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8 Portuguese migrations to South America after World War II

Extending citizenship abroad

Beatriz Padilla and Thais França

Introduction

Portugal has historically been a country of emigration up until the turn of the 21st century; thus, the Portuguese diaspora is not only an old phenomenon but also part of how Portugal has constructed its presence around the world since the times of the early explorations, between 1415 and 1543, even before the Spaniards' venture to the Americas. Back in time, Portuguese emigration began at the time of the so-called "Portuguese Discoveries", reaching all continents, from Africa and Asia to the Americas. Portuguese were sailors who built forts and settled along the African coast, and later in Asia, before their incursion in the Americas. Their arrival to Porto Seguro, Brazil, in 1500 initiated a long process of conquest, colonization and evangelization of the native populations and later the enslavement of African peoples that lasted for centuries (Feldman-Bianco 2001). The relation, even if vertical, between Portugal and Brazil during colonial times has always been exceptional; thus, when Portugal fell under Napoleon's rule in the 19th century, the Portuguese Crown escaped, crossing the Atlantic, settling and ruling from their territories in Brazil. Hence, when considering the interactions between Portugal and its colonies, Brazil has occupied a central place, surviving even independence. Moreover, the Brazilian elite continued to study in Portugal even in the 20th century, as the first Brazilian university was funded only in 1920 (França et al. 2018). Thus, Portuguese presence and cultural influence in Brazil continued throughout emigration up to the 20th century.

In the larger context of immigration policies targeting Europeans in Brazil as well as in other Latin American countries such as Argentina, Portuguese emigration spread over the Southern Cone region, with ups and downs throughout the 20th century. Its oscillation can be explained by global factors such as the First and Second World Wars, the International Economic Crisis of 1930, as well as local contexts such as the Portuguese colonial war and the decolonization process in Africa (1961–1974), the end of the "Estado Novo" in Portugal in 1974, the blooming (or dearth) of Latin American economies at different periods (Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela) and the entrance of Portugal into the European Union in 1986. Much later, as a consequence of the Great Recession or financial crisis of 2008, which hit Portugal and other Southern

European countries particularly hard (Moury & Freire 2013; Legido-Quigley et al. 2016), Portuguese emigration flows to South America gained strength again, mainly to destinations such as Brazil and Venezuela (Pires 2019). Recent studies, however, assert that the Portuguese who left during this period of austerity define themselves not as immigrants, but rather as “cosmopolitans or travelers in search of new life experiences and/or professional internationalization” (Rosales & Machado 2019: 206).

Overall, millions of people crossed the Atlantic in the 19th and 20th centuries, including Portuguese. In this chapter, we center on Portuguese emigration to Latin America in the 20th century, focusing on the most relevant countries in terms of flows: Brazil and Argentina, with Venezuela as a late comer. First, we briefly present Portuguese migration flows to the selected countries, using a long-term perspective that allows us to set the scenario where policies and legal frameworks were developed by the Portuguese state throughout towards its diaspora. Data inconsistency and complexity is one main obstacle to assessments of Portuguese emigration; however, its analysis suggests some relevant trends if read against the existing literature.

The Portuguese in Latin America

When assessing Portuguese emigration, it should be stated from the beginning that Brazil has been a continuity and the main destination of Portuguese emigrants throughout history. Moreover, as Rosales and Machado stated, “contemporary transatlantic movements between Portugal and Brazil are, as they were in the past, characterized by bidirectional flows of people and things” (2019: 193). This particularity has had consequences in terms of bilateral relations, in migration policies and in keeping the flows alive throughout time.

