

Report on Portuguese Community in France



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1. Presentation of the communities of EU citizens selected in each partner country: characteristics of the communities (historical approach, number of people, reasons of immigration, etc.), different problems encountered (in employment, education, etc.), ...

Historical approach of the Portuguese community in France

Several highly contrasting periods can be distinguished in the History, from 1916 to the late seventies. Times of mass arrivals concentrated on a few years and were followed by periods of significant departures or stagnation. Two major "waves" of Portuguese immigration in the twenties and the sixties, can be contrasted with the significant decline in the thirties and forties and the identified slow growth since the mid-seventies.

1. "First wave": 1916 - 1931

The First World War initiated a decisive phase in the history of Portuguese immigration in France, where until then had come a few Portuguese people, mostly intellectuals and artists. France was also the destination (more or less temporary) of Portuguese political exiles (in particular a number of Republicans after their failure in 1891). As for, Portuguese workers were mainly moving to Brazil.

The entry into the war of Portugal in 1916, along with France and Great Britain, led to a radical change, since the Portuguese government sent an expeditionary force in France and 20 000 workers were hired as part of a labor agreement. A number of them did not return to Portugal at the end of the war (contrary to the stipulated agreement), and they attracted in France some of their relatives. Their number increased with demobilized soldiers. France thus became one of the horizons of Portuguese emigration.

By the end of the war the number of Portuguese workers grew quickly, so that in the 1921 registration counted 10 000 and ranked for the first time as a specific group. In 1931 they were nearly 50 000, working extensively in chemical, metallurgy, forestry (very little in agriculture). They were essentially permanent workers, rarely seasonal. They were particularly numerous in the southern regions, in and around Paris and the Nord-Pas de Calais. This was a very masculine immigration, although a number of women arrived quickly in France where they gave birth to children.

In the early years of significant immigration to France, the illegal entry of Portuguese workers was identified as an important one. Indeed, while the French had been seeking a labor agreement since 1919 (similar to those signed with other European governments), the various Portuguese governments refused to do so with the explicit desire to curb departures. In doing so, the Portuguese leaders were only pursuing a policy implemented from the beginning of the century through which restrictive guidelines only encouraged the development of underground networks. Indeed, the most diverse illegal migration networks developed in the twenties to help to potential migrants to reach France by any ways, land or sea...

The crisis of the thirties led many workers to return to Portugal, but encouraged others to stay in France at all costs. Portuguese entries fell dramatically but did not completely stop. Parallel negotiations on a Franco-Portuguese agreement on labor were not broken. However the agreement that was finally signed by Salazar in 1940, was quickly superseded by the invasion and occupation of France only a few weeks later.

The military coup of May 1926 settled in Portugal a long dictatorship that lasted until April 25, 1974, and brought to France a portion of the Portuguese political exiles. This was the first large group of Portuguese political exiles in France. For some, the migration to France was only a step to further exiles (mainly to Brazil, as it was the case of the great writer Aquilino Ribeiro). Others stayed longer (like Afonso Costa, former Minister and former Representative of Portugal to the peace conference, who died in Paris in 1937). Republican exiles belonged to all the tendencies, from the right to the far left of Portuguese political movements (liberals, socialists, trade unionists, communists or anarchists), and their social and professional background varied greatly from one to another. In 1927 a number gathered in the "Liga de Paris" and at the time of the Spanish Civil War in a short "Frente Popular". The defeat of Spanish Republicans brought Portuguese fighters in France who shared the vagaries of migrants difficult integration with the Spanish fighters. Some stayed in France, participating in the struggles of the Resistance and Liberation, others departed to other exiles. Throughout this period, the relationship between workers and fellow Portuguese political exiles were very weak, despite attempts by some migrant groups.

2. The mass return of the thirties to 1956

The crisis led to both a rapid slowdown in inflows of workers, and many returns to Portugal, voluntarily or not. However a number of Portuguese workers chose to stay in France, despite pressure from both governments. It was also the first major phase of naturalization for

Portuguese people. Departures and Naturalization all combined, concerned more than 28,000 Portuguese in France on the eve of the 2nd World War.

To meet the needs in laborforces, some French companies legally recruited some Portuguese workers between 1940 and 1944. Furthermore, some Portuguese immigrants were subjected to STO (service du travail obligatoire – compulsory labor service), the Portuguese government did very little support for its citizens, given the good relations between Lisbon and Berlin.

Alongside the history of Portuguese immigration, it is important to recall the work of the Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, Sousa Mendes, who delivered many Portuguese passports against the advice of his government (from which he had to suffer the sanctions) and managed to save lives of many Jews during the War.

Emigration to France resumed at the end of the War, even if France was a secondary destination (after South America). The French government resumed its steps to the signing of a laborforce agreement with the Portuguese Government while the latter, still reluctant, did not follow the agreement of 1940. Consequently, a rapid recovery of illegal migration channels in France was observed, although their action remained limited for ten years. Besides the Portuguese immigration to France faltered after 1947, while the number of naturalizations increased, so did the 1954 census counted only a little more than 20,000 Portuguese in France.

During the War and occupation, some opponents of the Portuguese dictatorship had remained in France (where some had participated in the Resistance). Other Democrats joined the Portuguese, after the disappointed hopes on the Salazar dictatorship. They formed small groups whose modest influence was reduced rapidly in the wake of tensions arising from the Cold War. Finally the ban in France (in the mid-fifties), of the Portuguese communist party and Portuguese associations linked to its decline.

