Portuguese migrations: Second-generation studies

Sandra Silva
Universidade de Lisboa

Emanuel da Silva
University of Toronto

João Sardinha
Universidade Aberta

Portugal, although a relatively small country, presents a sizeable lens through which to examine diverse experiences with transnational migration and diasporic communities. This Special Issue of the IJPDS focuses specifically on the practices of Luso-descendants, transnational subjects with multiple positions; some negotiating their integration outside of Portugal (e.g., in Canada, France, and Germany), and others involved in counter-diasporic movements of return to Portugal. All of the articles gathered here present compelling analyses of complicated processes of inclusion and exclusion across social and physical boundaries. Before exploring the thematic bond between these articles, however, we begin by contextualizing the geographic bond that unites them: Portugal’s territory and migration history. This history is shaped by outflows and inflows, the former representing an historical and continuous trend, and the latter being more recent.

Immigration to Portugal only became a significant phenomenon after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974. Prior to that, foreign populations were a marginal phenomenon for the government and for public opinion. In 2012, official data suggest there were just over 417,000 documented migrants residing in Portugal, accounting for approximately 4% of the total population (SEF, 2013). In the decades that followed the revolution and the downfall of the Salazar regime, immigration to Portugal came mainly from Portuguese-speaking countries, such as Brazil, and the former African colonies (Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Mozambique). However, over time, migratory fluxes expanded progressively and by the end of the 20th century, immigrants from Eastern Europe (e.g., Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, and Romania) and Asia (e.g., India and China) began significantly diversifying the foreign population and Portugal’s ethno-cultural landscape.
The factors underlying the country’s relatively short immigration history relate mainly to Portugal’s history as a colonial empire (until the 1970s), but also to its recent history as a country with high labor market demands (from the 1980s to the early 2000s). In the first case, the collapse of the Portuguese Empire brought high inflows of migrants including both Portuguese returnees and other immigrants from the former African colonies. In the second case, Portugal’s entry into the European Economic Community in 1986 was marked by fast development and the need for laborers. This boom of the Portuguese economy and the country’s infrastructural development drew new immigrant groups from Asia and Eastern Europe, especially towards the end of the 1990s, creating a trend that would continue for another fifteen years. The period around 2005 was a turning point that saw Portugal slip from relative economic prosperity to an economic recession and austerity that still linger today. Hit with the consequences of such a decline, the overall number of foreigners living in Portugal has subsequently dwindled.²

Portuguese emigration, however, has never ended, despite economic growth and migration inflows during the 1990s and early 2000s. In fact, emigration has been one of Portugal’s structuring characteristics because it began in the early fifteenth century and prevails until today. In fact, the Portuguese immigrant population now represents more than a fifth of its resident population and has grown faster in recent decades with an emigration rate of 21% in 2010 (Pires, Pereira, Azevedo, and Ribeiro, 2014, p. 20, 24).

Due to the large-scale commercial and colonial expansion of the former Portuguese Empire, from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, the Portuguese settled in various places in Africa (Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe), in Asia (India, Macau, East-Timor, Malaysia, and Indonesia), in the Pacific (Hawaii, Australia, and New Zealand), in the Caribbean (Bermuda, Guyana, Curaçao, Trinidad and Tobago, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Barbados, and Jamaica), and in both South America (Brazil, Venezuela, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile), and North America (United States and Canada). Nevertheless, large-scale emigration only began in the second half of the 20th century with Portugal experiencing particularly heavy out-migration for Brazil, North America (USA—New Jersey, New England, and California; Canada—Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia), and Europe (France, Germany, Luxembourg, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Spain, Netherlands, and Belgium) from the 1950s to the 1970s. Having decreased during the 1980s and 1990s, a significant increase in emigration has again been witnessed since the early 2000s.

