Identity and recognition in the media

ISABEL FERIN CUNHA*

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to thing about pos colonialism from the Portuguese point of view. Another objective of this exposition is to thing about the Other, building by the Portuguese media. It will be discussed the concept of imagined community and the relation between Us and the Other on globalization and Portuguese empire fall context. This process will be illustrated by the centenaries relations between Portugal and Brazil. Identity, National identity, Difference and Ethnicity will be useful prior concepts to approach the migration and the recognition policies.

Key words: Portuguese pos colonialism, Media, Migration, Portugal-Brazil relations.

* University of Coimbra (Portugal)

Translated by Andrea Limberto Leite

RESUMO

Este texto pretende refletir sobre pós colonialismo a partir da visão de mundo portuguesa e das representações e imagens construídas pelos *media* nas últimas décadas. Tendo em conta os contextos da globalização e o quadro histórico da derrocada do império, discute-se a idéia de comunidade imaginada e as relações entre Nós e os Outros, ilustrada pelas relações entre Portugal e o Brasil. A exposição demarca alguns conceitos fundamentais, como identidade, identidade nacional, diferença e etnicidade, que permitem equacionar os fenômenos migratórios em Portugal e na Europa e as políticas de integração e reconhecimento.

Palavras-chave: Pós colonialismo português, *media*, Migrações, Relações Portugal-Brasil.

The way of thinking or the movement known as postcolonial is not, as it would seem at first notice, the impulse that follows the breakdown of Europe's colonial empires. Hall (2003: 56) indicates that the postcolonial concept is not only a chronological schema of what came before and after, but it marks the transition of a certain type of power to another, in a world where all phenomena are interrelated in a diachronic and synchronic way. Said (1978), studying postcolonialism in the north of Africa and in the orient, states that Europeans have created a way of thinking the orient in which representations say more about occidental phantoms than about the acknowledgment of the life in these territorial grounds. In the same line of thinking are the writings of Memmi (1957) and Fanon (1969) when they explore the psycanalitic conditions of colonization and of the attitude of both colonizator and colonized towards the colonial situation. Still, we have the writings of Amilcar Cabral and the poetry of Agostinho Neto, in the 60's, regarding their experiences as integrated and colonized.

In sum, postcolonial thinking intends to ponder in a connected way about the Power relationships that were implicated in the hegemony of the colonizator and the exploitation of the colonizated and it also intends to ponder about the functions or dysfunctions resulting from the fall of the empires. In opposition to what the first thinkers believed, giving the characteristics of colonial regime and imagining a world free from this kind of domination, the end of European empires reinforced the asymmetric distribution of resources and inequities towards production and usage of economic and symbolic capitals. The breakdown of empires did not put an end to exploitation of colonized people. On the contrary, as verified in Latin America in XIXth and XXth centuries, and in Asia and Africa in the second half of the XXth century, it produced the shifting of regimes of exploitation and domination. These occurrences started to be led by native social forces more or less dependent on interests present in the north hemisphere. The awareness about this situation does not releive the ex-colonies elites of their responsibilities, nor attenuates the scrutiating picture of political instability and innumerous economic, social and humanitarian disasters from the last decades. The end of the cold war and the fall of Soviet Union are the most recent events in this postcolonial order, whose political and symbolic emptiness was hegemonic ally fulfilled by the United States. Its immediate results were the integration into the capitalist economic and symbolic system of territories once outside its zone of influence.

As economical, symbolical, financial and ethnic nets get denser in global scale and also because of specific contexts (Appadurai, 2003), questions regarding complex interaction among peoples, histories of domination and ways to production of hybrid and syncretic imaginaries enter public and privet agenda (Featherstone, 1995; Canclini, 2003; Giddens, 2004; Santos, 2005). From the fall of the empires, ideas that articulate the relationship between We and the Others acquire a new perspective. The hegemonic narratives, build upon the "kindness of the imperial center" had, from that moment on, to be contrasted with different readings, namely the ones that challenge the nature of such kindness and glorify the fights against the imperial center happening in the periphery. These crossed looks stimulate, on the side of the colonizator, the discussion of his own identity resulting in self-punishment interpretations, other times in essentialist ones or, still, in introspective perspectives seeking to recognize We trough the Other[1]. The postcolonial environment is a combination of all these perspectives present in literature, in historical and political essays from colonial countries. It also includes the thinking of those who, by recognizing themselves as the Other in the colonial system have incorporated what used to be the essence of the imperial We.[2] In a very unique way, and also a collective one, this movement incorporates the principles that are in the origin of Prospero and Caliban myth and it recreates the same intellectual mechanisms that, in the metaphor of the myth, lead the slave to take the tools of his master, using them as freeing objects and as instruments to think about slavery.

1. We can include on these different perspectives the essayist Eduardo Lourenço, the portuguese authors Lídia Jorge and Antóio Lobo Antunes, also the works of the historian Valentim José and the philosopher José Gil

2. For example, we name authors like Franz Fanon, Aimé Cesar, Albert Memmi, Stuart Hall e Homi Bhabha.

To think what was the world in the fall of the empires is also discussing nationalism and the role of means of communication, specially the press, in the building of *imagined communities*. Anderson (2005) considers that the invention of nation is recent, contradicting what nationalists want us to believe. Also, it takes place in the Europe of XVIIIth century when the values of Iluminism endorse the laicization and the loss of legitimacy in the dynasty kingdoms. From this moment on, what keeps communities together, beyond the face to face contact, is the idea that they share history, culture, values, territory and foundations for an administrative organization (Anderson, 2005:24-27). Nation is, in this perspective, a imagined community simultaneously delimited – in space and in number of individuals – and sovereign in its internal political management and in the relationship established with other nations. The idea of nation as an imagined community is based on the development of press languages and of the "printed capitalism", specially the growth of the editorial market, the number of periodical and newspapers titles and the gathering of new audiences (Anderson, 2005: 65-75). Nation and State may not be equivalents, but the elements that build the consciousness of nation are the

same for the "four seats" of nation-states today present in the United Nations: the European nations; the *crioula* nations from America, the nations emerged after the end of second world war and those that emerged from the splitting of the Soviet Union.