3. 1956 – 1974: the Portuguese, the largest group of immigrants in France.

In that period, France became the first destination for Portuguese emigrants

We can identify four stages in this short but decisive period between 1956 to 1974.

- The years 1956 to 1960 during which the entries of Portuguese workers have again become important (3rd behind the Italians and Spanish) and where the illegal channels reactivated departures. However, until the early sixties, the number of entries of legal

Portuguese Workers (who came with passports issued to immigrants by the *Junta de Emigração* founded in 1947) remained greater than the number of illegal entries.

- The years 1962–1966 experienced spectacular growth of the first Portuguese immigration, despite a slowdown in 1967 and 1968. France became, from those years, and until the eighties, the first destination of Portuguese emigrants to the detriment of Brazil. No other of the many destinations of Portuguese emigrants during the next twenty years had –by far– the importance of France where they became in ten years the most numerous foreign group.
- In 1968 there were 500,000 Portuguese in France (in six years, from 1962 to 1968, the number had increased tenfold). The years 1969 and 1970 experienced the most dramatic entries, since each of those years, it joined 80,000 workers (men and women) and 120 000 people if it counted the family members. Within a decade, the number of Portuguese in France rose from 50,000 to over 700,000!
- From 1971, the number of entries in Portuguese declined significantly, but did not disappeared.

During that period, the illegal entries became the rule.

The French authorities remained divided between the desire to open wide the doors of immigration to the Portuguese Workers (in demand by employers and considered "a positive immigration" by government officials) and the concern over the increasing number of illegal entries and consequently its risk of unmanageable situations administratively, politically destabilizing and humanly unacceptable.

As this was the attitude of the Portuguese authorities, the French authorities intensified demands for a laborforce agreement. The Portuguese government finally agreed to sign an agreement in December 1963. However, for complex reasons that held to both internal political and social balance in the Portuguese dictatorship and development of military operations of the Portuguese colonial war (1961–1974), the agreement was very badly used by the Portuguese government, which continued to curb legal immigration, punishing unlawful and arbitrary illegal departures. These conditions did not prevent the development of emigration which generally simply became illegal, and was more or less openly supported by the majority of Portuguese society (including the Bishops who publicly asserted the right emigrate in the late sixties).

Faced with this situation, the French government decided to increase the regularization of Portuguese workers in the light of any identity document and merely vague promises of jobs

and destinations. They opened a special antenna to the police headquarters (the Seine) in 1965 from the Crimea Street in Paris, and in 1966 at the slum of Champigny-sur-Marne ("the hub of Portuguese immigration in France"). Then, in the late sixties, branches of the Ministries of Interior and Labour were installed in Hendaye and proposed work and work permits which immediately freed thousands of Portuguese workers. After 1968 the Portuguese immigration remained excluded from the restrictive measures applied to other immigrants (particularly the Algerians). The curve of illegal entries peaked in 1969 and 1970, since each of those years, it concerns 90% of the 120,000 Portuguese immigrants in France.

Taking advantage of the contradictions of French and Portuguese Governments, hundreds of thousands of men, women and children left Portugal and then crossed two borders illegally. If some of these trips were made in suitable conditions, for many others it was, in the midst of peace and prosperity in Europe, under difficult conditions, sometimes dramatic and even fatal. It would be excessive to speak of real "mafia" for the smuggling networks that led thousands of illegal immigrants over nearly 2,000 km (these activities often taking over from previous practice of smuggling). However, the departures were expensive and risky in a number of cases. This situation also channeled networks of corruption of Portuguese official, Portuguese Spanish and French smugglers, dirty landlords and suppliers of paper and labor contracts, true or false.

The Portuguese government, torn between contradictory political, social and financial demands, closed his eyes on many departures and return trips, even to regulate ex-post some of the immigrants who could prove they were regularly recorded as immigrants in France! The easy adjustments were slowed from 1972 (Marcellin-Fontanet circulars), and in 1974 as the cessation of immigration also affected the Portuguese immigrants. On the Portuguese side, the emigration policy had changed after the death of Salazar, paving the way for the signing of the Agreement of 1971 (prelude to other agreements between France and Portugal). But these agreements came too late, since the vast majority of the Portuguese had already established in France before 1971 to 1972, outside a regulated framework.

This had led hundreds of thousands of people to cope along with the situation, causing among them a widespread distrust regarding the French and Portuguese authorities, to the point that a significant number of Portuguese, despite the facilities they were granted, had chosen to remain out of control. Thus the practice of illegal immigration survived the closing of 1974, to the point that in 1982 the Portuguese still accounted for 10% of regularized migrants. The fall of the dictatorship, April 25, 1974, the advancement of democracy in Portugal, and even Portugal's entry into the economic and political space of the European Union, have not radically changed some features of Portuguese immigration in France which is still marked by the early years of immigration.

Reasons for migration : Who were the first Portuguese immigrants?

