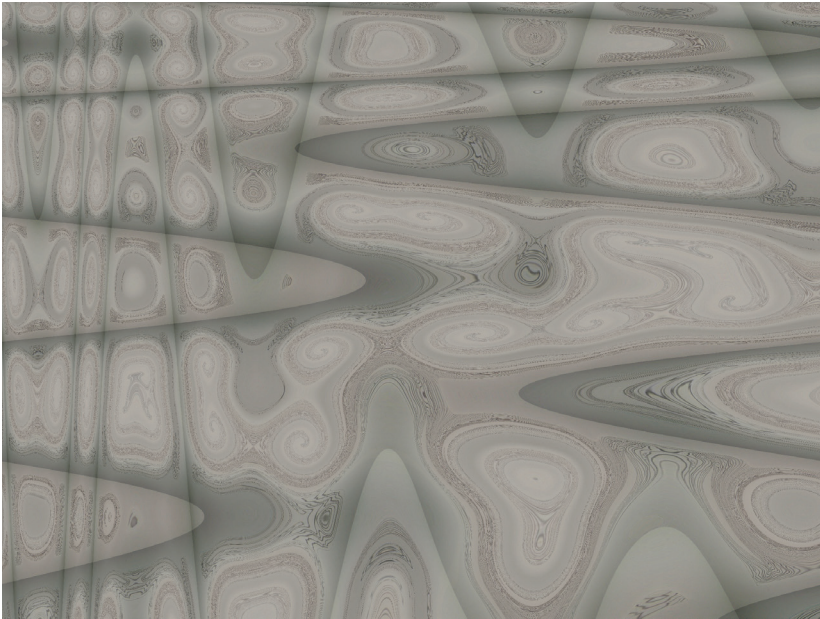


Intersecting Diaspora Boundaries

Portuguese Contexts



Edited by

Irene Maria F. Blayer & Dulce Maria Scott

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN DIASPORAS

This collection of essays provides both critical and interdisciplinary means for thinking across diasporic travels within the Portuguese experience and its intersection with other peoples and cultures. The chapters are organized into four sections and offer rich, diverse, and insightful studies that provide a conceptualization of the Portuguese diaspora with special attention to the importance of cross-cultural interferences and influences. Within this framework, and from a variety of perspectives, some of the chapters depict identity-formation paths among Portuguese Jews and Luso-Indians in Australia, as well as the historical, cultural, and literary interplay among Portuguese and other diasporas in Goa, the West Indies, and Brazil. Other chapters analyze Portuguese-American literature and poetry, whereby the intersection of memory, dual identity, and place are meticulously explored. The last section of the book addresses Portuguese writers and poets who lived through (in) voluntary exile or were dislocated to Europe and Asia, and how their diasporic conditions interface with their textualized narratives. Place and memory as means of reconstructing a fragmented existence, in the writings of exiled writers, are also explored. The volume closes with a chapter on Portuguese illegal migration to France. The studies herein open new lines of inquiry into diaspora studies.

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Intersecting Diaspora Boundaries

INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDIES IN DIASPORAS

Irene Maria F. Blayer and Dulce Maria Scott
General Editors

Vol. 1

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Acknowledgments

A successful experience in bringing forth any book project requires a special kind of collaboration from everyone involved, and this publication is no exception. The seeds for this book germinated from a history of collaborative engagement on diaspora research by the editors of this project, a natural progression of our teaching and research interests within a Portuguese substratum. This landscape provides a background upon which the sixteen essays in this volume have been assembled.

Working together as editors of this volume has given us many hours of enjoyable and memorable moments of reading, interacting with those involved with this project, and travelling through spaces, all of which has proved to be supremely productive for a deeper exploration of a field so dear to both of us. A new awareness has grown out of this experience, and we both know that this has cemented our commitment and incentive for further growth into our diasporic journey.

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The timing of this publication is significant because it marks the launching of the book series entitled, “Interdisciplinary Studies in Diasporas,” where we hope to provide a space for further exploration into diasporic dialogues. As executive editors, we have decided to inaugurate the series with this publication.

PART ONE

Introduction

The 'Diaspora'

IRENE MARIA F. BLAYER AND DULCE MARIA SCOTT

To what extent can the prolifically theorized and ubiquitous concept of diaspora be analytically useful in the understanding of the dispersal of people from Portugal since the 13th century—their travels, economic activities, social formations, hybridity, identity formation, cultural developments, monumentation, literary production, and so on—through processes related to international trade, imperialism, colonialism, and international migration?

As described by Stéphane Dufoix, “diaspora,” a word that for an extended period of time was applied only to scattered religious groups, beginning in the 1970s “underwent an amazing inflation that peaked in the 1990s, by which time it was being applied to most of the world’s peoples” (1). Indeed, the term diaspora is widely used today among scholars, public figures, the media, religious entities, and the lay public. In a world of ever-growing population dispersal and the emergence of new forms of connection to homelands and host countries, scholars from different theoretical perspectives and disciplines within the social sciences and humanities have seized the concept of diaspora, applying it “as a productive frame for reimagining locations, movements, identities, and social formations that have either been overlooked by earlier modes of analysis or, equally important, stand the chance of being flattened by the homogenizing effects of global capital” (Banerjee 1).

The literature on diaspora—not only on the theoretical evolution of the concept and the disparate empirical phenomena to which it has been applied, but also on its widespread practical uses by social, political, and economic entities—is vast.

It is beyond the scope of this Introduction to review this academic paradigm in its entirety. Nevertheless, some theoretical and practical developments within this field of study as well as their applicability to the Portuguese case merit a brief review.

Diaspora is a term that, as stated by Khachig Tölölyan, dates back at least to around 250 BCE as the Jews of Alexandria adopted it in reference to “their own scattering away from the homeland into *galut*, or collective exile” (“The Contemporary” 648). By the 1930s, diaspora had come to be applied to what Tölölyan and others consider to be the three classical diasporas: the Armenian, Jewish, and Greek, all of which are characterized, at least in part, by a traumatic or forced expulsion from a homeland.¹ In the United States, the concept began to be used in a secular fashion, that is, separated from its early religious connotations as well as the Jewish historical experience, in the 1930s and 1940s (Dufoix 18). The expansion in the use of the concept continued both among scholars and the media after the 1960s and 1970s, and has increased rapidly since the mid-1980s (Dufoix 18–20; Sheffer 5). The publication in 1991 of Volume 1 of *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* is seen as an attempt to consolidate the dramatically growing field of diaspora studies. The Journal’s editor, Khachig Tölölyan, writes:

We use ‘diaspora’ provisionally to indicate our belief that the term that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrants, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community. (“The Nation-State” 4)

However, in a later publication assessing the state of diaspora studies, Tölölyan expresses concern over the extended use of the diaspora concept which, according to this scholar, came to be applied to “any combination of mobility, scattering beyond a territory of origin, and resettlement elsewhere,” including incongruous cases such as “the dispersion of poor and often black people from New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina [...] now routinely called ‘the Katrina diaspora’” (“The Contemporary” 648). Tölölyan proceeds in the same article to make several conceptual distinctions, among which, between diaspora and ethnicity. As he emphatically states: “All diasporics are ethnics, but all ethnics are not diasporic,” affirming, thus, that “diasporas are a specific subset of ethnic minorities” (“The Contemporary” 649).