Although statistics vary according to sources and elaboration, Table 8.1 illustrates the main trends of Portuguese presence in the three selected countries of

Table 8.1 Portuguese Emigration Flows to Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela

<i>Years</i>	<i>Brazil</i>	<i>Argentina</i>	<i>Venezuela</i>
1900s	229,348*	7,633*	
1910s	293,793*	17,570*	
1920s	233,655*	23,406*	
1930s	85,690*	10,310*	
1940s	60,700*	4,230*	
1950s	237,327*	12,033	648
1960s	62,737+	28,611	
1970s	26,915+	20,740	
1980s		13,285	93,029
1990s			14,800

Sources: For Brazil, Garcia (2000)* & IBGE+; for Argentina, Borges (1997)* and INDEC+; for Venezuela, Abreu Xavier (2009).

destination in Latin America. Despite these figures' inconsistencies and missing data, their purpose is not to be exhaustive, but to illustrate both the significance and development of flows along time.

Portuguese emigration to Brazil

Portuguese emigration to Brazil has been a regular pattern, with ups and downs, a repetitive response to the lack of resolution of Portugal to its structural problems, including internal and external political, social and economic turbulence as well as to the lack of effective policies to the incorporation of the existing labor force in the domestic labor market (Pereira 2002). Baganha (2005) argue that in modern times, the first wave of Portuguese emigration "lasted throughout the nineteenth century and can even be said to have stretched all the way into the 1960s. During this cycle more than two million people left Portugal for the new world – principally Brazil" (418). Even if the country's poor economic performance together with its authoritarian government under *Estado Novo* (New State) (1933–1974) pushed people to leave, the official policy was to ban emigration, to conform to its authoritarian ideology and safeguard the interests of the national labor market (Baganha 2003). Yet the incapacity of the government to offer viable alternatives to the labor force, and the arising social inequalities, made the enforcement of such restrictions difficult to apply (Pereira 2002).

Studies show that the most intense period of Portuguese emigration to Brazil was the first two decades of the 20th century, although statistics from Brazilian and Portuguese sources differ (Pereira 2007; Padilla & Xavier 2009; Padilla et al. 2009). Some fluctuations took place due to World Wars I and II, the Great Depression in 1929 as well as some restrictive policies put in place in both ends, by the Vargas (1937–1945) and Salazar (1933–1974) administrations in Brazil and Portugal respectively. In the case of Portugal, "a formally restrictive legal framework was trumped by a high degree of tolerance in practice, which favored the continuity of flows until the mid-twentieth century" (Carreiras et al. 2007).

The implementation of the Marshall Plan and reconstruction in Europe after World War II, in 1948, brought some changes for Portuguese emigration, as more people opted for closer destinations within Europe, such as Germany and France, both of which were in need of manual labor for the development of their industries (Baganha et al. 2005). However, Portuguese emigration to Brazil did not end; on the contrary, it was boosted by the Portuguese colonial war in Africa (1961–1974), when families from continental Portugal fled to Brazil, and Portuguese families that had settled in Angola and other former colonies ran away from Africa and moved to Brazil (Carreiras et al. 2007). Likewise, in the 1970s with the abrupt decolonization process taking place in Africa and the Carnation Revolution in 1974 overthrowing the *Estado Novo* regime in Portugal, many Portuguese sought refuge in Brazil (Padilla 2010; Graça 2009). In Rosales and Machado's words, "emigration to Brazil

continued – both from Portugal and from the former African colonies – due to the radical political and economic changes imposed during the post-revolutionary period” (2019: 195).

Some qualitative changes characterized these flows; while previous emigrants were peasants and working classes, this post-revolution wave of political exiles “involved people from the middle classes and the elites who had been in favor of the ancient regime” (Rosales & Machado 2019: 195). However, in the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, Portuguese emigration to Brazil decreased significantly (Baganha & Góis 1998), as the Brazilian economy was weak, inflation was extremely high and the political situation was unstable due to the military regime in place in the country between 1964 and 1985 (Pereira & Carlos 1989).

