

EXILED HOME:
CRIMINAL DEPORTEE FORCED RETURN MIGRANTS
AND TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY,
THE AZOREAN EXAMPLE

BY

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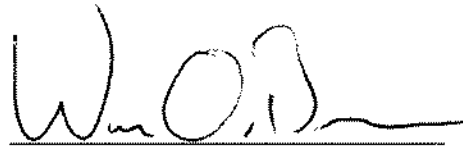
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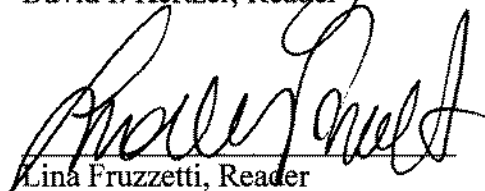

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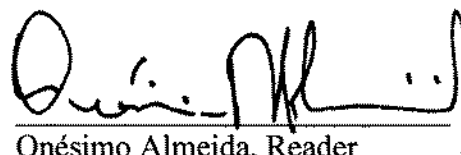
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There is really nothing that I could write to adequately express my appreciation to my "padrinho," Onésimo Almeida, but this is ok, because he already knows. Onésimo has been a constant presence in my life over the past decade, and there isn't a single person from whom I have learned more—and as much as I have learned from him academically, that is only a small part of that picture. Onésimo is the kind of intellectual that one rarely finds in the academy in this day. Cut from a mold that at its core treats scholarship as a humanist enterprise, for Onésimo ideas are not just ends to professional advancement. They are the air that allows us to breathe. Without Onésimo's guidance and friendship, this dissertation would not have turned out as it has, but then again, neither would I have.

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Without the acceptance and trust of the numerous repatriated Azorean citizens with whom I worked, this project would have been as limited as some of the many newspaper, magazine, and many other articles that have been written about deportation—using the topic because of its dramatic nature, but failing to grasp the complexity and ambivalence inherent in the situation confronted by the deportees. That I was able to learn about any of this is only due to the generosity of the repatriated Azoreans, and the trust that they placed in me. We had our hairy moments from time to time, but I appreciate all of you who still felt like talking to me and hanging out with me, even though you knew there was nothing I could do to help you go home. I am especially thankful to those of you participating in our weekly “Encounter” in the Ponta Delgada Prison. Our months together were some of the most enjoyable and informative times of my entire research project. I get sick and angry every time I think about the situation that the deportees in the Azores (and elsewhere) face every day, and promise you, now that this dissertation is completed, I will not stop attempting to raise awareness about this issue. May you all soon be able to come home.

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Miguel Moniz

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This dissertation treats a unique aspect of transnational migration, examining a class of forced return migrants, former permanent residents of the United States and Canada, who were deported as a result of criminal convictions. Among the hundreds of thousands of forced return migrants of this type, this dissertation uses the deportation of Portuguese citizens to the Azores, a mid-Atlantic autonomous territorial region of Portugal as a case study, analyzing their social integration upon repatriation to their "homeland". Despite holding Portuguese passports, almost all of the repatriated lived in North America for most of their lives (over 70% left before they were 13) and struggle to reintegrate as a result of limited or no Portuguese language abilities; and a perception of them by the local population as cultural foreigners to the islands. With few family connections and minimal cultural and social skills they are thrust into an essentially alien environment. The repatriated adapt varying survival strategies, in some cases including returning to crime, as others suffer from addictions to controlled substances and concomitant health problems including AIDS and Hepatitis B.

The deportees' reception in the homeland—including governmental and private initiatives assisting their reintegration—is examined through broader constructions of Azorean transnational identity. Discourses that dislocate transnational Azorean identity from geographic proximity to the islands and provide for fluid, broadly defined inclusion criteria incorporate Diaspora and homeland populations in a social category that serves those involved with adaptive and instrumental political and economic ends. The deportees, however, illuminate the local contradictions inherent in social constructions of transnational categorical identity because they are Azoreans whose lives outside of the islands have clearly left them with different expectations for normative behavior than those who never left. The reception of criminal forced return migrants in the homeland presents interesting implications for research on transnational migration as this particular class of return migrants, deported as a result of national identity, has been rejected by those in their nation because of differing perceptions of cultural identity. Through repatriation the dissertation examines how local reactions to deportation are undertaken with reference to the broader transnational community.

INTRODUCTION

In the summer of 1996 I was visiting with relatives in my family's village on the island of São Miguel, Açores. Taking a tractor out to the fields late one morning to milk cows with my cousin, I noticed a lone individual walking down the street toward the ocean. There would have been nothing remarkable about this fact, if he had been dressed in a pair of thigh high rubber boots with a flannel shirt wrapped about his shoulders—the standard garb for a farmer on his way to work the fields on a sunny Azorean weekday morning. As we drove by him on the tractor he exchanged a wave with my cousin. Even though everyone who lived in the village could be found at that hour of the day in the fields or on their way to them, it was clear that he was not on his way to milk cows. There was a certain devil may care swagger to his walk, and he was dressed not in boots, but in a bathing suit, a t-shirt, and flip-flop sandals with a baseball hat worn backwards on his head; and in place of a flannel shirt, he instead had a large terry cloth beach towel draped lazily around his neck.

I presumed that he was, not unlike me, an Azorean-North American visiting with family in the islands and joked with my cousin that I should be going to the beach too rather than the fields like that other guy who was on vacation. My cousin smiled and told me that the man wasn't on vacation, but that he had moved back from Canada and lived in the village with an Aunt, that he was "*um daqueles*" "one of those", a permanent resident migrant in North America who after committing a felony had been forcibly repatriated by the Canadian and US governments back to the islands, where he had been born. I had vaguely heard of this occurring in the islands through anecdotes about migrants who had been deported over the years, but not in any kind of systematic way, and certainly not such that they would be considered a group, if being called "*um daqueles*"

made them a group.

Are there many of them? I asked my cousin, who did not know the answer, but told me that the issue had recently been in the newspapers and in the news. So they just move back to the islands after having lived in the US and Canada their whole lives? My cousin said yes he supposed that was what was happening. I continued my questions. Do they buy homes? Do they work in the fields? Do they get other jobs? What is it that they do when they come here? My cousin smiled and gestured back in the direction of the man to whom he had just waved. “They do,” he said smiling, “as little as possible.”

This episode first piqued my interest in the deportations of North America resident migrants convicted of felonies from the United States and Canada. Due largely to changes in Canadian and US law in the mid-1990s, significant numbers of Azoreans were deported from North America fomenting what has been considered by Azorean residents and the Azorean government a cultural, economic and political crisis, as the criminal forced return migrants have been accused of being responsible for all manner of negative cultural and social change in the islands, while they are also perceived as a financial drain on limited island economic resources.

Most of those deported had migrated to North America when they were children, so few so have little sense the Azores is for them “home”. Despite holding Portuguese passports, almost all of the repatriated lived in North America for most of their lives (over 70% left before they were 13) and struggle to reintegrate into the land of their birth as a result of limited or no Portuguese language abilities; and a perception of them by the local population as cultural foreigners to the islands. The social ramifications of the deportations are manifold. Thrust into what amounts to an alien environment, many of the forced return migrants resort to the same sorts of activities that caused their arrest and conviction in North America and commit crimes in the islands and end up back in prison there. Although crimes are obviously committed in the islands, the types of crimes that are more typical to urban environments in the United States and Canada, where most of the deportees were living and that some had previously committed—including

murder, rape, aggravated assault, auto theft and drug trafficking—are much less common in the Azores. The majority of the repatriated do not resort to crime however on their return, and most attempt to live “strait” lives in trying to find jobs, and remain clear of problems with the law.

Other problems are present. Most of the deportees were repatriated for convictions of crimes either directly involving drugs (selling and possession) or related to drug use (breaking and entering to get money to buy drugs or assault and battery while intoxicated). As a result, a far higher percentage of drug addiction among the deportees, including addictions to alcohol, crack cocaine and heroin, than among the general Azorean population. As a result of using needle drugs, there are also a number of deportees who suffer from AIDS and Hepatitis B (which has prompted, in one example of the social ramifications of deportation, those in various government agencies to argue for the institution of a needle exchange program in the islands). Still others have been diagnosed with mental illnesses such as bipolar disorder and schizophrenia, which makes survival in the alien environment of the islands all the more difficult.

The deportees encounter tremendous obstacles to their successful (re)integration into Azorean social life in various areas of their return to the islands. The Azorean government has funded a government sponsored help center and created training programs with the goal of easing the transition into Azorean social, economic and cultural life. Despite the best intentions of the government and social services institutions involved in assisting the criminal forced return migrants, however, integration remains problematic. One looming obstacle is the substantial animosity on the part of island residents directed toward the deportees (along with anger toward the US and Canadian governments for having deported the criminal forced return migrants). Many blame the deportees (known in the islands, sometimes disparagingly as *repatriados* or as *deportados*), for the changing social landscape of the islands, for the increase in crime, for the introduction of new types of crimes into the Azores, and for the rising problem of drug dependency and drug traffic in the islands.

The Azorean government's attempt to address what officials understand as the problems associated with deportation have met with mixed response among residents of the islands as well as those government officials promoting the solutions themselves. In some cases, for example, the deportees made connections through the social assistance programs that have resulted in their recruitment into criminal activity. The social makeup of the deported population is diverse however, and although deportees committing crimes in the islands provide the most sensationalistic stories in media reports and in popular discourse, the majority of repatriated do not participate in illicit activities. Nonetheless, even those who have a handle on their drug addictions, or who do not commit crimes also struggle with the problems presented in having little understanding of the social field in which they live.

Changes to migration law

Fomenting the problem of deportation in the Azores were changes to US migration laws in 1996 (along with similar, previously existing laws in Canada) that caused the deportation of thousands of permanent resident migrants living in the two North American nations, back to their countries of origin for having committed crimes. Serious social problems have resulted from the US and Canadian deportation of this class of felon permanent resident migrant, not only limited to the Azores, but also throughout the world, as recent articles in newspapers and the popular media have pointed out.¹

Three changes to US migration law in 1996 directly caused the deportation of tens of thousands of permanent residents. Two US Congressional Acts passed by the Republican controlled Congress and signed into law by President Clinton broadly redefined US policy toward

¹ See for example Deborah Sontag. In a Homeland Far From Home. The New York Times Magazine. November 16, 2003; Randall Richard, 500,000 Criminal Deportees from U.S. Wreak Havoc in Many Nations, AP. October 26, 2003; along with an earlier program on the television news show Nightline with Ted Koppel. ABC News. Aired November 28, 1998. I worked with the author of the AP piece for an earlier report he wrote about the Azores, and was a consultant for the production company that produced a segment on the Nightline program on the Azores—the article and news show touching not only on the broad deportation problem but in part focusing on the situation in the Azores.

permanent resident green card holders convicted of felonies. The first change regarded a broadening of deportation eligibility. Conviction of an “aggravated felony” had previously made one eligible for deportation, but under the new law, an “aggravated felony” was defined as anyone who had ever been convicted of a crime carrying a penalty of one year or more in jail, *whether time was served or not*. This included a number of individuals who had been arrested on driving while intoxicated charges, among other minor charges, and also including those who may have plea-bargained their cases, accepting lesser charges for which they may not have served time. This is significant, as the second major change to the law made the application of deportation eligibility retroactive. This resulted in a number of individuals who had received convictions prior to 1996, many of whom accepted plea-bargains for guilty findings for time served, but that still carried a one-year sentence and as a result received deportation orders after the laws were passed. That the individual did not know that accepting a guilty plea would some day result in his deportation as a result of laws that had not yet been passed, was inconsequential. Finally, and perhaps the most significant of the changes brought about by the 1996 laws was the suspension of a writ of Habeas for those facing deportation. A Federal provision (212C) had, since 1954, allowed those facing deportation the chance to appear in court to argue that they did not deserve to be deported. Prior to 1996, permanent resident migrants ordered deported were granted a hearing at which they could argue against removal, perhaps citing the long time they lived in the US, that the crime was a first offense and atypical of their usual behavior, or arguing that they were married with several children and their deportation would cause a hardship on their families, or that any number of other extenuating circumstances made deportation unfair and unjust in a particular case. The new laws, however, eliminated the right to a hearing however, so those facing deportation orders, based on current crimes or applied retroactively had no legal recourse available to them to remain in the country.²

² Some deportees had simple drug possession charges against them dating before 1996, and given the fact

Azorean deportations framed within local economic and political power processes

The Azorean deportations themselves are embedded in a complex political dynamic—as the mid-Atlantic Azorean archipelago is not a state entity itself, but has an Autonomous status (the Azores have their own President and Parliament) yet remains a territory of the Portuguese national state of which island residents and the deportees are citizens. Azoreans have adopted broad strategies for their economic and political survival over the five centuries since they were first populated, which often play out in a complex political dynamic that finds the islands simultaneously antagonistic to the state to maximize political and economic power, while also remaining quite dependent upon it in other contexts for their economic survival. Migration has also formed another adaptive strategy for Azoreans whose migratory networks to the United States and Canada have extend throughout the 20th century and continue until the present. One prominent feature of the contemporary uses of migration and migrant communities for complex political and economic objectives has been through constructions of transnational identity and Diaspora among various factions in the Azores and among the migrant communities.

The deportation issue has become embedded in these social processes, intersecting with and posing challenges to local constructions of the state, ethnicity and transnational identity. As constructions of Azorean identity have important adaptive political and economic value, such challenges have caused antagonistic, sometimes violent reactions among the archipelago's general population. The government response has been varied, but has moreover dedicated human, economic and political capital in conceiving programs intended to absorb the forced return migrants into the course of island social life. The reception of the deportees by the homeland population—including efforts by government and private initiatives to assist their

that in a number of cases the charge was a first offense, the accused simply plea-bargained to time served, and never got in trouble again. If 212C had not been removed and Habeas suspended, when these individuals received deportation orders, they would have likely been able to have those orders rescinded. In other cases, deportees had committed their crimes long before the 1996 laws, in many cases serving jail sentences although they had subsequently straightened out their lives, never again running into trouble with the law. Nonetheless, these individuals were also deported as a result of the changes, without any legal recourse allowing them to remain.

reintegration—is examined through broader constructions of Azorean transnational identity. The deportees’ reception in the homeland—including governmental and private initiatives assisting their reintegration—is examined in this dissertation through broader constructions of Azorean transnational identity. Discourses that dislocate transnational Azorean identity from geographic proximity to the islands and provide for fluid, broadly defined inclusion criteria incorporate Diaspora and homeland populations in a social category that serves those involved with adaptive and instrumental political and economic ends. The deportees, however, illuminate the local contradictions inherent in social constructions of transnational categorical identity because they are Azoreans whose lives outside of the islands have clearly left them with different expectations for normative behavior than those who never left. The reception of criminal forced return migrants in the homeland presents interesting implications for research on transnational migration as this particular class of return migrants, deported as a result of national identity, has been rejected by those in their nation because of differing perceptions of cultural identity. Through repatriation the dissertation ultimately examines how local reactions to deportation are undertaken with reference to the broader transnational community.

Chapter overview

Chapter I presents an overview of anthropological literature on transnational migration and studies relevant to this project. Although the criminal deportees are a unique class of forced return migrant that has not been systematically studied in the anthropological literature before, there are a number of other studies that are useful in understanding some of the issues faced by them. The dissertation is also situated in the field of transnational migration studies and the relevance of the Azores example to other studies of forced return migration and transnational migration is explained.

One of the central assumptions of this dissertation is that an analysis of the reception of the Azorean deportees cannot be separated from broader constructions of Azorean transnational

identity in which they are embedded. Key to understanding this process then is to first understand the particular nature of the Azorean Transnational Diaspora, how it is constructed and the purposes it serves for a multiplicity of actors at various levels. Although various studies have touched on the phenomenon to date, there has not been a broad and systematic examination of the historical, political and economic development of Azorean transnational identity, especially dealing with North America.³ Because of the lack of previous studies, and the importance of Azorean transnationalism in understanding the deportee situation, prior to the ethnographic discussion of the particulars of the deportees in the islands, Chapter II examines the nature of Azorean migration, Azorean transnational Diaspora and Azorean transnational identity. The examples presented in the chapter may on first blush appear somewhat far afield of the particular situation of the deportees, but the data presented about the nature of Azorean transnational community is nonetheless essential to the broader discussion of the Azorean reception of forced return migrants. Most of the chapter has been written from original ethnographic research conducted over the past decade, coupled with an analysis of historical data of constructions of Azorean identity processes. This long chapter is necessary to build the argument given the lack of research on transnational identity in North America and given the centrality of specific Azorean constructions of transnational identity to the argument as a frame through which the reception of the deportees is mediated.

Chapter III delves into the repatriation issue, providing an overview of the deportation laws of the United States and Canada that have led to the removal of the criminally convicted forced return migrants and provides statistical information outlining the contours of the Azorean deportee population.

³ Anthropologist João Leal of the Universidade de Lisboa has conducted field research on the topic among Azorean communities in Southeastern New England, although his work has not yet been published. My analysis in the chapter on Azorean transnationalism has been greatly facilitated by conversations with João Leal from the insights that he shared from his own field research. See also recent work by Eugénio Lacerda (2003b) who looks at Azorean transnational identity in Brazil.

Chapter IV presents ethnographic data on the government sponsored deportation assistance center (known by the acronym CAR) as well as other institutions of socialization in the islands and various processes of deportee integration, including reliance on families and other repatriated Azoreans. Through this ethnographic data, the chapter furnishes an examination of the major issues confronted by the deportees as they attempt to cope with the new social reality upon their return to the islands.

Chapter V examines Azorean and deportee relations through an analysis of the various integration strategies and discusses the reasons that the forced return migrants have individual success or failure as they attempt to survive in Azorean society. Examined in the chapter are also the features of the repatriated population—real and perceived—that cause them to be marginalized by the general population.

Chapter VI presents a critical and analytical examination of the process of integration, pointing to disparities between governmental and local expectations and definitions of success in “social integration” when compared to those of the deportees. The expectation and functioning of the government integration project and is examined at length.

The issue of Azorean transnationalism in relation to forced return migration is revisited in Chapter VII. The chapter examines the many adaptive uses of constructions of Azorean transnational community and the assumptions that underpin the existence of the category. An analysis ensues on those aspects of deportation that create challenges to the existence of the transnational identity category (even as deportation also works to bolster the category in other specific discursive spheres). Further, the relation between the deportees and other return migrants is explored, in part arguing that the existence of the deportee category is itself able to mitigate the potential marginalization of the *voluntary* return migrant population, also important in constructions of the transnational category.

Chapter VIII presents the implications of the study for anthropological theory on transnationalism and return migration; and also raises some questions as a result of the analysis herein presented.

CHAPTER I

DEPORTATION AND AZOREAN TRANSNATIONAL DIASPORA IN THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Transnational community: instrumental constructions of Diaspora

Studies of forced migration and return migration abound in the literature, but to date there have been no systematic examinations of a criminal forced return migrant population with the unique situation of the Azorean repatriados. Their forced return migration is not as a result of a refugee status that causes them to migrate *en masse*, nor is their forced return migration carried out in a similar way as with undocumented migrants living within a national territory. Unlike undocumented return migrants, who do not enjoy legal status in their nation of residence, the criminal deportees are of a class of return migrant who may be perceived as culturally marginal to the nation in which they reside, but who have a legal status of belonging within the national territory. Interestingly, prior to receiving their removal orders, many of the criminal permanent resident deportees with whom I worked had lived in the US and Canada for so long that they had no idea that they were not citizens of those nations.

Although systematic studies of criminal deportations of this kind have not been examined in the anthropological literature other works have touched upon individual cases of criminal return migrants. Kovac (2003), for example examines the deportation of a Syrian doctor who was a resident migrant in Hungary for allegedly supporting terrorism. N. Adams (2003) examined anti-trafficking legislation in Great Britain related to the deportation of migrants working in the UK as prostitutes and how legislation intended to assist the migrant women was used to remove them. A further social problem discussed was how the migrant prostitutes would under-report instances of physical abuse for fear of being deported if discovered. Although not specifically

related to criminal migrants, the latter phenomenon was also taken up by Sourander (2003) who examined the high incidence of post-traumatic stress disorder among a group of refugee families in Finland, brought on by fear of a pending deportation. Jepsen and Laursen (1998) examine changes to Dutch narcotics trafficking laws that had the effect of facilitating the removal of resident migrant criminals convicted on drug charges.

Other studies have looked at criminality from the point of view of political practice, examining legislation intended to remove migrants whose beliefs contrasted with the state apparatus of the nation in which they resided, including a broad treatment of the topic by Hong (1993); as well as Davies (2001), who looked at deportation and migrants classified as communists; and Doyle (1996), who looked at the effect of deportation on Union organizing in Belize.

The deportation of criminal migrants has raised some broad legal questions in certain nations affecting the applicability and legality of the state dictated expulsions. Changes in national laws dealing with crime, definitions of criminality and migration in general can change the status of migrants residing within a state, causing their deportation or facilitating the ease with which the state is able to remove them (Rasulov 2002; Morawetz 2000, 1997; Bennet 1999; Prakash 1997; Jepsen and Laursen 1998).

Another feature making the case of the criminal forced return migrants in this dissertation theoretically relevant is how their deportation and their reception upon arrival in their country of national citizenship is embedded in broader processes of transnational identity construction. In the case of the Azores, transnational identity has been one social field used for political and economic adaptations by those within the category on multiple fronts, including individuals in migrant communities as well as those in the homeland. One of the interesting questions this raises is how forced return migration fits into these transnational processes, given that a certain class of return migrant has been roundly rejected by the home society upon their return.

Contemporary studies of migration in anthropology have increasingly focused on migration processes from a perspective that is framed by theories of transnationalism and globalism. Such studies examine how social fields are organized, linked and relate to one another among migrant communities spanning across national boundaries (Sutton 1987; Sutton and Chaney 1987; Kearney and Nagengast 1989; Georges 1990; Glick-Schiller and Fouron 1990; Gmelch 1992; Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1995, 1992a, 1992b, 1992c; Rouse 1992; Massey et al 1993; Charles 1994; Guarnizo 1994 Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Kearney 1995).

Examining the crumbling theoretical distinction between the center and the periphery, such studies have operated in part under the guiding principle that local events are greatly determined and shaped by events taking place in other far removed locations and vice versa (Giddens 1990; Hannerz 1989; Kearney 1995). Looking specifically at human rights issues, Appadurai (1993) discusses a post-national cosmopolitanism through which collectives are organized around categories that transcend nationalist ideals. This is certainly the case in the repatriation issue, and in a most direct manner, such that laws passed in the United States and Canada—merely by virtue of the large migrant populations in these two nations from the Azores—have a clear effect on existing and developing social structures in the far off archipelago. With Portugal's entry into the European Union, the overlapping sense of identity at the national level has become increasingly complex. The repatriation question is one that must be examined in the context of the Azores unique quasi-nation state status; and in consideration of the transnational migrant communities, other Portuguese citizens, and others from the former Portuguese colonial territories. When examined in this regard definitions of transnational community are expanded given that individuals are acting across boundaries that are not only national, but also used to construct difference and separation within a national territory.

The process of “peripheralization at the core” taken up by Sassen-Koob (1982) prompts Kearney to suggest that it is possible to speak of New York becoming “Carribeanized” (Sutton and

Chaney 1987) and LA or Miami as the capital of Latin America (Kearney 1995). As migrants from the Azores who are ascribed a Portuguese national identity, those deported from North America are nonetheless seen as belonging to America by the Azoreans. The deportees are often faulted for bringing to the islands what many residents there see as the worst aspects of American culture—drugs, crime, and loud, violent and brash behavior. Are the Azores becoming “Americanized” by its own citizens? And beyond that simple question, what is the effect of such a process on the sense of a common identity in Diaspora among deterritorialized peoples, such that deterritorialized peoples can live anywhere in the world, “and still not live outside the state” (Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc 1994).

One cannot conceive of processes occurring on a local level as unattached to any other set of conditions beyond the local (Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc 1994). Writing much earlier, Wallerstein approached an examination of global processes in terms of a world-system based in an economic integration encompassing a range of state entities (Wallerstein 1974). Although he was specifically treating an economic system and not transnational migration, *per se*, Wallerstein is notable in that he favored a complex “less polar” (Kearney 1995: 550) understanding in his analysis, one that by implication would mute the center/periphery construct. At the level of analysis of cultural processes, of course, defining the “center” over the “peripheral” can result in obfuscation of the complexity of the process of social interaction specifically denying the complex levels at which power is enacted. What the repatriation issue in the Azores points to is the local uses of category that are based on the exercise of political and economic power, that cannot be undertaken without reference to the broader transnational community.

Other research examines a range of processes through which a “globalized” other—a migrant or peripheral population—interacts with a core society. Studies in this vein include discussions of cultural persistence among the migrant Senegalese in Italy, Algerians in France, Turks in Germany and the like (Carter 1995, Gimenez 1993, Mandel 1989; Alvarez 1990;

Leonard 1999; Smith and Tarallo 1993; Lessinger 1992; Goulbourne 1991; Neveu 1992). The repatriation issue expands upon this literature as the deportees are indeed treated as an “other” even as government assistance programs seek to “reintegrate” them into the cultural patterns of the islands and the social networks that they “lost” upon migration from the archipelago.

This project examines transnational migration processes among Azorean migrants in the United States and Canada, specifically through the lens of return migration, using the case study of forced return migrants. In discussing the difficulty of defining a community as a “cultural group” in transnational and global studies, referring to constructions of Pukapuka identity, Borofsky has pointed out that “half of [the] Pukapukans live off of the island, especially in New Zealand (Borofsky 1994). This is certainly the case with constructions of Azorean identity through which at certain points over the 20th Century there have been more Azoreans living in North America than in the islands, a number that increases exponentially when second and third generation Azorean-North Americans are included in the category—as they are by those participating in the Azorean transnational project including the Azorean government, various public and private institutions and Azoreans themselves. Discussions of this kind also challenge the notion of culture as a relevant analytical unit, framing behavior instead in terms of identity and challenging conceptions through which culture is rooted in a national territory (Malkki 1992). As individuals become deterritorialized, so too does the notion of a bounded cultural unit (King 1991; Alvarez 1995). This is perhaps less of an issue in the Azorean example given the nature of the Azores’ political status as an autonomous political entity incorporated into the Portuguese state. There may exist a concept of Azorean culture, and of Azorean identity, but in purely legal terms, there are no Azorean citizens, they are Portuguese citizens. As will be demonstrated, however, embedded within constructions of Azorean transnationalism is a response to this political configuration of identity without statehood. Nonetheless, by examining the various and overlapping constructions of identity among the repatriated, the Azoreans and other voluntary return migrants, this study interrogates the underlying assumptions rooted in the consistencies and

inconsistencies in overlapping senses of identity, despite their conceptualization in the transnational community as a bounded unit.

In their first influential work on transnationalism, Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton (1992a) provide a departure point for the examination of forced return migrants in the Azores. Theoretically relevant to broader issues of this dissertation, the papers in the collected volume are also pertinent given that the case studies all treat transnational communities living in the United States (including one paper that in part specifically treats Azorean transnationalism). The editors of the volume along with the authors of the essays collected therein encourage further examinations of transnational identity to better understand social processes through which migrants are linked through various social fields—political, religious, economic, familial, etc.—across national territorial boundaries. Those in the volume see the construction of the transnational category as an analytically useful tool to move beyond the twin paradigms of migration studies between “assimilation” and “ethnic pluralism” (Rios 1992). For them and others treating the topic, transnationalism sees social actors as anchored in and transcending one or more national states and presumes the movement of individuals across national borders (Basch, Glick-Schiller and Szanton-Blanc 1994: 5-10; Hannerz 1989; Glick-Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, Kearney 1986).⁴

Situated in broader processes of global capitalism, studies exploring the analytical utility of transnationalism and transnational identity have delved into migration processes through which the supra-territorial connection of migrants to the homeland and vice-versa has shaped local constructions of race, ethnicity, gender, class, and the nation and have examined how these connections have been both adaptive and potentially maladaptive to the actors participating across these social fields.

⁴ A distinction should be made between globalization and transnationalism: as suggested by Kearney, globalization is a less institutionalized and more abstract construction, and does not reflect the intentional processes of transnationalism that are constructed in reference to a specific nation even as that nation is transcended (Kearney 1995).

Lessinger (1992), for example, examines how the conscious manipulation of transnational links allow migrants from India in the United States to grapple with a labor system that tends to place migrants at the bottom of the capitalist economic system. By appealing to transnational links that encourage participation in bounded economic systems based upon a presumed common cultural identity, the migrants are able to respond to some of the economic pressure upon them as a result of their status. Transnational identity processes also assist migrants in the home society who did not leave—but who are the nonetheless bound through village and kin networks to migrants abroad—with changing their social and economic status for the better.

As Georges (1992) points out, it is possible that gender inequalities that constrain the economic decisions of certain actors in the home society can potentially have some beneficial flexibility, demonstrating the cultural processes that allow Dominican men living in the United States to shape social relations, social status and economic status of their wives living in rural villages back on the island. Further, Georges finds that through the transnational family structures rural Dominican villages were “incorporated” into the global economy as a result of transnational migration. Examining economic decision making through transnational migration processes, Ong (1992) focuses on the reworking and “manipulation” of cultural symbols that allow business entrepreneurs to maximize their success in the international capitalist system. Citing speeches and policies by President Aristide in Haiti, Richman (1992) examines the manipulation of the transnational migrant networks and the affective ties the migrants had to their homeland by politicians looking to bolster their standing while also attempting to improve the economic well-being of the home society.

As will be discussed, the creation of a targeted economic system based around a transnational community for the purposes transcending the limits of the national economic systems in which they are situated; and the ability of migration networks to shape social fields in the homeland among those who have not left, are prominent features of Azorean transnational identity.

Other studies examine transnational migration processes, through the theoretical rubric of Diaspora studies. Similar in the way they examine the migrant network links between home and host societies, Diaspora studies have attempted to move beyond the concept of Diaspora merely as a dispersion to examine the nature of the links created between home and host societies (Tölölyan 1996; R. Cohen 1997; Safran 1997; Vertovec 1997, cited in Klimt and Lubkemann 2003). Developing the concept of the “homeland” Klimt and Lubkemann (2003) draw on Morley (2002) in positing that the “homeland need not be a physical place. It can just as well be a rhetorical territory, mediated through language and sentiment.” Relevant for the purposes of this dissertation is the theoretical expansion of the concept and implications of return, carried out by those authors who examine how transnational migrants may feel disconnected and alienated from the home society not only while living abroad, but upon their physical return to the homeland.

The Azores example presents some interesting wrinkles in this conception, given that the Azorean transnational project is carried out in relation to a quasi nation-state—nationalism without a nation—but that nonetheless presents a conception of national identity in service of maintaining autonomy and gaining political and economic power within the broader state of which the islands are a part.

The transnational community: presumed categorical commonalty

Implicit and explicit in these arguments is the notion that the transnational or Diaspora community—dispersed, deterritorialized, spanning national boundaries—is nonetheless a bounded category for the purposes of analysis. There is a recognition that in addition to the economic and political links created through the transnational community, the category is organized around the principle of an affective, primordial tie to either a real or imagined homeland, one that transcends nation and ethnicity, even as many of the studies cited above also recognize that the transnational identity category can shape constructions of nation and ethnic group as they are enacted in local contexts, both in the host and home society. Despite the

challenges to the construction of the transnational category (Noivo 2002, Lubkemann 2002) it is this presumed sense of primordial attachment to those who participate in the transnational category—linking dislocated populations in political, economic and cultural networks—that provides the social field with its power and through which actors organize behavior and decisions within a global economic frame.

Existing in social fields that both shape but also transcend identity categories of race, ethnicity, class, gender and the nation, transnational and Diaspora identity rely upon constructions of categorical relationships that are perceived as personal networks so that the concept of an instrumental identity founded on (actual) personal networks takes on the characteristics of the broader (imagined) categorical relationship of those in the transnational community. Discussing migration in an African urban setting, Mitchell examines role expectations as a way of structuring behavior, what he calls “structural relationships.” “These are relationships...which have enduring patterns of interaction and which are structured, i.e. the norms are defined in terms of the role expectations of others” and are ultimately embedded in the social system (Mitchell 1966: 51-52).

He contrasts structural relationships with two other types of relationships, those that he calls “categorical relationships” and those based on “personal networks.” “Categorical relationships” develop in *unstructured* settings by way of codifying and structuring behavior. It is the tendency to “categorize people in terms of some visible characteristic and to organize their behavior accordingly” (*ibid.*: 52). In this way, various markers of social identity—such as perceived race, nationality, gender, and language—may be used contextually to frame interaction. For Mitchell, categorical relationships only exist in superficial circumstances (when the individuals are not known personally to one another) and through them, for example, “any person recognized as a member of a particular race by a member of another race is expected, on first contact, to behave in a standardized way (*ibid.*: 53). He distinguishes this from “personal networks,” “which a person builds up around himself on a personal basis.” Networks start with an individual and “ramify out into the town” (*ibid.*: 54-55). In this type of relationship, the analytical

mapping of the interaction starts with ego and is on an individual-by-individual basis, with each person in the network having a relationship that is specific to ego.

Empowered through the instrumental nature of their association, transnational migrant communities however operate as a categorical relationships that is from the perspective of those involved, presumed to be personal networks, as behavior is structured among agents who rely upon the affective ties that bolster the category (a presumed sense of commonalty to a point of origin) by way of attempting to promote in part, what are individual interests (including jobs, better wages, increased social status, etc.) on a personal level.

There should be a distinction made between the transnational identity category as a categorical relationship and those aspects of transnational identity that actually do exist as personal networks. The categorical aspects of the identity certainly create instances of personal networks, and there are situations in which political and economic relationships (where the interactions take place as personal networks) are structured around in-group identity. There is however an analytical distinction to be made when discussing the relationship between the two, one that is useful in understanding the instrumental aspects of transnational identity constructions.

It is the sense of commonality created among those in the categorical relationship of the transnational community that provides those within it with a sense that there is also a *presumed* sense of shared group interest. Part of the norms structuring behavior among those in the categorical relationship in the transnational community of the Azores is a presumption that participation in personal networks with others in the category is in the interest of all in the category. The sense of commonalty, of in-group identity can be based on a wide range of contextual and fluid markers of in-group identity (though these markers are perceived as fundamental and unchangeable by participants) treated by the participants as a “common cultural identity”. This creates a presumption among those in the group that homeland populations are linked to those living abroad as a common ethnic group, presumed to share a “common culture”—itself fluid and contextually defined, so as to reify the constructed cohesiveness of the

in-group. As pointed out above, a “culture group” is, of course, not an analytically relevant unit of analysis, nonetheless, participants in transnational identity constructions will use culture—the presumed common culture of those sharing a relationship to the homeland—as a prominent marker of in-group belonging. From an analytical perspective, “culture” or “cultural identity” as it is used in this dissertation refers to the process through which agents perceive and delineate a nexus of normative behaviors and markers of in-group belonging in various contexts, which are then used to categorize social status for the purposes of framing social interaction.

Attention to the nature of the links forged among the diverse poles of the transnational community however belies the complexity of the process, such that the transnational Diaspora category is often subject to contestation when migrants return home and are marginalized by populations living there. There is a burgeoning literature in anthropology that has begun to examine this complexity, assessing the transnational migrant category not through an exploration of the links made and changes wrought among the connection between host and home society, but by way of exploring the challenges to the category itself as a result of return migration.

Return migration and challenges to transnational categorical continuity

Recent scholarship on the effect of transnational Diaspora constructions on the home society has examined the difficulties that transnational migrants have with reintegration upon returning home (Noivo 2002, Lubkemann 2002, Lorenzo-Hernandez 1999, Pacheco, Lucca and Wapner 1985, Takenaka 1999, Tsuda 2000, Smerdon 1994).

Noivo (2002) looks at the return to the homeland of a group of Australian and Canadian migrants from Portugal in a study of direct relevance to the issue of return migrant marginalization. Upon their return—for visits or for permanent resettlement in their home communities, the continental Portuguese migrants feel that their relationships are characterized by a greater sense of marginalization in their homeland than in their migrant communities. Despite the rhetoric, in practice, she concludes, in part, that the nature of Diaspora not only reflects the

notion of connectivity but the process is also predicated upon disconnectivity. The “script” of transnational identity—which Noivo describes as an ideology of practice linking the migrants to a sense of in-group identity coalescing around the notion of “Portugueseness,” a transnational identity category encouraged and developed by the state—causes the return migrants to conceive of themselves as part of a broader community that includes the homeland, but is then challenged upon their return to it. Noivo argues that the migrants resist and contest state defined conceptions of acting as a proper “Portuguese” should, arguing instead for a sense of identity that is based not in the homeland but in the diverse communities in Diaspora. Interestingly, although they object to the definitions of the state transnational project, they do not question the transnational project itself, and yet see themselves as part of a broad Portuguese transnational community—however it may be defined. The Azores example finds that return migrants are subject to far less hostility and marginalization than those in continental Portugal, perhaps owing to the greater number of migrants as a percentage of the Azorean population who both migrated to North America before returning themselves, or who have close family in North America; or the fact that the Azores are far more geographically proximate to North America than is Australia to Portugal. There is yet some negative expression of difference among Azorean residents directed to the return migrants. How deportation comes to shape this relation is one of the questions undertaken in this dissertation.

Lorenzo-Hernandez (1999) discusses a similar dialectic among Puerto Rican migrants living in New York upon their return home, who as a result of a different physical appearance—manifest in clothing and comportment—and language, suffer from marginalization and stigmatization from those permanently settled on the island. Citing Lucca-Irricary and Pacheco, the author points out that returning migrant adolescents especially “feel highly rejected by their peers.” Labeled as Nuyoricans, the group is excluded from the category of Puerto Rican. The issue of their marginalization is largely related to the importance of self-determination and nationalist discourses on the island, which see the return migrants as “Americanized” and thus

deny the cultural argument for the political autonomy of Puerto Rico from the US. The Nuyorican category, however, would also seem to mediate expectations for behavior. The existence of the category, with separate expectations of behavior, also allows for the potential challenges to a separate Puerto Rican identity—posed by life-long Puerto Rican residents who nonetheless speak English or who may also behave in ways similar to the Nuyoricans through the influence of transnational links (as discussed by Lessinger 1992)—to be lessened.