Concerns over the semantic expansion of the diaspora concept, including its application to the study of nonimmigrant populations such as homosexuals (Gamlen 413), have been expressed by various scholars. In a 1993/1996 essay on post-colonialism, Rajagopalan Radhakrishnan warned that the term diaspora could become devoid of a connection to any historical experiences or empirical realities. As he wrote:

The diaspora, for example, offers exciting possibilities for the intellectual who has always dreamed of pure spaces of thought disjunct from ideological interpellations and identity regimes. The diaspora as the radical non-name of a non-place empowers the intellectual to seek transcendence through exile and an epiphanic escape from the pressures of history. As such, the diaspora holds possibilities of a "virtual theoretical consciousness" [...]. (173)

By the 1990s, varying definitions and applications of the concept of diaspora had emerged in multidisciplinary areas of inquiry, and so had a protracted definitional debate among scholars. Presently, the dispute over meaning has abated, and varying definitions and uses of diaspora are accepted, with an understanding that scholars will carefully clarify their use of the concept (Gamlen 414). Diaspora uses and meanings have been sorted out into specific categories. Michele Reis, for example, distinguishes between scholars who "rely heavily on the Jewish experience as a starting point for examining the phenomenon" and those who approach the topic in a "novel" way, comingling it with issues related to transnationalism and globalization (45–46). Steven Vertovec identified three different uses of diaspora in the existing literature: diaspora as a social formation, diaspora as a type of consciousness, and diaspora as a form of cultural production. As a social formation, diaspora involves tripartite relationships between the homelands, the diasporic communities—the latter of which maintain boundaries over time—and the host countries. It also involves a related emergence of specific types of social relationships, a tension of political orientations, and economic strategies of transnational groups (3–5). Diaspora as a type of consciousness refers to a dual and paradoxical state of mind and a malleable sense of identity based on an awareness of "multi-locality" (8). It generally involves experiences of discrimination in receiving countries and a positive identification with a historical heritage. Diaspora as a form of cultural production involves the "*production and reproduction of transnational social and cultural phenomena*" (emphasis in the original). It is an approach that highlights the fluidity of constructed styles and identities (19).

Dufoix, in turn, distinguishes among scholars for whom the term diaspora can be applied to any form of "displacement and the maintenance of a connection with a real or imagined homeland" and those for whom such broad conceptualizations are a "betrayal of the word's meaning" (2). Dufoix, additionally, classifies the existing approaches to diaspora studies into three categories: open, categorical, and oxymoronic (21). We review these categories in more detail.

The open definitions, associated with John A. Armstrong and Gabriel Sheffer, among others, extend the concept to any population of people who are in a minority position within another society, but who generally still maintain references to a common point of origin and exhibit as well a common identity and solidarity with their communities and "entire nation." Classifying what he terms

as “ethno-national diasporas” into historical, modern, and incipient, Sheffer considers most immigrant communities to be diasporic. This includes contemporary Portuguese communities in countries such as France, Canada, the US, and the UK, among others, which Sheffer designates as an incipient (in the making), ethno-national diaspora (106).² For this scholar, the dispersal from the homeland can be forced or voluntary, and ethno-national diaspora members may aggregately decide to settle permanently in host countries, without entertaining, thus, what has been designated as a “theology of return.” Further, “*Among their various activities, members of such diasporas establish trans-state networks that reflect complex relationships among the diasporas, their host countries, their homelands, and international actors*” (9–10; emphasis in the original).

Categorical diaspora definitions, in contrast, delimit the boundaries of diaspora and the phenomena to which the concept applies through the creation of closed conceptual models or “ideal-type” typologies, generally based on the Jewish historical experience as the prototype. Dufoix associates this diaspora view with Yves Lacoste, Safran, and Cohen, stating, perhaps exaggeratedly, that the typology criteria “are designed to differentiate between ‘true’ and ‘false’ diasporas” and that “asking whether a given population is or is not a diaspora has become some studies’ primary focus” (22).

Perhaps the most well-known and cited typology is that provided by William Safran in an article published in the first volume of the seminal *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* (1991). Safran advanced that the concept of diaspora applied to expatriate minority communities whose members exhibited six characteristics in common, including:

- 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original “center” to two or more “peripheral,” or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland—its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not—and perhaps cannot be—fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship. (83–84)

Later on, Robin Cohen, based on Safran’s and his own insights, offered a nine-item, “ideal-type” typology.³ Cohen also classified diasporas into “victim, labour, imperial, trade, and deterritorialized.” Among the paradigmatic cases analyzed by Cohen, Jews, Africans, Armenians, and Palestinians represent victim diasporas; Indians and Italians labor diasporas; British, French, Spanish, and Portuguese

imperial diasporas; Lebanese and Chinese trade diasporas; and Caribbeans, at home and abroad, deterritorialized diasporas.

In discrepancy with the open and categorical diaspora constructs, oxymoronic definitions are tied to the emergence of post-modernist thought in the 1980s and its influence on the work of scholars within the English cultural studies tradition, among whom Stuart Hall, James Clifford (although he disclaimed the post-modernist label), and Paul Gilroy. Comparing this type of diaspora definition with open and categorical definitions, Dufoix writes: "Where those definitions stress reference to a point of departure and maintenance of an identity in spite of dispersion, postmodern thought instead gives pride of place to paradoxical identity, the noncenter, and hybridity" (24). Hall, for example, in reference to Afro-Caribbean people, writes:

I use this term metaphorically, not literally: diaspora does not refer us to those scattered tribes whose identity can only be secured in relation to some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea. This is the old, imperialising, hegemonizing form of 'ethnicity.' [...] The diaspora experience as I intend it here is defined not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by hybridity. Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (235)

Paul Gilroy sees in the concept's history an oppositional coexistence between the notions of "diaspora-dispersion" and "diaspora-identification," with the first being intent on a return to the homeland or "the end of dispersion," while the second "is written in living memory" (Dufoix 24). In congruence with the second meaning, the notion of diaspora can, then, be dissociated from ideas of a collective identity tied to a specific homeland or a commitment to a return or a reconstruction of a homeland and encompass complex notions of "the joint presence of the Same and the Other, the local and the global [...]" (Dufoix 25).

