism and anti-Semitism:

> Oui, il vaudrait la peine d'étudier, cliniquement, dans le détail, les démarches d'Hitler et de l'hitlérisme et de révéler au très distingué, très humaniste, très bourgeois du XX^e^ siècle qu'il porte en lui un Hitler qui s'ignore, qu'Hitler *l'habite*, qu'Hitler est son *démon*, [...] ce qu'il ne pardonne pas à Hitler, ce

2 The excerpts from "A la rubrique des chiens crevés" (*Mine de riens*, retitled *Dernière escale*) have been translated by Christine Pagnoulle (University of Liège) whom I wish to thank for her precious help. Damas' friend Christian Filostrat posted the entire collection with its original title, *Mine(s) de riens*, on Academia Link. Accessed January 5th, 2017. *Dernière escale* was published belatedly in 2012 by Sandrine Poujols and Marcel Bibas, in Paris, Ed. Regard du Texte. I refer to that latter edition by the abreviation DE.

3 "Croyez-m'en" (*N* 85) is an audacious poem as it adds poignant symbolic resonance to the mourning of the collective "We" through the loss of the single victim Desnos. Robert Desnos stands as symbol for all the people who perished in the camps: "tous mes amis morts *en* celui qui avait nom Robert / Robert DESNOS." (*N* 85, italics K.G.) The caps stress the haunting effect of calling out the beloved's name, part of the ritual of the Jewish kaddish, in which the prayer sums up the names of the departed.

> n'est pas *le crime* ensoi, *le crimecontre l'homme* [...] c'est le crime contre l'homme blanc [...] et d'avoir appliqué à l'Europe des procédés colonialistes dont ne relevaient jusqu'ici que les Arabes d'Algérie, les coolies de l'Inde et les nègres d'Afrique. (Césaire 2004: 13–14)

Victims of the White racist, who tries moreover to put the Jew against the Black by portraying the first as intellectually superior whereas the latter is associated with physical power and sexual hyperactivity, both Fanon and Damas in their respective ways take it to task to deconstruct the "raciology" or preservation of denigrating myths. Biopolitics and racial theories (Gobineau, Lévy-Bruhl) have been instrumentalized to oppress ethnic minorities. One has to recall in this respect that Fanon himself conceived his pages on "the Jew and I" in *Peau noire, masques blancs* as a comment on Jean-Paul Sartre's *Réflexions sur la question juive* (1946) (*Anti-Semite and Jew* [1948]). Like many other (Jewish) intellectuals, Sartre polarized the Jew as Other, thereby opposing Black and Jew. Yet Fanon would fiercely reject this essentializing dichotomy established by the Jewish existentialist who became a spokesperson, through his preface to Senghor's 1948 *Anthology*, for the colonized of the French empire. One might explain Sartre's sympathetic yet somewhat simplistic antagonism (the intelligent Jew *versus* the physically strong Black, Gilman 1996) by his own position of Jew as outsider or "paria" (in the sense of Hannah Arendt) as well as by an autobiographic projection of what Buisine aptly called *Laideurs de Sartre*. Fanon also disagreed on Sartre's comparison because, as Fanon argued most convincingly, Jews are capable of hiding their Jewishness, while the Black cannot pass for White and cannot merely gain respect in the gaze of the White man by his physical force. The Black will always try to hide his blackness without succeeding in a complete "appropriation" of the mimetic Other. These fundamental assumptions and strivings are, as Hurley rightfully observes, translated in Damas' poetry, which springs from a repressed speech act by a Black subject eager to let his voice be heard alongside and in the choral of other oppressed voices (Hurley 2000: 123).

Having stopped publishing after *Névralgies* (1966), Damas responds in posthumously published poetry in stringent ways to another controversial issue: the memory wars or the ways in which Blacks and Jews are remembered after the Second World War, and how the private and collective losses are endured in an ongoing competitive memory war which blocks a collective, consensual mourning. Chronologically, Damas was the first to warn against genocidal violence before the war, knotting the massive killings by the Nazis of European Jewry and the ways 'negroes' were treated in the Deep South and the Caribbean archipelago (like generations before on the plantations). His preoccupation first of all with the lack of monuments and memorials can already be

traced in *Névralgies*, written after WWII. Addressing the non-existence of monuments for the deceased in his own country, he writes "Sur une carte postale," in which he regrets the patriotic appeal of the rare "Monuments aux Morts" erected on the French-German border (Gyssels 2014a). Discussing the lack of memorials for the victims of fascism in the *métropole* and in the colonies, Damas knew he would once again raise controversial issues and decided not to publish "A la rubrique des chiens crevés" and other long poems kept in Washington in form of a manuscript typed by his wife, Marietta Campos, entitled *Mine de riens*. Nevertheless, he continued for his own well-being to write poetry which would cure him of the indifference of the dominant culture towards the Other, the marginalized visible or invisible *Strangers in the land* (Sundquist 2005). Haunted by the death of millions of soldiers and citizens and the atrocities of WWI and WWII, having lost some of his best friends in the death camps, and traumatized by his two earlier works seized for their insolent character (both *Pigments* and *Retour de Guyane*), Damas goes one step further in "A la rubrique des chiens crevés." The poem tackles the inequality between similarly harmed communities when it comes to the healing of the wounds of European/colonial history and even memorial industry. In the third poem of *Mine de riens*, problematic issues of the discrepancy between the collective Black' and 'Jewish' memory and commemoration are clearly delineated as strictly separate experiences: that of 'the Jew' and that of 'the Black.' To bring these two experiences together was (and *remains*) quite inconceivable, as Jewishness and Caribbeanness appear to be mutually exclusive. Damas deplored the paucity of "Monuments aux Morts" erected to pay respect to Black veterans killed during WWI and even more so during WWII. In sharp contrast to the legitimate yet omnipresent attention in the late seventies to the erection of statues and monuments for the victims of the Holocaust, the "tirailleurs sénégalais," and the "enfants des colonies" who got wounded and died both under the French or allied flags, the Black marines in the States were barely remembered. What reminded of their war effort was very often the popular poster "Y a Bon Banania" which Senghor, Césaire, Damas, Tirolien, Maran, and so many of their generation found offensive. The laughing tirailleur sénégalais would indeed become the single popular response to the Black presence in the armies, overshadowing their grief and loss. Not only Damas denounces the primordial place accorded to the Jewish victims in 'memorial space' he also alludes to the Bible to explain how such a discrepancy could occur over time and in the Christian/Western world. In his "A la rubrique des chiens crevés," the poet stages a "Nègre-à-talents" who is accused of behaving as a deranged and therefore dangerous fool, a "mad-nigger" who is transported to the psychiatric hospital. Confused and mistaking vertical towers for palm trees, the colored man is associated with primitivism and wilderness, in short, with irrational behaviour:

Climbing the Eiffel Tower, he reclaims to receive "une (one/a)." His claim to obtain "une" refers to his wish to receive a medal or a similar sign of distinction. This desire is clarified, however, only at the poem's end. So, let me first quote some part of this five pages long poem to make my point:

> A la rubrique des chiens crevés
> de la toute dernière
> du quotidien du soir la Croix Verte
> organe de la Ligue Internationale des Pur-Aryens
> paraissant à Paris Rue de la Grande Truanderie
> [...]
> Avec l'aide des pompiers alertés
> il à été déperché de notre Tour Eiffel
> ou [...]
> il avait accoutumé de grimper
> toujours les dimanches après vêpres
> étage par étage étage par étage
> comme au cocotier original [...] (*DE* 28)

In what follows, the reader sees a sarcastic sketch of a troublemaker. He gets a clear picture of the reason of his protest, namely the frustration not to have obtained nor ever been decorated with a sign of distinction:

> [...]
> à moins d'en obtenir sur le champ lui aussi
> *Une* (*DE* 29)
> [...]
> Apres qu'il lui eut été mis les menottes
> puis conduit au Commissariat du Quartier du Champs de Mars
> il fut en flagrant délit triple
> d'outrage à la pudeur
> de folie des grandeurs
> de manie de la persécution
> transporté nu comme un ver
> à l'Hôpital Psychiatrique Sainte-Anne
> Rue Cabanis Numéro Un [...] (*DE* 29)

With wit and sarcasm, Damas seems to sketch "un fait divers" which could very well allegorically portray his own position and condition: a lonely lunatic "talented negro" who climbs the Eiffel Tower to cry out his vindications but who is at once arrested for the unrest he causes in the Republic. Not only does Damas deal with the ways of remembrance of the wars' black victims, he accuses the law makers and physicians of diagnosing each trouble maker as insane and therefore worthy of being committed or imprisoned. The madman who climbs the Eiffel Tower claims something which the poet lacks to make explicit

and which appears to be a “(black) star.” To cry out for this right in the very heart of the French capital is worse than a scandal, it is a crime. The references to existing places (the “Champ de Mars,” which refers to a battle ground, is actually one of the poet’s addresses during his years of residency in Paris) reinforce the impression of an incident which may make the front-page in a local newspaper. A solitary act of rebellion and protest against the unequal attention and ostracism, against the deliberate obscuring and omission of Black veterans, and by extension, all colored victims, becomes a criticism of the war of memories. Also, the vile racist portrayal encompasses the entire group to whom he belongs:

> De l’enquête à laquelle il a été minutieusement procédé
> il est clair que notre Nègre
> se serait rendu fou furieux de jalousie
> […]
> de voir seuls les Juifs
> distingués des autres
> gratifiés d’une étoile jaune
> jouir seuls d’un compartiment de la Régie des Transports en Commun
> seuls invités à défiler le samedi en colonnes par deux
> […]
> de l’Etoile au Père Lachaise (*DE* 31–32)

After having used six times the pronoun “Une” in italics the poet makes clear the seventh time that the anaphor refers to “une étoile jaune.” (*DE* 32) At that stage, the poem sarcastically recalls Fanon’s (and Sartre’s) in/distinctness between Jew and Gentile. Only the “yellow star” can mark the Jew as Other. But following that, he continues by exploring Biblical sources to explain this treatment for the ‘children of Cham’. On the page, the poet literally draws a double line between this present-day pathetic spectacle offered by an ill/disciplined “Negro” and a remote past, between the society in the post-Shoah period and the Biblical time:

> ……..
> ……..
> Cette histoire
> […]
> n’est pas sans rappeler celle
> […]
> à des millénaires d’intervalles
> […]
> d’un autre nègre à particule
> […]
> répondant alors au nom depuis célèbre
> de Si

de SIMON
de SIMON de CYRENE (*DE* 32–33)

He notably brings in a Biblical character: Simon of Cyrene, changing his name into "Si-Non" (playing on the French "sinon"). If not entirely erased in Judeo-Christian iconography, Simon of Cyrene who helped Jesus to carry his cross to Golgotha is a minor hagiographic character. Although this Black man helped Jesus in his ordeal and was hanged next to him, he has not been "remembered" in the holy scripts and Christian theology, the poet seems to tell us here. While from Biblical times onwards, Blacks and Jews have walked together to Golgotha, Damas recalls how the "children of Cham" have been erased from literature and consequently from History. This "curse of the black race" was already referred to in "Contre notre amour qui ne voulait rien d'autre," (*N* 106–107) in which forbidden love on the grounds of racial segregation is a dominant theme (Brown 1992). In other words, the postcolonial poet and critic Damas reveals the responsibility of Christianity in the oppression and displacement of millions of people. Faith and religious iconography are therefore shunned as lies and hypocrisy. The Old (and New) Testament is put forward as one of the major explanations for the lack of recognition and understanding between the children of Cham and their masters. Given the fact that a minor number of slave owners in the Caribbean had Jewish origins, the poet problematizes the involvement of Jews in the enslaving of Africans.[4] Instead of preaching love and understanding between different people and different ethnicities, be it Blacks and Whites, or even Blacks and Jews, the word of Jesus is held to forbid intermarriage and racial mixing. Damas' poem "Contre notre amour" designates the Bible as one of the sources for the curse of his fellow (Black) people and the prohibition to love the ones he, the speaker, truly desires.