This is a prominent feature of the Azorean forced return migrant example, through which the definition of cultural difference is central to the Azores unique political situation. In the context of the Azores political configuration of quasi-state Autonomy, another question this raises is the effect of return migration and specifically deportation on the Azores ability to maintain both a political and cultural connection not only to Portugal but also to the United States. The question raises issues that explore the relationship of transnational identity on constructions of complex state level institutions such as the Azores, which are characterized with a dual configuration of antagonism with and dependence upon the continental Portuguese central authority. Like Noivo, Lorenzo-Hernandez also speaks to the double marginalization of Nuyoricans who are perceived as Hispanic in the US but then are ostracized as being Anglo influenced upon their return.

The double marginal status of return Japanese migrants is taken up in research by Takenaka (1999) conducted with Japanese-Peruvian migrants and Tsuda (2000) who looked at the process of return migration from Brazil. Takenaka examines how migrant transnational ties can accentuate group boundaries both within sending and receiving communities, concluding that the process of transnational community formation (outside of a nation) can impede assimilation within a nation. In the study, Takenaka relates the activities of the Japanese-Peruvian Association of Lima, which had a dual role of cultivating and creating a *Nikkei* identity among migrants in Peru, while also sponsoring “Japanese cultural seminars” ahead of return migration to Japan. The seminars and other projects offered language instruction, Japanese flower arrangement

instruction, and emphasized ties between Peru and Japan. By teaching the return migrants—many who had lived in Peru for much of their lives—familiarity with the cultural expectations required of them, it was intended to mitigate the problems of social integration confronted by the migrants, because, “despite having a “Japanese face and name”, Japanese-Peruvians are treated ‘just as *gaijin* [foreigners].’”

The return Japanese migrants from Brazil in Tsuda’s study take an interesting approach to their marginalization, opting to use cultural features demarcating “Brazilianess” to create power by embracing a cultural identity that treats them as outsiders. In the author’s words, the resistance offered by the Japanese-Brazilians “is an attempt to defend an independent cultural space from hegemonic encroachment by consciously engaging in behavior that is an affirmation of an autonomous Brazilian culture and a rejection of Japanese cultural expectations” (Tsuda 2000: 68).

In Brazil the return migrants had maintained a prominent sense of Japanese ethnic identity, yet this ethnic identity presented problems upon their return. They are “ethnically excluded as foreigners [and become] acutely aware of their Brazilian cultural differences, experience ethnic discrimination and recognize many of the negative aspects of Japanese cultural behavior” [towards foreigners] (Tsuda 2000: 56). Although they are marginalized as *gaijin*, because they have some cultural ties to Japan, there is an expectation that they should conform to Japanese cultural values. The situation is such that they are not “complete foreign outsiders” (Tsuda 2000: 59), which would alleviate some of the expectations for them to conform. Because of their descent however, the Brazilian Nikkeijin face pressure to conform to Japanese identity (which foreigners would not be required to do) and are marginalized as a result of the difficulties they have in doing so. Instead of attempting to conform however, Tsuda demonstrates how the return migrants articulate perceived symbols of Brazilian national identity (clothing, musical

tastes, gregarious comportment, language use, etc.)⁵ to escape the pressures to act “Japanese”. They do this, says Tsuda, because a true “foreigner” does not have the pressure that the Japanese descendants have on them to live up to expectations for the proper performance of the ethnic norm. By “appealing to [a] Brazilian identity” one is able to “pre-empt” the negative evaluations based on Japanese Cultural standards” (Tsuda 2000: 64).

Aspects of Tsuda’s study resonate with the situation faced by the forced return migrants in the Azores. Most insightful is the distinction presented by Tsuda between treatment of “true foreigners” and the Japanese-Brazilians. It is the deportees’ status as migrant Azoreans and as Portuguese national citizens that shapes expectations for their behavior. If they were “true North Americans” to adapt Tsuda’s phrase, they would not need to conform to Azorean expectations of behavior. On a limited level, the criminal forced return migrants adopt some of the Japanese-Brazilians’ strategy as they seek to respond to the pressures of being outsiders in the Azores. Included in this are those areas in which the expression of behavior associated with being a deportee is used as a positive adaptation to the forced return migrants’ social and cultural exclusion.

This differs however from the actions of Japanese-Brazilian *Nikeijin* who introduce themselves as Brazilians by way of avoiding some of the stigma of being a Japanese who doesn’t know how to be Japanese. Such a strategy is not available to the deportees, given the particular nature of local constructions of Azorean identity and the particulars of the migration history of the islands, which is intimately tied into North America. As is discussed at length below, the category of “American” is used predominantly to refer to Azorean return migrants—and not to “Americans” without a cultural or historical—presumed or otherwise—connection to the islands.

⁵ One of the examples the author discusses is a Samba parade that takes place in Japan, which, it is argued, is not a “real” Samba but exists only to differentiate the group of Japanese-Brazilians that hold it so that they can escape classification as a “Japanese”. The author points out a samba performance in which Brazilian *Nikeijin* flounder around trying to dance to a rhythm that they do not how to dance to, as they never really danced Samba when they lived in Brazil. Nonetheless, the act of dressing in Brazilian style clothes and participating in the dance was enough to mark them as culturally separate (Takenaka 2000:66-67).

Further, it is the (perceived) “American” aspects of the deportees’ comportment that are themselves stigmatizing. Given the nature of how the categories are locally construed, the only way the criminal forced return migrants could become “true foreigners” would be if they had no connection to the islands at all; by definition, this is impossible. Another reason the strategy is not available to the deportees as it is to the Japanese-Brazilian *Nikeijin* may be due to differences in the specific construction of Japanese identity when compared to Azorean identity. Definitions of Japanese identity, which can be rigid and exclusive (Fish 2003), differ from how identity is constructed in the Azores. Azorean identity has a greater fluidity, which is directly related to the function of transnational identity as part of adaptive economic and political strategies.

Some examples of mass deportation programs are found in Comins-Richmond (2002a and 2002b) who outlines the situation of the Karachay who were deported from the Soviet Union by Stalin from their home in the North Caucasus region, while other studies of repatriation, expulsion and forced return migration from the Soviet Union include both the deportation of Chechens and the Ingush (Pohl 2002; Russian Studies in History 2002). Certain projects examine not reintegration but the integration of individuals who, though they may have never set foot in the homeland, nonetheless return to the origin point of their presumed transnational community as a result of either state level decisions to expel them based upon a bureaucratic definition of their ethnic, racial or national categorization, such as Asians expelled from Uganda; as a decision by migrants to voluntarily repatriate themselves to a national homeland, as was the case with ethnic Germans living in Eastern Europe who returned to Germany; or as a predominantly voluntary decision by migrants to “repatriate” themselves to a presumed homeland in which they had never lived, including the aforementioned ethnic Germans, Russian Jews who migrated to Israel and Muslims who departed to Pakistan. The expulsion of Asians from Uganda, although an interesting example of attempts at integration on the part of a national entity of a migrant population, is perhaps less relevant to the process of forced return migration to the Azores, given that the expelled population did not share a sense of transnational community with the receiving

societies of Great Britain, Canada and India (even if in some cases they did have limited kin networks in those locales). Nonetheless, the difficulties confronted by the Asians in the societies to which they migrated, including difficulty with language, lack of training, poor health and limited family networks (Adams 1974; Pereira, Adams, and Bristow, 1978; Adams, Pereira and Bristow 1978; Adams and Jesudason, 1984; Van Hear, et al 1993) are echoed among the deportee population of the Azores. One factor that does resonate with the situation of the criminal forced return migrants is the insistence of some of the Ugandan Asians to migrate to specific locales based on the family networks that were in place there (Adams 1974). Although the reasons for the deportees to return to the Azores are complex, one factor in their returning to the islands was the existence of some family relations, no matter how tenuous, living in the archipelago.

The case of ethnic Germans living in the former Soviet Union and elsewhere in Eastern Europe who migrated to Germany throughout the 20th Century, (but in significant numbers since the beginning of the 1990s) is a more relevant case example. Facing ethnic discrimination that dated back to accusations throughout the 20th century of their harboring sympathies with the German armies of both World Wars, and dispersed from a homeland in the Volga as a result of policies that sought to diminish their control or as Stalin attempted Genocide, many ethnic Germans settled throughout Eastern Europe. With the fall of the Berlin wall and the process of German reunification underway, many of the dispersed ethnic Germans and those left behind in the Soviet Union sought repatriation to Germany. Under the 1949 German constitution any individual who is able to prove a German ethnic origin will be granted citizenship. The result was that in 1989 some 400,000 ethnic Germans migrated to Germany from the Soviet Union, Poland, Romania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary (Treasure 1991), which marked the beginning of a significant rise through the early 1990s of return migration (Dietz 2000).

Upon resettlement, the ethnic Germans cope with finding their way in an industrialized society that differs greatly from the predominantly agrarian societies that they left behind. Although they may share some linguistic traits with those in Germany, they must adapt culturally

to German ways of life that differ from their previous lives (see also Kloberdanz 1975). Although many of the Russian Germans have the tendency to attempt to integrate socially and culturally into Germany (Krentz 2002), the pattern has been that more recent arrivals have confronted much difficulty in their social and cultural integration. Dietz (2000) attributes this to a number of factors, including laws in the former Soviet Union that prohibited many of the ethnic Germans from speaking German, the relatively low socio-economic status of the return migrants and their lack of education and technical training. Although the German government spends substantial money—in 1989 some DM 2,000 Million were spent on resettlement (Treasure 1991:26)—the return migrants have faced increasing hostility from facets of German society (Dietz 2000).

Government assistance efforts directed at the repatriated ethnic Germans included a housing subsidy, language instruction, absorption assistance, and professional training, yet, they have an inability to fully socially integrate. Dietz recognizes that there are some differences among the ethnic Germans from other migrant groups living in the country, citing the prevalence of broad social kin networks among the group, and the fact that they are a “privileged” migrant group compared to others in Germany even as she points out that about 50% of the group (a smaller percentage than other ethnic groups) expressed that they faced “discrimination” from the general population (Dietz 2000:647). She does not however address the central issue taken up by Tsuda, examining the problems confronted in integration in relation to their status as ethnic Germans. Instead, she sees their problems—lack of language abilities, lack of participation in extra-community social organizations, etc.—as similar to those confronted by other migrant groups. On this level, the case of Azorean deportees differs greatly from this example, as the problems they confront with integration—like the Japanese-Brazilians—are directly related to an insider status that differentiates them from others living in the islands.

Various governments have attempted to encourage return migration for purposes instrumental to the interests of the state and the power of the politicians who manage it. Kazakhstan for example, developed a resettlement program intended to bolster Kazakhstani

territorial claims against potential encroachments by Russia and China. Upon resettlement, some of the return migrants—Kazakhstanis who had been living abroad for many years, in many cases since their families left home in Tsarist times, in places like Turkey, China, Mongolia, Russia, Uzbekistan, Iran and Afghanistan—encounter difficulty in reintegrating. Problems cited include difficulty with the language and a lack of familiarity with culturally appropriate expectations for behavior (Economist, January 16, 2001).

Government programs intended to assist such migrants with the problems they have faced upon reintegration are varied. The Sri Lanka government, for example, attempted to assist white-collar return migrants in their reintegration. Premachandra (1990) examines the overall problems with an economic reintegration program for return migrants in Sri Lanka in the 1980s. A program was designed to help the returnees set up private entrepreneurship by giving them training in small business management and providing them with loans. According to the author, the project in Sri Lanka was unsuccessful owing to the lack of risk capital among the target group and a lack of education programs and support from the government tailored to the specific needs of the return migrants. Differing from the Azores reintegration project, the Sri Lanka assistance program was directed at higher status (in terms of education and socio-economic attainment) returnees.

Other government assistance programs include projects in various European nations intended to promote the social integration of gypsies and other peripatetic socio-economic groups. Of interest to the deportation question are studies cited that examine various governmental programs that encourage voluntary assimilation by providing housing, education, literacy training, wage-labor jobs and promoting among the groups “an identification with the host culture” (Gmelch 1986). Examples cited by Gmelch also point out another feature of integration projects as governments outlawed certain gypsy practices, making the integration process not only one through which the outsiders are taught how to adapt in a positive way, but are also encouraged through negative reinforcement that is codified in legal strictures. Onidine examines Mozambican *regressados* returning from East Germany in reference to government

projects to assist their reintegration. Displaced after German reunification, the workers had originally left home in 1979 to gain job skills that would eventually help Mozambique upon their return. Returning fifteen years later the migrants find that their situation at home is dire. Feeling ostracized by the local population, without family ties to help them find jobs or get housing, they must rely on each other and also take assistance from government sponsored programs designed to help train them for jobs (Onidine 1994).

Although these studies and the studies cited above point out the importance of governmental assistance projects in supporting the return migrants from a humanitarian standpoint, none systematically examine the relationship between the existence of governmental assistance programs and how such programs frame the cultural integration of the returnees, or how the programs work to shape the social fields in which the migrants operate when they come home. In part, the government project intended to assist the deportees' reintegration presents them with some difficulties in this regard. They are only able to receive social services from the government (economic and medical assistance subsidies) as a result of their status. As a result there is ironically something beneficial about their remaining in the category, even as their inclusion in the category inhibits their integration and causes their marginalization. The Azorean government's role, in both the transnational project and the program to help reintegrate the deportees upon their return is substantial, and provides a frame for all subsequent interpretations of the reception of the forced return migrants by the local population. Other studies have examined the role of both state level institutions and private social service institutions in the reintegration of marginal return migrants.

As governments promote the cultural and social integration of the return migrants, with what can be termed "cultural training" individuals also seek to express identity through cultural practices that will enable them to gain rights and privileges. Lourie (1990) examines the case of Soviet Jewish immigrants to Israel in this regard. Migrating to Israel from the former Soviet Union to claim their place in the Jewish homeland of Israel, the migrants were both trained and

consciously adopted various cultural codes of the specific religious communities in which they lived, reciting prayers, using language and the performance of religious ritual to conform to the local communities into which they were integrating. The process allowed them to leave behind an outsider status to gain rights and privileges as accepted members of the community.

Although many of the deportees have difficulty in adopting the practices forwarded by the government and other institutions that would facilitate their re-socialization, Lourie's argument is important as it suggests one reason why some of the criminal forced return migrants are able to escape stigmatization upon their return.

Deportations and conceptions of Transnational Diaspora

As stated above, the example of forced return migration in the case of Azorean deportees is situated within the broader theoretical framework of transnational Diaspora. One of the arguments forwarded in this thesis is that the reception of the criminal forced return migrants in the islands cannot be properly understood without attention to their relation to conceptions of Azorean transnational community, the way that Azorean transnational identity is conceptualized and operates as an adaptive practice, and their place vis-à-vis other return migrants.

Studies of transnational identity and Diaspora interrogate the nature of the connection between the communities dispersed across national boundaries between the homeland and the host society. In the case of the Azorean transnational community, this connection has been created through networks at the kin and village level (Teixeira 1999; Cabral 1989; Chapin 1989, 1992; Moniz 1997; McCabe and Thomas 1999; João Leal personal communication 2000) and has facilitated and made possible economic and political adaptations to their host communities. In the Azores themselves, the migrant communities and their connection to the islands—both conceptually and in actual return—forms a part of strategies at the state and individual level necessary to maximize economic survival and political autonomy within the broader Portuguese state.

The political and economic strategies carried out at levels of practice and discourse in the islands and among the Diaspora communities is possible as a result of articulations of transnational identity that encourage those within the category to conceive of the Azorean transnational community as a common interest group. Although there are both strong affinitive ties among the homeland and the Diaspora communities and practical ties reflected in business practices and politics, these connections also serve to reify the existence of the Azorean transnational category itself.⁶ At the heart of these constructions of common group interest—the interest of the “Azorean transnational community”—is a conception of categorical identity among those within it, operating to reinforce the conception of an interest group that exists through a shared primordial link expressed through discourses of a “shared culture” at both institutional and individual levels.

As was the case with the return migrants in the studies cited above, in practice, many of the Azoreans included in the common transnational identity category often do not conform to expectations of the proper performance of that category as construed in the local communities. The result is a challenge to in-group identity and leads ultimately to challenges to the transnational category itself. This dissertation then, explores a specific aspect of return migration and its effect on constructions of transnational identity by examining the difficulty in maintaining the imagined community when direct confrontations arise to the notion of a common categorical identity. Further, it examines the local responses to such challenges; and how they are reconciled in order to preserve the adaptive value inherent in constructions of transnational identity.

Analytical relevance of the deportation study

Although there is an argument to be made delimiting a clear analytical and theoretical distinction between voluntary (economic) vs. involuntary (refugee) migration processes (Cerne

⁶ See Kertzer and Arel 2001, for insight into how the very existence of a codified ethnic or racial category (as examined in the volume as codified by the census) will not only reflect, but also create the social reality.

and Guggenheim 1993; Kritz, Leam and Zlotnik 1992; Rogge 1987; Hopkins and Donelly 1993; Hansen and Oliver-Smith 1982; Black and Robinson 1993; Kibreab 1985, 1991) I agree with others who treat as problematic readings of refugee migration as entirely “involuntary.” With Harrell-Bond (1986), Hansen (1992a, 1992b), Wilson (1994) and Lubkemann (2000), I recognize the notion that there is indeed agency in refugee relocation processes. The case of the deportees however presents what can be understood as a true involuntary migration. Of course there is some choice inherent in deportation. A deportee can choose to go on the run, can go underground to avoid apprehension by law enforcement agencies, or can attempt to return to North America subsequent to deportation, (which have all occurred among some in my research unit). Further, in certain cases, those who are able to will volunteer to be deported while in prison or in immigration detention centers, in order to avoid prolonged incarceration. Others have also left prior to receiving an official deportation order with the hope that the laws might change in the future, so that they might be able to return without the negative ramifications of having left as a result of receiving the order. Others will flee as a strategy to avoid inevitable incarceration. Even in these cases, along with the vast majority of the other deportation cases, the forced repatriation of a permanent resident convicted of a felony forms an involuntary migration process, one in which the return migrants ultimately have no desire to return to “their homeland”—but nonetheless do. The result of this process is the creation of a unique population of return migrants, a class of forced return migrant that exists with increasing frequency throughout the world, and has not been systematically examined in the anthropological literature.⁷ The relationship of this class of return migrants to the local population and to other classes of return migrants is another area that has not yet been examined.

⁷ There have been some brief works and numerous newspaper and magazine articles about deportation. One of the lengthier of these treatments, a BA thesis written by Miguel Brilhante and published as a book in 2000, looks at a small group of (six) Azorean deportees. Although he provides some interesting data on the deportees’ marginalization in the islands, his conclusions differ from mine in that he fails to take into account broader processes of Azorean transnational migration in his analysis of the deportees’ negative local reception. This is discussed below at some length.

Another feature that makes this specific category of return migrants unique is the consideration of their return among the local population as a group marked by downward assimilation. Other classes of permanent or semi-permanent return migrants (as opposed to temporary return migrants who may return for a period of months or weeks) come back to the land of their birth after having saved a sum of money and may return to purchase property, or to take over a family home after a relative has deceased. The deportees however fit into a transnational configuration of what Alejandro Portes terms “downward assimilation” (see Portes and Rumbaut 2001, 1996; Rumbaut and Portes 2001; Portes 1996). Although the term is not unproblematic—especially if one is to consider it in a transnational context by way of taking seriously the proposal of Glick Schiller et al in formulating the transnational migrant category as a way to move beyond the assimilation/resistance dichotomy. If downward assimilation however can here be understood as the existence of social and economic marginalization in the host society that often results in problems of poverty, drug abuse and crime, and a lack of political and cultural capital, then the deportees do fit Portes’ model, both in the migrant community and the homeland. The relationship that they would have to the home society upon their return then—independent of their status as forced return migrants—presents a different case from the situation of return migrants who come home to spend money or resettle upon having amassed a substantial savings.

The field research site of the Azores also makes the study unique. In some regards, the islands relatively small size (242,000 population) and their extreme isolation in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean (located some one thousand miles off of the coasts of Portugal and North Africa), makes them an exceptional laboratory for observing anthropological social processes, while remaining generalizable to other deportee situations in cross-cultural contexts. It is the unique political, historical and structural composition of the Azores, however that makes the archipelago an excellent location to examine these processes.

Given the large populations of other nations with sizeable criminal forced return migrants, including Cambodia, Mexico, El Salvador, Jamaica, Colombia, Guatemala and the Dominican Republic, conducting a broad and systematic deportation study in such locales as has been undertaken in this dissertation, would only be carried out with great difficulty, if at all. Given the history of transnational migration processes among the Azores and its North American communities, parallels (albeit context specific parallels) can be drawn with the deportation experiences of other North American transnational communities whose permanent residents have been forcibly removed. The Azores deportation study has the potential to have broad cross-cultural comparative relevance. Further, the many points of comparison between the Azores transnational migration experience with other global trans-nations makes this study a broad case example that will be useful to research in wide-ranging topics in transnational identity and transnational migration processes.

Part of the strength of the case example also presents some challenges in unraveling the complex layers of ethnicity, nation and the construction of transnational identity. The political configuration of the territorial space of the Azores furnishes the archipelago with a complex relation to continental Portugal. A territorial possession of the Portuguese state since the islands were first populated in the 15th century, the aftermath of the Portuguese 25 de Abril Revolution of 1974 that saw the former colonies of the Portuguese dictatorship gain their independence, resulted in a unique configuration of power in the Azores. Armed insurgency activity in the islands and political pressure in the mainland prompted a debate over the separation of the islands from Portugal. The debate over the islands independence was settled in favor of a form of political, economic and administrative autonomy that provides the archipelago with its own President and Parliament, but also provides Azoreans with representation in the continental government.

An often antagonistic relationship has historically characterized relations between the continental authority and the local institutions of power, and is frequently articulated in a separate sense of Azorean cultural identity—a phenomenon in part taking shape in the early period of the

islands' settlement and coming to force during the 20th century. The forced return migrants are further enmeshed in complex overlapping social fields in which they are Portuguese national citizens, but who articulate a separate sense of what can be understood as an Azorean ethnic identity—a category that has emerged to be simultaneously embedded in Portuguese ethnicity even as it is opposed to it (a process discussed at some length below). These social fields and the social processes that take place within them, when considered in relation to the Azores unique political standing within the broader Portuguese state also provides this dissertation with an opportunity to examine transnational identity, return migration and the deportation process in a multivariate social field—one that examines the complexity of a transnational Diaspora that takes place both as part of a broader nation based Diaspora but that also maintains its own separate and particular historical political and economic issues.

The Azores political situation also provides another little studied point of comparison between the archipelago and other nations and territories with similar political configurations and migrant experiences. The political configuration of the Azores in relation to Portugal; and some of the same debates inherent in this relationship (i.e. autonomy vs. incorporation vs. independence) for example is characteristic of other autonomous units and the state level authority into which they are incorporated and the processes of differentiation among them, including for example Puerto Rico and the US, the Canary Islands and Spain, Corsica and France, Curacao and Holland, etc., and is illuminative of power processes among these quasi-colonial configurations. Interestingly many of the studies of transnationalism deal with the specifics of island populations (migrants from the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Curacao, Cape Verde, and so forth). The Azores example also provides some insight into the particulars of transnational identity construction among other small island populations.

The project also raises some potentially interesting points along the areas of law and its effect on return migration. Beyond the obvious questions regarding how the laws of one political entity change and shape the social structure of another (as is accomplished by US and Canadian

migration law deporting non-citizens to the Azores and other political entities) this study expands upon work that focuses on how the law shapes aspects of cultural expectations of appropriate behavior among migrants (DeBenedictis 1992 and Lutz 1994). One aspect of the Azores repatriation problem is that the criminal justice system in the islands operates under a different legal tradition than Anglo-North America, often resulting in a divergent set of assumptions, especially towards presumptions of guilt and innocence. The repatriated must confront the differences as they enter into the Portuguese justice system even as the system itself is confronted by the many repatriated who appear in court or who occupy its prisons.

Another point of departure related to the law, are the contradictions that exist between one's citizenship status, which is a legal status, versus one's presumed ethnic or cultural identity. Although Portuguese law stipulates that the criminal forced return migrants are Portuguese citizens, and this certainly provides a point of reference from which they are received in the Azores, the problems that they encounter are as a result of competing understandings between their legal status and their presumed cultural identity.

Finally the deportation of permanent criminal residents is not only a phenomenon that affects migrants from the Azores living in the US and Canada, but migrants from nations living the world over. Inasmuch as the process in the Azores is revelatory of other situations where migrants with only a tenuous connection to their "homeland"—or none at all as is the case with criminal deportees born in Germany but removed to Turkey—are forcibly removed from the nations in which they reside, this study may provide insight into a diversity of situations and invites broad cross cultural and cross situational comparisons.

Methodology and data collection: Conducting field research with a criminal population

"So, when did you get in?"

These were the first words spoken to me as I began my field research project in the Azores with the deportees or *repatriados*, as those in the Azores usually call them. I was asked the question upon my arrival at a government sponsored assistance center for individuals who had

been repatriated to the islands by the US and Canadian governments, legal residents who had run up against the law and had been forced to return to the land of their birth. The speaker had been living on São Miguel, the largest of the Azores islands, for about four months, and until the Canadian government had deported him for a string of convictions, predominantly for trade in heroin, he had called Toronto home for 25 years.

I immediately understood what he meant. “So when did you get in?” As an Azorean-American myself, as one having grown up in the same towns, gone to the same schools, played on the same basketball courts and drank at the same bars as many of the deportees, I must have looked like I was there to participate in the assistance program, just having been repatriated myself. Sitting there in the “waiting area” (really just a large picnic table in a small, crowded, fluorescent lit, low-ceilinged room in the back and bottom of a house) I was to him just another guy who got sent back, waiting to find out about my government allowance, where I was going to live and about my job prospects. It wasn’t a stretch, I probably looked just as lost at the center as anyone else who has just arrived.

I contemplated my answer. What was I to say? No, I am not one of *you* people, I am not a repatriado, I am just waiting to speak to the head of the center about an *anthropological research project* I am doing about the repatriados. All I said though was, “Oh, I don’t know, about two weeks. Since about the beginning of January more or less.”

His large frame filled up most of the end of the picnic table where he sat with a few others who had been repatriated, the word “Toronto” silk-screened in large letters on his t-shirt plainly visible under the unzipped hooded sweatshirt he wore. He smiled at me, as if he were baffled and chided, “Well where the hell you been hiding!?”

I smiled, pondering the ethical transgression implicit in my silence, leading him without words to believe that I was indeed repatriated myself. What kind of interesting insight would it provide if I conversed with him as a fellow deportee? The thought was fleeting, as I decided that to begin field research with a lie, implicit or otherwise was not good anthropology.

“Well, I am not uh, I didn’t get sent over here. I am an anthropologist, a researcher, doing a study of repatriation.”

He paid no attention to me whatsoever.

“You must be from the states huh? Where you from?”

“Providence.”

“From the USA, hey. The US OF AIDS! HAW HAW HAW HAW HAW HAW.”

“Tony stop” said a woman that I took to be his girlfriend. “He just got here.”

“Um yeah, I just got here, but like I said, I am doing a study on deportation. I, um, didn’t get deported myself.” I lifted my soft leather satchel up onto the seat of the picnic table, just high enough so they could see it. Neither my words nor my official looking briefcase mattered however because the group kept talking to me as if I was there to see the Center’s director to start my new life in the Azores, as a repatriado. We played the name game with people we both knew from the Azorean communities in Southeastern New England and then I went into the office to talk to the Director about my project.

That first day at the Center would not be the last day that presumptions about my identity would be mistaken. It was a pattern that would recur with other repatriated, as it often occurred with residents of the Azores, as it often occurred with others working in a social welfare capacity with the deportees. Such mistaken identity was obviously beneficial, especially when I was at the Center, mulling about with any number of the deportees and someone came in either on official business, or some new arrival was about to be processed. My anonymity would be short lived, however, as it became known to most of the deportees and the general population of my role in studying deportation, even if it was never entirely understood exactly what that was.

In some ways, conducting research in as unobtrusive a manner as possible was really the only way to work with this particular population. This much, I had already figured out. In the two plus years prior to the initiation of my official period of field research, I had been gathering information for the project and had learned that conducting any kind of study with the deportees

could not take place in any kind of conventional manner. During one summer I had been in the islands attempting to collect some preliminary data and had connected with a government-funded, church-sponsored help center intended to assist entering criminal forced return migrants. The head of the program had introduced me to one of the assistants at the center, a man responsible for placing newcomers into work centers. Carlos assured me that I would be able to conduct many interviews, accompanying me personally to one work site where he had placed about a half-dozen individuals participating in the church's program. We approached a group of workers, I with notebook in hand as Carlos went ahead alone to speak with the men. He was with them for a few minutes as they stared over to where I stood, bag over my shoulder, pen and pad at the ready, before slowly, one by one, separating off from where Carlos was talking, until all of them had moved back to work and away from where I stood. Carlos returned to me apologizing saying that none of them wanted to talk to any reporters.

I started to explain to Carlos that I was not a reporter, and asked if I could try and explain to them what I was hoping to accomplish as an anthropologist. Carlos shrugged his shoulders, but try as I might, I could not dissuade the two or three deportees who at least remained to listen to me that I was not there to write a newspaper story. Too many negative articles in the local press had recently been written about the repatriated, articles naming names and crimes and often accompanied by photographs revealing faces. They told me they were not about to be burned. For the forced return migrants who suffer from discrimination from many other Azoreans, anonymity is often difficult to come by and was a commodity that most at that time attempted to protect. The lesson was not lost on me. From that point on, whenever I approached any one who had been deported who I was hoping to interview, I left my notebook and pen in my pocket.

The first four months of my field research, indeed, were spent simply attempting to develop trust among the repatriated population. I too came to disparage newspaper reporters, as much for the irresponsibility of some of the articles they wrote as for how much this ingratiated me with my informants in distancing myself from that type of work.

Problems in gathering information particular to the population with which I was working abounded. True I did share a physical, geographic and cultural proximity to the forced return migrants as an individual who was raised in Azorean-America, who like them had returned to my family's island as a result of the repatriation issue. I even grew up with some of those who were repatriated who were my hometown in Massachusetts. Unlike the forced return migrants, however, I am an American citizen and had obviously returned to the Azores out of my own choice. Clearly, my familiarity with certain cultural and linguistic codes served my research, facilitating the essential act of creating a common ground with the repatriated and convincing them that my goals were not antagonistic to their best interests. There is only so far, however that this can take one, and throughout my research I had to be cognizant of the fragile place that most repatriados feel they have in Azorean society.

Other difficulties were present in the research. Often, official, pad-and-paper interviews with deportees were useless exercises, at least if the goal of the interview was to obtain any sort of factual information about dates, actions ideas and motivations. Some examples are instructive. I had begun a program in the *Estabelecimento Prisional de Ponta Delgada*, the island's main prison, where a fluctuating number of some 25-30 forced return migrants were being held at the time either awaiting trial or serving time for convictions of crimes they had committed or been accused of committing since their return. On the first day there were around 20 individuals interested in participating in our weekly discussion group that was to cover issues as diverse as their opinions on ethnic and national identity to their ideas about dating and the like. I had long since learned that many deportees were interested in talking to me under the misguided presumption that I could assist their return to North America. Aware of this fact, I was blunt with the participants on that first day, telling them that likely the only person who was really going to get anything out of the discussion group would be me. I explained to them that I hoped to gather information for my dissertation, and that the work would most likely be read by only a small handful of individuals, none of whom would be in a position to help them to return back to North

America, at least not in any sort of direct way. At the most, I said, I might be able to give them some information, help to answer questions about certain of the laws about repatriation, but as a scholar, would not be able to help anyone to “go home.” The group was cut by a third the next week, but even then, one of the repatriated who came to the second meeting presented me with a thick dossier insisting that I could contact “the authorities” about his case and that because he served in the US army, fighting in the Gulf War (he carried an array of impressive citations in his dossier), that I should be able to help him to go back home. When it became clear that I, true to word, really could do nothing to help him in any direct way, he too stopped attending.

At least he did not come and give me false information, however, thinking this would help his case. One informant, after numerous conversations, confided in me that in giving an interview for a major Portuguese newspaper she had made up most of what she had told the reporter, including having been knifed since she arrived. She told me, “I know they are only going to print the really bad stories, and maybe if someone sees the story about me it will help me get back.”

There were other difficulties in conducting research with a population composed of convicted criminals, many who were continuing to commit crimes during the course of my research with them. The last thing anyone committing a crime wants is someone standing around asking a lot of questions. Nonetheless, my informants were usually honest, even self-incriminating about some of their activities and the discussion that follows reflects my many promises of non-disclosure to them. In all cases, names have been changed, and the details of certain crimes, when such crimes would be easily linked back to an individual have been slightly modified or distorted, always with the intention of protecting individual anonymity.

Overall, I worked on the issue of repatriation for about 5 years, beginning when I first learned about the problem of deportation in the Azores, beginning in the summer of 1996 while in the islands visiting family. I spent the following two summers conducting pre-dissertation research in the Azores and briefly in Continental Portugal before beginning what would be almost

two years of fieldwork starting in December of 1998. I returned for some follow up work over the following year with my last formal interview on deportation in the islands taking place in April of 2001. Given that much of my field research was spent simply gaining the trust of the population with which I worked, the extended duration of the stay was essential to gathering accurate and useful information.

Studying the issue prior to beginning fieldwork proved useful, as the Presidency of the Azorean Autonomous Regional government would change parties in 1998 for the first time since the aftermath of the 25 de Abril Revolution of 1974. The change was significant as regional governmental programs intended to assist incoming deportees would transform with the power shift, as the number of repatriados sent to the archipelago would increase some five fold over the first term of newly elected Carlos César's Presidency.

As is clear from the above examples, conducting field research with this particular population presented a set of unique challenges. I was in some ways assisted by my own longstanding relationship to the islands. As one who has lived in the same communities as the deportees, and as one intimately familiar with the broader issues of Azorean transnationalism both personally and from study, I have been privileged with an experience that not only includes the insights gained as a result of my formal field research, but also from a lived experience in the neighborhoods from which the deportees have come. It is not remotely my intention to term myself a "native anthropologist" (a term that I have argued elsewhere is analytically suspect, see Moniz 1998b) and imply that I have some ethnographic authority that others might not have. If my research has at all been assisted by my background, it is only because in carrying out this particular project I have had a life-long familiarity with many of the issues faced by the repatriados as well as the broader practical and theoretical concerns into which their deportation has been inserted.

During field research, I concentrated on the major areas of deportee habitation, namely a district in Ponta Delgada, São Miguel where extensive networks of repatriated exist. I also

traveled throughout the island, to both larger cities and smaller communities to examine other areas where deportees have settled. I collected a range of demographic information—where they are from, when they came, why they settled in a certain areas; examined identity issues—the role of language, of ethnic and national self-perceptions on the ability to negotiate social interaction; explored the impact of government programs intended to help cultural transition and integration—intended results versus actual effect; and impact of the deportation on life in the islands—perceptions of Azorean residents and deported on their interaction with one another, actual relations between Azorean residents and the deported, transformations in the socio-cultural life of the islands. I also spent some time in other locations where there are repatriated Azoreans and non-Azorean Portuguese deportees.

I conducted interviews with individuals that included government officials, former government officials, social workers, Azorean residents and of course with the deportees. As an ethnographer, I utilized anthropological field research methodology, including formal and informal interviews, surveys, participant-observation, daily field notes as well as library work including research into relevant government data, and first hand accounts such as newspaper reports. This methodology provided me with a broad overview of the important issues as well as a specific understanding of the subtleties and contradictions inherent in communication and social action. Upon return to the United States I continued to collect data from the deportee's families and from other members of Azorean-American and Portuguese communities in Southeastern New England in which they had previously resided.

This study combines qualitative and quantitative research methods and documentary and ethno-historical sources to reconstruct past events. Analysis includes the use of demographic, social network and ethnographic techniques, in addition to more interpretive approaches based on comparison among individual narratives, responses and observed behavior and on situational analysis. Methodologies for generating data include surveys as well as unstructured interviews; the collection of community and individual life histories; consultation with Azorean and

Portuguese governmental officials of competing parties both prior to the deportation situation and at various stages of the government's response to it; consultation with Canadian and US governmental officials and politicians; participation in community events; participation in the government sponsored assistance center for the repatriated; participation-observation and a structured group discussion at the Azores' largest prison.

Key Informants: Key informant interviews were used to better understand categories, relationships and activities of both the repatriated and non-repatriated Azorean population along with those in transnational Azorean communities in the United States.

Life History Interviews: The format for these interviews is a combined semi-structured and open-ended format organized around a fixed set of questions, but designed to explore the inevitable (and useful) tangents that emerge. The goal was to understand migration histories of the deportees, to find patterns and consistencies among them based upon a number of categories including age at migration, length of residence prior to migration, family networks, age at deportation, crime for which deported, and a range of other useful personal data essential to an understanding of the relevant topics.

Participant Observation: Participant observation in both the marked events and quotidian picayune of the deportees' lives, of those working with them, and among Azorean residents composed a large portion of the research. As stated above, given the problematic nature of gaining trust among such a marginalized population, a substantial period of the research was related to simply gaining the trust of the deportees through general activities at the assistance center, and through teaching classes and providing information sessions there and also in the prison. Of course these activities also served as useful to my research, but did have the added benefit of presenting myself to the deportees in such a way that they could see that my motives in gathering information were not contrary to their best interests.

Archival Research: Archival research was also carried out at the University of the Azores and other libraries and archives to secure documentation relating to the historical, political and cultural issues surrounding deportation.

CHAPTER II AZOREAN TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY

Historical and contemporary constructions and considerations

The deportation of Portuguese citizens to the Azores cannot be contemplated outside of a discussion of Azorean transnational identity. It is through discourses and social processes of Azorean transnational identity that deportation is mediated both practically and conceptually in the islands. As a practical matter, those deported from North America can only be removed as a result of their status as Portuguese citizens. Their presence in North America is of course the direct result of Azorean migration processes, and the necessity of out migration as a strategy of economic adaptation for both those who left the islands assisting as well those who remained behind (see Chapin 1989, 1992; Harder 1989). Their deportation ultimately only occurs as a result of their national identity status as Portuguese citizens, albeit as documented permanent resident migrants who had been living in North America. The Canadian and US governments pay travel expenses for their removal not only to Portugal, but beyond the continent and back to the islands where almost all of the deportees were born.⁸ Conceptually, deportation fits into broader processes of: 1. the history and contemporary state of Azorean migration; 2. the historical development and contemporary uses of a sense of Azorean separatism from continental Portugal that have coalesced around the concept of *Açorianidade* (discourses used by intellectuals throughout the 20th century and politicians over the past several decades linked to emerging expressions of a distinct Azorean ethnicity and quasi-nationalism—examined in depth below); and 3. the construction and development of an Azorean transnational community, a social process

⁸ There are a small number of Portuguese citizen repatriates who were born on the Continente (rather than the Azores) who choose to come to the islands rather than return to the mainland.

construed by political operatives, by residents of the Azores, by migrant communities abroad, and even by the deportees themselves. Because of the importance of these processes in framing the reception of the criminal forced return migrants and the subsequent analysis of how deportation fits into it these adaptive processes, it is necessary to examine the development, the role, and the concepts of Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity among the population examined.