1 – Workers from a rural exodus unprecedented emptied the countryside north of the Tagus

Portuguese immigrants – men and women – mainly came from districts north of the Tagus. These provinces were traditionally areas of high emigration in Portugal, and remained so until today. Those who left were overwhelmingly from peasant families whose properties did not provide enough to guarantee everyone's survival, which joined the agricultural laborers fleeing the endemic unemployment and village artisans with scarce resources. A significant portion of them had been very little, if any, educated, especially among immigrants who arrived in France. From the twenties, and blatantly, the Portuguese appear to be the least literate immigrants of European origin. For Portugal it was an act of unprecedented migration from rural areas, reinforced by the exodus of some workers in industrial and urban areas. The phenomenon became so widespread that Portugal's population dropped significantly in many areas, despite maintaining a relatively high birth rate.

A minority of Portuguese emigrants came from the provincial cities of departure, and more rarely and late from the Lisbon area. The presence, very limited, of emigrants from more affluent backgrounds should be noted, like merchants, artisans and employees. They represent a minority with very different motivations from the hope of a rich-quick, to the militant refusal of the regime.

2 – Immigrants concentrated in a few regions, and were over-represented in certain professional sectors.

The links between this new Portuguese immigration and that of the twenties remained often indirect, and their settlement regions as areas of activity where they concentrated more and more, have had only small direct links with situations before the War. Until the mid-seventies, the Portuguese immigrants heavily concentrated in a few large industrial areas, mainly in the Paris region (which included about half of them). The next largest areas were Lyon, Clermont Ferrand, Grenoble, and finally the north of France.

Men were mainly working in the industrial sector, much more rarely in agriculture and forestry jobs for which were yet in great demand for labourforce, but Portuguese migrants preferred the better-paid sectors (note that the Portuguese immigrants were not often seasonal workers and remained low in agriculture, albeit they often found a first job in this area). They rarely worked in mines, but they were numerous in all kinds of industries, especially those related to the automotive industry (factories in the Paris region, Sochaux,

Clermont-Ferrand). They were especially numerous in reaching construction sites and more public works. In the sixties they were more numerous than other immigrant groups. They were on all great works of urban areas (large groups, universities) and in the Paris region, they provided the bulk of the team that built the ring road, the RER, the Montparnasse tower and later Defense). In these areas they compensated their low qualification, with many extra hours in the hope of winning the money as soon as possible allowing them to visibly improve their situation in Portugal and return head up.

The arrival of women was significant in 1960 and grew louder regularly. These were the wives, but also sisters or other female relatives or neighbors of men who had already emigrated. The wives were sometimes accompanied by their children, others left them to the care of the family. And especially many children of these young women were born in France. Some of them made the hard journey "a salto" without being accompanied by male relatives or their communities.

Many of these women became workers or domestic servants, janitors, maids (often in the following of Spanish workers). Some began their lives in France but in hard work of agricultural wage employment, especially in the Ile-de-France.

3 – Civil Disobedience and colonial war.

During the sixties and until the fall of the dictatorship and the end of the colonial war in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique (1961-1974), a growing number of departures of young men obeyed another logic. These young people (aged over 18, and soon over 16 years) went to France to escape military service which would have mobilized an more and more mired army in a war of which no one could see the outcome. Many arrived in France thanks to the widespread illegal immigration network and easy adjustments. They were a very heterogeneous group because of its social origins and the diversity of opinions and motivations of those who composed it.

The Portuguese army estimated at 150,000 the number of youths who had escaped military service (in all its forms). For many of these young people, helped by their parents, this choice was not the result of a clearly stated desire to oppose the regime and its colonial war, this war was not just their own, and they chose to focus on obligations owed to themselves and to their families. Anyway, all of them left a country that could not secure their future, a society dedicated to immobility by an old dictatorship and an endless war. For all these young people return to Portugal were not available until after the fall of the dictatorship, the end of the colonial war and complete amnesty of 1975.

4 – A new generation of political exiles

In Portugal, the rise of opposition to the Salazar dictatorship grew louder in 1958 generating a new generation of exiles. They joined some small groups of Portuguese opponents who were still in France (groups associated with French and Portuguese communist parties). But many new opponents (of which the vast majority were students) who chose exile at the time of military incorporation did not join the former exiles and formed new groups (including various "Maoists"), as more or less opposed to the Communists.

Most of these new and young exiles did not ask the status of political refugee. Fearing of "being seen" by the French and Portuguese police, they preferred to blend into the mass of illegal immigrants as workers which were easily regularized. In fact the majority of them, rebellious, refractory and deserters, the refugee status was still very difficult obtain. From 1972 the situation changed with the Marcellin-Fontanet circular. While a number of these young exiles asked for refugee status, but still could not easily obtain it.

Most of these exiles who had fled the Portuguese political police, had limited complex contacts with all the Portuguese immigrant workers. Some chose to ignore them (this was the case of most socialists whose opposition to the Salazar dictatorship did not count on the rural immigrants in France). Other established contacts in various ways with a number of Portuguese workers immigrants, mainly through activities and associations with various militant practices. Note in particular the associations linked to the French Communist party and associated in the federation of the AOP (Association of Natives of Portugal) – the French Communist party brought much support to the Portuguese Communist party – and to "Maoists" groups which were themselves deeply divided and which sought to "bind" the Portuguese emigrants through other associative structures. Finally a number of Portuguese Christians (priests and laity) opposed the Salazar dictatorship and its colonial war, animated groups linked to a new monthly magazine founded in 1965, *Presença Portuguesa*, in conjunction with some members of the French clergy. Each of them found in their struggles a few economic Portuguese immigrants which had been "politicized" in France.