Mattelart (1991, 1994) in his works *A Comunicação Mundo: história das idéias e das estratégias* (The Communication World: history of the ideas and strategies) and *Invenção da Comunicação* (The Invention of Communication) places in the end of XVIII[th] and beginning of the XIX[th] the emergence of national and international nets of production, distribution and control of information and communication. These nets would have appeared in the following of liberal and republican revolutions. They gave voice to the bourgeois public opinion and resulted also from the technological advancements at the time. According to the author, information and communication nets were build in a circle around centers of decision-making, almost all of them European and imperial. They also have composed a constellation of interdependences connected through the concept of center and periphery. The best example of this net structure is the settling of European news agencies – the French *Havas* was founded in 1835, the German *Wolff* in 1949 and the English *Reuter* in 1851 – along with the relationship they established, through cable, with its colonies and ex-colonies. Only in the beginning of the XX[th] century, and thanks to the enterprises founded by *Hearst*, is that the United States started a new organization of the center, taking little by little the place of European countries in the production and control of information and contents, spread by the means of communication, mainly the cinema.

3. N.T. Work published in english by the University of Minnesota Press.

The territories that had been under imperial domination and were the peripheries of colonial nets forged their identities in contrast with imperial identities. According to Anderson (2005), this procedure produced in Latin America an extremely important phenomenon, the *creolization*. By *creolization* the author understands the phenomena of appropriation of instruments allowing imperial domination such as the language, the culture and the procedures of economic and administrative management, not only by the elite born in the colonies but also by the native populations, and by the common "people". The ability of recreating these elements and make them as autonomous as imagined countries inside the ancient imperial administrative territories is mostly due to the forms of *printed capitalism* and the publicization of cultural contents. Nationalism may or may not be associated with the Nation-State. It may or may not be a movement of elites or even a reaction against world's elites. However it is always a movement that tends to preserve, or settle, an already structured culture (Castells, 2003: 32-35).

The concept of imagined nation based on printed capitalism, and the idea of a center-periphery division, in the first moment, structure the development of this work, to which will be added thoughts on Identity. This concept will be defined and then contextualized taking into account the Portuguese national identity and the multiple readings and disruptures resulting from the end of the Empire and from Portugal's entrance in the frame of European Comunity. The relationship between Portugal and Brazil will be, in this perspective, enounced in a illustrative way, meaning not only the representations and images of nationality but also the ones of Migrations, which came to establish and renew the spatial dimensions of the center and the periphery. At last, and taking as example the data provided by researches on Brazilian Globo soap operas running in Portugal and the representations of Brazilian people in Portuguese television news, we should emphasize the role of the Media and of cultural and content industries in the relationship between these two countries.

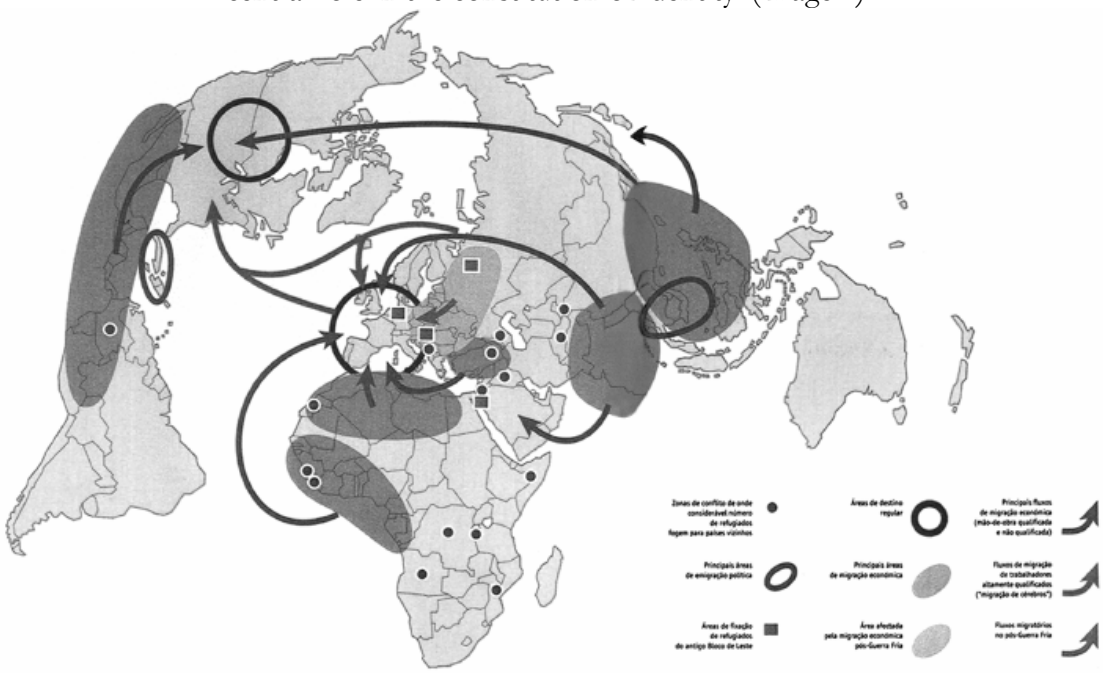
THE IMAGES OF PORTUGUESE NATIONAL IDENTITY: BETWEEN THE CENTER AND THE PERIPHERY

The identities, be them singular or plural ones, are a construction in progress, which is to say that there are no fixed identities and that the construction process is never finished. It is constantly open to recontextualizations and new particularizations many times conflictuous and contradictory. Identities are always relational (Woodword, 2005) which means that they come from the individual or collective relationship with the Other. They become signs of belonging many times associated to the reivindication of origin, territory, culture and a common language. These reivindications can acquire an essentialist aspect when they atribute to an event from the historical past its origin and the charachteristics that determine the identity, understood as unchangeble and as being part of the same biological origin. This essencialist perspective tends to be supported by classification systems and powerful symbolic signs that usually come along with the emergence of violent and conservative forms of nationalism, from which are examples the war in the balkans or the appearing of the skinhead movement in european countries.