Moreover, Portugal’s admission to the European Union in 1986 brought some promise of prosperity, halting emigration temporarily (Baganha 1998). Feldman-Bianco (1992), however, identified a wave rarely acknowledged, which she coined “the return of the caravels”, from Portugal to Brazil, taking place in the 1990s during the presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso. In this period, privatizations were favored by the Brazilian government, translating into the investment of some of the large Portuguese corporations bringing along expatriates. A similar situation would take place during/after the 2008 international financial crisis; this time, Portuguese benefited from existing diplomatic agreements between the two countries (Padilla 2007; Santos & Pinho 2014).

Along politics and policies, migrations are shaped by migrants themselves. Since the mid-19th century, coming from a country with a long tradition of associations, Portuguese immigrants in Brazil founded their own organizations, named under the label of mutual aid or beneficence, to offer support to their co-ethnic fellows, creating solidarity links among themselves. These associations were key to the survival of Portuguese abroad, guaranteeing assistance during times of financial need, ill health and burial support so they would not have to turn to charity or to the state (Fonseca 2009).

Overall, Portuguese associativism was characterized by the existence of a great number of entities, of medium and small size, oriented more to national ties than to regional ones, some with the capacity to acquire a considerable patrimony (Fonseca 2009). While these associations were abundant along the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century, later they declined due to political and policy changes of both the Brazilian and Portuguese states, as well as the decline of Portuguese emigration. Later on, some of them have been replaced by associations of Luso-descendants. At present, the official site of the Portuguese Communities¹ list 127 Luso-Brazilian organizations spread across Brazil, ranging from Portuguese reading clubs (*Clubes Português de Leitura*), cultural clubs, Houses of Portugal in different cities as well as clubs from certain regions of emigration from Portugal (Minho, Azores, etc.) and Elos clubs, among many others. One active regional umbrella organization is the Portuguese and Luso-descendant Communities of the Southern Cone, involving organizations of

Southern Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina. Its members have met periodically since 1988, usually with the participation of an official representative from the Secretary of State of the Portuguese Communities, which intends to keep Portuguese culture, language and history alive.

Portuguese in Argentina

Devoto (2003) divides the history of immigration to Argentina into three phases: early, mass and contemporary. Portuguese flows have been present in all three, but they were stronger during the first decades of the 20th century and after World War II (Padilla et al. 2009). In fact, up until 1952, Portuguese emigration to Argentina was constant, while flows from other European countries had almost ceased (Carreiras et al. 2007). During the last quarter of the 19th century, Portuguese emigrants were also enticed to cross the Atlantic towards Argentina, “attracted by the possibilities of work and settlement, and encouraged by migratory policies devised to attract European labor and population” (Borges 2009: 5). Therefore, they composed the multinationality flow that arrived in the country expecting to “make it in America”. According to the official data, from 1857 to 1959, almost 80,000 Portuguese arrived in Argentina (Borges 2009: 5). Despite its noticeable numbers during its peak in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Portuguese migration to Argentina was not widespread across the country; rather, it was strongly linked to family and local networks settled in port cities (Borges 2006). For instance, some of the main features of Portuguese emigration to Argentina include that it came predominantly from the Algarve (South) and Guarda (East, neighboring with Spain) regions, who settled mainly in Buenos Aires city and province, as well as in the city of Comodoro Rivadavia in Patagonia. Thus, the region of settlement shaped their incorporation into different labor and industrial sectors: construction, horticulture and flower farming in the Buenos Aires region, and in the oil exploitation and refinery in Patagonia.

The system of Portuguese migration to Argentina, based on social networks, prompted the creation of Portuguese associations from the late 1970s onwards, which played an important role in the integration of the newly arrived, shaping also their labor market entrance (Padilla et al. 2009). At present, there are about 23 Portuguese associations in Argentina, most of them located in the province of Buenos Aires, aiming at keeping Portuguese culture alive, through Portuguese clubs in the field of sports, culture and religion. From the governmental angle, the Council of the Portuguese Communities in Argentina was founded in 1996; later in 2002, it experienced some transformations, becoming more engaged in the region. Since then, it has been very active in the Portuguese and Luso-descendant communities of the Southern Cone, along their counterparts from Brazil and Uruguay, which organize frequent regional meetings. Even if there are still many associations, the Portuguese diaspora in Argentina is facing a fast-aging process.

