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IMMIGRATION, SAUDADE AND THE DIALECTICS
OF DETERRITORIALIZATION AND RETERRITORIALIZATION

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The nations all are mysteries
                    each one is a whole world all by itself
                    (Fernando Pessoa)

In 1874, the renowned Portuguese writer and diplomat Eça de Queiróz

prepared, at the request of Portugal's Ministry of Foreign Relations, a report

evaluating international free migration which, in his own words, turned out to

be an "apology of emigration as a civilizing force" (1979:150). In addition to

calling attention to the need for international treaties that could regulate the

duties of both receiving and sending states towards their migrant populations and

thus "favor the emigrant classes" (ibid:117), the report outlined the benefits

of emigration in quite contemporary ways

> (Emigration) contributes to the progress of national industries (in
> as much as) the emigrant is a persistent customer of goods produced
> in his home country (...). At another level of ideas, emigration
> allows for the peaceful dissemination of the costumes, language,
> literature and arts of the motherland. Emigration may result in a
> strong tool of influence if translated into commercial, political
> and industrial relations, etc. Emigrations, when well composed,
> create strong moral bases of support...(They can) replace the
> colonial dominions (for those that do not possess them)...(and
> thereby) increase the metropolis' prestige in the external world
> (...)

Written on the eve of Portugal's dramatic economic decline and massive

labor emigration, the report most certainly expressed Eça de Queiróz's response

to the prevailing restrictive governmental measures against the trespassing

of territorial borders and the corollary "danger" of depopulation which was

then a current fear throughout Europe. Furthermore, viewed in the context of

the national debates of those times, his suggestions must have also taken into

account the constant accusations directed at the state for turning

international (labor) migration into "a certificate of (Portugal's) economic

and political prostitution" (Oliveira Martins,in Serrão 1972) However, in a

period marked by "territorialized colonialism", his report did not find an echo

among the rulers of the world's oldest colonial power. In fact, it was to

remain forgotten for more than a hundred years in a bureaucrat's desk.

While the impoverished colonial power increasingly turned into a supplier of labor, Portuguese government officials persisted for longer than those of any other European state in imposing surveillance policies on territorial borders and viewing emigration mostly as a "necessary evil" (Cassola Ribeiro 1987). Embedded in the recurrent (re)invention of Portugal's legendary role in the far-away era of discovery and explorations of the New World, colonial policies and ideologies (including those related to international migration) remained intrinsically linked to the Portuguese (real or mythical) overseas dominions.

Circumstantially, Eça de Queiróz'report was discovered and published in 1979 at a time when, in the midst of dramatic social changes, the dispersed Portuguese populations have become central to the (re)construction of the imagined political community (Anderson,B 1983). Just a few years earlier, the 1974 **Revolução dos Cravos** (Revolution of the Carnations), upon overthrowing the fifty year-long New State dictatorship, faced and handled the end of five centuries of Portuguese colonialism. Subsequently, in view of the failure of its socialist project to cope with the demands of an emerging globalized economic order, the tendencies within the revolution favoring the "European option" progressively gained force. As a result, in 1981 the post-colonial state joined the European community. Yet, since the process of decolonization and the so-called "return to Europe" resulted in Portugal's reterritorialization to its fifteenth century frontiers and an almost simultaneous deterritorialization to the bounded spatial configuration of Communitarian Europe (Santos,B.S.1993a), the new power holders were confronted with the reconstruction of Portuguese nationalism. At that specific historical juncture, more than a century after Eça de Queirós had foreseen the advantages of international migration for "those (nations) that do not possess colonies", the post-colonial state began to

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incorporate the Portuguese immigrants spread across the world in the imagining of an (unbounded) nation based on population rather than territory (Feldman-Bianco 1992).

However, in the years that were to follow, in conjunction with creating a "deterritorialized nation" (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992, Bash, Glick-Schiller, Szanton-Blanc 1994), the post-colonial state has further redefined its relationships with the (now) independent nations of "Portuguese Africa" as well as Brazil. On these transnational grounds, post-colonial power holders began to (re)invent the historical Portuguese "Atlantic" vocation and brokerage roles in order to "Assert Portugal in the World"[1]. In providing continuity with the Portuguese colonial and imperial past, this (re)invention has furnished the means by which the post-colonial state has attempted to reinforce national hegemony as well as negotiate its peripheral position within the (bounded) European space.

Yet, as a corollary, Portugal began to be perceived by the citizens of its former overseas extensions as an "open gate" to Europe. Hence, in addition to receiving growing numbers of returning migrants, the post-colonial state was faced with an increasing influx of immigrants originally from the (now) independent nations of "Portuguese Africa" as well as Brazil. In flagrant contradiction to the ongoing (re)invention of unbounded (and transnational) imagery, government officials opted for conformity with the policies of European Community and, thus, to impose strict (though differential) surveillance on the state's territorial borders.

These developments bring to light the need to (re)examine the "deterritorialized nation" construct in the context of the interrelationship

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Afirmar Portugal no Mundo (Assert Portugal in World) is the title of a book recently published by Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, Imprensa National - Casa da Moeda, 1993

among globalization, nation-state building and culture[2]. With this intent, I seek to discern congruities, contradictions, conflicts and accommodations in the ways in which Portugal has negotiated its position in the globalized economic order. Therefore, I focus on the existing dialectical relationship between (1) the undertakings of the post-colonial Portuguese state to reinforce national hegemony as well as gain strength within the European space through the reinvention of Portugal's (transnational) "Atlantic" vocation and brokerage roles; and (2) its location in, and increasing subordination to, the policies of a bounded European Community. From this viewpoint, based on fieldwork research conducted in Portugal, the United States and Brazil, I analyze Portugal's evolving policies of inclusion and exclusion towards its dispersed populations; the recent diplomatic conflicts and accommodations between Brazil and Portugal, pertaining to the strict surveillance imposed on the growing numbers of Brazilians attempting to enter Portugal; and, in this context, a recently emerging (transnational) community composed of Portuguese-speaking nations.