The identities have become visible together with the new ways to mundialization, concept that designates the complex phenomena resulting from processes of homogenization, proximity and interconnection among economical, social and cultural practices (Featherstone, 2001). The discussion around identities has became one of the most outstanding dimensions of globalization, in the measure that it has come to set the conditions of existence or survival of individuals, groups, States and nations into the scenery of mundialization. In the paths that lead to mundialization, identities have gained renewed expressions, not only due to nets of economic and symbolic interpenetration, but also in the sequence of deterritorializations, relocations

and diaspora inside these nets. All of these phenomena, powered by the Media and by information and communication technologies, have produced complex processes of national reinforcement or of ethnic reivindication aiming to inscribe individuals and groups on the map of economic and symbolic globalization.

Identity is related to three basic meanings: the *legitimating identity*, introduced by society's ruling institutions aiming to expand and articulate rationally its domination over social actors; the *resistance identity* created by actors and subjects under stigmatization and unvalued positions; the *project identity* produced by individuals or groups intending to redefine their own position in society (Castells, 2003: 2-12). *Legitimating identity* assured the possibility of building the State inside the nation and also the development of civil society institutions through State's establishment of organs of power, decision and control. *Resistence identity* resulted in communitarian reivindications which are on the basis of social movements, ethnic affirmation and fights against exclusion. It tends to privilege distinctive aspects in the character of a person or group, like gender, sexual orientation or the origin of the group. In its third conception, identity is found deeply connected to the subject, even when he is integrated collectively. This identity is based on the subjects' developed ability to think about themselves and imagine their own biography in an active way. This last conception, active imagination, is fed by the many ongoing flows of images and meanings, experiences and human movements and it has a central role in the constitution of identity. (image 1)

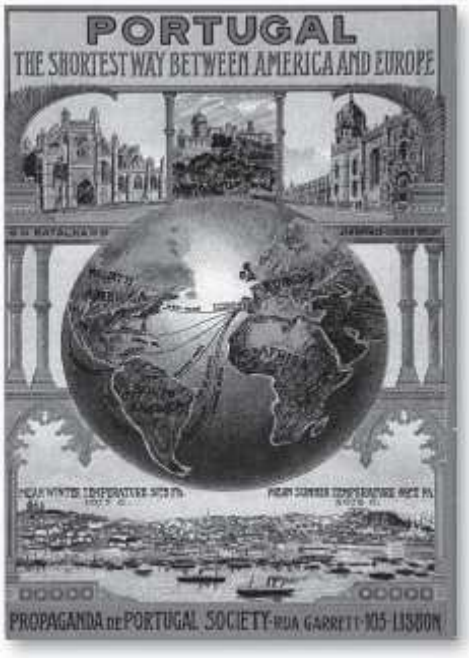


It is understandable, as well, that national identity is a construction that implicates distinctions in the search for meanings, symbols and signs that worship value and singularity and also the relationship established with other national identities. To speak of Portuguese national identity is to take into account these constitutive elements, that is, the process creating categories to the national identity. In Mattoso words (1998: 29) it starts in the XIIth century, with the formation of the State and undergoes a period reinforcement in the fights against Castela, during the XIIIth and XIVth centuries, and acquires a true dimension with the great intercontinental trips and with the structuring of the empire in the XVth century. This process of creating categories is not linear and in the beginning it appears to be an essencially religious construction. It becomes, with the reconquest and the consolidation of iberic national territorial boundaries, a project of imagination connected to a territory and to a sovereign dynastic government. During the XVth century – the most affirmative moment of Portuguese identity in opposition to an Other State strange and farway – *Os Lusíadas* (The Lusiadas) de Luís de Camões, result of the maritime ventures and desventures of a poet, establishes the idea of nation in relation to "destiny" and "mission" attributing to Portugal the position of center in a worldwide Empire. The internalization of the national greatness and the heroism of Portuguese people brought by The Lusiadas to the collective imaginary nurtured, still today and simultaneously, the nationalist images of a glorious past and a present of decadence. This has become, in the words of many authors, a constant obsession in the categorization of Portuguese identity (Mattoso, 1998).

National identity is a recurrent subject in the Portuguese intellectual agenda in which, as Santos states (1994:49), the importance of interpretative studies of mythological tendency reflect and confirm the difficulty of Portuguese elite in confronting the reality of the country and the marginality of its cultural existence. Psychoanalytic tendency analysis, in which Portuguese society is seen as an individual – an organism provided with feelings and behavioral inclinations – are frequent, even after the revolution of 25th of April, 1974. Without retracing many decades, one can verify that Portuguese late colonialism, after the Second World War, is based on the so called "uniqueness of Portuguese national experience". Such being "unique" reinforced by the "antiquity" of the nationality in comparison to other European nationalities and the precocity of the Nation-State founded based on a territory, language and "race". The II Republic, or New State (Estado Novo), that for 41 years, from 1933 to 1974, had António Salazar as first minister, settled its ideological strength in the revitalization of some given values understood as constitutive of Portuguese identity (Dias, 1961). This renewal of a "rebuild" Portuguese national identity aimed, on one side, to worship the virtues of a peoples primarily rural and maritime, and on the other side, to

reinforce the characteristics of the historical mission that allowed the preservation of African colonies and the civilizatory determination of the people belonging to the Portuguese overseas. Using the first Brazilian studies of sociological and ethnographic perspective, the New State seeked to make alive the Portuguese colonial vocation and the unique aspect of the "Portuguese being", able to reconcile effective administration and "kind" integration in the colonial areas.

Information and propaganda were used by the New State in the metropolis and in the colonies, in a systematic and organized way and going to organisms especially skilled for the purpose. The courses from which graduated colonial administrators and the ones that prepared police agents included, in the 60's, disciplines of journalism, publicity and propaganda. The radio and the cultural industries were used by the New State as well to consolidate the imperial identity, mainly through the actions of minister António Ferro (1895-1956) in the moments of national and international exhibitions that preceded the Sencond World War. For example, in Paris International Exposition, in 1937, and in the Portuguese World Exhibition, in 1940, the minister apprehended an important propaganda work on Portugal's modernization attitude towards the colonies. At the same time that it publicized the best that was produced not only in the industry, but also in the fields of the arts, culture and science. In these expositions, as in other events till the mid 40's, the governmental organisms of the New State have encouraged the national cinema, the theater and the performative art, many times without regards for salazarists principles. The quarrel between the dictator and the ministeron the renewal of imperial national culture grows more acute when it comes to the role of the radio station National Broadcasting Service (Emissora Nacional) and the cinema in Portugal and in the colonies, resulting in the firing of minister António Ferro. (image 2)



The Catholic Church played also a decisive role in the reinforcement of late imperial identity. It created a bureaucratic structure endorsed by the dictatorship and focused on the oversea missions. In such structure are remarkable the missionary studies and press as well as the constant public fund-raising campaigns and the retaining of skilled people to the missions. On the other hand, and through images spread along the years, the missions have contributed to consolidate or to recreate many of the stereotyped images of african people.