The Portuguese in Venezuela

Immigration in Venezuela was insignificant until 1935, when a new process of political opening and modernization of the country took place. At that time, the government created the Institute of Immigration and Colonization, which survived until 1948. In 1939 the first contingent of Portuguese workers was brought to Venezuela, given its reputation as “good workers” in the oil industry in Curaçao, created in 1918. Some of the main characteristics of this cohort was that most of them were originally from the Madeira Islands who came as a group of hired, selected and controlled workers by the Portuguese state to secure remittances, in agreement with the private companies who hired them (do Rego 2014).

In 1948 a new era that favored open immigration started, flourishing throughout the 1950s and 1960s, when an estimated 800,000 immigrants entered the country, including Portuguese (Gomes 2009), both from continental Portugal (Porto and Aveiro) and from Madeira. They were mainly attracted by the possibility of working and investing in the booming oil industry (Xavier 2009). At that time, Venezuelan migration policies would stimulate family reunification to ensure migrants’ settlement in the country, a measure that also contributed to boosting the growth of the Portuguese population in the country (Xavier 2009). Portuguese successful entrance in the Venezuelan labor market allowed them to enjoy the economic growth in different economic sectors, which enabled them to invest locally (Dinneen 2011). By the 1970s, 70% of the Portuguese emigrants were Madeirenses. Moreover, at that time, a large number of Luso-Venezuelans were already moving back and forth between Portugal and Venezuela, which translated into increasing work for the consulate. Thus, throughout time, Portuguese immigrants became a consolidated community in Venezuela, and according to Abreu Xavier (2009), the country witnessed an era of mass migration of Portuguese, having gone from 648 Portuguese in 1950 to 93,029 in 1981.

Abreu Xavier (2009) argues that since the 1980s, given the escalation of the economic crises in Venezuela, the Portuguese have considered returning, but that return has been delayed for multiple reasons – for instance, having descendants in Venezuela, or a desire to continue the successful family’s business (Dinneen 2011). At the same time, because Portuguese and Luso-Venezuelans travel back and forth from Venezuela to Portugal, it was difficult to identify these pendular movements and to catch their dynamics in the statistics. However, and more since the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela in 2015, more Portuguese and Luso-Venezuelans have fled to Portugal, as well as to Spain and Italy and other Latin American countries (Freitez 2019), taking advantage of their citizenship and family networks. Once there, they also get lost in the statistics, as many have Portuguese nationality.

At present, over 218,000 Portuguese are registered in the Portuguese consulates in Caracas and Valencia, not including Luso-Venezuelans, who have the right to access Portuguese nationality. The official site of the Council of

Portuguese Communities in Venezuela argues that the Luso community in that country is the second largest in Latin America, after Brazil. A project named “Social Route around Venezuela”, carried out by the Portuguese embassy in the country, determined that Portuguese are located across all 23 states, with higher concentration in the capital, Caracas, and the cities of Valencia, Maracay, Maracaibo and Puerto Ordaz. Portuguese associations have been very active, not only maintaining links with Portugal but also building some emblematic geriatric centers in the country, illustrating the aging of the community, and a Luso-Venezuelan Association of Medical Doctors.

As in the cases of Brazil and Argentina, associativism is very strong in Venezuela. In almost all big cities, there is at least one Luso or Luso-Venezuelan association. Some examples include the centro Português de Caracas, the Casa de Portugal in Ciudad Bolívar and the Casa de Portugal de Maturín, among others. Venezuelan politicians and investors also tend to be involved in these associations, which not only contribute to maintaining socio-historical references but also serve as privileged spaces for the Portuguese community in Venezuela to lobby for their interests (Dinneen 2011; Gomes 2009).