Colonialism, Immigration, Saudade and the Imaginings of the Portuguese Nation

Ever since the era of maritime explorations, Portuguese (colonial) cultural history has been marked by multiple spatial configurations that have stretched far beyond Portugal's unchanging (and centuries old) geographical boundaries at the edge of Europe. Just a few decades after playing a major role in the discovery of the New World, the Portuguese empire was faced with continuous economic and political decline in the evolving global political economy. While remaining the center of vast overseas dominions, Portugal became at one and the same time a periphery of Europe (Santos, B.S 1993). Still in the sixteenth

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According to the aims of the statement prepared by the organizers of the symposium "Transnationalism, Nation-State Building and Culture

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century, unable to confront increasing competition from broadening global commerce, the Portuguese empire turned away from Europe and engaged its efforts for centuries in an "Atlantic project" which was at first directed towards colonizing and exploring Brazil (1640-1822) and, later, Portuguese Africa (Serrão, J 1972). Simultaneously colonized and a colonizer, Portugal fulfilled brokerage roles between its overseas dominions and the centers of political and economic power. (Santos, B.S. 1993). Subsequently, in the nineteenth century, the impoverished colonial power further turned into a labor-exporting country in a changing global political economy.

In the context of Portugal's singular history, the world -rather than the nation-state - has been the spatial unit of the Portuguese. Starting as navigators and discoverers of the New World, engaging later in the centuries-long "Atlantic" project of colonization and exploration of Portugal's overseas dominions and turning (since the nineteenth century) into labor emigrants, the movement of people across the world has been constitutive of Portuguese imagery and experience.

Saudade, a word that originated in the sixteenth century, has been associated with the unending Portuguese wanderlust across the globe. While loosely translated as "longing" and "nostalgia", saudade is in fact a cultural construct that defines Portuguese (transnational) identity both on the level of the self and the nation.

On the one hand, at the level of the self or the individual, saudade has been viewed as "the soul divided throughout the world", "the uprooted experience located between the desire of the future and the memories of the past", or simply as "the memories which touch a soul". This dimension of saudade, or **saudade da terra** (nostalgia for the homeland), referring to the symbolic representations and social practices of a time and space prior to emigration, further shapes strong

local and regional identities.

On the other hand, at the level of the nation, **saudade** has been reconstituted as the essence of Portuguese national character and as the basis of its imagined political community (Anderson, B). Within that perspective, the collective temporal memory is invariably linked to the discovery era and to the subsequent history of immigration; while the collective spatial memory encompasses the explorations and the long separations from relatives around the world.

At least since the nineteenth century, the hegemonic master narratives of the nation were recurrently built upon the (re)invention of the legendary Portuguese role during the far-away seafaring era of discovery and colonizing of the New World. Camões, the author of **The Lusiadas**, the epical poem of the discoveries, was turned into the mythical embodiment of the nation and of Luzitanian patriotism Lourenço,E 1978)

The story-line of these national narratives, glorifying "Portugal, the colonizer" and the "Portuguese race", systematically excluded the dispersed Portuguese populations from the imagined political community. In fact, until the 1940's, emigrants -considered second class citizens - were characterized as "those passengers traveling second and third class by boat" (Cassola Ribeiro 1980). Even after that definition was abolished, government officials continued to impose surveillance policies on Portugal's territorial borders and to view illegal emigration as a serious crime. A major shift began to occur in the 1960s when the colonial state, taking into account the prevailing international division of labor, recognized the need for developing emigration policies within the framework of labor policies. Later, in 1972, just before the end of the New State dictatorship, government officials confronted with the massive return of Portuguese immigrants fleeing the wars of Africa, negotiated their resettlement

through the issuing of an equal citizenship rights treaty with Brazil.But, most of all, in spite of the changing policies -from the continuous surveillance of Portugal's territorial borders to the control of labor supply -successively exacerbated nationalisms, glorifying the "Luzitanian race" continued to demand patriotism from the Portuguese deterritorialized population and, therefore, to impose the maintenance of an exclusively Portuguese identity across borders. Ii view of the highly exclusionary policies towards the Portuguese deterritorialized populations, critics of the state systematically denounced emigration as "a wound and appanage of a people whose borders were with some fluidity localized in any part of the vast world"(Serrão J 1972). There was, however, a dialectical relationship among Portugal's economic and political decline, the increasing rates of international migration and the recurrent (re)invention of the legendary Portuguese past.

On the one hand, the lingering restrictive emigration policies were apparently part of a coherent state program that aimed -through fostering clandestine migration - at ensuring the flow of remittances back to Portugal as well as the production and reproduction of peasant households (Leeds,E 1984; Brettell 1988). Since the continuous separation of relatives across borders provided the flow of material and symbolic goods back to Portugal, emigration and the resultant construction of transnational social fields became constitutive of the social organization of Portuguese families.

On the other hand, there was an intrinsic relationship between the transformation of Portugal into a labor-exporting country and the (re)construction of Portuguese nationalism. Therefore, as Serrão pointed out, it was not by chance that saudosismo (an exacerbated nationalist literary movement eulogizing Portugal's past) forcefully emerged "between 1910 and 1912, exactly in a period marked by economic crises and the heightening of migration streams"

(Serrão,J 1972:165). While Camões' **The Lusiadas** has provided the production of national narratives based upon "the myth of the history already made" (Antunes,A:1983: 463), **saudosismo** invented the spiritual fate and divine unity of the Portuguese nation.