In a 1994 article, Clifford critiques the centrality given to the homeland in Safran's diaspora typology. For example, Clifford questions the extent to which a theology of return was part of a collective consciousness among 11th- to 13th-century Jews, spread through the Mediterranean and Indian oceans. As stated by Jonathan Boyarin, in a personal conversation with Clifford, Jews have lived through "multiple experiences of rediasporization, which do not necessarily succeed each other in historical memory but echo back and forth" (305). Thus, for Sephardic Jews, after they were expelled from Spain in 1492, home could be a city in Spain or a place in the Holy Land.

According to Clifford, Safran's "centered" diaspora model, oriented by continuous cultural connections to a source and by a teleology of "return" would leave out the African-American, British-Caribbean, and some South Asian cultures (306). Clifford then suggests the adoption of a more "polythetic" definition based

on a comparative analysis of diasporas, in which “the transnational connections linking diasporas need not be articulated primarily through a real or symbolic homeland” and in which “Decentered, lateral connections may be as important as those formed around a teleology of origin/return” (306).

Given the current conceptual status of diaspora, can the concept be usefully employed in the study of the dispersion and the settlement of the Portuguese around the world as a result of international trade, imperialism, colonialism, and emigration? Historically, and following Cohen’s diaspora categories, the Portuguese diaspora, starting in the 13th century, has assumed, often concurrently, different forms, including trade, victim, imperial, labor, and “perhaps” deterritorialized. A brief historical detour through Portugal’s history of overseas expansion and emigration movements will show that indeed the different conceptual definitional categories reviewed above (open, categorical, and oxymoronic) as well as the varied academic uses of the term diaspora (as social formation, type of consciousness, and form of cultural production) can be usefully applied, providing rich conceptual tools, through which Portugal’s story—its social, economic, political, scientific, cultural, religious, linguistic, literary, architectural, and artistic travails both at home and abroad—can be interpreted and analyzed.

By the 13th century, the Portuguese were regularly engaged in trade with Northern Europe, in areas such as England, Flanders, Normandy, Brittany, and La Rochelle, as well as with Kingdoms of Iberia, Mediterranean Africa, and the Canary Islands (Diffie and Winius 37 *in passim*; Studnicki-Gizbert 18). In northern Europe, they established trading posts (*feitorias*), each consisting of an “extra-territorial commercial community which enjoyed rights and privileges negotiated with the local sovereignty power” (Newitt 20). Newitt designates these developments, albeit small scale, as the beginning of a Portuguese merchant diaspora (20). These long-trend maritime experiences, as well as internal political stability, positioned Portugal ahead of other European countries to engage in overseas expansion in the 15th century, which would lead the Portuguese to “play the chief role in the linking of East-West trade” (Diffie and Winius 22).

The Portuguese conquest of Ceuta in 1419, followed by other cities in Morocco, is said to mark the beginning of a southern orientation for Portuguese trade, which in the 15th century gradually came to encompass the western coast of Africa (Studnicki-Gizbert 18), with the Portuguese reaching the Cape of Good Hope in 1487 (Diffie and Winius 160). After Columbus’s discovery of America in 1492, and the threat of Spanish incursions into territories held—or that could come to be held—by the Portuguese, the Treaty of Tordesillas was negotiated in 1494. Demarcating the Portuguese land claims at 370 leagues west of the islands of Cape Verde, the treaty would later give Portugal claim to Brazil (Diffie and Winius 176). After the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartolomeu Dias, Vasco da Gama reached India in 1497, making the first voyage that would connect

by sea the East and the West. In 1500, Pedro Álvares Cabral, while en route to India, reached what would become Brazil, thus tying

together the trade of four continents—Europe, America, Africa, and Asia. The sequence of his voyage was the establishment immediately of a Portuguese seagoing empire from Africa to the farthest East, and slowly of a land empire in Brazil. (Diffie and Winius 194)

The establishment of the Portuguese African and Asian empire in the 15th and 16th centuries assumed the contours of both an imperial and trading diaspora. In some trading posts, the Portuguese presence remained minimal while in others sizeable fortress cities emerged, becoming an integral part of the empire. Writing about Portuguese 15th- and 16th-century trade in Africa and Asia, Thomas Skidmore notes:

Rather than subjugate the indigenous population politically, the Portuguese established a network of trading posts — militarily fortified and minimally staffed — in order to exchange goods with the local population. They negotiated in order to obtain the local products (spices, gold, rare textiles, etc.), which would be produced for export by local labor, with minimal Portuguese involvement. Such trading was established in Africa and Asia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries [...]. (8)

Notwithstanding, while several of Portugal's trading posts were either abandoned or were eventually lost, several others attained considerable dimensions, remaining a part of the Portuguese empire until the second half of the 20th century. As explained by Newitt, for Portugal's nobility as well as its military elites, the overseas empire provided socioeconomic opportunities that were lacking within the confines of Portugal; thus, the nobles and military men were more than willing, in service of the Crown, to uproot their lives—and of those in their service—to become part of the migration to the overseas empire (22). Service opportunities could be had throughout the empire, including, in Asia, Goa—which became the capital of the *Estado da Índia*—East Timor and Flores in eastern Indonesia, Macao in China, as well as additional cities and fortresses reaching all the way to Japan. For many Portuguese soldiers, sailors, servants, religious exiles, convicts sentenced to deportation, and others the move became permanent. In Asia, through the system of *casados*, soldiers who married either European or Asian women were permitted to settle as civilians in towns that emerged around the trading posts (Diffie and Winius 329; Newitt 32–36). In time, culturally and racially hybrid communities emerged, where Portuguese culture and identities, mixed with local cultures, persisted over the centuries. In some instances, the Portuguese influence reached beyond the city fortresses, as local elites adopted not only Christianity, but also Portuguese customs and forms of dress (Newitt 13–14).

