

**Abstract:** What is the meaning of Diaspora today? Has the notion of dispersion associated with the origin of the concept, a meaning in the times of globalization? Is there only one or several Diasporas? With this article we intend to observe the evolution of the concept of Diaspora based in the idea of Said (1994) who argues that the end of colonialism did not stop imperialism. We connected the problematizations made on the Diaspora, among others, by Cohen (1997), Hall (1998), Bhabha (1998), Riggs (2000) and Morier-Genoud & Cahen (2013), to the Portuguese case and the idea of Lusophony. Is interculturality, which promotes identity interpenetration, reflected in Diaspora? What happens when combining Diaspora with “portugalidade”? Eduardo Lourenço (1999) is ironic about the idea of Diaspora, claiming that that is an abnormality that our long emigrant history will be perceived as such. And, even if one starts from the idea that “meaning is use” (Wittgenstein, 1958), the ‘naturalization’ of certain realities, ideologically aligned can increase misunderstandings and prevent an ethical dimension, which happens when the ‘other’ comes into play (Eco, 1997).

**Keywords:** Diaspora; Empire; Lusophony; “portugalidade”; globalization

## 1. Diasporas (s)

“Diaspora” started as a term meaning those who were literally uprooted from their homeland and deported to another land, and is therefore associated with dispersion, as in the case of Greek immigrant colonies, or in relation to the extermination of the Jews. Historically, the Diaspora developed in the land of adoption, denoted a cleavage between the old and new cultures. Today, the concept is associated with migration, regardless of the causes behind it, and its significance has ballast, via the phenomenon of globalization.

That is exactly because the term was connoted with the Jews that Stuart Hall states that, for a long time, he didn’t use it for its dominant political use, associated with an idea of “ethnic cleansing” that he could not defend (Chen 1996: 417). The Diaspora is defined by personal and structural historical conjunctures and its power results, in part, by reason of these unresolved tensions. He argues that cultural identity is hybrid (it is not rigid), precisely because of specificities linked to the historical formations, the historical and cultural repertoires of enunciation, and can thus “constitute a ‘positioning’, which we can call, for the time being, as identity” (Chen 1996: 432-433).

Robin Cohen argues that today the word ‘Diaspora’ is

# What is the meaning of “Diaspora” in the times of globalization? The controversial relationship between Empire, Lusophony and “portugalidade”

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associated with the transnational space, including of all races that have lost their territorial restraints from cultures. The homeland of Diasporas is based on an emotionally adopted land that crosses at least two cultures. As for Postmodern Diasporas, they question the concept of 'nation-state', not as a homogeneous cultural site, but plural, with an instrumental subjective location (Cohen 1997: 128). In the same sense Fred W. Riggs referred to the new Diasporas arising from globalization and the increasing mobility of people, in a planetary scale of information, the Internet, and the erosion of state borders. No country can be seen today as having a community that lives only within the limits of a state, for "all nations, instead, are global in the sense that, despite having a homeland, many of its members live scattered around the globe" (Riggs 2000: S/P).

Homi K. Bhabha locates the cultural production of contemporary Diasporas, revealing that their subjectivities are formed in an interstitial cultural space which he calls "space beyond" where the past and the present coexist. Instead of trying to divide and contain the various identities in different national and cultural types, he argues that what is most critical in contemporary cultural production is the legitimization of complex issues outside the mainstream, such as Diasporas. He demystifies their socio-political ambiguity and the myth of their 'national homogeneity', appealing to their cultural legitimacy which reveals an anti-nationalist logic (Bhabha 1998: 1333).