Considering the evolution of Portuguese migratory outflows, characterized over time by considerable changes in volume, composition, and destination countries, Portugal has always witnessed a steady stream of its people departing for other shores. As a result of these migratory movements, Portugal has a consolidated diaspora that makes up a significant global population, even if official estimates differ. World Bank estimates show that in 2010 there were
about 2,300,000 Portuguese immigrants in the world (Pires et al., 2014, p. 24). Other estimates suggest that there are approximately five million diasporic members, including the descendants of Portuguese migrants (Pires, 2010, p. 92, as cited in Malheiros, 2010, p. 2; Pires et al., 2014, p. 20). Another source estimates a Portuguese diaspora comprised of more than thirty million people, a figure that, in this case, includes the Portuguese born and their descendants up until the third generation (Albino, 2009); or even a diaspora of one hundred million people if everyone with recognizable Portuguese ancestors is considered (Solsten, 1994).

According to data from the OECD (2012) and the Observatório da Emigração (2012), there are Portuguese people living in 140 countries around the world. In the most recent statistical report on Portuguese migration (Pires et al., 2014) three sets of destination countries for Portuguese migrants were identified. Firstly, countries in the Americas (Brazil, Canada, USA, and on a smaller scale, Venezuela), where the entry of new Portuguese immigrants today is insufficient to compensate for mortality and any movements of return and remigration, creating Portuguese populations of high volume but also aging and declining in numbers. The second set of destination countries includes Germany, France, and Luxembourg that have recently witnessed enough of a resurgence in Portuguese immigration to reverse the trend towards population stabilization or even decline, but not to offset its aging. Finally, there is a third set of destination countries with different patterns of new, young, and growing Portuguese migrant populations: Switzerland (with a history of Portuguese immigration since the second half of the 1980s), the United Kingdom (now the main destination of Portuguese emigration and still in a phase of high growth), and Spain (which is undergoing a period of decline as a migration destination since the global financial crisis) (Pires et al., 2014, p. 20).

If we focus on the numeric distribution of Portuguese immigrants, in 2011, there were more than one million Portuguese nationals living in European countries alone, representing 2.3% of the total number of immigrants living in the continent, and more than one hundred and forty thousand living in other continents (Pires et al., 2014, p. 57). In terms of data from specific countries, in 2013, consular registration of Portuguese emigrants and descendants was concentrated as follows: France (1,243,419), Switzerland (294,925), UK (257,000), Germany (171,933), Luxembourg (103,009), Belgium (53,977), and Spain (48,653). Outside of Europe, we highlight Brazil (581,869), Venezuela (300,000), the USA (198,781), Canada (151,087), China (128,138), China-Macao (126,238), and Angola (115,595), followed by Mozambique (24,181) (Pires et al., 2014, p. 218).

The ever-increasing, visible migratory chains, as well as the consequent activation of local and transnational networks of support, information, and solidarity, draw attention to processes of social integration in the Portuguese diaspora and to connections with Portugal. Given the diaspora’s importance in socio-cultural (e.g., social and symbolic identification with Portugal) and
economic terms (e.g., financial remittances), as well as its relevance for maintaining and promoting the Portuguese culture and language (within and beyond the Lusophone world), the characteristics of the Portuguese diaspora (as being part of two or more “worlds,” be they social, economic, political, linguistic, or gendered, among others) require greater attention and more thorough analysis, which is precisely the gap being filled by this Special Issue and by the IJPDS journal itself.