The end of the empire - announced by the independence wars in African colonies began in the 60's and by the revolution of 25th of April, 1974 - rephrased the question of Portuguese identity, now having Europe as relational pole. Many works of essayistic and literary tendency have been made on Portuguese identity, understood as an organism, which many times may be "sick" and in the need for "psychiatric treatment" (Santos, 1994). In his work *Onze teses por Ocasião de mais uma descoberta de Portugal* (1994, 49-67) *(Eleven thesis by Occasion of another Portugal discovery)*, Santos opposes these interpretations considering them to be an exercise of conservative common sense building produced by the elite in the attempt to explain itself and reinsert itself into Portuguese society. On the other hand, the author considers that the end of the empire was the finish line to a long process of deterritorialization responsible for producing an imperial imagery in which Portugal is the center of the empire and periphery of Europe. The fast political reterritorialization that took place in the period after April 25th 1974 and the return from ex-colonies of more than a million Portuguese and Portuguese descendants reinforced the understanding of Portuguese nationality as Europe's periphery. The analysis made by Santos gives birth to a group of studies in opposition to the essayistic tendency in Portuguese nationality interpretation. It offers, otherwise, the appeal to the social sciences.

From the 80's and the 90's on, there is an increase in the number of investigations that use the methodology of these sciences and promote a new perspective on Portuguese national identity: Portugal is a country of intermediary development with indicators that sometimes are closer to the most developed countries in Europe and sometimes closer to the countries in development. In the last decade a sequence of cultural, social and economic indicators measured by European polls indicate that Portuguese behaviors and expectations are each time closer to the European pattern. Such reality, however, has been understood as a result of benefiting from "privileged relationships" with Portuguese-speaking countries settled in 1994 with the establishment of the Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP) (Portuguese Speaking Countries Community). The creation of this Community has proportioned, during its first years of existence, a certain revival of Portuguese elites imagining Portugal as a "facilitator" in the relationships between Europe and the Portuguese-speaking community. On the other hand, in the past years, in opposition to the pragmatism present in African countries and also in opposition to the emergence of Brazil as worldwide power, new forms of understanding have come up. These new forms include the reinforcement of similarities – as language, social nets and common history – and also a reinforcement of differences, specially the ones regarding economic relationships, mobilities and regional strategies of globalization.

IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE: ON MIGRATIONS AND THE MEDIA IN PORTUGAL

The phenomenon of migration in Portugal is recent. In the 60's instead of sending human resources to France, Germany and Switzerland, the first cape verdeans arrived in Portugal. The arrival of these workers was given still in a colonial frame which implicated mobility inside the same nation territory and presupposed the Portuguese citizenship of the migrants. Although differences in identity were noticed, such differences were understood inside the imperial formation. In this formation were settled the many positions and hierarchies for recognition of the inhabitants belonging to the "Portuguese nation", from the metropolis to the "African oversea provinces". The turning point to the construction of the Other in Portugal and to the recognition of the difference in relation to the Other that is among Us happens when Portuguese and Portuguese descendants return home after the independences of African colonies, between the late 70's and beginning of the 90's. This moment marks the challenging of social hierarchies culturally established during the colonial empire period and that were renewed by the New State. The revolution of April 25th 1974 and the independence of African ex-colonies, in the late 70's, brought back more than half a million people to Portugal, among them ex-colonists, their descendants, other family members of African or Portuguese African origin, as well as ex-exiled people with experiences in Europe, Brazil or the North of Africa. This territorialization of previous displacements and mixed diasporas happening in a territory resulting and center of a fallen empire, brought, for the first time inside the "Portuguese nation", the idea of difference and ethnicity.

The idea of difference appears basically associated to the perception of diverse cultural aspects and characteristics of phenotype. The first meaning comes with the "returned", designation given to the Portuguese, Portuguese-descendants or inhabitants of the colonies that came to Portugal after the independences. The "returned" asked for recognition of their difference in the private and public spheres. Also, being in touch with the Portuguese that had never left the metropolis, at the same time they worshiped their unique individual experience and refused to be treated as second class citizens (Taylor, 1994: 46-49). The "racialized" version of the difference becomes visible when the immigration of African ex-colonies citizens increases, in the 80's, in consequence of fratricide wars and by structural adjustments imposed to these countries by the World Bank and the IMF. The acknowledgment of the difference was then associated to the

perception of the phenotype or in popular vocabulary "race". It was seen a recurrent association between certain physical characteristics and certain cultural and social behaviors. In this process, much have contributed the military and colonial experience of the adult Portuguese population, such as the approval, in 1982, of a new law of nationality privileging the "right of blood" over the "right of land" and the increasing *guetization* of Africans and their descendants in peripheral neighborhoods of big cities (Pires, 2003: 126-136).

Researches made in the 80's on media representations – understood as types of knowledge or mental realities shared by groups in a given culture – of the foreigners in Portugal are little and do not approach immigration. In the same decade in which the Media sector in Portugal is in time of liberalization and in which is given the approval to the new law of radio and also two television stations concession to private operators, the Other, foreigner and/or immigrant, is still invisible. The first and only study from the period which analyses news in daily and weekly newspapers between 1983 and 1989 (Esteves, 1991) concluded that the small amount of pieces on foreigners showed their weak presence in the national political and social agenda, in opposition to what was verified in many other countries in Communitarian Europe. This study pointed out the use of expressions like "cabo-verdiano" (cape verdean) and "africano" (african) as virtual synonyms. It also identifies the focus on social situation and violence, remarking that Portuguese people tend to associate foreigners to criminality. This study is chronologically related to the moment of Portugal's entrance in European Community (1986). Nevertheless, it is only with the signing of the Schengen Agreements, in 1993, setting the boundaries of 15 European countries, that the "matter of the Other" reaches public mediatic space, forcing politicians, intellectuals and citizens in general to take positions. On these debates, analyzed in different researches (Cunha, 1997: Pires, 2003), it is pointed out the recovery of imperial stereotypes – the evoking of a universal spirit and specific characteristics of the "Portuguese being" – and a progressive ethnization of the images of the Other. As there wasn't in Portuguese society a clear perception about the immigration situation, that officially numbered 168.316 legalized immigrants, the difference is ethicized through attributes imputed to certain groups, usually related to "race". In this context, ethnic groups are appear simply as a descriptive and objective category, sensible to the outside observer. In this case the observers are journalists that, sharing the same socially constructed reality and occupying a certain position in the nation, express discursively the authenticity of the national identity (Poutignat and Streff-Fenart, 1997: 45).