These exiles had a hard time being heard in France where it was forgotten that the Salazar regime and the Franco regime remained the only two survivors of the pre-war dictatorships. Then it was the scandal of the Portuguese colonial war (which extended while all the other colonies had become independent) which allowed the opponents to be better heard. From 1968, young rebellious, deserters and refractory became more and more numerous, along with an increased organized solidarity among them. We saw dozens of political publications, modest and often short-lived, crossing French borders (*Proletariado O*, *A voz do Desertore*, *O Salto*, *Luta* etc.). Some intellectuals and activists, well-known in France, agreed to take

responsibility for some of these publications in order to protect the Portuguese leaders (including J-P Sartre, Marguerite Duras, Francois Chatelet, Father Cardonnel). In the seventies, there were some parallels between some Portuguese militants and activists from other immigrant communities living in France, among others through the House of the Migrant Workers and later citizens demonstrations.

The Portuguese immigrants come into "the French Society"

1 – Isolation of Portuguese immigrants until the mid-sixties: the time of slums

Portuguese immigrants in the decade 1956/1966 did not have strong networks or ancient settlement in France that would have facilitated their installation. They were unaware of the society in which they came, often directly from their villages. Not only the language was unknown to them, but also administrative practices, and even their fundamental rights. Their requirements for entry into France some time locked them in networks of limited relations, while the hope of a quick return to the country encouraged large numbers to save excessively. All of these conditions, attached to the housing shortage in large French urban areas (especially the Paris area), explained that many of them lived in very precarious conditions: poor housing, some caves, especially in the slums.

It is in the Parisian region that we could find the largest number of Portuguese living in slums, mostly alongside other Spanish or Algerian immigrants, sometimes in "Portuguese" slums (more like the Champigny-sur-Marne, other smaller ones like those of the Francs-Moisins (Seine-Saint-Denis), La Courneuve, Aubervilliers, Carrière/Seine, Massy, Villejuif, Villeneuve-le-Roi). During the investigation made by the Prefecture de la Seine in 1965 on the Portuguese in the slums of the Parisian region, 15 000 of 40 000 Portuguese people counted in this department lived in a dozen slums (the one of Champigny-sur-Marne, was the biggest in France, and had a very fluctuating population that grew from around 6 000 in 1961 to over 12 000 two and three years later).

2 – The French society "discovers" the Portuguese

Until the mid-sixties, administrators, national or local elected officials, almost everyone in the French society, totally ignored the existence of thousands of these new immigrants. From 1964-1965, the precariousness of their lives, their growing importance in some municipalities, in some sites, their lack of knowledge of French society, some dramas of these "a salto" travel, suddenly threw a light on a human phenomena that had been ignored

so far. As the number of newspaper articles, radio, television, and even the release of a film "O Salto" (1967), administration, municipalities, unions, associations and humanitarian activists sought to provide solutions to these new immigrants.

Note that during this "discovery" time, some Portuguese migrants started to reorganize themselves in a number of administrative structures of care and supervision of immigrants, inherited from colonization (FAS, SONACOTRA). Meanwhile, new combinations of aid and political support for immigrants, ASTI (aggregated rapidly in the FASTI) have often structured their creation around the dramatic situations of Portuguese immigrants.

The destruction of slums, which laboriously began from the passage of the law Debré in 1964, only began after 1966 (Act Nungesser). This reduction lasted until the mid-seventies, despite a sharp acceleration from May to June 1968. Many Portuguese have long resisted the silent relocation measures, often recreating "micro-slums" outside the administrative jurisdiction of the slum clearance (especially at the edge of the former Department of the Seine).

Note, however, the exceptional case of open resistance, which revolves around the destruction of the "slum" in Portuguese Massy 1971/72. This movement, in conjunction with various political groups on the left and extreme left (the PSU to the "Maoists") brought the first Portuguese immigration to the forefront of the new "immigration issue" in France.

As for trade unions, the CGT was the first (1964) to address the Portuguese workers in their own language (O Trabalhador). FO and CFDT quickly followed. The union of the Portuguese remained modest in the sixties. However, from the great strike of 1968 and despite a number of returns to Portugal (generated by fear, stop of work and encouraged by the Portuguese authorities), success (especially in terms of wages), allowed a better organizing and training in the major unions in sectors oriented towards the Portuguese, with union leaders from the new immigration.

3 – The beginnings of the community life of Portuguese immigrants.

By the mid-sixties, a few Portuguese associations had emerged. They were very few, because at that time, the restrictions of the 1939 Act on the right of association of foreigners were still in force, which was, moreover, that few of them were legally registered, some with only a de facto existence. They were often related either to political groups (the PDO is the best example) or to Catholic groups (themselves deeply divided between supporters of the regime through the Mission of Portugal and Portuguese banks operating in France, or otherwise opposition groups, the most important cluster around Presença Portuguesa). Beside them, the first sports clubs (football clubs) and the first "friendly bars" were slowly organized, often

informally. Let's not forget a few cultural groups which usually gathered around theatrical activities (religious or militant).