Furthermore, repeating over and over again the enigmatic pronoun "une," from stanza to stanza, without explicitly naming its referent, forces the reader to fill in the void, gradually obliged to accept the poet's stigma: the yellow or the (non-existing) black star. Moreover, the sarcastic poet leaves the interpretation open: Is the star meant to serve as a "tribute", as Serge Doubrovsky ironically recalled when he was awarded the Légion d'honneur, traumatized by the yellow star he had to wear as a child (Doubrovsky in Bishop 2010: 8)? Or does it refer to a reward that the mentally diseased patient claims, a sort of "médaille

4 The migrations and settlement of Jews in this region remain marginal, nevertheless Nation of Islam leader Farrakhan used this argument to denounce and accuse the complicity between the Jews and the slave traders and their involvement in the plantation economy in Surinam and the Caribbean islands. The poet seems to argue in between the lines that a league of Christian European nations as well as a number of Jewish settlers in neighbouring Dutch Guiana and the Lesser Dutch Antilles enslaved Africans.

d'honneur" for services to "la mère-patrie"? Is it meant to remind us of the stars worn by Jews during the Second World War? In fact, Damas addresses the unequal attention in the French Republic paid to efforts of citizens from various origins and horizons that Christine Taubira would state four decades later in *Rendez-vous avec la République*:

> L'égalité des droits s'applique aussi à la mémoire. Non pour une mémoire égale […], mais pour un droit égal à la mémoire. Parce qu'on pressent bien qu'il suffit que les pouvoirs publics s'obstinent dans la dénégation, laissent prospérer les inégalités et se jouent des rivalités pour que la concurrence des victimes et la guerre des mémoires dégénèrent en concurrence des mémoires et guerre des victimes. (Taubira 2007: 11)

Anticipating Taubira's struggle for the Memory Laws and for the resolution of the ethnic and racial conflicts in the Republic, Damas's poem, polemical and stunning, reads like a medical discourse in which the very claim made by the lonely voice of the solitary Black or Amerindians diagnosed as madness and fury. The poet addresses issues of commemoration and reparation alongside the subaltern communities of Jews and Blacks in the Fourth and Fifth Republics. By the same token, the fact that the memory of Shoah victims and survivors has received far more attention than Blacks and their offspring who still await communal redemption is sketched in the hilarious portrait of the "Nègre-à-talents" who climbs the Eiffel Tower to ask "Une" ("One"). Claimed vehemently by the paranoid jaybird, the pronoun "Une" then comes to refer to an injection of morphine that calms down the nervous patient who is then transported to the psychiatric hospital "St. Anne, Canabis Street, Number One, Paris thirteen, Bad omen" (*DE* 29–30). Moreover, the news of this incident is published in a "Gazette," as the voice of the "Ligue internationale des Purs-Aryens": The poet shows the conspiracy of ultra-right winged and also ultra-leftist affiliations, both despised equally. The statement is crystal clear: denouncing the lack of attention in the French Republic to the Black victims of the war, he stresses the disproportionate celebrations and commemorations in a war of / on memory. Damas underlines the dissymmetrical assignment between the Jew (exemplary for the suffering and the victimization) and the Black (never-ending discussion as to the question who suffered most as well as to the accorded attention in museum spaces). When compared to the Jewish victims, the Black and Colored victims remain invisible in the collective efforts to honor the memory of those who suffered.

Yet the very fact that Damas withdraws this and other polemical poems from publishing is explicable given the controversies he would once more spur. We have to remember that Damas' first two publications (*Pigments* and *Retour de Guyane*) harmed his reputation and had been banned because they were

regarded as overtly anti-colonialist and anti-French. Yet in 2012, the Centennial year[5] of Damas' birth, the long awaited collection *Mine de riens* finally came out. In "Mocking Bird" (*Mine de riens*), Damas discusses the master narrative (the Bible) as a way of legitimizing racism. He did so too in an earlier poem, "Contre notre amour qui ne voulait rien d'autre" (*Névralgies*), which draws on the "curse of Cham" (*Genesis*), a narrative that offers an explanation for the Black's servitude and slavery.[6] But also the racial prejudice and defense of race mixing is hailing back to the Old Testament's Prophets who would have strongly prohibited marriages outside the religious and ethnic community. In the poet's view, it is the Christian faith which is responsible for racism and slavery, for the prohibition of mixed marriages, and many of the actual impasses (Brown 1992). Ironic and readily mocking the lessons of Catholicism and Christianity, the poet with the Biblical name refers to his own road full of obstacles to wholeness and plenitude.[7] In a reverse projection of Saul on the road to Damascus, on which the saint had his illumination, the poet Damas writes against Christianity, not gaining but loosing his faith on the road to Damascus. Damas realizes the hypocrisy the Christian church and Catholicism imposed upon the African transplanted masses to the Americas. The Biblical canvas is again functional in rewriting Christ's Passion. As already mentioned, Jesus would not carry the cross alone but would be assisted by a forgotten figure, a colored man named Simon de Cyrène. Not only can "Syrène" be pronounced as "sirène" (alarm) and lead to the verb "cirer" (to make shiny, to make blinking), which Damas has exploited in "Shine" (*P* 65–66); it also alludes to "Rien à cirer", an idiomatic expression synonymous to the English "That's not my business," or even "I don't give a shit. Written probably after the Second World War, Damas, like Fanon, witnessed how soldiers of color suffered discrimination and disloyal treatment because of their pigmentation. He might also have seen some ragtimers and jazzmen, White or Black, wear a star in solidarity with the oppressed Jews during the Vichy regime (Cyrulnik 2012: 197). Those who got killed in the service of the French Republic have not been equally honored in the various rituals of commemoration. The colonial fracture (Bancel/Lemaire/Blanchard 2005) neatly divided each of the Republic's minori-

5 In the same year, I organized a conference to commemorate Damas and his oeuvre in Cayenne, "Léon-Gontran Damas, poète patrimonial et postcolonial." http://www.e-karbe.com/livres/centenaire-de-leon-gontran-damas-un-colloque-international-a-cayenne-les-19-et-20-avril-2012.

6 See Goldenberg 2003 on this matter.

7 In French, the name Damas is identical with the name of the city of Damascus; the poet's name resonates with the biblical reference to the road to Damascus, where Paulus had his illumination.

ties into separate groups, isolated one from another, each group yearning for the recognition of the departed. The lack of recognition given to Jews and blatantly more so to Blacks after the Second World War is denounced in this poem, which Damas again refrained from publishing. In a sort of self-censorship, the poem did not surface until more than 34 years after his death. The climate of violent anti-Semitism that reappeared quickly in the first decennium after the war (Essed/Hoving 2014) probably added to Damas' discretion and fear to publish. This and other poems date probably from the late 60s and 70s, a period when France started to come to terms with the dark chapters of Occupation and Vichy. Convincingly, the gaps of France's cultural memory and the oblivion of the darker skinned 'children's of the Republic' are rendered in this poetical yet strong trial against the falsification of history with regard to the sacrifices paid by black and non-white soldiers, on the one hand, and the victims of the death camps, on the other. By stitching the fate and destiny of the "Nègre-à-talents" into the wider Biblical pattern, the afore-mentioned Simon de Cyrène is put next to Jesus. As a muted sound, a silent *sirène* haunting Damas' spirit, the ordeal of this Black figure forces him to account for this and other hidden figures in history. Both suffered at the hands of the Romans, yet the forgotten 'hero' or 'idol' is the Black man. The poem thus makes a bold statement about *multidirectional memory* (Rothberg 2010), knotting "interrelated histories of Empire and colonialism." (Silverman 2010) Damas more than once shows the analogy between two racisms and by doing so aligns himself with Senghor, who defended the fraternity among Ethiopians in *Hosties noires*.[8] In this collection, he comes to terms with issues of cultural memory, memory wars, and memorializing the dead and the use of the respective national victims as a way of patriotic, nationalist propaganda preparing the next "revenge" (cf. Gyssels 2014a). In other words, the poet hints at the differentiation or segregation of victims by race as a pernicious way of feeding nationalist, and by extension, racist statist discourses He also conjures up realities of a divided Republic in which all minorities are not dealt with equally when it comes to commemorating Blacks and Jews who perished during WWII. Translating Fanon's concerns into poetry, Damas tackles the vexed relationship between Blacks and Jews,[9] thereby building a bridge between two discriminated/marginalized

8 Ethiopia resisted both against colonialism and fascism under the emperor Halie Selassie, who symbolized the double legacy as descendant of King Salomon and the Queen of Saba.

9 Recent works try to put the record straight, posthumously rectifying omissions and oblivions by defenders of hybridity and the symbioses of cultures in the Caribbean, such as Glissant: Nicole Lapierre's *Causes communes. Des Juifs et des Noirs* (2011: 194) herald

groups. Similarly to Fanon, Damas fought for making public obfuscated realities of the Republic's recent past.

2 "Miles Ahead"

Damas pointed out years ago the competition that exists among communities to honor and reconstruct respectful memories of their past. The risk of such competition is that suffering becomes hierarchical. Fortunately, Christiane Taubira, the former French Minister of Justice and an important heir to Damas's legacy, has firmly warned against such outrageous anti-Semitic acts. Falling herself prey to racist attacks, Taubira's vote for the 'Mariage pour tous' (marriage for gays and lesbians) has raised scandal by quoting moreover from *Black-Label* (1956) and "Grand comme un besoin de changer d'air" (*Névralgies*). The day after, journalists wondered: "Who was this Damas she has been reciting by heart?" Unlike other politicians who attempt to 'normalize' their backgrounds when entering the political arena, the Minister of Justice from Guiana, empowered by a political mandate, proudly embraces *her* as well as *other's otherness*. Her open embrace of otherness in French society has fueled her unapologetic and determined stance in French politics. However, her appreciation for Négritude does not mean that this identity is in any way a full representation of her. Just as she refuses to identify with a particular political party, so too does she refuse to box herself into a particular racial identity. She refuses to limit herself by categorizing herself as one or the other; quoting from Damas' *Black-Label*, she emulates his struggle to have interracial love and other kinds of relationships, such as same-sex desire, destigmatized. Her fight for the laws, for gay

Glissant as most important mediator between Blacks and Jews, precisely in a chapter on the Schwarz-Bart. Yet in several of his essays, Glissant partakes in the vexed relationship between Blacks and Jews and has not always been very tactful in stressing similarities and differences. This is not to say that I accuse the Martinican author and critic (as some will readily conclude) of anti-Semitism, but rather that I question that some intellectuals (consciously or not) fail to find common ground between Blacks and Jews and yet cannot avoid questioning the troubled relationship. While Schwarz-Bart defines himself as *Luftmensch*, he regrets to say he found no spiritual family in the French Caribbean (Schwarz-Bart 2009: 203). In spite of their praise of creolisation and rhizomatic identity, the religious component (even if the neighbor next door is a non-religious Jew) who coauthored *Un plat de porc aux bananes vertes* (1967), dedicated to both Aimé Césaire and Elie Wiesel, was quite overlooked. While André Schwarz-Bart was from the outset fighting the uneven reciprocity of white (Jew) and black partnership when it came to paying tribute to the victims of the Shoah and the transatlantic slave system in the New World, his contribution to French Caribbean literature has been silenced by Confiant, Chamoiseau and Glissant (Gyssels 2013).

marriage, for the preservation of Amerindian tribes and their territory make her an heir of the forgotten Damas. Miles ahead of subsequent generations of Martinican Manifestos, “miles and miles away from his native land”, the genuine idealist always “thirst[y] for justice” (in Lydia Cabrera’s memory, Cabrera 1980: 2) paid a high “prize of the ticket” (Baldwin’s title, which we can read alongside Damas’ collections, Baldwin 1985). Both, Damas and Taubira, have a rather contested place in literary history and in the political arena respectively. They shared the conviction that there should be no discrepancies in the commemorations between different ethnic groups or religious communities in the democracies of Europe and America as well as elsewhere; both defended the right to claim hybrid, “hyphenated identities,” and an equal attention to the Republic’s multi-ethnic makeup and the sacrifices paid by the colonized populations in defending the nation during the wars. Both Damas and Taubira have strived to make a utopian world without lines of color, race, class, gender, or religious affiliation as factors of segregation and discrimination.