Portugal's Crown established two different types of institutions to manage its overseas trade and territories. As described by Diffie and Winius:

The first of these patterns was royal, authoritarian, and commercial; the second emphasized private capital, delegated authority, and agriculture. In the first, the crown itself became a giant mercantile corporation, as along the African coast and in Asia. In the second [captain-donatory system], it became a colonial franchiser which entrusted the management of its assets to others and allowed them the greatest share of the profits, as in the Atlantic islands and later in Brazil. (301)

Additionally, the vast Portuguese empire, spreading from Brazil to China and Japan, came to be held together by a variety of political institutions as well as the binding power of Christianity with its rituals, feasts, courts, regional church councils, missions, brotherhoods, mutual aid societies, *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, and so on. In the larger cities of the empire, a chartered town council or a *Senado da Camara* ruled over local affairs. These councils, constituted in the same manner throughout the empire, “more than any other institutions, bound the communities of the Portuguese together into a mutually supporting worldwide community” (Newitt 15).

With the arrival on the world scene of the Dutch and the English in the 17th century, the Portuguese Asian Empire went into decline and the *Estado da Índia* became fragmented. The Portuguese lost several possessions in Africa, the Persian Gulf, and Asia to the other two European powers as well as to local political entities, eventually retaining control of only Goa, Daman, Diu, East Timor, and Macao (Newitt 91–92, 101). Residents of various cities lost by Portugal spread to other towns, some under Portuguese control and others not, forming communities with varied forms of creoles, dialects, and cultural mixing.⁴ Over time, only Goa and Macao remained viable economic centers, continuing to receive emigration from Portugal in the next centuries (Newitt 101). Goa, and the other Indian territories under Portuguese control were annexed by India by 1961, and many Goans entered their own diaspora, leaving for Portugal, Macao, the then Portuguese African provinces, as well as other countries, including Australia, constituting perhaps a deterritorialized diaspora. East Timor ceased to be part of Portugal in 1975 when it was invaded and annexed by Indonesia. Upon becoming independent from Indonesia in 1999, East Timor adopted Portuguese as its official language and became a part of the CPLP, the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries [Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa]. Macao was returned to the Chinese in 1999, but today it continues to be a destination of Portuguese emigration. Conversely, Portuguese law permits persons who were born in its former Asian territories prior to their “official” separation from Portugal—as well as their children and grandchildren—to register their births in Portugal, and thus restore their Portuguese citizenship (Dias).

After Cabral reached Brazil in 1500, Portugal paid little attention to South America, setting only trading posts (*feitorias*) there based on the model established earlier in Africa and Asia. Incursions from other European countries forced

the Portuguese to pay more attention to Brazil, leading the Crown to set up the semi-feudal and hereditary captain-donatary (land grants) system it had earlier adopted in the islands of Madeira, the Azores, Cape Verde, and in the Guinea islands (Skidmore 10; Diffie and Winius 316). Between 1533 and 1535, Brazil came to be divided into 15 captaincies (Newitt 108). With the decline of the Asian empire, Brazil became the major source of wealth for Portugal, and, as we shall address below, a prized destination for Portuguese emigration. Economic emigrants were initially attracted by the sugar industry and later on by gold and coffee. With the discovery of gold towards the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the level of Portuguese migration to Brazil increased to such an extent that the Portuguese Crown felt compelled, although unsuccessfully, to curb the flow of departures from Portugal to the new world (Skidmore 21; Serrão 598). From 1807 to 1821, the Portuguese Crown moved to Rio in Brazil, and this led to a more extensive migration of members of Portugal's upper classes to the overseas territory. A Portuguese-born and Brazilian-born elite claimed independence from Portugal in 1822, but with continued Portuguese emigration—from the 19th century to the present—and economic interdependence, the two countries have maintained close ties.

After the independence of Brazil in 1822, Portugal began to invest in the colonization of its holdings in Africa, especially Angola and Mozambique, but its economy never again reached the levels of wealth it had enjoyed during its earlier imperial and colonial periods. Despite the existence of assisted passage schemes, it was difficult to attract Portuguese settlers to Africa, as the Americas remained preferred destinations. Until the early 20th century, the Portuguese population remained small, and a creole elite assumed political and economic leadership in the African possessions. Further, the Portuguese government and colonial governors, with access to an ample supply of cheap African labor, were reluctant to encourage low-skilled migration from Portugal. In the first decades of the 20th century, the presence of the Portuguese increased gradually as demobilized soldiers, civil servants, and workers for large companies began to settle, particularly in Angola and Mozambique (Newitt 226). In the 1930s, the Salazar government, under the assumption that increased economic development in the colonies would attract Portuguese settlers, halted the policy of sending convicts to the colonies and brought an end to the schemes for assisted passages to Africa. During WWII, Salazar began to take steps to industrialize the colonies, and this, along with other economic developments, began to attract Portuguese migrants to the African provinces. By the mid-1970s, "there were 324,000 whites in Angola and 190,000 in Mozambique, 35 per cent of whom had been born in Africa" (Newitt 227). By 1975, all African colonies had become independent, and more than 90 percent of the Portuguese had left for Portugal, South Africa, the Americas, and so on. The liberation movements in the two territories were led by creole elites, and independence from Portugal can

be seen as a return of power to those elites (Newitt 228). Nevertheless, the new African countries maintained close social and economic ties to Portugal, and when the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP) was created in 1996, Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, and Guinea-Bissau, along with Brazil, East Timor, and Portugal joined. As a result of the economic crisis in Portugal, the number of Portuguese emigrating to Angola and Mozambique has increased, and, as we shall see below, their numbers there are approaching levels close to those observed before independence.