Eric Morier-Genoud and Michel Cahen maintain that "Diaspora" is a term that has been widely criticized for being elastic and correspond to an elusive meaning (Morier-Genoud &, 2013: 9) and mentioning Christine Chivallon, French geographer and anthropologist states that "as an analytical category, 'Diaspora' remains a valid tool to facilitate our approach to a surprisingly instructive cultural universe" (Chivallon, 2011:203, *cit in* Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 9). A definition which, according to the authors, implied a distinction between the analytical category of Diaspora and identity, particularly with regard to notions of "class in itself" and "class for itself", noting that the Marxist theory refers, for example, that one can consider a particular medium proletariat as 'analytical category' (a 'class in itself' as a social and economic classification), even if the workers in question do not have class consciousness ('class for itself') ( Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 9) . Ie: "there can be no Diaspora itself: there may be a Diaspora only by you" (*idem*, 10), and, thereafter, "we can engage in a study of how the Diaspora is born or formed historically instead of assuming that a Diaspora exists and imposes a hypothesis about reality, deducing facts from the theory" (*idem, ibidem*). They do, however, a critique on the underlying characteristics of Diaspora proposed by Cohen in particular as regards the 'time factor', approaching Riggs' observations (2000), stating that, to exist, the Diaspora lacks historicity.

Stuart Hall observes that diasporic perspective of culture may indicate a subversion of traditional cultural models oriented to the nation, highlighting that "cultural globalization is deterritorializing in its effects" and that "its spatio-temporal understandings, driven by new technologies, loses the ties between culture and place" (Hall, (2003 [1998]: 36). He adds that the alternative involves dropping closed, unitary and homogeneous models of cultural belonging, taking cultural differences that are transforming the world.

## **2. The 'Empire', the Diaspora and the Portuguese case**

Edward Said (1994) notes that the idea of 'imperialism' is controversial, with its practices settling, for example, in attitudes originating from a dominating metropolitan center in relation to a government in a distant territory. The notion of empire is a relationship (formal or informal), in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another, either by force, political cooperation, or through economic, social or cultural dependence. And even if colonialism is over, he states that

imperialism persists at the level of general cultural sphere as well as in specific political, ideological, economic and social practices. He adds that neither imperialism nor colonialism represent simple acts of accumulation and acquisition (Said, 1994).

Fernando Rosas (2001) states that one of the founding ideological myths of Estado Novo is the "imperial myth", comprising a double aspect of colonization and evangelization. According to "Ato Colonial de 1930" (when Salazar temporarily occupied the Cabinet folder of the Colonies) which the historian cites, it is underlined the organic essence of 'Portuguese nation' "the historical role of owning and colonizing overseas dominions and civilizing indigenous populations" (Rosas, 2001: 1035). Rosas highlights "the mythical race design", an aspect which he says has been ideologically developed by the Estado Novo and that was achieved in the rediscovered ideal of the empire "as ontological and natural-organicist entity prolific of this vocation". In the light of this idea one can understand the imperial vocation of the nation and that "this imperial myth [can] infer [go] as indisputable dogma the idea of multi-continental nation and multiracial, one, indivisible and inalienable" (*idem, ibidem*). What presupposed a hierarchical differentiation between the metropolis and the colonies and between the civilized and the uncivilized, and the colonial administration centered in Lisbon and transformed the overseas territories in component parts of the nation, while separating the colonial institutions from the metropolitan.

The references to the Portuguese Diaspora lead us, almost inevitably, to the former Empire, so in order to avoid misunderstandings on this matter, Morier-Genoud & Cahen underline that it is necessary to discuss the key concepts "Empire" and "Diaspora", which became so popular and prevalent that they became today polysemous and, in this sense, "very problematic to use in a strict and precise way" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 7). These authors refer that there is not a definite answer to the question of whether there was a distinctive formal, social and autonomous Portuguese empire space, but state that in many respects, it never happened, since most Portuguese men and women preferred going to Brazil, Europe, or South Africa rather than to the colonies. This means that "the State had to have a 'visible hand' to make people go to their imperial territories and become settlers" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 22). Besides, after independence the decolonization still presented some ideological elements, even among Diasporas, which have been manipulated and reinvented during the formal submission, at which, they add, the Third Empire although sparsely populated had no lack of profitability. In this sense, they ask if that did not result in a kind of victory that they term as "postmortem" (Morier-Genoud & Cahen, 2013: 22-23).