As an offspring of **saudosismo** and at the same time departing from it, Fernando Pessoa's **Mensagem (Message)**, representing

> "this pungent elegy of imperial decadence, which is at the same time the most daring celebration of **being able** to be Portuguese[in poetry]" (Sousa Santos, M.I.(1993),

(re)invented the "nostalgia for the past in a messianic yearning for Portugal's future" (Antunes,A 1983:464). While recreating the discoveries and its civilizing mission in the hegemony of a modern Atlantic (Sousa Santos, M.I.: 1993: 111), Pessoa envisioned universal creativity for the Portuguese future in the Fifth (Cultural) Empire in the context of which

> " our great (Portuguese) race will leave, in search of a new India that does not exist in space, in vessels that are built "of that which the dreams are made",

These dreams could be, therefore, capable of "maintaining alive the national desires of a people and their collective nostalgia" (Antunes,A 1993)

Since these national narratives either recounted or drew on the epical journeys of the fifteenth and sixteenth century Portuguese navigators, "to be overseas" simultaneously expressed Portugal's positioning in history and its displacement in times and spaces (Petrella 1990:9). Yet, unmasking the mythical constructions of the Portuguese past, Santos, B.S (1993) has rightly emphasized the need to take into account that in view of its simultaneous position as the center of an empire and a periphery of Europe, Portugal was unable either to differentiate itself from its colonies or promote national homogeneity. As a result, Portuguese (collective) culture became

> "less a question of roots than a question of position" revealing itself as the mastership of an extra territoriality both in foreign and original

spaces. The roots are therefore the artefact of a capability of transforming the foreign into native. They are always outside or far-away from where we are (...) [This] culture of the border results in a capability to move between the local and the transnational without passing through the national. (Santos,B.S 1993)

From a different perspective, grounded in their **saudade da terra** (nostalgia for the homeland) and thus on transnational roots (rather than just position), the excluded and dispersed Portuguese population constructed yet another narrative of the Portuguese nation. Intertwined with their own imagery as a "people spread across the world" and based on their localized experiences between Portugal (mostly symbolized by their villages and regions of origin) and the countries of settlement, they had long professed the existence of a Greater Portugal made up "of the dispossessed Portuguese, the Portuguese of the world". These claims appeared, still in 1928, in an immigrant newspaper's editorial entitled "The Portuguese of Greater Portugal". After complaining that

> the ears of Portugal don't hear, the eyes of Portugal don't see the considerable crowd of people who, after leaving, still honor and caress the fatherland from the bottom of the soul (...)

the editorial reprints and comments on a piece published in a Lisbon newspaper pointing out that

> The Portuguese of Portugal are no more than six to seven million (people). But the dispossessed Portuguese, the Portuguese of the world, - if we were to add the emigrants to those who have remained in Portugal - those reach, according to the more careful statistics, twenty to twenty five million". How many of us have not forgotten that there exists a Greater Portugal to organize, a Portugal which includes our brothers that keep vivid in the five parts of the globe the cult of the virtues that always honored us (...) Many of them never -even slightly - felt the protective action of our consular authorities (...) When will an account be made of who we are and how much we are worth as a cosmopolitan people, dispersed, fragmented in pieces, without disowning the eternal ties of community and national soul (Diário de Notícias, New Bedford, 1/21/1928)

Most probably these demands were also influenced by the recurrent national debates on issues related to the exclusionary policies of the colonial state towards its dispersed populations. In the context of these debates, historian Joel Serrão has also emphasized, just prior to the 1974 Revolução das Flores,

that insofar as

> "the national drama of emigration (...) is inscribed in a larger setting which is ultimately Portugal's whole history since at least the first quarter of the fifteenth century" (1972:22),

there was an urgent need to counteract the recurrent creation of mythical

(national) narratives and thus, "to return to history and to a preliminary

question"

> Shouldn't we then begin by asking which nation is that? Aren't those millions of Portuguese emigrants, who since the second half of the eighteenth century have been spread across the five parts of the world, also part of the nation? Are not they, therefore, by refusing the mythical objectification for pressing and unavoidable pressures(primum vivere) the ones who have ultimately fed and still continue to feed the inertia of the nation in the contemporary era - this sort of impotence that undermines it with respect to the tasks and urgencies of the future?

> Are we willing to accept "our credential of prostitution", as Portuguese emigration was (once) defined by (...) Oliveira Martins or should we think that the problem should (be solved or) begin to be solved as urgently (by all those who think that only) with the opening of a different future, distinct from the mere preservation of the past (the nation can absorb the needed energies) to be capable of thinking and rethinking that past (and above all the myths about it) as definitively forgotten (Serrão, J. 1972: 22).

In the aftermath of the 1974 Revolution, Portugal was the

oldest and longest colonial power of the world and, at the same time, the

poorest nation in Europe (Santos 1993 a). Yet, throughout the next twenty years,

in the context of democracy, decolonization and a path of development and

modernization linked to full participation in the European Union, the post-

colonial state (re)invented the colonial mythical past in order to reconstruct

nationalism and negotiate Portugal's position in the globalized economic order.

In view of the new politics of space, this negotiation has included the

incorporation of its dispersed population into the construction of a

"deterritorialized nation", its (transnational and) redefined relations with the

now independent Portuguese-speaking nations of Africa as well as Brazil and, in

this context, Portugal's "universalistic culture and vocation.

Asserting Portugal in the World: Democracy, Decolonization, the Option for Europe and the (Re)Constructions of the Portuguese Imagined (Transnational) Community

> There is only one type of propaganda with which it is possible to raise the morale of a nation - the construction or renewal and diffusion of a major national myth (...) Our work is thus easier: we don't need to create the myth, only renew it.(...) Then there will be in the soul of the nation the unexpected phenomenon from which the New Discoveries, the Creation of a New World and the Fifth Empire will be born (...) (Pessoa, 1978, in Sousa Santos, M.I.R, 1993)

Certainly the outburst of the 1974 Revolução dos Cravos, at a time when the colonial state was increasingly weakened by the wars for independence in Africa, stirred up the "inertia of the nation" breaking down "this sort of impotence that undermine(d) it with respect to the tasks and urgencies of the future" (Serrão,J 1972). However, in view of the decolonization process and Portugal's resultant reterritorialization to its fifteenth-century geographical boundaries at the edge of Europe, even the most acid critics of colonialism and **saudosismo**, began to warn that although

> the April Revolution gave back to the Portuguese citizens the full civil rights common to the western democracies (...), it still did not find that base of support...that would correspond to the feeling of natural fulfillment of national autonomy and dignity.

