

French Guiana, between the postcolonialism and affirmation national

French Guiana is an administrative region of France in the Pan-Amazon, characterized by the meeting and mismatch of ethnicities which are an expression of this conflicting society and, as such, it reveals the contradictions inscribed in the representations and in the territories, as well as in the power strategies elaborated by the clash of interests. France, supporter of universalism, seeks in the distance from any strange memory (experience empirical) the consolidation of its cultural traits. So the French state model of integration does not tolerate differences whether those brought by immigrants or originating from peoples colonized. In the former French possessions this process of decolonization, of moral integrity constitutes a true "euphemism" of the old policy of colonial domination, creating social divisions.

Palavras-chave: Etnias; Territórios; diferenças; Guiana Francesa.

Guiana Francesa, entre o pós-colonialismo e a afirmação nacional

A Guiana Francesa é uma região administrativa da França na Pan-Amazônia, caracterizada pelo encontro e desencontro de etnias as quais são uma expressão dessa sociedade conflitante e, como tal, revela as contradições inscritas nas representações e nos territórios, bem como nas estratégias de poder elaboradas pelo choque de interesses. A França, adepta do universalismo, busca no distanciamento de qualquer memória estranha (experiência empírica) a consolidação de seus traços culturais. Assim, o modelo estatal francês de integração não tolera as diferenças seja aquelas trazidas pelos imigrantes ou originárias dos povos colonizados. Nas antigas possessões francesas esse processo de descolonização, de integridade moral constitui um verdadeiro "eufemismo" da velha política de dominação colonial, criando divisões sociais.


Keywords: Ethnicities; Territories; differences; French Guiana.

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INTRODUCTION

The History of French Guiana follows a line successive occupations and conflicts, without ever having obtained political and economic autonomy. With one population comprising 45% immigrants to French Guiana presents a heterogeneity of social organizations, traits behavioral, family structure and especially character linguistic. Although French is the official and dominant language, the Creole dialect is a language widely used by residents both within indigenous ethnic groups and in contact with immigrants. This high rate of immigration into French Guiana had consequences in social relations and in the hierarchies of the territories. Guyanese Creoles who until the 1980s were the absolute majority of the local population, currently represents a “dominant” minority. The issue gets worse with the difficulties of consolidating a national identity and the problems related to the development of the region.

On the other hand, the condition of citizen involves the appropriation of historically defined moral norms and rules by the French State. However, Thurmes (2006) indicates that even with the force of the ideological politics of the post-colonial state aimed at not allowing differences to survive, there are resistance movements throughout French territory, and namely in French Guiana.

As a result, a process of ethnic discrimination that interferes with socioeconomic distribution of groups in the regional space. According to Piantoni (2009) the stigmatization of immigrants and some groups autoctones in French Guiana limits the access of certain ethnic groups in sectors of the economy and sets wages minors. Such segregation also has repercussions on urban policies with the creation of segregated spaces, some semi-closed, which advocate the stigmatized territorializations known as *villages*.

In French Guiana, specifically, the crossing of the frontier is motivated by the dynamic image of the market for local work is mostly done clandestinely. and illegal (SOARES, 1995). However, the existence of networks of kinship and friendship, mainly in Cayenne and Kourou, and the creation of a family reunification policy has produced more affective bonds between the immigrant and the space of host.

The pace of population growth in French Guiana is fast-paced and continuous, in 1954 its total population was 27 900 thousand inhabitants, in 1974 it reached 50 000, that is, it doubled in twenty years, in 1990 it doubled again (ten years) and the perspective is that it will reach 350 000 in 2020 (INSEE, 2004). With that the rate of population growth is not only the largest of the regions. French, as it exceeds the rates currently presented in the Amazon region.

This is explained by the high birth rate (20.46%) and fertility (2.98 children per woman), plus the immigration rate, 4.01 per thousand inhabitants according to official data, not counting the clandestine. On the other hand, the infant mortality rate is 11.76 per thousand children born in the region, which for Granger (2008) recall the numbers presented in Pan-Amazônia. However, the immigration process is largely responsible for this high population growth rate.

Therefore, the biggest challenge for the affirmation of the French Guiana: consolidating political-economic autonomy in front of socio-ethnic groups (indigenous and foreign) that they recognize themselves, above all, as differences, a situation that reproduces both in the region and in the intra-urban space of its

main cities. Paradoxically, the historical search for affirmation of a Guyanese nationality is at the same time considered the solution and the great challenge of the Region in face of a society in which ethnic diversity prevails.

DISCUSSION

Traces and memories of the (post) colonial French state

Postcolonial thinking has as main fundamentals the criticism of the representation of imperialist ideology in former French, English, Spanish and Portuguese possessions, mainly in America and Africa. Such movement discusses the mode of perception in which the former colonists were subjected, namely in the decolonization process.

Colonialism instituted a grounded value system in the image of superiority of Western (European) culture, thus the affirmation of a national identity needed overcome these stigmas. Furthermore, the constant movements immigration made the issue of identity more complex. In these nations, since immigrants and their descendants they do not recognize themselves as homelands, and they also lost their bonds affective and symbolic with the homeland.

However, for Cunha (2002) the greatest brutality of the colonial period was the rooting of negative (racist) ideas as for the dominated, so the culture was considered inferior, the very hot climate, the “traditional” productive activities, the “savage” people and the pagan religion. In this context, everything that related to colonized groups.