In 1971, there were about twenty associations, and their numbers grew quickly, as many Portuguese immigrants realized that their return would take time, and that their children would grow up – at least for a few years – in France. This is the beginning of associations similar to those we know today, friendly, family-like, allowing through the pace of their activities and their organization of "find the village" and "transmit" the culture and traditions to the children which adults remained attached to (hence the importance of folk groups), often with the organization of Portuguese language courses for young people. Thus in 1972 there were already about fifty Portuguese associations and, on the eve of the fall of the dictatorship, April 25, 1974, they were about eighty. The disappearance of the authoritarian regime in Portugal, the expansion of liberties, had a quick impact on the growth of Portuguese associations in France. The disappearance of the last constraints on foreign associations in France in the early eighties, completed to strengthen the phenomenon.

2. Presentation of their organization: how are these communities organized? Which are the existing type of associations (formal and non formal)? What is the role of the associations? How many associations? ...

There are a large number (hundreds) of Portuguese associations in France, but they are generally very small. The vast majority of them have indeed a very small number of members.

The Portuguese associations are generally restricted to a few small circle of friends or people with family links, having a center of common interest, and which give "body" to a specific activity, under the wording of Portuguese Association.

It is very difficult to group them or attempt to find a real unity among them because of their size, their isolation, their means, and their specificity.

Contrary to popular belief, a characteristic of Portuguese people living abroad is also that they have only little ability to come together outside of exceptional circumstances, such as sporting events of great magnitude in which Portugal participates.

However, it is noted that a small number of Portuguese associations established in France as well as in various foreign countries, are using a lot of energy to keep abroad vivid image, culture and Portuguese traditions.

- One of the best examples of these multiple associations Portuguese really structured is (among others) the Association of Portuguese cultural and recreational in Fontenay-sous-bois (ARCPF);
- There is also a federation of a number of Portuguese associations in France. This is the Portuguese Federation of France (FAPF)
- A report also Cap Magellan, a Portuguese association oriented dynamic young Luso-descendants, and between others, Are, a defense-oriented association of Portuguese emigrants.

3. Relations of these communities with nationals and other communities: issues of racism and discrimination, ...

Today, there is no significant trace of the commitment of the Portuguese community on issues of racism and struggle against discrimination.

The reasons appear to be multiple.

First, despite the difficult living conditions on arrival in France and the existence of slums, the majority of the migration took place in the 1960s at a time of strong economic growth. Economic integration in sectors where the Portuguese workforce was important (the building sector in particular and the industry) did not create any major problems. This resulted in a rapid economic and social integration.

On such issues, the answers and the feeling of those who participated in focus groups was quite uniform: the willingness to integrate work and "discretion" are the most striking characteristics of Portuguese migrants. The conclusion we can draw is that the commitment to create or to participate in an association is an opportunity to stay in touch with Portuguese culture and common origins, and not as a "political" statement of belonging to the community.

To the extent that the Portuguese associations are mainly present in the cultural, sporting or festive, they are little or no bearing societal demands. They then dissociate themselves from other associative movements of more recent migrations for which questions of integration and fight against discrimination are key determinants of their activities.

4. Participation of non national EU citizens in the local and EU elections: data+ qualitative analysis (reasons for low or high rate of participation)

In France, the Portuguese, which is numerically the largest community, remains proportionately and comparatively the least mobilized in municipal and European elections.

Of course, political participation (voting, to stand as candidate) is only one element of citizenship and the "invisibility" of the Portuguese community is weighted by mobilizations, which is often associative: it remains that European citizenship practiced by the Portuguese residents in France is now and at present time, limited in scope and in its uses.

Data on the French political behavior of people from Portuguese origin had been rare for a long time. Those investigating geographical mobility and social inclusion and the work of Michele Tribalat "Faire France" from 1995 and relate to 1992 was one of the first work to be done: Nevertheless, these data told us that the Portuguese migrants were partly naturalized while 83% for men and 76% for women. As for young people aged between 20 and 29 years in 1992, born in France and mixed marriages, the boys were part of 72% and girls 55 %. If both parents were born in Portugal (that is to say they are French by declaration, collective effect of the naturalization of parents or by operation of section 44 of the former nationality code embedded in the Civil Code) then the rate drops to record 57% of boys and 50% for girls.

Already, if we take the age group 25–29 years (that is to say the top half of the age group considered above), the rate goes up and registered 76% for boys and 62% for girls (19 points higher for boys and 12 girls), which illustrates the fact that enrollment in electoral rolls up just with age.

It is interesting to see precisely what is the national average rates of enrollment in the same age (20–29 years): 84% for boys and 83% for girls. The gap for young people of Portuguese descent born in France and mixed marriages, is very strong for girls (28 points) and strong enough for the boys (12 points). For children of parents born in Portugal, then the offset is very marked: 27 points for boys and 24 points for girls.

In France, these issues are generally discussed about the youth of North African origin. However, it is verified that in the age group 25–29 years, young men of Algerian origin have the lowest rate, unless the young people of Portuguese origin were born from two parents born in Portugal (13 points of difference: they are between the national average and those

young people of Algerian origin), while the young Portuguese women born from both parents also born in Portugal have rates comparable to that of young people of Algerian origin (3 points difference).

Thus, the authors of a study conducted in the late eighties clearly summarize the situation by calling the Portuguese in France "resident non-citizens in their host country and "missing citizens" in Portugal¹. A. Cordeiro is the first to introduce the issue of "non-participation of the Portuguese living abroad has any electoral act"² and advanced the "lack of surveys on the political behavior of the Portuguese residents has the abroad "³. For A. Cordeiro, the situation is severe: the Portuguese population is "inherently suspicious with the political [...] The non-availability of the great mass of the Portuguese basic democratic practices (voting, public debate) ensure that participation has any electoral process will be systematically marginal"⁴. Similarly, S. Strudel, using the data from the voter registration of the Portuguese European elections of 1994 and 1999 municipal elections of 2001, notes that "European citizenship CARRIED by the Portuguese residing in France is today and the current state, limited in scope and in its uses "⁵.