> In the imagination of the cultivated Portuguese (and through contagion in the others), Brazil, like India during a certain period and lastly Africa, added a **magical dimension** to the small country and through it compensatory spaces. (...) Portugal is in discussion after a phase in which external and internal events have changed the geographical reality and, above all, the ideal image the Portuguese have forged about themselves and the motherland throughout five hundred years...If the Revolution succumbs (...) this will be caused solely because the Revolution did not know how or could not operate positively the conversion of its former mythical image (Lourenço, E. 1978:)

In that specific historical conjuncture, in an attempt to (re)invent the Portuguese mythical past and (compensatory) spaces and thus provide continuity with the (transnational) colonial period, the state began to associate the image of the poet Camões with an "Immigrant Portugal". For that reason, the Tenth of July, formerly known as "The Day of Portugal, Camões, and the Luzitanian Race"

was reinvented in 1977 as "The Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities" and, thereby, transformed into a celebration of the Immigrant Communities abroad.

According to a decree issued in 1977,

> this day, better than any other day assembles the necessary symbolism to represent the Day of Portugal. It harmoniously synthesizes the Portuguese nation, the Luzitanian communities spread throughout the world and the emblematic figure of the brilliant epics

Thus, the dispersed Portuguese populations began to replace the former colonial dominions in the new and expanded imagining of a nation spread across the world. In 1980, on the eve of Portugal's entrance into the bounded space of the European Community, the then Prime Minister Sá Carneiro stated similarly to historian Serrão that

> we can only survive, we can only believe in Portugal and in Portugal's future if we think of ourselves as a nation thatembraces both residents and non-residents, all treated equally. But if this is the nation, how then can the state and the constitution, which is the constitution of the nation, break off emigrants' rights (in Aguiar,M 1986: 5-6)

More than a question of social justice and citizenship rights, the evolving construction of a "deterritorialized nation" became intrinsically linked to the ways in which Portugal has (re)negotiated its position in the globalized economic order. This (re)negotiation, leading to Portugal's enrollment in the European community in a period when flexible capital accumulation (Harvey,D 1989) has already emerged, was defined by President Mario Soares as "a political option and a starting point of reference of vital importance that will enable (the state) to administer with courage and perseverance a process of development" (Soares, M. 1987: 134) and viewed

> above all, (as) an answer to the problems arising, since the beginning of the 1970s, from the radical alteration of the conditions regarding the international insertion of Portugal, among which the decolonization - inevitable since the 1960s - and which represents a secular turning-point in our collective history. But it would not be very perspicacious if we forget that the effects of the international economic crisis , the evolution and tendencies of the

> integration movements in Europe (...) and the end of "Spanish
> isolationism" affected the fundamental vectors of Portugal's
> relations with the external world (ibid, 1987:134)

In view of the heterogeneity of Portuguese economy and society, the state

has been in charge of leading Portugal's (double) transition to democracy as well

as to communitarian Europe and, hence, the national project of "development" and

"modernization" (Santos 1993). In this context, post-colonial power-holders at

first recognized Portugal's position as a labor-exporting country in the emerging

global economic order. This recognition was made clear in a speech delivered in

1986 by Dr. Manuela Aguiar, then State Minister of the Portuguese Communities

> (...)at the present time, emigration is no longer just a result of the
> conditions that are intrinsic to the people who traditionally roamed about
> the world in search of a future; even if significant structural changes
> either had already occurred or are taking place or are foreseen in the
> immediate future, we cannot see that (these structural changes) will be
> weighty enough to prevent that the laws of the international labor market
> - and this is what it is all about, now - continue to channel to specific
> countries the workers of the economically weaker countries - and (it
> should be noted) preferentially the more skilled of them (1986:15)

In view of the unification of Europe in a setting where "the dispute of

labor is solved (...) with disregard for countries like Portugal, in a world that

is becoming more and more communicating" (Aguiar, M. 1986), questions regarding

the interrelationship between emigration and nationality become ever more crucial

to the [re]invention of a Portuguese nation "understood(...) mainly as population

rather than territory" (ibid: 1986). As a result of these concerns, the

Portuguese state implemented in 1981 a new law based on a broader cultural

construction of nationality. While giving emigrants dual citizenship status and

voting rights (except for presidential elections), this law has further

recognized the equal rights of women and men to transmit their Portuguese

nationality to sons and daughters - regardless of whether they were born within

legal marriages, out of wedlock or adopted - as well as to spouses (in Aguiar,

M, 1986)

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This broader construction of nationality, which takes into account consanguineous and affinal kinship ties, was justified in the following terms

> In any case, it seems unquestionable that, from the perspective of the states, there would be advantages in recognizing at the level of (citizenship) rights , the situations that international migration creates. Migration and changing countries of residence originate new connections, new bounds and new loyalties. But this does not mean that the deep roots that bind the individuals to the land and culture of their fathers do not continue to be the structural element of their identity. For the individuals, the main thing is to be doubly accepted and wanted because they accept and love two countries. It will therefore be of advantage for the states to regulate with one another the consequences of such twofold links (Aguiar, M 1986:)

Since the issuing of dual citizenship was further based on the admission that "the complex components of a emigratory policy transcended a merely labor perspective" (ibid, M:19), the state transferred the emigration services to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Hence, this Ministry began to emphasize the human rights of international migrants rather than the mere supply of labor and, in this context, "the total respect for the (citizen's) freedom to either emigrate or return to (Portugal) (ibid:). As an outcome of these policies, Portuguese immigrants were expected to "integrate in(to) the host society without assimilating and to establish the presence of Portugal in the world" (Aguiar 1986:18) Furthermore, in preparation for the unification of Europe, the term "immigrant" was abolished and replaced by the expressions "Portuguese abroad" and "Portuguese spread around the world"

Still in 1980, the central government created a State Division of Portuguese Communities with the aim of providing support to the Portuguese dispersed populations as well as reinforcing their linkages with the home-country. By these means and based on the recognition that "emigrants have kept a complex network of relationships", the government sought to increase and intensify the active participation of the "Portuguese abroad" in every sector of Portuguese society. (Aguiar, M 1986) However, in view of the fact that an

estimated four million Portuguese were spread throughout 96 countries, government officials have opted instead to reach and establish a permanent dialogue with the representatives of the Portuguese voluntary associations abroad (Rocha-Trindade 1984) These "dialogues" were further intended to stimulate programs through these associations that could: a) strengthen the persistence of Portuguese culture and language in the world; and b) strengthen the economic, social and cultural cooperation among Portuguese abroad as well as between those communities and the different regions of Portugal. Similar Divisions were also formed by the autonomous regions of the archipelagos of Madeira and Azores.