Despite France having a whole speech around of the universalist rights of equality, fraternity and liberty, differentiated interests have always remained in the private sphere. The condition of citizen passes through the assimilation/integration of collective norms and rules historically defined by the State and the postcolonial society.

In this sense, the French tradition imposed a process of “citizenship” that did not recognize identity and ethnic borders, which meant great difficulties for both immigrants who were compelled to abandon their references, how much for the natives who saw in this assimilation policy a intrusion in the construction of their society (KOZAKAI et al., 2007). Even so, French ideology was legitimized within and out of their possessions by laws that protected none kind of minority (ethnic, religious), contrary to the idea widespread outside France.

The fact that being national implies being universal, as a result of the requirement of *the* republican *corpus* that the its members, to acquire their full citizenship, abdicate of their identity, cultural and religious bonds in space public, for the common good. Thus, the French State does not legally recognize the rights of minorities, which creates a sharp distinction between public and private space of these ethnic groups. The discussion about legitimacy or not of ethnic expressions in the secular public spaces of the *République* it has created several conflicts throughout France and in the former colonies.

On the other hand, these contesting movements reveal a French public arena around the discussion

about the combating racial discrimination. The emergence of the fight against Discrimination in France and its political and legal implications not only constitute new actions against inequalities social, but represents a new way of understanding the social relations and the advent of a problematic and modalities from collective actions unfamiliar to the philosophical and political tradition French, based on the principle of integration and assimilation to the republican *corpus* and the national body.

One of the consequences of universalism is that every differentiated treatment is seen under suspicion, as it affects the civic ties that must overcome ties and belonging individuals, whether ethnic, cultural or religious. Claim private access to certain public goods, corresponds to the form of action locally categorized as communitarian. "Communitarianism", in the sense attributed by the natives, has a negative charge, as it corresponds to attempt at "isolation" to the detriment of the civic ties of the *Republisch*.

However, there are ethnic communities throughout France creating distinct spaces in culture, in the worldview, in the social organizations, in family structures, that is, in the territorialities. According to Thurmes (2006) the artifice of the State French is geared towards not allowing the survival of these differentiated territories, through the integration of the individual through a continuous and compulsory citizenship policy which reproduces the ancient process of acculturation in the colonies

The cultural assimilation policy was born at the end of the 19th century, when the III the French republic (1879-1940) seeks to homogenize its legal body and the educational system, and at the same time, it seeks to distance itself from the Catholic Church and consolidate the expansion of its economy. Progressively, however, this strategy underwent a process of acculturation within colonial realities, being the result of a negotiation (manipulation) between settlers and indigenous peoples. (BERNAND, 2001). Therefore, contrary to national legislation, customs (habits, languages) were tolerated in the colonies, consequently creating ethnic counterpoints in relation to the French universalism.

Colonial societies actually knew the mixing of European and African elements, Indians among others, giving rise to the phenomenon of creolization. Price (2002) defines creolity as a "miracle" typical of Americas, where contact between different ethnic groups resulted in a complex process of building and changing values, knowledge, beliefs, symbology and in particular of languages

within indigenous societies. The origin of the creole would be in the need for survival and communication between the various African nations brought as slaves to various points of the new continent, in this way they produced a dialect common picking up terms from different languages.

In the French colonies in America, the creole language (pidgin) was born within a context of European colonization, of compulsory arrival of Africans, of the presence of the population indigenous and a wide range of other immigration movements over the years. For Arouck (2000) despite the formations differentiated socio-spatial areas, there was a regionalization in terms of languages and consequently, in cultural traits, that is, French Guiana's creole culture is similar to

Creole demonstrations in the French Antilles and Haiti. However, in Martinique and Guadeloupe the identity Creole was the foundation of a resistance movement to universalist state practices, while in French Guiana this phenomenon did not repeat itself, Creole space became marginalized (JOLIVET, 1989). The

dispersion and isolation of housing and differences, after the period of slavery and, above all, the polarization towards the gold rush (1855- 1945) weakened the agricultural economy, and as a consequence, the process of strengthening a local society.

With the arrival of the post-colonial period, the images and representations continued to attribute a superiority of European culture and the inferiority of African customs and indigenous people. Indeed, the presence of these populations "traditional" was perceived as a big "problem" for development, continuing the colonial policy slavery and discriminatory that have posed themselves until today as obstacle to the strengthening and democratization of the former colonies Americans.

The genealogy of the French State's colonial discourse records that the mission of imperialist France was to universalize the territories, regardless of ethnic group or location geographical (BLANCHARD AND BANCEL, 2006). In these terms, the memory of the State is inscribed in the idea of assimilation of the republican universalism, that is, postcolonial spaces are part of the same acculturation process, that is, it is based on in the notion of integration to French citizenship, in light of this, there is a break with the colonial past, on the contrary there is a continuity in the policy of building an identity national.

The prescription of a French identity in their ex-colonies became an unavoidable rhetoric within the discourse of the State, finding its justification in its statement. According to Geisser (2006) the re-nationalization of identity French, supposedly threatened by centrifugal forces, was a need and not a choice.