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Adriana López-Labourdette

Memorias del vestigio: trabajos mnemónicos de la esclavitud en la exposición *Quinto mundo* de Douglas Pérez y la novela *Fe en disfraz* de Mayra Santos Febres

> How do black expressive cultures practice remembrance? How is their remembering socially organised? How is this active remembrance associated with a distinctive and disjunctive temporality of the subordinated? How are this temporality and historicity constructed and marked out publicly?
> (Paul Gilroy: *The Black Atlantic*, 1993, 212)

En el verano del 2015 tuvo lugar en Londres, en la galería Breese Little, una exposición personal bajo el título de *The Fifth World*. En ella, el pintor cubano Douglas Pérez hacía un homenaje a la famosa pieza de Wifredo Lam, "El tercer mundo", producida en 1965 en medio de la euforia revolucionaria y su proyecto de hombre nuevo, y convertida posteriormente en artefacto visual desde el que pensar las imbricaciones entre política, raza y cultura (Mosquera 1994, 1995). Al traer a colación diferentes figuraciones de lo negro y crear un recorrido por el imaginario racial y racializado desde la Colonia hasta nuestros días, Pérez volvía a Lam, proponiendo un cuestionamiento de los modos en que la historia caribeña ha ido siendo paulatinamente blanqueada y la esclavitud se ha ido convirtiendo en un fenómeno tan conocido y tan naturalizado que no es necesario revisitarlo, volver a él, más allá de las visiones celebratorias del propio Estado. *The Fifth World* daba una vuelta de tuerca a la pintura costumbrista[1]

1 El costumbrismo, género literario y pictórico que cobra pujanza en América Latina y el Caribe en el siglo xix, funge como documentación del paisaje y los habitantes, y corresponde a un dispositivo de creación de exotismos y curiosidades destinados a satisfacer el interés y la curiosidad colonial por sus otros. Douglas Pérez, en entrevista para la galería Breese Little, comenta: "El Costumbrismo is a style that developed in Cuba in the nineteenth century, depicting Afro-Cuban descendants from the perspective of colonial authority. I have always been interested in history and how it is ordered by those that make the rules during certain periods of time. This order is so rooted in our subconscious that it is almost impossible to turn to another way of life. All images produced by a culture come from the field of this cliché. What if we try to subvert the pattern by selling a new post-colonial platform where the act of painting can dismiss the familiar pattern?" (Metliss 2015: 1)

para narrar con particular ironía y cuidado detallismo las *zonas oscuras* de tiempos postcoloniales. Con ello Pérez llevaba adelante un trabajo de revisión de la herencia visual y de reconsideración de una memoria racializada en el marco de una efervescencia de movimientos afirmativos, bastante incómodos para la ciudad letrada revolucionaria y su discurso celebratorio de la esclavitud y el racismo superados.

Toda la producción pictórica de Pérez y su repetida colaboración en las diferentes exposiciones bajo el título *Queloides*, dan cuenta de un sostenido interés por la indagación en torno al sujeto negro y a su presencia en los imaginarios (visuales) de la nación. Sin embargo, va a ser en este proyecto donde la cuestión racial se una a la problemática de la memoria, sus dispositivos y sus articulaciones como *pretexto* de una serie de pinturas, mapas y portafolios. Entre estos disímiles medios mnésicos y sus correspondientes ejemplares en *The Fifth World*, me gustaría detenerme en el cuadro *¿Quién los paga?* (2015), pues considero que en él se hacen visibles con total claridad las tensiones entre una memoria negra, basada en residuos, y otra memoria visual, hegemónica fundamentada en las reliquias enlazadas a poderes de consignación y domiciliación de acontecimientos del pasado esclavista.

Sin duda alguna, las interconexiones entre memoria y visibilidad, movilidad o consumo inherentes a la exposición, su localización y la (no) presencia del autor delinean una serie de constelaciones de poder y contrapoder que habría que analizar más detalladamente (cf. Sheller 2003). Lo que me propongo aquí, sin embargo, se refiere más bien a las prácticas y articulaciones de memoria que se apoyan en una memoria residual y que se articulan en torno a lo que denomino "memorias del vestigio".

Me interesa llamar la atención – en las artes visuales y en la literatura – sobre ciertos "trabajos de memoria" (Jelin 2002) que, al insistir en una presencia desafiante de la esclavitud en el presente, hacen resistencia tanto a la desracialización de la historia, que desde los discursos oficiales da por superado el trauma de la esclavitud, como a su uso folclorizante y exotista por parte de algunas agendas políticas. Dicha doble impugnación se apoya en los residuos, en aquello que en su propia materialidad "no pasa", en aquello que se resiste a ser inmovilizado y ser pasado, en aquello que persiste, ambiguo, contradictorio y opaco, más allá de la voluntad de retención y de archivación.

El origen de las reflexiones que desarrollo a continuación está en una serie de interrogantes que Paul Gilroy propone – e impone como tarea pendiente – en la parte final *The Black Atlantic, Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Gilroy 1993). Dichas interrogantes, que he puesto a manera de epígrafe al comienzo de este ensayo, sugieren la presencia de una temporalidad compleja – *distinctive and disjunctive* – en los procesos de memoria racial, y al mismo tiempo llaman la atención sobre una dimensión social de la memoria, en la que se entrecruzan

prácticas culturales diferentes. Por otra parte, y volveré a ello luego, mis reflexiones han ido gestionándose a la luz de un amplio corpus de teorías mnemónicas que han estudiado el papel de los residuos y los vestigios.

Me gustaría apuntar, antes de detenerme en el cuadro *¿Quién los paga?*, que en el dilatado espectro de prácticas visuales en torno al legado de la esclavitud y a sus implicaciones en la construcción del sujeto negro, el trabajo con los restos desarrollado por Douglas Pérez no es una excepción. En el corpus de "memorias del vestigio" podríamos incluir al también cubano Juan Roberto Diago quien en sus modos de generar una memoria de la esclavitud como indagación de la cultura contemporánea del desecho (Fuente 2008), dialoga con las obras de Pérez pero también con la producción del dominicano Marcos Lora Read, que instaura dicha memoria sobre materialidades diversas (Garrido 2014), o con las instalaciones y performances de la cubano-americana María Magdalena Campos Pons, donde los restos materiales de la esclavitud y la producción de azúcar vienen aunados a una corporalidad mnemónica (Campos Pons/Bell 1998). Estos artistas se posicionan en un marco particular: el renacer del "Archival Impulse" (Foster 2004) y la tenaz *Archive Fever* (Enwezor 2008) que viene dándose en las últimas décadas en las artes visuales contemporáneas. Al apropiarse del archivo, ellos trastocan ese privilegiado lugar – ese orden – desde el que se ha producido la "verdad" y la historia, incorporando registros silenciados e invisibilizados al interior de dicha historia. Vestigios y rastros son el material con/sobre el que ellos trabajan, insertando en sus "colecciones" una suerte de impulso archivolítico, una contramemoria (Foster 2004: 4) que se posiciona críticamente frente a los varios olvidos de la esclavitud.[2]

1 De las reliquias a los vestigios: *¿Quién los paga?*

La pintura (Fig. 1) representa a una persona que nos da la espalda y mira una estantería; en sus manos, atrás, lleva una piedra. Dos planos la conforman: el plano de los objetos expuestos y el plano del observador, sujeto negro, "figura oscura" en un entorno cromático claro. Este, a su vez, divide el cuadro en dos partes y parcela el espacio expositivo: a la izquierda, una colección de delicada porcelana blanca; a la derecha, los restos destruidos de algunas piezas de dicha colección.

2 Christine Chivallon analiza en varios de sus textos (2002a, 2002b) cómo aparecen y funcionan diferentes tipos de olvidos, no solo dentro de la historia caribeña, sino igualmente dentro de los procesos de memoria europeos. Resultan particularmente sugerentes sus reflexiones acerca de los olvidos implícitos en programas mnemónicos, como los desarrollados en Bristol (Inglaterra) y Bordeaux (Francia).

Fig. 1. *¿Quién los paga?* (© Douglas Pérez) Oleo, 2015, Christianson Collection.

Es esta destrucción lo que precisamente pareciera el objeto de la pregunta del título. "¿Quién paga los platos rotos?" es una frase popular que alude a la responsabilidad y a una suerte de compromiso de reparación ante los daños provocados. La respuesta más inmediata, según este *ethos* racializado, sería: "el negro". Con una respuesta tal, al acto archivolítico se le hace corresponder un culpable (el sujeto negro), que por la lógica de la misma interrogante estaría obligado a reparar – a pagar – la falta. Douglas Pérez, sin embargo, llama la atención sobre la trampa de esta apresurada respuesta, indicando los (pre)supuestos raciales que están en su base.

Pese a ubicar en las manos del sujeto negro la piedra (el objeto, en los planos de la obra, más cercano al espectador), el cuadro pone en escena una clara ambigüedad en relación a dicho sujeto en tanto actor, cuestionando no solo la respuesta a la pregunta, sino la pertinencia de la pregunta misma para la memoria negra. De esta suerte, el sujeto negro emerge como fisura – de la memoria, de la colección y de su consignación – que redirige la mirada hacia los restos opacos y mudos de la colección. De modo que, el sujeto negro funge ya no como arconte[3] del archivo compuesto de reliquias (colección de piezas

3 Para una explicación detallada de las funciones de los arcontes – guardianes del archivo – véase Derrida (1995).

rememorables y sacralizadas), tampoco como su destructor, sino como garante de *otra* memoria. Una memoria que se exime de toda codificación, que no se deja recoger bajo la memoria hegemónica de la reliquia. La presencia de ese sujeto que nos da la espalda relaciona, en última instancia, el poder arcóntico del archivo con una violencia, una tachadura de memoria.

Asimismo, el cuadro pone en escena una disposición y una disciplina de prácticas mnemónicas nada ingenuas. La memoria hegemónica, en su disposición rigurosa, ordenada y regular aparece aquí, a la izquierda del cuadro, bajo la cifra de una colección, archivación y exposición que conserva, expone y da valor a elementos del pasado, convirtiéndolos en símbolos de su grandeza y su refinamiento, y otorgándoles el valor sagrado de la reliquia. Disposición hecha para la contemplación, no para la acción o la experiencia. Patrimonio desencarnado (*patrimoine desincarné*), si ampliamos la terminología propuesta por Myriam Cottias en relación a la activación de las memorias oficiales.[4] En dicha disposición también hay implícita toda una pedagogía del mirar y un régimen del rememorar que vienen a ser impugnados y declarados inoperantes a través de la presencia "indisciplinada" del negro. Finalmente, y es esta lectura la que me gustaría poner en primer plano, los elementos elegidos para dicha memoria hegemónica (basada en las reliquias), así como sus correspondientes modos de organización, consignación y funcionalización, no son operativos para el espectador dentro del cuadro y para su historia. Antes bien, es en los vestigios – no coleccionables, no recuperables, no "futurizables" –, donde afloran las vejaciones, el exterminio, la destrucción y todos los efectos aún tangibles de la esclavitud. Son ellos, esos residuos que son también las huellas de un persistente racismo, metaforizado en los pedazos rotos y dispersos, los que sirven de dispositivo mnemotécnico para las figuras trizadas de la negritud. Ellos inscriben un sentido de pérdida, de fractura de una linealidad temporal de la memoria. Así, lo que ellos narran no es una trama, una historia recuperada en el presente. Más bien evocan la violencia de una fractura, de la que ellos (los restos) funcionan como índices.

¿Quién los paga?, por lo tanto, pone en juego las formas de gestionar esos vestigios como elementos más allá de la dicotomía entre memoria y olvido. Cifra, por ende, los modos de entender y afrontar los procesos de justicia y reconciliación dentro de una memoria atravesada por heridas, roturas y vacíos. Leída desde aquí, la conjunción que unía la destrucción de la memoria, vía destrucción de la colección, con su destructor, cambia de dirección, y apunta hacia

4 Myriam Cottias desarrolla el término al analizar las memorias oficiales basadas en objetos etnográficos en Martinica e indaga los modos en que ellas, en su separación de la experiencia real, producen cierto exotismo, el cual, en última instancia, termina escamoteando la experiencia de la esclavitud y su aporte al patrimonio nacional (Cottias 1993).

una memoria ya rota, ya violentada que viene a ser movilizada por el sujeto negro. El sujeto interrogante que pregunta – que cuestiona – no es otro que el sujeto negro. Por consiguiente, la interrogante articulada también es otra: ¿Quién asume los horrores, las víctimas, los efectos de la esclavitud? *¿Quién los paga?*

2 El *boom* de la memoria posesclavista

Como se sabe, en las últimas décadas la cuestión de la memoria se ha convertido en una especie de obsesión general, permeando todas las prácticas políticas, culturales, médicas y técnicas de nuestro tiempo (Todorov 2000; Huyssen 2002). Dicha pulsión memorialística global conduce además a una acuciante discusión sobre la posibilidad – o necesidad – de promover "formas consensuadas de la memoria colectiva" (Huyssen 2002: 22). Este aspecto cobra un valor fundamental cuando los trabajos de memoria están vinculados con un "trauma histórico" (LaCapra 2014) que hace de dichos trabajos un campo de batallas en el que se dirimen sentidos y contrasentidos de esos tiempos pretéritos. El pasado es "leído" y "narrado" entonces desde un presente, inscribiendo en los procesos de memoria una compleja tensión entre temporalidades diferentes. Halbwachs había propuesto, ya en 1925, y desde una perspectiva geográfica y cultural diferente, que los marcos de memoria (*cadres sociaux de la mémoire*) son la base de cualquier proceso mnémico, pues son portadores de una visión general de la sociedad, de sus valores, su constitución y su historia. Reactivar un pasado borroneado – como es el caso de la esclavitud – solo será posible en un marco social que fomente la revisión de ese pasado y lo haga presente, incluso como problema.