In an increasingly transnational world, where people, capital, cultures, languages, ideas, and other social constructs circulate across physical and virtual borders, the descendants of migrants provide a critical perspective on global diasporic dynamics (be they 1.5, 2nd or 3rd generations: foreign-born individuals who immigrated as children or during their teens with their parents, or native-born children of foreign-born parents or grandparents). These descendants are young people born and/or raised in heterogeneous spaces, who often reveal multiple positionings and ambiguous views of home, identity, and belonging as local, national, and transnational powers compete for their allegiance. Portuguese descendants around the world, like other diasporic youth, frequently find themselves negotiating who they are, and where they are, given their often bi-/multi-cultural upbringing, which is influenced by the multiple environments they live in and in-between (Afonso, 1997; Christou, 2006; Gokalp, 1988). Raised in their parents’ country of immigration (either the country of their birth or where they relocated as children), these young social actors negotiate between different ethnolinguistic and sociopolitical spheres: the ethnic (Portuguese) socio-cultural space, lived primarily within the family unit or the ethnic enclave/market; the local society or “host” country, dominated primarily by school, work, political, and often highly mediatized mainstream environments; and perhaps also their (grand)parents’ homeland, which some characterize as their “ancestral home.” The situated experience of Luso-descendants serves, on the one hand, as an illuminating lens through which to examine the complicated processes of transnationalism, mobility, social network construction, cultural and linguistic performances, identity creation, and negotiations of belonging in very distinct social and geographical environments. On the other hand, it provides a window into local integration strategies and examines how transnational networks as discourses of ethnolinguistic and cultural maintenance are juxtaposed with discourses of citizenship and nationalism; what challenges do these young people face in terms of language retention, identity formation, education, employment, social mobility, and inclusion? Why do some choose to return to “their roots,” be that return imagined, virtual, or physical?

The objective of this Special Issue is to scrutinize the practices and the politics of diaspora, from a number of differing perspectives, by examining Portuguese diasporic communities in Canada, France, and Germany, as well as counter-diasporic movements of return to Portugal. Moreover, the Special Issue intends to present some clues about the personal/individual and social/community coping strategies that Portuguese youth use to deal with the various
challenges and barriers they encounter as they navigate through their adjustment and settlement processes. This Special Issue is intentionally interdisciplinary and it weaves together unique research drawing from disciplines such as geography, anthropology, sociology, media studies, education and equity studies, queer theory, and migration studies, among others. Each discipline and each paper brings its own perspective on the experiences of Portuguese diasporic youth in trans-local settings, but, together, they reflect the complexity and multiplicity of changing social realities. The overarching theoretical framework uniting all six papers can be seen as critical (post-structuralist) and ethnographic transnationalism. Such a framework draws heavily from the rich theoretical works of Stuart Hall, Benedict Anderson, Judith Butler, Pierre Bourdieu, Alejandro Portes, and Steven Vertovec, to name just a few key thinkers.

All of the papers in this Special Issue analyze data produced, in some way, through ethnographic research methods, including qualitative fieldwork, in-depth interviews, participant observation, and historical contextualization. In this way, the contributing authors strive to contextualize and deconstruct the depth and diversity of social interactions across different kinds of borders. They also strive to recognize the voices and the agency of the research participants themselves, while remaining mindful of broader political and social dynamics.

Studies on “second-generation transnationalism” are relatively recent, and research on the so-called “second-generation of immigrants” is growing and focusing on issues we examine in this volume, such as adaptation strategies, identity formation, and transnational negotiations (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Thomson & Crul, 2007; Wessendorf, 2007). The papers herein can be further analyzed in light of the debate over the factors that influence the likelihood of transnational practices and ties, maintained and sustained from one generation to another; how these fluctuate at different stages of life and what meanings they have for Luso-descendants (Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Levitt & Waters, 2002). Moreover, these papers explore the dimensions of the impact, magnitude, and frequency of transnational activities and ties with the “ancestral homeland,” and the role of these factors in identity construction.

These complex processes of identity construction operate within transnational social fields and their outcomes are often expressed and negotiated through an array of variables ranging from language learning, to family flows of socio-cultural, economic, and symbolic capital; from cultural and gendered performances of identity, to the utilization of modern technologies and media forms that globalize ethnicity and culture.

Overview of the papers
Rather than divide the papers strictly by region, we thought it more intellectually stimulating to organize the articles thematically and have them
speak to each other by cross-pollinating theories, methodologies, and experiences. The six papers, which are presented in more detail below, are divided into three thematic sections: 1) The media’s role in negotiating ethno-cultural identities; 2) Challenging transnational, linguistic, and gendered boundaries; and 3) Counter-diasporic mobilities. The two papers in the first thematic area reflect on the nuanced and innovative ways that Portuguese-descendant second-generation youth negotiate their Portugueseness through cultural performances in the face of media representations, and negative stereotypes. The two papers in the second thematic section build on strong ethnographic research to explore the tensions that second-generation youth encounter when confronted with specific boundaries and constraints based on language, class, gender, and transnationalism. Finally, the two papers in the third thematic section broaden the scope of identity research on Portuguese diasporic youth by focusing on the experiences of those who return to Portugal.