As a result, this integrationist logic constitutes if in a reproduction of the hierarchical divisions within the society occasioned in the colonial period, concealed by a distorted republican universalism. Thus, the figure from the immigrant, the descendant of slaves and the autochthonous comes progressively replacing the image that the indigenous and the slave had previously. Even so, it was legitimized within of French domains by laws that did not protect any kind of minority (ethnic, religious), contrary to the idea universalist widespread outside France.

Within this framework of discursive sinuosities arise emancipation movements, resistance to state rhetoric French. Paradoxically, the continuity between the policy of cultural assimilation in the colonies and, later, in the strategy integration of ex-colonized people was born during the "crisis of Algeria" (GEISSER, 2006). In the name of republicanism disseminated by the State, directed to exogenous - immigrant's postcolonial populations and the original populations – a "reform was created conservative" to deal with the new challenges of fragmentation of national identity.

In this conception, the postcolonial integration policy it works as a "crisis speech" in which threats and colonial issues return to the center of the debate. Thereby establishing an identity distinction between the "French" and the "others", which paradoxically reactivates the collective memory that establishes a symbolic boundary that justifies within the referential of the State to reform in various areas ranging from language, cultural traits and space standardization.

Bourdieu et al. (2006) point out that this type of strategy was used in the French "resettlement" policy of Algerian peasants during the war of liberation national (1954-1962). The State hoped that with the control of the space and the reorganization of productive activities there would be a destabilization of the

local social order and greater assimilation of the dominant culture. However, the contradictions built in the clash of differences acquired in the colonial period originated antinomic behaviors, expectations and aspirations.

In this context, the French assimilationist ideology ends up preserving a cultural diversity, this explains why changes in borders, social organization and content cultural of an ethnic group are distinct phenomena, therefore, allows an identity belonging to increase although there is a cultural homogenization. The fact is that within multiethnic societies individuals see themselves first through of your group ID.

The question, according to Kozakai et al. (2007), is that within a universalist system in which everyone should be essentially similar, the differences tend to be underestimated. or ignored. On the other hand, the idea of integration is perceived in a simplistic and functionalist way, that is, there are only two possibilities: non-assimilation and assimilation. In this way, the ideal of the State ignores that identity is the result of a self-recognition movement.

However, in the genealogy of postcolonial discourse and the idea of extension of the national sphere and of power relations, always having as justification the need to spread the it republishes to peoples perceived as inferior. According to Bancel et al. (2006) France seeks uniformity of citizens and territories, no matter who, how and where.

Building a malaise in the former colonies that is nurtured on the principle that they are French *à part entière* and, according to the formula by Aimé Césaire, Frenchmen entirely apart. Now, in the case of the Guyanese, the two principles coexist: the integration and demand for recognition of equality.

As French, they are able to join the republican corpus, incorporating and normalizing their behavior to universalism. On the other hand, because they come from the Antilles, from his skin color, his slave past, this insertion into society French does not value the particularities of the identities as *meutrières* that must be subsumed for the sake of good common.

On the other hand, in former possessions, collective memory of former slaves inscribes a conflict between memories, expressing a desire of inferior societies to be recognized by the State. To Lemaire (2006: 82) the territory of the State is not the same for everyone, as the reproduction of colonialism ends up generating a feeling of not belonging in the descendants of slaves. That said, French postcolonial society is multiterritorial.

Furthermore, Castel (2008) points out that behind these issues still prevails the stigma of races (ethnicities), something that based the entire colonial project and which subsists in the relations with postcolonial societies. Thus, the State conserved, recycled a number of traces of a colonial past that would be at the base of the treatment that it gives to a portion of the its "citizens" (CASTEL, 2008).

As a result, postcolonial culture reproduces the mode of perception and colonial representations, imposing a Western value system in which colonized peoples are seen as inferior. Given this, in order to assert itself its origins and in the face of ethnic discrimination the groups they sought survival strategies for their ethnicities.

In the case of companies postcolonial, assimilation yielded benefits, according to Aimé Césaire,

enabling the passage of black slave to creole, but also brought with her a process of “mortification” of belongings, of the particularities concerning the Guyanese identity. The “gaulicization” (CLEAVER, 2005) of culture Creole took place through this process of assimilation of slaves and their transformation into French citizens. the egalitarian logic assimilationist caused the republican *corpus to* prevail about the "black skin", in the sense not only of its color, but of the its corporeality.

The French strategy of asserting equality through indifference to ethnic, cultural and religious identities - within from the principle that to obtain equality it is necessary to impose similarity, leveling and, not, differentiating the audiences – it provided the constitution of "creole" groups descended from slaves and immigrants. Even though the French colonial past has been one of the production matrices of inequality between the metropolitans, slaves and indigenous people - via *Code Noir* - and be one of the elements that sustain racial discrimination in France, the principle of “forgetting for the sake of unity national" has long become one of the mechanisms that founded the relationships in the public space.

The black color for Guyanese Creole, in the context of the *corpus* republican, has paradoxical characteristics. she is at the same time an element that characterizes the assertion of particularity from Creole (French), but also a negative trait, as for the skin color is the sign of the coexistence of an evil sign. being, that of slavery that in favor of republican universalism, has been brushed aside. This paradoxical situation strengthens the feeling of inferiority and invisibility of the Creole (black) group in the national public arena.