La reactivación de memorias de la esclavitud, dentro de las que emergen lo que he llamado "memorias del vestigio", está enmarcada en un resurgir de los movimientos negros transnacionales, que se establecen como actores fuertes y, sobre todo, visibles en los escenarios de poder. Laó Montes, apoyándose en las teorías decoloniales y en el concepto de colonialidad del poder, denomina a este momento nuevo ciclo de la raza.[5] Dicho ciclo, el cuarto, comenzaría a finales de los ochenta y principios de los noventa y se extendería hasta hoy. El horizonte

5 "El concepto mismo de ciclos de raza significa una temporalidad dinámica en la que un escenario central es la relación entre el Estado racial y los movimientos negros impulsores del flujo y reflujo histórico entre momentos de crisis y convulsión social, seguidos por períodos de equilibrio en la dominación y la hegemonía. Entiendo los ciclos sociales dentro de un marco analítico, por un lado ligado a una perspectiva histórico-mundial de movimientos sociales negros como fuerzas antisistémicas, para así enmarcar la política afroamericana en panoramas más amplios de poder, y del otro, vinculado con

que Montes traza sería el resultado del entrecruzamiento de movimientos sociales de afrodescendientes, de políticas de reconocimiento racial del Estado y de actores transnacionales. En esta etapa, recortada sobre el trasfondo de una desilusión general frente a las políticas neoliberales, los movimientos afroamericanos se separan de la cobertura anterior de partidos políticos de izquierda para reafirmarse en tanto comunidades multiétnicas, campesinas, sindicales, etc.[6] Es en este período que tienen lugar dos procesos mnemónicos que me parecen centrales para nuestro tema: las disputas en torno al "descubrimiento" de América y las discusiones a raíz de los preparativos para la Conferencia Mundial contra el Racismo en Durban en 2001. No menos importante ha sido la creación de organizaciones de acción y reflexión transnacional (Red de Mujeres Afrolatinoamericanas, Afroamericanas y de la Diáspora, Afroamérica XXI o la Alianza Estratégica de Afrodescendientes de Latinoamérica y el Caribe). Todas ellas han llevado adelante un importantísimo trabajo de memoria que intenta romper las diversas políticas de silencio y olvido. Habría que tener en cuenta, creo, que estas luchas se desarrollan también en el marco de ciertas prácticas mnemónicas de la esclavitud al interior de las políticas oficiales. Como han señalado algunos críticos con respecto al Caribe, también los festejos, los monumentos, las rutas de esclavos, las tarjas, y otros eventos conmemorativos que han acompañado este giro mnemónico acaecido en los noventa, corren el peligro de amalgamarse en un proceso de folclorización y exotización del pasado (Pierce 2001). Ellos operan en un contexto regido por las agendas estatales, las élites nacionales y la ideología del mestizaje, que podrían terminar por clausurar las memorias, pacificándolas y homogeneizándolas (Dávila 1997; Godreau 2002; Chivallon 2010; Casamayor 2010).

Uno de los textos más comentados y citados en el marco teórico de este nuevo ciclo de la raza – *The Black Atlantic. Modernity and Double Consciousness* de Paul Gilroy (1993) – propone un acercamiento interesante a la cuestión de la memoria posesclavista, sobre todo a partir de las interrogantes que estructuran la parte final del libro y que me gustaría retomar junto al "cuarto ciclo de la raza" como marco de las memorias del vestigio. Como es sabido, su tesis fundamental no gira en torno a la memoria, sino en torno a la esclavitud y su legado, entendida como proceso inscrito en la Modernidad. El Atlántico Negro, en su calidad intercultural y transnacional, de estructura fractal y rizomática que se

un acercamiento político cultural a los movimientos sociales como campos de producción de identidad, formación de comunidad y articulación de políticas culturales." (Laó Montes 2011: 18)

6 Laó Montez pone un acento especial en el eje negro-indígena y en la manera en que ambos grupos funcionan como correlato uno del otro, a partir de los ochenta y unidos en su poderoso cuestionamiento de las políticas neoliberales en América Latina.

extiende a ambos lados del Atlántico, ha funcionado y funciona como contracultura de la Modernidad (cf. Gilroy 1993: 16). Y es aquí donde se despliega "una hermenéutica de la memoria", en tanto instrumentario redentor y en cierto sentido, utópico, en el que se acciona una "living memory" (Gilroy 1993: 186) – que se instala en el presente como una resistencia incómoda y a la vez necesaria. El barco negrero, cronotopo no solo de la travesía, sino también de la gran diáspora de afrodescendientes, funcionaría entonces como soporte frágil y movedizo que cifra tanto los procesos de transculturación, de transferencias culturales o de hibridez constitutivos del Pasaje del medio, como también los modos en que dichos fenómenos se extienden hasta nuestros días. Se ponen en tensión así varias temporalidades: "the battle to represent a redemptive critique *of the present* in the light of the vital memories *of the slave past*" (Gilroy 1993: 71, cursiva A.L.-L.). Gilroy apunta a ciertas políticas memorialísticas al interior de los grupos de acción de afrodescendientes e insiste en algunos trabajos mnemónicos que, desentendiéndose de las propuestas afrocentristas, han ido desarrollando la cultura viva/vivida de una "memory of the changing same" (Gilroy 1993: 198).[7]

Valga insistir, antes de un somero recorrido de las propuestas crítico-literarias, en una cuestión que me parece crucial para reflexionar sobre los trabajos de memoria posesclavista: cada cultura y cada momento de dicha cultura porta y crea imágenes y sentidos – no consensuados, sino en conflicto – del pasado. En este punto pueden diferenciarse dos posicionamientos extremos y recurrentes en las discusiones en torno al pasado.[8] Por un lado, un grupo que persigue un sentido único – una verdad – y considera los usos de la memoria una manipulación e incluso tergiversación de dicha verdad. El otro lado del espectro correspondería a aquellos que atribuyen a la memoria un carácter multifocal, selectivo y narrativo. La performatividad de la memoria deviene aquí cualidad central, oponiéndose a una idea fija y estable de la memoria. Las implicaciones políticas de estas dos posiciones se hacen más evidentes cuando se trata de memorias postraumáticas, en las que los actos de nombrar, ajusticiar y/o reconciliar son también cuestiones urgentes. En este escenario de conflictos de memoria aparece una posición que considero sumamente sugerente y sin duda

7 Esta idea de "memory of the changing same" tiene su correlato dentro de los debates en torno a la identidad negra. Como se ha reiterado con frecuencia, en los años ochenta se da un giro importante en las formas de entender la identidad (caribeña) separada cada vez más de una concepción estática y estable, fundamentada en las identidades nacionales, y entendida ahora en términos de lo diverso, lo fluido, lo diaspórico, lo multilingüe o lo (neo)barroco.

8 Ina Césaire, propone en "To Each His Commemoration" (2001), ocho posicionamientos diferentes en el marco de los trabajos de memoria en Martinica. Todos ellos se ubicarían al interior del eje propuesto, más o menos cercanos a uno de sus extremos.

fructífera para el análisis de productos culturales relativos a la esclavitud. Se trata de aquella que acentúa la persistencia de ciertas narraciones mnésicas, en sí maleables, y las relaciona con políticas culturales, tanto hegemónicas como contrahegemónicas.[9] En este sentido, el cuadro de Douglas Pérez ilustra de manera paradigmática las tensiones entre persistencia y maleabilidad a través de la relación entre pedagogías mnemónicas e indisciplinas, entre memorias y contramemorias, entre reliquias y vestigios.

3 Nuevas narraciones del trauma esclavista en el Caribe contemporáneo

En este doble marco, de movimiento antisistémico afro y de pulsión memorialística, ha sido vital la revisión y relectura de diferentes narrativas literarias ligadas a los procesos de memoria. Dicho impulso, sin embargo, permanece poco o nada reconocido en las discusiones mayores sobre literatura (latino)americana (Cox 2000: x). Antes que nada, esto ha conducido a un examen renovado de las formas tradicionales de (auto)representación del sujeto negro, sobre todo desde la autobiografía y desde el testimonio (Linnet 1989; Morrison 1992). Junto a la revaloración de dichos textos de base referencial, las narrativas claramente ficcionales han seguido aumentando. Pese a los varios silencios frente al horror de la esclavitud, vemos aparecer un horizonte creativo y a la vez crítico-literario sobre la narrativización de la esclavitud en novelas de ficción. Esto ha generado un amplio abanico de géneros y subgéneros que intentan definir las formas en que se presentan, al interior de la ficción literaria, los vínculos con la literatura esclavista. En este ámbito resaltan conceptos como las *neo-slavery narratives* (Bell 1987; Rushdy 1999; Smith 2007), las *liberatory narratives* (Mitchell 2007) o los *Postmodern Tales of Slavery* (Cox 2000), entre otros. Más allá del análisis de las estrategias con las que dichos textos esbozan a un sujeto negro, estos estudios dirigen su foco de atención a la intertextualidad – para Rushdy, la "inter(racial)textuality" – con el corpus de la narrativa esclavista de preguerra y a los modos en que las novelas establecen un vínculo directo con el contexto socio-político de los años sesenta en los Estados Unidos. Su estudio apunta igualmente a los modos en que las nuevas obras, en su condición intertextual, funcionan como reactivación de un poder contestatario anterior. De esta forma se llama la atención, además, sobre los modos en que la voz

9 Christine Chivallon (2010) estudia las memorias intersticiales ("'petit recit' produit dans l'intimité des familles et des collectifs restreints", 236) desarrolladas, para el caso del Caribe francés, más allá o más acá de las memorias "auténticas".

del esclavo había sido apropiada dentro de la literatura misma y dentro de los procesos de canonización de los textos en que dicha voz aparecía.

En este sentido, si bien estos textos no están dirigidos en primera instancia a una reflexión sobre los trabajos de memoria, oblicuamente, se acercan al tema a través del estudio de las relaciones entre textualidades, poder y formaciones culturales, que han acompañado la inscripción de la trata esclavista en textos tanto históricos como literarios (Smith 2007). Anotemos también que su declarado anclaje en los movimientos afronorteamericanos de los años sesenta y el contexto político y literario estadounidense hace difícil su extrapolación al espacio caribeño.[10]

De las tipologías mencionadas solo la de *Postmodern Tales of Slavery* es menos restringida en términos espacio-culturales pues abre el espectro y traza un vínculo entre Estados Unidos y el Caribe. Cox atestigua un cambio de paradigma en las narraciones pos-esclavistas en las Américas: de las narrativas que abogaban por un origen y una identidad separada y de raíz africana, a un grupo de textos que trabaja a favor de una conciencia afroamericana, dando lugar a una "new appreciation of cultural difference based on inter-cultural relation and sharing rather than on separatism" (Cox 2000: 2). En estas novelas emerge un nuevo uso de la memoria, en el que el empirismo histórico y la idealización mitológica cede lugar a la imaginación. Estas narrativas aluden a una cultura negra transnacional y transcultural, dando importancia a una serie de temas[11] en torno a la esclavitud y su legado. Según esta genealogía, Alejo Carpentier – con *El reino de este mundo*, de 1949 – inauguraría una nueva fase, en la que la novela se apoya en estrategias narrativas que han sido relacionadas con la posmodernidad: ironía, fragmentación, rizoma, collage, etc. Propuestas mnemónicas y propuestas formales que suponen un desprendimiento de las funciones de documentación del trauma y de un cometido identitario o acusatorio.