### **3. Diaspora, Lusophony and some misconceptions**

The idea suggested in the previous paragraph by Morier-Genoud & by Cahen (2013) when referring to the "postmortem" victory of Portuguese colonization, though collateral, hints a dynamic of "return of the caravels", which somehow embodies what Miguel Real (2012) writes about lusophony which, even taken as a cultural center, is seen as a 'vocation' of the Portuguese History. The essayist says that the "historic place" of Portugal is carried out in the dimension of "Lusophony" and updates the idea of a "historic destiny" (initially proposed by Jorge Borges de Macedo), to a "historical vocation" of Portugal (Real, 2012: 123-131).

Now, lusophony is an ambiguous term particularly problematic for the members of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries, CPLP referred to by Brito & Bastos (2006), recalling that its etymology refers to a Portuguese centrality. Moreover, the word did not even appear in the official document that created the CPLP, on July 17, 1996. The fact is that lusophony is lexically consecrated in the dictionary of the Sciences Academy of Lisbon in 2001, being translated as "quality of being

Portuguese, Portuguese speaking, what is characteristic of the Portuguese language" as "community formed by the countries and people who have Portuguese as their mother tongue or official language" and as "dissemination of the Portuguese language in the world" (Casteleiro 2001: 2310).

Although Alfredo Margarido mentions that lusophony "can not be separated from a certain messianic load, which seeks to ensure a promising future to restless Portuguese" (Margarido 2000: 12) and Eduardo Lourenço noted that it does not constitute "any realm, even chartered folklore" and it embodies "the genealogy that distinguishes it from other Romance languages and a cultural memory, consciously or unconsciously linked to it" (Lourenço, 2004: 174), the fact is that its significance goes beyond, according to Moisés de Lemos Martins, the concept of "of historical curiosity – historical-linguistic or even historical-cultural object" (Martins, 2006: 17), since it is a topic that brings together interests "that have to do not only with language and culture of Lusophony countries in the past, but also, above all, with the present and the fate of the 'immaterial continent' that these countries constitute" (*idem, ibidem*). Moisés de Lemos Martins (publication in press) draws attention to the necessity of remaining vigilant about all the mistakes that can cross the concept of lusophony. He lists, accordingly, four misconceptions that we need to deconstruct: the misconception of Portuguese centrality, the erroneous reconstruction of narratives of the ancient empire in post-colonial context (today with conscious or unconscious neocolonial purposes,), the equivocation of Luso-tropicalism - and the idea of sweet colonization (reborn and revived, which today can both glorify the former colonial country but also exalt the current independent countries) and, finally, the erroneous narrative of a history of resentment (resulting from some post-speech colonial, which is constituted as a kind of vengeance).

#### 4. Diaspora and 'portugalidade': a nonsense?

The book "Portugal pelo mundo disperse" (2013) resumed the prospect that the Portuguese have always heard the call of the departure, justified by the geographical location of the country, pointing to possible mere adventure and also economical justifications (Cid, Alves, Blayer & Fagundes, 2013: 11). The vestiges of the Portuguese presence in the world are evident from remote times, and more recently, the phenomenon of emigration has highlighted this aspect.

But no one should think that this is a consensual idea. Eduardo Lourenço, for example, rejects the idea of Diaspora, and apropos the Lusophone space, he refers he is not even confused with the concept, and that "Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verdeans are not the product of any Diaspora" (Lourenço, 2004 [1999]: 189). Moreover, he claims that it is an "abnormality (...) that our long emigrant management, continental, Madeiran, Azorean Diaspora is perceived as Diaspora" (*idem, ibidem*). While claiming to understand the essayist, Onésimo Theotónio Almeida (2013) does not agree with this opinion. Though, he even admits to understand the rejection towards the term he invokes Wittgenstein who advocated that "meaning is use"<sup>1</sup>, and observes that the meaning has long been taken off of the Jewish people, a fact that will be the basis of the attitude of Lourenço. So, he sees the popularization of the word as natural (Almeida, 2013: 215).