Between the years of 1993 and 2000, Portuguese mediatic spectrum underwent a lot of changes due to the telecommunication market liberalization and to the beginning of functioning of two private television operators: the Sociedade Independente de Comunicação (SIC) (Independent Society of Communication) and Televisão Independente (TVI) Independent Television. They joined the two previously existent public television stations (RTP1 and RTP2). The fight for audience and publicity among the four open signal channels, as well as the experiments in programming schedules and the use of new types and genres of television shows have altered the news coverage standards in Portugal. Consequently, public and private televisions have created a specific dynamics that privileges spectacular information, the infotainment, emphasizing journalistic reports that appeal to emotion or *moral panic* being able to make audience increase. Journalistic pieces tend to concentrate on crimes committed by immigrants, on gangs of youngsters sons of immigrants, on police reports that show numbers of foreign criminals in prison, as well as on immigration life stories. Press and television news coverage on immigration and ethnic groups, known as ethnic minorities, have gained great visibility not only due to the remarkable increase in the number of immigrants, legalized or not (without documents), but because this phenomenon entered European and Portuguese political agenda. (Images 3, 4)

While European Community Government and European countries leaders become aware of the political importance of immigration, the visibility of the mediatic agenda related to this topic increases, emphasizing the demographic problem, work, internal and external security of boundaries and inclusive measures. Since the end of the millennium, countries that belong to the European Union ponder about a political conception based on a multicultural Europe – inclusive enough to forge an European citizenship and open enough to receive the Other – and the ghosts of "barbarian invasion", Islamic terrorism and cultural and religious implosion (Wenden, 2005: 8-12). (Image 5)

In Portugal, since the year 2000, immigration from the PALOP (Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa/ African Countries of Portuguese Official Language) and from other countries has diminished in comparison to immigration

from Eastern Europe and from Brazil. . In the year 2002, the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras/ Service for Foreigners and Boundaries (SEF) numbered around 300.000 registered immigrants. Data from this census show that brazilian and ucranian communities have increased in number of people to numbers very close to the cape verdeans ones. It also showed that new communities, such as the Indian, Pakistani and Chinese ones are going to be established. In consonance with European policies, new procedures have been used towards immigration and ethnic groups, resulting on a greater sensibilization of the institutional and private actors involved, mainly when it comes to the approach given to these issues by the means of communication. This period has been of readjustment in policies and flows, making possible the legalization of unregistered immigrants. In the year 2007, estimates are around 500.000 immigrants legally residing in the country, which makes almost 10% of Portugal's active population and 6% of the total population living in Portuguese territory. Let us point out that the economic difficulties of the past years – resulting from changes in the ways to production, new work policies and the end of a cycle of great constructions – have led to situations of unemployment and increase in precariety affecting workers in general, specially illegal working immigrants. These circumstances have incentivated many ucraniam immigrants to search for other countries to work in and, on the other hand, they have made many Portuguese follow the flow of emigration. On the other side, adverse economic conditions and the new adjustments in the work market have generated new forms of discrimination and exclusion, based on ethnic origins and abilities to work and produce[4].

Studies made after the year 2000 regarding the image of immigrants and ethnic groups in the Media, press and television, continue to report the emphasis gave to the subject of crime (mafia, extortions, prostitution, traffic of many natures), although they are identified sometimes as victims and other as criminals (Ferin, and al., 2004; 2005). Researches studying attitudes and values of the Portuguese in face of immigration conclude that there is a "cognitive cultural scale" draw by the inquired. This scale puts them closer to Brazilian immigrants, makes them recognize the professional competence of citizens from Eastern countries and be wary of citizens from African countries (Lages e Policarpo, 2006). However, it is important to say that these attitudes and behaviors are not exclusive of Portuguese society. The periodical inquiries made by the Eurobarometro, collecting data on the attitudes and perceptions of European people towards immigrants and immigration, show that hostility against immigrants comes not only from objective elements (economic vulnerability, unemployment and precariety), but also from subjective

4. For example, it is known that many portuguese companies prefer to hire workers from Eastern Europe and fire african and portuguese ones. To justify that choice they comment on the greater discipline and fewer demands of the first. Contrast with the article from Nicolau Santos "Tensões raciais inevitáveis: as empresas portuguesas despedem os trabalhadores de origem africana e substituem-nos por imigrantes de Leste, uma mão de obra com mais formação", Expresso, 22 de Maio 2004, Caderno Economia, p. 3. ("Innevitable racial tensions: portuguese companies fire workers of african origin and replace them with immigrants from the East, workers with better background")

ones, such as expectations and ideological alignments. The same inquiries reveal that European citizens are unanimous in admitting, in spite of the specificities of each country, that being an immigrant or belonging to another ethny is right from the start a disadvantage. It limits access to the market of opportunities (Eurobarometro Special 263 on Discrimination in the European Union, published in 2007).