Elaborated historically as an adaptive response to specific political and economic issues, Azorean transnationalism both developed from and has worked to sustain concepts of *Açorianidade*, a politico-cultural movement emerging in the 20th century from attempts to shed the Portuguese state's colonial domination of the islands and instrumental in efforts to gain local autonomy at various historical moments—finally achieved during the period after the Portuguese 25 de Abril Revolution of 1974 when the Azores were granted a quasi-national autonomous political status. As an articulation of Açorianidade, the construction of Azorean transnational identity has been a primary tool through which a complex of economic and political ends have been met through social networks—both imagined and real—created between residents of the Azores, and the islands' (primarily) North American Diaspora communities. This construction has also penetrated the North American-born generations, among which the Azores and Azorean transnational identity are perceived as frames of reference in their quotidian lives.⁹

Azores and Portugal: Azorean vs. Portuguese articulations of identity

As noted above, migration from the Portuguese national territory to North America has taken place predominantly from the Azores.¹⁰ Even when scholars, local politicians, print and

⁹ Conducting research for a book on Azorean transnational identity, anthropologist João Leal related a story that speaks to the manner in which many identifying as Azorean-Americans view the place of the islands. In interviews with Azorean-American youth, Leal showed a map of the Atlantic that had only the outline of the coasts surrounding the ocean and was blank in the middle. He then asked his interviewees to draw the Azores on the map. The majority of his sample group indicated that the Azores were located far closer to the United States than they were to the coast of Europe or Africa, quite the opposite from the reality. Leal used this example to illustrate present conceptions of the Azores among this North American-born generation.

¹⁰ It should be mentioned this is far more of a feature of the US communities, where the total numbers of Azorean migrants overwhelm those from continental Portugal or Madeira. In Canada, there is a greater

broadcast media, and members of the communities themselves discuss the “Portuguese” migrant communities what they are for the most part referring to are migrants from the Azores.

Distinctions are made, however among migrants from continental Portugal, the Azores, Madeira and also Cape Verde—which, depending upon the historical period and political circumstances, have also been included among other “Portuguese” migrants. Given the racial discourses that surround much of Cape Verdean migration to the United States, various studies have examined how some Cape Verdeans have moved between malleable constructions of ethnic, national and racial identity—as both Portuguese and Cape Verdean—to escape stigmatization, discrimination and to advocate for group rights in both legal and extra-legal contexts (see for example Beck 1992, Greenfield 1976, Lobban 1995, Halter 1993, Ferreira 2002 and Moniz 2001). Similarly, Azoreans have also historically relied upon their status as Portuguese nationals to use identity as means to avoid stigmatization and discrimination related to ethnic and—in certain historical periods—racial categorization.¹¹ Relying upon classifications of themselves as Portuguese nationals at certain moments, while also creating a unique space for themselves as Azoreans, migrants from the islands have been able to use articulations of ethnic identity for instrumental purposes as the situation has dictated (Cabral 1989).

This dialectic between Portuguese and Azorean identities plays out in popular discourses in various ways. It is, at least, partially illustrative to compare discourses of Açorianidade, as they are articulated in constructions of transnational Azorean identity in opposition to Portugal, to the dialectic among individual articulations of national and regional identity and the broader Hispanic category as it operates in the US. As Obler discusses, identification with the Hispanic category in

percentage of continental Portuguese migration than in the US, although in some areas this has only augmented discourses of Azorean identity in opposition to that group.

¹¹ Donald Taft, as one example, in his ballyhooed 1923 Columbia University dissertation (reprinted in 1969 by the New York Times and the Arno press) examines the low level of educational attainment, the low standard of living, and the high death rate of children in Azorean communities as in part attributable to the greater degree of “Negroid blood” possessed by some of the Azoreans in the study. Leo Pap also relates how Azoreans were excluded from certain continental social clubs based on constructions of the Azoreans as ethnically and racially disparate from the continental Portuguese. It should be noted that this happened predominantly with Micaelenses, rather than those from other islands. Noivo also discusses the segregation of social clubs along Azorean/continental and Madeirense/continental lines in communities in Canada and Australia (Noivo 2003:260).

the United States is possible as a result of the muting of national, regional and local identities among those within it, in favor of the broader (and ultimately more beneficial) category (Obler 1995). J Clyde Mitchell (1966) and Elizabeth Moerman (1965, 1972) made similar points examining the way smaller group identities were muted in favor of broader definitions in Africa. The comparison to the Hispanic case, however, has its limits. Although Azorean identity will be muted when participating in the broader Portuguese category, it is often the case that when Azorean identity is articulated in migrant communities, it can exist in opposition to the Portuguese category. (A situation that occurs with less frequency among Hispanic-identified groups from a particular locale—say Puerto Rico when considering their connection to the Hispanic category). Further, Azorean identity often becomes salient as it is used to respond to both real and perceived discrimination levied at them by continental Portuguese. Although sometimes antagonistic, Azoreans however can also integrate into the broader Portuguese category even as they are able to simultaneously maintain a separate status. As will be demonstrated below, this process is part of a complex of overlapping identities that provides tangible economic and political benefits to Azoreans living in the islands.

Another part of the process that has articulations of Azorean identity situated within the broader Portuguese category as the situation provides, is how Azorean identity is articulated in transnational migrant contexts. Migrants tend to experience connections to the Azores and Portugal through locally situated identities and through a reliance upon memories of the land they left (Bianco 1992). The existence of rivalries among the islands also exists among villages within an island. When pressed, however, local village identities will give way to island identities and eventually to the level of a broader Azorean identity, at least inasmuch as the Azores are opposed to Portugal, to some other Portuguese territory or some other Portuguese speaking nation; or beyond the Lusophone sphere, in opposition to North Americans and other ethnic groups in the US and Canada. One seldom loses a village identity, however, at least in interactions with others from the home island. The old line about de Gaulle resonates with layers of Azorean identity:

“when de Gaulle says France what he means is Paris, when he says Paris what he means is de Gaulle.” Likewise, in general, when Azoreans say the Azores, they mean their home island, and when they say their home island, they usually mean their village. The implication is that Azoreans can frame interactions through multiple layers of ethnic identity as necessary, given the context and the desired outcome of the moment. It also allows Azorean transnationalism to be articulated even when the term “Portuguese” is used, because when an Azorean says Portugal, what he means is the Azores. Unless the goal is to create a broader category of Portuguese as the situation dictates, in which case being from the Azores allows for inclusion in that category too. This speaks to the specific nature of the construction of Açorianidade which provides for a separate identity apart from Portugal without necessarily having an antagonistic relationship to it—unless an antagonistic relationship is dictated by particular circumstances.

Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity: development of the concept

How Azorean identity is constructed among migrant communities—both in opposition to and as a part of broader Portuguese identity—is related to the historical development of discourses of Azorean identity in the islands. Articulations of an Azorean quasi-nationalism¹² have emerged in the promulgation of various uprisings—from spontaneous and disorganized to systematic and well-financed—that composed the *independentista* and *separatista* movements in the islands.

The current political status of the archipelago, as an autonomous territorial region of Portugal that has reserved to it certain political and economic rights that cannot be encroached upon by the state, results in a configuration in the Azores through which they are conceived as both a separate territorial entity as well as a part of the Portuguese state. In this way, the broad

¹² Given that the Azores are an autonomous region—albeit with some degree of political and economic self rule—and not a sovereign state, the term “nationalism” is somewhat problematic. Nonetheless, elements characteristic of nationalist movements in an attempt to gain sovereignty for a group have characterized the Azores relation with the mainland Portugal state, even if the compromise was not Independence but the political configuration of Autonomy that exists in the islands.

objectives of Açorianidade are more complex than the culmination of an “Azorean nationalist” movement, although this is certainly one feature of the concept. With their own President and Parliament, the Azores have local economic and political autonomy, yet still have representation in the national Parliament and voting rights at the Federal level. Nonetheless, the islands are ultimately subject to national political and juridical control. The arrangement is somewhat akin to the political arrangement between the United States and Puerto Rico, except the Azores have greater representation in the national government and European Union.¹³

The political autonomy of the Azores resulting from the 25 de Abril Portuguese Revolution was achieved as a compromise measure between competing interests among those seeking status for the archipelago as an independent nation (as had been done in Cabo Verde, Mozambique, Angola and other Portuguese overseas territorial possessions) and those who sought to keep the archipelago within the centralized government of the Portuguese State. First approved by the Constitutional Assembly in 1976, the text outlining Azorean Autonomy was formally approved in 1980 by the Assembly of the Republic in Section VII of the Portuguese Constitution. Although the debates over independence and autonomy took place within the open political environment in the period after the overthrow of the Dictatorship through the Portuguese Revolution of the 25th of April, the issues fomenting Autonomy were not new.

Historical underpinnings of Azorean transnational identity: repeating themes

Although the sense of a separate cultural identity from Portugal emerged in force in the Azores during the 20th century, the role of history and historical reconstruction in the development of a separate insular identity goes far beyond the mere use of island history and the unique nature of island life in colloquial expressions of distinctiveness. Practical political and economic repercussions shaped the relationship between the archipelago and the polity it was

¹³ See also similar political configurations between Curacao and Holland, and the Canary Islands and Spain.

settled to support. Yet, in constructions of Açorianidade emerging throughout the 20th century and the sense of a historical, political and economic marginalization to the continental authority, what is more important in the development and articulation of the concept is less the historical fact of conflict (or presumed conflict) and more so how historical reconstructions have been treated by scholars, intellectuals and those with a vested economic interest in the islands to foment and construct discourses of separation. There is an important analytical distinction to be made between the facts of history and how those facts are interpreted, utilized, ignored, or emphasized in the construction of a narrative around which in-group categorical identity coalesces. In discussing constructions of the separate sense of Azorean identity and the emergence of Açorianidade processes throughout the 20th century (first as a literary and cultural concept, and then later as a political concept) this distinction is relevant and useful. The analytical distinction to be made is between Azores/continental Portugal relations as a historical and political phenomenon on the one hand; and how history is conceived and historical reconstructions utilized by those in the process of articulating a distinct sense of Azorean identity (and how this category is used in political power processes) on the other.

The complex political dynamic between the Azores and continental Portugal that found the archipelago politically and economically marginalized vis-à-vis the mainland government and led to Azorean autonomy has been traced by historians, in literature and by other intellectuals to as early as the islands' 15th century discovery and settlement.¹⁴ In this period, local powers and mechanisms of control in the islands were established in the islands that had local authority, but were ultimately responsible to the Portuguese crown. This set up a tension that has existed ever since between what is in the best interests of the islands' resident population and the Azores' role

¹⁴ This historical outline was drawn from a variety first hand and review resources: Aires 1982; Amaral 1992a, 1992b; Arruda 1977; Ashe 1813; Brazão 1957; Chagas 1989; Coates 1993; A. Cordeiro 1981; C. Cordeiro 1998, 1994, 1992; da Costa 1978; dos Santos 1989; Diffie and Winius 1977; Duncan 1972; Frutuoso 1988; Guill 1993, 1972, 1953; Mendonça 1996; Meneses 1995, 1994, 1993, 1987; Moniz 1999; Monje 1992; Mont'Alverne 1962, 1961, 1960; Oliveira Marques 1976; Prestage 1966; Quinn 1979; Raleigh et al 1966; Reis Leite 1988, 1987; Reynolds 1976; Russell-Wood 1998; Symcox 1976; Vieira 1992; Wright 1880.

within the greater Portuguese state. The local powers installed by the regent were given wide birth in exercising their control over the islands' population, in law, in land distribution and in economic initiatives, but were ultimately responsible and beholden to the needs of far away Lisbon (Bethencourt 2000). Much of this tension derived from the Azores' early colonization, which was never carried out with the objective of settling a population in the service of demographic expansion nor in support of the exploration of natural resources. Rather, the Azores settlement was intended to create a population on the geo-strategically necessary mid-Atlantic archipelago that would support the objectives of the Portuguese navigation and maritime commercial enterprises. This attitude toward the islands adopted by the Crown from the beginning—that the Azores and their population would serve practical political and economic initiatives of continental Portugal—has subsequently re-emerged in varying degrees over the 500 years since, shaping, in part, the islands' relations with mainland Portugal; and through discourses around and interpretations of this history by scholars, intellectuals and ultimately politicians, has had implications for the construction of Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity.

The feudal structure of the administrative system first imposed in the islands—through which the Crown regent imposed various Captains Donatary to control the islands—led in direct ways to this historical tension between continental and local interests. In principle some measures, such as capital punishment, required the approval of the sovereign, but, because the islands were so isolated from the center of Portuguese power, and even from one another, the Captain-Donatary was truly the law supreme on each island. Re-emerging from time to time in Azorean revolts and pushes for greater local control were the particulars of the Captains-Donatary system, as Captains had to strike a peculiar balance between their loyalty to their far-removed (continental) liege lord, the objectives of support to the Portuguese trade—of which even they saw few personal rewards—and the reality of daily life isolated in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean (Amaral: 1992b).

Beyond the administrative system, the subordinate status of the Azorean economy to that of the mainland often led to conflicts between the Azores and the far off Portuguese power. Another factor in developing conflicts was that survival in the Azores was dependent upon subsistence crops and some minor export products, however, for centuries, the archipelago's primary role was to re-provision ships traversing the Atlantic. As a result, goods exported tended to reflect continental needs; and forced to produce whatever single crop the Crown desired during a particular period left the islands vulnerable when the monoculture failed. Further, the islands' political status left them subordinate to a Portuguese authority that controlled the avenues to international markets for Azorean products (Duncan 1972, V. Mota 1991).¹⁵

Coming to full force during the 20th century, divergent political interests between the mainland and the islands have also led to antagonism, and have worked to shape insular constructions of identity, both in historical fact and in their uses in discourses of separation. Emerging articulations of Azorean nationalism in the early part of the century, for example fomented action by the Portuguese Dictator, as his Parliament approved a law in which it was stressed that it would be "contrary to the public good" to foster "the disintegration of the state", a decree intended to promote Portugal's attempts to maintain control over the far off archipelago.

A major factor shaping emerging articulations of Azorean nationalism existed as a result of the Azores geo-strategic position, which the Portuguese state has manipulated to improve its own international political position (Kenneth Maxwell 1991 and personal communication 2001; Monje 1992). During the 20th century, in large part as a result of the two World Wars¹⁶, the onset of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States and competing political

¹⁵ In a 1562 protest to the Monarchy for example, Azoreans complained that at times of shortage, cultivating wheat for export to the mainland left the islanders without enough wheat to take care of their own needs.

¹⁶ The islands served as a base of operations protecting Atlantic shipping from U-boat operations in World War I. Given the necessity to protect shipping during World War II, Roosevelt and Churchill considered annexing the Azores at several points to prevent the Germans from taking them, including in May of 1941 several months before Pearl Harbor (Stevens 1992).

needs and interests among NATO allies, the Azores were often used by the dictatorship to solidify its overseas colonial empire in Africa and Asia, and its own geo-strategic position in Europe. To this end, the Azores have been offered to Britain, France, NATO, and predominantly the US for various temporary and permanent military installations throughout the 20th century. The United States has maintained a continuous military presence in the islands since World War II with a prominent Air Force base at Lajes, which forms the point leg of the Eastern Seaboard defense triangle.¹⁷ Although numerous Azoreans work at the base and servicemen participate in the local economy, in addition to the base providing a key factor in promoting the sense of a “special relationship” between Azoreans and the United States—used as well in the constructions of the Azorean transnational connection to North America—continental Portugal tends to reap the direct benefits from the installation in terms of economic and military resources and geopolitical influence.

The Azorean Autonomous Movements of the 1890s and 1970s

Various revolts over the course of Azorean history have taken place in protest over mainland Portuguese policies in the archipelago. Two large scale movements—one occurring in the late 19th Century and the other taking place after the Portuguese revolution of 1975—however, worked to promote among certain groups of Azoreans the concept of an Azorean identity separate from the mainland. These movements and the use of history by scholars, intellectuals and business interests, have had direct implications for the instrumental construction of Azorean identity; and on the particular political configuration of power that resulted from the 1970s autonomous/independence movement, features that form part of the landscape in which deported Portuguese citizens are received in the archipelago.

¹⁷ Portugal has always allowed the base to be used for out of NATO conflicts, as, for example, when US planes supporting Israel in the 6 days war flew out of Lajes after NATO nations declined to provide fly-over rights to the Americans.

Historians point to an ebb and flow in Azorean political and economic interests in the Azores that have intermittently caused confrontations with the continental authority as local control over insular affairs has fluctuated. The Pombaline reforms of 1766, for example, aimed to re-establish Portuguese control and influence in regional and global commerce after a loosening of restrictions in the period after the Castilian dominion of the islands over the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁸

In another example, the mid 19th century was a period of great investment in infrastructure, public works and internal communications in continental Portugal, yet little of this reached the Azores and the other Portuguese insular territories (de Matos 1980, João 1991, Cordeiro 1992). Furthermore, the lack of continental support for educational initiatives (in 1891 there was an eighty-two per cent illiteracy rate in the islands), the lack of an adequate and fair justice system, social welfare and public health initiatives, as well as the development of ports and structures necessary for the growth of insular commerce, instilled a feeling of isolation and second-class status vis-à-vis the continent among many Azoreans, in particular the Micaelenses. During this period, for example, most internal public work projects and infrastructural initiatives were undertaken by private citizens. Intellectuals and business interests writing about the period at the time, and those creating historical narratives later, point to a feeling of isolation and the continuing sense of a long existing subjugation in which profits derived through the Azores were enjoyed by Portugal without the continental authority sharing any responsibility for the islands' internal development as responsible for the autonomous movement in the 1890s.¹⁹

¹⁸ Azorean support of the Liberal revolt of 1820 led to a greater degree of autonomy once Dom Pedro gained control of the monarchy, power that was only ceded back to the centralized authority upon Dom Pedro's death.

¹⁹ For an extensive examination of the 1890s and earlier autonomous movements and their repercussions than is treated in this cursory summary see *Açorianidade e autonomia: páginas escolhidas* 1989; Andrade 1996; Cordeiro 1998, 1994, 1992; *Editoriais do jornal 'Autonomia dos Açores' 1894-1895*, Os 1996; João 1991; Miranda 1996; Mont'Alverne de Sequeira 1994 (1894); Moreira da Motta 1994 (1905); Reis Leite 1995, 1994, 1987; Riley da Motta 1995—all works that informed the analysis treated in this section.

After minor revolts in the 1840s and 1869, local municipal authorities gained a limited degree of control in their internal affairs, but a series of political and administrative decisions imposed by Lisbon in the late 19th century had the effect of decreasing Azorean economic power. During this period, the Lisbon monarchy cited what were perceived as contentious economic rationale in an attempt to abolish the High Court in the Azores. If they had been successful, this would have effectively removed all juridical decisions from local powers and placed them under the auspices of the mainland (Cordeiro 1992). In 1892, Lisbon abolished the local municipal governments and confiscated the revenue, which had been used for public works and cultural institutions such as museums.

There was, however, a final blow against business interests that has been cited as a cause fomenting an organized response to the continental administrative powers. The Azores had become increasingly dependent on alcohol production as its primary source of export revenue. When the Portuguese Minister approved a special law that created a Portuguese monopoly over the alcohol industry, it allowed for Azorean factories to be expropriated and Azorean alcohol to be sold abroad at prices set by Lisbon, rather than by those who produced it. The press objected strenuously against what many islanders saw as an unjust measure. The effective arguments rallied a population that had felt subordinate to an overseas power little concerned with their well-being. Political leaders, journalists and intellectuals gathered to create a committee to defend the interests of the Azores, establishing a movement that would argue for a measure of Azorean political autonomy. The committee enumerated what it felt were the major problems within the Azores administrative structure and presented a redress of grievances to Lisbon.

It is important to note that unlike the later autonomous movement, which occurred after the Portuguese 25 de Abril Revolution of 1974, the 1890s movement was primarily concerned with loosening the centralized administrative control of the mainland and achieving a greater degree of bureaucratic control in the islands' economic and administrative affairs, rather than entirely developing distinct and independent institutions of political power. Nonetheless, the

process directly articulated the sense that the Azores' interests and continental interests were potentially antagonistic, and although the 1890s movement did not explicitly frame their revolt around Açorianidade, this was a major theme of the later autonomous movement. Newspapers were founded with the express goal of gaining administrative autonomy and coalitions were formed among previously competing interests, which were now united under the goal of autonomy. Azorean Deputy Aristides da Mota, who won the election on an autonomy platform, presented the Parliament with a decentralization project, aimed at gaining general autonomy in the Azores.

Recurring in the history of overlapping and competing senses of Azorean identity, it is often the case that islanders sense a threat to their particular local interests as a result of some policy by the mainland, by framing the interaction as a continental threat on Azorean initiatives. There are some exceptions to this. In the case of São Miguel, for example, which is the largest island geographically and population wise, and possesses the most robust and diverse economy, antagonisms between it and the rest of the archipelago can be prominent. Yet, when the interests of the island are challenged from sectors outside of the archipelago, one strategy adopted by Azoreans is to advocate for their interests as a unified bloc. This points to the particular mechanisms of insular identity processes in the service of political needs.

Post 25 de Abril Autonomous and Independence movement

The early 20th century saw gains that had been made toward Azorean autonomy gradually eroded. With the 1910 Proclamation of the Republic, the Lisbon government had already begun to slowly remove local administrative and financial control of the islands in favor of increased centralization. The disintegration of the Republican Party in Portugal, due to fierce political battles and nagging economic problems within the nation after the First World War, led to the 1926 military coup that would make António de Oliveira Salazar Prime Minister and effective dictator of Portugal for half of the century. Salazar was to introduce and maintain a fascist regime

that he passed on in 1968 to his successor Marcelo Caetano, who would remain in power until the dictatorship was overthrown in 1974. When Salazar was given control to reform the economy, first as Minister of Finance in 1928, then as Prime Minister in 1932, insular Portugal became ever more subordinate to the whims of the mainland.

In the beginning of the Salazar dictatorship, the Azoreans faced troubling economic times and a continental government not only indifferent to such problems but predicated upon austere economic measures. During the *Estado Novo*, the only large-scale action undertaken by the Azoreans to better their economic condition was to migrate to North America. This survival strategy would do much to solidify the transnational Azorean community and as will be demonstrated in detail below, the relation among migrant communities and those in the islands are central to both state and individual strategies maximizing political and economic power.

The pro-independence movement in the Azores took place against the backdrop of the year-and-a-half-long power struggle on the Continente after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 between elements of the left, which had been jockeying for power in the post-coup leadership vacuum as the new government took shape. As the far left gained the political advantage on the mainland, the Azorean population had responded to the rise of the left in the archipelago in a manner divergent from that on much of the continent. Voting statistics from the April 25, 1975 election that put Mario Soares and the Socialist Party into power are telling. PS candidates received a clear victory in the national vote tally, with 39.7% of the total vote—the closest vote winner to the PS was the center-right PPD, which carried 26.4% of the total vote. In the Portuguese Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, the PPD however received more than 50% of the vote. Conversely, in only one voting district in all of the mainland did PPD receive more than 50% of the vote (Gallagher 1983:214).

A number of factors contributed to this voting pattern and speak directly to the constructions of Azorean transnational identity that emerged in the ensuing decades. In the year prior to (and continuing after) the vote, the Azores had seen the development of a pro-

independence movement that found much of its organizational strength among a group of Azoreans who had previously migrated to the United States. Pro-independence and anti-Communist factions in the Azores who feared domination by the rising left in continental Portugal were in part, concerned that if the nation became a communist bloc country they would lose their ability to visit and remain in contact with their families in North America. Given that at points during the 20th century there have been more Azorean-born individuals living in the United States and Canada than there have been in the Azores themselves, this was a substantial consideration. Some Azoreans, made increasingly aware of Portuguese national policy due to their conscription by the state to fight in the colonial wars, were also angry that the political developments in the continent were once again evolving in such a way that subjugated the interests of the islanders. Although they had been conscripted to fight for the Portuguese army in the independence wars of the African colonies, many Azoreans saw themselves in much the same position—as outsiders from a subjugated territory—as those against whom they fought in Guinea-Bissau, Cabo Verde, Mozambique and Angola.²⁰ Of course many Azoreans were also squarely on the side of the Portuguese fight to maintain its overseas colonial possessions, demonstrating the rifts between those advocating for insular interests as separate from the interests of the continental power and those who sought to enfold the archipelago's politics within that of the greater state.

With the fear of an impending leftist takeover in Portugal that would subsume the Azores within the communist bloc, and as the former Portuguese African territories one-by-one claimed and then gained their own independence with the negotiated withdrawal of the Portuguese troops, Azorean sentiments of auto-determination became heightened. The consolidation of power on the

²⁰See for example Azorean author José Martins Garcia's work *Lugar de Massacre* (1996, 3rd ed.) the first novel about the Portuguese colonial wars in Africa, set in Guinea-Bissau. Álamó Oliveira, an Azorean who was conscripted to fight on the side of the Portuguese Army against the independence seeking Portuguese African colonies for two years, also writes eloquently of this dynamic in the novel *Até hoje (memórias de cão)* (1988). The work demonstrates the empathy of the narrator as he questions what an Azorean is doing fighting for an Empire to which he feels he does not belong and whose enemy he does not recognize as his.

left, coupled with the range of predominantly urban-based social reforms instituted by the leftist MFA and PCP ministers, only led to the intensification of the anti-leftist sentiments after the vote. “Anti-leftist” is used here rather than right wing, as the coalition of *Independentistas* and *Autonomistas* that formed to argue for insular interests are not so easily classifiable along a left-right political axis—despite frequent attempts to categorize them in just that manner by various politicians and historians.

Azorean participation in protest, insurgency and riot activity demonstrate clearly the difficulty in placing the Autonomy movement neatly on such a political axis. On June 6, 1975, for example, some 30,000 protesters took to the streets on São Miguel in a challenge against the continental Portuguese leftist military rulers. The protesters, composed in large part of small-scale farmers, forced the Governor of São Miguel to resign when they took over a radio station and blockaded the island’s airport (Hunt 1976:110; Gallagher 1983:219). The 30,000 person protest (a little more than a quarter of the population of the entire island) would mark the beginning of a long hot period of demonstrations, riots, targeted bombings, skirmishes and general civil unrest in the Azores conducted in large-part by farmers that would eventually culminate in compromises toward funding and a political re-organization of the Azores before the inevitability of self-rule led to changes in the Portuguese Constitution granting political and economic autonomy to the Azores (along with Madeira).

Much of the impetus for the *Independentista* movement was organized and mounted by the *Frente de Liberação Açoriana* (FLA—Azorean Liberation Front). Led by a migrant to the US who was a former parliamentary deputy in Portugal, José de Almeida, and run in large part out of the Azorean community of Fall River, Massachusetts, the FLA held an active political and paramilitary role in advocating for Azorean independence. The FLA distributed flyers, conducted radio broadcasts and published its own newspaper, *O Milhafre*. Among its protest activities to the continental government, the FLA directly pointed to the Lajes NATO air base that was administered by the US, charging that Lisbon was taking all of the money and political advantage

for the use of the base, yet little money for capital investment or political benefit accrued to the Azores for infrastructure improvement, education and other services (Hunt 1978:110).

The FLA was also involved in riot and protest activity, as the FLA had clashes with Portuguese troops and was responsible for the organization of various riots on São Miguel. When the Portuguese Education Minister came to the islands for the inauguration of the Azorean University, in one large-scale action of civil dissent, an FLA demonstration of several thousand protesters disrupted the plane's landing, before attempting to hold the Minister hostage (Hunt 1976:137-38). General protest activity, bombings, and riots were also organized and carried out by the FLA during this period.

Although the FLA was certainly right-of-center in its political organization, as evident in the broad participation of other sectors of the population, it would be erroneous to accept the analysis of some scholars and politicians that the Azorean putsch for independence was merely a right wing reaction to the fear that leftists in power in the continent would encroach on their entrenchment in the islands. It is true that many of those advocating for independence were conservative, were pro-dictatorship era African colonial policy, and were a wealthy lot of landowners who feared losing power and position through the left wing takeover (see analysis in Gallagher 1983:219-20 as one example of this kind). With some frequency, the FLA and others advocating for Azorean independence have been depicted as members of a large land-holding and cattle raising elite who feared "they would lose their privileges" by political changes in Portugal and were polemically characterized by the Portuguese Sec. of State for Foreign Affairs during the period as "savage exploiters of labor." In the same interview, the Portuguese Sec. of State also said, "the goals of these individuals were not indicative of the sentiments of most Azoreans, but rather "only tolerated as a result of a general fear of a communist takeover in the islands (Portuguese Sec. of State for Foreign affairs José Medeiros Ferreira, cited in Howe 1976).

Secretary Medeiros Ferreira was not entirely off the mark in his comments, as much of the *Independentista* movement was indeed fueled by the fear of a communist takeover in the

archipelago and many ardent supporters of independence were in fact wealthy businessmen and traditional members of the landed class. Yet the factions advocating for independence and autonomy (including but not limited to the FLA) composed a far wider and far more complex group than is indicated in these kinds of characterizations and analyses. Poll statistics reported in 1976 in the *New York Times*, stated that a total of 63 percent of Azoreans were in favor of some degree of separation from the Portuguese state whether the shape of that separation be some form of complete secession and independence or a compromise political autonomy within the greater state. Among those advocating for some form of separation between the Azores and Portugal, more than 70% favored outright independence (nearly half, 45%, of the entire population) (Hunt 1976:138).

Such figures suggest that there was a far more diverse cross-section of Azorean society in favor of independence than is commonly suggested in analyses of this period. Those arguing for some form of separation with the status quo did indeed include conservative, landed aristocrats and business interests who feared a direct threat to their power with the ascension of the left in the mainland. But the movement also included intellectuals and politicians and others who had experienced first hand the oppression of Azorean interests—political, intellectual and economic—as a result of the archipelago's subordinate status to the mainland under the Salazar and Caetano dictatorships.

Further, one of the more vocal and active groups among the *Independentista* and *Autonomista* movements were a class of small scale land holding farmers who were not represented by the reforms instituted by the new Portuguese national government. Much of the backlash to the policies instituted by the Ministers in the Portuguese ruling party after the revolution (the MFA) developed out of the urban vs. rural rift in which many of the reforms favored metropolitan and urban areas over rural farming areas. Reforms affecting the formation of trade unions, shorter working hours and wage increases for example were by their essence oriented to the urban worker (Gallagher 1983:220). Reforms that would benefit the urban worker,

but had little to do with the problems of the small farmer in the hinterland, did little to resonate with the small-scale land holding farmers in the islands that comprised at the time nearly the entire Azorean agrarian sector.

The entrenched social adaptations of Azoreans were another factor that also cannot be discounted. With a social structure that had developed along some 500 years, help societies and mutual aid organizations among individual communities had become an integral part of Azorean social and cultural life. Further, land owning patterns in the Azores were rooted in deep traditions as far back as the Donatary system and the presence of such a large number of small scale land holding farmers, gave Azoreans little sense that the dramatic and sweeping social changes in far off Lisbon would or even could be beneficial to the far-off archipelago.²¹ One such socially conservative group that formed a particularly vocal segment of the *Independentista* movement, was an impoverished and landless class of peasants on São Miguel, the “savagely exploited” labor class referred to in the *New York Times*. Yet as a group, this landless peasant labor class comprised among the more ardent supporters of independence and separation for the Azores. Given that the Communist Party and the leftist elements within the MFA had sought reforms that would be beneficial to landless peasants (albeit with an emphasis on urban centered reforms) it would appear counterintuitive that they would join in a coalition that included the far-right landed gentry and the business class responsible (according to Portuguese government rhetoric) for their very exploitation. That they were exploited by this class (in the terminology of Marxian class

²¹ A field work experience from 1995 is telling. Speaking to a small land holding farmer typical to the Azores (who owned about 40 head of dairy cows and two bulls, and who worked the herd himself with the assistance of one son and one wage earning part time employee), I found that he owned four or five plots of land, each one of the plots sufficiently large enough for the grazing of all of his cows. None of the plots was contiguous however, but were spread over about a three kilometer area with another plot some 8 kilometers away. He and his son would expend much time walking the cows from one plot to another as the grass was grazed over. I asked him about cooperative farms, in which he might share land with neighboring farmers (who also owned a similar patchwork spread-out conglomeration of plots) and was met with a befuddled look. Why, I was asked, would anyone want to give up his lands? He told me that the land had been in his family for a long time and that his sons would take them over when he retired. Although milk cooperatives do exist in the Azores, for the most part they operate at the level of processing for market and distribution rather than at the level of production. Cooperatives to process milk for the market do not require that land be shared.

theory) is undeniable. How then did this not translate into an acceptance of the reforms instituted by the Portuguese government?

This apparently counterintuitive dynamic presents an interesting example of how competing pressures worked to foment an emerging sense of national identity among the marginalized populations of the Azores. Azoreans in this class were driven far more by social structures related to traditional adaptive strategies for economic well-being than they were with political rhetoric and action by the left to advocate for the plight of the landless and impoverished. Azorean society is nothing if it is not rigidly religious. Religion may well be a problem in attempting to raise class consciousness, but in the islands, religion has a much broader role than as narcotic (as the metaphor goes) and is deeply integrated into political, social and economic spheres of Azorean life (Almeida 1980, 1997; Salvador 1981; Cabral 1989, Leal 1994; Moniz 1997, 2000; Nemésio 1998; Pettis 1996). Through the locally manifested seasonal feast and festival cycles and through annual religious and socio-religious events, socio-cultural aspects of religion in the Azores serve important economic and political functions in the shaping of social relations in the islands, are essential at the level of community interactions, and have traditionally been a part of a system of social interdependence pertaining to the communities in which the feasts are held.

Working through the community integrative structures embedded in the economic and socio-cultural aspects of religion, the impoverished classes have utilized religion as an adaptive strategy for survival and well-being. It has been through the structure of religious practices that money comes to the islands from migrant communities, that money moves around an island from village to village, and that money moves among classes in an adaptive cycle of wealth redistribution. In understanding how a landless peasant class could be so opposed to the Communists, the left, or the center-left in State politics, even despite the reforms that only stood to benefit them as a class, one cannot discount the near fundamentalist fervor with which this class of Azoreans, specifically the majority Micaelense population, practice religion—a practice

that is all the more deeply rooted when one considers the important economic role that the socio-cultural aspects of religion traditionally have played among the rural villages of the islands.

Among this landless peasant class it was understood that the rise of the left would be accompanied by a concomitant anti-religious stance. This had clear cultural implications to the devout practitioners of Azorean Catholicism, who feared that unless they opposed the continental power and advocated for independence they would lose their ability to worship (Almeida 1997). For these landless Azoreans, however, the impression was that the rise of communism would have a directly negative implication at the economic level—ironically the very level at which the socialist and communist program was by its nature intended to appeal to them. This was the case because of the prominent role that socio-religious practices have traditionally played (and yet play) in assisting the landless impoverished in the Azores to subsist in the harsh and isolated conditions in the mid-Atlantic through wealth redistribution and community integration. The long tradition of migration as economic adaptation for the lower classes is yet another factor to be considered when understanding how the landless impoverished (and other poorer classes) perceived that their best interest rested in the emergence of a nationalist (Azorean) consciousness rather than a class consciousness.

As was the case with the socio-cultural structures surrounding religion, Azorean migration networks also worked to turn the poor against communism and toward a separation from the Portuguese state. Many Azoreans greatly feared that Portugal's entrance into the communist bloc would have a restrictive effect on out and return migration. Given the substantial number of family members and community members in North America, there was indeed—well founded or not—much anxiety that migration out of the archipelago to North America would be restricted as migration had been restricted in Cuba following Castro's coup. Losing contact with migrant family living abroad would have economic consequences as well as personal consequences, from the loss of substantial amounts of money both sent and brought back to the islands from returning migrants from North America, either in the form of seasonal tourism,

money sent directly as a remittance back to one's family, or for long term return-migration upon retiring after having lived in North America for a number of years. Families in the United States and Canada are also important links out of the islands. When harsh economic times in the archipelago called for family members to migrate to North America as part of broader adaptive economic work strategies, family members in the Americas would find jobs for migrants, providing them with housing and helping them to navigate through cultural and linguistic differences between their pre and post migrant communities. Further, given the legal preferences in Canadian and US migration laws that favored entering migrants who already had family residing in each country, maintaining bonds among transnational kin networks were all the more important.

Although the Azores had of course been part of the Portuguese state for most of a half millennium, among the lower and working classes in the islands, their daily interaction and understanding of life in North America was far greater than it was with continental Portugal. Novelist Salman Rushdie has said that New Delhi is far closer to London in many respects than it is to some rural Indian village a few kilometers outside the city. The same can be said of the Azores in relation to its conceptual proximity to its Diaspora communities in North America when comparing the practical distance to the mainland. In 1974 it would have been as difficult to find an Azorean among the lower and middle classes (small scale land holding farmers included) without close family relations (a brother, an uncle, a daughter, a mother) in North America, as it would be to find someone *with* close family relations in the continent. Almeida uses a pyramid metaphor when describing the traditional connection among various classes to either North America or to Portugal and Europe in which the bottom of the pyramid (its broader, wider side) represents the lower and middle classes and faces North America as the smaller point, representing the upper classes, points to continental Portugal (Almeida 1980). Although the angle the pyramid faces may have shifted somewhat with Portugal's entry into the European Union, the

image it creates—pointing to the importance and regularity of social contacts outside of the Azores with North America—in the aftermath of the Revolution is yet characteristic.