The importance of skin color, and consequently of race, come to reactivate a crucial aspect of social relations in French Guiana regarding the construction of identity that is related to the valuation of certain characteristics phenotypic linked to the colonial past. in societies colonial - that were constituted from a social-racial order hierarchical, which led to the constitution of a strong stigma with respect to blacks and their subjugation compared to whites – the cosmology of skin color is linked to a dimension from a social *handicap* to external eyes and an inferiority in social relationships (UDINO, 2008).

Another peculiarity in the former French colonies is how being “black” acquires several aspects according to origin and of other signs, such as mastery of the French language, of traits behavioral and symbols. Although the similarity in skin color Guyanese Creoles perceive themselves as different from Creoles from the Antilles and other black immigrants. that if owes to the level of integration to universalism and paradoxically to fight for the construction of its own nationality.

In this context, blackness appears as a movement resistance literary that sought to exalt the "quality" of blacks and, consequently, he repudiated the figure of the bossal slave. As Bernabé (1992) the authors of blackness highlighted cultural traits that characterized the black essence and its civility, they recovered the term black, invented by the white with a whole pejorative charge, making it positive by through an ideology based on the idea of “denial of negation of the black man”. Therefore, poetry sought to liberate blacks of the stigmas and alienation engendered by the colonizers and its policy of assimilation and later integration.

Evidently, this attempt to find a unit cultural for blacks ran into the lack of coherence with the anthropological and historical reality, since Africa described by the poets was a myth that was based on

narration. of ethnologists of the time (PROTEAU, 2001). As a result, the strength of the movement of blackness was recognized in the symbolic field, in the construction of a surrealist literature that emphasized a *soi-disant* humanistic singularity of the black the starting from a counterpoint (confusion) between race and culture.

Furthermore, the adoption of a “racial” ideology, originally employed by Europeans to justify a supposed superiority in relation to the Africans, ends up being another colonizer's inheritance (CERVELLO, 2003). in the attempt to classify blacks as a civilization capable of rivaling with the "whites", the movement ends up spreading the differences previously associated with black identity, that is, accepting the cultural traits inflicted on it by the colonizer.

The problem, in the words of Wieviorka (2001), is that the racism goes beyond social exclusion and repudiation of otherness, it is a social process that differentiates individuals (or a group) by linking heritage attributes (physical, genetic and biological) to their intellectual and moral capacity. From this critical perspective, blackness is seen as racism “differentialist”, as it would seek affirmation of identity from a relativism that oscillates between cultural definition and racially, implicitly reproducing European ethnocentrism.

Thus, one of the great dilemmas of blackness it was like reconciling an originally aesthetic protest in a concrete ideological activism, autonomous and capable of mobilize millions of blacks. However, its importance for the ideological consolidation of a movement of resistance to French oppression is undeniable, especially in the unity between theory and practice exposing contradictions through his poem's races of republican universalism. In the French possessions, blackness takes on two faces: on the one hand it is seen as an invention of a black intellectual elite that found itself in the metropolis and another ends up being considered a first moment of a process of struggle, which leads to creolist, against the alienation engendered by colonization and slavery (BERNABE, 1992).

In fact, the concept of blackness, the proportion in which was converted from a poetic to an ontological movement and later ideological, it started to adopt ambiguous postures and racists, which in the words of Depestre (1980) culminated with a *somatic metaphysics* of these ethnic groups. Being leveraged to the status of cultural *marronage*, it became a kind of radical Afro-Caribbean opposition movement to the State's integration policy and the strengthening of national identification.

Faced with postcolonial societies, such as Guyana French identity is forged through nationalism (Guyanese creolist) lame in a context fragmented by “minorities”. The history of these ancient possessions is marked by changes in power and migrations. compulsory, which coerced the way of life in all way indigenous peoples and immigrants. However, the process of acculturation did not mean a resurgence of differences and nor of conflicts

Furthermore, the Creoles point to the disjunction between the motto of the French Republic – equality, liberty and fraternity – and discriminatory incorporation in overseas contexts. The performance of the French State in French Guiana is seen as crumbs; the local population do not have employment opportunities; laws are unsuited to Guyanese reality; there is no policy of local development; and

government actions happen often in default of local decision-making bodies (CLEAVER, 2006). The racial issue, in turn, also is part of the process, since an individual “of color is not seen as a true Frenchman”

Although destination community is an expression current, Creole-Guyanese nationalism is based on the Enlightenment ideals of the French republic. However, the context world was transformed in the 60s, based on the perception of a common identity, the descendants of black slaves from America began to reflect on the condition of blackness. In addition, the struggles for independence of neighboring countries, Suriname and Guyana also resulted in reflections on the French Guiana situation.

In this sense, the attempts to break with the coloniality and the adoption of ideologies deriving from blackness they are products of an idealization of Africa, whose common thread is the mark of slavery. More, it is the awareness of the relationship slave/master that enables the approximation and idealization of the Africa and which determines the simultaneous distancing of France. In fact, the more radical the nationalist discourse, the less it seems to be possible the existence of double belonging – French and Guyanese.

However, it should be noted that Africa is considered as a redemptive space and as a narrative fiction: not if seeks to retrieve it, in fact. It is a vision that guides the creolist project, but in no way expresses a desire for “return”. In this sense, it is interesting to note that the Afrocentric ideas at work in French Guiana rarely result of a direct relationship with Africa, but are built and disseminated from the experience of the Creole elite in the metropolis. Returning to the idea of mutual influence between Africa, America and Europe, which is exactly what they called black Atlantic world. Depending on the constitution of a culture marked by movement and traffic, like the Creole culture, could not be understood from the intellectual heritage universalist.