From emigration policies to engagement

Emigration has been a structural constant in Portugal (Godinho 1978), even when immigration became a new feature of Portuguese demography in the late 1990s. However, another constant within emigration has been the centrality of Brazil as a main destination. In this context, because Portuguese transatlantic emigration to Brazil is a consequence of the deep socio-economic transformations at home and destination, Portuguese emigration policies have been historically ambiguous and contradictory throughout time.

Throughout the 20th century and to the present day, both emigration flows and emigration policies have changed, shifting from a liberal approach before Estado Novo, to restrictions during Salazar’s regime (1933–1974), to returning to a more liberal approach. It was only after the end of Estado Novo that Portuguese people were granted the right to freely emigrate again. After the decolonization process in Africa, re-democratization following the Carnation Revolution in 1974 and the admission of Portugal to the European Union in 1986, the focus from emigration shifted from controlling to finding a path to connect the state with the diaspora until the present day. This last phase has been mostly articulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Secretary of Portuguese Communities (and its different denominations) and the extension of political rights and representation to the Portuguese living abroad.

During the 1980s changes in the statistical process to collect the number of Portuguese people leaving the country and a temporary decrease in emigration flows, partially due to the political, economic and social processes that Portugal experienced after joining the European Union, contributed to the erroneous idea that “the Portuguese emigration era” had ended (Marques 2009). Thus, after the mid-1980s, emigration has not been captured by the official statistics

as it became an “embarrassing fact” that could undermine Portugal’s image of a modern and developed nation (Marques & Góis 2014, 2017). Therefore, the dominant discourse on emigration since then has been of invisibilization because it is associated with poverty and low levels of development, inconsistent with the new image that Portugal promotes internationally (Marques & Góis 2017). However, because the diaspora is large, some policies have been crafted toward emigration, yet with a different focus: to support the return and investments of Portuguese living abroad. The *Programa Nacional de Apoio ao Investidor da Diáspora* (PNAID) and *Programa Regressar* are some examples, intentionally fostering a positive image of Portugal engaging with its nationals abroad and highlighting their potential in development and investments in the home country (Simões 2020).

In Portugal, most legislation regarding emigration until 1933 did not restrict departures and was aimed mainly at protecting emigrants from mistreatment or exploitation in the countries of destination (Baganha 2003). Later, during Estado Novo (1933–1974), Portugal enacted more conservative and restrictive policies; for instance, Article 31 of the 1933 constitution declares that emigration should respond to the “economic and imperial interests of the state” (Baganha 2003: 3). This put an end to the well-established right to emigrate by choice, favoring the settlement of white Portuguese in the African colonies, which went hand in hand with the indoctrination of those sent to live abroad in name of the Imperial State (Pereira 2002).

Moreover, in 1944 the emigration passport was issued for agricultural or industrial workers, prohibiting them to get a regular passport, as they were deemed essential to the national labor market (emigrant passports were only valid to travel to the country of destination where workers had a job offer). Because forbidding emigration was not an easy task, in 1947, Salazar created a new organization, the *Junta da Emigração (Emigration Junta)*, by Decree 36.558/1947, responsible for all matters pertaining emigration regulation, centralizing all policies and actions and becoming the maximum authority on the matter (Galvanese 2013: 12). For instance, the *Junta* determined that all those between 14 and 45 years old who had not finished elementary education were not allow to leave; as at that time illiteracy rates were very high, a large portion of the population was banned from legally exiting the country (Baganha 1995). Coincidentally, this rule was also embraced by new policies in Brazil, when in the mid-1950s the entrance of illiterate immigrants was prohibited, limiting the entrance of many Portuguese. Once all these regulations were in place, illegal emigration became more generalized, illustrating that more regulations tend to translate into greater defiance.