At the base of this is an undercurrent among those in the Azores of a deep-rooted if latent anti-continental Portugal sentiment that transcends other categories including socio-economic status and (generally) political viewpoint. It is a situation that yet presents practical political problems for a contemporary class of socialist leaning but pro-Azores intellectuals and politicians who wrestle with the problem of accepting the Portuguese socialist state program, while advocating for the rights of Azoreans within that state (See Freitas 1999 as one example). That there was a significant number of *Independentistas* who were opposed to the emerging regime in continental Portugal along purely political and ideological lines is certain, but when considering the diverse demographic makeup of the majority group of Azoreans that favored some form of political separation with the Portuguese state, along with the divergent issues at stake, the picture becomes somewhat less clear-cut. As demonstrated, one large feature shaping this dynamic of support for separation was due to the Azoreans' desire to maintain the transnational construction of Azorean identity that linked those in the islands with the North American migrant communities.

US political interests and Azorean transnational identity

Geopolitical interests of the United States also contributed to this process shaping Azorean transnational identity. Worried about the communist take-over in Portugal, the Ford administration reacted by encouraging the existing push for Azorean independence among migrant communities, even as it helped to promote an interest in Azorean independence among them. President Ford had put out feelers to understand the possible political ramifications to Azorean independence among the leaders of Europe, when, according to the German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Ford queried him in May of 1975 during a discussion of NATO security “how would Europeans react if the Azores seceded from Portugal and declared their independence?”

(Schmidt 1989:168). Given the Azores connection through migrant communities living in North America and US military control of the islands assured as a result of Lajes, an independent Azores, would have fallen into the US sphere of influence. Indeed preparations had been made by Kissinger to annex the Azores, but these plans were put on hold as the US waited to see how the situation in Portugal would develop.

The Ford administration seemed determined to ensure that no matter what happened on the continent, the Azores would yet remain within the US sphere of influence. The US (through CIA activities) was both actively and indirectly involved in supporting the independence cause among the Azorean-American communities interacting directly with local Azorean businessmen and FLA leaders living in the US. Much of the organization for the Azorean independence movement came from the Southeastern New England Azorean communities, including a group of Azorean nationalists, pro-business groups and the FLA's leader Jose de Almeida, who had gone into self-exile in Massachusetts to organize FLA activities from abroad and to gain the support of other Azoreans in the US for the cause. During this period, the FLA had discussions with US officials over the independence of the Azores given the prospects of the far left remaining in power (Harvey 1978:75).

The open US support of the FLA made the continental authority and the Portuguese military suspect of the US' motives in the islands (Magalhães et al 1993:75). By supporting the independence of the Azores, rather than its annexation, the US had taken a less controversial political tack to advocate for its security interests. With an internal drive for independence coming from the Azoreans themselves, rather than their annexation, the US would appear as an observer to history as much as the rest of the world and criticism levied against the US for having imperialist or expansionist ambitions could be denied.²² Of course once independent, the archipelago's small size and lack of financial resources would have left the Azores with little

²² Helmut Schmidt told Ford that direct US intervention in the Azores "would not be justified in the eyes of Western Europe" (Schmidt 1989:168).

recourse but to be economically and politically dependent upon the United States, which would easily draw the new nation into the American sphere of influence.

The Azores important geo-strategic position had ramifications for the construction of Azorean transnational identity as the US government participated in supporting and fomenting conceptions of Açorianidade among local migrant communities. The fallout of the policies worked to support and further promote conceptions of transnational Azorean identity and the link between the migrant communities living abroad and those in the islands themselves. Activities in this area were not limited to the migrant communities alone, as CIA operatives were also present in the islands working to stir up nationalist sentiments among the Azoreans there.

Oftentimes the attempt to promote Azorean nationalist sentiment was itself a transnational endeavor. Working in both the Azores and among the migrant communities, the CIA in cahoots with the Catholic Church worked to encourage support for the initiation of a Catholic University in the islands, which until 1976 was without a University level institution. Partly an attempt at appeasement, partly the initiative of intellectuals in the Azores themselves, a government-sponsored non-sectarian University was founded in 1976. Attempting to found a sympathetic institution before the government funded University had been created, the CIA, however, worked with the FLA and other pro-independence groups including the Catholic Church to garner support among migrant Azorean intellectuals in the communities in the hope of working through them to create connections with other educators in the US to support the Catholic University. As certain migrant intellectuals spread the word of the CIA's involvement in the plan, the impetus for the Catholic University faltered (Onésimo Almeida, personal communication, 2000). Despite the failure of the University initiative, this example is yet another instance reflecting the importance of North American Azoreans living in the US in attempts to gain influence among those living in the islands.

Azorean Migration patterns

The reception of the criminal forced return migrants in the Azores has been directly influenced by the survival patterns adopted by Azoreans—evident in historical and contemporary configurations of power enumerated throughout this section. A separate sense of Azorean identity has clearly emerged in the islands at those moments when insular interests have been challenged and subjugated by the mainland authority. The nature of this reception treated in this dissertation is the subject of subsequent chapters, but it has been necessary to sketch the outline of the political and economic relations between the mainland and the archipelago to demonstrate the importance of a separate sense of Azorean identity in the islands' advocacy for those interests.

Another essential aspect of the construction of a separate sense of Azorean identity is how the migration of Azoreans to North America has been framed with the emergence of a transnational Azorean community that has served practical political and economic ends for those on both sides of the Diaspora. The separate construction of Azorean identity and the emergence of the Azorean transnational community is ultimately challenged by the presence of North American deportees in the islands.

Although in depth field research on the deportees was conducted primarily in the Azores themselves, and the analysis of their reception is at the heart of this dissertation, the following thumbnail sketch of the migrant communities from which they came is intended to provide a contour of the migration history of the deportees and the political, historical and cultural milieu in which they were situated prior to their forced return migration. Although some of the forced return migrants did reside in rural areas in North America prior to their deportation the vast majority of them lived in the poorer neighborhoods of urban and semi-urban areas of Azorean and Portuguese settlement in and around New Bedford, Fall River, and Cambridge Massachusetts, and Providence Rhode Island in the United States; and Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Vancouver in Canada. Although social conditions fluctuate widely among Azorean Diaspora communities as socio-economic status also varies, nearly every deportee that I

interviewed received some social services assistance at some point in his or her life, or was at least eligible for it.

Migration has been such that over the course of the 20th century there have been points where there have been far more Azorean-born migrants living outside of the archipelago, predominantly in North America, than living in it. As Azorean constructions of transnational identity include both those born in the Azores along with “Azoreans” born abroad, there are currently a vastly greater number of Azoreans and Azorean-North Americans residing outside of the islands than reside in them. The impetus for significant out-migration from the islands beginning in the 18th century and continuing to the present, has taken place in response to local environmental conditions, as the occurrence of frequent natural disasters—volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, flooding, destruction of crops—has forced the population to migrate in order to survive; and as the result of both local and state level political and economic considerations, from the Portuguese authority’s disastrous economic policies which frequently resulted in the decimation of the local Azorean economy, as well as other colonial expansionist policies that encouraged out migration to either shift populations among the Empire as it served the Crown’s goals or, during the fascist dictatorship depressed the economy to such a great extent or made life so oppressive that out migration was the only option for escape.

Other populations of Azoreans have migrated to continental Portugal, as well as to other insular territories and to the former African colonies, but the majority of Azoreans living abroad settled in North America. Although Portuguese populations in the Americas include other Atlantic islanders from Madeira and Cape Verde, as well as continental Portugal, the overwhelming majority has come from the Azores. Most Azorean out migration has occurred from 1880 to the present day, with communities settling over the course of this period in the continental United States, Hawaii, Canada, Bermuda, Brazil, Lusophone Africa and continental Portugal. The first large-scale migrations from the islands however took place in the 18th century when the Portuguese sought to populate the south of Brazil in an attempt to lay claim to territories

and solidify borders with the Spanish in South Americas. Differing interpretations of boundary demarcations from the 1494 Treaty of Tordesilhas, were frequently resolved based upon the demonstration of population settlement in these disputed areas. The Portuguese Crown therefore needed to populate the southern region of Brazil in order to lay claim to a territory mutually claimed by the Spanish. To accomplish this, the Portuguese sponsored the migration of thousands of married couples to the region from the Azores in the mid-1700s (Weiderspahn 1979).

Although various features of Azorean cultural life brought to Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul—including aspects of socio-religious *festas* held in the islands—have been present since settlement, these cultural features marking “Azoreans” as a group separate from others in the region began to emerge in the 1940s, gaining force over the past decade as a prominent sense of Azorean identity has emerged, an expression that has resulted in the founding of various civic, political and intellectual associations, organized themes that articulate a distinct Azorean cultural identity. Serving different ends at different historical periods, “Azorean identity”, for example, was used to classify a primitivist art movement in the 1960s used by individuals to challenge local economic and political power structures. At other points the construction has been used to assist local groups in maintaining political and economic power (Leal 2002; Lacerda 2003a, 2003b).

Migration from the archipelago during this period continued to find its primary destination in Brazil with others leaving for continental Portugal or others of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia. Beginning in the 19th century, the destination for the majority of the Azores migrating populations shifted to North America. The global whaling industry lead Azoreans to the United States from the late 1820s onwards, as many whale men from the islands abandoned difficult lives at sea for agricultural work in America, a vocation with which they were more readily accustomed due to their earlier farm activities in the archipelago²³.

²³As an archipelago in the middle of a vast ocean with a history tied to the sea, one might expect the Azores to produce a large number of fishermen. But Azoreans, owing to early settlement patterns in which they primarily worked in agrarian enterprises in order support the mainland with food, have traditionally turned their backs to the ocean. Agriculture and dairy farming have remained the primary economic

The connection to the whaling boats led to the settlement of the major early migrant communities in cities such as New London, CT, Fall River and New Bedford Massachusetts, San Diego and San Francisco, CA—all prominent American port cities in the global whaling industry. It should therefore, not be surprising that the epicenter of the Southeastern New England Azorean communities is the New England whaling capital of New Bedford, Massachusetts, the place where Ishmael opens his narrative in *Moby Dick* and where Melville himself made his home. Upon settling in Southeastern New England, these Azoreans, together with other Portuguese from the Cape Verde Islands and Madeira, quickly shifted to agricultural work in the rural areas and, as the requirements of the industrial revolution made necessary the availability of cheap migrant labor, found themselves migrating to work in the textile mills of Fall River and New Bedford. The majority of the Azoreans in the northeast US reside in Massachusetts and Rhode Island (in which ten per cent of the state's population self-identify as Portuguese), followed by Connecticut.

The pattern in California was much the same, with Azorean whale men leaving ships to assume work in agriculture. On the west coast, the communities were much more dispersed along the littoral of California than they were in New England, as Azoreans settled along the coast from San Diego to the San Francisco Bay area, before moving inland to California's central valley. In the period prior to the Second World War, these Azorean populations predominantly adopted agriculture as their primary labor occupation although some continued the practice of open-boat whaling brought with them from the islands. The California populations, who were composed predominantly of Azoreans from the Central and Western Group of islands, would come to dominate the California dairy industry in the first half of the 20th century. On the east coast, Azorean migrants, composed in large part of those from São Miguel, provided a major source of labor for the textile mills of Fall River and New Bedford, Massachusetts, developed fishing

activities of the islanders for centuries. Although there are fisherman, they compose only a small percent of the working population. Only some 1.5% earn a living fishing the sea whereas some 15% of the population work directly in the agricultural sector (Serviço Regional de Estatística, Presidência do Governo Regional dos Açores.)

communities and were involved in agriculture.²⁴ By 1930 there were some 300,000 Portuguese and their children living in the United States, the vast majority of these having migrated from the Azores between 1880 and 1930. Of this figure some 100,000 settled in California; some 150,000 settled in Southeastern New England; and in the Pacific archipelago of Hawaii there were some 20,000 Portuguese, primarily from Madeira but also including some Azoreans.

The migration history of Azoreans in Hawaii developed quite separately from that of populations in the continental United States. Although there were some 400 Portuguese on Hawaii as a result of whaling voyages in the period before 1870, the vast majority of the Azoreans came to the Pacific archipelago after 1878. Similar to the pattern of migration in Brazil during the 18th century, Azoreans migrated to Hawaii as a result of a calculated migration program undertaken by private industry and the Hawaiian immigration board which provided Azorean migrants with passage from one archipelago to another, and jobs, housing and medical care when they arrived. In return, the Azoreans and other Portuguese signed a contract that required them to work in manual labor positions for thirty-six months.

Migration patterns bringing Azoreans to Canada during the 1950s operated along similar lines. Although the Portuguese had been sailing to Canada to fish since before the British or French presence, establishing some small fishing communities along the northeast coast during the period²⁵ and later in the early 20th century bringing the "White Fleet" to fish the area, it was not until 1953-54 that the first significant numbers of Azoreans migrated to Canada, the result of a Canadian government plan to provide extreme-rural areas with an inexpensive labor force. In the period from 1946 to 1952 some 700 Portuguese had migrated to Canada, a number that would

²⁴ Beginning as workers harvesting cranberries and as laborers in the strawberry fields, the Azoreans soon began to cultivate their own strawberry crops. As west coast Azoreans came to control the dairy industry, east coast Azoreans controlled strawberry production. In the period prior to the Second World War Azoreans and other Portuguese were responsible for more than half of the US strawberry production.

²⁵ Canadian-arctic archaeologist Don Holly provided information on the Portuguese presence in Canada during this period.

be almost tripled in the years of 1953-54 alone. By 1980 there were more than 160,000 Portuguese in Canada, the majority of whom were from the Azores.

The first Azorean settlers in Canada encountered greater difficulties in survival and in their ability to organize communities than their counterparts in the United States. Generally migration in the United States was a calculated family affair, with families either migrating en masse, or with one person coming first before later sending for other family. Migration was generally undertaken within the confines of an established Azorean familial and village networks. The nature of the state-sponsored Canadian migration, however, was such that Azorean laborers were placed on rural farms far from other villagers, islanders or even those who knew their language. This resulted in an extreme sense of isolation among many of the contract laborers. As contracts expired or were abandoned due to unduly harsh labor conditions, Azorean and Portuguese in Canada eventually made their way to larger cities, including Toronto, Ottawa, Vancouver and Montreal where they established vibrant communities as they were joined by other family members migrating later from the islands.

The period prior to the Second World War saw a shift among some within the Azorean-American population away from agriculture and often into factory, construction and service sector work as well as into professional and skilled employment positions. Although US migration slowed from the period of 1930 to around 1960, primarily due to laws restricting migration, the period of 1958 to 1977 saw some 150,000 Portuguese entering the country. The majority were Azoreans, as following a volcanic eruption off of Faial in 1957-58, the US government relaxed migration restrictions passing the "Azorean Relief Act" that allowed for unlimited migration of Azoreans to the United States. Canada followed with similar legislation after the eruption that led to a significant rise in the numbers of Azorean migrants there. Another natural disaster, an earthquake that destroyed much of Terceira on New Years day, 1980, caused some Azoreans from that island to migrate to the Americas. Wary of the mass exodus that occurred after the volcanic eruption on Faial two decades earlier, however, the Azores

Autonomous government stepped in with financial aid to help rebuild the island and government-sponsored programs assisted islanders in rebuilding their lives so they would not be forced to migrate.

With the improved economic and political condition of the islands in the post-colonial period following the 25 de Abril Revolution of 1974, the impetus for permanent migration—traditionally fomented by poverty, lack of economic opportunity and political oppression—has diminished from its peak years, yet migration continues. Portugal's entry into the EU and the Azores designation as a protected ultra peripheral territory of the EU has also assisted the economic development of the islands. Certainly, the improved political and economic situation can do nothing to prevent the natural disasters in the islands that have often caused migration, it has helped however to mitigate the economic and personal damage caused by such disasters, as the government has more funds and a willingness to spend them to assist the local population. Nonetheless, Azorean migration to the Americas has continued, both through permanent resettlement, through frequent trips back and forth for festivals and vacations, and for temporary target earning migration or as students come to schools in Canada and the US (or leave North America to go the Azores) to be educated. Prevalent throughout the later 20th century, temporary visits between the islands and North America have gradually increased, facilitated by the ease of air travel. Direct flights to and from the islands connect the Azores to all the major loci of the archipelago's Diaspora communities²⁶. In addition, technological advances that have made trans-Atlantic communication easier and more affordable have led to a greater connection among the island population and Azoreans in Diaspora.

²⁶ Although the California communities do not have direct flights, charters connect California to the Azores via flights with stops in airports serving other North American-Azorean communities.

Açorianidade and Azorean Transnationalism: articulations of a concept

Although the concept of “transnational identity” may be relatively recent in the Anthropological literature, it has long been at play in Portuguese constructions of identity. Numerous studies have examined the construction of national identity in regard to efforts on the part of the Portuguese authority to enact conceptions of belonging to a national collective far from the territorial borders of the nation (Brettel 1995, 1986; Klimt and Lubkemann 2002; Bethencourt 2000; Boxer 1962, 1969; Perez and Carvalho 2002).

The idea of a Portuguese transnational sphere is one that has been bolstered by the structural conditions of the Portuguese Empire and perhaps also by the nature of the Portuguese Revolution, which created at first glance strange bedfellows among those in the Portuguese army—who had been conscripted by Salazar and Caetano to save the *Estado Novo* Colonial Empire—and those in the Luso-African resistance armies fighting against them. That so many of these Portuguese soldiers would return home from fighting in Africa to turn their guns on the leaders who had ordered them to fight, made for smoother relations among Portugal and its former colonies in the post-colonial period.

Ultimately, conceptions of the instrumental nature of transnationalism is deeply embedded in global power processes in the Lusophone sphere. It is clear conceptualizations of nationhood within this sphere have historically been construed as broad, not limited by geographic boundaries or contiguous territories, and available to negotiation among the various layers of identity composing belonging within the nation. Azoreans in North America draw on both this Lusophone sense of nationhood as much as they do upon constructions of a distinct transnational regional identity.

It is these constructions of transnational identity that the forced return migrants in the Azores are inserted. Their categorization as stigmatized marginals, the difficulties they encounter in being accepted by those among the Azorean population, their success and failure in social integration in the islands is not only a result of their criminal status, but is dependent upon their

relationship with broader processes of Azorean transnational identity (see discussion of Brilhante 2000, *op. cit.* Chapter VII). In order to understand this process however, the contours of Azorean transnational identity must first be drawn. Although there have been some works treating the topic of Azorean transnational identity in Brazil (Leal 2002, Lacerda 2002b), including a recently completed extensive examination of the invented Azorean community in southern Brazil (Lacerda 2003a) most works examining Azorean transnationalism in North America either treat the topic only implicitly (Chapin 1989, 1992; Cabral 1989) focusing instead on migration; or treat the topic broadly within other forms of Portuguese transnational identity (e.g. Feldman Bianco 1992) or within processes of Portuguese migration (Higgs 1990.) Less examined have been constructions of Azorean transnationalism that serve adaptive political and economic ends in the interplay of those in the category from the North American and Azorean communities. As a result of the lack of studies of this kind, this chapter attempts provide an overview of the Azorean transnational category in North America in order to set the stage for the later examination of deportee social integration by pointing to the broad importance of the transnational category to actors across diverse social fields. The importance of Azorean transnationalism to the argument about the social categorization of the deportees—given the lack of systematic studies on North American Azorean transnational identity—requires this chapter of original fieldwork on the topic. In order to make the subsequent argument about deportation, it is first necessary to demonstrate the transnational structures into which they are inserted.

Açorianidade

It was the Azorean novelist, poet, literary critic and public intellectual Vitorino Nemésio who drew on the concept of *hispanidad* to invent the phrase “Açorianidade” (Nemésio 1932). Although the word may have been new, the concept that it articulated was not and other authors had previously developed ideas around a separate sense of insular identity. Some picked up Nemésio’s phrase including Luís Ribeiro, whose essay from the 1920s “Subsídios para um ensaio

sobre a Açorianidade” (1983 re-edition) argued that Azorean culture should be treated as an entity apart from Portuguese culture. It is essential in understanding this concept, that arguments about the separation of Azorean culture from Portuguese culture developed as part of the political process of advocating for political and economic power apart from the mainland. As treated by intellectuals since Nemésio, the theme of cultural distinctiveness went hand-and-hand with the political interests of the islanders. This dynamic, and the way that contemporary constructions of Açorianidade rely upon the transnational community to both construct a separate Azorean identity and to advocate for the political and economic interests of both the Azorean Government and individual residents in the islands or in the Diaspora forms a central part of this thesis. The local reception of the forced return migrants is ultimately a response to the challenges they pose to the construction of instrumental identity.

It should be pointed out that whether or not intellectuals directly used the term “Açorianidade” to describe their cultural or literary production they are here treated as a group under the term in as much as their works coalesced around the themes of a separate insular identity and that they advocated for insular political or economic interests—however subtly this may have been carried out. In fact, many of those advocating for these issues did not at the time use Açorianidade to describe their activities, even as the term was later used to describe them by various post-25 de Abril intellectuals and politicians. Although it does describe a historical phenomenon, it is moreover used here as an analytical term describing the intellectual, political and economic ramifications of a developing interior Azorean consciousness and the expression of an Azorean identity as an entity apart from the mainland.

Scholars, intellectuals, and politicians have continued to treat Azorean literature, the migration history of the archipelago (also a pervasive theme in island literature) and historical narratives that found Azorean interests subjugated to continental authority and power, in discourses of an emerging Azorean ethnic consciousness and saw them expressed through notions of Açorianidade. Further, literature, literary analysis, historical analysis, and cultural criticism all

form discourses articulating the inherent and conscious sense of identity that has both spawned and in turn been informed by Açorianidade processes. Even the most pastoral and apolitical literature in the Azores became inherently political, as language, themes and motifs were examined by literary critics to marshal arguments demonstrating the unique cultural character of Azoreans apart from mainland Portugal—and did so in the process of advocating for insular political and economic interests.²⁷ Even when the movement encouraged artists to create art in the islands for the sake of art itself, this came as a response to continental impressions of the islands as a backwards hinterland (Almeida 1983, 1989).

Discourses around Açorianidade provided a framework, a vocabulary, and an impetus for Azorean intellectuals to begin challenging the newly instituted *Estado Novo* regime. Organizing the week-long *Congresso Açoriano* in Lisbon in 1938, for example, a group of Azorean intellectuals gathered to examine the relations between the Azores and the Portuguese state with the intention of defending insular interests. The 250 papers presented at the conference covered a comprehensive catalogue of issues including Azorean identity and how its unique character was articulated and demonstrated in studies of literature, history, ethnography, geo-politics, industry, music, education, geology, culture, the media, etc. Emerging throughout the conference were arguments and affirmations of a separate cultural and political identity from continental Portugal, a concept in direct conflict with the dictatorship (Livro do Primeiro Congresso Açoriano [1940] 1995).

The Azores' migrant communities were a prominent topic in literary and cultural production during the period (as they continue to be in the present), in part, because works by Diaspora writers appeared in local publications, but moreover because 20th Century Azorean migration patterns effected nearly every resident of the islands in direct and tangible ways. The relationship between writers and intellectuals in the islands on the one hand and the communities

²⁷ The debate was also greatly enhanced by exchanges between the Azores and Cape Verde, where the Claridade movement begun in 1936 was instrumental in creating a cultural identity for Cape Verdeans in advocacy of Independence.

on the other was sometimes critical, sometimes celebratory, but it was virtually always present, as one part of an array of issues that was used in constructions of Açorianidade.

Echoing the earlier *Congresso Açoriano* held in Lisbon in 1938, in the late 1960s the islands' literary and cultural intelligentsia came together for a series of five important conferences held throughout the Azores, organized by the Azorean Institute of Culture. The conferences did much to encourage and promote critical discussions about Azorean issues, examining a diverse array of problems that included education, the Azorean economy, politics, intra-regional development of the archipelago and even autonomy. Through the conferences, the intellectual community awakened to the social, economic and cultural problems of the islands in the act of creating an interior Azorean consciousness. These Azorean intellectuals grappled with issues regarding the modernization of the islands, not from the perspective of Lisbon—from which all administrative decisions about the archipelago came—but from the standpoint of the Azores with Azoreans themselves at the center of deliberation (see e.g. *Livro da I Semana de Estudos dos Açores* 1961; *Livro da II Semana* 1963). Many of the ideas taken up by politicians, independence leaders and constitutional delegates including João Bosco Mota Amaral, José Medeiros Ferreira and Jaime Gama came from this intellectual environment, and the consciousness promoted there would influence the politics behind Azorean autonomy. In the post-autonomy period, the congresses continued with a series of occasional “Congressos de Comunidades Açorianas” running from shortly after the declaration of autonomy in 1978 into the 1990s. The transnational nature of constructions of Azorean identity was evident in the presentations from the outset, reflected not only in the papers, but also, by the congress’ participants themselves. Of the 281 participants whose papers were published in the Acts of the first congress in 1978, their place of residence was listed as follows: Azores 125, New England 67; California 35, Lisbon 18, Brazil 16, Canada 12, Wash. DC/VA 3, Bermuda 2, Caracas 1, Paris 1, NY/NJ 1.

Self-consciously international, the names and place of residence of each participant was listed in the front of the published Acts of the Congress.²⁸ A conscious effort was made by organizers to present the “Azorean communities” as a transnational construction, with Azoreans from every area of migration represented. Treated as one large Azorean community²⁹—albeit with diverse issues—contributors examined education, literature, health care, politics and history, and usually promoted suggestions for ways to further link together the Azorean communities spread out over the world. Various papers explicitly broached the concept of Açorianidade, examining it through migration and through constructions of a unique Azorean character. For example, discussions argued for the necessity of bi-lingual education in the US and Canada to help Azorean migrants learn English and continue their education in North America; arguments were made to grant voting rights to Azoreans living abroad; and other suggestions were also expressly political, as one paper calling for a governmental organization that would provide a forum in the islands for issues of those in the Diaspora. In an example of how the government officials were influenced by the discourses of the intellectuals, the newly established Azorean government—present at the congress—created a Secretary for the Communities, charging the Director and his staff with creating links to Diaspora Azoreans.

Continuing articulations of Açorianidade on the formation of Azorean transnational identity in the post-25 de Abril period has been taken up by a generation of writers and intellectuals. The goals of the group have been to address contemporary issues subject to cultural critique within the archipelago and their place within the Portuguese national territory, but they have also examined the issues of the Diaspora communities of North America and elsewhere. These contemporary writers have built upon the classic Azorean themes of place and

²⁸ It should be noted that not all of those participating had actually migrated from the Azores, but included Professors and other interested parties that had no direct connection to the islands, but studied or worked in some area in which the “Azorean Communities” would be effected.

²⁹ The title page (as one example) lists all of the “Azorean communities” alphabetically, defining them as the Azores, Bermuda, Brazil, California, Canada, Lisbon, New England, and Venezuela. The Azores themselves were not separated from this list.

placelessness, of the insular nature of the islands and the effect this has on the Azorean psyche, the effects of migration and globalization on the insular life of the archipelago and the effects of Azorean migration on those communities in which Azoreans reside. As education in the Azores improved vastly during the autonomous period (the dictatorship only provided for an education up to the fourth grade), cultural and literary production in the Azores—already prominent—thrived as a result. Riding the wave of enhanced interest in culture and education the ideas offered by the writers took root among not only the rank of intellectual elite, but among broader classes of the general population.

In addition to literary and cultural production members of the group were instrumental in developing and participating in various institutions both within the Azores and beyond, such as their part in founding the University of the Azores. Azorean writers in the islands and spread throughout the Diaspora communities continue to treat directly and indirectly issues of Açorianidade and Azorean transnationalism in publications both within and beyond the archipelago. In addition, migration, migrant communities and the connection between the islands and Azoreans in Diaspora have formed prominent themes in Azorean literature among works of the post-25 de Abril group (Moniz 1999).

The interchange among those intellectuals and scholars between North America and the Azores has been substantial. Key figures in the construction of Azorean transnational identity and Açorianidade have spent much of their lives residing in the migrant communities: Azorean Intellectuals in North America have addressed the dynamic in both the islands and the Diaspora through their writing and intellectual exchanges. Like the congresses in 1938, the 1960s the post 25 de Abril period, numerous conferences have convened around similar issues.³⁰ On an intellectual level, the congresses certainly have had an influence in developing discourses around

³⁰ The Congresses are not limited to Azorean communities or institutions either. In 2001, Yale University sponsored “100 years of Luso-American Literature” that included a panel that directly examined the cultural production of the Azores and its migrant communities. Even on other panels, the vast majority of the papers presented at the conference treated Azorean authors from this transnational Diaspora perspective.

transnational identity, but on a more practical and direct level, the congresses have served to literally link disperse populations to one another, as those residing in Azorean communities on diverse islands, in diverse nations, and on diverse continents have come together creating intellectual and academic networks instrumental in not only conceiving the transnational nature of identity, but also in articulating it. Jobs, positions for visiting scholars, plane trips between the islands and the Diaspora communities (resulting in inevitable visits with family and friends) have all been garnered by invitations to give papers at these conferences and through the connections made at them.

I am not in the least suggesting that rational scholarship or cultural production has been contrived for the fungible benefits accrued to its creators, but merely point out that the practical and adaptive political and economic benefits of Azorean transnationalism is not limited to peasant migrants seeking work in times of hardship. The practical consequences of Azorean transnationalism effects an encompassing purview of social categories in the islands, including of course the peasant and working class migrants of the Azores and North America, but also including, business interests, politicians; and as represented in this example, the cultural elite. Indeed working class migrants form only a part of those who benefit from constructions of Azorean transnational identity.

The Azorean Government

The first post-autonomy government of the Azores was instrumental in developing the concept of an Azorean identity separate from the mainland. Replacing the first President, João Bosco Mota Amaral who stood down after 20 years in office was the head of the Socialist Party (PS) Carlos César. Although PS had opposed outright Azorean independence, seeing autonomy as a compromise solution, the César Presidency still participates actively in rhetoric and deed to affirm a separate sense of Azorean identity. His government has also actively promoted Azorean identity as a transnational construction that transcends the territorial boundaries of the islands.

Although some changes to programs were made in this area, there was continuity between the two governments. One such program, used as an example of others of its kind, was first sponsored by the Mota Amaral government in collaboration with the University of the Azores and other local cultural and municipal organizations, a yearly summertime seminar called “*Açores, Açorianidade e o Atlântico*.”³¹ The program brought together primarily Portuguese language teachers, who worked in schools attended by Diaspora Azoreans including the US, Canada, Bermuda and Brazil; along with researchers who examined Azorean migration topics. As guests of the government, participants were given a three-week, expenses-paid trip to the islands that included airfare, housing, meals, transportation and the costs associated with cultural programs. Participants took classes covering Azorean history, Azorean economic practices, Azorean literature, Azorean linguistics, and topics related to the sociology and geography of the islands. Cultural programs exposed the participants to Azorean music and musicians, foods and cooking practices, craft and artwork, and folk practices.

Although the participants from the United States, Canada and Bermuda worked among communities of Azorean migrants, most were migrants from the Azores themselves; others were Açor-Americans; and yet others had no connection to the islands save for the North American, Atlantic, and South American communities in which they worked. The large contingent of Brazilian teachers and government officials participating in the seminar, for example, had little personal connection to the islands as the communities in which they worked could boast at most only small numbers of individuals who had actually migrated from the Azores. In the south of Brazil—specifically in the areas of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina—a forcefully articulated sense of Azorean identity has emerged. Despite the lack of current Azorean migration to the region, constructions of Azorean transnational identity have emerged since World War II and are articulated within broader forms of Santa Catarense and Gaucho identity in opposition to

³¹I participated in the seminar during the summer of 1996.

other ethnic groups in the south including Germans and Italians; and in opposition to other parts of Brazil.³² The Azorean government has worked to cultivate ties to these regions, participating in constructions of Açorianidade through official visits of both the Azorean President and his functionaries, in exchanges of scholars and in joint participation in the publication of works examining the connection of the Azores to area settlement. At conferences and in public speeches, politicians and scholars from both sides of the Atlantic are profuse in their declarations of solidarity between the Azores and the Azorean communities of Brazil.

The seminar was discontinued under the César government, however, funds went to other transnational projects, as the government has sponsored teachers and groups of children to come to the archipelago and has supported summertime University classes bringing predominantly second and third generation Açor-North Americans to the islands. The government funds academic conferences, explicitly designed to promote discussions of Azorean transnationalism. In the course of interrogating the nature of Azorean transnational identity, the conferences also work to create the concept. A three-day colloquium sponsored by the Azorean government in Lisbon in January of 2002 entitled “I Jornadas ‘Emigração/Comunidades’” [The First conference of ‘Migration/Communities’”] (I Jornadas 2002) is indicative of this process. Participation in the conference included scholars, intellectuals and writers from the Azores, from continental Portugal, from North America and Brazil whose work addresses or promotes the idea of Azorean transnational identity, all of whom came to Lisbon as paid guests of the government. President Carlos César opening remarks for the conference were an ode to the transnational migrant, including lines that characterized Azorean identity by stating that “to be Azorean extends beyond the limits of geography.” The papers themselves examined the theme from anthropological, sociological, historical and literary among other perspectives and included recitations of poetry,

³²The expression of Azorean identity in the South of Brazil is the topic of recent work by both João Leal (2002) and Eugénio Lacerda (2003a, 2003b). Azorean folk festivals, certain rituals, restaurants, cultural centers, etc. form the basis of an identification in Santa Catarina with the Azores as the imaginary homeland. Scholars and government officials in Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina have also researched and publish articles examining and articulating this connection.

fiction and observational essays. Two years later a group, composed of the bulk of the participants of the first Jornadas, were flown to the Azores by the César government to develop strategies to link the Azores to the Diaspora communities.³³

Like Mota Amaral, the César administration has sought and funded various academic and cultural projects intended to promote the link between the Azorean communities in Diaspora and the Azores, including the publication of books treating migration topics, museum exhibits held in the communities, and research projects on both sides of the ocean. Sponsoring the projects through its own initiative or in conjunction with academics, intellectuals, social activists or members of fraternal organizations both in the Azores and in the communities, various government agencies have worked to promote and maintain ties among the transnational population. The promotion of transnationalism by the Presidency goes beyond the financial support of academic and cultural projects through its Cabinet level initiatives. The President also acts to bolster constructions of transnational community through personal visits to the communities abroad and by using television to broadcast speeches and public appearances internationally from the islands to the communities via cable and satellite television programs.³⁴

Numerous public functionaries serving in the Azorean government have been drawn from migrant North American communities who had returned to reside in the islands prior to their appointments, or who have returned to the archipelago for the express purpose of their positions. As two examples, a previous Director of the Department of Culture in the Azores lived for decades in Canada, as a former head of the Azorean secretariat of Health and Welfare was a migrant who had lived and was educated in Southeastern New England. Members of the Azorean

³³I participated in both of the initiatives.

³⁴In one appearance on a live talk show filmed in the islands but broadcast internationally, César appeared on a Christmastime special to discuss the holidays in the islands, using the opportunity to make remarks about migration and the importance of the migrant communities abroad to the Azores themselves. Taking phone calls from Azoreans in Diaspora, the President and the moderator reminisced with the callers about Christmases past, reiterating the migrants connection to the islands and their home communities (*Atlântida*, RTPi, original air date on December 21, 2002).

Parliament have either been return migrants themselves or have close family in North America. The connections to family and the communities through these government officials are not superficial. For example, one former Director of the Department of Culture for the Azores faced a scandal when it came to light that he had promised tens of thousands dollars from the culture budget for the purchase of a pipe organ to be placed into a church in an Azorean migrant community in California where his brother lived. Expenditures by the government for cultural programs in the communities of a non-corrupt kind are also profuse, but the connection that a government functionary has to individuals seeking support is usually instrumental in the procurement of the funds, and they have profuse contacts with migrants living abroad.

Whether an Azorean government official has a personal connection to the migrant communities or not, however, the official position of the Presidency regarding the Diaspora is clear. The following statement by the head of the Azorean Department of the Communities, Alzira Silva is unambiguous. "The Azores does not end within the borders of its Autonomous region much less within the borders of the Portuguese Nation. Also a part of the Azores are the spaces where millions of Azoreans have settled, far from their homeland, where they always keep a part of in a corner of their hearts [sic]." (Silva 2002a) With a resident population of over 240,000, the number "millions" obviously does not include only those born in the Azores and Azorean-born migrants, but also refers to those born abroad of Azorean descent. Various initiatives on the part of the government are also designed to promote a link among first, second (and beyond) generation Azoreans to the Azores, sponsoring students on educational trips to the islands such that they may as Silva says "(re) discover the true Azores". Even those whose great grandparents came from the islands should be celebrated, continues Silva, "who proudly cultivate their links with their past, and give themselves to the cause to expand the culture of their forefathers, to find their origins in the space of their homeland with untiring determination" (*ibid.*). Silva further defines Azorean transnational identity through comments that express the Azorean/Portuguese dichotomy, articulates the conception that Azoreans are not only those born

in the Azores, and declares the importance of academic study of the transnational migration phenomenon to the government. In praise of those forging links to the islands she says: “The appreciation that we owe to so many men and women born in the Azores or of Azorean descent is unquestionable.... It is imperative that we recognize the intense, constant work of our emigrants, whether they go to the Portuguese mainland or to foreign countries” (*ibid.*).

References are also made in her remarks, to “the Azorean presence in Brazil” and the initiatives designed to promote ties there (see also Leal 2002; Lacerda 2003a, 2003b). From these comments and in other official speeches and interviews (Silva personal communication January 2002, January 2004) the position of the Azorean government regarding transnational migration and its role in reinforcing connections among the Diaspora communities can be summarized as follows:

1. Azoreans (as members of an ethnic and cultural group) are not confined by their place of residence, and the group includes those living within the islands along with those living outside their geographic boundaries including foreign nations and continental Portugal.
2. Azoreans (as an ethnic not a national category) are not limited by place of birth and can include those born abroad or who are descended from Azoreans. Such individuals will be Azoreans as long as they actively participate and contribute to life either in the Azores or among Azorean Diaspora communities.
3. Azoreans are characterized by a shared culture and shared community interests, no matter where they may reside.
4. The government has a responsibility to all Azoreans to support projects and initiatives that link them to the homeland by fostering their social, educational, professional, civil and political integration in Azorean life. The government also works to support cultural activities related to Azorean culture abroad, and promotes

migrant investments in the islands, assuring those abroad that their existing properties and estates will be well-supervised by the Azorean authorities.