Es en ese doble horizonte en que vemos emerger más recientemente un tipo de narrativa que da continuación a y se distancia, a través del trabajo con vestigios, de la tipología de Cox. Se trata de una serie de relatos explícitamente

10 Véanse, en este sentido, los ensayos Brüske (2018) y de Rangelova (2012), que han intentado trasladar el concepto de *neo-slave narrative* al horizonte literario puertorriqueño.

11 Cox enumera cuatro de estos temas: 1) la tensión entre reconstrucción y cuestionamiento de las identidades nacionales; 2) actividad creativa de memoria/imaginación como alternativa a las construcciones de la historia fundamentada empíricamente y de la mitologización; 3) la definición y afirmación grupal dentro de un imaginario y un contexto nacional; 4) la necesidad de la escritura para lograr un lenguaje de la diferencia (una contracultura o contramemoria) que esté en disputa tanto con las grandes narrativas sobre el pasado y el presente, como con los discursos de afirmación de las minorías (Cox 2002: 23).

ficcionales que aparecen y se multiplican en el Caribe, en los que sus autores, reconociéndose como integrantes y activistas de la cultura afrodescendiente, responden al reto de no solo resistirse a la amnesia general, sino también de cuestionar las formas en que las narrativas sobre el pasado esclavista han sido mediadas y organizadas dentro de las agendas estatales. La ficción hace visible *otro* tipo de memoria, más fragmentaria, más inestable, más opaca. A esta forma de narrativas mnemónicas del vestigio se alínean, por ejemplo, *Santa Lujuria o Papeles en Blanco* (1998) de Marta Rojas, *Memorias de Lucila* de Beatriz Berrocal (1996), *La ceiba de la memoria* de Roberto Burgos Cantor (2009) y *Fe en disfraz* de Mayra Santos-Febres (que comentaré más adelante).[12] Sin embargo, todas estas novelas, sin dejar de utilizar algunos elementos de la literatura posmoderna – sobre todo la metaficción y la autorreferencialidad – insisten en contar historias y vuelven a la narración como elemento que organiza sus textos. Sus relatos, producidos y situados en el contexto diaspórico del Caribe, están insertos en un marco afro que, como en la producción visual que veíamos antes, une temporalidades *distintivas y disyuntivas.* Indirectamente, su propuesta mnemónica también se dirige a la indagación sobre la importancia y las paradojas de las narrativas testimoniales, sobre los límites del documento y sobre la idoneidad – o no – del archivo como forma de organización y consignación del pasado esclavista. En este sentido, las narrativas del vestigio dan continuación y a la vez tensionan las narraciones testimoniales y su "poética de la esclavitud" (Rivera Casellas 2011); hacen visibles sus silencios y su fuerza, al tiempo que enuncian la dificultad y la urgencia de narrar el trauma. No es casual que esta memoria de carácter residual tenga *el cuerpo* como medio privilegiado, pues a través de él – sujeto y objeto, presente y ausente, interior y exterior – la memoria se exime de la fijación, asume su latencia y su fragilidad. Para esta narrativa, el cuerpo funge no solo como *repositorio* de memoria,[13] sino igualmente como *medio* de memoria, que además de almacenarla y transmitirla, la produce.

12 Más allá del Caribe hispano, a este tipo de narrativa postesclavista articulada como narrativa del vestigio pertenecerían también *Beloved* de Toni Morrison (1987), *Breath, Eyes, Memory* de Edwidge Danticat (1994), *Beyond the Limbo Silence* de Elizabeth Nunez (1998) y *Moi, Tituba sorcière… noire de Salem* de Maryse Condé (1986).

13 En su ensayo "Heterotopías del deseo: Sexualidad y poder en el Caribe de Mayra Santos Febres", Nadia Celis Salgado investiga los espacios (heterotópicos) de Santos Febres, en los que el deseo se moviliza y permite erigir resistencias y contrarrelatos al orden y la mercantilización de los cuerpos en el Caribe. En relación con la memoria Celis afirma que: "Erigidos como repositorio de la memoria histórica, los cuerpos caribeños se han convertido en décadas recientes en pilar de numerosos esfuerzos estéticos y teóricos por entender y reescribir el pasado colonial y su impacto sobre los sujetos poscoloniales." (Celis Salgado 2011: 135).

4 Propuestas para una memoria residual de la esclavitud

Las resonancias y consonancias filosóficas de esta noción de "vestigio" son evidentes: conceptos como *huella* (Benjamin 1991), *residuos* (Richard 2007), *desechos* (Assmann 1999), *traza* (Derrida 1975), *indicio* (Ginzburg 1994) entre otros, han servido para repensar los procesos de memoria postraumática (sobre todo en el contexto del Holocausto y de las dictaduras latinoamericanas). Sin querer sumar un término más al ya alto número de conceptos afines, me gustaría llamar la atención sobre la idea de vestigio, que está en la base del tipo de narrativas que analizo en esta parte del ensayo. Vestigio es – según su etimología *vestigium* – la huella de una pisada, su impronta, su rastro. No es el pie, es la huella de su paso lo que queda, es el índice de una ausencia. El vestigio apunta además a la precariedad de los registros de lo sucedido.

> El vestigio como testimonio de un paso, de una marcha, de una danza o de un salto, de una sucesión, de un impulso, de una consecuencia, de un ir-y-venir, de un *transire*. No es una ruina – que es el resto devastado de una presencia – sino precisamente un contacto a ras del suelo. (Nancy 1997: 212)

Esta idea del vestigio, diferenciado del resto y de la ruina, que Jean-Luc Nancy pone en el centro de sus reflexiones sobre arte, nos sirve para pensar un tipo de memoria que, por su movilidad y su relación oblicua con lo sucedido, se separa del todo de las formas tradicionales de memoria y su soporte privilegiado, el archivo. El vestigio en tanto huella de lo que pasa – lo que ocurre y lo que discurre – puede ser relacionado además con la idea de traza, propuesta por Édouard Glissant (*Introduction à une Poétique du Divers*, 1996). El aporte fundamental de este concepto, heredero de las teorías derridarianas[14], es que propone la articulación de memorias rizomáticas a partir de trazas, como la más pertinente para las narrativas mnemónicas en torno al trauma colonial de la esclavitud. Glissant propone entender la traza como simulacro de una presencia, y ve en ellas tanto los elementos indiciarios de todo aquello que desapareció en el "pasaje del medio" – o sea, el índice de una pérdida (*amnese*) – como el signo de la irreductible fuerza de ese pasado, de su resistencia, de su constancia (*anamnese*) en formas resbaladizas e incontrolables. La traza, además, es el punto de

14 La traducción del término al español muestra una cierta tensión entre conceptos afines. Si bien en las traducciones de Derrida prima el término "traza", en la traducción de Luis Cayo Pérez Bueno a *Introduction à une Poétique du Divers* se utiliza el término "rastros". Si bien los dos términos denotan elementos indiciales, y funcionan como sinónimos, el término "traza" en Glissant marca y hace visible su relación con las teorías derridarianas. Las citas del texto de Glissant, que aparecen a continuación, adoptan la traducción española reconocida, pero sustituyen "rastro" por "traza".

partida para un no-pensamiento (un saber disidente); es "una forma opaca de conocer la rama y la brisa, de ser transportado de sí mismo al otro, la arena del concreto desorden de la utopía, lo insondable, la oscuridad de la corriente de un río remansado"[15] (Glissant 2002: 70). Por consiguiente, el pensamiento de la traza se resiste a un sistema, se afianza, más allá de la síntesis, en una materialidad del fragmento que rehúsa volverse dominador, sistemático o autoritario (Glissant 1996: 70s).

5 Cuerpos y vestigios en *Fe en disfraz*

Mayra Santos-Febres, escritora poeta, narradora y ensayista puertorriqueña asume con *Fe en disfraz*, su penúltima novela, el reto de lo que ella denomina una escritura pan-africana (Pérez Ortiz 2003: 76) y lo hace a través de un proyecto literario en el que se dan encuentro – como en sus otras novelas – problemáticas de clase, raza y género (Pérez Ortiz 2003: 76). Dos personajes sustentan la historia: Fe Verdejo, la protagonista negra, es una reconocida historiadora venezolana que recaba y analiza documentación escrita sobre esclavas manumisas, ha organizado una famosa exposición con esos materiales y dirige un prestigioso centro de investigaciones en Chicago. Martín, puertorriqueño y blanco, narrador del relato, es especialista en archivos y colabora como *web master* en el centro, ayudando a Fe a preparar las conferencias sobre la esclavitud (femenina) que esta da por el mundo.

A primera vista la novela, narrada en primera persona por Martín, se centra en los excesos pasionales y sadomasoquistas entre los protagonistas. Pero esta es – afirma Santos-Febres en la "Nota de la autora", al final del libro – "una novela acerca de la memoria, de la herida que es recordar" (Santos-Febres 2009: 117). En efecto, una lectura desde la perspectiva de los trabajos de memoria, pone en evidencia que toda la acción sexual está engarzada y atravesada por la documentografía, por el doloroso deber de memoria y por los dispositivos mnemotécnicos, sus poderes y sus límites. Además, la nota invita a leer el texto desde un lugar intersticial entre archivo (documentación) y ficción. Por un lado, la autora enumera las fuentes consultadas: desde los documentos historiográficos hasta las clásicas autobiografías de (ex)esclavos. Por otro lado, declara los modos de trabajo con el archivo. Así la novela, según la autora, está "montada sobre documentos falsos, falsificados, reescritos con retazos de declaraciones de esclavos que recogí de múltiples fuentes primarias y secundarias; que recom-

15 "[La trace] est une manière opaque d'apprendre la branche et le vent, être soi dérivé à l'autre, le sable en vrai désordre de l'utopie, l'insondé, l'obscur du courant dans la rivière dételée." (Glissant 1996: 70)

biné, traduje o que, francamente, inventé" (Santos-Febres 2009: 117). La recolección se entrecruza con la invención, la documentación con la falsificación. De esta suerte, la nota alude a dos tipos de trabajos memoriales relacionados con la novela: aquellos que dieron lugar a la narración y aquellos que articulan la narración misma. Para estos últimos, los epígrafes – elementos paratextuales que proponen ciertas pautas de lectura – son sumamente ilustrativos. Las tres citas (de Goethe, de Kojéve y de Lucrecio) articulan, según la lectura de Anne Brüske, "una crítica epistemológica dirigida contra las estructuras más profundas del pensamiento europeo y que en las Américas ha dado como resultado una amalgama basada en la discriminación racial y sexual" (Brüske 2018: 222–223). Las citas abren también un horizonte de significado en torno al deseo y la herida, como formas mnemónicas y no únicamente como variantes de la tradicional narrativa del "consumo" de los cuerpos caribeños (Sheller 2003).

Fe en disfraz reproduce las actas correspondientes a juicios en los que esclavas negras – Domitila, Xica da Silva, Pascuala, Ana María, María y Petrona – acusan a sus amos por la violencia que les ha sido infligida y presentan cargos contra ellos. Pero estos documentos reales han sido tamizados por la ficción, de modo que en ellos afloran relatos no contados y palabras nunca dichas. Asimismo, el libro contiene imaginarios documentos, relativos a las vidas de los dos personajes, en los que ellos ofrecen memorias de su niñez, historias de disfraces e historias disfrazadas. Por último, el libro mismo es una rememoración, indecisa e imprecisa, según declara el narrador de la historia de pasiones compartidas. A ello se suma la pluralidad de elementos paratextuales: epígrafes, "Nota de la Autora", agradecimientos y un prefacio que, firmado por Martín, personaje narrador, se sitúa en los bordes de la ficción. Al interior del texto, además, la concurrencia de varias textualidades mnemónicas – la historia de las esclavas del siglo XVIII/XIX, las historias de las infancias de Fe y de Martín, y la historia sexual recordada por Martín – vincula tres tiempos pretéritos al tiempo presente de la escritura, multiplicando las temporalidades y desestabilizando las instancias, las perspectivas y los discursos enunciativos del relato mnemónico.