During the 1960s in the context of reconstruction of Europe after World War II, emigration to closer destinations increased. Portugal signed bilateral treaties with some European states, allowing Portuguese citizens to move under specific conditions. Thus, during the 1960s, the role and the action of the *Junta da Emigração* began to be questioned mainly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and an Inter-ministerial Commission was created to study emigration

problems and propose the necessary changes in the legislation, administrative practices and agreements that regulate the emigration of workers. The result of this assessment was that the emigration should be treated as a social problem and framed within employment policies, both for continental Portugal as well as for the African colonies. Hence, for a period of time, emigration matters were moved to the Ministry of Corporations and Social Provision (Galvanese 2013). From this time on, the *Junta da Emigração* lost centrality. However, it is worth mentioning that during the 1960s, due to the agreements signed by Portugal with other European countries, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had become a central interlocutor in the negotiations, gaining relevance despite the Junta. Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and its networks of consulates became active players in emigration matters and slowly began shifting the focus from emigration control to engaging with the diaspora.

While on the one hand, during the Salazar regime, policies were restrictive in legal terms, on the other hand, in practice they were permissive, allowing a certain degree of tolerance. At that time, clandestine emigration became the norm, either by “jumping the border” to France or other European destinations, or when people felt compelled to find a way out to Brazil to avoid sending their children to the colonial war in Africa (Padilla 2010; Pereira 2002). Additionally, up to the 1970s, due to the relevance of remittances, the state would close its eyes to emigration to secure resources. However, this ambiguous position did configure a conflict of interests, because it was the state’s duty to provide the necessary labor force for the economy, secure the territories in the former colonies in Africa while making use of the substantial remittances sent by emigrants (Carreiras et al. 2007; Baganha 2000).

Finally, in 1970, during the Caetano administration, the last phase of Estado Novo, Decree-Law 420, created the *Secretariado Nacional da Emigração* to replace the controversial Junta. However, at this time, the government did not envision how close they were to the end of Portuguese rule in Africa.

After the restoration of democracy in 1974, the colonial war and decolonization ended, and the colonies declared independence. Thus, the Portuguese government focused on organizing the country’s internal affairs. Therefore, emigration temporarily lost centrality, even if specific agencies were created to deal with those living abroad. In 1974, the *Secretaria da Emigração* was created; it later became the *Secretaria de Estado da Emigração e das Comunidades Portuguesas*, under the umbrella of the Ministry of Labour. Once the Constitution of 1976 was approved, then the right to emigrate and return to the country was officially established, putting an end to an era of emigration control.

In 1980, the *Instituto de Apoio à Emigração e às Comunidades Portuguesas* was created, taking responsibility for the centralization and coordination of all actions to be promoted with emigrants, their families and Portuguese communities abroad. Later, in 1994, this agency was replaced by the National General Direction of Consular Affairs and of the Portuguese Communities, in response to a change in approach which shifted towards Portuguese communities abroad. Thus, the state focused on their integration in the country of destination, and

such concern was articulated by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, centralizing in the same organizational structure consular issues as well as to support to those living abroad.

Furthermore, in 1980 the Council of Portuguese Communities (*Conselho das Comunidades Portuguesas*) was created (reformed in 1984 and 1990, by Law 101/1990) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a consultative body responsible for advising the government in matters related to emigration and to represent the Portuguese communities abroad (Santos 2004). These ongoing changes illustrated the increasing interest in improving responses to the approximately four million Portuguese living abroad, finding a viable and operational solution in dealing with such a large number of entities spread around the world and improving their representation. Maria Manuela Aguiar, its first Secretary, contributed largely to improving emigration policy responses (protection, reinsertion, etc.) and promoting local support to communities in the region of residence. The council was the first official channel created by the Portuguese state to establish a dialogue with its community abroad (Marques & Góis 2013). By the end of the 1980s references to “emigration” and “emigrants” were substituted by “Portuguese community” and “Portuguese residents abroad” with the intention of approximating the diaspora symbolically, integrating and reconnecting the Portuguese living abroad with the country of origin and its culture (Pereira & Horta 2017).