5. The Azorean government, when possible, has a responsibility to promote and support initiatives designed to create links to the Azores to those born abroad of Azorean descent including the teaching of Portuguese, scholarships and educational projects that will instruct them about the islands and Azorean culture. Educational programs will also be supported if they create exchanges and links among those living in the islands and those of the Diaspora's (predominantly) North American communities.
6. The government's role in supporting communities abroad through these measures is ultimately based in the interest of those Azoreans who may be "geographically apart from the Azores [but] never lost their ties with their country of birth".

Rhetoric expressed in public speeches by government officials intimating or speaking directly to Azorean transnationalism is backed up with funding used to promote the political, educational, economic, cultural and intellectual projects related to the theme. Separating out the total amount of money in the Azores annual budget directly related to initiatives directed to creating links to Azoreans outside the archipelago is impossible given the pervasive nature that such projects have in the budgets of nearly every cabinet and department of the government's operation, the average budget of the DRC alone however, over the past few years averages out to 12,500,000 Euros per year.³⁵ Other expenditures are also made by the government including funding for projects that indirectly supports migrant links to the Azores, such as money spent on feasts or other special local events that attract returning migrants.

³⁵ DRC, Presidência do Governo Regional dos Açores. documentation.

Azorean and migrant Portuguese language media

Media outlets, both in the Azores and among the communities greatly contribute to constructions of Azorean transnational identity. The press and television of course report official visits by government officials to communities in North America and elsewhere, and encompass an array of other topics that elaborate Azorean transnational identity. The Azorean press usually treats the North American communities not as the residents or citizens of a foreign national territory, but rather as the residents of a tenth Azorean island—albeit an island removed from the proximity of the rest of the archipelago. Likewise, the many newspapers and television stations in North America within large Portuguese-speaking and Azorean communities will report upon news from the islands along with news of local events. The Regional Azorean television channel RTP-Açores frequently examines Açor-North American topics that include migration and its consequences, news segments about Diaspora artists and writers, coverage of major events effecting the communities, and the interaction of migrants with those in the islands. One news item and its reporting in the Azores is illustrative of this process. The lead story one night on RTP Açores Evening News reported an accident that took place on a freeway underpass occurring when the infrastructure above the highway started to collapse, dropping debris onto the traffic below. Scenes of the structural damage were shown, as were the cars wrecked by the falling concrete and the ensuing accidents. Interviews with police, city officials, eyewitnesses and residents of the city were also shown as both the on-the-scene reporter and the news anchor commented on the damage and the repercussions of the tragedy. It was only when one of the interviews was conducted in English and given Portuguese sub-titles that I realized that this had not occurred in the Azores, but rather, in Fall River, Massachusetts. On the Azorean evening news, and with interviews for the report conducted with Azorean-born Fall River municipal officials and resident eyewitnesses, the impression was that the accident had occurred in some one or another Azorean village.

Azorean newspapers and magazines conduct their coverage in a similar manner. Along with a number of weekly and monthly magazines, there are some 15 daily and weekly newspapers in the Azores. Topics of global interest—such as military strikes or stories on international diplomacy—about the United States or Canada where there are large Azorean populations will of course be covered. But the kind of reporting that contributes to constructions of Azorean transnational identity includes front-page stories about issues of direct concern to Azorean Diaspora communities—even when the topic of the reports may take place far from the islands. Elections in Azorean North American communities will be reported upon—including articles about Açor-American candidates for public office, along with the non-Azorean political representatives in Azorean communities. Sometimes the local Azorean news is reported as if the Azorean newspaper were situated *in* an Azorean-North American community, as articles discuss issues of general interest to those living in the US and Canada. Such articles serve the interests of transnational migrants who have connections to both locales.

Books published by Azorean-North American authors are reported on in the press, as book launches—funded and promoted by the Azorean government—are extensively covered in print and television. The same is true of art exhibits, music performances, etc. by Açor-North Americans. National ministries of culture often support the arts by paying to bring in artists and writers from abroad. In the case of the Azores, however, the funding for such launchings and events is almost exclusively applied to bringing in Azoreans from North America or continental Portugal or non-Azoreans who treat Azorean topics in their work.

When Azorean-Americans “make it big” in the arts, literature or sports beyond Azorean- and Lusophone-North America, copious reporting is done in the Azores on their career progress. In one example, Mike Ribeiro, an Açor-American selected in the first round of the NHL draft who now plays for the Montreal Canadiens was a lead story in *Açoriano Oriental* and covered in other publications. Two other prominent examples include coverage of Açor-North American

musicians, including Grammy award winner Nelly Furtado and Nuno Bettencourt (formerly of the band Extreme with the pop music top 10 hit “More than Words”).

Diaspora newspapers in the North American communities also participate in the construction of Azorean transnational identity. In each of the major Azorean and other Portuguese-Speaking population centers in North America are newspapers and magazines dedicated entirely or in part to issues of interest both within the local region of publication as well as in the islands. Some of the newspapers have been in continuous publication for more than 30 years, some with international subscriptions on six continents, some with circulations approaching 100,000 readers (Moniz 1999: 256-58.) The topics covered in these newspapers are not dissimilar to those covered in the islands, although coverage emphasizes issues of concern to the local Diaspora population. In the way that newspapers in the islands cover news from the Diaspora communities, North American publications cover news in the Azores as if it forms part of the local experience. Indeed, in many of the publications the articles are often reprinted verbatim from Azorean newspapers and vice-versa, as agreements among certain papers allow for the exchange of articles.

Radio and television broadcasts also contribute prominently to constructions of Azorean transnationalism. Radio programs in the Azores broadcast talk shows and news programs that cover topics related to migrant community issues while radio shows in migrant communities broadcast programs covering topics related to the islands. Although many of the same personalities that appear on radio shows in the islands are also interviewed in the migrant communities and visa-versa, radio technology does not easily allow for the simulcast of a live program in both the Azores and the North American migrant communities. The same however cannot be said for television programs. During the 1980s and early 1990s, many Azorean and other Portuguese migrants who wished to watch television shows broadcast from the homeland were confined to relying upon expensive satellite dishes. Although many individuals did go this route, with the proliferation of cable television broadcasts of RTP-International (or RTPi) became

available in most US Portuguese speaking communities (Another television station from Portugal broadcasts in Canada).

Although RTPi programming changes (subject to the decision of whichever party controls the government) the schedule includes broadcasts of Portuguese news shows, cultural and sporting programs, talk shows, variety shows, documentaries and original dramas. For a period, the nightly news broadcast of RTP Azores was shown daily on RTPi, however the Portuguese government decided to drop the broadcast from the channel. The decision prompted a *cause célèbre* in both the Azores and among local Azorean communities abroad, fomenting angry editorials, commentaries and debate in the press and among intellectuals and activists.³⁶ Since then the news programs have been reinstituted. The issue of the existence of RTP-Açores (along with RTP-Madeira) and the content of RTP International arises frequently, speaking both to the funding priorities of the party in charge of the federal government as well as to efforts that serve to thwart articulations of regional identity as expressed through the stations. Recently, the newly instituted Durão Barroso government made overtures to pull all of its subsidies to both RTP-Açores and RTP-Madeira, and refusing to broadcast either channel in continental Portugal. The effect has been to cause Azorean and Madeirense government officials to re-affirm their commitment to autonomy and guarantee that independent of the Portuguese government's decision, the channels will continue to be broadcast.

There are a number of other programs aired on the channel produced by RTP-Açores along with programs of direct interest to Azoreans abroad. These include *Atlântida*, a live viewer-participation talk show; and *Onésimo a Conversa com....*, a weekly 1/2 hour-long interview program focusing on an Azorean academic, politician, artist, or intellectual; and other special programs specific to the Azores including live simulcasts of processions and marches such as those accompanying the Spring and Summer festivals of Santo Cristo of São Miguel and the

³⁶Articulations of Azorean Transnationalism can make problematic attempts by the national government to promote its own transnational Portuguese project, which conceives of the Azores as a seamless part of the national territory, rather than islands in the middle of the ocean.

Sanjoaninas of Terceira. Components of the Azorean Evening News that are re-broadcast on the RTP 1 Portuguese national news program that airs nightly on RTPi are shown, as are components of other programs treating the Azores such as the cultural program *Acontece*.

Within this context of transnational constructions of Azorean identity and Açorianidade, José Gabriel Avila's *Atlântida* is notable. The format of the live call in show is designed to allow for the discussion of issues of importance to those in the islands, including topical political, cultural and social debates, with invited guests such as politicians, academics and artisans; while also presenting performances of musical acts or dances by Azorean musicians and troupes. In the context of Azorean transnationalism, the program, although broadcast in the islands and usually treating topics in them, elicits the majority of its on-air calls from Azoreans living in Diaspora. Even the name of the program evokes the sense of a transnational, or in this case trans-Atlantic, community of viewers. Aided by technology, the show creates a sense of palpable immediacy forging links between the islands and North America. The producers of the show will send out emails to an international list serve with the program's topic in the week prior to airing. Although the show has a constant stream of call-in participants from North America and Brazil, international participation also includes the reading of selected emails from viewers as an on-air computer screen broadcasts the letter itself so that those watching at home may read along.³⁷ Participation from the at-home audience ranges from strict commentary on the topic at hand, to completely ignoring the topic and rather simply using the show as a way to say hello to family and friends in the islands who may or may not be watching. Usually the callers will accomplish both, as no sign-off is complete without sending one's compliments to loved ones in the islands. All of the call-in or email participants will be identified by where they are currently living and are

³⁷Writing a letter to the show myself to weigh-in on a particular topic I was struck with the immediacy of the interaction. Prior to commenting on my letter, one of the panelists, Carlos Cordeiro, a friend and former colleague of mine at the University of the Azores, briefly reminisced about my time at the University, mentioned my project with the repatriados, and sent me an *abraço* over the air. My feeling, after watching the program in the Fox Point neighborhood of Providence, was as if we had been in the same living room together discussing the issue, rather than being separated by an ocean.

usually asked during the course of their call (if they do not themselves first mention it) about where they are from in the islands.

As with *Atlântida*, other television programs also work to maintain and reify the transnational community. Most of the North American communities served by RTPi also receive local Portuguese language air-broadcast and cable channels. The *Portuguese Channel*, broadcast out of New Bedford, MA is typical, having counterparts in other Diaspora communities. The channel reaches a wide Lusophone audience through basic cable and with an antenna. Like RTPi, the Portuguese Channel features its fair share of recycled Brazilian *Telenovelas*, but programming is far more specific to the needs of the Portuguese-speaking communities (predominantly Azorean and Cape Verdean) served by the channel's broadcast. Programming includes news and culture shows, sports shows that analyze Azorean and Portuguese soccer teams as well as teams in the local communities, interview programs and news analysis. It would be remiss not to mention *The Portuguese Around Us*, given that the program is the longest-running show treating the Portuguese, Madeirense, Azorean, Cape Verdean and now Brazilian community in New England. Originally broadcast on a local affiliate of CBS in the 1970s before moving to cable access, *The Portuguese Around Us*³⁸ for over 30 years has provided interviews with a wide range of personalities involved in the civic, intellectual, cultural, religious and political life of the Lusophone communities. Interviews are conducted in both English and Portuguese on the show. English broadcasts, according to the producers, serve several purposes, with one intention that the program has been to introduce the "contributions" of the Portuguese community to a non-Portuguese audience, and to help facilitate the learning of English by native Portuguese-speaking migrants. The program tangentially also appeals to second and third generation and beyond Portuguese and Azoreans who may not speak the language of their forebears, but yet participate in constructions of Portuguese and Azorean transnational community.

³⁸Speaking to his perception of the prominence of Portuguese collective identity in the region of the shows broadcast, not to mention their number, the non-Portuguese Producer of the program once jokingly referred to the show in private as "The Portuguese Surround Us."

Internet

The Internet has facilitated links among Diaspora and homeland. Major Azorean newspapers exist in on-line versions, allowing anyone with access the ability to keep up with island news. There are also hundreds of other on-line publications that treat news in the islands, also covering the migrant communities, often explicitly speaking to constructions of transnational Azorean identity.³⁹ Although some publications are intended primarily for those interested in events taking place in the archipelago, like their counterparts in the print media, frequent reference is made to the Diaspora. Others, such as the on-line publication *Azores Digital* take as a reference point Azoreans living both in the islands and abroad—treating news from the islands and the Diaspora as one seamless category, with articles about how government policies will affect dairy prices abutting articles on cultural events in Toronto, abutting the latest short story by an Azorean author residing in Lisbon. The list of digital publications in this vein is augmented by a slew of institutional and personal web pages dedicated to Azorean migrants or making active reference to the transnational nature of the islands.

Voluntary Associations

Voluntary fraternal organizations expend material and human resources to promote Azorean culture, politics and academic endeavors in North America and in continental Portugal. These voluntary associations are organized around the principle of ethnic identity, but also serve the civic-minded ends of members. The organizations host banquets for members, usually providing a clubhouse where the dinners can be held;⁴⁰ provide scholarships to Açor-American children or those from a specific island; support cultural programs like book launchings and

³⁹For a partial list of the hundreds of on-line Azorean digital news, literary and cultural publications see <http://www.virtualazores.net/directorio/>.

⁴⁰Some of the “clubhouses” have banquet facilities for more than a 1000 people.

readings, plays, art exhibits and musical performances; offer social space for wedding and baptism receptions; provide meeting space; patronize sports (predominantly soccer) teams; sponsor civic events such as naturalization workshops, or voter registration drives; host academic conferences that have in the past explored Azorean history, migration, migrant literature, and even deportation among other topics related to Azorean and Portuguese ethnic and transnational identity; and to a lesser extent have had some political participation.⁴¹ Organizations include cultural associations promoting the Azores explicitly such as the “Casa dos Açores” with chapters in New England, California, Lisbon, Brazil, and Canada but also include sports clubs, village and island specific clubs, scholarship associations, activist groups and other broader national and international organizations with membership spanning different communities and nations.

Through such programs, the voluntary fraternal associations may invite, host or sponsor academics, politicians, sports teams, artists and musicians from the islands to come to North America where they will interact with the local community. Oftentimes individuals from one North American community will travel to events in other communities, participating there in events with those from the Azores and the local area. Further, the voluntary associations will often sponsor group trips to the Azores, cutting group deals with hotels and airlines.

Religion and socio-religious organizations and activities

Other voluntary associations that reinforce conceptions of Azorean transnationalism are organized around both spiritual and socio-religious aspects of the church. Hyper-religiosity has long been a prominent Azorean cultural feature (Moniz 2000a). Prior to the institution of

⁴¹ Although there are organizations such as PALCUS (the Portuguese-American Leadership Council of the US) a lobbying organization representing presumed Portuguese-American interests in Washington; organizations such as the Portuguese-American Political Action Committee of California a primarily Azorean group that formed to advocate for Portuguese bilingual programs and University level education in California; and various PACs formed to elect Portuguese-American candidates, most of the voluntary associations are not formed for such explicitly political purposes. Ad hoc political organizations do form, and when they do come into being, they do so in large part around the leadership of the voluntary associations.

democracy in the islands as a result of the 25 de Abril Revolution (and even after it), it was the local parish priest with whom Azoreans had their most frequent contact, and to whom they primarily turned for guidance in social life as well religious life, not to the officials of the state. Much of the social life in the rural Azores (and in urban spaces, but to a lesser extent) revolves around participation in church sponsored activities. Azoreans say their traditionally religious nature is due to the many natural disasters in the islands, the stormy wintertime weather conditions, the earthquakes rattling windows and destroying cities, the volcanic eruptions burying islands and forming new land masses, all coupled with the islands extreme geographic isolation, forcing islanders to confront these hardships alone. Their only protection, say many Azoreans, has been provided by God. Indeed, on all of the islands, are prominent myths about how villagers were saved from natural disaster by some one or another intercession of the Holy Spirit, God, or their faith.

The prominence of religion in the Azores according to various studies has much to do with its adaptive aspects. Azorean socio-religious feasts have been examined by various scholars⁴² in reference to their role in shaping social relations, wealth redistribution and community interdependence. Upon migration, the important role of the socio-religious feasts has continued, of course adapted to the specific cultural and political contexts of the Azorean communities within North America and Brazil where they are yet prominent. In these locales, the feasts provide Azoreans with a means to express in-group solidarity, and have been interpreted for their adaptive value as they develop group cohesion by codifying social roles among employers and employees; as they help participants to gain ethnic group political status and economic power; and as they emphasize the relations within the internal divisions existing along overlapping identities including divisions among Islanders and Continentals, Azoreans from

⁴² Notably Leal 1994. See also Salvador 1981, Cabral 1998, and various essays collected in Oliveira Martins 1992.

specific islands, and islanders from specific villages (Cabral 1989; Fertig 1993; Moniz 1991, 1997; Pettis 1996, Salvador 1981).

Along with the *Festa do Espírito Santo* (taking place once a year in nearly every village in the islands) other prominent Azorean religious feasts occur as celebrations in larger cities. The *Festa do Santo Cristo* of Ponta Delgada and the *Sanjoaninas* (mostly secular but with a religious underpinning) of Angra do Heroísmo are two large festivals that contribute greatly to articulations and conceptions of transnational Azorean identity. The Sanjoaninas for example, each year attracts some 10,000 North American migrants and their children to the Azores, a number similar to the amount drawn back to the islands by Santo Cristo. As each town has its local Festa do Espírito Santo, many migrants choose to visit the Azores when their trip coincides with the feast in their home village. Likewise, the feasts in North America bring visits from family and friends from the islands. Visits for feasts or other purposes to the US are facilitated by laws that allow visitors holding a Portuguese passport the ability to enter and stay in the US for a period of up to three months without a Visa.⁴³

Other aspects of the feasts articulate transnational identity beyond the frequent travel between North America and the islands during the summer cycles. Regardless of the local context in which the festivals take place, and beyond the Azoreans who travel to attend them, North American feasts are enacted, to a greater or lesser extent in conscious reference to the other side of the Atlantic. Various churches in North America for example have replicas of Azorean religious icons in them, naming churches in migrant communities after churches on one's home island, and congregants will recreate aspects of feasts in the homeland.⁴⁴ It is this reference, moreover, to the transnational aspect of the feasts that provides them with the symbolic capital

⁴³ So important is the ability to maintain the transnational community, that political pressure was placed upon Congressmen and Senators serving Portuguese communities, which led to the changes in the visitor visas for those traveling with a Portuguese passport.

⁴⁴ Often laws will be broken to do so. A certain kind of bullfight (*tourada à corda*) illegal in the US that forms part of the summer festival cycle in Terceira takes place clandestinely in California and in at least one Massachusetts community.

necessary to carry out aims accomplished in the local context. Organizations running the feasts in North America create social links through their activities that serve practical political and economic ends beyond the associations themselves. Integrating members across diverse categories—including recent migrants along with long-time residents, women and men, family members and non-relatives, property owners and businessmen with their lessees and employees, those born both in the Azores and North America, etc.—the organizations form part of an adaptive process assisting individuals in finding jobs, housing, marriages, sponsorship for migration, the redistribution of political power within the community and limited forms of wealth redistribution (Cabral 1989, 1998; Moniz 1991, 1995, 1997).

Although the role of the migrant feasts may differ from context to context, what they all share—whether explicitly articulated or not—is a role in affirming and reifying conceptions of transnational Azorean community. Whatever the broader political and economic goals may be, the feasts, articulated as Azorean (or conversely Portuguese), and occurring in a way that creates tangible links between people, separate national economies, and publicly held cultural symbols, form one prominent nexus conjoining the residents of distant geographic locales into a presumed sense of commonality. Beyond transnational links created through commodity exchange, from the purchase of island products for the feasts or in plane tickets, as examples, constant reference is made to this common identity. A feast that is called “Azorean” even though it is held outside of the Azores clearly articulates this. More subtly are references known only to those with specific knowledge of publicly shared symbols, which create links between the Diaspora community and the homeland. For example, although they do not recreate the actual Sanjoaninas festival of their island, one Terceirense founded Espírito Santo feast in New England intentionally holds the celebration every year on the third weekend in June, a date that always falls within the space of the Sanjoaninas feast in Terceira.

Other aspects of religion beyond the feasts also articulate transnational identity. Masses are offered in Portuguese at North American churches and priests from the islands (or those who

have familiarity with them) will generally be preferred for permanent posts in them. Priests from the islands and the communities will also travel across the Atlantic, in official functions or making social visits. Even non-Portuguese priests will recognize the prominence of Azorean and other Lusophone congregants within the communities. Bishop Sean O'Malley, for example, gave a mass and his official farewell address as spiritual head of the Fall River diocese in Portuguese. In some cases political activism in the church will be carried out with transnational Azorean undertones: in 2000, for example an Azorean born Catholic priest in a Toronto Lusophone parish published a letter in a Canadian Portuguese language newspaper—also circulated via the Internet—declaring his homosexuality and confirming a love affair with a long term partner. The priest's cause was embraced in a transnational Azorean space as editorials supporting him were run in newspapers in both the islands and in the North American communities. Given the widespread support among the priest's parishioners, the Church allowed the priest to remain in his post, effectively ignoring the letter.

Beyond the public symbolic aspects of transnational identity achieved through religious iconography and the naming of churches, beyond money spent by returning migrants at feasts, there are other transnational economic considerations, as the migrants directly participate in fundraising for new churches in the homeland. Elucidating the dynamics of community economics in the building of the Nossa Senhora de Fátima church in Lomba do Botão, Medeiros demonstrates that the church—financed entirely through parishioners' donations—secured substantial funds from village migrants living in North America (Medeiros 1991).

Another socio-religious tradition that contributes to the transnational construction of Azorean identity are the *Romarias Quaresmais* of São Miguel, which brings a large group (*Rancho*) of peripatetic pilgrims (*Romeiros*) to every church in the island over eight days and nights, housed and fed by strangers along the way. Having undertaken the *Romaria* twice myself, the social-integrative function of the ritual is apparent immediately. Prior to telegraph and wireless communication, the *Romeiros* were instrumental in providing information about events

occurring throughout the island, as news traveled along with the group to distant villages as the they circled the island. Villages take turns hosting Ranchos of Romeiros that pass through, as community members and island strangers will feed them throughout the day. Transnational aspects of the Romarias are relevant in this context. Learning that I was from the US, in the same manner that the Romeiros with me were queried about their village, I would be questioned in the houses in which I slept about news from the North American communities.⁴⁵ As with the feasts, there are a number of Açor-North Americans who return to São Miguel to undertake the Romaria with their home villages. There is also an Açor-Canadian Rancho that undertakes the Romaria on the island every year.⁴⁶ With more than 100 Romeiros, the Canadian Rancho is equal in size to the largest Rancho from the island. Consisting of those born both in São Miguel and Canada and coming from various communities throughout the island, the Canadian Rancho had no affiliation with a specific village in the island, but was talked about by many of those I interviewed as if they represented in some way the migrant communities. With no home village in which to start the pilgrimage, the Rancho interestingly began their journey from Ponta Delgada, where they arrived at the airport. The rules of reciprocity were given an interesting twist in the case of the Canadian Rancho, as none of them would be able to directly put up those from the rancho of the village in which they spent the night (as is custom). Nonetheless they were treated as any other rancho—one woman who had taken in some from the Canadian group said that she did so specifically because they were migrants.

Although the Romaria is structurally dependent on São Miguel's geography and demographic makeup, a group of Azorean-Americans, many of whom participated in the Romaria of São Miguel established a Rancho in southeastern New England, in which the group prays and

⁴⁵ Learning that there was an Açor-American in the Pico da Pedra Rancho, one priest requested that I stay at his house, as his sister, who had just moved back to the islands to an isolated village after living in Canada for more than 30 years was hoping to talk to someone about North America in English.

⁴⁶ Although I did not undertake the Romaria with this group, they spent the night in villages in which our Rancho stayed and in some cases were housed by the same families that took me in for the night. In addition to these individuals, I also spoke with others who assisted the Canadians on their Romaria.

chants among a few local churches. Walking only one day on Good Friday, the North American Romaria does not have a broad integrative scope, but attention is paid to replicating various forms of the original, including distinctive dress, orations and comportment.

Business interests

The contribution of business interests in creating and maintaining Azorean transnationalism operates on economic, political and symbolic levels. Businesses of course function to consciously manipulate symbols and the marketing of products to enhance personal (or a corporation's) economic gain.⁴⁷ Advertising in Portuguese language newspapers, radio and television, along with general newspapers in large Azorean North American communities, companies will mention specific feasts, showing images of the Santo Cristo statue or of the *marchas* from the Sanjoaninas festival, or some other image metonymic of the islands (or a specific island). Clearly there is a practical economic benefit for a Charter air company to promote summertime travel to the islands, but how the advertising takes place and the imagery involved in it also creates and maintains the linkage among the distinct geographic locales of the Diaspora communities and the Azores themselves.

Airlines and travel agencies—given their literal role in creating links between Azoreans in the islands and abroad—benefit directly from conceptions of Azorean transnational identity. In the last year of my field research, some 160,000 passengers flew to and from the Azores and international destinations with the majority of international flights finding their origin or destination in North America.⁴⁸ This figure is significant when one considers that the resident population of the islands is only a little over 240,000. One area of commerce that benefits less

⁴⁷ Charter airlines, for example, which offer flights to the islands during the summer months, have operated not under the name of the carrier that provided the flights (which was the decidedly un-Azorean "Northeastern Airlines") but rather flew under the banner of the company contracting the flights, known as Azores Express (now in partnership with SATA Internacional, the Azores state sponsored airline).

⁴⁸ Statistics from internal documents from the Serviço Regional de Estatística, Presidência do Governo Regional dos Açores.

than others from Azorean return migration is hotel accommodation. When return migrants come for temporary visits or longer term stays they tend to stay in the homes with family and friends. This has changed somewhat in recent years through an “ethnic tourism” that has occurred, through which those—who may have little or no close family in the islands with whom they can stay—have increasingly chosen to visit a place that they conceptualize as the geographic point of origin of their identity. Such “ethnic tourism” is undertaken by smaller families, in couples and also increasingly in group-trips organized as a typical sight seeing travel junket would be; or around some common activity—a golf trip, a bike tour, a soccer tournament, a professional seminar. Frequently the trips by “ethnic tourists” might include first time visitors to their parents, grandparents or great-grandparents island along with others who are either native to the islands, or who have visited before and have close relations there. Visitors who have never been will usually seek out their forebears’ *freguesia* (village), and attempt to engage patrons in the village (usually at the local bar) about this one or that relative that someone may have known.

Restaurants and Supermarkets

Supermarkets and corner shops where one can purchase Azorean (and Portuguese) exports including wine, beer, alcohol and soft drinks, fish, cheese and other dairy products, canned and dry goods, meat and sausage, spices, pottery, embroidery, etc. are spread throughout North American migrant communities. In areas with large concentrations of Lusophone migration, one will also find Portuguese and Azorean food products in mainstream supermarkets, exported directly from the islands. Likewise Azorean or Portuguese style restaurants, cafes and bakeries are situated in the same areas, with offerings for a predominantly Azorean and Portuguese clientele. The desire to purchase goods from the homeland, or ersatz reproductions of them, has created a robust market for shop owners and restaurateurs. As for-profit enterprises, it is clearly to the benefit of the business interests that a market is created for the cultural

commodities of consumption that they sell. Being cast as a “Portuguese” or “Azorean” bakery is also good for business with non-Portuguese, attracting a potential “dining tourism” clientele.⁴⁹

Clearly conceptions of Azorean transnationalism take place through the mediating efforts of profit driven commodity brokers. But Portuguese and Azorean owned businesses that do not necessarily sell goods from the islands also work to promote discourses of transnationalism. Various Portuguese owned companies will hire predominantly Lusophone or Azorean workers, even when the products sold are not directly related to the homeland, or when a Portuguese language speaker might be necessary (as in a travel agency or a restaurant). Hiring practices tend to occur through word-of-mouth, with preferences given to family, to friends that are known either personally or through trusted references or to the family of friends or co-workers. Only after first exhausting these connections, are positions advertised in newspaper want ads, and even then, usually in want ads in the Portuguese language press. Other aspects of community life including buying, selling or renting houses, also occur through word-of-mouth contacts (Teixeira 1999). When an apartment is for rent in a Portuguese neighborhood for example, word of an apartment’s availability will be followed by postings at local Portuguese cafes, bakeries restaurants and grocery stores or through established networks such as the announcements’ bulletin at a local (Portuguese) church.

In an older study that remains relevant Estep (1941) has pointed out that in Azorean settlement areas in the US where members of the community owned their own businesses and hired employees, the retention of cultural features from the homeland was more prominent. Looking at two distinct migrant communities, the author argues that more overt discrimination against the Portuguese in Hawaii and less community cohesion there caused the Hawaiian Portuguese to lose cultural features in a way that did not occur in California. In California, the

⁴⁹ One bakery/diner in an Azorean and Cape Verdean community in New England for example has a sign proclaiming it as a “Portuguese bakery and café”. Notwithstanding the fact that *linguiça* is available and that *papo-seco* rolls are made on the premises, there is little “Portuguese” about the bakery, which serves predominantly the same hash and egg type dishes one would find in any other non-Azorean diner in the town (which themselves also serve *linguiça* and often *papo-secos*).

author argues, the Portuguese were firmly in control of the dairy and fishing industries—industries that they controlled as a group, and so were able to gain status as Azoreans, resulting in their segregating themselves and retaining cultural traits and a commitment to group identity. In such communities, the ability to get jobs was predicated in large part upon one's demonstration of familiarity with the Portuguese language, cultural codes, rituals and other cultural symbols and symbolic behavior. My own research with Portuguese agricultural associations (Moniz 1998a) confirms this conclusion, accenting the importance of instrumental considerations in the maintenance of both transnational and locally enacted ethnic identities.

Although an argument could be made that it is in their direct financial benefit to promote transnational discourses, the strength of the affective tie to the homeland—among both the business owners and their patrons—cannot be discounted. Donations to pay for scholarship awards, cultural events, socio-religious festivals, church activities in the communities all derive their funding in large part from Portuguese owned businesses and businesses that sell Azorean goods. Further, much of public community life tends to be centered around these establishments. Whether one makes a quick inquiry about a sick mother in the islands while shopping at a bakery, has a cup of coffee with a visitor from one's home village or attends a large dinner celebrating a baptism or in honor of one's island or freguesia, the businesses offer Azoreans a public space that provides both a *de facto* link to the homeland, as the space is used to consciously create links to the homeland.

As centers of community life, the establishments serve to bring disperse migrants together for various purposes. Formal dinners and informal dinners take place at the restaurants, bringing migrants together. It is often the case that special guests will be invited from the Azores, including media and academic figures who have talked about the transnational connection. Musical acts (either local or from the islands) will bring patrons to the restaurants, and extreme measures can be taken to recreate the cultural context in which certain performances are

situated.⁵⁰ Political activism has been centered around the restaurants, as meetings for various political projects have taken place there, offered for these purposes either free of charge, at a reduced rate or at cost, by the owners—who themselves often participate. Examples of projects include planning meetings for voter awareness, voter registration, and citizenship drives; and political meetings for Azorean and Portuguese candidates for office.

One example that nicely relates the social importance of these establishments as public community spaces creating transnational links was a situation surrounding the deportation of a waiter at a Madeirense restaurant frequented by a predominantly Azorean clientele. The waiter had married an American citizen solely for the purposes of obtaining a green card, and had been in the US for about a year when, someone tipped off the INS that he was “not really married to the woman.” The community rallied around the waiter (a favorite figure, both popular from the restaurant and from his organization of a theater and musical troupe). Political pressure was placed on the state’s Congressmen and Senators by an influential Lusophone business and political establishment to help him remain, resulting in his deportation order being changed to an “invitation to leave,” a status that potentially allows for a speedier return. The restaurant where he worked donated a dinner on his behalf which was attended by several hundred members of the community, all paying \$30 a person—money that was given to the waiter to assist legal costs and his relocation back to the Azores.

There is a symbiotic relationship—both financial and affective—among owners of business establishments that cater to needs for Azorean cultural production, a relationship that both acts to maintain transnational links to the homeland as it does to create them. The cyclical

⁵⁰ Some years ago, Rhode Island state law prohibited an Azorean bar where musical performances of the Fado (lasting all night in Portugal) took place from remaining open past 2:00 am on the weekends. The owner and patrons skirted the law by closing down at 2:00 am, turning off all of the lights and driving away before returning en masse to sneak in the back door listening to music and pouring wine until dawn. Another example was an Azorean bar that opened in a Lusophone community but had not procured a liquor license to sell alcohol. Although there were any number of bars serving alcohol on the street, so important was the atmosphere and the community of this particular Portuguese bar that the patrons conspired with the owners to break the law, referring to the brandy they sipped in little teacups with one another as “September Tea”.

nature of the process—migrant desires for products from the homeland create a market; and as symbolic markers of ethnic in-group identity are available, group boundaries can be formed which then maintain or augment the market for the products. Affective ties to the homeland are only part of the picture. From the above examples it is clear that important adaptive survival needs of the transnational migrant communities are satisfied through the connection, which provide conduits for broad aspects of community social, economic and political life, along with every-day aspects of survival including finding homes, jobs and feeding oneself or one's family.

Politics in North America

The instrumental use of symbols around Azorean transnational identity extends beyond Azorean politicians promoting transnational projects to include North American politicians as well. Of course candidates for public office—both migrants and Lusophone descendents—will emphasize their identity, campaigning in Portuguese, participating in festivals, civic and cultural events and advertising in Portuguese language newspapers. Incumbents will promote legislative issues of importance to their core constituency,⁵¹ but for non-Azoreans and non-Portuguese campaigning for office, the attempt to reach voters in the Lusophone community is necessary, especially in areas where there are high numbers of Portuguese-speakers, such as the Massachusetts communities in New Bedford, Fall River, Taunton, Brockton, Somerset and Cambridge; in East Providence and Pawtucket Rhode Island; the central valley of California and outside of San Francisco (which have elected two Azoreans to the US Congress: Rep. Tony Coelho and recently Rep. Dennis Cardoza) and the heavily Portuguese-speaking districts of Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, and Vancouver, Canada.

⁵¹ Massachusetts State Representative, Tony Cabral, for example, who serves Portuguese communities in southeastern New England, for example, has been the leading legislator advocating for bilingual education in the Massachusetts State House, first introducing the bill that became law and subsequently fighting to continue funding for it.

Until recently the Lusophone communities of the United States (and to a lesser extent Canada) have been characterized by apathy when it comes to participation in the political process (see Marinho 1992, Barrows et al. 2002, Almeida 1990, Costa 2002, Duarte 2000). Among the reasons often cited for voter apathy among the Portuguese in North America, include their long-standing disenfranchisement from the political process in Portugal under the dictatorship. Having lived for so long without democratic power under the dictatorship in Portugal the predominantly peasant migrants who settled in North America had little experience in participatory democracy. When power was exercised by those outside of the state authority, it was usually conducted locally, through local freguesia-level institutions including lay participation in the parish church; in socio-religious civic activities such as feasts; in voluntary associations around the freguesia football team; through the reinforcement of social relations in the public sphere such as bars and public squares; and through the imposition of social relations through marriages and local property sales (the latter two examples are from Hicks 1974 and personal communication 1996). These processes were to a large extent recreated in North America, providing certain Azoreans with power in the local community, but did not in and of itself lead to greater voter participation. Another factor often cited is that many migrants from the Portuguese state were not eligible to vote given that they were not citizens, nor did many ever become citizens. Even among those Azoreans who became citizens in the US, for many, the goal was moreover to remain in the country with the ability to move back and forth to and from the islands than it was to be eligible to vote.

Migrants coming to the islands during and after the 25 de Abril period had different ideas about voter participation than the older generation and participated more overtly in political processes. The Azorean and Portuguese community developed an identity as a political interest group and began successfully to run candidates for office, manifested against unfair discriminatory practices against the group, and began to vote in greater numbers (*O Jornal* June

3, 2002).⁵² In this way, articulations of Açorianidade in the islands had a direct effect on the politics of the communities. Discourses around a distinct Azorean identity, causing those in the islands to conceive of themselves as a group with particular interests in common, made their way into the migrant communities in North America, where Azoreans and Portuguese set themselves apart as a political interest group in their respective communities. Further, as more migrants arrived who had a direct familiarity with participatory democracy, the composition of the North American communities has also been transformed.

Intellectuals, workers in social assistance programs, activists and immigrant's rights groups, have, since the post 25 de Abril period, increasingly promoted programs designed to increase Portuguese voter participation in North American elections. Citizenship campaigns and voter registration drives have met with increasing success as Portuguese passport holders realize that they do not have to give up Portuguese citizenship in order to become US and Canadian citizens. The Portuguese government and Portuguese grant institutions have contributed to voter registration drives. The Fundação Luso-Americana, for example, sponsors a voter registration and awareness project that provides funding to increase Portuguese voter participation through initiatives organized by social clubs, activist groups, and church groups. As a voting bloc recognized by politicians; and as a constituency with a set of overlapping interests that can be addressed through political rhetoric or assisted concretely through proposed legislation, the North American Portuguese and Azorean voters exert influence over elections. As a result, non-Portuguese and Azorean candidates for office alike will pay for advertisements appearing in Portuguese language newspapers, and on Portuguese language radio and television stations, often appealing to values they perceive to be in common with the Lusophone communities. Politically astute office holders will make regular appearances at Portuguese and Azorean voluntary civic

⁵² It should be noted that throughout the 20th century, the Portuguese aligned for political and economic purposes although the form this organization took was through Unions and trade associations not through voting participation (see Lauck 1912; P. Silva 1976; Georgianna 1993, Moniz 1998a, Estep 1941, Edelstein 1986).

association gatherings, to meet and greet and have their pictures appear in Portuguese language newspapers. Politicians will be certain to make whatever connection they can in their personal or professional lives to the Azores or Portugal in their appeal to Lusophone voters (Moniz 2000b).⁵³

Eager to demonstrate their familiarity with the land from which many of their constituents have come, national and state politicians in heavily Azorean voting districts will make visits to the Azores; as they have also worked to pass legislation favorable to Azoreans living both in North America and in the islands themselves. Democratic RI Senator Claiborne Pell made US policy in the Azores a prominent part of his Senate activities. Quick to point out that 10% of his RI constituents were from Portugal, most of these from the islands, among some of Pell's contributions to the Azores were bills sponsoring monetary aid for disaster relief and facilitating Azorean migration. In published comments, Sen. Pell (1976) pointed out the importance that migration had in politically linking the US to Portugal, specifically to the Azores.⁵⁴

Beyond pandering to constituents for the purposes of re-election, demonstrating a commitment to the issues of Azorean migrants in the US also bolsters discourses around the construction of a "special relationship" shared by the United States and migrants from the Portuguese state, a necessary part of discourses intended to keep the geo-strategically important islands within the US sphere of influence.⁵⁵ In essence the "special relationship" presents the

⁵³ Campaigning outside of the Lusophone communities of Massachusetts Senator John Kerry makes little mention that his wife, the former wife of Pennsylvania Senator John Heinz, is from Mozambique, her father from continental Portugal, however within the Diaspora communities of Massachusetts, Teresa Simões Heinz made public appearances among Lusophone voters on behalf of her husband's Senate campaigns. Upon her husband's founding of a Presidential exploratory committee, a Portuguese-language newspaper ran the front page head line "a Portuguese First Lady in the White House?".