However, the ideal of equality, liberty and fraternity which constitutes the basis of French republicanism has not been realized fully in the former colonies, since black populations did not cease to be excluded and hardly became effectively equal. In this sense, the nationalist demonstrations Creoles exist in an attempt to obtain full belonging in the Enlightenment molds.

It is also necessary to pay attention to the functioning of the process of "creolization" in French Guiana, that is, how the ancient colonized groups selected or invented their cultural and symbolic manifestations based on the elements of old metropolis. Circumstantially due to the actual difficulty of these societies in abandoning a Western value system. Who has always been held superior by the colonizers?

This brings us to a dialectic between universalism and respect for differences, in which intersections are established specifically through its own contradictions and interactions. of French Guiana, with the intensity of migrations and the modernization of space, this issue has become unavoidable. Thus, without neglecting the coercive force of the policy of assimilation, a "mapping" of identities is essential. specific through the uses and contents and the way in which is traded with others.

From assimilation to identity claims: the constitution of "guyanité"

Ethnic classification in French Guiana was established within the State's assimilationist and discriminatory ideology French and represented a hierarchy of different groups which revealed Western

mediation. In recent years, however, the strengthening of ethnicity and self-identification allow a reversal of this historical and pejorative process in a territorialization with new mediations.

At the beginning of the colonization of French Guiana, the Indians were labeled "savage" and labeled Amerindians, so called because they are on the fringes of the colonial system, even today they are stigmatized as a group that little or modernity has nothing to offer.

The notion of creole arises from the need to distinguish the black coming from Africa and what was born in the colony, and later pointed out the level of education and religiosity under the point of Western view. This same distinction is reproduced later. in the opposition between Creole and Bossal slaves, who in French Guiana is at the root of the current division among Creoles (Blacks) more integrated with French culture and the Bushnenges (forest blacks) descendants of former runaway slaves of Suriname considered primitive.

Guyanese Creole recognizes itself by the opposition in in relation to other ethnic groups, which becomes more incisive at the moment that there is a possible approach movement. to Jolivet (1986: 23) this repudiation is born within border uncertainties caused by the distrust brought about by the assimilation ideology institutionalized by the French State. Therefore, the Creole ethnicity is in crisis in French Guiana, as well as elsewhere the Caribbean, due to non-compliance with external references (European and African) due to the difficulty of (re)building a genuinely Creole identity.

Metropolitans, also called Europeans or white people, represented in this universalist ideology, the prototype of the "civilized", although in the colonial reality of Guyana French these remained poor. As a result, in the representation of Guyanese creoles this group was identified as *vieux-blancs*, a designation that already indicated the limits of the assimilation policy.

In this way, whites formed the reference group of hierarchization in French Guiana, that is, those in which the groups ranked in relation to "others". Thus, the contempt of the "blacks" in relation to the "savages" in the period colonial already indicated the weight that this western mediation imposed Guyanese society. For Jolivet (1989) this feeling of repulsion perpetuated itself in ethnic interactions, namely in certain means.

The colonizer's hierarchical system ended up creating representations that were defined in the group classifications ethnicities, Creole connoted a less pejorative sense than the terms bossal or brown. In this way, ethnicities became a global designation, directly related to the manifestations of assimilation. The identity was generalized and used in a pejorative to stigmatize certain groups.

In this way, the definition of the Creole-Guyanese group had two poles of reference the "positive", represented by the metropolitans, and the "negative", identified with the "primitives." Evidently, given the policy of assimilation and aspiration within the social hierarchy system, there was an adhesion Creole to the first pole. This choice meant the regression of Creole (African) traditions and the estrangement in relation to new culture.

The creole identity in French Guiana became, then, a reified and conflicted sense of belonging, to Arouck (2000) this fed among local creoles a perception of inferiority in relation to metropolitans and

Caribbean Creoles. Therefore, the *Creole* culture is often restricted and/or subjugated by cultural manifestations and external sports, aggravated by the constant emigration of the youngest people to the metropolis. Therefore, Creole is seen as a mode alternative life, valid only among their peers (private) and in certain public spaces.

On the other hand, French (white) culture is omnipresent in the memory and traces of postcolonial society, not exclusively as a state policy, but as cultural, sporting, artistic, linguistic events. In this aspect, the effects of colonization are still present in Guyana French, contrary to the idea of separation between the period colonial and the later. Colonial reproduction is instrumentalized by different groups in the name of a past that is still imposes and bothers, especially, the (black) creoles.

Historically French colonization in Guyana French occurred slowly and unsteadily. After several attempts, since 1604, only in 1676 the French empire managed to establish an activity in a more lasting way. colonial. However, the first entry of black slaves occurred in 1665, when the wedge of the slave system and of plantation. With the promulgation of the Black Code (1685 to 1848), which proposes to "regulate" black inferiority in relation to white and taking humanity away from African slaves, institutionalizing a situation that already existed in practice.

But what was established in *Code Noir* did not correspond in practice to what happened in the French colonies, in the Antilles and Guyana. In this aspect, the mixed marriage that was accepted at the beginning of colonization, from the beginning of the 17th century, with the increase of interdictions, in turn, the children of these mixed unions were not fully accepted by society colonial (CLEAVER, 2006). However, miscegenation promotes the "whitening" of the individual that in subjective terms, in the post-colonial period, it became a very significant fact, the intention is to erase all reference to the black/slave origin.