Joel Serrão claims that Portuguese dispersal cannot be neatly divided into colonialism and emigration. Reflecting on the history and patterns related to Portuguese colonialism, he observes that it is difficult to distinguish between those who left as colonizers or simply as emigrants (598). Serrão points out that the rush of many Portuguese to Brazil, for example during the colony's 18th-century gold rush, conformed more to patterns of emigration rather than colonization. Most Portuguese did not depart in service of the colonial state, but rather in pursuit of better life opportunities. Correspondingly, in the 20th century, while large numbers of Portuguese emigrated to the Americas (both North and South) and Europe, Portugal continued to pursue colonialism in Africa. Further, emigration from Portugal has involved not only dispersal from the homeland to a single destination, but also secondary movements from one diaspora community to another within the empire as well as to other countries (Newitt 11).⁵

A first emigration from Portugal was that of Portuguese Jews who by a royal decree issued in December of 1496 had to leave the country or convert to Christianity. The actual date of expulsion was moved to October 1497, and in the interim many Portuguese Jews chose to convert. Yet, as written by Newitt, "Large numbers of Jews took the opportunity to emigrate—forced migrants who resettled initially around the shores of the Mediterranean and subsequently in northern Europe, western Africa and the New World" (12), constituting perhaps a victim diaspora or a victim "rediasporization." New Christians maintained ties with those who, choosing not to convert, had left continental Portugal, and this permitted a high level of involvement of this population in the Atlantic trade. The Portuguese Inquisition and continued persecutions of Jews who had converted to Christianity, although sporadic, led to a continuation of emigration of New Christians from Portugal. Newitt writes:

The Jewish and 'New Christian' diaspora never wholly merged with that of the other stream of Portuguese migrants though the two streams often ran through the same bed, mixing waters along the way to such an extent that in the eyes of many host states no distinction was made between 'Portuguese', Jew or New Christian. (12)

Portugal (followed by Spain) recently passed the Jewish Law of Return, granting citizenship to the descendants of Sephardic Jews who had been expelled or persecuted under the Inquisition during the 15th and 16th centuries (JTA; Liphshiz).

Christian emigration from Portugal, although initially in small numbers, can be said to have begun in the mid-1500s (Serrão 597; Sousa 15). Brazil, under Portuguese colonial rule from 1500 to 1882, was until the mid-20th century the principal destination for the Portuguese, who settled there either as colonizers or emigrants. Concurrent with Christian, Jewish, and New Christian emigration, the massive slave trade, first to Portugal and the islands of Madeira, Azores, and Guinea, and later on to the Americas, gave rise to racially and culturally hybrid communities, especially on the West Coast of Africa and Brazil, with additional mixing with Native American populations in the latter territory. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Brazilian government, in an effort to whiten Brazilian society, encouraged immigration from Europe (Marger 402–03). The largest percentage of immigrants arriving from 1872 to 1909 were from Italy, followed by Portugal, Spain, and to a lesser extent Germany (Skidmore 73). Nineteenth-century Portuguese emigrants from the Azores, but principally from Madeira, to the Caribbean—e.g., to Trinidad and British Guiana—would come in contact and intermix with members of the transatlantic African diaspora and the Asian-Indian diaspora, the latter of whom arrived in the West Indies as indentured laborers.

Joel Serrão recognizes that although the migratory phenomenon in Portugal has been taking place since the 15th century, it is in the second half of the 19th century, after the independence of Brazil (1822), that it assumed quantitatively and qualitatively new parameters (597). Since then, dispersal of the Portuguese from their homeland has been, more than anything else, an international movement of labor (Baganha 962), or a labor diaspora, to use Cohen's terminology. Portuguese scholars (e.g., Antunes, Arroteia, Baganha, Rovisco, Pires et al., among others) identify two major emigration flows from Portugal: the transoceanic movement (to non-European destinations) and the intra-European movement. The first flow, the transatlantic, remained prevalent until the 1950s, while the intra-European flow became predominant in the 1960s, at which time emigration to European countries came to exceed the movement to the Americas. Baganha summarizes Portuguese emigration between 1900 and 1988, as such:

[...] entre 1900 e 1988 emigraram de Portugal, aproximadamente, 3,5 milhões de pessoas [...] O maior número de saídas registou-se depois de 1950, correspondendo a emigração registada entre 1950 e 1988 a 61% do total verificado ao longo de todo o período. O fluxo migratório foi particularmente intenso entre 1966 e 1973, altura em que se verificaram 48% do total das saídas. [...] No total das partidas verificadas até 1960 mais de 80% dirigiram-se para as Américas. [...] No cômputo total, entre 1950 e 1988, 59% do fluxo migratório nacional dirigiram-se para a França e para a Alemanha, enquanto 30% se orientaram para o Brasil, os Estados Unidos e o Canadá. (960)

[...] between 1900 and 1988 approximately 3.5 million people emigrated from Portugal [...] The largest number of departures was recorded after 1950, as 61% of total emigration for this entire period took place between 1950 and 1988. The migratory flow was particularly intense between 1966 and 1973, a period during which 48% of all departures took place. [...] Until 1960, 80% of those who departed went to the Americas. [...] In total, between 1950 and 1988, 59% of the national migratory flow headed to France and Germany, while 30% were directed to Brazil, the United States and Canada]. (Our translation)

From the 17th century until the mid-20th century, Brazil accounted always for more than 50 percent of the total emigration from Portugal (Baganha; Rovisco). Several other central and South American countries also received smaller numbers of Portuguese immigrants. In addition to Brazil, the United States, starting in the second half of the 19th century, became a major destination for Portuguese emigrants, principally from the islands of the Azores, Madeira, and Cape Verde. Emigration to the United States declined in the early 1920s due to the enactment of the National Origins Act of 1924 but recovered after the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965, increasing from 938 in 1950 to 13,111 in 1969 (Antunes 313).

Emigration from Portugal to Canada, Venezuela, Argentina, and South Africa became prominent after the 1950s (Rovisco; Antunes). By 1965, Canada began to surpass Brazil as a country of destination. During the oil crisis of 1973–74, which temporarily reduced movement to Europe, emigration to Australia increased (Rovisco), as did the movement to North America. In recent years, the principal destinations outside of Europe have become nations of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries (CPLP), including, Angola, Mozambique, and Brazil (Pires et al., *Emigração* 22). Recent Consular registration data (2013), show a total of 115,595 Portuguese registrations in Angola, 24,871 in Mozambique, and 612,203 in Brazil (Pires et al., *Portuguese Emigration* 58). The 2013 data for the two African countries, when compared to 1997 Consular data of 20,000 registrations in Angola and 13,299 in Mozambique (Arroteia n. pag.), reveal a recent significant increase in emigration from Portugal to these two nations.

It was not until the 1960s, as stated above, that the transoceanic movement was surpassed by the intra-European movement. According to data spanning from 1950 to 1969, provided by Antunes, Portuguese emigration to Brazil declined from a high of 32,159 in 1953 to a low of 2,537 in 1969. Starting in 1962 and until 1969, France became the primary destination of Portuguese immigrants, with an increase from 314 in 1950 to 110,614 in 1969 (313). In Europe, Germany also became a prominent destination for Portuguese immigrants, and later, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Spain, and the United Kingdom also attracted considerable numbers of Portuguese immigrants. Pires et al. indicate that more than 20 percent of the entire Portuguese population live outside of Portugal, and that Europe is currently the main destination for Portuguese emigrants, receiving

around 85 percent of all new emigrants (*Portuguese Emigration* 12). In the last few years, due to an economic crisis and subsequent adoption of austerity measures in Portugal, Portuguese emigration grew rapidly, with 110,000 leaving the country between 2013 and 2014, a level of emigration not seen in Portugal since 1973 (Pires et al., *Emigração* 21). Nowadays, the United Kingdom is the country of preference for Portuguese emigrants, followed by Switzerland (Pires et al., *Emigração* 21).