In a first phase, the implementation of this structure of support has included systematic data collection on Portuguese emigration; the organization of meetings with the representatives of the dispersed Portuguese communities abroad in different parts of the world, the continued annual celebration of the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities as well as festivals; publication of books pertaining to different migratory experiences (some authored by immigrant scholars, novelists and poets) and the systematic granting of medal awards to leading Portuguese citizens abroad. Furthermore, besides channeling information that could help the dispersed population to decide how to invest their resources at home, the central government has also established a system of support and benefits for the increasing numbers of returning migrants. Starting in the late 1980's, the State Division of Portuguese Communities has also began to direct particular attention to the media, creating special TV and radio programs for the communities abroad.

More recently, since the Treaty of Maastricht, the policies and ideologies of the central government have increasingly focused on those Portuguese and descendants potentially able either to bring investments to Portugal or engage in the continuous organization of seminars, studies and celebrations of

Portuguese (high) culture. Probably some of the ongoing cultural activities are associated with the fact that Lisbon is presently the European Community's "Capital of Culture". However, the current emphasis on the celebration of Portugal's legendary past and universal culture has been intrinsically related to the ways in which the post-colonial state has administered its relative power within the bounded European community.

In fact, at least since 1986, when Portugal became an active member of the European Community, post-colonial power-holders, drawing on Fernando Pessoa's **Mensagem**, have (re)invented Portuguese (colonial) "Atlantic and universal vocation" as the basis of the (re)construction of its former (colonial) role as a broker in the global political economy. By these means, the state has tried to administer its relative power in the "space of the Twelve" as well as (re)construct Portuguese (transnational) culture. In a series of speeches, President Mario Soares has outlined the ways in which the state has negotiated Portugal's position within the Community:

> Everything (...) consists of the defense and assertion of a specific position of the country within the communitarian space (and)in the conquest of a voice on its own, and this does not exclude taking a position on the fundamental problems of European Construction (1987: 135)

The administration of this relative power within the bounded space of communitarian Europe has been intrinsically related to

> (...) the need and desire to restore the role of Portugal in the World, in function of the historical circumstances prevalent in the period of the closing of the "cycle of the Empire". It is not legitimate to interpret it as a self-withdrawal to the continental European dimension nor as a relinquishment from a position of openness towards the world (ibid: 1987:135).

Thus, together with the inclusion of its dispersed population in(to) the creation of a deterritorialized nation, Portugal's redefined relations with its former colonies became crucial for that negotiation

> I have said that an audacious policy of cooperation with the African countries - particularly with those that speak our language - is not only

feasible but rather complementary to Portugal's European integration. This is equally valid with respect to the intensification of economic relations with Brazil. Note what the fact that Portugal has a voice -and a vote- in the European community represents to Brazil (...) and to the African countries of Portuguese expression (...) . In this aspect (and when so many foolishly saw the question only in dichotomous terms - either Africa or Europe-) imagine how grave it would be if Portugal had not chosen in time the European option. (1987:136)

Ultimately, the ways in which the post-colonial state has administered its relative power within the European Community are summarized in the following extract:

we have for our own right a place in communitarian Europe, where we expect to receive the stimulus of a solidarity which could be translated into decisive and concrete support to our material and technological development and to whom, on the other hand, we will give the contribution of our universalistic culture and universalistic vocation (ibid: 19).

This culture and vocation was further delineated in a speech delivered at the European Parliament in July 1986

We bring to communitarian Europe the richness of a history and of a culture deeply linked to the geo-economic expansion and to the irradiation of civilizing values. We further bring you the vitality of our emigrant communities spread across all the continents. The Portuguese language, today spoken in all the world by 150 million people, prolongs in everyday life the projection of those values and constitutes an asset the European community cannot and should not, in any sense, disregard (Soares, M 1987: 125-132)

And addressing himself to the Portuguese:

A European but (at the same time) also an Atlantic nation, localized at the intercrossing of the maritime and air routes- between Europe and America, between the North and the South - at the entrance of the Mediterranean, Portugal has a strategic geo-position which partially explains its history of permanent openness towards the vast world, and which clearly ascertains the importance of its future. Let us, Portuguese of today, be capable of preparing this with determination and couragee, developing national cohesion (...)trusting ourselves

In a remarkable poem,(...) Pessoa writes in Mensagem, in December, 1928:

Europe lies, on its shoulders
From the East to the West it lies, gazing
And overshadowing it romantic hair
Greek eyes, remembering

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The left shoulder is drawn back
The right is at an angle, bent
That says Italy where it is rested,
This says England where far-off
The hand sustains the face which
gazes, with an enigmatically and fatal look
The West, future of the past
The face with which it gazes is Portugal

[3]

The dictatorship with its narrow nationalism (...) was unable to understand the Mensagem, as it was incapable of understanding the signs of a new time that since the middle of the century blows in Europe and in the World. For democrats, patriotism (...) is always (...) turned to the construction of the future and not only to the static contemplation of past glories. Let us be open to the future and to modernity (...) Let us know how to construct a modern state and society, capable of approaching, in conditions of competitiveness and prestige, the third millennium (Soares 1987:19-20)

As their national project of "modernity" and "development" became more and more interlinked with the European Community, post-colonial power-holders have (re)imagined Portuguese "transnational" culture and vocation as a way of distinguishing and differentiating Portugal within the space of the Twelve (Santos) and at the same time (re)constructing Portuguese nationalism. While a peripheral state-member of the community, this (re)imagining has enabled the state to(re)create political spaces and potential brokerage roles. By the use of cultural and propaganda policies, the state has tried to build an image of Portugal as a "central nation" whose role, paraphrasing Fernando Pessoa, is to "resume the flame of Europe". In these endeavors, the state has attempted to engage the dispersed Portuguese population as well as to redefine its relations with the former Portuguese colonies. However, as we will see, the (re)invention of unbounded (transnational) imagery has been marked by contradictions, conflicts and accomodations.