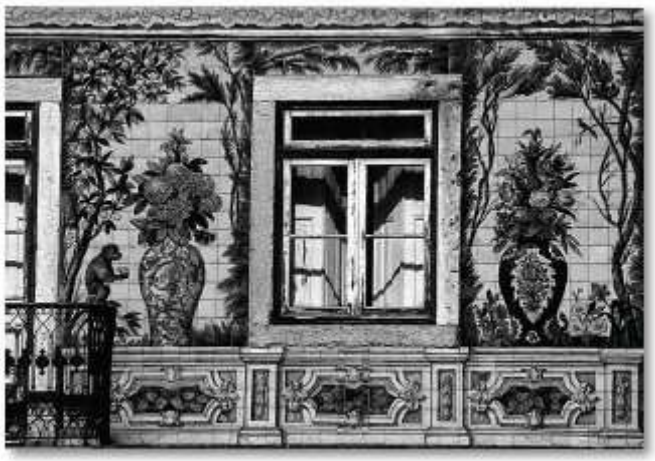
The transformation of Europe and Portugal from an emigration territory to an immigration one has brought to European countries the conceptual frames in which north-american researches had been made for decades. These theoretical frames have bounced between the idea of assimilation as a final stage for a cycle of ethnic relationships and the idea of ethnic distinctions as a source of collective mobilization. The political perspective and the adaptation of these investigations to the different realities of the many European countries depended, at first, on the colonial tradition and integration policies aimed by each government. As an example, we have the French assimilation policy and the multiethnic policy in England and also in Germany, which gave the immigrants status of invited workers. In a second moment, mainly after the beginning of the millennium, there are attempts to have conceptual and practice uniformization with the objective of granting the existence of a common European policy to immigration, integration and non-discrimination. The present challenges are related to multiculturalities, supposing that in a democracy the migrating citizen may have many identities and play various roles, composing them inside the limits of a functional multiculturality. In consequence, a great number of European countries have adopted equality policies, extending civil, political and socioeconomic rights to all legalized immigrants and giving them visa. On the other hand, the same countries, because of their socioeconomic reality and the cultural and religious origin of their migrations have tried difference policies, emphasizing that all people should be recognized and not discriminated by their ethnic identities. In the same sense are some actions directed to the Media: promoting academic research, integrating professionals from immigrant groups in the Media mainstream and the development of ethnic media.

EXCHANGED LOOKS BETWEEN PORTUGUESE AND BRAZILIAN PEOPLE

It is not the objective of this article to write a story of the relationship between Portugal and Brazil in any period of time. It is not our intention as well to make an inventory or to discuss historicists and culturalists works of Portuguese and Brazilian authors that sometimes attribute to Portugal an excessive weight in the formation of Brazil and, at other times, point out the

erasing of cultural routes and the subalternity imputed to the countries' first origins. The goal of this exposition is not either to discuss the oblivion of Portugal and the Portuguese people in Brazilian imagery and, comparatively, the constant presence of Brazil and Brazilians in Portugal. In this moment of the work, our intention is in the regard of mapping common sense images – understood as a way to promoting critical observation of the events and enhancing self-knowledge (Santos, 1988: 56-57) – images that undergo more than 500 years of relationship between the two countries. The imagery, symbologies and metaphors of this relationship started with the description made by the cronist Pero Vaz de Caminha reporting from this land in which he berthed in 1500. From that moment on, the conditions and processes that shaped Portuguese colonial imagery did not stop multiplying.

They were, in great part, absorbed and consolidated by the colonial elite and also by literature and history in Portugal and in Brazil. It is enough to remember, as an example, the constant tension that involved the interpretation of Brazilian Indians – documented in literature, legislation, religious discourses and other artistic manifestations – sometimes as good and naïve people, and other times as bad lascivious ones. The same tension is verified, just like in other colonial areas, in the representation of black people and slavery and in the invoquing of civilization and religion to justify domination of white man over the Other. Portuguese literature and history, from the XVIth to the XXth century, are filled with images of imagined "Brazils and Brazilians" and it is also full of references to multiple perceptions, mediated or acquired through experience. These representations and images are present in the writings of jesuit missionaries, in the captaincies reports, and also in the arts and literature, as well as in reactualizations made by the metropolis by the "Portuguese of return-trip" (Image 6)



Till the XIXth century Brazilian elites have kept close to Portuguese Culture, not only due to the conditions that made cultural autonomy difficult for the colony but, also because the royal court remained in Rio de Janeiro. In the end of the XIXth century, with the independence, the European influences in Brazil are diverse, with special attention to the French and North-American ones. During the entire XXth century the presence and importance of Portugal in Brazil effectively decreased. On the other hand, the Portuguese that came to Brazil in the first half of the century, period of the New State in Portugal, were in their majority peasant, poor and analphabets. The country that received them was already very different from the imaginary conceptions about Brazilians present in Portugal. They have ran into a country in fast urbanization and industrialization processes,

influenced by the United States and filled with many immigrants from different nationalities that, once in Brazil, acquired nationality and integrated. The Portuguese constituted one of the many groups and their peasant origin made stereotypes grow in Brazil. The images of a working and surrended peoples, living in the city but maintaining their rurality, which was culturally based in the myth of a civilizatory heritage and religious conservativeness (Paulo, 2000). (Image 7) Salazarist ideology nurtured these estereotiped images and they were, in their majority, incorporated by Portuguese emigrants. At the same time they based Brazilian perceptions on the Portuguese till the mid-XXth century. This reality, on the contrary, didn't stop many Portuguese from succeeding in the arts and literature, being pointed out as fomenters of new artistic expressions in the theater and in Brazilian Media (Costa, 2006).

It is important to remark the relationship between Portuguese elites and Brazilian ones during the beginning the XXth century and in the period of the Portuguese New State, overall for their gained culture and universitary exchange. The Portuguese participation in the *Semana de Arte Moderna* (Week of Modern Art) of 1922 and the appropriation of Gilberto Freyre's writings by the salazarism, specially Casa Grande & Senzala (1933) (The Master and the Slaves) are true examples of this relationship. The presence of Antonio Ferro, that later on would be Salazar minister, in the event that celebrated a hundred years of Brazilian independence have made possible to recognize another way to "do culture" (Castro, 1986). On the other hand, Gilberto Freyre's writings and the concept of Lusotropicalismo (Lusotropicalism) has opened theoretical, conceptual and ideological paths to justify the late Portuguese colonialism by presenting elements that worshiped the "unique way of Portuguese colonization" and the way they related to the Other in the tropics.