⁵⁴ The timing of the publication making reference to Azorean separatist sentiment is interesting given the US active role then in promoting Azorean independence.

⁵⁵ See Monjardino (2000) for an examination of the Lajes base and the dynamic of the "special relationship". Although he misreads the contemporary role of the North American communities in driving political relations among the US/Azores/Portugal geopolitical triangle, he raises interesting questions and makes salient critiques about the discourses surrounding the "special relationship" that do not play out in reality. Interestingly, it is the fact that there is a presumed "special relationship" between the US and the

view that the Portuguese and the US have long shared common global strategic interests using the history of Portuguese migration to the United States to bolster the argument.⁵⁶ Other non-Azorean politicians including Rep. Barney Frank, Rep. Patrick Kennedy, Mayors in Azorean cities, Canadian politicians have also visited the islands, in an effort to create their own personal link to their constituents. Candidates reach out in other ways as well. In the months prior to the vote of his 2000 re-election Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts secured one million dollars for the bilingual Casa da Saudade library in New Bedford amid the flashing light bulbs and hum of video cameras from the Portuguese print and television media.

As politicians from the Azores travel to the migrant communities and politicians from North America travel to the Azores in symbolic gestures intended to appeal to voters back in their constituencies, Azorean transnational identity is reinforced. Embedded within the transnational Diaspora context, these visits to the islands by politicians—both Azorean and non-Azorean alike—work to further emphasize that the local migrant community and the homeland intrinsically occupy a common economic, political and historical sphere. Even if that sphere is largely symbolic.

Cultural production: art, literature and music

Another area connected to Azorean transnationalism is the flow of cultural production. Recordings and performances by Azorean and Açor-North American musical acts; museum exhibits of painting, sculpture and ethnography; theater productions; books and book launchings; and films move with frequency among the islands and the communities. Undertaken through public and private initiative, cultural events are sponsored by some combination of governmental organizations, grant institutions, universities, voluntary civic associations, private promoters,

Azores that assists the advocacy of the political interests of those involved in constructions of *Açorianidade*.

⁵⁶ At a meeting in the islands to renegotiate US rights to the Lajes airbase both Pres. Nixon and Portuguese Premiere Caetano mentioned the migrants from the islands as a link between the two nations (Caetano 1971).

business organizations, impresarios and volunteers, usually working in concert to offset costs and advertise the events (unless an event is sponsored exclusively by a promoter, which is rare). In most cases the above organizations sponsor the programs either for free or at a reduced cost to the public.

Much like transnational television programming, cultural events offer both those performing and those in their audiences a way to conceptualize transnational links, while also creating a space in which transnational community is conceived. That so many cultural events from the Azores take place with such a high frequency in North American Azorean communities is in and of itself an indication of the ties among the geographically disperse communities, but discourses surrounding their performance will also emphasize the connection. The kinds of performances are diverse but will reflect both established Azorean musical, poetic and artistic traditions along with contemporary interpretations some of which consciously reflect the transnational migratory experience. As illustrated above, Azorean literature and poetry has long been informed by the migrant experience, both in works published in the islands, as well as in North America. Other art forms including plays and teleplays still produced in the islands are about migrant communities such as the 1978 play *Ah! Mõnim dum Corisco!* (Almeida, written in and first produced in the United States) or have characters or elements that reflect the migrant communities such as Urbano Bettencourt's television adaptation of Nemésio's *Mau Tempo no Canal*. Works of the early 20th century Azorean master painter Domingos Rebelo focused on migration (i.e.: *Os Emigrantes* 1926, see plate 1 on the following page), giving way to late 20th century painters such as Tomaz Vieira who touch on transnational Azorean themes (i.e. *Os Regressantes*. 1987, which treats return migration see plate 2 on the following page) or who work and reside in North America.

Exhibits of Azorean painters' works are frequently shown in migrant communities along with art reflecting transnational and insular themes. The eight major museums in the islands along with numerous other local freguesia museums in the islands have had



Plate 1. *Os Emigrantes* ("The Immigrants"), 1926. Domingos Rebelo.
Museu Carlos Machado, Ponta Delgada, Azores



Plate 2. *Os Regressantes* (The Return Migrants), 1987. Tomaz Vieira.
Museu Carlos Machado, Ponta Delgada, Azores

exhibitions that explore migrant artists, and migrant themes through art and ethnography. In migrant communities, Azorean cultural institutions have held similar exhibitions as have other museums serving the broader public but situated in or near migrant communities along with institutions in continental Portugal.⁵⁷

One example elucidating the role of such exhibits in affirming and creating conceptions of transnational identity existed in an installation at the Immigrants Museum of Boston. Centered around an ethnographic display of the Espírito Santo feasts. The exhibit included photographic and video representations of the rituals both as they are practiced in various islands and in migrant communities, iconography and objects from the rituals, recorded interviews with scholars who had familiarity with both the Azorean and migrant versions of the feasts; and was accompanied by a lecture series that included talks by scholars touching upon transnational themes and a feature length film that (vaguely) treated deportation accompanied by a discussion panel. Opened with a lecture at the Boston Public Library, the exhibit and program was attended by a variety of dignitaries, scholars, public officials and community members including the Portuguese Consul to Boston, the head of the Boston Immigrant's Museum and the organizers from an area Azorean voluntary association. The program was itself supported by the association, the Azorean government and Institutional grant money.⁵⁸

The Film *Duplo Exílio/Double Exile*, heralded as a film depicting deportation, was screened as part of the program. The film's director was present and I was invited along with a migrant legal rights activist from the community to discuss the film and the ramifications of deportation in the Azores. Putting aside the unfortunate plot holes, the implausibility of the story line driving the action, and the fact that the film did very little by way of depicting deportee

⁵⁷ As examples, The Fundação Franklin Cascaes in Santa Catarina, Brasil, the Instituto Camões and the Fundação Luso-Americana in Lisbon, and the New Bedford Whaling museum, have all had exhibits of this kind.

⁵⁸ One talk examined Azorean-American autobiographies published in the United States, analyzing how the authors treated the migrant condition through the links that tied them to both America and the homeland (Côta Fagundes 2002).

life,⁵⁹ it did provide a forum for the discussion of migration issues relevant to the community and prompted much discussion among the audience and the panel. The film also included some spectacular footage of São Miguel, a fact, noticed by a number of audience members who used the images as an opportunity to reflect on home with the rest of those in attendance.

Music

Folk and popular music is another cultural product promoting transnational exchange. As many Azoreans and their children travel across the Atlantic to attend local and major festas, musicians also make journeys to participate in official roles for the feasts. Nearly every freguesia in the islands, for example, has a *filharmonica*, a large ensemble brass, reed, and drum marching band, which often travels to North America to perform at festas and other events, as the many North American *filharmonicas* go to the Azores to perform. Dancing troupes and other musical groups make the trip for feasts, including performances surrounding *Carnival*. At the Sanjoaninas, for example, dancing troupes and *filharmonicas* will perform in a large procession, preceded by a banner announcing the freguesia they represent. Groups that come from North America will be mixed in with local groups carrying a banner announcing the town in the US and Canada from which they have come. The effect is such that transnational communities are treated as just another local island freguesia.

Other public musical performances in the islands that articulate transnational Azorean themes include the staged performances of the *desafio*—in which singers improvise clever quatrains building off previous verses, usually resulting in one of the singers, or someone in the audience, or some village being humorously insulted. Major performances of a *desafio* are not

⁵⁹ The preposterous story line finds the film's protagonist deported only after being framed in an absurd plot twist. On the island a wealthy woman has him pretend to be her long lost North American migrant brother to calm her dying mother. The "deportee", David Santos, spends his time rowing across the majestic lake of Furnas, living in one of islands' most opulent houses, reciting Shakespeare and making love to the younger sister of the woman who recruited him into the charade. In my discussion I offered to renounce my US citizenship and be placed on the next plane to São Miguel if it could be guaranteed that I would live the life of the film's deportee protagonist.

complete without a return migrant singing in the rounds. In one performance I attended the return migrant *desafio* singer was made the butt of many jokes in verse that not only poked fun at him personally, but in the way a singer stands in for his village, also made fun of the North American migrant communities and those from them who had returned for the festival. Of course there needed to have been knowledge of the migrant communities in order to make such jokes and have them be as successful as they were (judging by the laughter and applause) among the audience. Not to be outdone (indeed that is the very point of the *desafio*) the migrant singer was quick to make jokes of the others, improvising quatrains that touched on themes of the islanders' backwardness and their reliance on money sent from abroad, etc.

Apart from the feasts are other traditional performances that cross the Atlantic such as folk music groups, Fado singers and Tunas Académicas. Tunas are large ritualized ensemble groups that form an integral part of University life in both Portugal, Spain and in some other Iberian South American institutions. There have been various visits made by members of the University of the Azores Tuna to North America communities and Universities with large Azorean student populations. At the University of Toronto a group of Luso and Açor-American students founded a Tuna working in collaboration with a group of Azorean exchange students. Since its founding in 1998, the group has performed in the Azores, in Portugal and regularly tour the Luso-Canadian communities.

Azorean folk music acts perform regularly among the communities. One can purchase cassettes and compact disks of the music from these bands at Portuguese and Açor-American bakeries, restaurants, convenience stores and *armazéns*. Another traditional music form that supports the conceptions of transnational identity includes presentations of the Fado. *Fadistas*, (Fado singers)—performing mournful, soulful rhythms of late night Lisbon and Coimbra—criss-cross the ocean, playing to both large theater-sized audiences, or to the cozy audience dining in a restaurant. One of the better-known male *Fadistas* in Portugal is an Azorean migrant to America, Dinis Paiva (who sang traditional Azorean songs in the wedding scene in the Julia Roberts film

Mystic Pizza). Dinis Paiva frequently travels to the Azores and continental Portugal to perform and is celebrated there as both an Azorean and a migrant *Fadista*. He also occasionally sings at a restaurant he owns in a Luso-American community in East Providence, Rhode Island. Other internationally renowned Lusophone singers will play venues that would never be able to attract such large names if not for the presence of the migrant community. Two prominent examples are the Lisbon based band Madredeus and Cesaria Evora from Cape Verde. The list of performers headlining both Alice Tully Hall and the Berkeley performing arts center is long, but the list shrinks dramatically when it includes those that can also claim having played the Zeiterion theater in New Bedford and the Teatro Micaelense in Ponta Delgada, in the same tour. Although these performers may reflect broader discourses of Lusophone identity, Azoreans compose a substantial part of their North American audiences.

There are also specifically, Azorean Diaspora musicians, born either in the islands, or beyond them, that create links among the communities. A number of locally known pop music acts travel to or from North America and the islands to perform, but there have also been some major acts with popular followings outside of Azorean communities. Among the more prominent include Nuno Bettencourt, the front man for the band Extreme (whose song “More than words” reached as high as #2 on the US Top 40 Charts) who migrated with his family to an Azorean community in California and Lúcia Moniz who was born in Lisbon, but whose parents were also from Terceira. Bettencourt has lived among the US, the Azores and Portugal, where he has had a successful solo career with hits on the US and European charts. For her part, Lúcia Moniz, has been on European and US charts. Both Lúcia Moniz and Nuno Bettencourt have consciously articulated an Azorean identity, even as they live predominantly outside of the islands and have developed non-Azorean audiences. Indeed part of their appeal to Azoreans is that although they have international audiences, they remained (at least rhetorically) linked to the community. Discourses around the Grammy award winning pop musician Nelly Furtado illustrate this dynamic clearly. The daughter of migrants from São Miguel who was born in Vancouver, Furtado

consciously articulates an identity of a transnational Azorean, actively promoting her connection to the islands. Furtado is as likely to give interviews in *Rolling Stone* as she is to give Portuguese language interviews to a local AM radio station in Fall River. Discussing her Azorean background—in both the Azorean and non-Azorean press—as one of the musical influences that make her art unique.

In one example of her conscious articulation of a link to the Azores, *hortênsias* (hydrangeas) form part of the visual imagery in the “MTV Best Video of the Year” nominee for her song, “Turn off the light.” The *hortênsias* may present just another artistic element in the video to the general viewer, but for those with knowledge of the cultural codes, the flower is as metonymic for the islands as the Eiffel Tower is for Paris. A less subtle image is the turn-table DJ who can be seen mixing in front of a large Azorean flag painted on the wall behind him, while in another scene, a close-up of a seated Nelly Furtado reveals her playing a guitar, the entire front of which is painted with an Azorean flag.

In another example, after her introduction for a performance on the *The Late Show with David Letterman* in 2001, just prior to beginning her song, she looked at the camera and in Portuguese wished her father a Happy Birthday. It is a gesture of this kind—given Azorean cultural sensibilities toward family, toward maintaining links to the community once success has been achieved outside it, and in marking herself as both Portuguese, Azorean and through her accent as Micaelense—that in part makes Nelly Furtado so popular to Azorean-North American audiences. The various awards and institutional accolades received by the singer indicate her place in the public eye beyond the communities and she certainly promotes her career to non-Azoreans, but it is her continued efforts to maintain links to the community, even as she has had this success outside it, that Nelly Furtado has the place she does in discourses around local articulations of ethnic identity and broader articulations of transnational identity.

This status inevitably forms the background for any article about her musical exploits in the Luso-American or Azorean press. In an interview given to one of the Azores main

newspapers prior to her first concert in the islands, her conscious articulation of her status as an Açor and Luso-Canadian singer is apparent, as is the interviewer's treatment of her in this role. It is worth excerpting:⁶⁰

...the soccer field in Praia da Vitoria will be full to welcome Nelly Furtado for her first concert in the Azores.... In an interview...the Luso-Canadian singer promises an unforgettable show....[One of] her ambitions is to put out a record with Portuguese songs....

DI - Tonight is your first concert in the Azores. What are your expectations?

NF- I expect it to be a great concert. I know some of the musicians from here, Nuno Bettencourt-who used to be with Extreme-and Lúcia Moniz, and all of them have great things to say about this place. Now I want to be the one experiencing it. It was easy to come here, now I expect other invitations (laughs). I know that there are a lot of people waiting for this concert, and I am here to offer them a great time.

DI - Are there any contacts between the musicians of Azorean origin?

NF - Some. It is important for us all to know each other, even to talk about our experiences....

DI - What musicians have influenced your work?

NF- My work was influenced by many Brazilian artists.... But I have always listened to Amália Rodrigues... even though I am singing in English, I think that behind this album there is a definite Portuguese sound. This work has sentiment, it has *saudade*....Deep down this record speaks for my generation, a generation that is multi-cultural...

DI - Do you listen to Portuguese music, particularly Azorean music?

NF - Yes. Right now, I know more musicians from Continente..... From the Azores I heard a lot of desafio songs. When I was a child my father used to love these songs and used to listen to them a lot. At the time I didn't like them (laughs)... but now I am very thankful of those times because they were an influence on me....

DI- Where do you get your inspiration to write the words to your songs?

NF - There is a song in "Whoa Nelly" called "Onde Estás." This song is dedicated to the Azores, particularly São Miguel, especially to the time that I was here. I was born

⁶⁰ The interview from which these excerpts are taken was originally published in *Diário Insular* (Angra do Heroísmo), August 10, 2002. These excerpts however were taken from an English translation on Nelly Furtado's official website (<http://www.shitontheradio.com/text/ns020810.htm#di>, accessed January 5 2003). As both Portuguese and English versions were included on the website, I was able to edit some of grammatical inaccuracies in the João Carlos Tristão translation that follows.

in Canada and when I was visiting here everything was different from now. This song reflects that life experience....

DI - When will we have a record sung in Portuguese?

NF - On my third record I want to have some songs in Portuguese. Maybe I will choose some old songs I wrote in Portuguese....⁶¹

Beyond her role in constructions and affirmations of transnational identity, discourses surrounding Nelly Furtado promoted by the singer, the press, and her audience also serve the communities in other practical ways. Furtado, for example participated in a fundraising dinner for the Portuguese American Scholarship Foundation (PASF) situated in southeastern New England. The dinner in her honor brought in close to 100,000 dollars, money intended for scholarships and the support of other community activities by the association. Contributing to the success of the night from a financial standpoint—in what was the single largest PASF fundraiser ever—was Nelly Furtado's celebrity among the community, which accounted for the high turnout of the almost entirely Azorean and Portuguese patrons. The choice of Furtado as an honored guest by the organization was certainly advantageous and also demonstrates how constructions and affirmations of Azorean transnational identity work to benefit those in a local context. Nelly Furtado's celebrity in the community is in large part derived from her status as an Azorean/Portuguese-North American woman. The markers of her ethnic identity (as the child of Azorean migrants, as a speaker of Portuguese, etc.) are obviously the font of this status, but beyond this, her conscious use of symbols to affirm that identity also emphasizes her place among an Azorean viewing audience. In turn, Furtado's celebrity and her willingness to let the

⁶¹ At the end of 2003, Nelly Furtado released the album *Folklore* that contains songs that draw on traditional Azorean rhythms, and also appeals to a broader lusophone audience with a duet she sings with Brazilian icon Caetano Veloso. Furtado's official website promoting the disk brings one to an interactive panorama with images depicting the Azores in the foreground with Canada looming in the far back of the scene (<http://www.nellyfurtado.com/nelly.html>, accessed March 5, 2004). In another example of how Nelly Furtado both reflects and serves to enhance transnational identity discourses, one song from the album, "Força," was selected by the Portuguese Football Federation, responsible for organizing the 2004 European Cup hosted by Portugal to be the "official song of the 2004 European Cup."

community benefit from it (working to further enhance her status) are used to generate economic benefits including money for scholarships and political activities.

The dynamic surrounding Nelly Furtado is not unique among other musicians, artists and writers. Of course the Azorean media celebrates the artistic accomplishments of Açor-Americans whose work has met with commercial and critical successes—oftentimes no matter how tenuous the connection to the islands. Newspapers have run articles on the Azorean connections of those who do not articulate any sense—conscious or otherwise—of Azorean identity, one example being Tom Hanks (who had a grandparent so the newspaper columnists write, who was Azorean). Stories do run on artists who *do* consciously articulate an Azorean identity, or in whose work the Azores figure prominently. These include Morse Prize winner, poet Frank X. Gaspar and Drue Heinz award for fiction winner, Katherine Vaz, among many others.

Relevant for constructions of Azorean transnational identity is the fact that Gaspar, Vaz, Nelly Furtado, and Nuno Bettencourt all achieved their success in the islands, performing and writing in English. Gaspar and Vaz have both been translated into Portuguese, but the only reason they were translated into Portuguese in the first place was the popularity they received among Azoreans in migrant communities, who promoted the artists later in the islands.⁶² Their translated works can be found in libraries and bookstores throughout the islands, but the writers were first read widely—even in the Azores—in English. Familiarity with the English language exists among broad sectors of the population, not only among an educated elite, but also, due to the presence of the US air base and the long history of migrations between the islands and North America, among a poor partially illiterate agrarian-based working class. Sponsoring Frank Gaspar's visit and Katherine Vaz' numerous visits and public appearance tours in the Azores, for example, have been Azorean government agencies including the Departments of Culture and the

⁶² See various articles over the five-year run of the *Suplemento Açoriano de Cultura* (Ponta Delgada).

Communities, local municipal governments working alone or together with the University of the Azores and even private bookstores.

Like the musicians, these writers have appeal not only to those in North America and the Azores, but also in continental Portugal. As with other prominent Azorean public figures, intellectuals, writers, artists, and musicians who have gained prominence in continental Portugal, they are perceived as both Portuguese, but also understood to represent the Azores, and the Azorean/Portuguese migrant communities in Diaspora. In this way the individuals not only serve conceptions of transnational Azorean identity in North America, they also contribute to constructions of a separate Azorean identity within the continent. In this vein are a group of older Azorean intellectuals, artists and writers living on the continent whose activities create an Azorean space there. Another group representing this process is a small movement of Azorean writers born in continental Portugal whose parents were from the islands. Although the themes of their works do not necessarily reflect those of the older generation, the group yet consciously articulates an Azorean identity, maintaining contact with the archipelago, by placing themselves intellectually into an Azorean literary tradition.⁶³ Fiction, essays and poetry from those in the group also appear frequently in the publications like the *Azores Digital* on-line newspaper, the Portuguese Times and the SAAL literary supplement.

Touradas

Touradas, also called *corridas* or “bullfights” in English have a long tradition in the Azores, specifically on the island of Terceira. There are two distinct kinds of touradas each with distinct histories and traditions but both serving roles in the construction and articulation of Azorean transnational identity. Over the years, the Portuguese and the Spanish have developed distinctive styles of corridas, and in Terceira one will find both styles represented during the

⁶³ For the Lisbon launch of a book by Terceirense writer Joel Neto, the group set up window display in the bookstore with a banner announcing the return of the “FLA” recalling the Azorean separatist revolutionary group, although the acronym they spelled out read “Frente de Literatura Açoriana”.

island's main annual *espectáculo taurino*, taking place as a part of the Sanjoaninas festival. A pure Portuguese corrida does not include a matador, but rather emphasizes the work of the *cavaleiros*, or horsemen accompanied by a group of *forcados*, who, in an artistic ballet of power subdue the bull without aid of cape or spear or sword. The Terceirense forcados take great pride in national critics assessment of their performance consistently evaluated as one of the preeminent groups in Portugal. During the 1980s, a distinguished Terceirense forcado migrated to one of the Azorean communities of the Central Valley of California where he founded a *Tertúlia Tauromáquica*—an association concerned with organizing all aspects of a touradas promotion. As part of their activities, the group worked with California-Azorean *ganadeiros* (ranchers who raise the kind of bulls specifically intended to perform in touradas) built a Praça de Toiros and trained a group of forcados who were culled from the local community including both Azorean migrants and the US-born children of Azorean migrants.

Beyond performing at the Praça constructed for touradas in California, the migrant Azorean forcados have also performed in Terceira accompanied by their families and a support network that included the largest ganadeiro in California (a Terceirense migrant rancher). The invitation of the California forcados extended by organizers of the Terceirense tourada had much to do with attempts to maintain a connection among the migrants and their homeland, and according to one television commentator had explicit economic motives. "A lot of it has to do with money. [The forcados] from California all have a lot of family, both here and there and they all buy tickets to come and watch." This was a sentiment also echoed by one of the Terceirense forcados (Moniz 1997).

The forcados from the Central Valley, having learned their craft from a Terceirense, were similar in technique and style to the group from the island. Those from the island with whom I spoke were profuse in their praise of the migrants who brought "the Terceirense *arte tauromáquica* to America." One forcado told me "there is a brotherhood of all forcados, but the Californians are Terceirenses. They are Americans too, but the one who trained them all was in

our group before he left [for California]. From Terceira, they brought our style to America.”

There was however much discussion over the nature of that “style” during the ensuing tourada. Often strutting about the main bullfight bar clad in their bright red-and-black satin lettermen jackets with the words “suicide squad” and an angry charging bull silk-screened on the back, the Terceirenses found some of the bravado of the Açor-Americans gauche. One forcado observing his North American counterparts modeling their suicide squad jackets in the bar scoffed “to *pegar* (perform with) bulls is not a competition, it is art.” The ambivalent relationship, however was not an issue a few years later, when the Terceirenses group accepted an invitation to travel to the Central Valley in 1998 for a Tourada hosted by the California Tertúlia. Picking up one of the Terceirenses forcados at the airport in Boston (a friend who was visiting for the summer) as the rest of his group returned to the Azores, I was able to conduct some interviews with him and others in the group who stayed to spend time with family in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Those with whom I spoke talked about how different the touradas were in California, especially crinkling their noses at the prohibition on iron *farpas* on the cavaleiros spears in the US, forcing them to perform by jamming Velcro “farpas” onto a blanket wrapped around the bull’s shoulders—an embarrassing prospect according to the forcados and at least one cavaleiro. Simultaneously, however, they all expressed great admiration for the “Terceirenses” for trying to practice the tourada in America, even if the sensibilities of such touradas were skewed when compared to those in the islands.

Making the trip with the forcados were also family members, girlfriends, wives, and in some cases children and those with family in California, Southeastern New England and even Canada who used the trip in part as an opportunity to travel to the states to see relatives. In fact, the flight was purposely designed to lay over in Boston to allow those with family in the area the chance to stay as they made their way back to the islands on later flights or just to a chance give a hug and kiss at the airport while waiting for their connection or as one individual did, to catch a flight from Boston to Toronto to visit relatives there.

Other aspects of tourada tradition have also worked to articulate Açorianidade and transnational Azorean identity, for example, one particular trip that the group took in 1999 to perform in the cathedral of all Portuguese touradas, the Campo Pequeno in Lisbon. The forcados from the Terceirense Tertúlia were accompanying the Terceirense cavaleiro, Mario Miguel on the occasion of his *alternativa*, a ritualized tourada through which *torreadores* gain professional status. It was the first time that the forcados were to perform in Campo Pequeno and the groups Captain urged that they represent Terceira and the Açores in Lisbon with the honor that the group had achieved. After the President signaled the end of the of the tourada, Mario Miguel received his accolades and the Terceirense forcados and their families broke out into a spontaneous chant of “Terceira! Terceira! Terceira! Terceira!” punctuating the still of the Campo Pequeno evening. It was a spirit that carried on to the dinner and reception offered in Mario Miguel’s honor, where families, invited guests, telejournalists of RTP Açores, Azorean Parliamentary Deputies and Azorean National Parliamentary Deputies ate and drank until dawn. Performing at the dinner was the Tuna from the Casa dos Açores de Lisboa, which sang from a repertoire that included traditional Azorean songs. In both a de facto manner, and through consciously articulated demonstrations, the events worked to mark the Azorean and Terceirense group apart from Continental Portugal, and in this was demonstrating to all in attendance the separate space of Azorean identity.

Another kind of tourada practiced both in Terceira and among migrant communities is the *Tourada à corda*, a kind of bullfight that developed locally on the island of Terceira. Popular with Terceirenses, return migrants and tourists, they held in every single village in Terceira during the summer months; in certain Azorean communities in the US; and widely in the “Azorean” communities of Southern Brazil, where they are known by as the “*farra de boi*”. In the tourada à corda, a number of bulls, usually four, each take turns running along the streets and in the plazas of local villages. Many Portuguese migrants and their children who have returned for the feasts mingle with Terceirenses from neighboring villages at the tourada à corda which also provide the

returning migrants with yet another reason to visit one's home village during the summer. This type of tourada is also practiced in the South of Brazil, which, along with the Festa do Espírito Santo is used by those in Santa Catarina as one part of their articulation of Azorean transnational identity, as the *farra de boi*, as it is called in the region, is traced back to the migrants who populated southern Brazil from the Azores (Lacerda 2003a, Florianópolis: uma síntese histórica 1995, Roteiro das manifestações culturais no Município de Florianópolis 1995).

Sports

Futebol, or soccer—and to a lesser extent basketball—also plays a prominent role in constructions of Azorean transnational identity. Futebol teams and specific players; local broadcasts on radio and television of live matches or news summaries from the Portuguese Super Liga, the *Serie Açores* and the US MLS; coverage in newspapers and stories about players competing internationally all work to create and maintain conceptions of Azorean transnationalism. In Azorean and Portuguese North American communities, large gatherings commune at restaurants, cafés, clubs and homes as fans watch games on RTP International and via Satellite from the Portuguese Super Liga, or international matches featuring the Portuguese *Seleção* (the national team). Various programs on RTPi are dedicated to the analysis of futebol and other sports, as local broadcasts of Portuguese language stations air weekly highlights of games, covering teams from the First Division to teams representing nearly every village in the islands. When the only Azorean team to play in the first Division, Santa Clara plays at the João Paulo II stadium in Ponta Delgada many North American migrants make the trip to cheer for them or for their opponent (especially if it is one of the main three Portuguese teams of Benfica, FC Porto or Sporting). North American travel agencies set up package deals to come to either the

islands or continental Portugal for the games.⁶⁴ Migrants from São Miguel returning to watch games will visit with relatives, usually staying with them while they are on the island. Migrants from other islands who return will either take quick trips home, or have family members meet them on São Miguel. Sometimes the North American Azoreans will finagle flight schedules to insure layovers on their home island so that they can visit with family—even if the visit is no more than a brief hello, cup of coffee, and kiss goodbye in the airport lounge.

Going to the games also offers another reason for parents to take their North American born children to the islands where they will of course watch futebol, but will also visit with family that they may or may not already know. The process offers second generation Açor-Americans and those born in the Azores who may have left the islands at an early age, the opportunity to create personal contacts with family, contacts that are often renewed for years to come. As soccer has become increasingly popular in the United States, among Luso and Açor-Americans from the younger generation, the game also provides a mechanism for them to accomplish complex processes of identification and synthesis within the contradictory cultural contexts of their birth home and their parents home and within the context of Azorean transnational identity in which they are enveloped in North America. Rooting for (usually their father's) favorite Portuguese team or for the Portuguese National selection, whether they travel to games or watch them in bars, they actively participate in the construction of the transnational community. When playing for high school teams, in college or at the level of the MLS, Açor-Americans continue to articulate identities that tie them to the migrant community. MLS teams appeal to a Lusophone and Azorean fan base by hiring players either from the CPLP community or from the migrant communities themselves. Both the New England Revolution and the San Jose

⁶⁴ I ran into a friend from my hometown on an airplane flying back to the US from the Azores and, pleasantly surprised to see him, asked if he had gone home for a long time and if he had had a nice vacation. He told me he had only come with his nephew for the weekend, as they had flown over to see games of their two favorite teams play in Portugal and were returning. About half of the entire plane was filled with migrants for the weekend-long guided tourist junket solely to see the games.

(CA) Earthquakes boast ardent Azorean and other Lusophone fans and have had players that appeal to them.⁶⁵

The New England Revolution markets directly to Azorean and Lusophone fans. Business promotions, public relations (there are two PR reps for the Revolution, one is a native Spanish speaker, the other is from the Azores) the running of the team and special events are all consciously managed to appeal to the community, with certain players specifically to appeal to them. Aldair, the Cape Verdean national team star; Carlos Semedo a continental Portuguese player whose parents are Cape Verdean; Tony Freitas, a Massachusetts native whose parents are from the Azores and who once played in the Portuguese Super Liga; along with several Brazilians,⁶⁶ are just a few of the players who have been signed by the New England by the Revolution.⁶⁷ Further, the Revolution has sponsored a number of international “friendlies” designed to directly appeal to this fan base. Benfica, Santa Clara, Marítimo (from Madeira), and the Cape Verdean national team have all been brought to play at Foxborough against the Revolution or against other teams in non-official exhibitions. The Benfica game at Foxborough remains one of the single largest crowds for a non-national game match in US soccer history. In a direct marketing appeal to the areas Lusophone and Azorean transnational communities, The Revolution continued a tradition of conducting their Spring training camp in a Portuguese speaking location and went to São Miguel ahead of their 2004 season for about a month to train

⁶⁵ I worked as a credentialed reporter covering the New England Revolution, international friendlies, and the World Cup for the *Portuguese Times* over 2001 and 2002. During this time I was able to conduct interviews with officials of the New England Revolution and the team’s Lusophone players, players from the Portuguese Super Liga, and international team players from Cape Verde on the subject of the region’s substantial Lusophone fan base.

⁶⁶ Although given the plethora of exceptional Brazilian soccer players it is likely the Revolution would have had players from Brazil regardless of the presence of the region’s sizeable community.

⁶⁷ Of course team representatives insist that the Revolution does not solely hire players based upon their ethnicity, but rather seeks players that will first and foremost help the team, and if a good player’s ethnicity will appeal to a fan base, all the better. Nonetheless, for a player to be recruited from Portugal or Cape Verde to play in New England there has to be some conscious effort to find not only players that will help the team on the field but also players that will help the team at the box office. In support of the team’s contention, however that the quality of the player is first and foremost, it is true that popular Lusophone players have been traded and waived to be replaced by players who have no ethnic connection to the communities whatsoever.

and barnstorm against various Azorean teams across several divisions of the Portuguese Football Federation (FPF).⁶⁸

In interviews with Aldair, Carlos Semedo and Tony Freitas, the players expressed foreknowledge of the communities and their passion for soccer prior to their departure for the states. In each case, the players said that the presence of the communities and the support they knew they would receive from them was a draw in their coming to play for the team. The three players took an active role in community life during their time with the Revolution. They participated in clinics, went to festas and dinners, and acted as emissaries to the communities not only from the Revolution, but also their respective transnational points in Portugal, Cape Verde, the Azores and Madeira.

As they do for those Açor-North Americans who have had success in politics, in the arts and literature, newspapers will run articles highlighting the participation and exploits of Açor-Americans who have had success in the sports world, even outside of soccer. Receiving the most prominent treatment is national team star Pedro “Pauleta” Resendes. São Miguel native Pauleta is a prominent symbol used to achieve ends both in the construction of Azorean transnational identity in the islands and in the North American communities; and in the context of the Azores particular cultural and political status within the Portuguese state. As a member of the *Seleção*, Pauleta is marked as an Azorean player, both by the media, his teammates, and himself. Dubbed the “Furacão Açoriano” (the Azorean Cyclone) by his teammates, in a nod to the frequently violent weather conditions in the islands that reflect Pauleta’s ability as a striker, they and the Portuguese media participate in Pauleta’s dual role as an Azorean who represents the national team. During the 2002 World Cup, for example, various continental Portuguese newspapers and

⁶⁸ In another example of how non-Portuguese businesses appeal to Azorean transnational identity, the *Boston Globe* sent its Revolution beat reporter, the Dean of New England soccer journalism, Frank Della’apa to the Azores where he filed several reports a week on the trip. Of course he was covering the team for all of its fans, but Della’apa (who learned Portuguese for his work) wrote about other aspects of the Azores in his dispatches, and in other articles has constantly referenced the longstanding Azorean-American soccer tradition in the US, including one historical piece about Azorean-American teams dating back to the 1940s.

national television stations ran articles and aired reports showing the house in the Azores where Pauleta was born, the bar where his father watches his games as his mother stays at home watching in the living room. Interviews with Pauleta's family and friends were aired as reporting recalled the life of the "Azorean player", how as a 16 year old he was signed to play for FC Porto, one of the big three Portuguese teams, but was so home sick for his native São Miguel that he left after just a short stay, choosing instead to play on local Micaelense teams until he was 22 years old when he left again for the Continente.

Eventually playing in the Spanish Primera Pauleta, as a Portuguese national playing abroad makes constant reference to the Azores, referring to himself as an Azorean, and speaking of himself within the context of the Azorean migrant tradition, intimating that he is like other Azoreans who have left the islands to live and work abroad. While playing, both Pauleta's choreographed and spontaneous goal celebrations make constant reference to the Azores, attempting, as he says, to reach out to the "Azorean people" in the exuberant self-congratulatory displays. Upon scoring the goal that sealed Deportivo Coruña's championship of the Spanish League, for example, Pauleta streaked to the sideline, removed his Coruña jersey revealing a t-shirt underneath with the words "Viva os Açores!!" emblazoned across the front, before dropping to his knees, pulling the shirt down and out wide and looking at the words to make sure the camera would capture what was written and that those watching at home would notice. As Portugal's leading scorer during the national team's disappointing 2002 World Cup, Pauleta's goal celebrations on his way to a hat-trick during the Seleção's only victory similarly made reference to the Azores. Upon scoring his first World Cup finals' goal ever, Pauleta threw his arms out to his sides like an *Açor* (a hawk), and ran imitating the bird in flight away from the goalposts and symbolically back to the islands, jumping over barriers separating the crowd from the field and "flying" toward a large Azorean flag hanging over the side of the stadium. He stopped there and excitedly pumped his fist at the flag, looking up to those holding it while smiling and gesturing up to them before his teammates caught up to his celebration, tackling and

knocking him to the ground. Like Nelly Furtado's *hortênsias* and the like, such actions both act as discourses articulating Azorean identity, as they themselves reflect the existence of discourses of Azorean identity.

The discourses of difference that play out in futebol along Azores/Continentes lines also play out in defining the nature of transnational Portuguese identity in broader terms. Ahead of the Portuguese national team's game against the US in their opening match of the 2002 World Cup, Portuguese language newspapers along with newspapers and television stations for broader audiences focused on allegiances in the Lusophone community for or against the two teams. Most interviewees said that they would be rooting for the Portuguese national team. Other Portuguese and Azoreans expressed disappointment that the two teams had to play in head to head competition at all, saying that they hoped both would be able to move out of the round robin group to the playoff elimination round. If only one could go forward, however, there was no question: Portugal was the team they wanted to advance.

On the final day, various permutations would allow Portugal to advance, including a win against their game with South Korea or a US loss to Poland in a game taking place at the same time. Watching the game in Portuguese Restaurant in Rhode Island, with about 80 other fans⁶⁹, the situation also brought up interesting issues Portugal and US born generations, as most of the American-born teenagers I interviewed (out of the dozen present) were far more conflicted by the game than their parents. Even though many of the teenagers wanted the US to advance, that they would be watching the Portuguese game live rather than the US game speaks to the broader participation of individuals across age categories and across place of birth in events that both create and articulate transnational identity among the community. Watching televised futebol games of Portuguese or MLS teams together in the US; going to see Portuguese teams playing

⁶⁹ In another example of the instrumental nature of transnational identity, patrons each paid a fixed price to eat a large buffet offered by the restaurant attached to the bar. The desire of those present to watch the game with other Portuguese and Azoreans at a Portuguese restaurant brought in a quick couple of thousand dollars for the café's owner.

locally provides fathers and their children with a common space through which inter-generation conflict as a result of differing migration experiences⁷⁰ can be mediated.