Although at the beginning of colonization, miscegenation it was a strategy of social ascension through whitening and by erasing references to slavery, later on, miscegenation was marked as something related to promiscuity slaves/black women and the corruption of white settlers. It is another perception made the idea of mestizaje negative, disregarding the previous apprehension. So, the reference to the Creole started to indicate the descent of freed slaves, and no to the descendants of freed slaves and colonists, hiding the idea of mixing races. Therefore, this stigmatization of mestizaje in the colonies continues in the collective memory in regarding mixed marriages in French Guiana.

On the other hand, with the decree that abolished slavery in the French colonies, there was a change in the differentiated status of slaves, they acquire citizenship. Cleaver (2006) points out that in order to make the black people's belonging to the nation effective French several actions of civic-civilization education were undertaken. Effectively, from then on, France reinforces its Gallicizing policy, whose goal is to make everyone the groups that make up "Greater France", that is, the empire French colonial has to share the same system of values, of the same culture.

Creoles, however, adopted state policy French of assimilation (Galicization) as a possibility of ascension in colonial society. Indeed, the Creoles in the French Guiana sought to distance themselves from all references associated with slavery, such as the behavioral traits of African origin. The urban exodus and

the abandonment of activities rural, the search for activities related to public administration, and the search for religious celebrations of weddings, baptisms, among others, they indicated the new posture of the descendants of slaves

Furthermore, the Creole identity was designed through the valorization of the abolition process, and simultaneously by the concealment of the hardships of slavery. In this aspect, the slave condition denied the modern character of the Creole, in the which supported the conformation of their identity, from the incorporation of the values of French republican universalism, namely, equality, liberty and fraternity. Nonetheless, it must be emphasized that slavery remained as a “underground convergence” in the collective memory of creoles.

On the other hand, there was always a segregation in the colony race that was confused with ethnicities, mainly in relation to blacks and indigenous people, which put the children of mixed couples in a complex social interstice. In this way, a social classification emerges that placed the Guyanese mestizos, in which the fundamental point was the degree of assimilation or not. In this sense, the legacy of coloniality lies precisely in the symbolic power in the act of describing the Creole, indigenous, whites and bushnenges within the ethnic mosaic that characterizes the French Guiana society.

Paradoxically, Guyanese Creole society was constituted in the transit between the traditional and the modern thus crossing the boundaries between the identity of the dominator and the slave, from French and African references. Well, the transit between identity borders, in which the Creole, reveals an ethnographic situation in which the understanding widely held that identity is fixed and stable does not corresponded to the reality of the Guyanese Creole.

With that, the creole identity was consolidating as the Guyanese in general, this situation seems to point to a hierarchical context in which the inclusion of those who are not Creoles. Cleaver (2006) points out that the hierarchy results from the process of encompassing otherwise, in which a term from the set represents both the whole and is part of it, it refers to the specific and the universal, at the same time. More: the distinction between encompassing and encompassed is a distinction of value, whereby the elements are Classified. In this respect, in French Guiana, the creole is the all-encompassing term, since the Guyanese adjective is linked almost instinctively.

The term encompassed, in turn, can refer to all the other ethnic groups that are part of Guyanese society. However, internally the discussion about who is Guyanese or not, is directly related to the search for strengthening a nationality, having as main parameter the Creole language. Thus, the adjective Guyanese refers, at first, to the base communities, namely the Creoles, the Amerindians and the bushnenges, although in a second moment, includes all individual who speaks Creole, even the descendants of immigrants.

However, Creole for being the normal identity and for encompass the other constituent elements of the society Guyanese, thus holds the power to classify the other groups. In this context, classification is an element fundamental to be analyzed, as it reveals and produces identities and stigmatizations. Thus, naming is a symbolic action of power (POUTIGNAT et al., 1998) which, in the Guyanese context, it refers, notably, to the ethnic-national origin.

Indeed, the term creole is commonly replaced by its national variant, that is, Guyanese, or even by an expression that refers to the African origin, namely, *African of the Coast*. Already the metro or its reduced form *metro*, is traditionally used to designate "the French of France", can be replaced by the reference to the color, *blanc*, racist denomination; by the French national attribute, in clear differentiation from Guyanese; or by geographic references such as hexagonal or European. The bushnenges may be called de *nègres* or *bosh*, in a very discriminatory way; of *noirs brown* or by its reduced form *brown*; or even by the specific ethnicities. The Amerindians, in turn, are called for linguistic reasons of the French language, the term *indio* is quite rare and has a pejorative connotation

Immigrants are generally named for their effective nationality or origin. the only immigrant group and descendants who seem to have a denomination other than their own national denomination is the Indians. The population Indian is called by a term quite common in the Caribbean. and Africa, that is, *coolie*. Furthermore, immigrants tend to be classified by their phenotype or by other diacritical elements, such as clothing and accent. The constant reference to nationality of immigrants is an intrinsic process to the issue of nation-building, as it seeks to exclude from incisively any possibility of being integrated into the Guyanite.

Creole is, in fact, the enunciator of identities and it enunciates its own as being the correct and normal identity. Now of speech and power, the naming and enunciation of identities, as they are acts, build classification units that they corroborate certain power relations. So, in addition to being the group that replaced white settlers in the dominant position, is the only group that adopted the assimilation policy and, therefore, the only group claiming a national identity. However, to produce and classify the identities that constitute the alterities Guyanese, they maintain their status as the dominant ethnic group.