Por otra parte, ambos personajes trabajan con documentos, están obsesionados con la memoria. La obsesión de Fe es recordar, en el sentido tanto de recabar documentos como de hacerse de una memoria vivida/viva de la experiencia de las esclavas. Al rastrear las Américas en busca de actas de juicios, al recorrer el mundo articulando una memoria transnacional basada en esos documentos y de esta suerte ir dibujando una cartografía femenina posesclavista, Fe aparece como personaje cada vez más consciente de los límites de esa memoria documental, de sus vacíos, y de su necesidad de encontrar otros dispositivos y otras articulaciones de memoria. La obsesión de Martín es la difícil conservación de archivos y documentos, ahora facilitada – pero no resuelta – por las digitalizaciones. Su devenir está engarzado a un subtexto en torno a la pérdida

imparable de documentos y a la urgencia de buscar soportes de memoria alternativos.[16] En última instancia, la novela da fe de cómo juntos – él y el personaje Fe – emprenden juntos un proceso de rearticulación de la historia de mujeres durante la esclavitud que pasa por la recolección y la preservación de textualidades disímiles, pero que viene a realizarse – a ser mediado – finalmente en las experiencias corporales conjuntas (Santos Febres 2009: 17). Resonancias de esa idea de un Caribe como máquina de deseo, frente a la que los excesos de cuerpos entre mujer negra y hombre blanco de la novela pareciera desplegar una continuación. Resonancias también de la larga historia de consumo de la corporalidad – en todas sus variantes, desde el trabajo forzado de la esclavitud hasta el actual imaginario sexualizado de lo caribeño –, frente a la que los usos mnemónicos de las "agencias eróticas" (Sheller 2008: 364) desafían la marginalización y se constituyen como estrategias de descolonización. Es esta corporalidad desbordada – una suerte de subjetividad posesclavista del poder sobre el cuerpo y el dolor – la que permite el reconocimiento mutuo de los efectos de las memorias silenciadas y de un racismo ya "naturalizado", incluso en los propios roles de los personajes, dentro de la sociedad de principios del siglo XXI. Cabría preguntarse – como lo hace Anne Brüske – si la novela reproduce – repite – las estructuras de poder sexual y racial que pone en juego a través del acto sexual ritualizado, en el que la mujer negra encarna el lado más débil de las dicotomías, y el hombre blanco el más fuerte. A mi parecer, la mezcla entre imaginación sexista y racista de Martin – el recurso a la tradicional figura de la mulata trágica –, por un lado, y por el otro, la fragilidad del Martin narrador frente a la potencialidad que él mismo le confiere al personaje femenino, denotan más bien la tensión irresuelta entre dos narraciones mnemónicas: aquella relativa a la esclava como víctima primera de la esclavitud, y aquella que insiste en la capacidad de supervivencia, de resistencia y de subversión femenina frente a ese poder masculino y colonial. Igualmente hay una tensión entre la memoria posesclavista de los hombres "tan blancos como los pergaminos con los que nos rodeamos para sobrevivir nuestra inadecuada pertenencia al mundo que vivimos" (Santos Febres 2009: 17) y la memoria negra que Fe invoca como secreto – indecible e incomunicable – en su performance del pasado: "la Historia está llena de mujeres anónimas que lograron sobrevivir al deseo del amo desplegándose ante su mirada. Pero nunca se abrieron completas. De alguna forma, lograron sostener un juego doloroso con lo oculto." (Santos Febres 2009: 46)

16 Aquí es importante la presencia de otro personaje, aparentemente sin importancia: la exnovia de Martín Tirado, Agnes, enfrascada en rescatar del polvo, la humedad y los gusanos documentos guardados – o más bien abandonados – en un lejano seminario de Lingüística de la Universidad Regional del Este, en Puerto Rico.

Ahora bien, volviendo a las memorias del vestigio, la piedra angular de este relato, que es la historia de la memoria convertida en cuerpo a la vez deseante y sufriente, no va a ser el archivo o sus documentos, presentes como textualidad *otra*, sino un traje del siglo XVIII, suspendido en el tiempo. Fe lo encuentra, casi por azar, detrás del falso techo en un herrumbroso ático del convento de Hermandad de las Mercedes en Minas Gerais (Brasil). El traje, hecho en Portugal con telas de seda cruda, pedrería e hilo de oro, había pertenecido a Xica da Silva, una esclava negra que infructuosamente había intentado romper con los yugos de la esclavitud sin lograr abrir una brecha en la sociedad esclavista del Brasil del siglo XVIII. Luego, como un amuleto o *inché* que a pesar de la catástrofe vuelve a ser usado con la esperanza de que su protección funcione, lo habían usado la abuela y la bisabuela de una de las monjas macúbas del convento, en sus respectivos intentos de entrar en las sociedades blancas de la época. El vestido (el vestigio) convoca, en un acto performativo de memoria, a toda una genealogía de mujeres que había sufrido el dolor que provocaba el arnés de varillas y cuero. Ese que sostiene el traje, lo arma, lo organiza y que en los diferentes tiempos de su uso había ido llenando de cicatrices los cuerpos de las mujeres rebeldes. Pero el arnés es también una suerte de blasón, ya que la palabra arnés está relacionada tanto con arreos, armazones y armaduras protectoras. Con este escudo se rearticula toda una genealogía de mujeres enlazadas por un vestigio, que al responder a los códigos de vestimenta de las mujeres blancas, hacía evidente el fracaso – la imposibilidad, según Arce (2011) – de insertar sin conflictos la memoria negra dentro de una memoria dominante. Podemos afirmar, en consonancia con la lectura de Zaira Rivera Casellas (2011), que *Fe en disfraz* representa una ceremonia de investidura, un ritual de empoderamiento, un acto performativo de la memoria. Agreguemos además que se trata de un ritual de apropiación y actualización encarnada de las memorias de esclavas negras, de su sufrimiento y al mismo tiempo de su resistencia. Ritual de re-encarnación de los ancestros que no poco tiene de los rituales de las religiones sincréticas afrocaribeñas para las que el recuerdo incorporado y revivido de los antepasados constituye un elemento esencial para el decursar de nuestras vidas. Además, la continuidad de la violencia sobre la mujer esclava – de Xica da Silva a María y Petrona – emerge en esas memorias en compañía de su resistencia. "Los disfraces sobre el cuerpo de las antepasadas de Fe – propone Odette Casamayor – son también armas usadas por unos y otros personajes para traspasar epistemologías hegemónicas." (Casamayor 2010: 46) De esta suerte, la memoria somática o anamnesis (el cuerpo rememorante), articulada a través del vestigio (el vestido), cobra fuerza dentro de una memoria documental o tradición hipomnémica (las diferentes textualidades mnemónicas), que aparece cada vez más relegada e inoperante. Durante las largas y apasionadas noches de amor, Martín va descubriendo en el cuerpo de Fe las cicatrices de dicho acto de

memoria – la "herida colonial", al decir de Mignolo (2007) – y se convierte entonces en el amanuense deseperado y obsesivo que pretende efectuar el acto de (dar) fe de un pasado múltiple, en el que están implicados, por experiencias corporales extremas, tanto él, su amante como todos sus ancestros.[17]

En este vínculo entre vestigio, en tanto dispositivo de memoria, y experiencia somática, en tanto articulación de la memoria, la novela no solo apunta a las omisiones y los límites tanto de la blanqueada historia oficial, como de los archivos, sino que al mismo tiempo se hace eco de la necesidad de encontrar, para la esclavitud, otras formas de memoria.

6 Conclusiones

El acto de mirar, en Douglas Pérez, y el acto de narrar, en Santos-Febres, escenifican una doble narrativa en la que aparecen tanto las memorias hegemónicas (las reliquias y los archivos) como las memorias disidentes, de vestigios y cuerpos remembrantes. Estas están atravesadas por una ambigüedad constitutiva que evoca tanto presencia como ausencia, tanto pérdidas como resistencias, tanto la urgencia de narrar el trauma como la dificultad de su articulación. La potencialidad de lo destruido, los significados múltiples de lo residual, que paralelamente se resisten a relatos conclusivos y a fijaciones de sentido que pudieran llevar a tramposas exoneraciones de la memoria entran en juego. Tal y como insiste la amplia bibliografía sobre memoria, toda narrativa mnemónica lleva implícita fisuras, lagunas e incertezas, pero estas memorias del vestigio se apoyan en ellas, las exhiben, las ponen en movimiento.

Más allá de la reliquia, más allá del documento, más allá del testimonio; estas narrativas del vestigio ponen en escena el fracaso del archivo hegemónico, de su pedagogía de mirar, de su régimen de remembranza a la hora de articular las memorias de la esclavitud. Si la esclavitud es, como se ha propuesto, un "obstáculo de la memoria" (Mitchell 1995: 187), Pérez y Santos-Febres responden a esta dificultad bosquejando otros modos de remembranza, donde los vestigios constituyen la marca de una tachadura, de una violencia, pero son también trazas de una disidencia, signos de una resistencia.

17 Cuando Martin, al principio del texto, explica su trabajo con documentos, aclara: "Repongo (e ilustro) fragmentos del pasado. Los ofrezco al presente en tiempo irreal, un tiempo que pretende burlar la muerte de lo orgánico, la quietud del papel, la lentitud de los hechos." (Santos-Febres 2009: 17) Lo que va a narrar la novela es precisamente la forma en que se transforma esta memoria hipomnémica en una memoria vivida.

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Carlo A. Célius est diplômé des trois cycles de l'Ecole du Louvre (Paris) et docteur de l'Ecole des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris). Historien et historien de l'art, il est chargé de recherche au Centre national de la recherche scientifique (CNRS, France), membre de l'Institut des mondes africains (IMAF). Ses recherches portent principalement sur Saint-Domingue/Haïti, c'est-à-dire qu'elles s'étendent sur une longue période qui va de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue à l'Haïti d'aujourd'hui. Elles explorent plus précisément trois thématiques : 1) création plastique, 2) histoire de l'ethnologie, 3) expériences, connaissances et usages du passé. Célius est l'auteur de *Langage plastique et énonciation identitaire. L'invention de l'art haïtien* (2007). Ont paru sous sa direction : *Le défi haïtien. Economie, dynamique sociopolitique et migration* (2011). Il a, en outre, coordonné : « Création plastique d'Haïti », dossier de la revue *Gradhiva* (musée du quai Branly, Paris, no. 21, 2015) ; « Création plastique, traites et esclavages », numéro thématique de la revue *Cahiers des Anneaux de la mémoire* (no. 12, Nantes, 2009) ; « Haïti: face au passé/Haiti: Confronting the Past », numéro de la revue *Ethnologies* (Québec, vol. 28, n° 1, 2006) ; « Haiti et l'anthropologie », dossier de *Gradhiva* (Nouvelle série, n° 1, 2005).

Anabelle Contreras Castro
Anabelle Contreras Castro realizó sus estudios de maestría y doctorado en el Lateinamerika-Institut de la Freie Universität Berlin, Alemania. Dirigió durante 5 años el Programa de Doctorado Interdisciplinario en Letras y Artes de América Central de la Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica. En el año 2014 obtuvo el Premio Nacional de Ensayo por su libro *Medium, medios y modernización cultural en Costa Rica 1950–1980*. Fue miembro de la mesa directiva del Instituto de Performance y Política de la New York University. Actualmente, es miembro de la Red Transcaribe, Red de Estudios Transareales y Transculturales, y trabaja en la Escuela de Filosofía, en el Doctorado de Estudios Latinoamericanos, en el Instituto de Estudios de la Mujer, y en el Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica como docente e investigadora.

Esther Figueroa
Esther Figueroa is a Jamaican independent film-maker, writer and linguist with over thirty years experience of media productions including television programming, documentaries, educational videos, multimedia and feature films. An activist filmmaker, her work focuses on the environmental, local knowledge, indigenous cultures, social injustice and community empowerment. Her films, such as her award winning feature documentary *Jamaica for Sale* (www.jamaicaforsale.net), are screened and televised all over the world and taught at numerous universities. The last decade of her environmental shorts can be seen on her youtube channel (Esther Figueroa) and her work from 1985 through 2006 is in the Juniroa collection at *'Ulu'ulu: The Henry Ku'ualoha Giugni Archive of Hawai'i* (http://uluulu.hawaii.edu/). Her latest documentary feature in progress, *Fly Me To The Moon*, is about bauxite, aluminum and the making of the modern world. Figueroa was the 2013 Visiting Distinguished Writer at the English Department, University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Her publications include *Sociolinguistic Metatheory* (1994), *At Home the Green Remain* (2003), and *Limbo – A Novel About Jamaica* (2014) which was finalist in the 2014 National Indie Excellence Awards for Multicultural-Fiction.