The need to consider the relationships that have existed for centuries between Portugal and its African colonies, even bearing in mind the circumstances in which they occurred, is highlighted by Sheila Khan, noting that "niches and universes of interculturality and merged experiences were produced, creolized paths, hybridizations between colonized and colonizers and, undoubtedly, have spread even to the present day" (Khan, 2008: 97-98). Taking up the ideas of Stuart Hall on the

<sup>1</sup> "If we had to name the life of the sign, we would have to say that the life of the sign is its use" [Wittgenstein, L. (1958) *The Blue and Brown Books*, Oxford: Blackwell, 4].

existence of a colonial interculturalism, the purpose of the historical and cultural continuities in post-modernity, Khan states that "it is important to think that this hybridism and cultural exchanges also continued until the post-colonial present" (*idem*: 98).

However, when we summon the political discourse for the discussion of the Diaspora, we can observe some inconsistencies and even some nonsense rhetoric used in relation to academic research in the area. We are referring to the apparently unlikely association of Diaspora to the term 'portugalidade'. Even if it is not typed in reference Portuguese dictionaries and in the most common dictionaries, as the one edited by "Porto Editora", 'portugalidade' it is a "quality which is Portuguese" or "the truly sense of the Portuguese national culture" (Costa & Melo, 1995), its coinage is buoyed by Ciberdúvidas of Portuguese Language portal (a partnership of the Portuguese Language Society and the Ministry of Education) in the 50s and 60s of the twentieth century<sup>2</sup>, therefore, at the times of the Estado Novo<sup>3</sup>. A concept from the outset focused on 'me' (Portugal) and that can be contextualized in the idea of "Portugal from Minho to Timor"<sup>4</sup>.

It is the President of the Republic, Cavaco Silva who has recurrently used the word 'portugalidade' in his speeches namely on June 10, 2013, at the celebrations of the Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities, held in Elvas, a communication on the portal of the Presidency refers to the term 'portugalidade' associating it with the Diaspora: "Diaspora communities should be mobilized as active agents of 'portugalidade' transporting the reality of our country to the world"<sup>5</sup>.

In the case of Cavaco Silva, references to terms that can be associated to Estado Novo can be found at various times. In 2008, for example, in Viana do Castelo, once again on the occasion of the "Day of Portugal, Camões and the Portuguese Communities", he stressed that he would not comment on specific news on the grounds that he was "overseeing the 'Day of the Race'"<sup>6</sup>, a term that the Estado Novo used for the celebrations of the 10th of June and that was extinguished with the Revolução dos Cravos, on April 25, 1974. The following year, in similar celebrations, this time in Santarém, he called the "spirit of 'portugalidade'", pledging to continue to increase the migrants contribution, their civic and political participation in "uncertain times we live in"<sup>7</sup>. Now, referring to the Lusophony, Eduardo Lourenço, makes clear that "what would be assigned as its true reality and meaning ( ... ) cannot, even metaphorically, be thought and imagined as space of 'portugalidade'". (Lourenço, 2004 [1999]: 186). And, as Alfredo Margarido pointed out, thinking about the lusophony presupposes the contemplation of an 'other' and not the existence of only one route: "The inventory of the contradictions inherent in the so to say 'Lusophone' speech cannot ignore the importance of denial of the history of the Other" (Margarido, 2000: 47).

To which 'portugalidade', then, refers Cavaco Silva? Assuming that, as we have seen, the word is not part of the reference dictionaries, but embracing the meaning given by common dictionaries – "truly national sense of Portuguese culture" (Costa & Melo, 1995) - how to put into practice this idea

2 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/2uanuhv>, accessed on November'2010].

3 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/2ueratv>, accessed on November'2010].