For this, the same instrument of structuring of metropolitan values: the school. The system school in French Guiana was more than a vector of the process. French civilization, was also a vector of the emancipatory process of the Guyanese Creole. The school system, as a policy of colonial administration, began to organize itself in 1848, with the abolition of slavery, for the Creole population, education was the possibility of further integrating into colonial society.

However, the "civilizing" policy of the French state had limits, since the assimilation of universalism republican was carried out at the same time as they were created strategies to keep Creoles subordinate to settlers in less valued activities. Furthermore, the school, by promoting republican principles, it fosters control and framework of local society. In this way, the school became if an institution that sought so much the integration of populations liberated, as it promoted their marginalization.

The Creoles, however, saw education as the only one opportunity for the development of a guinea pig. From addition, the adoption of the French teaching model in French Guiana, definitely marks the relationship of Guyanese Creoles with the other ethnic groups. In this aspect, references are privileged and knowledge about the reality of France and consequently an alienation from sociocultural aspects of local society.

In addition, the absence of schools and institutions of higher education caused the creole elite to send their children to the metropolis, in order to guarantee them a better quality and a greater training

option. With this practice, he started to the difference between Creole and the “French”, since before the trip this difference was not noticed. Therefore, the values of Guyanese Creoles notwithstanding the Gallicization, are constituted from a plurality quite different from how the French republican universalism

Another point is the fact that the school is a privileged *locus* of encounters from all ethnic groups that make up the Guyanese population. However, as a consequence of tensions and of territorial confinements, the meeting of these ethnic groups it's not always calm. Conflicts, stereotypes and stigmas are produced and reproduced in a school environment. Therefore, the school also fosters social cohesion, recovering its civilizing mission, based on the collective adoption of the values of French Republic.

However, the search for integration promoted an of conscience that feeds the Creole nationalist movement having as foundation the republican ideas; seized these they revert to claims for equality and freedom. To the few, policies like the adoption of Guyana history books French, taught in addition to textbooks metropolitan areas, and the struggle for formal teaching of Creole in the schools, as "regional language" are changes that enunciate a differentiated relationship between the Creoles and society Guyanese, as the Creoles with the metropolis. Thus, the Creoles have taken French Guiana as their country and most of the that this assumes that Guyana is not France, adopting, form, an autonomous posture. In this perspective, the students and the Creole-Guyanese elites, inside and outside French Guiana, began to speak out about the former colony's relations with the its metropolis and the construction of a national identity.

Creole identity in French Guiana walked, therefore, within a tangle of manifestations (un) orderly, eternally subordinate to universalism and each increasingly minority. Given this, the Guyanese Creoles instituted a national project that would comprise, in addition to the assimilated creole, the other autochthonous populations (Indians and *Noirs-Marrons*). Creating an imagined community to claim and strengthen their otherness in relation to other ethnic groups through the equivalence between the three “races” (AROUCK, 2000).

For Hidair (2007) these representations ended up having a strong power of social exclusion, since it only adopted three groups within a complex and broad tangle of ethnicities. More than that, such symbology reveals an ideology which in practice seeks to hierarchize Creole culture in the face of the other two groups through modern and traditional opposition. In this way, it is possible to affirm that feeling Guyanese involves identity disputes that are intertwined with the struggle for position social, political movements and territorial borders.

The process of construction of the Guiana was born within a context of acculturation, in which the French tradition was the basis, as a consequence, “non-assimilated” autochthonous groups (Indians and brown), from the metropolitan point of view, represented a negative pole of that national identity. This assignment external, for Colomb (1999), echoed within the Creole elite that always turns into the traditionalism of the other two ethnic groups a barrier to the progress of Guyanese society.

However, in the beginning of the 80s of the last centuries, with the demographic increase of “non-Creole” groups due to the expansion of immigration flows, changes the political role and performed by these ethnic groups. African references and indigenous peoples are (re)evaluated in light of the need for

construction of a regional reference project in view of the growing sociocultural pluralism. On the other hand, there was a mobilization around the appreciation of Creole culture (language, clothing) within the local daily life in the face of European references and Caribbean.

In turn, Indians and browns did not assume the identity Guyanese Creole, as for these groups it is a new guise of the assimilation policy and, consequently, of marginalization of their customs. According to Colomb (1999) the discriminatory experiences of integration into the whole of Guyanese society created resistance movements such as a strong ethnic connotation.

Furthermore, there was a legitimate ethnic segregation within of the French possessions, creating two types of citizens, those of national citizenship, that is, metropolitans and creoles with full rights and the autochthonous "French" (Indians and Bushinenges) who had the right to preserve their traditions and religions, but, on the other hand, they were deprived of most civil rights. and political mobilization. In short, this exclusion instituted the right to the difference that prevailed in the post-colonial period (after 1946), something not foreseen by the French constitution.

As a result, some ethnic groups such as the Indians from French Guiana, for example, were divided by the state in "citizens" and those "without nationality", the first exercised the right to vote and social security, however they were not required to pay tax and not participate in military service, unlike mestizos and browns. Consequently, the "inter-ethnic" distinctions also manifested themselves internally, both in the ideological and cultural field and in the degree of acceptance of the project to affirm Creole-Guyanese nationality.