This is just [3] a free and quite literal translation of Pessoa's poem

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The Construction of a "Portuguese Community Abroad": Saudade and the Dialectics of Deterritorialization and Reterritorialization

> A true Portuguese is never only a Portuguese. Well, to be everything in an individual is to be all. [But to be all in a collectivity means that each individual is nothing (Fernando Pessoa, in Santos, B.S. 1993)

While the creation of a deterritorialized nation has encompassed the world, the movement of Portuguese migration, historically linked by regionally demarcated networks of kinship, has followed the demands of labor in a changing global economy. In the course of these continuous labor dislocations, New Bedford, an industrial town in New England, U.S.A, became known as the "capital of the Portuguese in America". For at least a century, labor migration, networks of regionally demarked kinship relations (including intercontinental marriage patterns), the circulation of material and symbolic goods, and the constant reinvention of saudade da terra (nostalgia for the homeland) have merged New Bedford (as well as neighboring Fall River and Tauton) and different regions of Portugal into a single social (and spatial) construction. [4]

The holding of American citizenship as well as access through kinship and marriage to "American papers" have long been a valuable asset enabling individuals and families from many regions of Portugal, and particularly the Azores, to move across the Atlantic and live their lives between their homeland and New England (or California). [5] However, in the context of the growing

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since the 1920s, the Portuguese have constituted the major ethnic group of the city, comprising today 60% of New Bedford's 110.000 inhabitants.

[5] In this context, the analysis of genealogies and oral histories indicates that the successive contingents of immigrants who have settled in New England in different historical periods are linked among themselves through regionally demarcated consanguineal and affinal kinship ties. Between the 1960s and 1980s, the arrival of kin-related immigrants was further facilitated by American governmental policies fostering chain migration. In fact, these policies, together with the paternalist labor strategies (of the now faded) local factories towards hiring kin-related workers, enabled many families to reunite in New England and, at the same time, reinforced the common family strategy of choosing mates for their daughters and sons in the homeland.

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internationalization of capital and of changing Portuguese and American policies towards international migrants, there has been since the late 1970s an intensification of old and the emergence of new forms of transnationalism. Hence, in the context of Massachusetts' (already faded) "economic miracle" and the issuing of dual citizenship rights, a growing number of older immigrants have returned to Portugal after achieving their desired retirement in America, leaving relatives behind in New England. These immigrants have lived simultaneously between their regions of origin and New England, making full use of the usufruct of the American structure of social benefits and the special privileges issued by the Portuguese state to returning immigrants. Also immigrants who have achieved upward mobility in the United States have increasingly taken advantages of Portugal's special privileges to make investments and establish businesses in their regions of origin in partnership with their relatives who either had returned to or were left behind in the homeland. Given Portuguese extended family patterns, these phenomena made way for the intensification of a transnational family structure in which decisions in everyday life are dependent upon and encompass relatives living in Portugal and the United States. Furthermore, the increasing incorporation of Portugal into the world economy and the betterment of standards of living in Portugal also made for an intensification of visits of relatives living in Portugal to New England as well as for an increase in the circulation of material goods in the context of the ongoing transnationalization of consumption and of the domestic economy.

These transnational trends have strengthened immigrants' regional social fields which further encompass relatives settled in other parts of the world. The intensification of these regionally demarcated transnational networks of kinship relations of the Portuguese of New England in conjunction with the prevailing American multiethnic policies reinforcing ethnic boundaries, have heightened

their reterritorialization as (apparently) segregated (and self-segregated) enclaves in the region. However, instead of strengthening Portugal's national hegemony, these dialectical processes have made way for an increase of Portuguese regionalism in New England, as well as for endemic cleavages expressing conflicting identities in terms of regional origin, class, generation and gender.

In fact, the imagining of an unbounded political community has masked the differential (re)elaboration of Portugueseness in the context of immigration and, most of all, Portugal's national heterogeneity. Certainly, in the reconstruction of Portuguese identity at the level of the self or the individual, Portugal's collective historical memory may, in some instances, permeate interactions with non-Portuguese, particularly in situations of discrimination. However, the reconstructions of Portuguese identity in America are embedded in concrete experiences of migration, changing work habits, and the interconnection of lives lived between Portugal and the United States. Particularly, those women and men whose history of immigration encompasses the transition from pre-industrial task-oriented activities in Portugal to industrial work in the United States have tended to developed a romantic nostalgia, or **saudade da terra**, for their immediate past of non-industrial labor. Hence, they have tended to imagine Portugal in terms of their pre-industrial life in their villages of origin rather than in terms of its national historical past. Thus, the symbolic representations and the social practices associated with their immediate past prior to emigration have shaped their identities (and, thus, have reterritorialized them) as Azoreans, Madeirans and mainlanders. These strong identities have been even more strengthened by their regionally demarcated transnational networks of kinship, American multiethnic politics and (in this context) the increasing competition among themselves for jobs and resources in the United States. In everyday life, their regional (and transnational) identities have tended to be stronger than

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(and have sometimes conflicted with) Portuguese national identity. Hence, in the (re)elaboration of their Portugueseness, their "local and transnational spatial temporalities have been stronger than the national" (Santos, B.S. 1993)

In contrast, male and female American-born descendents of immigrantes as well as younger immigrants who have advanced socially, educationally and economically have tended either to juxtapose their Portuguese and American identities or to shift progressively to an American identity. In the past, when U.S nation-state building processes sought to incorporate immigrants through assimilation, but in the context in which foreigness and racial differences were stigmatized and in which the Portuguese tended to be seen as dark-skinned foreigners, members of this stratum tended either to assimilate or disguise their Portuguese ancestry. Yet, as the United States policies shifted towards cultural pluralism, an emerging stratum of bicultural and bilingual Portuguese (immigrants and descendents of immigrants who have settled in New Bedford since the 1950s) have increasingly became cultural brokers between the immigrant working-class population and American institutions. Some of them have also acted as intermediaries among Portugal, New Bedford and the immigrant population. However, their actions and interactions have been confined among themselves and circumscribed by endemic cleavages exposing regional, generational and gender differences.