The data presented above, however, generally does not account for Luso-descendants born in the countries of destination. Based on 1997 Portuguese Consular data, Arroiteia (n. pag.) shows that in Europe, countries such as Belgium, France, Germany, Luxembourg, Spain, and the United Kingdom boasted both Portuguese-born and Luso-descendant populations (those registered in Portuguese Consulates) ranging from 38,000 to 798,837, with France being, by far, the main host country. Several other European societies had a smaller number of Portuguese residents. In South Africa, the Portuguese population registered with the Consulate amounted to 300,000, and, in addition to Angola and Mozambique, mentioned above, there were smaller numbers in other African countries. In North America, Canada and the United States boasted considerable Luso-American populations, respectively 415,000 and 1,153,351.⁶ In Central and South America, Brazil had a million, Argentina 16,000, and several other nations had smaller Portuguese populations. In Asia, the Portuguese population was highest in Hong Kong (20,700), and in India (6,000). Finally, in Oceania, the Portuguese of Australia amounted to 55,339.⁷

As shown in this brief historical overview, the dispersal of the Portuguese from their homeland has been long-standing and far-reaching. It is our claim that the historical and contemporary dispersal of the Portuguese from their homeland—as well as the social formations, political structures, social and economic networks, and cultural productions they engendered—can be fruitfully studied through the lenses of the concept of diaspora in its various definitional categories (Dufoix) as well as uses (Vertovec). Still, and using Tölölyan's conceptual distinction between diasporas and ethnic groups en route to full assimilation, it is possible to inquire about the extent to which contemporary Portuguese immigrants have conformed to either of these two patterns of ethnicity.

Scholars have distinguished between “emic and etic claims (the participants' view versus the observers' view)” (Cohen 5) and have discussed how such “claims map onto the history and social structure of the group concerned” (Tölölyan, “The Contemporary” 648). Portuguese scholars, politicians, the media, and the lay population generally view their immigrant and Luso-descendant communities as part of Portugal and as part of the Portuguese diaspora. Edite Noivo writes: “While theoretical debates on the inclusive-exclusive character of diaspora continue to unfold [...], many relocated groups have already appropriated the term ‘diaspora’

in formulating their own identity discourses” (255). The Portuguese indeed have appropriated the term diaspora in the construction of “new deterritorialized versions of what it means to be Portuguese in a world of expansive transnationalism” (Noivo 255). Likewise, Portuguese and non-Portuguese scholars alike have been increasingly employing the concept of diaspora in studies related to Portuguese history, emigration, and spaces. In 2012, the co-editors of this volume founded the *InterDISCIPLINARY Journal of Portuguese Diaspora Studies* (IJPDS), dedicated to an academic dialogue centered on themes related to Portuguese diaspora studies. Along with other colleagues, these two scholars have embarked on the organization of a number of large international and interdisciplinary conferences on this subject matter in 2008, 2010, 2011, and 2013.

To be sure, some Portuguese emigrants and their descendants, since the earlier flows of emigration, have assimilated into their host societies, but many others have endeavored to construct distinct communities which, in many ways, have displayed the characteristics attributed by Sheffer to ethno-national diasporas (see Sheffer Ch. 3). For example, wherever the Portuguese have settled, they have formed a large number of community self-help associations, organizations, groups, churches, and schools, and they have replicated Portuguese culture by instituting several ethno-religious feasts (Holy Ghost, Santo Cristo, Blessed Sacrament, among many others) as well as secular festivals.⁸ An example of the latter is the Day of Portugal, which was commonly observed among Portuguese immigrants of earlier migration movements, and continues nowadays—renamed as the Day of Portugal, Camões, and the Communities—to be celebrated yearly on or about June 10th across Portuguese immigrant communities and in Portugal. Other indicators can be found in an analysis of American and Portuguese-American newspapers dating back to the 19th century (e.g., *Diário de Notícias*, from 1919 until the closing of this newspaper in 1973) showing that a “sustained” group consciousness and collective identity has existed among Portuguese Americans since they first began to establish their communities in the 19th century.⁹ As revealed by articles in *Diário de Notícias*, such a sense of peoplehood was extended to Portuguese immigrant communities in Brazil and other host nations. Well into the 1970s, Portuguese immigrants commonly referred to their immigrant communities as *colônias portuguesas* [Portuguese colonies]. After the word “colony” went into disuse in the mid-1970s, terms such as Portuguese or Azorean communities were commonly used by Portuguese Americans and political entities in Portugal and its autonomous regions to refer to immigrant settlements in North America and around the world. In the US, by the early 1990s, the term diaspora began to appear and became increasingly used in Portuguese American ethnic newspapers (e.g., *O Jornal* and *Portuguese Times*).

Roger Waldinger states:

Today, diaspora is not just a category of analysis; it is also a category of practice. That is to say, it is a strategy or a project undertaken by a broad range of actors interested in what the people ready to think of themselves as members of a diaspora might be willing to do. Diasporas are of interest to states seeking to organize emigrants (and their descendants) into a collectivity that can be controlled and from which resources can be extracted, and to emigrants (and their descendants) eager to use the advantages acquired from residence outside the home state in order to gain leverage within the home state. (xii)