Similarly, when elections take place in Portugal, the Portuguese migrants rally very little from abroad. Since 1976, the Portuguese people residing abroad have the right to vote for the legislative elections in Portugal. Since 2000, this right was extended to vote in the presidential elections in Portugal. But the numbers registered Portuguese voters are low especially as the policy of the Secretariat Technical Assistance Electoral Process (STAP) is in this sense: "the Portuguese who do not withdraw the letter to the Post RECOMMENDED sent via STAP and containing the ballots are removed from the lists"⁶.

However, as noted by A. Cordeiro, the withdrawal of the policy of the Portuguese settled in northern Europe cannot only be explained by this reason alone. Indeed, in the wake of the Carnation Revolution, the Portuguese who remained in Portugal participated in the elections.

1 CARREIRA Teresa Pires, TOME Maria-Alice, Portugais et Luso-Français. Tome I : Double culture et identité, Paris, CIEMI/Collection Migrations et Changements, 1994, p.13.

2 CORDEIRO Albano, « Les Portugais résidents à l'étranger. Pourquoi ne votent-ils pas ? », *Latitudes*, n°10, décembre 2000, p.14. CORDEIRO Albano, « Portugueses de França e Eleições Autárquicas Francesas », *Latitudes*, n° 11, mai 2001, p.66. CORDEIRO Albano, « Comment interpréter la faible participation civique des Portugais en France ? Exception ou conformisme ambiant ? », *op.cit.*, février 2004, pp.55-68. CORDEIRO Albano, « Le non-exercice des droits politiques par les Portugais de France », *Hommes & Migration*, n° 1256, juillet-août 2005, pp. 39-51.

3 CORDEIRO Albano, *op.cit.*, décembre 2000, p.14.

4 *Ibidem*, p.12

5 STRUDEL Sylvie, « La participation des Portugais aux élections européennes et municipales en France », *Cahiers de l'Urmis : « Portugais de France ; immigrés et citoyens d'Europe »* n°9, février 2004, p.76

6 CORDEIRO Albano, « Le non-exercice des droits politiques par les Portugais de France », *op.cit.*, juillet- août 2005, p.43.

In the case of the Portuguese who left their country of origin, it adds an additional condition to the lack of democratic experience: once parties settle abroad, the Portuguese had moved away from political issues and from Portugal in the country of residence, they are excluded from the political arena and are held to "neutrality". The Portuguese residing abroad do not vote for the Portuguese elections for two cumulative reasons: first, lack of education and experience of democracy and the other, "the expulsion of the Portuguese political scene. They were not allowed to accumulate their own observations or to exchanges that would have for this lack ". This finding is reinforced by the low educational level of the Portuguese emigrants. Moreover, political parties and French Portuguese seem to ignore the Portuguese. The latter are not receiving enough information. However, A. Cordeiro said that even if the information exists, the low educational level of most of the Portuguese population does not promote understanding of information. However, this assumption may be questioned in relation to the evolution of communication with the country of origin: the connection with Portugal is possible via the internet or television⁷. Do these new methods not allow the Portuguese to be interested or to participate in Portuguese politics?

The second argument used to explain non-participation of the Portuguese is the devaluation of politics and the dispersion of the Portuguese population. Indeed, A. Cordeiro advanced two other arguments for the low politicization of the Portuguese: on the one hand, politics is not seen as something essential in their experience, then we can assume that the experience of the dictatorship has registered the "collective memory" Portuguese for "trauma"⁷ which is expressed by the disregard of the policy : "All these farmers had known no other regime than that of the Estado Novo and for them democracy, civil rights, labor, had no social reality ". And secondly, "the dispersion of many Portuguese [...] does not promote the flow of information and exchanges that serve to form opinions"⁸.

From this perspective, we can use the notion of "social capital" to explain the low degree of political participation of Portuguese. The withdrawal of elections does not only have political origins (weariness politicians, corruption ...), it can also be explained by the weakening of social ties. We may think that if the Portuguese do not vote, it is not because they are tired of politics, but because they are no longer linked to communities. But this idea is questionable insofar as the Portuguese community network is highly developed in the context of migration and allow an efficient flow of political information. Considered as "micro-society juxtaposed parallel to the local society", the Portuguese associations are a "third space" between the local society and that of the French village of origin to promote the construction of an identity of Portuguese France. Moreover, in some countries such as

7 BOIS Paul, *Paysans de l'Ouest*, Paris, Flammarion, 1971

8 ANTUNES DA CUNHA Manuel, « Pour une étude de la réception de RTP Internacional par les Portugais de France », *Cahiers de l'Urmis : « Portugais de France ; immigrants et citoyens d'Europe »*, n°9, février 2004, pp.43-54

Belgium or Luxembourg, the Portuguese are concentrated geographically: how then can the political discussion be completely absent from the world of Portuguese living abroad?