Engagement with the diaspora: a symbolic and practical change

As the Portuguese colonial empire ended and Portugal was confined to a minor corner on Europe’s periphery, a debate on the new national identity emerged (Almeida 2008). Instead of the old discourse of Portugal as a nation that discovered, colonized and civilized the native populations in other parts of the world, the new official discourse embraced diasporic identity (Fernandes 2014), highlighting the presence of Portuguese around the world. This new identity strongly interweaves colonialism, immigration and emigration to construct a new image of national belonging (Klimt & Lubkemann 2002), in which the *new Portuguese imagined political community* embraces, on the one hand, Portuguese emigrants and, on the other hand, its former colonial subjects, to create a global deterritorialized nation (Feldman-Bianco 1992), under the mandate of *Lusophony*. The arguments to support the Portuguese community abroad as an intrinsic part of the national whole resorts on the idea of Portugal as a single nation, in which the value of ancestry is more relevant than cultural identity (Rocha-Trindade 2012). In this context, the Portuguese abroad were seen not as emigrants anymore, but as the “Portuguese spread around the world” (Feldman-Bianco 1992), “new” Portuguese explorers who would share the national culture globally (Fernandes 2014).

Moreover, Portugal intended to enhance its image as a country that cares about its “community’s” well-being. Pereira and Horta (2017) identify this

“diasporic turn” (Ragazzi 2014) as an effort to support the image of the Portuguese state as modern and committed to its “diasporic community” through a sense of common cultural and/or political heritage (Gamlen 2006). This view is central to building the official discourse of a state concerned with the equal protection of its citizens, extending their rights and recognizing their active contribution to the development of the nation independently of their whereabouts. Thus, Portugal projects itself as a country that fosters a sense of membership among its nationals transnationally (Levitt & Dehesa 2003).

The relation between the Portuguese state and its diaspora, however, has not always been linear, and this relation has been marked often with some tension, not always coordinated and influenced by the changes in policies instrumented by the Executive (Marques & Góis 2013). As in transition to becoming an immigration country in the 1990s, Portugal created a new official discourse as a developed and modern European country, sought after by others because of its culture, geopolitical importance and connections to Europe, Africa and Latin America (Araújo 2013). In becoming a country of immigration as opposed to emigration, experiencing increasing immigration flows and being admitted to the European Union, Portugal reinvented itself, portraying an image of being a “core country” in the world system (Santos 2004).

Thus, as expressed earlier, the policies regarding emigration during *Estado Novo* experienced a gradual transformation in which emigration evolved from being an issue of internal affairs, centralized in and by the Ministry of Interior through *Junta da Emigração*, to gain inter-ministerial status in the 1960s while transitioning to the Ministry of Labour, to finally be moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where it is housed at present in the *Direção dos Assuntos Consulares e das Comunidades Portuguesas* (DGACCP). Hence, the “embarrassment” turned into a potential advantage that could be shown to the world, due not just to the remittances but to the success of the Portuguese diaspora in the world, thus occupying a place in Portuguese foreign policy.

In this context, it is interesting to note that some former policies set in the field of emigration, with a vocation of foreign affairs, have become diaspora policies serving both the country of origin and destination, the Brazilian case being emblematic. “Brazil and Portugal have a long history of bilateral relations, collaboration, and cooperation on different fronts that has evolved from the colonial times through independence to the contemporary times of globalization” (Padilla 2011: 19). Thus, “the old agreements signed with Portugal (at a time when Portuguese emigration to Brazil was intense) have provided Brazil with prosperous platforms through which to safeguard its citizens” (Padilla 2011: 19). The list is long, starting with the Accord on Friendship and Consultation, signed in 1957, which was updated in 2000 for the celebration of the 5th Centenary of the “Discovery” of Brazil, which would open new collaboration avenues for both countries. Also, in the 1990s, other relevant treaties were signed, namely the Accord on Consular Cooperation in 1995, which allows citizens of Portugal and Brazil to access each other’s consulates in third countries; and the Agreement on Social Security, signed in 1995 and replacing

the one signed in 1969, which became a model for the Ibero-American States' Multiregional Cooperation Agreement on Social Security signed later in 2007.