Sibylle Fischer
Sibylle Fischer teaches at New York University, where she holds appointments in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese, the Department of History, and the Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies. She is the author of *Modernity Disavowed: Haiti and the Cultures of Slavery in the Age of Revolution* (2004), which won several major book awards in the United States. Fischer has written numerous essays on Caribbean history and political thought, and is currently working on a book on Spanish American Independence, Simón Bolívar, and the racial imaginary

David Frohnapfel
David Frohnapfel studied art history, comparative literature, and religious studies at Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich and at the Universidad de la Habana in Havana. He works on contemporary art and visual culture from the Caribbean region and finished his dissertation, *Disobedient Musealities. Dialogue and Conflict in the Art Scene of Port-au-Prince*, at the Freie Universität Berlin in 2017. His research focuses on decolonial theory, critical race theory, and whiteness studies. He was a fellow in the research group *Objects in the Contact Zone: The Cross-Cultural Lives of Things*, at the Max-Planck-Institute in Florence in 2012. He also worked as curator of *The 3rd Ghetto Biennale: Decentering the Market and Other Tales of Progress* in Port-au-Prince in 2013 together with Leah Gordon, André Eugène, and Jean Herald Celeur and curated the exhibition *NOCTAMBULES: the hidden transcripts* on Queer Visualities in Haiti on the occasion of *Le Forum Transculturel d'Art Contemporain* in Port-au-Prince in 2015.

Alejandro E. Gómez
Alejandro E. Gómez es profesor titular (maître de conférences) en Historia y Civilización Latinoamericana en la Université Sorbonne Nouvelle-Paris 3. Se doctoró en Histoire et Civilisations en la École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris). Sus principales áreas de investigación incluyen identidades socio-raciales, conflictos revolucionarios y circulaciones en el espacio caribeño y el Mundo Atlántico. Al respecto ha publicado numerosos trabajos, entre otros sobre la participación política de libres de color en las revoluciones franco-antillanas y de la Tierra Firme hispana, así como una monografía titulada *Fidelidad bajo el viento* (publicada por Siglo XXI editores en 2004) sobre la circulación de militares franceses en el Caribe español a fines del siglo XVIII. Su tesis doctoral culminada en 2010, la cual trata sobre el impacto emocional e ideológico de la Revolución Haitiana, fue laureada con el premio anual del Comité pour la Mémoire et Histoire de l'Esclavage, y el premio a la mejor tesis doctoral del Institut des Amériques (Paris). Una versión abreviada de esta monografía fue publicada en 2013 bajo el título *Le spectre de la révolution noire* por Presses Universitaire de Rennes. En la actualidad se encuentra desarrollando un proyecto de investigación sobre los sentimientos e ideas anti-esclavistas en el Atlántico Hispano.

Daniel Graziadei
Daniel Graziadei is lecturer at the Institute of Romance Philology at Ludwig-Maximilians University Munich with a focus on comparative, Latin American and Caribbean literature. His PhD thesis, *Insel(n) im Archipel. Zur Verwendung einer Raumfigur in den zeitgenössischen anglo-, franko- und hispanophonen Lite-*

raturen der Karibik (2014/2017), analyses the construction of islands and archipelagoes in contemporary Caribbean literature. He is a founding member of the international research group *Island Poetics*, and member of the art project *mo/men/tos*. His research focuses on spatial, decolonial, global and neo-avantgardist (counter-)poetics, (particularly nisso- and geopoetics as well as border thinking and counter-exoticism), cultural translation, metafiction, and literary misunderstandings. Daniel co-edited a volume on multilinguality with the title *Über Grenzen sprechen. Mehrsprachigkeit in Europa und der Welt* (2012) and has published a book of poetry, *geh dichter* (2010). He likes to give poetry readings and perform live poetry on an old travel typewriter, exhibit "Picturepoemz" and translate poetry from Italian and Spanish into German. Some of his creative work and his blog entries can be seen at his website (http://www.danielgraziadei.de/).

Kathleen Gyssels
Kathleen Gyssels est professeure de littératures francophones à l'Université d'Anvers en Belgique. Titulaire d'un doctorat en lettres modernes de l'Université de Cergy-Pontoise (France) avec un essai intitulé *Filles de Solitude: essai sur l'identité antillaise dans les autobiographies fictives de Simone et André Schwarz-Bart* (1996), sa thèse d'habilitation s'intitule *Passes et impasses dans le comparatisme postcolonial caribéen: Cinq traverses* (2010). Elle s'intéresse aux postures et aux mécanismes de canonisation et à la réécriture comme stratégie postcoloniale ; elle publie dans de nombreuses revues sur les littératures caribéennes et africaine-américaines et dirige un groupe de recherche en littératures postcoloniales à l'Université d'Anvers. Elle vient de publier *Marrane et marronne : la co-écriture réversible d'André et Simone Schwarz-Bart* (2014) et une monographie sur Léon-Gontran Damas : *Black Label ou les déboires de Léon-Gontran Damas* (2016).

Alla Klimenkowa
Alla Klimenkowa is a linguist and research assistant at the Seminar of Romance Philology at Georg-August-University Göttingen, since 2016. Actually, she is working on language contact, cognitive linguistics and discourse analysis with a focus on metalinguistic 'counter-discourses'. Her PhD thesis *Sprachkontakt und lexikalische Innovation in der karibischen Kontaktzone: die Beispiele bozal, crimarrón und criollo* (2017) addresses early contact relations between various European languages during the colonization of the Antillean archipelago and emphasizes the key role of Spanish as an intermediary in linguistic exchanges in the contact zone of the Caribbean. This study is based on extensive archival research in Spain, Portugal and France and on field research, conducted in Martinique and Guadeloupe. It is a part of the larger joint project *Hispania Sub-*

mersa at Friedrich-Alexander-University Erlangen-Nuremberg, financed by the German Scientific Foundation. Together with Silke Jansen, Alla Klimenkowa is working on further exploring the Spanish lexical heritage in the Caribbean.

Sinah Kloß
Sinah Theres Kloß holds a PhD in Social Anthropology from Heidelberg University, Germany. Since 2016 she has been a research associate at the Morphomata Center for Advanced Studies, University of Cologne. Between 2015 and 2016 she was senior researcher at the Global South Studies Center, University of Cologne, and conducted an anthropological study on "Religion, Inter-ethnic Conflict, and Concepts of 'Development' in Guyana" as a research fellow at the Center for Religion, Economy and Politics at the University of Basel, Switzerland. Her research interests include migration studies, the anthropology of religion, Caribbean studies, Southern theory and material culture. Her regional focus is on Guyana and Suriname as well as on the Guyanese diaspora in North America and the Surinamese diaspora in the Netherlands. Her ethnography *Fabrics of Indianness: The Exchange and Consumption of Clothing in Transnational Guyanese Hindu Communities* (2016), was published by Palgrave Macmillan. She is co-editor of *Caribbean Food Cultures* (2014). She is currently working on a research project on tattoo and life-writing in the Surinamese-Guyanese border region.

Catherine Krull
Catherine Krull is Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Professor in the Department of Sociology at the University of Victoria. Prior to her recent arrival at UVic, she was a Professor of Sociology at Queen's University, Kingston. She has served as editor of *Cuban Studies*, as well as editor-in-chief of the *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*. Book publications include *Cuba in Global Context: International Relations, Internationalism and Transnationalism* (2014); *Rereading Women and the Cuban Revolution*, (2011, co-authored with Jean Stubbs); *A Measure of a Revolution: Cuba, 1959–2009* (2010, co-authored with Soraya Castro) and *New World Coming: The 1960s and the Shaping of Global Consciousness* (2009, co-authored with Karen Dubinsky et al.). She has held research fellowships at the Institute for Advanced Studies (University of London), the Institute of Latin American Studies (University of Florida), Institute of Latin American Studies (David Rockefeller Center, Harvard University), the Department of Sociology (Boston University), and the Centre for International Studies (London School of Economics). She is currently working on two monographs: 1) *Transnationalism in an Era of Nation Branding: Cuba and Cubans in the Post-1989 World* (with Jean Stubbs, University of London),

and 2) *Entangled US/Cuban Terrains: Empire, Identity and Memories of Guantánamo* (with Asa McKercher, McMaster University).

Adriana López-Labourdette
Adriana López-Labourdette es profesora de estudios literarios y culturales latinoamericanos en la Universidad de Berna (Suiza). Sus áreas de investigación abarcan temas como el canon literario, corporalidades extra/ordinarias, los imaginarios urbanos, las migraciones y las culturas de la memoria. Es autora de *Esa moneda que no es nunca la misma. Jorge Luis Borges y el canon literario* (2008), y coeditora de los volúmenes monográficos *Disonancias americanas* (2011), *Pa(i)sajes urbanos* (2015). *Des/Memorias. Culturas prácticas mnemónicas en América Latina y el Caribe* (2016). En estos momentos está preparando, en coedición, los volúmenes *Cuerpos extra/ordinarios. Discursos y prácticas somáticas en Latinoamérica* (2017) y *España y Volver. Culturas del retorno de/hacia América Latina*. Su libro *El retorno del monstruo. Figuraciones de lo monstruoso en la literatura hispánica* aparecerá este año, por la editorial Cuarto propio, Chile.

Ralph Ludwig
Ralph Ludwig est professeur de philologie romane à l'Université Martin Luther de Halle/Saale (Allemagne). Il est titulaire d'une chaire de linguistique française et espagnole. Ses principaux axes de recherche sont l'oralité et la linguistique de contact, impliquant certaines langues et cultures de la Caraïbe franco- (créolo-)phone, de l'Amérique hispanique et de l'Océan Indien. L'histoire de la culture linguistique française lui fournit une base essentielle pour l'étude de ces ramifications philologico-culturelles. Il a enseigné à l'étranger à plusieurs reprises en tant que professeur invité et dirigé différents projets de recherche portant sur la linguistique franco- et hispano-américaine. Partant de la problématique du passage à l'écrit des langues orales et des enjeux identitaires qui en découlent, il s'intéresse depuis toujours également à la littérature francophone ; ses études ont débouché, entre autres, sur la publication – chez Gallimard – d'un recueil de nouvelles d'auteurs antillais et d'un volume d'introduction (en langue allemande) à la littérature franco-antillaise. Actuellement, ses activités de recherche visent notamment à redéfinir la notion de « linguistique écologique », en initiant une nouvelle discussion au sein d'un réseau international de chercheurs. D'autres réflexions l'amènent à se pencher sur la relation entre oralité et écriture dans la France des xvii^{e} et xviii^{e} siècles, avec un accent particulier sur l'évolution du rapport entre langue et littérature, et sur la réception des Lumières dans la littérature franco-antillaise.

Kettly Mars
Kettly Mars est née et vit à Port-au-Prince, Haïti. Après une carrière de trente ans dans l'administration de haut niveau, elle se consacre entièrement à l'écriture, aux traductions et aux ateliers d'écriture. Elle explore dans ses romans, nouvelles et feuilletons la culture profonde de son pays natal, ses contradictions sociales et son imaginaire soutenant une créativité puissante. L'auteur revisite dans son écriture les tabous et héritages coloniaux qui imprègnent la psyché haitienne. Kettly Mars a reçu plusieurs distinctions littéraires et a été traduite en anglais, italien, allemand, néerlandais, japonais, danois, croate. Elle est membre du jury du prix littéraire Henri Deschamps d'Haïti, ex membre du jury international du prix Prince Claus des Pays-Bas, présidente du Comité exécutif du Centre-PEN-Haiti.