Return migration: anticipating the reception of the deportees

The above sections have already noted various instances of return migration: long and short term return migration, ethnic tourism, academic study, and the return of migrants to participate in various cultural events. Some further points however about return migration should be elaborated. Although general tourism to the Azores is a growing industry, especially among sectors of the European Union including England and Germany, visits to the islands are still dominated by return migrants and their families. In a 1996 study analyzing summertime travel to the islands, it was indicated that the primary reason among those coming to the islands was “to visit family and friends” and concluded that “North America, as the principle destination of Azorean migration...constitutes the single most important market of tourist travel to the islands” (A. Moniz, 1996: 67, 117).

Recent discussions among government officials have centered around the lack of hotel space for the newer European and continental tourism given that most return migrants—although needing air transport to the islands—tend not to need hotel accommodation as they usually stay with family. Summertime return migrants, however, have influenced other areas of island life, including the availability of certain products in stores as supermarkets attempt to cater to the particular tastes of the seasonal return migrants. Obviously American influence in global markets has brought products from the United States to the Azores independent of the return migrant population. Further, for years, US name brands had been available to many on Terceira who had PX privileges at the US base. Azoreans who work there buy American name brand products,

⁷⁰ See Portes 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 1996, 2001; and Rumbaut Portes for various analyses of conflict between the migrant and locally-born generations in the US.

cigarettes, alcohol, etc. for themselves, relatives or friends oftentimes to satisfy needs for goods they had consumed while living in the US.⁷¹

Major supermarkets in the islands, however, have all come to carry North American brand names, and those seeking particular items from the US or Canada can usually find them in stores. Frequently, the inclusion of such items on shelves is the direct result of return migrants. In the beginning of the summer the SolMar Hipermercado had a promotional event entitled "*América está aqui.*"⁷² Included in the promotional were items like hamburger helper, hot dogs and other goods that the stores did not carry during other times in the year, carried out in an effort to appeal to the Azorean-North American summer time population. Other changes are less seasonal. Return migrants and the flow of individuals across the Atlantic have wrought changes in expectations for available Azorean technology. Electronics stores in the Azores, for example, carry and sell a preponderance of the US and Canadian style VCR systems, which differs from the European system. Given the many return migrants who may have left children and grandchildren in the US, or family members who have been split up due to migration, the VCR's allow them to see video's shot in North America of their family and friends. In another example, in a gym that I went to on São Miguel, there was a homemade tape of contemporary pop music recorded off of the radio—complete with DJ introductions of songs—in heavy rotation over the training room loud speakers. For several days I never thought much about the tape, which contained music similar to that played at my gym in Providence. While listening to the DJ talk about the music on the tape, on one occasion, I quickly realized the tape was not only similar to the music stations in Providence, it *was* a music station (or a recording of one) in Providence. When I mentioned this to a trainer he said his cousin had lived in Taunton, MA and made the tape

⁷¹ One Terceirense friend of mine who had lived in America for decades before returning to live in the islands on São Miguel will always have friends with privileges at the base take him to the Air Force cantina whenever he is on Terceira so he can order "an American hamburger" and purchase American made Marlboro's to which he became accustomed in California.

⁷² America is here—using the temporary sense of "to be" (estar) rather than the permanent (ser).

before moving back to the islands. The example is typical of the types of interactions one will have throughout the islands.⁷³

Even among those who are no longer in contact with North American family, the effect of return migration and constructions of transnational Azorean identity still frames how they perceive the US and Canada. In the context of a discussion on migrant communities I asked an Azorean journalist if she had ever been to “America” and she said no. Later in the conversation, she mentioned that she had gone to Washington DC to cover a conference on the legal ramifications of deportation. When I reminded her she had said she was never in America, she responded “well, I went to Washington, but never to those other zones Fall River, New Bedford.” Her comments reveal a distinction made by those in the islands between “America” of the migrant communities and the America of the non-Azoreans.

Migration in the construction of the nation

Azorean constructions of identity are informed by the concept of “transnationalism,” historically ingrained in discourses around how those within the Portuguese state and—in specific contexts—those within its former colonial territories have constructed “the nation”. Migrants, return migrants, and the active connection to migrant communities all form part of the discourses of Portuguese and Azorean identity—the discourses surrounding conceptions of what makes both Portugal unique as a nation and the Azores unique as a territory within Portugal. The discourses used by politicians to construct and maintain Azorean transnational identity, however, cannot be separated from the practical considerations causing these democratically elected officials to participate in such an endeavor. With voting rights in Federal elections, migrants from the Portuguese state have a political voice among Portuguese democratic officials—politicians have

⁷³ A return migrant from Toronto owns a popular night club/restaurant which serves Italian food, the first restaurant of this kind on the island; another of São Miguel’s consistently busiest restaurants among the local population is a Mexican restaurant which was also opened by a return migrant—indeed *America está aqui*.

won and lost elections from the migrant vote in national elections.⁷⁴ Also, in the Portuguese National Parliament, there is a migrant-elected Deputy. Although migrant Azoreans do not have representation in regional elections, there is current legislation in the Azorean Parliament to provide them with a Deputy who would serve in the Regional Assembly.

Although the migrant's permanent return to Portugal is more myth than reality (see for example Klimt 2000 and Brettel 1986) many eventually do come home to live permanently.⁷⁵ If migrants form a powerful constituency, it makes sense, for one's political ends, to support them in order to assist election. The effect this has however, among Azorean and Portuguese politicians visiting and campaigning and offering initiatives and programs for migrants in their Diaspora communities is that "the Azores" geographic boundaries become muted. Treating the migrant community as yet another political constituency, offering political favors and financial support for a range of projects, migrants maintain a connection to politicians as if they have never left home. Although constructions of Azorean transnational identity are politically beneficial to government operatives, it must be recognized that the official transnational identity project, both precedes and is superceded by the government's involvement. The government has a financial support role and certainly provides rhetoric, but its participation in constructions of Azorean transnational identity is dwarfed by other sources articulating and affirming the concept, including media outlets, business interests, socio-religious organizations, various voluntary associations, educational institutions, non-governmental activist organizations and writers and artists.

There is a symbiotic relationship between both those driving discourses of Azorean transnational identity and those maintaining it as a social category. The publishing and broadcast

⁷⁴ Such was the case in recent Portuguese elections, when Prime Minister António Guterres' party had won a Parliamentary majority keeping him in power until votes cast by migrants living abroad were counted giving the election to the opposition.

⁷⁵ The head of the Azorean Direcção das Comunidades Alzira Silva says that around 5000 migrants from the Azores who had been living abroad (some for only a short time) come back to the islands each year to live permanently.

choices of editors and programming directors are both watched and requested by the general population. Debates and conferences in the academy treating Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity, fiction readings, talks and public lectures about the topic are widely attended by a general public audience.⁷⁶ Although an intellectual elite and politicians certainly drive the project forward, and are instrumental in reifying the category and along with it the social reality, the category would be meaningless if it failed to reflect the participation of those within the category.

Choldin makes a relevant point about the construction of collective social categories by pointing out the key role that certain community leaders had in the creation of the “Hispanic” category in the changes instituted on the US Census from 1970 to 1980 (Choldin 1986).⁷⁷ The process does not deny that individuals participate in the maintenance of the category apart from the activities of an elite promoting its existence. When considering the multiple levels upon which Azorean transnationalism is carried out at the familial and the supra-familial level, it becomes clear that the elite are not only working to create the discourses, they are clearly tapping into a pre-existing phenomenon that has a reality of its own. From this perspective, Azorean transnationalism operates at multiple adaptive and symbolic levels, including the participation of numerous organizations and institutions that expend substantial material and human resources in ways that both affirm and maintain conceptions of Azorean transnational identity.

As the dissertation turns to the case example of the deported North American Portuguese citizens in the Azores, it is necessary to keep in mind the historical, cultural and political constructions of Azorean identity and Azorean transnational community in order to contemplate

⁷⁶ A municipal branch library in one of the poorer neighborhoods of New Bedford, MA, the Casa da Saudade library, hosts book launchings fiction readings, public lectures, art exhibits, music and dance performances directed toward Azorean and Lusophone audiences that are broadly attended by the local population—the majority of which is composed of the library’s working class patrons. At one talk, about 200 individuals were present to hear Nobel Laureate José Saramago, whose remarks examined at length themes related to the Diaspora communities.

⁷⁷ The dynamic of census categories and how the creation of codified definitions can shape social reality is examined extensively in Kertzer and Arel (2001).

the specific—albeit contradictory—responses to the introduction of these “North Americans” to the social and cultural life of the islands. As will later be analyzed, deportation presents illogical and potentially destructive challenges to constructions of transnational Azorean identity. It is the contention of this dissertation that local responses to deportation from an array of individuals and interest groups of varying economic and political statuses cannot be abstracted from the importance of maintaining broad constructions of Azorean transnational identity.

CHAPTER III

DEPORTATION IN THE AZORES: AN OVERVIEW

Deportation Law: Crimes of “moral turpitude” and habeas corpus

US law

In 1996, the US Congress passed two significant acts that drastically altered US migration law. Passage of the acts—the Anti Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act of 1996 (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (IIRIRA)—came as a response to trends flowing from the anti-immigrant sentiment that developed in the United States after the 1994 mid-term congressional elections in which the Republican party won control of both legislative branches of Congress sweeping Rep. Newt Gingrich into power as Speaker of the House of Representatives. The acts provided the basis for legislation that removed many of the rights granted by the state to documented “aliens”—non-citizen permanent residents⁷⁸—and stripped away some of the few rights accorded to undocumented migrants in the United States.

Responding to political pressures in the wake of the Oklahoma City bombing, in which 168 people were left dead in what had been the worst case of domestic terrorism in the US until the September 11, 2001 suicide airplane hijackings would redefine all assumptions, the Republican controlled Congress passed the acts in an attempt to solidify their conservative right constituency. Although the FBI investigation of the bombing would lead not to the arrest and

⁷⁸Different state entities have different definitions of the various categories of non-citizens that are allowed to reside by law within a nation. Nonetheless, all states create at least two types of residence status for non-citizens living within the state, one, a permanent category as that held by green card holders in the US, the other a semi-permanent category as that held by individuals with temporary visitor, work or student visas. These do not include entry for the purposes of temporary visits by the citizens of certain nations that do not require a visa.

conviction of foreigners, but to two white United States Citizens, the Republican controlled Congress hoped to send a message through passage of the acts to certain voters in the United States who—though they certainly abhorred the actions of Timothy McVeigh—were not necessarily unsympathetic to his ideas of limited government and increased states' rights. In part, this diverse group of advocates of the limited administrative role of the federal government had broken from their traditional support of the Republican Party to support Ross Perot's recently created Reform Party, an action that had an effect on the successful campaign of William Clinton in the 1992 Presidential election. In proposing the anti-immigration laws, Republicans were in part able to reflect the values of their traditional base, which though anti-federal government is also certainly rigid in their definitions of what defines an "American."

As the acts evolved, a number of changes to migration policy were proposed in the original legislation that would revoke and limit immigrant rights. Some of these proposals included the revocation of rights that had been previously held by both documented and undocumented migrants in the US. An earlier task force report ordered by Rep. Gingrich recommended cutting off all public assistance to undocumented migrants upon their entry to the United States with the exception of emergency health care. The task force also sought to deny the automatic citizenship that was granted to all individuals born in the United States when their parents were undocumented migrants.

On March 20, 1996, the House voted (257-163) to give states the right to ban undocumented immigrant schooling, an explicit endorsement of the measure from California's controversial Prop 187 previously passed in 1994. Other measures were included. Migration applicants who sought to enter the US under the necessary job skills provision had to prove English proficiency. Legal migrants were subject to immediate deportation without a valid affidavit of support from their sponsor. Also passed were provisions instituting a ban on the federal treatment of legal migrants suffering from HIV. Non-citizen permanent residents would be banned from receiving Food Stamps and Supplemental Security Income for a period of five

years after their migration; and would only be eligible for Medicaid and various other social services benefits if they additionally met a standard of stringent requirements. In the case of retroactive applications of the provisions, the bans would only be lifted after migrants were sworn in as US citizens and only then after having worked and paid taxes for a period of 10 years. One of the more draconian measures passed by the House of Representatives was the stipulation that any non-citizen permanent resident was subject to immediate deportation should he have received more than one year of US governmental benefits during the first seven years of his residence. A further set of draconian provisions made it far easier to deport legal migrants who had committed crimes in the US by both widening the types of offenses that would trigger automatic deportation while also removing the possibility of judicial review from a deportation order.

Those who supported these and other similarly intended anti-immigrant provisions articulated the migration debate with a rhetoric that cast migrants as a lot intent upon coming to the United States, not to find work, but by way of taking advantage of the social services of the state. Encapsulating this sentiment was the Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, who, firm in this impression of migrant motivation, angrily decried that “it is wrong for the US to be the welfare capital of the world” (quoted in Lacey and McDonnell: 1996).

Indeed, much of the Republican Party rhetoric in the first congressional term of the Clinton Presidency echoed that of the controversial speech given by Patrick Buchanan at the 1992 Republican National Convention. Buchanan, long since defeated for the nomination by George Bush, had nonetheless won a sizable portion of the Republican nominating delegates. His appeal to the anti-immigrant sentiment of many voters was summed up in his RNC speech, during which, among other controversial statements, he warned that America was in the midst of a “cultural war.” The themes of this polemical speech—that America was being taken over by individuals whose cultural background was incompatible with those already in the country—would be taken up by the Republican party as it gained a majority of the House in the 1994 mid-term elections.

The sentiment of backers of this agenda to recast the migration debate are aired in various writings including those of *National Review* editor, Peter Brimelow, the author of the disputationist anti-immigration work *Alien Nation* (1995).⁷⁹ Among the many accusations of what he saw as the negative effects of migration into the US, Brimelow railed against provisions that allow refugees to enter the United States and lamented that “85 percent of the 16.7 million immigrants arriving in the United States between 1968 and 1993 came from the Third World” and “are from completely different, and arguably incompatible, cultural traditions,” making the claim that “ordinary Americans are heartily sick of immigration and want no more” (Brimelow 1995).

Many Democrats in Congress also supported changes to migration law and policy as they feared a further political backlash against them, as the sentiment in the country had led to Republican gains in both the House and Senate in the 1994 midterm elections, causing the entire Congress to be unified under Republican leadership for the first time since the Eisenhower Presidency. Attempting to protect what they saw as a vulnerable position that could further diminish their numbers in Congress, Democrats joined Republicans in both the House and the Senate to pass the AEDPA on April 18, 1996, with the President signing the bill into law on April 24. Later that year the IIRIRA was passed and signed on September 30, 1996 by the President.

President Clinton’s centrist compromises with the Congressional Republicans pushing the bills through the legislature were certainly an attempt to thwart the political backlash from the right that threatened his Presidency and his reelection after perceived excesses in his failure to pass a Universal health care provision with the previously Democrat controlled Congress. President Clinton was actually responsible for an earlier administrative order—one issued long before the passage of these migration laws—aimed at promoting the deportation of non-citizen undocumented migrants. The orders provided the INS (now enveloped in the Department of Homeland Security) and the Justice Department with a mandate to expedite the removal of

⁷⁹The thesis of which the author himself summarizes as: “current [US] immigration policy can best viewed as Hitler’s posthumous revenge upon the country that defeated him” (Brimelow 1998:103).

undocumented migrants who had been convicted of crimes upon completion of their prison terms. President Clinton further prompted various administration agencies and departments to review how the practice of individuals who overstay legitimate visas and remain in the country illegally could be curtailed and how the transgressors themselves could be prosecuted. Although these orders were predominantly directed at undocumented migrants who were in the country without a state mandated legal status, they yet show the Administration's preoccupation with streamlining the federal government's ability to remove individuals deemed to be residing in the national territory (see Clinton 1995).

Nonetheless, the President was willing to wield his veto power to prevent the passage into law of certain measures in the bill. The threat of a Presidential veto forced the Congress, in particular the House, to forego a number of the more draconian measures in the original version, including most of the provisions enumerated above including schooling for undocumented migrant children and the bans on federal assistance for documented migrants.⁸⁰ Further, the veto threat caused the GOP to yield on its intention to cut the overall number of documented migrants allowed to enter the US and softened the proposed increase on the required minimum family income of migrant sponsors. The original proposal called for a 100% increase of the \$15,569 minimum income for a sponsor family of four, which was reduced to 25% in the signed version of the bill when it was argued that the goal of the drastic increase was to effect a de facto cut in state sanctioned, documented migration.

President Clinton was aware that much of the successful re-election of California Governor Pete Wilson in 1994 had revolved around the governor's support of Prop 187. Seeing California as crucial to his own re-election in 1996, President Clinton supported the overall

⁸⁰Threatening vetoes over the removal of certain of these provisions was in large part mere posturing on the part of the President. In the welfare reform legislation that President Clinton had signed earlier that year, documented migrants were already banned from receiving SSI and food stamps among other federal benefits. Further, states had the jurisdiction to deny Medicaid to legal migrants. As passage of these provisions would have been redundant, waving the veto at them was a rather hollow threat.

package of immigration reform, although threatening a veto if the more draconian measures were not removed.

Much of the Congressional debate indeed revolved around the harsher provisions of the bills, especially the one that would ban undocumented migrant children from attending public schools. Among those legislators working to deflate the bills, the effect of this focus on certain of the more austere measures displaced attention from other provisions, such as those designed to streamline, expand and loosen the Constitutional constraints on deportation procedures for documented migrants who had committed felonies. Even the President—threatening the Congress with vetoes unless provisions regarding schooling and social services were removed—had little sympathy for non-citizen permanent residents who were facing deportation as a result of felony convictions. In a comment to a query about the unfairness of the law to migrants facing deportation President Clinton is reported to have said “there is nothing that can be done for them, they have disobeyed the laws of our land” (Ric Oliveira, Publisher *O Jornal*, personal communication, 1997).

Other pressures were also involved, as the President signed into law those provisions of the law regarding the deportation of documented migrants. According to Massachusetts Rep. Barney Frank, some of the deportation proposals were tied into an omnibus spending bill that the President risked holding up should he have failed to sign (Barney Frank March 2001: personal communication). Given the government shutdown that occurred in the previous year, the political consequences of failing to sign the bill would have been manifestly politically detrimental to the President in his re-election efforts, as the bill was presented for his signature during an election year that followed the tremendous Democratic losses in the 1994 mid-term balloting.

Of concern to this dissertation are specifically those parts of the statutes that altered the laws regarding the removal (or deportation) of non-citizen permanent residents convicted of felonies. Laws from the two acts implemented changes that would lead to a massive increase in the number of legal resident migrants who were deported from the US as a result of such

convictions. Although the powers of the Federal government to remove documented non-citizen residents from the US was greatly widened by the passage of AEDPA and the IIRIRA, US immigration law had long provided for the removal of such migrants. As early as 1875 the congress had voted to exclude certain individuals deemed guilty of “moral turpitude,” a class of criminals and prostitutes that was expanded later in 1882 to include “convicts, lunatics, idiots and those likely to become a public charge” (Dowty 1987: 53). Further, the Immigration Act of 1917, was explicit in its support of excluding and removing non-citizen residents who had committed “crimes of moral turpitude.”

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, defined broadly the types of criminal offenses for which migrants could be deported including those convicted of offenses both “involving moral turpitude” or the illicit trade in narcotics. Under the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952, non-citizen residents were subject to deportation upon their conviction of two crimes of moral turpitude (or for one such crime if it occurred within five years of entry and resulted in a prison sentence of at least one year). In the Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1988, Congress again widened the scope under which migrants could be deported, by specifying that any non-citizen resident was deportable upon his conviction of any aggravated felony— independent of when such crimes were committed. Prior to the passage of AEDPA, the list of offenses considered to be aggravated felonies was also long, but in general, such crimes were defined as those carrying jail sentences of more than five years.⁸¹

Although the 1996 laws have received much press as a result of some of their harsher measures, the 1996 laws were really only short step beyond what Congress had previously enacted through the Immigration Act of 1990. The 1990 act treated documented migration, redefined the ability of the federal government to deport resident migrants, prefacing both the

⁸¹ *Calcano-Martinez et al. v. Immigration and Naturalization Service*. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the second circuit. No. 001011. Argued April 24, 2001. Decided June 25, 2001; *Immigration and Naturalization Service v. St. Cyr*. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the second circuit. No. 00767. Argued April 24, 2001. Decided June 25, 2001.

AEDPA and the IIRIRA. The deportation of migrants who had committed acts of “moral turpitude” was nothing new to US migration law, with provisions existing in a clearly defined form for more than a century. But in the 1990 law was the broadest expansion and redefinition of what constituted removal (and exclusion) for reasons of moral turpitude since the 1952 Immigration Act.

Regarding deportation and removal of resident migrants, the Immigration Act of 1990:

1. expanded type of offenses for which an individual is deportable;
2. shortened the judicial review period;
3. broadened the authority of immigration officers to make arrests and to detain suspected immigrant felons;
4. shortened the amount of time necessary to subject an immigrant to deportation (the implication is that a non-citizen resident could be deported without having served an entire or even any jail sentence);
5. allowed for the permanent holding of any non-citizen resident by the Attorney General;
6. changed the definition of what constituted a transgression of the moral character provision such that a deportable offense was expanded from murder to simply any aggravated felony;
7. increased the waiting period of previously removed non-citizen residents seeking re-admission after deportation of any aggravated felony from 10 years to 20 years;
8. barred refugees who had committed aggravated felonies (five years) from seeking asylum in the United States. This provision was made retroactive to applications already in process;
9. made judicial review more difficult to obtain, limiting the amount of time required to file for petitions in certain removal cases;

10. any crime of moral turpitude in which the sentence handed down was greater than 1 year and was committed within five years of entry, was considered a deportable offense, whether the time was served or not;

11. if more than one crime of moral turpitude was committed, deportation was possible whether jail time was served or not;

12. any drug abuser or drug addict was subject to deportation;

13. any selling or use of any drug other than less than 30 grams of marijuana was a deportable offense;

14. made the holding of any "destructive device" a deportable offense. Although the intention was to create a provision that stopped non-citizen residents from having fire arms and incendiary weapons this provision is so broadly defined that it includes even illegal fireworks);

15. made the willful failure to inform Immigration of a change of address a deportable offense.

With the passage of AEDPA, the list of offenses enumerated in the 1990 Act was greatly expanded, so that crimes of moral turpitude were defined as any aggravated felony in which a non-citizen resident "is convicted of a crime for which a sentence of one year or longer *may* be imposed" (AEDPA 1996 sec. 435(a), my emphasis.) The "may" is significant, because it meant that plea bargains entered by the non-citizen residents in which they were found guilty by the court, but given time served or even a suspended sentence, would nonetheless fall under the category of an aggravated felony as a crime of moral turpitude. As a result, suspended sentences, for which no jail time was actually served, were treated equally with guilty findings in which sentences were imposed *and* served. In both cases, a non-citizen permanent resident was deemed subject to deportation. This would later have even greater significance when the retroactive clauses in IIRIRA would become law in 1996.

The IIRIRA would have an even greater effect in implementing changes to migration law as it stripped from non-citizens the right to petition the court for a waiver of a deportation order.

The US Board of Immigration Appeals (BIA) had long interpreted Section 212(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 to allow any non citizen permanent resident with a lawful unrelinquished domicile of seven consecutive years to apply for a discretionary waiver of their deportation order.⁸² If after the BIA hearing a waiver was granted, the deportation was immediately halted and the non-citizen migrant maintained his status as a non-citizen permanent resident.

According to US Supreme Court statistics, in the six year period between 1989 and 1995 (the year prior to the passage of the law) some 10,000 non-citizen permanent residents facing deportation in the US had been granted removal waivers as a result of their right to appeal. Both provisions in AEDPA along with Section 304 of the IIRIRA enumerated a long list of conditions under which non-US citizens can be excluded from seeking discretionary relief under 212(c), but the IIRIRA ultimately repealed the 212(c) provision itself. The law meant that any aggravated felon facing a removal order was not able to seek relief from *any* court that might overturn his deportation. US Attorney General Janet Reno first, and then later her successor John Ashcroft felt the law gave the Department the power to deport non-citizen migrants convicted of felonies without any protection of judicial review.

The two acts further greatly expanded the number of non-citizen permanent residents eligible for deportation when the laws further broadened the types of crimes for which migrants could be deported. One of the more far-reaching changes to the deportation laws was when the repeal of 212(c) discretionary relief and the right to petition a US court for a waiver of a removal order was made retroactive. Any non-citizen resident, who had *ever* committed a crime for which

⁸²This and an earlier 1917 law was originally only intended to allow non-citizen permanent residents who had continuously lived in the United States for a period of seven or more years the right to petition the courts to be readmitted once they were barred from *reentering*, as a result of having committed a “crime of moral turpitude.” Even though Section 212(c) is not explicitly written to do so, it has been interpreted by the BIA in practice to provide non-citizen migrants a venue through which they may seek Habeas relief from a removal order (see JP Stevens *op. cit.*).

he was sentenced to more than one year in prison (even those committed prior to the enactment of the law)—whether a sentence was served or suspended—was immediately subject to deportation.

Although the laws defining aggravated felonies are yet in effect, two important US Supreme Court cases handed down in June of 2001 have determined that the whole scale removal of 212(c) is in violation of the guarantee in the US constitution of the ability of an individual to petition for a writ of Habeas Corpus—the protection against unjust arrest and detention—and as such broadened the courts jurisdiction to decide appeals for non-citizens faced with a deportation order. In the two cases, both decided in split 5 to 4 votes, the Supreme Court found that non-citizen residents can petition the Federal District Courts to appeal a deportation order. The Supreme Court also decided that non-citizen residents who were convicted as a result of plea bargains entered prior to the passage of the law would be eligible for relief from a deportation order in both the Federal District court and through the Court of Appeals. This decision addressed at least one aspect of the problem of the retroactive institution of the laws (*Calcano-Martinez et al. v INS* 2001 and *INS v. St. Cyr* 2001).

Writing for the majority in both decisions, Justice Stevens wrote in *Calcano-Martinez et al. v INS*, that although the language of the IIRIRA “strips the courts of appeals of the ability to hear petitioners claims,” that “Congress has not spoken with sufficient clarity to strip the district courts of jurisdiction” and so such immigrants seeking to stop their deportation can petition to have their cases heard in district court (*Calcano-Martinez et al. v. Immigration and Naturalization Service* 2001. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. No. 001011. [2001]). In *INS v. St. Cyr*, the court found that certain defendants like St. Cyr, (a legal resident who migrated to the US from Haiti in 1986) had made their decisions to plea bargain and cooperate with the government in part based on their knowledge that relief from deportation was available to them. It was decided that had defendants known their plea bargain would result in certain deportation, they would never have agreed to entering a guilty plea (*Immigration and*

Naturalization Service v. St. Cyr. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the second circuit. No. 00767. [2001]).

This decision in the St. Cyr case gave the Federal District Courts the power to take up issues raised by deportation orders and further reinstated the possibility of 212(c) relief for those immigrants convicted as the result of plea bargains prior to the passage of the 1996 laws. Justice Stevens, again writing the majority opinion, found that although the wording of the AEDPA and IIRIRA is clear in barring appeals courts jurisdiction in deportation cases, the acts were unclear regarding federal jurisdiction. Justice Stevens wrote “the lack of a clear, unambiguous, and express statement of congressional intent... of such an important question of law strongly counsels against adopting a construction that would raise serious constitutional questions” (JP Stevens *ibid.*). The majority accordingly concluded that the district courts could hear and have jurisdiction in deportation appeals.

Although these two decisions represent substantial changes to the laws, so far, it has not meant an end to similar deportation practices. True, a broader number of individuals facing deportation—who previously had no ability to seek relief in the courts—are now eligible to petition the federal court to examine their cases. However, there is still no guarantee that the court will decide to stay deportation orders and is there is no guarantee (as it was guaranteed with the 212(c) proviso) that the court will even agree to hear such an appeal.

Although the Supreme Court ruling ordered against the indefinite imprisonment of a non-citizen whose deportation from the US was refused by the accepting country, US Attorney General John Ashcroft further vowed that the US would retaliate against foreign state governments that refused or delayed the return of its national citizens who are detained in US prisons awaiting the execution of deportation orders owing to felony convictions. At the time of the ruling, some 3000 non-citizen residents were being held in US prisons who had either already completed the jail sentences handed down by the court, or who had been previously convicted, but were exhausting various avenues of an always unsuccessful appeals process. Among this

group, 1,200 of the detainees were national citizens of Cuba, Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, nations that do not have repatriation agreements with the United States. Although the court ordered the release of these individuals after a specified period of time, Attorney General Ashcroft instituted a number of measures to keep them in jail, including the imposition of extended sentences, their prosecution for other state and federal crimes, and even advocated for the expansion of broader anti-terrorism laws. Further, to discourage those state governments with which the United States does have a repatriation agreement from refusing or delaying the acceptance of the deportees, Ashcroft warned that he would petition the Secretary of State to stop granting visas to the citizens of offending nations.

Canadian Law

The Canadian laws regarding deportation are not unlike those of the United States, including even in specific cases the suspension of the right to appeal a removal order. Codified in the Canadian Immigration Act and the Citizenship Act, the removal of permanent residents who have committed crimes in Canada or abroad can be ordered by the government agency responsible for administering Canadian immigration policy, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), under various circumstances.

Canadian statutes regarding deportation are somewhat more convoluted than those of the United States even as the end result—removal from the national territory and the return of the migrant to his nation of citizenship—is the same. Setting the deportation process in motion in Canada are a number of offenses, including when a legal permanent resident or visitor⁸³ commits any offense under the criminal code or commits any indictable offense under any Act of Parliament not in the criminal code or in the Immigration Act. If an individual is in violation of these (or other provisions) in the Immigration Act, a senior immigration official or an

⁸³Of course these do not include the broader laws resulting in the deportation of undocumented migrants; or visa holders who had previously entered Canada but whose credentials have since expired.

immigration adjudicator has the discretion to order one of the following: a departure order, an exclusion order or a deportation order, each with specifically defined penalties should the a migrant fail to comply.

An exclusion order forbids a migrant from returning to Canada for a period of 12 months unless he receives written permission from the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration. Within 30 days of a departure order, a person must leave Canada, confirming such departure with the CIC. If the individual fails to leave Canada or fails to receive a certificate of notification from the authorities that he is leaving or has left, the departure order immediately becomes a “deemed deportation” order. Deportation orders, whether first mandated by an adjudicator or later “deemed” as such for failure to comply with a departure order permanently bars a migrant from returning to Canada (unless authorization is granted by the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration). In some cases, if a minor family member is financially dependent on a migrant who has been given a departure order, an exclusion order or a deportation order, that family member may also be included in the removal order.

Unlike United States law prior to the 2001 Supreme Court decision, however, Canadian migration law allows for those facing deportation for criminal activities the right to protest their removal orders in front of an immigration appeals board (the Immigration Appeals Division) and may even apply for relief in certain cases in front of the Federal Court of Canada. Both courts have the discretion to either uphold or reject the removal order. Although there is not, strictly speaking, a retroactive clause in the Canadian deportation law regarding permanent residents found guilty of committing felonies, and although there generally exists the right to appeal one’s removal order, there is nonetheless, a specific class of criminal non-citizen residents who are barred from appeal. This occurs when a non-citizen resident has been sentenced to at least 10 years in prison either within or outside of Canada (whether the prison sentence was imposed or not) and who the Minister deems “poses a threat” to the Canadian public. Although Canadian law does give an individual facing removal on these grounds an opportunity to demonstrate that he

has been rehabilitated, if the Minister and the court should decide that an individual is a “danger to the public” this opportunity is rescinded and he loses all right to further appeal. The language of the law has the practical effect of providing only a limited and partial means of defense for an individual in this class who seeks to remain a non-citizen permanent resident of Canada, although he may mount challenge the appropriateness of his designation as a “danger to the public”—a status that acts as an effective removal order. Once a permanent resident migrant is placed in this category, however, he lose all right to appeal the validity of the case against him in any other court and is immediately given a deportation order. It should be noted, however that this class composes only a fraction of criminal removal cases in Canada. In 1998 for example, of the 1,764 criminal removals from Canada only 238 (or some 13%) were deemed as a “danger to the public” without the right to appeal the deportation order.

Criminal activity causing a migrant in Canada to abandon his non-citizen resident status and be subjected to deportation also includes any violation of the Immigration Law itself. For example, if a permanent resident, for whatever reason, should leave Canada and live outside the country for more than 183 days, he is deemed in contravention of the Immigration Law, his resident status is immediately revoked, and he will be ordered removed.

Although this study examines specifically the effect of US and Canadian migration laws on those individuals deported to the Azores, it should be clear that all nations have some mechanism in place to deport non-citizens who commit crimes within a national territory.

Deportation in the Azores⁸⁴

The deportation of former residents of the Azores from North America back to the land of their birth has caused great hardship and tragedy among family and others in both the islands and in the communities from which they were removed. No less tragic is the way that social

⁸⁴ Although this study specifically examines the effect of US and Canadian migration laws on those individuals deported to the Azores, it should be clear that all nations have some mechanism in place to deport non-citizen residents who commit crimes within a national territory.

conditions existing in their communities of residence in North America have contributed to their deportation. Hailing from the poorest urban and semi-urban neighborhoods of Azorean and Portuguese-North America, the repatriados confront problems typical of impoverished populations. Drug use, criminal activity, and untreated mental health disorders are all characteristic of these poor Azorean communities, making them typical to any other impoverished urban or semi-urban community in North America. Serving jail time, entering drug rehab and perpetrating crimes is not an uncommon outcome for citizens living in such conditions of poverty. For non-citizen permanent resident migrants however, living under the conditions that cause the subsequent social problems enumerated will further result in their removal from what is the only home that most have ever known.

Over 50% of the Azorean forced return migrants were deported directly as a result of drugs (selling, possession, or as the result of a drug dependency), however in cases where the deportable offense was not a drug conviction, it was usually some crime related to drugs, such as crimes committed at least in part to purchase illicit drugs or crimes committed while under the influence of drugs including alcohol. In only the most rare of cases are the deportable offenses limited to a crime completely unrelated to drugs.

Azorean deportees have received deportation orders prior to serving sentences, while in prison serving time, at the end of a prison sentence, and in a number of cases several years after having left prison or been convicted of a crime without having served time. In some of these later cases, immigration officials apprehended individuals when they attempted to obtain citizenship papers. In several cases related to me by lawyers and deportees to whom this had occurred, the scenario unfolded when a permanent resident migrant who had some retroactive deportable offense on his record wrote immigration to obtain paperwork to become a citizen. INS (at the time) sent back a letter to the individual telling him that he was all set to obtain his citizenship, that he need only come into the nearest immigration office to fill out the necessary paperwork.

Upon arrival, the individual was placed into custody and immediately incarcerated, placed into an immigration detention center until his deportation back to the islands.

There are a number of strategies that those receiving deportation orders will take. Some hire a lawyer in an attempt to appeal the order, or the deportable conviction. In the United States, these individuals fight an unwinnable battle that ultimately results in their deportation anyway after a futile legal process that usually costs them and their families around \$10,000. Money, which—according to every repatriated Azorean I interviewed that took this strategy—they said they would rather have had in their own pockets upon arrival in Portugal rather than in their lawyers' pockets. Others who received deportation orders long after they left prison have ignored them and attempted to remain in the country without state sanction. Given their limited resources, however, most are eventually caught and deported anyway. Some, who know a deportation order is coming, will choose to leave before it arrives, in a strategy that will allow them to return should the laws be rescinded. Others have no choice at all, as they do not have the money to hire a lawyer, and are deported while serving jail time or at the end of a sentence.

The vast amounts of limited financial resources of many of the repatriados' families that are spent in legal battles already lost before they even begin are an indication of the tremendous social impact that deportation has on the local North American communities. Children in their teens and early twenties who were still living at home with their parents are separated from family when they are deported. Husbands and wives are separated from one another and their own children upon deportation—often forever as living alone in the islands is difficult enough without trying to support a family there.

Once accepting deportation, the criminal forced return migrants take an often-circuitous route back to the islands. Of course they are free to live anywhere they want in Portugal (and a result of current treaties anywhere in the EU) once they return, and although many of them do stay on the Continente for upwards of a month or two, they eventually all find their way back to their Azorean birthplace. Intervention assisting their reintegration is available through a

government sponsored program called CAR, and other forms of institutional support have existed since 1996 to assist the deportees in finding a place to live, work, and etc. Not all of the deportees take advantage of the programs, however, nor do they need to—many of them just settle in removed island villages living with family and protecting their identities so that no one is aware of the true circumstances of their return. Given the discrimination that repatriados face at the hands of many of the islanders, such anonymity can be essential in helping them to rebuild their lives.

The following chapter examines, in depth, some of the institutions in the Azores that exist to assist the deportees upon their arrival. As the majority have lived in North America for most of their lives they have only a limited understanding of language, cultural codes and practical life skills necessary to survive in what is often for them—despite having been born there—an alien cultural environment.

From the Americas to the Azores

These images, recounted from interviews and conversations with forced return migrants in the Azores are presented to provide a first-hand view of the mindset and some of the attitudes of the deportees either as they look back on their lives in North America or as they reflect on the present, in a struggle to make sense of the reality of their post-deportation lives:

* * *

Carlos arrived at Ponta Delgada's João Paulo II airport at about 3:00 in the afternoon after a journey that started, now, well over a day ago. Sleep came in fits on his journey as he passed through time zones and passport checks, taking off from Boston, landing in Amsterdam, flying out to Lisbon, waiting for hours, then switching planes for São Miguel, Azores. The Azores, those great green ships riding at anchor forever, as Updike called them. Carlos had not been back since he was two years old when his mother, father and older sister had left the islands

to move to America where he had family in New Bedford. Carlos grew up in a poor urban neighborhood where for some it was easier to find money hustling on the streets than in any kind of documented economy job. Carlos didn't really think too much about making money. He liked to hang out with his friends, shoot hoops, get drunk, get high and bang around the neighborhood. He really didn't care much what he did, just as long as he didn't have to spend any time in his house.

At home, Carlos father was a heavy drinker and he used to beat his boy sometimes, when his boy was too small to stop him. He would kick at his wife's shins, he would hit Carlos' little brother who was born and raised in the States, when he was *pingando*, when he had had a few too many. Carlos said none of this mattered, he eventually got bigger than his father and it stopped. He never spent too much time at home anyway.