Finally, the third argument is that non-participation of the Portuguese policy is a strategy of discretion. For A. Cordeiro, voting is the only part of political participation among others, which can judge for itself the degree of political commitment of the Portuguese. Yet the electoral political participation is minimal and is a reliable measure of the degree of political participation. Portuguese political disaffection is also explained by the desire to be discreet for its installation in society and for a more successful social climbing. Discretion is a way to avoid confronting the host society. In this case, the non-inclusion in the political space of the host society would be the result of a strategy. Thus, a phenomenon of political passivity, especially in a context of increased immigration, seems to characterize the Portuguese population. In this perspective, we can ask whether the citizenship of the Union would not provide an opportunity for political action to Portuguese nationals. However, it should not be mixed with apolitical passivity. Even if the Portuguese can be politically passive, we can not necessarily conclude that they are apolitical. Especially since in some circumstances, passivity can be a form of resistance until an improvement in the opportunity structure politiques happens. Thus, the Portuguese are not to remain closed at all political participation.

Paradoxically the large number of Portuguese citizens in France, even with a low participation in local elections, led to see a number of them stand for election and to be elected. Figures provided by the association CIVICA (associations of elected representatives of Portuguese origin) show the importance of the Portuguese representation, particularly in Ile-de-France (see annex I, II and III).

5. Presentation of the results of the focus groups and lunch debates

The two focus groups brought together representatives of Portuguese associations (cultural, familial and religious) in the Paris region. The structures listed below (part.7) are those which were more actively involved in participating in the focus groups.

The focus groups were organized to bring out an open, informal discussion built around the guidelines of the workshops.

Each participant was asked to speak on important issues: his/her personal history and reasons for migration, employment status, his/her sense of integration into French society (what was meaningful for him/her), his/her participation (and the reasons of) in a Portuguese association. The final question asked was: do you participate in local or/and European elections and finally over his sense of European citizenship.

Lunch debate has meanwhile brought together participants from associations more "invested" on issues of citizenship.

The small number of people interviewed all in all (25), however, allowed to cover a variety of situations: the generation migrants of the 1960s, bi-national children, migrant naturalized ... The answers to questions, including those related to elections showed the reality of a lack of involvement in electoral matters, but revealed a strong community involvement by the associations of Portuguese. This paradox seems well in line with the reality of the written sources and research that helped to prepare the study.

6. Presentation of good practices from representative associations (from any origin) to empower the people they represent and encourage them to take part in the democratic life of the host country and/or of the EU

From its creation, Civica introduced the new rights from 1994 on the participation of European citizens without French nationality residing in France, in its national dimension, that is to say, with variations that characterize the different departments where a strong active presence of Portuguese is known, it also sought to discover the culture of this country and the benefits and advantages of dual membership. The activities are organized in three main areas:

- Support to candidates, elected officials and municipalities
- Activities related to the French and Portuguese governments
- Cultural program, information and trainings at the address of Portuguese politicians in France and the future public actors.

However activities all tend towards the same goal: to develop the civic participation of Portuguese and European citizens living in France (not nationals), and thus gradually raise awareness to associations, families and government organizations in France and Portugal.

It has often worked in collaboration with the embassies and public and private organizations which provided effective assistance in many projects. The association was associated with the implementation of the lunch Debate.

This association already took action to promote the Portuguese citizens vote at municipal elections. Its experience will be useful as a result of the program and in particular to strengthen the mobilization of Portuguese citizens to hold training sessions.

7. List of partners associations

CIVICA

Aulnay-Sous-Bois

ASSOCIATION DES ORIGINAIRES DU PORTUGAL

10 Avenue Karl Marx
93000 BOBIGNY

PORTUGAL LUSO

ASSOCIATION ASCFP (association socio-culturelle franco-portugaise

31/51 Rue Paul Eluard
59282 DOUCHY LES MINES

ASSOCIATION CEIFEIRAS DO MINHO DE CHELLES-VAIRES

9 RUE DU PARC
77500 CHELLES 77

ASSOCIATION CULTUREL LUSO FRANÇAISE, RANCHO FOLCLORE

Adresse : Square De L'hôtel De Ville
78210 SAINT CYR L'ECOLE

ASSOCIATION PORTUGAISE DU BLANC-MESNIL

30 Rue Alexandre Dumas
93150 LE BLANC-MESNIL

ASSOCIATION ADEPBA

6 Rue Sarrette
75014 PARIS

ASSOCIATION CASA DE SANTA MARTA DE PORTUZELO EM PARIS

26 RUE DES ROSIERS
75004 PARIS

ASSOCIATION AMORES DE PORTUGAL

51 Bis Avenue De Saint Mandé
75012 PARIS

ASSOCIATION CULTURELLE PORTUGAISE DE NEUILLY SUR SEINE

2 Bis Rue Du Château
92200 NEUILLY SUR SEINE

Annex I – List of candidates of Portuguese origin at regional elections

Alsace (1)

Manuel SANTIAGO (Ecologie)

Aquitaine (2)

M. Pierre PINTO BICHO (LEXT), M. Bernard DA COSTA (EUSKADI EUROSPAN)

Auvergne (2)

M. Angel ALMEIDA (LEXG), Mme Maryse CORREIA (LEXG)

Basse-Normandie (2)

Mme Graciela MACHADO (LEXG)

Bourgogne (9)