The bushinenges, with the exception of the Alukus (bonis) which have a longer relationship with Guyanese society, an integration process marked by marginalization. In between 1986 to 1992 Suriname was going through a moment of war civil society marked by intolerance and ethnic dispute (MENKE, 2004), with that minority groups like the Ndyukas, Paramakas and the Saramakas sought exile on Guyanese soil. these refugees were housed in settlements near Saint Laurent from the Maroni, and in the city of Kourou.

According to Bougarel (1988) these expatriates do not were recognized by the French government, and had their right to exercise any political and social activity inside and outside the prohibited fields. With the end of the conflict in Suriname, the camps were closed and the refugees sent back, but many of them decided to settle permanently in the French Guiana. Thus, browns are legally considered immigrants who need bureaucratic formalities to apply for French citizenship.

By extension the ethnic identity of these groups was very consolidated, based on the *marronage* ideology of African descent, that is, in resistance to the (post) system colonial and the refusal to modernity. In this way for Cleaver (2006) bushinenges and creoles are "black" identities that are distinguished from each other by the "foundational" myth, therefore integration from browns to Guyanese society represents yet another search for an improvement in quality of life and/or legal formality than a form of acculturation.

Such discontinuities call into question the conformation of a Guyanese nationality through the equivalence between Indians, Bushinenges and Creoles. More than that, the differences on the values and languages that exist among these ethnic groups. and from these to the others, they indicate the existence of

a "mosaic ethnic" where such groups coexist without mixing (CLEAVER, 2006). Therefore, the spatial configuration of French Guiana would be marked by cultural, social and structural pluralism, substantiated by well-defined ethnic borders.

However, the reality is more complex due to the significant increase in official and unofficial mixed marriages between individuals of different ethnicities. Miscegenation is a process historically undeniable part of French Guiana society, and which in recent years has been expanding with the growth of immigration movements. With that, the construction project of the Guyanese (Creole) nation lives on one side with the postcolonial French and others with multifaceted identities.

In short, French Guiana Creole can be distinguished by opposition to other minority groups formed by natives (Indians and Browns) and immigrants in your return. In this context, the *Creole* identity in French Guiana it is constituted in the interstices between memory and the constraints of the State, the elements of Caribbean Creole, the poetic force and politics of blackness (African roots), the influence of culture of immigrants and the search for the (re) valorization of customs autochthonous. Therefore, concludes Fouck (2002) she becomes if a triple rooted product (French, South American and African) that are instrumentalized due to interests in Game.

Therefore, the construction of Guyanese identity is something that depends on overcoming ethnic communitarianism mainly from those behind this discourse: the Guyanese Creoles. This movement is perceived in the speech nationalist of the creole elites that seek to integrate the differences from the Creole synthesis. However, nation building Guyanese collides with the desire of the Creoles to fully belong to a modernity, based on Enlightenment ideals, rationality instrumental and republican universalism. In this sense, the recognition of the specificities of base communities and the respect for the constitutive differences of the Bushinenges and Amerindians, by its own history and culture, would enable the emergence of an admittedly plural nation.

Consequently, it is clear that French Guiana presents a real trend of erosion of the imagined community by the Creoles. That's because, considering the ethnic diversity of the local population, their effective recognition as Guyanese is a process that goes against Enlightenment ideals.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Within a more contemporary context, Guyana French adopts a discourse of coexistence and reciprocity among the various contributions (indigenous and foreign). However, these adjustments are based on a strategy that seeks to privilege a Creole-Guyanese culture that at the same time is extremely rigid and plural, inheritance of domination of certain "civilizing" and universalizing ideologies implemented in the colonial and post-colonial period.

From this, the French Guiana society is marked by crossing differences, establishing borders dynamics through confrontations and interactions in the daily. In this way, ethnic territorialities are outlined by the inclusion of certain groups in a specific social organization and power relations, creating a conflict between semi-private space and movement of construction of public spaces from speeches of ethnic

instrumentalization. In this sense, French Guiana, as part of the black Atlantic world, it was born of the movement and of the transit that constitutes modernity, therefore, modernity that constitutes it is recognized in its specificity culminates in the ethnic pluralism.

In fact, by recognizing the modernity that characterizes it, French Guiana would bring out an inclusive modernity, realizing in fact the French maxim of equality, freedom and fraternity, which in the metropolis is nothing more than ideals. to Cleaver “country in perpetual to come” and become a country that presents us a very rich social configuration, based on equality and respect for the difference.

It is, then, about understanding the articulation between the universalism and the particularities that bring out the great challenge of modernity, which is to avoid the resurgence of possible fragmentations of an identity character. According to Léna and Jolivet (2000), more than a community attempt to get rid of stigmas, the emergence of particularism aims overcome certain barriers that hamper entry individual in cosmopolitan societies.

Unfortunately, 21st century French Guiana continues under the ideological tutelage of the French State, which does not assume its specificities: a region dominated by the memory of the slavery, Amazonian, poor and at the same time sparsely populated and multidiversified (CASTOR et al., 1984). Furthermore, the ethnic diversity contrasts with the project of affirmation of a Creole (Guyanese) identity in the face of France, which would be a primal initiative within a project of national strengthening and autonomy in the face of memory and of essentially postcolonial public spaces.

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