4 The slogan of the Estado Novo began in 1951 with the repeal of the "Ato Colonial" . ( ... ) The Portuguese Government shall argue that Portugal would be a whole and indivisible one, from Minho to Timor and where all colonies would become provinces, like the others that existed in the metropolis. From then on, a whole rhetoric designed to sustain a myth that supports the idea that there was no reason for the development of independence movements in the Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia was developed, blurring the differences that could exist. It's on the 27th of April of that year ( ... ) that Deputies started introducing the word 'portugalidade' in their speeches, serving the National Assembly in the only existing political party, the 'União Nacional' as echo of governance, spreading the ideology of the Estado Novo. [Sousa, V. (2013) "Lusitanian Fantasy", de João Canijo: O Portugal ficcional vs. o país real. O Estado Novo e a 'portugalidade'. A construção da identidade', in Valente, A. C. V. & Capucho, R. (2013) *Avança Cinema 2013 International Conference*, Avança: Edições Cine-Clube de Avanca, pp. 623-630, ISBN 978-989-96858-3-3].

5 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/q3ghgm4>, accessed on 9/6/2013].

6 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/83q4l7y>, accessed on May'2012].

7 [Information available at <http://tinyurl.com/7hqe82s>, accessed on May'2012].



underlined by the adverb 'truly', which we think is difficult to typify? Does it report to what Alfred Doblin (1992) wrote, which referred to the act of spitting on the ground as one of the characteristics of the Portuguese? Or, in the words of a Portuguese writer of reference, as is the case of Jorge de Sena, who jokingly illustrated some Portuguese experience, which acknowledges,

that Portugal will not be saved, unless all Portuguese are required by law to do an internship abroad, but forbidden to meet with each other. This prohibition is of utmost importance to prevent them from collectively roast sardines, bake cod with nationalistic fervor, or greedily exchange, the latest news from Chiado (Sena, 2013: 59).

Or, does he refer to the world of football, or fado, or even of science, holding the flag of Eusébio, Amália, Mourinho, Cristiano Ronaldo, or António Damásio? Does he refer to the 'Galod e Barcelos', or the collective great repasts of 'sardines' washed down with red wine?

## 5. Endnotes

The notion of Diaspora has a very wide angle, so its use, particularly by politicians, can multiply misconceptions when it is associated with other well-dated and ideologically marked concepts, such as the "Portuguese nationality". To contextualize the term and use it, as mainstream usage, can blur these misconceptions and prevent the initial meaning of an expression, coined with a well-defined sense.

Linking the Diaspora to emigration, we must disentangle, it however, from a number of constraints - as Stuart Hall refers that factors such as poverty, underdevelopment and lack of opportunities, are considered as "legacy of the Empire everywhere" (Hall, 2003 [1998]: 28), which may force people to migrate - with the other that is highlighted, for example, in television programs of information, which shows the idyllic side of living abroad by citizens in a country that is not theirs, but where they are willingly and with a relevant social position, based on a 'positive type of news', and which does not correspond to reality.

Sheila Khan states that "the compulsive desire to recreate an identity indicates the presence of identitarian and simultaneously patriotic exiles, because of the impossibility of identification with either a consistent subjective narrative or with a 'homeland' which is markedly non-existent" (Khan, 2008: 105). Thus, she states that "the conscience of nations and imagined identities puts us on the path of faces of exile and of the exiled" (*idem, ibidem*) given that "the exiled knows that in a secular and contingent world, the homelands are always provisional" (*idem, ibidem*).

Stuart Hall states that the concept of Diaspora is based on a binary conception of difference, "the idea that depends on the construction of an 'other', and a rigid opposition between inside and outside" (Hall, 2003 [1998]: 36). Moreover, it is the entrance of the 'other' that determines the beginning of an ethical dimension, as stated by Umberto Eco (1998: 93), and shared by Maria Manuel Baptista who adds other dimensions: "The Other, whoever he/she is for (...) can only be accessed to, not from epistemology, but from ethics and possibly a hermeneutic model that inspires a certain aesthetic" (Baptista, 2006: 171). Dominique Wolton refers to an 'other' "who is no longer abstract or distant but omnipresent, but without being more familiar and understandable" (Wolton, 2003: 183). This 'other' is now understood as a sociological reality and "obliged to take into account all elements of cultural diversity, but also all the elements that establish ties, scale societies" (*idem, ibidem*). It is in this sense that the Diaspora should be associated with intercultural which, in the Portuguese case, must go through an entire opening to equate postcoloniality integrating all parts of the process (Khan, 2008).

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