The Portuguese national government, as well as the regional government of the Azores, and to some extent the regional government of Madeira, have been in the last few decades actively promoting the emergence of a diaspora consciousness among Portuguese immigrants and Luso-descendants. This has been accomplished through frequent visits by Portuguese national and regional politicians to immigrant communities; the promotion and funding of Portuguese feasts, monuments, museums, and educational institutions; as well as through the creation of transnational organizations and networks intended to connect Portugal and its diaspora communities. Portugal's 1976 Constitution decreed Portuguese education abroad to be a Constitutional right, mandating the state to provide the necessary means for its implementation, that is, of "Ensuring that emigrants' children are taught the Portuguese language and enjoy access to Portuguese culture" (*Portugal's Constitution* 36).¹⁰ *Casas de Portugal* and *da Madeira* in some host countries, and *Casas dos Açores* in a number of Azorean communities abroad provide another form of connecting emigrants and their descendants to the homeland. Additionally, Portugal maintains a system of consular services in the more sizeable diaspora communities, and emigrants and their descendants are permitted to maintain dual citizenship, to vote in Portuguese national elections, as well as elect four officials to the Portuguese Parliament, two by Portuguese citizens within Europe and two by citizens outside of Europe (Abrantes et al.). The Portuguese national government maintains a Portuguese Communities Council created in 1980 to provide advice on emigrant affairs and connect diasporic communities. In 1985, the national government also created a department for overseas Portuguese communities. The regional government of the Azores created the Direcção Regional das Comunidades in 1998, which took the place of a previously existing and more limited Gabinete de Emigração e Apoio às Comunidades. In 2012, the President of Portugal announced the creation of the Conselho da Diáspora Portuguesa [Council of the Portuguese Diaspora], constituted of 300 Portuguese notables, who would be personally invited to serve on the Council's Board. As described by Sandi Michele de Oliveira, the function of the Council's members would be "to serve as lobbyists working to improve the country's image in the world" (61). Additionally, the Council of the Portuguese Diaspora

would be able to “take advantage of the best that Portugal has to offer outside Portugal” (qtd. in Oliveira, 61).

The Portuguese in diasporic communities, in turn, have been very receptive to the homeland’s efforts to promote a Portuguese identity (Portugueseness) and a cultural, social, political, and economic connection to Portugal.¹¹ Likewise, Portugal’s political mobilization of the diaspora on behalf of the homeland has been readily accepted by political leaders in destination countries. For example, Portuguese American politicians—of generations ranging from the first to the third and beyond—have formed Portuguese–American political caucuses at the national and state levels of government, which are open to non-Portuguese elected officials.¹² They have often taken it upon themselves to defend and fight for Portugal’s interests and Portuguese causes in the United States, the latest of which has been an intense struggle against the Pentagon’s decision to withdraw from the US air force base located in the Azores.

The attachment to Portugal is also expressed in the form of remittances and fundraising events on behalf of homeland causes, such as geographical disasters, as well as returns and frequent visits. Several scholars have studied the return of emigrants to Portugal (Rocha, Ferreira, and Mendes; Malheiros; Portela and Nobre; Rocha-Trindade, “O Regresso,” among others). The return of Luso-descendants, even though currently abated due to the economic crisis in Portugal, is a topic that recently has generated a great deal of interest among scholars (e.g., Irène dos Santos; João Sardinha; Paula Cristina M. P. Sampaio; among others). Luso-descendants continue to be highly interested in their roots and in maintaining a Portuguese identity, as evidenced by the proliferation of social media sites about Portugal and the Azores that are frequented by Luso-descendants around the world as well as Portuguese in Portugal. In a 2010 online survey, Dulce Maria Scott found that among Luso-descendants in the US and Canada who participated in the study, 88.3 percent of those who were from the one-and-a-half generation (immigrants who arrived before the age of 14), 87 percent of the second generation (children born in the US to immigrant parents), 53.3 percent of the third generation (grandchildren of immigrants), and 26.4 percent of the fourth and beyond generations had visited Portugal.¹³ Additionally, a large percentage of respondents were interested in things that were Portuguese and kept up with what was going on in Portugal through television, newspapers, and social media. In other questions, a large number of participants revealed a preference for a hybrid identity, indicating that they were proud of being simultaneously American/Canadian and Portuguese.

It is our claim, then, returning to Tölölyan’s conceptual distinction between diasporas and ethnic groups en route to full assimilation, as well as Sheffer’s conceptualization of incipient and mature diasporas, that contemporary Portuguese ethnic communities constitute—or, in some places, are in the process of

constituting themselves into—a diaspora that can be fruitfully studied, along with Portugal's overseas history, through the use of the varied conceptual tools that have emerged within this academic tradition.

This book is a collection of sixteen original research chapters, providing critical and interdisciplinary means for thinking across diasporic travels within the Portuguese experience and its intersection with other peoples and cultures. The chapters are organized into four sections and represent rich, diverse, and insightful materials that explore sociocultural and identity-forming phenomena within Portuguese diasporic contexts. Following the Introduction, Part Two, entitled "Identity Spaces in Intercultural Crossings," consisting of six chapters, delves into historical and current diasporic contexts in which members of the Portuguese diaspora have come into contact with members of other diasporas, resulting in cultural and linguistic hybridity, distinct ethnographic landscapes, and "third spaces" (Bhabha "The Third Space" and *Location of Culture*). Part Two opens with Barry L. Stiefel's chapter, which addresses the exodus of Sephardic Jews from Portugal after 1500 and questions the extent to which this population has maintained a Portuguese identity over the centuries, a question of particular pertinence nowadays as recently Portugal, and then Spain, passed the Jewish Law of Return (JTA; Liphshiz). In the chapter that follows, Robert Mason examines how Goans who migrated to Australia, after Portugal lost Goa to India in 1961, experience identity and belonging within a changing multicultural paradigm in their host country. In the subsequent chapter, Cielo G. Festino offers a reading of the collection, *Inside/Out: New Writings from Goa*, by the Goa Writers Group, exploring a sense of place and identity-formation patterns among Goa's contemporary residents. Jo-Anne S. Ferreira's chapter studies the remnants of Portuguese culture in Trinidad and Tobago, arguing that over time the Portuguese, mostly from the Madeira Islands, contributed to the construction of a hybrid culture in this region rather than to the preservation of their own culture. In her study in Chapter 6, Smita Das analyzes the literature produced by Portuguese Creole writer, Alfred Mendes, in the early 20th century, and, in particular, his early barrack-yard narratives and the figure of the *dougla* in Trinidad, in which the characters of various intersecting diasporas intermix, while occupying specific sociocultural spaces determined by a societal hierarchy based on race, skin color, and civilizational ideals. Continuing with the theme of intersecting diaspora boundaries in Portuguese contexts, in the last chapter of this section, Janelle Gondar analyzes literary trends—i.e., the modernist literary movement and how it was influenced by rapidly changing spatial configurations in the city of São Paulo—transposed by members of various European diasporas, particularly the Italian and the Portuguese, which converged in Brazil during the first quarter of the 20th century.