Furthermore, U.S efforts at immigrant incorporation have given public acceptance to celebrations of ethnic communities as building blocks of the American social fabric and provoked significant changes. Thus, long-established Luso-American entrepreneurs, descendents of the older contingents of Portuguese immigrants, whose lives have been circumscribed to the U.S and some of whom had in the past assimilated into American society, have also (re)elaborated their Portuguese ancestry. Even though quite distant from the rather heterogeneous (and

probably unfeasible) Portuguese immigrant community, these Luso-Americans, together with a few upwardly mobile immigrants, have (re)invented the legendary Portuguese past as part of their attempts to represent an ethnic group striving to establish itself as a majority (not a minority) in the pluralistic society of New England. Since the (re)invention of the Age of the Discoveries in present day America represents a pragmatic cultural construction to change the image of Portugal and of the Portuguese in the region, the vested interests of these afluent Luso-Americans have coincided with the ongoing efforts of the Portuguese state. Thus, by these means, they have helped the Portuguese state to establish an image of a "modern Portugal" in the region.

However, as the Portuguese leadership of New Bedford is highly differentiated and fragmented, the politics of the Portuguese state has ultimately intensified endemic cleavages between these affluent and influential Luso-Americans entrepreneurs and the stratum of bicultural and bilingual cultural brokers in their striving to represent Portugal's historical past in the region. At the same time, endemic cleavages have further reflected and encompassed regional countervailing interests in Portugal. In fact, since the Revolution of 1974, the Azoreans (as well as the Madeirans) have tried to gain more autonomy in relation to the centralizing forces of the state. In New England, where the Azorean constituency is the largest, the regional government of the Azores, owning to the help of leading New England Azoreans, has been in a better position than the central government to establish international accords in the region as well as to gain direct access to the higher echelons of American politics. In similar ways, the Azorean government has supported Azorean candidates running for positions in New England's local level politics.

These prevailing regional divisions and strong localisms have been, most probably, exacerbated in the United States by the ongoing American multiethnic

politics and the recurrent competition for the limited jobs and resources available in the rather depressed New England economy. Against this background, the (re)construction of Portuguese culture in New England has been intrinsically rooted in the dialectical relationship between transnationalism and (reterritorialized) localisms. Since "the different localisms say more about Portuguese culture than the (national) culture (Santos, 1993: 31), it is not by chance that the formerly assimilated Luso-Americans (rather than the transmigrants) have been fulfilling brokerage roles between Portugal's central government and prospective American commercial missions[6].As a corollary, Portugal (resuming its former [colonial] brokerage role) has began to provide to these American missions access to the European market.

While seemingly paradoxical, this mutual brokerage complies with the evolving (and increasingly exclusionary) policies and ideologies of the Portuguese state which have gone from an initial recognition of Portugal's position as a labor-exporting country in the global economic order and a concern with the citizenship rights of its deterritorialized populations to the (re)construction of Portugal's former (colonial) brokerage role and "Atlantic" vocation as a way of administering its relative power within the European Community. As part of this undertaking, the central government has intensified its efforts at incorporating those (upper-class) Portuguese and descendents of Portuguese capable of bringing investments to Portugal as well as promoting Portugal's universal ("high") culture in their countries of settlement (or

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Preliminary[6] research indicates that in São Paulo, Brazil, affluent
Portuguese immigrants who are already part of the mainstream of society (the majority of whom are mainlanders and, to a lesser degree, Madeirans), are increasingly celebrating the legendary Portuguese past in events sponsored by the city's Division of Culture. Some of them are in fact transnational entrepreneurs who have already opened up branches of their enterprises in Portugal. While there are a proliferation of regional voluntary associations and cleavages among these Portuguese, the politics of ethnicity has not been as strongly demarcated as in the U.S.

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birth). In the same spirit, the Portuguese state has recently established the Camões (Cultural) Foundation in charge of disseminating Portugal's ancestral universal culture and vocation across the world, including traveling exhibits of its remote (colonial) apogee.

In the meantime, the bulk of New England's Portuguese workers, who are themselves more vulnerable to the rhythms of capitalism, have increasingly faced once again the closing down of local plants, salary cuts, and unemployment. In spite of the endemic regional cleavages, which have been further intensified by ongoing American and Portuguese policies of control, these "Portuguese abroad" have mobilized themselves as immigrants facing discrimination within the American labor force. At the same time, in spite of their acquired full citizenship rights, they have continued to meet discrimination in Portugal. Even though there has been a demand for their skilled labor in Portugal, they have tended to be passed over in favor of the Portuguese resident population. A case is point was the recent unsuccessful attempt made by Ford-Volkswagen in recruiting, for their newly installed Portuguese plant, immigrants who had worked in similar plants in the U.S.A . But as New Bedford's **Portuguese Times** newspaper put it,

> "The fact that Americans and Germans connected to that project were interested in recruiting immigrant workers created an embarrassing situation. Trying to clear up the matter, the corporation made public that 99% of the 4500 workers will be hired in Portugal and that only the remaining percentage could be made up of experienced emigrant workers, as it was the case of the 15 skilled workers coming from Germany and who are already in charge of professional training courses. Apparently, Portugal seems to be afraid of the mass return of candidates for jobs in that plant and (hence) would rather have immigrants (just) vacationing there.(March 11,1993)