I. The media’s role in negotiating ethno-cultural identities

Carvalheiro’s and Ferreira’s papers engage the question of second-generation Portuguese diasporic identities through the lens of media productions. In the Portuguese diaspora in France, Carvalheiro’s interview-based paper explores how French youth of Portuguese descent negotiate French media representations of migration and ethnicity. More specifically, the author questions how a subjective belonging to a collective Portuguese identity can persist despite little coverage in mainstream French media, and how the discourses of Portuguese descendants, who consume media information, can lead to the erasure of their self-conception as a specific group. Carvalheiro’s data suggest that Portuguese-French youth in Paris manage media representations with their own social positions and experiences by building nuanced identities, both public and private. By reflecting on and narrating their “mediated realities,” second-generation youth appear to construct themselves as not distinct from other French citizens even though the first-generation is somewhat underappreciated and stereotyped in French public opinion. The author concludes that the appropriation of media images erodes “the language of insight” that serves to narrate difference and indifference, while weakening positive group identification.

By exploring the topic of language and identity in diasporic settings, Ferreira’s paper focuses on the transnational and multi-local spaces of symbolic belonging that are constructed through Portuguese TV shows (Magazine Contacto) in Canada and in France. The author argues that language is one of the most legitimizing cultural markers and that in Portuguese diasporic TV programming like Canadá Contacto and França Contacto, which are supported by Portugal’s national broadcaster (RTPI) and produced locally, the mandatory use of Portuguese raises questions about power and legitimacy. Ferreira suggests that many of the local producers of ethnic media realize that, despite the
centrality of Portuguese language in reproducing diasporic nationalism, their future depends on bilingual programming and the recognition of different ways of speaking and being Portuguese. Such recognition could help increase the participation of second- and third-generation youth of Portuguese descent who largely ignore the ethnic media which seem to be invested in reproducing a transnational Portuguese identity rather than exploring its many changes. Ferreira’s ethnography of media production contextualizes the construction and dissemination of collective representations about migration and diasporic identity.

II. Challenging transnational, linguistic, and gendered boundaries
Emerging from her ethnographic fieldwork in Portuguese language classes in three German cities (Duisburg, Mulheim a.d. Ruhr, and Essen), Nunes’s applied anthropological paper raises important questions on the agency and voices of children as transnational cultural mediators/producers when it comes to constructing their sense of self. In an interdisciplinary look at Luso-descendant youth, the methodological and theoretical contribution of a field such as Child Studies represents a significant contribution and a qualitative counterpoint to traditional psychological and demographic research. The author argues that children are rarely heard from in academic studies, especially those about Portuguese diasporic communities, despite the fact that children are vital to the future of these communities. How does diaspora affect their childhood? What challenges do they face in terms of belonging, identity, and social participation? In Germany, the Portuguese community is largely invisible in the mainstream, and the Portuguese state struggles to increase the number of Portuguese descendants in its sponsored language programs. For some, these language classes are an opportunity to foster multiple identities, but for many more, these language classes are not important. Nunes’s data—generated through considerable participant observation and in-depth, multi-sited ethnography—reveal a growing loss of Portuguese as a mother tongue and a lack of voice awareness demonstrated in the attitudes that go beyond the endemic spaces of ethnic identity and belonging. Through their remarks, silences, and complaints, Portuguese-German children themselves are pointing out complex yet dynamic processes behind common assumptions regarding learning Portuguese in socio-cultural and institutional contexts. The author concludes that Portuguese appears to be less valued than other languages, that Portuguese classes and teachers need more support, and that the voices of children need to be heard.