The chapters in Part Three—"The Diasporic Imaginary: Self, Place, Memory, and Textualized Identity"—explore textualized narratives in literature created by

second- and third-generation Portuguese Americans. This section opens with a chapter by Reinaldo Silva addressing ethnic themes, hybridity, multiculturalism, and the tension between the maintenance of an Azorean heritage and the American mainstream in the unique poetic voice of David Oliveira. The next chapter, by Fernanda Luísa Feneja, focuses on the interplay between place and memory, and reflects on the representation of Portuguese culture and identity in Katherine Vaz's "Lisbon Story," the last story in the collection, *Our Lady of the Artichokes and Other Portuguese-American Stories*. In the following chapter, Margarida Vale de Gato analyzes some of the earlier work of Frank X. Gaspar, a poet of Portuguese descent. This chapter "offers a close analysis of the trope of breathing in Frank X. Gaspar's *The Holyoke*, in contrast with his later poetry." This chapter also addresses issues related to the translation of Gaspar's work into Portuguese. Within the same theme, and closing this section, the chapter by Teresa Alves analyzes the later poetic work of Frank X. Gaspar, *Late Rapturous*, and how the poet "artfully interweaves the main tradition of American culture with Portuguese ethnic heritage, without falling into the trap of unsettling the balance between both." According to Alves, Gaspar engages in a kind of spiritual quest, and this is distinct from his earlier poetic expression.

The last cluster of chapters, entitled "Interfacing Literary Dialogues," Part Four of this volume, takes us to writers who experienced voluntary and involuntary exile or were dislocated in Europe and Asia as a result of war, fascism, and political turmoil. The chapters explore how the writers' diasporic condition influences their identity and interfaces with their textualized narratives. This section opens with a chapter by Carlos Reis who analyzes how themes embedded in the concept of diaspora—departure, travel, border, identity, difference, otherness, self-awareness, and language—are represented in the writings of early Portuguese writers, including Luís Vaz de Camões, Fernão Mendes Pinto, Eça de Queirós, and António Nobre. In the second chapter, Mario Higa examines how the poetry of Cesário Verde, a 19th-century Portuguese poet, addresses the positioning of a declining imperial nation vis-à-vis its more industrialized neighbors to the North, i.e., England, France, and Germany. The chapter by Dora Nunes Gago explores some of the literary work of a Portuguese writer, Maria Ondina Braga, who writes about exile and the encounter with other cultures and the Other. Maria Ondina Braga taught in Goa and then migrated to Macao, after the 1961 invasion of Goa by India. This section continues with a chapter on the work of Ilse Losa, a German-Jewish refugee, residing in Portugal, who managed to escape the Nazi persecutions, and for whom literature became a way of reconstructing her fragmented existence through writing. In this chapter, Ana Isabel Marques examines how Losa's translation of *Der Ausflug der toten Mädchen*, by Anna Seghers, a fellow German-Jewish writer exiled in Mexico, becomes a means of retelling Losa's

own experiences as a refugee. In the final chapter of this volume, Martine Fernandes Wagner analyzes Manuel da Silva's *O Gaiteiro: Le Joueur de Cornemuse*, a memorial eponymous novel, a story of illegal emigration to France in 1938 during the Spanish Civil War. It is the story of the author's father, a farmer from the northeast of Portugal, who participated in the Maquis movement during WWII. Portuguese illegal migrants played an important, albeit unrecognized role, in the French Resistance of that period.

The thematic content visited throughout the chapters in this volume enhances our understanding of the Portuguese diaspora by opening new lines of inquiry that extend the interdisciplinary scope of research on Portuguese diasporic experiences. These chapters travel through the diversity and dynamism of the Portuguese diaspora while positioning this field of study within a broad research landscape.

NOTES

1. For a brief description of the Jewish, Greek, and other "historical" diasporas, see Sheffer, 2003, Chapter 2.
2. In some countries, where Portuguese immigration began in the 19th century and has continued into the present, such as the United States and Brazil, the Portuguese communities can be said, using Sheffer's definition of the concept, to constitute a full-fledged ethno-national, "state-linked" diaspora.
3. For Cohen, who cautions that real diasporas do not—not even the Jewish—conform to the ideal-type, the categorical definition of diaspora is as follows:
 1. Dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
 2. alternatively or additionally, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
 3. a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history, suffering and achievements;
 4. an idealization of the real or imagined ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
 5. the frequent development of a return movement to the homeland that gains collective approbation even if many in the group are satisfied with only a vicarious relationship or intermittent visits to the homeland;
 6. a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history, the transmission of a common cultural and religious heritage and the belief in a common fate;
 7. a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
 8. a sense of empathy and co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement even where home has become more vestigial; and
 9. the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. (17)
4. See, for example, Stephan Halikowski-Smith's description of the Portuguese of Ayutthaya.
5. See, for example, Halikowski Smith's chapter on "Seventeenth Century Population Movements in the Portuguese Indies."

6. According to the United States Census Bureau, there are approximately 1,385,999 people of Portuguese ancestry residing in the US. The Portuguese in America have come to be considered “an established immigrant group” by the US Census Bureau. This assessment is based on data, such as the *2011–2013 American Community Survey 3-Year Estimates*, which indicate that 81.9 percent of the Portuguese born outside of the United States arrived before the year 2000, while 14.6 percent came between 2000 and 2009, and 3.5 percent entered in 2010 or later. The percentages for the entire foreign-born population of the United States were respectively 62.6 percent entering before 2000, 30.3 percent between 2000 and 2009, and 7.1 percent in 2010 or later. For an analysis of demographic and socioeconomic aspects of Portuguese immigration and integration in the United States, see Scott, “Portuguese Americans’ Acculturation.”
7. More recent Consular data can be found in Pires et al., *Portuguese Emigration Factbook 2014*; and Pires et al., *Emigração Portuguesa: Relatório Estatístico 2015*.
8. For an overview of Portuguese immigrant associations throughout the world, see Rocha-Trindade (“Associativismo”).
9. Portuguese-American group consciousness and sense of connectedness to the homeland as well as other Portuguese diasporic communities (e.g., in Brazil) might have been reinforced by constructions of race in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in an America that viewed people of different national origins as belonging to distinct races.
10. This right has been implemented through the Institute of Camões, which employs a large number of mobile teachers who ply their trade, sometimes moving from one community to another.
11. For a description of Portuguese American businesses with connections to Portugal, see Carolina Marçalo and João Peixoto.
12. For the membership of the Portuguese-American Caucus of the Rhode Island House of Representatives, when it was created in 2005, see Scott and Fraley (9 and fn. 3).
13. Due to geographical proximity, visits from immigrants and Luso-descendants in European countries are even more frequent.

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