Emiel Martens
Emiel Martens is Assistant Professor of Film and Visual Studies at the Department of Media Studies at the University of Amsterdam, and Senior Lecturer and Researcher at the Erasmus School of History, Culture and Communication (ESHCC) at the Erasmus University Rotterdam. He is also a board member of the Netherlands Association for Latin American Studies (NALACS), as well as the founding director of Caribbean Creativity, a non-profit media arts organization dedicated to promoting, programming and distributing Caribbean cinema in the Netherlands. His research interests span the fields of Postcolonial Studies, Media Geography, Popular Geopolitics, National/Indigenous Cinema, and Film (and) Tourism, mainly in the context of the Anglophone Caribbean and with a particular focus on the history and contemporary practice of Jamaican film and visual culture. He has published various articles and book chapters on these topics, as well as the book *Once Were Warriors, the Aftermath: The Controversy of OWW in Aotearoa New Zealand* (2006). His PhD thesis, entitled "Welcome to Paradise Island: The Rise of Jamaica's Cine-Tourist Image, 1891–1951" (2013), marked the first study of Jamaica's early film history and its connections with the island's early tourism history. Currently he is a team member of the research project "Worlds of Imagination: A Comparative Study of Film Tourism in India, Nigeria, Jamaica, South Korea and the United Kingdom" (ERC Consolidator Grant). Together with Bas Ackermann he recently produced *Welcome to the Smiling Coast* (2016), a critical documentary on tourism in The Gambia, West Africa.

Annika McPherson
Annika McPherson is Junior Professor for New English Literature and Cultural Studies at the University of Augsburg. She previously taught British and Global Anglophone Literary and Cultural Studies at Carl von Ossietzky University

Oldenburg. Her research and teaching areas include postcolonial and diaspora studies, Caribbean, West African, South African and Indian literature in English, speculative fiction and Afrofuturism, as well as theories, policies and literary representations of cultural diversity from a comparative perspective. She is Vice-President of GAPS, the association for Anglophone Postcolonial Studies, and has been a board member for Public Relations of Socare (Society for Caribbean Research). Her dissertation was published in 2011 as *White-Female-Postcolonial? Towards a 'Trans-cultural Reading of Marina Warner's* "Indigo" *and Barbara Kingsolver's* "The Poisonwood Bible". Her current projects include a study of the representation of Rastafari in literature and film, as well as a genre critique of the notion of 'neo-slave narratives' in relation to contemporary novels on slavery. She is also compiling a collection of sources and resources for the study of Anglophone Caribbean Literature. Together with Wiebke Beushausen, Miriam Brandel, Joseph Farquharson, Marius Littschwager and Julia Roth, she edited recently the collection *Practices of Resistance: Narratives, Politics, and Aesthetics across the Caribbean and its Diasporas* (2018).

Corinne Mencé-Caster
Corinne Mencé-Caster, agrégée d'espagnol, est linguiste, traductologue, médiéviste et caribéaniste. De 2013 à 2016, elle était présidente de l'Université des Antilles (Martinique). Depuis septembre 2016, elle est professeure de linguistique hispanique à l'Université de la Sorbonne à Paris tout en poursuivant ses activités de romancière. Elle a publié sous le pseudonyme de Mérine Céco le roman *La mazurka perdue des femmes-couresses* (2013) et un recueil de nouvelles *Au revoir Man Tine* (2016). Sous son nom elle a publié le roman *Le talisman de la présidente* (2018). Ses travaux de recherche couvrent deux plans distincts, quoique indubitablement liés par une même attention à la problématique de l'insertion du sujet dans le discours. Ces deux plans sont : le discours historique médiéval et les discours littéraires caribéens à forte charge identitaire. Spécialiste des champs de l'interculturel et du postcolonial, ses nombreux travaux l'amènent à effectuer des comparaisons entre les aires culturelles franco-créolophones, hispanophones et anglophones, de façon à dégager les traits communs et les spécificités des discours « caribéens ».

Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger
Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger has been associate researcher at the Institute of Romance Languages of the RWTH Aachen, Germany since 2016. She has been researcher and lecturer for Latin American Literatures at the Latin America Institute of the Free University Berlin, tenured associate professor for Caribbean Literatures at the Institute of Spanish and Portuguese languages of the University of Maryland, College Park, and researcher for African and Latin

American Literatures at the Institute for Asian and African Sciences of the Humboldt University Berlin. She focuses on comparative approaches and methodological strategies in the cultural histories of the Caribbean, Africa, and Latin America, and has published about the effects of Dutch overseas expansion in the South Atlantic, *The 'Air of Liberty.' Narratives of the South Atlantic Past* (2008). Her edited book *Historias enredadas. Asimetrías con vista al Atlántico* (2011), is a state-of-the art study of entangled cultural histories of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking Africa and Latin America. She co-edited a volume on the interchange of African and Latin American cultures, *AfricAmericas. Itineries, Dialogues, and Sounds* (2008, with Tiago de Oliveira Pinto); on the southern oceans from a historical and a literary perspective, *Beyond the Line. Cultural Narratives of the Southern Oceans* (2014, with Michael Mann), and on the relationship between work and culture, *Travail et culture dans un monde globalisé. De l'Afrique à l'Amérique latine / Work and Culture in a Globalized World. From Africa to Latin America* (2015, with Babacar Fall and Andreas Eckert). In her recent book, *Modern Slavery and Water Spirituality. A Critical Debate in the Literatures of Africa and Latin America* (2017), she presents critical reflections on the continuity of slave-like working conditions in the past and in the present from the perspective of water spirituality in Brazil, Angola, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, and Guinea-Bissau.

Gudrun Rath
Gudrun Rath is postdoctoral researcher at the Department of Cultural Studies at the University of Art and Design Linz, Austria. She has previously taught at the University of Constance, the University of Heidelberg and the University of Vienna. She was a fellow at the graduate school "The figure of the Third" at the University of Constance and holds a PhD from the University of Vienna. She is the author of *Zwischenzonen. Theorien und Fiktionen des Übersetzens* ("Interstices," Vienna, Berlin: Turia + Kant 2013) and, as a member of the editorial board of the *Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* (Journal for Cultural Studies), has edited a special-issue on her current research: Zombies (Bielefeld: Transcript 2014). Most recently, she edited the volume *Lateinamerikanische Kulturtheorien* ("Latin American Cultural Theories," KUP 2015, ed. with Isabel Exner). She is currently working on her second monograph about narratives of zombification from a historical and transatlantic perspective.

Claudia Rauhut
Claudia Rauhut has been research associate and lecturer in Cultural and Social Anthropology at the Institute for Latin American Studies at Freie Universität Berlin since 2010. Her PhD thesis deals with the Afro-Cuban religion Santería, its globalization, re-africanization and trans-local reconfiguration at the Uni-

versity of Leipzig, Graduate School "Critical Junctures of Globalization." She currently works on her research project founded by the Fritz-Thyssen-Foundation about transregional Caribbean activism for slavery reparations, focusing on the case of Jamaica. Her teaching and research interests include Afro-Atlantic traditions, social practices of racism and anti-racism, postcolonial theory and political activism, slavery and its legacies, memory politics, and reparations for historical injustices. She has published the book *Santería und ihre Globalisierung in Kuba. Tradition und Innovation in einer afrokubanischen Religion* (2012) and numerous articles such as "Las religiones afrocubanas frente a la política migratoria entre Cuba y Estados Unidos" (2015), and "A Transatlantic Restoration of Religion: On the Re-construction of Yoruba and Lukumi in Cuban Santeria," and "Santería-Religion und die sozialistische Partei- und Regierungspolitik in Kuba" (2009). She is also the co-editor of *Transatlantic Caribbean: Dialogues of People, Practices, Ideas* (2014), together with Ingrid Kummels, Stefan Rinke and Birte Timm.

Graciela Salto
Graciela Salto es Profesora Titular de Literatura Latinoamericana en la Universidad Nacional de La Pampa e Investigadora en el Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas (CONICET) de Argentina. Dirige la revista *Anclajes* (EISSN 1851–4669) y es miembro fundador del Instituto de Investigaciones Literarias y Discursivas de esa universidad. Integra la Red Académica de Docencia e Investigación sobre Literatura Latinoamericana Katatay, dirige el proyecto de investigación *Formación, invención y selección de repertorios de lectura en América Latina* y ha dirigido más de diez proyectos e integrado otros tantos. Ha dictado conferencias y seminarios de doctorado y posgrado en varias universidades de la Argentina (La Plata, Comahue, Litoral) y del exterior (Bergen, Gotemburgo, Lund, Frankfurt, Salamanca, Jena), ha organizado más de una decena de reuniones científicas de la especialidad. En los últimos años, publicó en torno de los debates sobre la lengua literaria, con énfasis en el Caribe hispanohablante. Ha editado dos volúmenes sobre literaturas caribeñas: *Memorias del silencio: literaturas en el Caribe y Centroamérica* (2010) e *Ínsulas y poéticas: figuras literarias en el Caribe* (2012) y sus artículos están incorporados en la *Revista de crítica literaria latinoamericana* (2010; 2016), la *Revista Iberoamericana* (2012), *Anales de Literatura Hispanoamericana* (2015; 2016), entre otras publicaciones periódicas.

Ulrike Schmieder
Ulrike Schmieder has been a researcher and lecturer of Latin American and Caribbean History at the Department of History of Leibniz Universität Hannover since 2004, where she also coordinates the Centre for Atlantic and Global

Studies. She earned her PhD in Modern history from the University of Leipzig in 1992, with a thesis about Spanish history and its entanglements with German, European and Spanish American history (*Prusia y el Congreso de Verona. Estudio acerca de la política de la Santa Alianza en la cuestión Española*, 1998). Her second doctoral thesis at the University of Cologne, compared Mexico, Brazil and Cuba with respect to gender history (*Geschlecht und Ethnizität in Lateinamerika im Spiegel von Reiseberichten: Mexiko, Brasilien, Kuba 1780–1880*, 2003). Her latest book resumes her comparative research on Cuba and Martinique after slavery in the broader context of the debates on post-slavery societies in the Caribbean and the Americas (*Nach der Sklaverei – Martinique und Kuba im Vergleich*, 2017). Together with Katja Füllberg-Stolberg and Michal Zeuske, she co-edited *The End of Slavery in Africa and the Americas. A Comparative Approach*, 2011). Her current research refers to sites of memory of slavery in the Caribbean and Europe, in the context of global debates on commemorations of slavery, colonial pasts and reparations. In 2018 she starts a project funded by the German Research Foundation on this topic, with the focus on France and Spain, the French Caribbean and Cuba.

Mimi Sheller

Mimi Sheller, PhD, is Professor of Sociology and founding Director of the Center for Mobilities Research and Policy at Drexel University in Philadelphia. She is President of the International Association for the History of Transport, Traffic and Mobility, founding co-editor of the journal *Mobilities*, and Associate Editor of the journal *Transfers*. She is author or co-editor of nine books, including *Aluminum Dreams: The Making of Light Modernity* (2014); *The Routledge Handbook of Mobilities* (2013); *Citizenship from Below* (2012); *Consuming the Caribbean* (2003) and *Democracy After Slavery* (2000). As co-editor with John Urry of *Tourism Mobilities* (2004) and *Mobile Technologies of the City* (2006) and author of numerous highly cited articles, she helped establish the new interdisciplinary field of mobilities research. She was awarded the Doctor Honoris Causa from Roskilde University, Denmark (2015) and in Fall 2016 was Distinguished Visiting Scholar in Global Communication at the Annenberg School of Communication, University of Pennsylvania. She has received research funding from the National Science Foundation, the British Academy, the Arts and Humanities Research Council, the Macarthur Foundation, the Mobile Lives Forum, and the Graham Foundation in Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. She has held Visiting Fellowships at the Davis Center for Historical Studies, Princeton University (2008); Media@McGill, Canada (2009); the Center for Mobility and Urban Studies at Aalborg University, Denmark (2009); and Penn Humanities Forum, University of Pennsylvania (2010).

Christoph Singler
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The Circum-Caribbean and its diasporas constitute a space of relations and disconnections. Historically, the Caribbean served as a bridgehead for the European conquest of the Americas and a point of exchange of human beings, ideas, and commodities. It also became a laboratory of modern forms of social, political, and economic production. Today, the region represents a multilingual space of conviviality for many different cultures, but is also the focus of the dissonances, ruptures and insularities produced by its distinct histories of colonialism and resistance. This interdisciplinary volume seeks to explore how (non-)circulation of ideas occurred historically in the glocal production of knowledge in and about the Caribbean and to formulate a clearer picture of who is creating which vision of the Caribbean, and how. The 33 contributions in this volume shed light on the transversal fields of (1) Academic and Artistic Approaches, (2) Arts and Visual Studies, (3) Environment and Sustainability, (4) Migration and Knowledge Circulation, (5) Entangled Histories and Memories.

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