In compliance with regulations of the European Community, the Portuguese state has recently enacted a "Foreigners' Law" under which even those Portuguese with foreign passaports have to pay $ 25.000 escudos to enter its geographical territory. Thus, Portugal's politics of deterritorialization and

reterritorialization has evolved towards some rather tortuous subtleties. While continuing to emphasize an unbounded imagery, the increasingly exclusionary policies of the Portuguese state, favoring Portugal's resident population as well as successful non-residents and their descendents, are rendering more difficult the return migration of unemployed (particularly if impoverished) Portuguese laborers. Thus, in this conjuncture of capitalism, confronted with economic discrimination and exclusionary policies in Portugal's labor market, the dispersed lower-class Portuguese, in spite of their dual citizenship rights, have again turned into (or continued to be?) second-class citizens.

Post-Colonialism and the Emerging Construction of a (Transnational) "Community of Portuguese-Speaking Nations"[7]

> For the destiny I suppose will be that of Portugal, the colonies are
> not required (Fernando Pessoa, in Mensagem)

The recent issuing of the "Foreigners' Law" in Portugal, leading to the closing of its territorial boundaries to some working-class Brazilians, together with the recurrent conflicts pertaining to the increasing competition between Brazilian immigrants and resident-Portuguese in Portugal's labor market, ultimately resulted in a diplomatic confrontation between the two "brother" countries. The crisis, prompted by Brazil's complaints that Portugal has broken their 1972 "Equal Citizenship Rights Treaty" was followed by mutual retaliations and blatant prejudice (embedded in racism) in which Brazilians and Portuguese, in both countries, took different sides. Above all, this incident highlighted the centuries-old ambivalent and contradictory relations between Portugal and its former colony, as well as their (recent) changing positions in the global political economy.

These ambivalent and contradictory relations were grounded in the "reversal of the colonial pact" (Mota, G. and F. Novaes 1982) at the time of the

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[7]This section as well as the conclusions need further elaboration.

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Napoleonic wars, when the colony was turned into "the center of the Empire and the metropolis (into) the appendage of the colony" (Santos 1993). In fact, as Santos has pointed out,

> "Culturally, Brazil and the African countries never were full colonies. Loyal to its semiperipheral nature, the Portuguese culture extended to them the border zone that allowed them to see Portugal as an access passageway to the central cultures (1993:31)

While relations between Brazil and Portugal have been phrased in the idiom of "brotherhood", the role reversal between the former colonizer and the former colony has continued after Brazilian independence. At first, Brazil became the major receptor of Portuguese immigrants and, subsequently, a major supplier of cultural goods, including the popular TV soap operas that have invaded the Portuguese market. Even as Portugal entered the bounded space of the European Community, skilled Brazilian professionals in different fields were asked to provide technological assistance and training. However, more recently, in the context of globalization and Brazil's prolonged economic crises, increasing numbers of Brazilians have looked for better life alternatives elsewhere. In the context of the emerging Brazilian wanderlust across the world, Portugal has turned into a passageway to Europe.

It is true that Brazilian diplomacy has reacted against the Portuguese exclusionary policies towards its international migrants. Nevertheless, Portugal has also been perceived by the Brazilian state as a valuable passageway to the European Community. Therefore, it was not by chance that the resolution of the diplomatic conflict involving Brazilian migrants has entailed the emerging formation of a transnational community made up of the seven Portuguese-speaking countries. While its substantiation has been led by Brazilian diplomacy, this transnational community (re)constructs Portugal's former colonial spaces. Thus, in the current conjuncture of capitalism, this "community of Portuguese-Speaking nations" - embedded in the colonial past and linked by the idiom of "brotherhood"

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- aims to gain new political spaces in the globalized economic order. Ironically, the former colonizer has begun, once again, and this time without the burden of colonialism, to fulfill brokerage roles for its former colonies.

However, the formation of the "Community of the Seven" is also of vital importance for strengthening Portugal's position within the bounded space of the European Community, as well as in the Peninsula, for

> How to develop our integration in Europe and, (...) insofar as Portugal is the natural space of Spain's expansion and internationalization, how to counteract Spain ? This question calls for the strengthening of our transatlantic ties with the Portuguese-Speaking countries and, in view of its degree of economic development, particularly Brazil. The internationalization of the Portuguese economy demands that we counteract Spain' hegemony and (thus) requires the reinforcement of ties within the enlarged space of the Peninsula and particularly beyond the Atlantic. (Sousa 1993:21)

Thus, the ongoing (re)invention of Atlantism and, in this context, the (re)construction of its (colonial) social fields has became of vital importance for the ways in which Portugal has negotiated its peripheral position within the European Community. As we haven seen, in addition to the emerging "Community of the Seven", the Portuguese state has further engaged the leading Portuguese abroad in its project of "development" and "modernity". In a way, while marked by contradictions, the Portuguese case brings to the fore the resilience of the nation-state. However, Portugal is at a crossroads since, while striving to gain a position in the globalized order, it also runs the risk of turning into a peripheral locality of Europe. For, as critics of the state claim

> Portugal did something else for the world. Besides building its own land, Portugal built the sea for the world.(...) The Portuguese built their land and built the sea and now, since, according to some, the sea has ended, the sea has closed itself, what else does Portugal still have to build? Or must it close its doors and state that it will trespass its space to become, for instance, something like a vacation camp for Europe? (Silva, A 1988:98)

Certainly, the attempts are not in that direction.

Notes

1. This paper tries to combine the transnational framework developed by Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Szanton Blanc for the study of international migration, with the analytical perspectives, aiming at understanding Portugal's singular position as a semiperipheral nation (and, thus, a broker) in the global economic order, developed by Boaventura Sousa Santos and his colleagues at the University of Coimbra's Center for Social Studies.

2. Portions of this paper appeared in Feldman-Bianco, B.(1992)

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