The study of gender, which intersects all of the papers in this Special Issue to some extent, is the main focus of Pereira’s paper on masculinity and the academic underachievement of young Portuguese-Canadian men in Toronto. The author argues that the persistently low rates of high school graduation and academic achievement among the children of Portuguese immigrants in Canada reveal a form of “symbolic violence” in the field of education. Pereira’s
qualitative study attempts to widen the lens of investigation into this decades-long dilemma by exploring constructions of working-class masculinity and how they inform educational choices and attitudes. Moving beyond a singular class-based analysis, the author’s focus on gender and masculinity provides a more complex contextualization of school-related experiences and attitudes that lead young Portuguese-Canadian men to “de-select” education, such as their reluctance to accept additional educational resources and the negative effects of educational mobility on ethnic identity and cultural cohesiveness.

III. Counter-diasporic mobilities

Sardinha’s and dos Santos’s papers examine a less common aspect of transnational diasporas: second-generation youth, born outside of Portugal, who turn to or return to live in Portugal. Sardinha’s paper analyzes feelings of belonging and notions of transnationality among the descendants of Portuguese emigrants in France and Canada who have decided to move to Portugal. Drawing from ethnographic fieldwork and interviews, the author considers how these young transnationals, constructed as “returnees,” negotiate places of “origin” and “destination,” and how such mobility impacts their social networks and identities. Sardinha’s data suggest that his participants from France and Canada share a hybrid in-betweenness (with exposure to different cultures, societies, and languages), and a desire to do away with such division and hybridity by settling in Portugal. Yet, their processes of integration in Portugal reveal “shocks of return” and disillusionment where their in-betweenness is accentuated and “Canadian/French counter-identities” are deployed. As a result, Sardinha observes “transnationality from the local” as returnees navigate multidimensional spaces where home, host, and migrant identities are constantly present and valued to different degrees. Negotiating within mobile transnational social spaces, belonging becomes flexible; in the return setting, mobility strategies are often determined by a logic of comfort and survival, more so than the importance of cultural proximity.

Dos Santos’s focus is on the mobility of Portuguese-descendant youth in an intra-European context, particularly between France and Portugal, and how diasporic projects of family “return” are being negotiated by younger generations. Driven by increased transportation and technological ties, by European policies of student mobility, by the prospect of better employment opportunities abroad, by family members who remain in Portugal, and, to a lesser extent, by the Portuguese State’s policies for diasporic communities, second-generation transnationals have many reasons to maintain ties to Portugal. The author’s ethnographic data indicate that these ties will change over time but that, presently, they represent a rewarding identification resource for Portuguese descendants in the face of Portuguese ethnic invisibility, devaluing, and marginalization in France.
Conclusion

The original collection of interdisciplinary papers in this Special Issue set out to break new ground through the exploration of a wide array of complex experiences where Luso-descendants navigate transnational cultural spaces and negotiate identity, belonging, and mobility. To our knowledge, no other edited book or journal issue covers the same geographic and thematic comparative analytical ground as this Special Issue. What is most commonly found in the academic literature is research on the Portuguese diaspora that is organized regionally. For Canada, see Oliveira and Teixeira (2004); and Teixeira and da Rosa (2000, 2009). For the United States, see DaCosta Holton and Klimt (2009). For France, see Branco (1986, 1996); Baganha, Nizza da Silva, Maranhão, and Pereira (1993); Rocha-Trindade (2009); and Rocha-Trindade and Raveau (1998). For Germany, see Arroteia (1985); and Klimt (2005). The multi-sited and interdisciplinary analysis presented in this volume is lacking in the research on the Portuguese diaspora, and so this Special Issue represents a unique contribution to the fields of Portuguese studies, diaspora studies, and cultural studies, among others.