The 25th of April, 1974, in Portugal and at the same time the hardening of Brazilian military dictatorship made the relationship between the Portuguese and the Brazilian get stronger, curiously in the area of cultural industries and mass communication. Explanations can be found in the fact that many exiled Brazilians came to Portugal – and they were intellectuals related to higher education, cultural industries, theater (for example, José Celso and Augusto Boal) and to the cinema (Glauber Rocha)

– and also in the opening of Portuguese markets to other kind of consumery, namely related to popular music, publishing and television content, such as soapopera.

In this context some available data can be listed allowing us understand human movements, between Portugal and Brazil, in recent history. Between 1900 and 1960, more than 57 000 Portuguese people arrived in Brazil, according to IBGE data, and there are today more than 35 million Portuguese-descendants and a million people with Portuguese nationality. In the year of 1980 in Portugal there were around 3 500 Brazilians with document of residence. In 1996, the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) Service for Foreigners and Boundaries registered 20 000 natives in the country, number that goes up to 40 000 in 2001, after what is known as "second stream of immigration" of Brazilians to Portugal. In 2006, Brazilians living in Portugal are around 200 000, not included those in irregular situation. If we add to this numbers the movement of people in tourism, business or study in both countries we will have the exact dimension of the human contact between Portuguese and Brazilians. On the other hand, and considering the number of inhabitants in Portugal to be around 10 million people, we may predict to what extent the presence of Brazil has become visible in the small country Portugal is.

Brazilian soapopera has been exhibited in Portugal for over 30 years and it is, for good or for bad, the product that most contributed to bring Portuguese imagery on Brazil more up-to-dated. The studies on diffusion and reception of Brazilian soapopera in Portugal, although they are not many (Costa, 1999; Ferin; Ferin, 2005; Policarpo, 2006) they clearly show the impact of this product on the private and public life of the Portuguese. Other studies (Ferin, 2006; Valdigem, 2006; Filho, 2006) as they contrast brazilian immigrants with their images presented in the press and in television showed that soapopera and the appropriations it has provided along the years, and continues to provide, leads the perception that Portuguese man and women have of Brazilian immigrants, overall of Brazilian women. (Image 8) The same researches show as well that Portuguese means of communication tend to privilege subtle framing where Brazilians are associated to stereotypes, such as the malandragem (smart guy) for men and the sensuality and the exotic for women. This situation is not specific for Portuguese society but there it acquires different shades as the Media, specially television, composing identities by binary oppositions – what are the characteristics of the Portuguese, and those of the Brazilian – tends to stress gender differences in an exhausting way. Brazilian woman is not only an Other in comparison to men, but it is an Other in comparison to the Portuguese woman. That gives her simultaneously an identity that is twice as close to nature and emotion and twice as far from rationality and culture (Woodword, 2000: 49-55). In this sense,

images from television and from the Media in general tend not only to reflect a dominant Portuguese male point of view but also the male Portuguese construction of Brazilian women. The analysis of this construction as an stereotype – reduced, condensed, exaggerated, privileging certain attributes and putting them in hierarchy – could be a strategy to allow the creation of clear borders between Us (the male Portuguese construction of Brazilian women) and the Other (the constructed Brazilian woman), between what should be understood as "normal in a woman" and what is placed beyond normal in the relationship between the sexes.

It is not by chance that the most presented images of Brazilian women are the ones related to prostitution and that among the most mediatized cases are: the "Case of the women of Bragança" that involved, in 2003, the expelling, by request from the ladies from the city of Bragança, of brazilian women into the activity of prostitution; the news on the periodical raids made to the houses of "Alterne", houses of prostitution, in the north of the country, and more recently, in 2006, the "Case Gisberta"/ "Gisberta Episode", that presented the murder of a transexual by youngsters from a religious intern college of the city of Porto. (Image 9)

In opposition, Brazilian that arrived in Portugal after the beggining of the millenium were looking for a modern society that was "sold" to them by government institutions and Portuguese enterprises images shown in Brazil through magazines and Tv shows. When in Portugal, they run into a country in two speeds: on one side, a cosmopolitan country of opportunities, on the other side, a country socially stratified and of poorly developed markets.

This opposition of imaginaries in Portuguese territory is a challenge to the Portuguese and to the Brazilian, being related to the individual motivations and satisfactions that have stimulated immigration, and to the reinforcement of the bond between two peoples and two countries. (Image 10)

Other investigations (Lages and Policarpo, 2006) show that brazilians are the best received immigrants in Portugal, in spite of the xenofobic and discriminatory situations that they are bound to suffer (Machado, 2004). Brazilians constitute, still, one of the groups that send the most amount of money to their home country and, at the same time, they are the ones that, in Portugal, most get married and acquire nationality. Qualitative studies show (Ferin, 2006), in the same sense, that the perception of brazilian immigrants

about Portugal goes from disillusion to being satisfied. To these feelings contribute not only the acquisition of legal status but also economic expectations and the images shown daily in television.

Simultaneously Portuguese government policies to Brazilian immigration indicate two basic framings: a cultural and a political one. In the first, the government underlines the complexity of the phenomenon that crosses, in Portuguese territory, the cultural heritages from the past and from the present, emphasizing the importance of afro-American and Mediterranean Atlantic cultural legacies to the renewal of Portuguese culture. In the second, it is evidenced the contribution of Brazilian citizens to the economy and demography of Portugal, assuming that these immigrants are, in general, young workers, urban and with some level of scolarity and specialization and that are used to concurrence and to volatile markets. Portuguese government remarks as well the role of immigration in the strengthening of political and economic relationships between the two countries and of the relationships that Portugal may establish, through Brazil, with Latin America and, on the other side, the ones that Brazil may reinforce with Europe through Portugal. On this perspective, the fact that Portugal is in the presidency of European Union for the years 2007/2008 has become a convenient stage to the concretization of the policies involving Summits Europe-Brazil and Europe-Africa.

We should add that only inside these framings it is possible to understand the new proximity strategies of Portugal in relation to Brazil. Both countries start to connect economy and culture as a precondition to success, as announced by the many guidelines of the "Lisbon Strategy". According to these European directives, culture becomes not only a crucial tool in the socioeconomic growth of the countries, but also a basic matter to help value individuals and their cultural practices. Simultaneously, it is intended that these activities bring renewal to other forms of expression based on recent information and communication technologies. In this "new package" of imaginaries is the Project of a television for the Portuguese speaking peoples and its diaspora. It has approval from all of the countries involved and institutions such as UNESCO, the World Bank and the CPLP (Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa/Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries) in the sense of forging a common identity inside the plural ones.