M. Sébastien PEREIRA (Modem), M. Georges SILVA (Verts), M. José ALMEIDA (PC), M. Carlos OLIVEIRA (PC), Mme Nathalie VERMOREL- DE ALMEIDA (PC), M. José DA SILVA (PC), M. Philippe MARTINS (LDVG), M. Christian RIBEIRO (LDVG), Mme Sylvie FERNANDES (LDVG)

Centre (7)

M. Alain GAMA (LCOP), M. Philippe OLIVEIRA (Modem), M. Adelino DAMASO (LCOP), Mme Silvina FERNANDES (LCOP), M. David MENDES (LCOP), M. Filipe FERREIRA POUSOS (PS), Mme Corinne LEVELEUX-TEIXEIRA (PS)

Champagne-Ardenne (4)

M. Bruno SUBTIL (FN), Mme Isabelle SILVA (Modem), Mme Déolinda CARDOSO (LEXG), M. José CARVALHO (LEXG)

Franche Comté (4)

Mme Maguy MEREIRA DE PINHO (LEXD – Non aux Minarets), Mme Corinne DA SILVA (Modem), M. Yoann PIMENTEL (Modem), M. Pascal LOUREIRO (LCOP)

Haute Normandie (3)

Mme Stéphanie DA SILVA (LDVD), Mme Marie-Hélène CAVALEIRO (LCOP), M. Thibault BARBOSA (Modem)

Languedoc Roussillon (2)

M. Carlos RIBEIRO (LEXG), Mme Jacqueline CORREIA DE MACEDO (LEXG)

Limousin (1)

Mme Flavie ALVES (Modem)

Lorraine (8)

Mme Anne COSTA (LCO), M. Antoine LOUREIRO-RIAL (LAUT-Voix Lorraine), Mme Laura LOUREIRO-RIAL (LAUT), Mme Claudia LOUREIRO-RIAL (LAUT), Mme Dulciana DOS-SANTOS (LAUT), M. Denis MARTINS (LAUT), Mme Gloria DA COSTA (LAUT), M. Francis ESTEVES (LCOP)

Midi Pyrénées (1)

M. Christophe ALVES (UMP)

Nord Pas de Calais (4)

M. Paulo-Serge LOPES (Vert), Mme Diana DA CONCEICAO, Mme Marie-Noëlle COSTA (PS), Mme Dora MARQUES (PS)

Pays de la Loire (2)

Mme Patricia CEREIJO, Mme Denise BARBOSA (FN)

Picardie (3)

Mme Anne FERREIRA (PS) 02, M. Patrice CARVALHO (PS) 02, M. Micael SEMEDO (Modem)

Poitou Charente (1)

Mme Marie-Christine CARDOSO (FN)

Provence-Alpes-Cote d'Azur (3)

Mme Marie-Josée PEREIRA (LEXG), Mme Sandrine FERREIRA (Modem), M. Pierre COSTA (Vert)

Rhône-Alpes (3)

Mme Véronique MOREIRA (Vert) - 1, Mme Jeanine CURTO (NI) Spartacus, Mme Rose RIBEIRO (NI) Spartacus

Ile de France (22)

Mme Cristela DE OLIVEIRA (UMP), M. Johnny DA COSTA (UMP), Mme Joëlle LOPES (lcr), M. Paulo PEREIRA (lcr), M. Philippe NUNES (lcr), Mme Brigitte DOS SANTOS (fn), M. Daniel DOS SANTOS (FN), M. Carlos LOPES (Verdes), M. José TOMAS (Verdes), M. Henrique PINTO (Verdes), M. Georges FERNANDES (Modem), Mme Marylise MARTINS (Modem), M. Jorge CARVALHO (Modem), Mme Elisabeth DOS SANTOS (Modem), M. Antonio DUARTE (Eco Ind), Mme Sandra DA SILVA PEREIRA, Mme Sophie CERQUEIRA (PS), Mme Marie-Christine CARVALHO (PS), Mme Isabelle FERREIRA (NPA), M. Jean-Marc DOS SANTOS (NPA), Mme Elsa DOS SANTOS (NPA), M. Alberto GARCIA (NPA)

Annex II –Results for French politicians of Portuguese origin and Portuguese in the elections of March 2008 (municipal election)

Val de Marne (94)

Department with 46 cities with 39 elected from Portugal (84.78%)

Seine Saint Denis (93)

Department 38 cities with 25 elected from Portugal (65.79%)

Hauts de Seine (92)

Department 36 cities with 14 elected (38.89%)

Val d'Oise (95)

Department of 185 cities with 38 elected (20.54%)

Seine et Marne (77)

Department of 514 cities with 141 elected (27.43%).

Essonne (91)

Department of 209 cities with 81 elected (38.76%).

Yvelines (78)

Department of 262 cities with 68 elected (25.95%).

Annex III – Number of electors(“grands électeurs”) of Portuguese origin in Ile de France in 2011 (French Senate Elections)

Val de Marne (94)

Department with 47 electoral votes of Portuguese origin

Seine Saint Denis (93) - 2080 electors to 6 seats

Department with 43 electoral votes of Portuguese origin

Hauts de Seine (92)

Department with 23 electoral votes of Portuguese origin

Val d'Oise (95)

Department with 40 electoral votes of Portuguese origin

Seine et Marne (77)

With 173 electoral votes Department of Portuguese origin

Essonne (91)

With 104 electoral votes Department of Portuguese origin

Yvelines (78)

Department with 84 electoral votes of Portuguese origin