By examining theories of gender and masculinity, social agency, cultural diffusion, expressive culture, social constructivism, intersectionality, and counter-diasporic mobility, in specific geographical contexts, these six papers create spaces for further research in different diasporic contexts and for further theorization of the issues raised. Indeed, there are noticeable absences in the geographical scope of the papers in this volume which remain avenues for future research (from the Azores and Madeira, to the United States, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and Venezuela, for example), but our intention was never to provide a representative sample. Future research on Luso-descendants in the diaspora would do well to expand on the interdisciplinarity put forth in these papers, and include analyses of economic and professional development, artistic performances, political participation, and historical contexts, since studying the younger generations in diasporic settings provides insight into the changing dynamics of space, mobility, and agency. Finally, it is also worth noting that this Special Issue showcases a “new generation” of young scholars (graduate students, researchers, and professors) whose work focuses on “new generations” of Portuguese descendants on a global scale. These researchers are themselves privileged informants, since they, too, are Luso-descendants, who are either living and working in the diaspora, or who have returned to Portugal. As co-editors, we hope you critically engage in our reflection on transnationalism and multiple identities as laid out in this Special Issue, which will yield promising avenues for future research.

Notes

* The editors of this issue would like to thank Professor José Carlos Teixeira for his much valued guidance and suggestions made during the initial stages of assembling this special issue.
1 For more information on this phenomenon, please refer to Machado, Azevedo, and Matias (2009) for a vast bibliography of the literature on the theme.
2 For more information on the evolution of immigration to Portugal as well as its social and demographic characteristics, the following websites are particularly useful: http://www.oi.acidi.gov.pt/ and http://sefstat.sef.pt/home.aspx
3 Statistics on Portuguese inflows per destination country, ranging from 2001 to 2013, are available for download at the following link: http://www.observatorioemigracao.pt/np4/3252.html
4 For a full list of countries, see Pires et al. (2014), Appendix 2.

References
Sandra Silva, Emanuel da Silva, and João Sardinha / Portuguese Migrations | 311


Sandra Silva is currently a PhD Student at Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon (IGOT-UL) with a research project entitled “Geography of the Affection: Portuguese Diaspora and Transnational Networks” (Scholarship granted by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology - SFRH/BD/81796/2011). She holds a Bachelor degree in Sociology (2003) and a Masters in Human Geography (2008). Since 2004 she is working as a research assistant in the MIGRARE Research Unit (Migration, Spaces and Societies) at the Centre for Geographical Studies, IGOT-UL. During this period she has gained broad experience working on several research projects focusing on international migration issues such as health, housing and education, social and economic integration, spatial segregation and inter-ethnic relations, as well as comparative integration policies in the European context. From 2004 to 2014 Sandra co-authored several research papers, articles and reports. She also has wide know-how in organizing academic conferences and workshops as well as some teaching experience.

Emanuel da Silva holds a PhD in sociolinguistics (Department of French) from the University of Toronto, where he currently works as a Senior Research Officer studying francophone diversity in Canada. His interdisciplinary research interests include deconstructing dominant ideologies of language and identity, practices of social inequality and difference, and critical diaspora and post-national studies. His dissertation involved an ethnographic examination of Toronto’s Portuguese-Canadian community and how some of its youth negotiate languages and identities as symbolic and material resources. Emanuel also co-directs a public history initiative called the Portuguese-Canadian History Project, and is a founding board member of the Lusophone Studies Association. He has published articles in *International Journal of Multilingualism, Language Policy, Language in Society,* and *Portuguese Studies Review*, as well as book chapters in *Bilingualism: A Social Approach* (2007), and *O Português no século XXI* (2013).
João Sardinha is an associate researcher at the Center for the Study of Migrations and Intercultural Relations (CEMRI), Open University (UAb) in Lisbon, Portugal—(Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das Relações Interculturais, Universidade Aberta). He has a PhD in Migration Studies from the University of Sussex, United Kingdom; an MA in Geography and Regional Studies from the New University of Lisbon, Portugal; and a BA in Geography from the University of Northern British Columbia, Canada; and carried out post-doctoral studies at the University of Coimbra, Portugal. João’s main research areas include: return migrations, youth mobilities, lifestyle migrations, migrant identities and integration, transnational studies, and the Portuguese diaspora.