Without questioning the possibility of a "location" inside "globaization", the diversity and power of the cultural basic matter present in these countries is conditioned by the existence of new cultural, economical and technological practices. Among cultural aspects it is remarkable the overcoming of practices that produce stereotypes – present in too many situations of interpersonal and institutional communication – under the form of products and cultural creations. After that is the capacity of trespassing political, economic and diplomatic barriers that stop the creation of a *regional area with its own identity in globalization processes*

(Santos, 2005: 49). In the sequence it is necessary to give general access to an intercultural education that allows the emergence of enterprising spirits able to explore the geolinguistic and cultural market areas. At the same time, the increase in the exchange among universities, laboratories and research centers Portuguese, Brazilians and African ones may produce knowledge of how to live together and the ability to perform a cooperative work among people and institutions.

Based on this perspective, stand out the various bilateral events in all areas of knowledge and culture that gather each time more people on both countries and sometimes, but not still being enough, of other countries with Portuguese as official language. In this regard we should mention the coproductions in cinema and television, the art exhibitions involving artists from both countries, and also the participation in book fairs taking place in Portugal and in Brazil. At last, we consider that the means of communication, be alternative or mainstream, public or private, may have a crucial role not only in the strengthening of plural identities but also in promoting the cognitive interchange in the areas of information, culture, science and entertainment.

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, Benedict (2005). *Comunidades imaginadas*. Lisboa: Edições 70.

APPADURAI, Arjun (2004). *Dimensões culturais da globalização*. Lisboa: Teorema.

CANCLINI, Nestor (2003). *A globalização imaginada*. São Paulo: Iluminuras.

CASTELLS, Manuel (2003). *O poder da identidade*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste ulbenkian.

CASTRO, Fernanda de (1986). *Ao fim da memória: 1906-1939*. Lisboa: Verbo.

COSTA, Cristina (2006). *Censura em cena*. São Paulo: Editora da EDUSP.

COSTA, Jorge Paixão da (1999) *Telenovela: uma forma de produção*. Lisboa: Edições Lusófonas.

CUNHA, Isabel Ferin (1997). "Nós e os Outros na imprensa portuguesa". *Lusotopie*: Lusotropicalisme, nº 3: 435-467

CUNHA, Isabel Ferin (1999). "Um ano de CPLP na Perspectiva dos Media". *África* – Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos da USP, 20/22: 105-125.

CUNHA, Isabel Ferin (2004). "Da telenovela à Prostituição". Revista *Media e Jornalismo*, nº 5 (4): 63-80.

CUNHA, Isabel Ferin (2004). "Telenovelas brasileiras em Portugal: indicadores de aceitação e mudança". In: LOPES, Maria Immacolata Vassalo. *Telenovela: internacionalização e interculturalidades*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola.

CUNHA, Isabel Ferin (2006). *A televisão das mulheres: ensaios sobre a recepção*. Lisboa: Bond/Quimera.

DIAS, Jorge (1961). "Algumas considerações acerca da estrutura social do povo português". In: *Ensaios Etnológicos*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar.

ESTEVES, Maria do Céu (1991). *Portugal, país de imigração*. Lisboa: Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento.

FANON, Franz (1979). *Os condenados da terra*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira.

FEATHERSTONE, Mike (1995). *O desmanche da cultura*. São Paulo: Nobel /SESC.

FILHO, Willy S. (2006). *Imagem do imigrante brasileiro no jornalismo televisivo português 2004-2006*. Dissertação de mestrado apresentada em março de 2007 ao Mestrado em Comunicação e Jornalismo da Universidade de Coimbra.

GIDDENS, Anthony (2004). *Sociologia*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.

HALL, Stuart (2003). *Da diáspora: identidades e mediações culturais*. Belo Horizonte:Editora UFMG; Brasília: UNESCO.

LAGES, Mário e Policarpo, Verónica (2006). *Os imigrantes e a população portuguesa: imagens recíprocas*. Lisboa: ACIME/FCT.

LAGES, Mário e Policarpo, Verónica (2003). *Atitudes e valores perante a imigração*. Lisboa: ACIME.

MACHADO, Igor Renó (2006). "Imigração em Portugal". *Estudos Avançados*, 57 (20): 119-135.

MATTELART, Armand (1991). *A comunicação mundo: história das ideias e das estratégias*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget.

MATTELART, Armand (1994). *A invenção da comunicação*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget.

MEMMI, Albert (1985). *Portrait du colonisé, portrait du colonisateur*. Paris: Gallimard.

PIRES, Rui Pena (2003). *Migrações e integração*. Oeiras: Celta.

POLICARPO, Verónica (2006). *Viver a telenovela: um estudo sobre a recepção*. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte.

POUTIGNAT, Philippe e Streff-Fenart, Jocelyne (1997). *Teorias da etnicidade*. São Paulo : Fundação Editora da UNESP.

SAID, Edward (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (1988). *Um discurso sobre as ciências*. Porto: Afrontamento.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (1994). *Pela mão de Alice*. Porto: Afrontamento.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (2002) "Colonialismo, pós-colonialismo e inter-identidade". In: RAMALHO, Maria Irene e RIBEIRO, António Sousa. *Entre ser e estar*. Porto: Afrontamento.

SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (2005). *As oportunidades lusófonas*. Rua Larga, nº7: 48-49.

TAYLOR, Charles (1994). "A política de reconhecimento". In: *Multiculturalismo*. Lisboa: Instituto Piaget.

VALDIGEM, Catarina (2006). "Usos dos Media e Identidade: Brasileiras num salão de Beleza". Revista *Media & Jornalismo*, nº 8: 55-78.

WENDEN, Catherine Wihtol de (2005). *Atlas des migrations dans le monde*. Paris: Autrement.

WIEVIORKA, Michel (2000). *La Différence*. Paris: Ballard.

WOODWAED, Kathryn (2005). "*I*dentidade e Diferença: uma introdução teórica e conceitual". In: SILVA, Tomaz. Tadeu da (org.). *Identidade e diferença*. Petrópolis: Vozes.