One final step toward recognizing the relevance of the diaspora is granting the right to vote and to representation (Boccagni et al. 2016; Lisi et al. 2019). The political rights of Portuguese emigrants have been recognized for four decades, since the approval of the first electoral law in 1976. The reestablishment of democracy pushed Portugal to ensure equal political rights and to create channels to allow the effective political participation of all citizens (Lisi et al. 2019), including those abroad. Emigrants' voting rights were approved based on the principle of promoting an effective participation and the inclusion of all citizens abroad (Lisi et al. 2019);² thus, Portuguese emigrants gained the right to be represented in the Parliament by electing a representative from the emigration districts. Bauböck (1994, 2005) considers the extended electoral right as an expansion of citizenship and a strategy of the state to maintain political ties with its community abroad in a process of transnational citizenship. Although some efforts have been made to promote external vote, overall, emigrants' affairs have not been a popular topic among the parties' political debate in Portugal, and the approach to their plights and needs still focuses on old matters.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we presented Portuguese emigration flows with special attention to Latin America and discussed the transformations and evolution of Portuguese emigration policies, first targeting emigrants to later focusing on the diaspora. Despite some fluctuations, the constant flow of Portuguese citizens leaving the country has put emigration as a permanent topic in the national political and research agenda.

Although the reasons behind Portuguese emigration to Brazil could be deemed obvious due to the countries' shared colonial past and their complementarity in terms of population surplus and needs, certain nuances require a deep analysis. First, there is the centrality of Brazil as a destination in the Portuguese emigration dynamics, not only in the Lusophone world but also in comparison with other destinations. Likewise, the role of diplomatic agreements in shaping this flow aim at the protection of emigrants abroad and, much later, the reciprocity of those agreements to safeguard Brazilian immigrants in Portugal. These negotiation strategies, over time, have opened unique opportunities in both countries, Portugal and Brazil, to work together and look after their citizens.

The presence of a Portuguese community in Argentina and Venezuela illustrates the complexity and transformations of Portuguese emigration in the 20th century. While the Argentinian case demonstrates the role of social networks in fostering new emigration paths, Venezuela is a classic example of manual labor migration which evolved to an investment destination. Therefore, if emigration can be considered a structural feature of Portuguese society, it does not

mean that the flows are either uniform or the same throughout the centuries. The changes, however, are not by chance. If the economic and political situation of the destination country plays a role, emigration or diaspora policies also play a part in the configuration of the emigration flows.

After long decades of restrictive and controlling migration policies during Estado Novo, Portuguese people were granted the right to freely migrate again in 1974. However, it does not mean that during this period people did not migrate. In fact, during the 1960s, Portugal registered its higher numbers of people leaving the country up until the austerity years from 2010 to 2014. The changes in the Portuguese migration dynamics also involve changes in the meanings that the state attributed to its diaspora. In the process of revamping its image as a modern country, Portuguese citizens abroad were portrayed as the countries' "ambassadors", and emigration policies transformed in diaspora policies aiming at building an international Portuguese community. Despite Portugal's recent efforts in modernizing its policies towards the diaspora and intention to attract their investment, given the constant changes in the national political landscape, only the future will tell about the success of the actions.

Notes

- 1 <https://portaldascomunidades.mne.gov.pt/pt/>
- 2 Regarding voting rights, Portuguese emigrants are entitled to parliamentary representation, with four deputies elected for the Assembly of the Republic; they also participate in the European elections (for Eurodeputies), presidential elections and national referenda (Lisi et al. 2019).

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