* * *

Jorge started selling drugs when he was 14. He had started to break the law earlier though, when at 11 he first stole a bike. His mother wouldn't buy him one, so he thought he would take matters into his own hands. Selling drugs was nothing special, he said, he just smoked a little dope with his friends and realized he could make some cash selling it to them. He sold more with increasing success and expanded his product range to sell cocaine. It was the drugs that got him in the end though, because, as he said, if you are going to sell you shouldn't be partying with your own product. A little bit of partying is ok, he would reflect, but you can't let it take a hold of you. Clouds the judgment, you get hooked and then you are only selling enough so you can get high, not to make any money. He was busted a few times as a juvenile for some petty theft. Not a big deal. He didn't even serve any jail time.

* * *

Jâcome said he didn't do it for the money. "The first time I got into a real fight, I mean in a real fight and hurt somebody, the way people looked at me afterwards. I don't know if it was

fear or respect, but it was different.” All the beatings he took from his father, all the time getting shuffled around from his mother’s to his aunt’s house back on São Miguel, to his grandmother’s house, back in Toronto, he said, none of that mattered. “When I walked down the street people knew I was someone to fear and respect. Selling drugs? The money was all right, but I was my own man, my own boss.” What about jail? “I never cared about jail. I knew I was going to get out and once I did my reputation would only be bigger.”

* * *

Maria’s father was an alcoholic, and that, she said, was the only thing he ever gave her. Her addictions also included pills, though. She was a junky, always looking for anything she could take to feed her emptiness. That was why she took drugs, because she had no love from anyone. She figured that out she said while talking to a counselor in jail back in Massachusetts. The insight did not help her from being arrested again, this time after the 1996 laws went into effect. “I used to do a lot of Xanax, that was my thing,” she told me, “but I never sold it. I only ever just used it.... They caught me for shoplifting and when the police looked in my purse, they found all the pills. They said I had enough so that it was intention to distribute. I tried to tell them that I didn’t sell the pills that they were for my own [personal] use, but the DA didn’t care.... If you have over a certain amount then they are going to go after you for intent [to distribute] no matter what the truth is.”

* * *

Working on cars had given José some very distinct skills. He could boost a radio, speakers, and pretty much any car he wanted no problems. If the door gives you any trouble while you’re working the lock, it don’t matter, I’ll just put my hand through the windshield. Stealing and selling radios and other petty theft also came in handy to José when he would steal to raise enough money to support his heroin addiction. “The police never arrested me for heroin

possession,” José told me, “that would have been serious.” But he did go down for grand theft auto. “That’s what I went to jail for.”

* * *

Serving jail time was the only thing that mattered to André when he first got busted. Deportation? Not being a Canadian citizen? He never gave the issue a thought. He was looking at 10 hard years for selling smack out of his brother’s hardware store. Even if he had tried to become a Canadian citizen his juvenile record would have precluded him from doing so. He was looking at spending a long time in jail. That was all he cared about.

* * *

By the time he was sent up to the Massachusetts state prison, João Paulo had already done a bunch of bids in the county jail, mostly for small stuff. By the time he was done, though, his rap sheet, which he once showed me with pride like a filled out resume, would count almost 100 individual convictions for offenses like possession, petty theft, B & E, intention to distribute, and the one that they got him on, selling heroin. It was in New Bedford in the summer of 1993 that they caught him holding the bag. João Paulo didn’t get caught with much. The problem was that he was already so high himself that the undercover cop could have been in uniform and he still would have tried to sell it to him. When I read the convictions on his rap sheet though, it gave the indication that maybe he was underestimating the amount with which they caught him.

* * *

Fraga had been a junky for as long as he could remember and in some ways he was looking forward to jail. Maybe he might dry out inside, he thought.

* * *

Rui served four years in the Massachusetts state penitentiary. Wasn't the first time he was in prison, but this was harder time than he was used to doing in the bids he had had in the County Jail. Wasn't too bad though. Rui had plenty of company. "What, there must have been half a dozen guys from my grade school inside. They were pretty good guys, made the time pass pretty quick, though it never passes quick enough."

* * *

Eduardo didn't even get a chance to spend time in jail. The DA was after his brother who had been deported a year before and the DA knew that he had come back into the country. "Rat him out," he said, "tell me where I can find him, or I am going to turn you over to the INS [for an old Car theft conviction committed when Eduardo was 18] and you are getting deported." I wasn't going to do it. I told him no, I wouldn't do it. A few weeks later I was gone. They sent me here. It was on a Wednesday I arrived. I was supposed to get married that Saturday too. My fiancé didn't want to make the trip. What was she going to do here?

* * *

Marco said, "The ACI [the Massachusetts state prison] was real time. Not like you see in the movies or TV, you know, I didn't have a murderer serving life in my cell, they keep all the dealers on one floor, murderers on another, like that," Marco told me. "But it was pretty scary at first." Marco kept his head down while he was in prison. "I didn't bother no one and they didn't bother me. I wasn't in one fight the whole time inside. No, it's not like what you see on TV."

* * *

"They sent me down to Angola [the Louisiana state penitentiary]," said Nuno. "Man that is a different world down there. Some of those guys were all right. A lot of them couldn't read or write, and I was all right because I wrote letters for them. Letters to girlfriends, letters home, you

name it. I didn't know anyone down there until they sent Petey down there.... Now we are both over here."

* * *

The letter from immigration came while Carlos was in the last year of his sentence. Mandatory deportation is what it said. As a green card holding resident non-citizen of the US, who had committed a felony for which his prison sentence was longer than a year, Carlos Rogério Almeida Rodrigues you are ordered removed from the United States of America. Mandatory deportation without any right to appeal. As a national citizen of the Portuguese State, the United States government would provide him with a one-way ticket to Lisbon. "Portugal? Lisbon? I haven't been there since I was two," Carlos remembers thinking. "And Lisbon? Where I am from isn't even in Portugal, it's the Azores."

* * *

Rui said though that he already knew what was coming, that he was going to get deported before the letter came. He read newspapers. "At least 20 guys had been sent back just among people I knew at the prison" over the last year of his incarceration. When the letter finally came, and he saw his name on it, though, that's when it all really seemed to be real. Like most of those who had been deported before him, Rui decided there was no way he was going to get sent to a place he didn't even remember. Rui's mother didn't want him to be deported either, and spent several thousand dollars of her savings trying to fight the INS removal order. The lawyer told them there was very little hope of their being able to overturn the INS decision. The lawyer said that deportation was mandatory for any offence when the sentence is longer than a year. No appeal. No judge with any authority to overturn the order. And a drug offence? In some cases it doesn't even have to be a year. "We gave the lawyer our money anyway, my family fought it,

even after I had served [the sentence for which he was convicted]. All it meant was more time in jail [in an INS detention center].”

* * *

While waiting for court cases with immigration judges who had no authority to do anything, even when they agreed that a particular felon migrant should not be deported, Frankie remained in an immigration detention center, determined to stay in America. All his eight-month fight did was to prolong the amount of time he spent in jail. Thousands of dollars wasted for no reason now. Frankie would often lament that he should have taken the money he and his sister spent on the lawyer and brought it with him to the Azores. “That money would have done a lot better in my pocket here than it did going to that lawyer for what? For nothing.”

* * *

In the end Eddie’s case was lost. Not that it mattered much to him by then, Eduardo just wanted to get on with his life. Anything has to be better than another day in prison, he thought. He signed the papers, got his ticket and left the United States. Except for the first couple years of his life that he didn’t even remember, for almost 30 years the US had been his only home.

* * *

America seemed like a dream to Gil as he looked out from the window of the plane. It was yesterday that he left. Yesterday? No it must have been the day before. Boston then Amsterdam, the mess with the police in Lisbon. “Why should I speak Portuguese? I’ve been speaking English my whole life.” None of that mattered now. All he could think of was sleep. He could see the island, the island where he was born, São Miguel, emerge from under and in front of the right wing of the plane. “It looked like a big rock in the middle of the ocean.” He

remembered all of the pictures of the islands in pretty much every bar he had ever been to in East Providence. "From where I sat, it didn't look much like any picture I had ever seen."

* * *

Rui got off the plane in Lisbon and had a couple of hours to kill before his flight to the Azores. He had a few thousand dollars in his pocket that his mother had given him when he left Boston and he thought he would check out Lisbon before he went to São Miguel. He knew some people that were there and he looked them up. "I spent a month in Lisbon," he said, "living a good life, I was up in a hotel, getting fucked up all the time, it was good for a while. But my money ran out and I had no job, no place to live. I had to get out of there or I would be dead by now.... I found my voucher and got on a plane over here as fast as I could."

* * *

André got off the plane and grabbed his bag from the conveyor belt. It was heavy on his shoulder. What was it they said in Lisbon, that someone from the government would be waiting for me here at the airport? he remembers thinking, someone from a deportee assistance center to help me get my papers? André walked along with a large group of passengers leaving from the baggage claim area through a single door into the small airport terminal. Standing at the doorway was a woman, a man and a cop. At chest height, the woman held up a white envelope filled with the large black block letters of the name written across it, "André Almeida". "What is that cop doing there with them?" André recalled thinking, "I just got here and they are already on me?" He ignored the woman, the man and the cop and walked past them into the terminal lobby, eyes to the ground, trying to act like it was not him for whom they were waiting. He didn't need them anyway, his mother's brother agreed to let him stay at his house for a while. André hitched the heavy canvas duffle higher up onto his shoulder, walked out of the terminal into a cloudy and

rainy day and waited in line until a taxi took him to his Uncle's house in the village where his mother told him he had been born.

* * *

Pedro walked up to the woman holding the sign. "You the one they told me about?" "Yes I am, come with me." "I didn't know what was about to happen, but I didn't have any other choice. Who else did I know in this place then?"

* * *

Waiting for Urbano and André at the airport, with one of the officials at the Azorean government sponsored assistance center for the repatriated, I held an envelope with Urbano's name printed across it in block letters, she held one with André's name. After the last bag had been picked up from the Lisbon plane, and no one was left in the terminal Ana Paula turned to me and said, "they'll turn up eventually. When they run out of money, or get into trouble. I guarantee they will show up at the Center. They always do."

* * *

The two weeks that José lived with his uncle's family were nothing that he wanted to do ever again. He had problems with his uncle, with people in the village, with the girls he tried to smooth talk in the bar. He couldn't do anything right. All that his uncle wanted was for him to work and all that he wanted was to enjoy himself a little after having been locked down for more than five years. Bored in the village ("you know, just old people and cows") he took the bus to the city as often as he could. There was more going on there, cafés, pretty women, he even ran into a few friends he knew from the old days, people he knew from here and there in Toronto. He met up with a couple of guys that used to deal drugs back in the city. José went out to clubs with them. José started to party again. He would party all night and take the bus to his village in the

morning when everyone else was coming to work. He slept all day to be awoken by his uncle's shouting. Shouting at him to wake up and shouting at him to get a job and shouting a bunch of other things that José didn't understand because, he would admit, he really didn't understand Portuguese all that well. "That's it" he thought to himself, "I have to get the hell out of this house."

* * *

"Fuck the cops," Gualter told me. "Fuck Canada, fuck the Azores, fuck these people. I am on vacation here. These people are all afraid of me. I can do whatever I want."

* * *

About two weeks after Urbano had walked by Ana Paula and me in the airport, he was sitting in front of her at the Center. The Centro de Apoio ao Repatriado. CAR. The deportee assistance center. He was ready to sign a contract and get his paperwork filled out so he could get a job and find a place to live.

* * *

"I wish I was still in that detention center back in the States, still in prison," Jorge would later come to say to himself repeatedly. "Why didn't I just stay there? I would rather be locked down in prison, no [release] date known than have to live out of jail, in this place. This place is a prison."

* * *

Plate 3. Letter from an Azorean forced return migrant to the US State Department.

Written with the hope of returning "home" to the United States.

(His name, those of his children and their birthdates have been obfuscated to protect their privacy.)

THIS IS A STORY ABOUT SOMEONE THAT LOST EVERYTHING IN HIS WHOLE LIFE... 3/20/2000.....

Well I'm [REDACTED]
I was born in São Miguel Açores in [REDACTED]
I lived here for 8 years and then my mom and Dad left this ISLAND because it was so POOR here. So we all went to the USA where I went to the BEAUTIFUL USA where I went to school and also where I worked with my father at a warehouse of fruits. And Veg where I became a shipping and handler of all of the things there. My BOSS was like my family because my grandfather worked there for 30 years and my father for 20 years...
I was a daddy at 16 years old of a babe boy named [REDACTED]
My life was still fine and then it changed to fast. I started using cocaine and drinking my life started going down the Hill so fast that I couldn't stop it until I went to jail at 18 years old for 9 days and I got out on bail. I was working again and I was back with my family, doing very good until one day I called a friend on the phone asked for my car back because I had his car too...
The cops picked me up for conspircacy of drugs. I had nothing to do with that but I went to jail just for calling a friend to get my car back. I didn't know he was being whacked and that his phone was taped. I went to jail again for something that I had nothing to do with. I didn't know what I did wrong but the cops and the D.A.'s don't care. About what they do to people like me they just want to put people in jail they don't think about peoples lives they put people in jail for things that they don't even do you know...
I did one and half years and a two and half years because I pled NO LOU in court so I could of get rid of those cases because my lawyer told me it was the best thing to do was to get rid of my cases. I didn't know any better so I went along with my lawyer..

so I did the *thing* got out had all my family's support again went back to my kids mom [REDACTED] six months later another baby on the way he's old in [REDACTED] he keeps telling me on the phone when am I going back to him and when he coming back to be with him because he needs me in his life all I do is cry every time that I talk to him and my loved ones you know.
NO one knows or feels what me and my loved ones are going through on a every day bases only me and my loved ones know the GOVERNMENT OR THE PRESIDENT doesn't know what my loved ones are going through that they lost one of there loved ones they just know how to sign a piece of paper and change the LAW to just DEPORTED people from the U.S who made them GOD to just DEPORTED people to where they where born yes I was born in açores but I went to the states as a litter boy I went to school there and also worked there in the U.S I had my hole life my FAMILY and friends and every thing I did in the states I learned there in the states not in açores...
I have nothing here in ALL AÇORES here I don't want to make a living here because I don't like or know anything about this ISLAND I've been here for 4 years already I went to CANADA for one and a half years and my life started going fine again because I have a sister there and her kids so after one and a half years they told me I had to leave CANADA because I was a deported from the states I didn't commit any crimes there you know, because what happened in the states I had to come back to this place that I don't want to be at, why I say this about this place because ITS like a big hole and I can't get out of it just hope someone has a litter bit of heart and do something for us and our family's so we could go back to where we belong back to the U.S.A.. I LOVE AMERICA so much I would of do anything to go back just say it and "I" would of be right there help people old and the young...
SO PLEASE DO SOMETHING ABOUT CHANGING THE LAW so we go back to our family's and our loved ones so it could of take all of the pain away from us all thank you kindly I just wish I could of turn back the hands of time so that none of this would of never had happened

MY KING

YOURS TRULY

Deportation Overview: statistical information

The following data provide a rough thumbnail sketch of deportation along with some of the broad issues that the forced return migrants face upon first arriving in the islands.

Number of Repatriated Portuguese Citizens deported yearly to the Azores⁸⁵

Year	Total	US	Canada
<1989	101		
1989	3		
1990	5		
1991	6		
1992	17		
1993	26		
1994	25		
1995	43		
1996	29		
1997	40		
1998	64	48	16
1999	96	83	13
2000	82	64	18
2001	27	22	5 (As of April 2001)
	564		

Subtotal: 564 (ranging in age from 19-48 at the time of their deportation). The deportees are overwhelmingly male, although there were at the time of my research some 5 female deportees. The female repatriated face most of the same issues of stigmatization as confronted by their male counterparts, even at the level of how violent they are perceived to be. I conducted extensive interviews with four of these female deportees during the time of my field research. In as much as this small sample allows for generalizations, each of these women had significant problems with addictions to pills and IV drugs and was in and out of rehab and prison over the time that I knew them.

⁸⁵Statistics culled from C.A.R., Eduardo San Bento, US Portuguese Embassy, US Immigration and Naturalization Services.

Prior to the development of protocols with the Canadian and US governments and the founding of CAR in 1998, specific statistics on the number of repatriated in the Azores were not kept. Close estimates of how many individuals were deported to the islands are nearly impossible to reckon. Figuring the numbers of the repatriated also becomes increasingly difficult the farther back in time one goes. Although it is clear that Azoreans were repatriated from North America prior to the mid 1990s, their existence in the islands is less statistical than it is anecdotal. Nonetheless, the Azorean government has attempted to collect data on these earlier deportations. The 101 deportee figure prior to 1989 was collected by the chief Azorean governmental official charged with the day-to-day operation of the deportee assistance center at the time of my research based on his contacts with these earlier cases, either as a result of their having come into the Center for help, or from contacts with them around São Miguel. Given that the majority of those individuals deported from the United States prior to the 1996 laws would have been able to seek a stay of their deportation order, through the 212C provision, it can be assumed that this group would be composed of only the most egregious repeat criminal offenders among those potentially facing deportation, and are individuals who would not have been able to have the court accept their claim that they belonged in the United States more than they did in the Azores.

Given the amount of time that has passed since their deportation, the lack, until 1996, of any governmental or private/public sector assistance specifically targeted for them, the fact that they likely had close family ties in the islands and had only spent a short time in the US before their deportation, it is not surprising that this group has effectively disappeared into the island, and is not marked as a separate collective “repatriated” category as the more recent arrivals are.

One other factor that limits the precise collection of repatriation data is the fact that there have been a number of “voluntary repatriated” in the islands. These are individuals who have come back to the islands either while criminal cases in the US or Canada were pending against them or who left of their own accord before any inevitable deportation proceedings could take place against them. The thinking among a number of these individuals, was that if they left before

deportation proceedings could start against them they would have a better chance of regaining their US and Canadian permanent residence status should the deportation laws change in the meantime, or be more likely to successfully reapplying for residency after having spent a number of years back on the islands.

Another factor is that there is not a pure correlation between the raw numbers of deportees in the islands and those included in the repatriated category itself. Of course those who have disappeared into the islands without anyone knowing the true circumstances of their return are not included in the category, but in many cases deportees have brought with them wives, girlfriends and brothers and sisters (when parents have returned as well). Although these individuals were not forcibly deported to the Azores, they are often enveloped in the *repatriado* category anyway as a result of their proximity to the returning deportee or as a result of their similar lack of familiarity with cultural codes and expectations for their behavior.

Origin of deportation

USA	344
Canada	122
Cape Verde	1
Bermuda	2

That the number of yearly US deportations to the Azores would increase relative to those of Canada, which have remained mostly steady over the same period, perhaps reflects disparities in the number of Azorean migrants in each location, but more likely is the result of the existence of more stringent deportation laws in the US since 1996 and their rigorous enforcement. This has also had the result of creating two classes of deportees in the islands, a Canadian group that has for the most part been convicted of crimes carrying with them more than five years in prison and who have often served more than five consecutive years in prison compared to most of the US

group who were found guilty of crimes carrying only a year in prison, served only a year in prison and in rare cases, were deported as a result of crimes they committed several years prior to the passage of the 1996 Congressional Acts. Ensuing discussions of the articulation of a separate identity among the North American-Azorean populations from the two nations should in part be understood through this disparity. It can only partially account for the articulation of national differences among the population, however, as such expressions of difference exist even among deportees from the two nations who have committed similar crimes and served relatively equal amounts of time in prison prior to deportation.

Repatriated Residence by Island

<i>Azores</i>	<i>Repatriated</i>	<i>Island Population</i> ⁸⁶
Santa Maria	10	5,600
São Miguel	337	131,000
Terceira	60	56,000
Graciosa	7	4,800
São Jorge	12	9,700
Pico	15	15,000
Faial	16	15,000
Flores	4	4,000
Corvo	1	400
TOTAL		241,700
<i>Other locations</i>		
Funchal	1	
Continental Portugal	23	
London	2	
Unknown location	77	

⁸⁶ Azores/deportee population figures are current as of 2001 and are rounded to the nearest 100.

Although the repatriated Portuguese citizens could live anywhere they want in the broader nation or in the European Union, virtually all of them opt to resettle back in the Azores. There are even some who originally migrated from continental Portugal who decide to resettle to the Azores anyway. A question frequently asked is why do the Azorean forced return migrants not choose to live elsewhere, perhaps in England where they know the language, or at the least in Lisbon where the quality of life, the size of the city, and the larger number of employment opportunities would perhaps facilitate the deportees transition into life in Portugal.

As statistics and field research demonstrate, some of the repatriated—mostly individuals who had migrated to North America from the continent—indeed do reside in continental Portugal. Exactly where these 23 individuals live was beyond the scope of my project, but government officials suggest that most of these individuals have migrated back to their home villages, or have disappeared into the rest of the country. Among those Continente-born forced return migrants who choose to relocate to live in the Azores, many elect to stay in Lisbon for varying periods of time before flying out to the archipelago. In some cases, connecting flights are missed as a result of confusion in what can be for many of the deportees traveling alone, a labyrinthine Lisbon airport, especially since many are flying for the first time since having left the islands.

When missing a flight either by accident or on purpose, newly arrived deportees often will spend a few hours, a few days and in some cases a few months living in Lisbon. Some of these individuals, spend this time becoming reacquainted with Portugal and their new found freedom having been only recently liberated from North American prisons and detention centers, usually assisted by a small to large amount of money in their pockets, given by family with the intention of helping them to find their way upon arrival back in the Azores. There are those among the forced return migrants who will spend this money living for a short time in Lisbon, sleeping in expensive hotels, eating expensive meals, and drinking in bar after bar, and even returning to old drug habits that had been dormant since their time in prison. In most cases, the

deportees simply want to unwind for a few days after arriving in Portugal and before returning to the Azores, although some do stay for extended periods of time of a few weeks to more than a month.

Virtually all of those who had migrated to North America from the Azores however, (and even some who migrated from the continent) return to the islands. Given the inherent difficulties of their social and economic integration and their rejection by large facets of Azorean society—which, as a result of media coverage and community service and activist information dissemination, are facts well known by forced return migrants and their families prior to deportation—why do they decide to continue on to the Azores, and why does the government not attempt to put money into a help center in the continent for them? There are a number of factors militating against their re-settlement in Lisbon or in some other city or town on the continent, even if an assistance center was funded and maintained for them in these non-Azorean locations.

Settling in a small village or town, in which one had no familial or affective connection, would present a deportee with the logistical problem of not being able to find work or housing and having no social contact network in place to assist him. The same problems would exist, even in a large city like Lisbon. If an assistance center in Lisbon attempted to assist the deportees' reintegration into Portuguese society, other problems would yet exist. Most of the forced return migrants, with the exception of those in Cambridge, Toronto and perhaps northern New Jersey (who are predominantly from the Continente anyway) have never lived in or proximate to an equally large metropolitan center as Lisbon is.

Among those forced return migrants from these larger cities, most lived in close-knit Azorean and Portuguese community barrios where community networks based on the articulation of Azorean and Portuguese ethnic ties facilitate those in the group in obtaining housing, jobs, and spouses.⁸⁷ Moving to Lisbon, without such a social network in place, without a moving there for

⁸⁷See Teixeira 1999.

the purposes of taking a job that they already know they have, make the continent an unlikely destination for these criminal forced return migrants.

Another factor keeping all but a few from moving permanently to settle in Lisbon is a fear engendered through a feeling of displacement created in the city. One deportee who continued on to the Azores stayed in Lisbon for a few weeks upon his arrival in Portugal, only to end up getting addicted to heroin again, a habit that he had kicked while in prison in the United States expressed his problems with living in Lisbon: "Lisbon is scary man. I didn't know anyone there, it's a big place. I spent about a month there, living in a hotel some of the time, doing nothing, before I ran out of money and came back over here. I started doing [heroin] again, and when there was [no money] left I was on the street for a while. I pulled the ticket [voucher given by the Portuguese government] out of my bag and was on the next plane over here." His story was not unique as I encountered a many individuals who stayed in Lisbon for a short time before coming to the islands.

He continued, saying that he was really only on vacation in Lisbon, and would never want to live there, stating that it would be too easy to fall back into old habits, habits he was trying to change. His perception, echoed by many other deportees, is that Lisbon is not the place to go to get on one's feet. Yet, among some of those who begin to commit crimes after arriving the islands (a small percentage of the whole) Lisbon and the continent in general become important places where one can fence stolen property, from which and to which one can bring and buy various illegal substances. But long-term settlement in the continent among Azorean forced return migrants is an anomaly.

In those cases that find deported Portuguese who migrated from continental Portugal opting to reside in the Azores, it is clear that the existence of the assistance center was a factor that brought them to the island. Two forced return migrants from continental Portuguese who decided to come to the Azores, rather than the continent expressed their reasons as related to a number of factors. First, they said they had no family, or at least no family close enough to them

in their home villages with whom they could live (they had no desire to go to Lisbon where they knew no one, and where at the time of the interviews, no assistance center yet existed). Beyond the presence of the assistance center, however, each expressed that they knew a number of individuals who had already been deported to the Azores from the prison in which they awaited deportation themselves. The fact that a repatriated population was already in the islands and that they had friends and acquaintances among it, were primary reasons the continentals decided to come to the archipelago. According to them, that they knew they would be eligible for housing, a job and other assistance also figured into their decision, but was less important than the fact that they had friends on the island.

Another factor that cannot be discounted in the forced return migrants decision to return to the Azores is the way that discourses around transnational Azorean identity encourage the deportees to perceive the Azores as the “home” that they have in Portugal, even if the islands are rejected as their true “home” which they see as the North American communities in which most were predominantly raised. Among Azoreans repatriated back to Portugal, the fact that they would come to the Azores, at least to settle at first, is never seriously questioned. For these Azorean forced return migrants, government assistance or not, they are Azoreans.

Family and community life among the forced return migrants prior to their deportation has evolved with a prominent sense of place—both mythical and real—that is centered in the Azores rather than in continental Portugal. That the US government would pay for a ticket not only to Portugal, but, on to the mid-Atlantic archipelago speaks to the complicity of state level institutions in these local discourses of place and identity. Even if a deportee migrated to North America at too young an age to have any personal recollections of the Azores, the Azores are nonetheless prominently articulated as the “homeland” among the North American migrant communities, a fact that effects forced return migrant decisions on where to locate upon repatriation.

The sense among the North American communities from which the deportees come, particularly in southeastern New England, is that although the Azores are Portuguese, they nonetheless form a separate geographic and cultural space from the rest of Portugal.⁸⁸ This is not to deny the complexity of Portuguese identity formation which is contingent, contextual and variable, often with the same individuals articulating an Azorean identity in one moment articulating a Portuguese or pan-Lusophone identity in other contexts. Nonetheless one part of this matrix is a prominent sense of a separate Azorean identity. Even in North American prisons, deportees talk about the cliques that they form around Azorean identity, with other Portuguese-speaking populations and, depending on the prison, with Spanish speaking populations. It is important to note that this is an *Azorean* rather than a *Portuguese* sense of identity or of place—even if the two are often interchanged in common public and/or personal discourses. If the deported Azoreans were to live in Lisbon, on the Portuguese continent, their sense of having been exiled to a foreign land would only increase. This sense would be even more prominent among those deportees who actively remember their life on the islands and who yet have familial and affective connections to the archipelago.

Practically speaking, community connections—to a close or distant relative, through family friends and other affective relations, in one's or someone else's village—encourage the deportees to return to the Azores, confident that they will have at least some level of local support, no matter how tenuous such connections may be, and whether or not the connection proves very useful for much time after the deportee's arrival in the islands. Also, close transnational family ties exist between virtually every deportee in the islands and his family in North America. Family members in North America send money, clothing, and provide information on the latest developments in migration laws (often erroneously related) potentially relevant to a loved one's possible return. That the deportees would go to the Azores rather than

⁸⁸See for example Pap 1981 and Gaspar 1999.

the continent greatly facilitates the maintenance of ties with their North American families. The frequency with which common family and friends travel back and forth from the Azores to the Americas assists deportees and their families to stay in constant real or virtual contact.

Throughout the course of my field research as I traveled back to the US, I would frequently carry letters, boxes of clothing, toys for children, cigarettes, etc. back and forth between deportees in the islands and their families in the local Azorean communities in Southeastern New England, in New Bedford, Fall River and East Providence. For a deportee from the Azores to live in the continent would mean drastically reducing this kind of contact with their North American families and their friends.

Although there have been a number of reasons not usually considered when understanding the penchant of the forced return migrant population in coming to the Azores, the importance of the assistance center in bringing the repatriated population to the islands largest city of Ponta Delgada on the largest island of São Miguel cannot be discounted. It is certain however, that due to the above factors, the deportee population would still exist in the Azores either with or without an assistance center or other institutions of socialization present.

A final reason that the deportees return to the Azores is a simple one: because Portugal accepts them. Questions arise as to why, if the deportees pose such substantial social problems to the Azores, does Portugal not refuse to accept them. It should be noted, that although this study examines the effect of US and Canadian migration laws on those individuals deported to the Azores, it should be clear that all states have some mechanism in place to deport non-citizens who commit crimes within the space of the national territory. Of course certain states do not share treaties or protocols with certain other states governing the deportation of criminal migrants. For example, Vietnam, China and Cuba do not have repatriation protocols with the US and as a result, there are permanent resident migrants in the US who are citizens of these three nations that languish in prison year after year because their country of citizenship will not accept them, and the US will not release them from custody.

Even when there are protocols, however, problems can still arise. Conducting field research at the Bristol Correctional Institute's INS detention center in Massachusetts, for example, I encountered one individual caught up in the vicissitudes of state definitions of identity and citizenship. He was born in Senegal before migrating to the US with his parents. His parents were not however Senegalese, but had migrated to Senegal from Cape Verde. When they migrated to Senegal, however, Cape Verde was still a part of Portugal and so they held Portuguese passports. After a drug charge in the US as an adult resulted in his receiving a deportation order from the INS, he sought approval from each of the three nations mentioned above to accept him as a citizen. According to the individual, Portugal and Cape Verde said he was Senegalese and so denied his repatriation on the grounds that he was, respectively, not a Portuguese or Cape Verdean citizen. Senegal said he was not Senegalese because his parents were from Cape Verde, and Portuguese Citizens. As a result, he languished in prison, a man without a country, waiting for appeals to one of nations to claim him as theirs.

Unlike Vietnam, China and Cuba however, Portugal does have repatriation protocols in place with the US (as well as Canada) and unlike the individual in the detention center, the Azorean deportees hold Portuguese passports. According to various Portuguese officials I interviewed, one reason that Portugal accepts its deportees is because they are considered citizens with full rights in Portugal (presumably if they are able to prove they are citizens). As citizens say these officials, Portugal has an obligation to accept them back into Portuguese society, and further to assist them with reestablishing themselves. To allow Portuguese citizens to dwindle away in prison because they were refused entry into their homeland, would, according to Portuguese officials, be abominable.

The rhetoric of the Portuguese officials, however, may not tell the entire story. Despite all of the rhetoric by Portuguese politicians that Canadian and US deportations are a gross violation of "human rights," one reason that I believe Portugal accepts the repatriated North Americans is because Portugal also deports permanent resident migrants living in Portugal (predominantly

from the former African colonies) who have committed crimes. If the Portuguese state were to refuse to accept the deportees, then the nations to which Portugal deports its criminal permanent residents would perhaps have cause to refuse to accept their citizens. Given that the Portuguese criminal repatriates reside almost exclusively in the Azores, and those felons deported from Portugal reside predominantly in Lisbon, Portuguese officials, in addition to not wanting the Portuguese Citizens to languish in detention centers, perhaps have little incentive to deny the repatriation of the Azorean criminal forced return migrants.

Another reason involved in constructions of the nation can be abstracted to explain Portugal's acceptance of the North American deportees. Anderson (1991) for example looks at the way nations are "imagined" social constructions, in part, by pointing to how the enumeration of the citizenry reifies the nation. In a similar fashion, by both deporting non-citizens and by accepting repatriated criminals living abroad as citizens, nations are able to reify the imagined boundaries delimited by population counts. The ability to delimit membership through a state level mechanism of forcible removal of non-citizens reifies the imagined social construction of the nation. Likewise, to accept individuals who have lived abroad for most of their lives, yet who retain their citizenship, the state-level processes (including protocols and assistance funding) work to argue for a fixed and ultimately state-defined citizenry, which as Anderson points out are important in "imagining" the boundaries of the nation.

CHAPTER IV

CAR AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF SOCIAL INTEGRATION

Centro de Apoio ao Cidadão Repatriado: CAR

Upon arrival in the Azores forced return migrants have only a limited number of options open to them if they hope to find work and a place to live. Especially characteristic of the first deportees to arrive in significant numbers after passage of the 1996 Congressional Acts, a lack of social contacts, a lack of practical skills, and a lack of familiarity with both bureaucratic realities (e.g. obtaining a social security card) and the norms of behavior governing comportment in work and socialization (expected behavior with bosses and colleagues) made it extremely difficult many to find work and a place to live. The governmental assistance center set up on the Azores largest island of São Miguel is intended to assist them in these functions.

The newly elected socialist government that took control of the Azorean Executive branch after the 1996 Presidential elections—a period of time coinciding with a marked increase in the repatriation of Azoreans back to the archipelago—began to rethink the nature of and the manner in which the government provided assistance to the resident deported population. The result was a shift in emphasis from providing funds for a church sponsored assistant center as was initiated under the Social Democrats, to government funding for the operation and management of a fully staffed help center set up to assist the repatriated upon their return in all aspects of their professional and social life and to intervene in the treatment of medical and mental health problems that might preclude their smooth social integration into life in the Azores.

In part, the expanded government funding for such an institution reflected the political philosophy of the new ruling party, but moreover was the result of the changing reality brought about by the rapidly increasing numbers of North American deportees and the public perception

of their negative social impact on island life. Responding in part to public pressure as well as the desire to assist individuals whom Azorean President Carlos César declared to be the victims of “human rights abuses” by the North American governments that deported them, the Azorean government set up what was first designed as an experimental help center, an experiment that would quickly become an institution: the Centro de Apoio ao Cidadão Repatriado, the Center for the Assistance of Repatriated Citizens, or as it is widely known and referred to, “CAR” or simply “the Center.” Under the control of the Instituto de Acção Social (Institute of Social Action) and the Gabinete de Emigração e Apoio às Comunidades Açorianas (Cabinet of Migration and Support for the Azorean Communities) CAR was founded on January 4, 1998 after provisions for its operation and funding were voted on by the Azorean Government during a legislative session in the previous month.

Under the direction of a private Government supervised management entity, Kairos, CAR is co-financed by the Department of Social Welfare (Direcção Regional de Solidariedade e de Segurança Social) and the Azorean Southern Commission in the Fight Against Poverty (Comissariado Regional do Sul da Luta Contra Pobreza).⁸⁹ During the space of my field research (not to mention the period since) CAR has continued to evolve, expand, and learn how best to carry out its mission. Originally having only a few permanent employees, as of 2001 CAR staff had expanded to number over 20. The operation of the Center is only a small part of the intervention of CAR in the islands, as there are a broad number of partner institutions—at the national, regional and local government and private level—working with CAR, with the goal of assisting the deported North Americans to integrate into Azorean cultural life and Azorean society. CAR involves itself in virtually every aspect of repatriated life, from when they first set

⁸⁹A long standing misconception—one that reaches the proportion of an urban legend—among the repatriados is that the United States finances much of the Center as a result of a quid pro quo agreement for the existence of the US air base at Lajes, Terceira. Often, when complaints are levied against CAR by repatriated who are dissatisfied with the amount of their stipend, some blame the United States for not giving enough money to the program. Although this is erroneous (the contentious often criticized treaty no longer requires the US to pay money directly to the Portuguese State for its use of the base) it speaks to the level at which most repatriados feel that their lives are yet intertwined with the power of America.

foot off of the plane as neophytes to life in the islands, until they are ready to leave the program as individuals who, in theory, have fully “integrated” into Azorean social and cultural life. At the end of my field research, there had been 263 individuals deported to the Azores since the founding of CAR. A total of 470 deportees (448 men and 22 women) however have participated in some aspect of the CAR program, a number that includes 207 criminal forced return migrants who had arrived prior to the Center’s inception.

Various protocols between the Canadian and US governments with the Portuguese Foreign Minister have provided the Center with prior notification of a pending deportation, and CAR staff are always on hand to greet a newly arrived deportee at the João Paulo II airport in Ponta Delgada. As a result of these international accords, the North American governments provide CAR with a dossier that includes a deportee’s criminal rap sheet and medical records outlining his or her history of physical and mental health problems if applicable.⁹⁰ Many forced return migrants and others feel that such information, especially medical data, is personal and should be private only subject to disclosure at the discretion of the individual whose records are in question, and that the US, Portuguese and Azorean governments have no right to exchange such information. CAR officials insist that the information is only intended to be used to best provide for the well-being of the newly repatriated, and it is true that the Center uses medical information to provide them with medicine and mental health assistance if necessary—both by way of preparing for specific needs in addition to carrying out the assistance. In the socialist landscape of the Azores, CAR staff intimate that such intrusions on privacy are less important to them than do many of the deportees, especially those from the US, who, having been socialized under a different system feel that their rights are being violated.

⁹⁰These data were only made available to the Azorean and Portuguese governments after arduous negotiations among the Portuguese Foreign Minister and the deporting North American Governments in 2000. In the US case, the acquiescence of the Federal government to provide the data came about, in part, through pressures exerted by Azorean Diaspora communities on their Congressional politicians.

Although some of the repatriados do not initially make contact with the CAR staff at the airport, often using means of subterfuge to escape without notice, most do make immediate contact when they see the stranger holding up an envelope with their name on it. After initially avoiding CAR, other deportees will often stop by the help center within a few days to a few weeks or months after arrival.

After this first contact, newly arrived repatriados, with the assistance of a CAR official, obtain the necessary papers to undertake work and receive social services benefits. As the overwhelming majority of the repatriados had migrated to North America as minors, most were too young to have received social security cards before they left. With CAR officials translating forms for the deportees, or filling out the paperwork for them, necessary documents are filled out for social security cards and also national identity cards, which had expired over the years, or had been lost or had just never been received prior to migration.

Those participating in the CAR program go through an orientation offered by the staff, including meetings with a psychologist, check-ups with medical professionals, and informational briefings from social workers. If a repatriado wishes to participate in the CAR program, he must sign a contract stipulating that in exchange for the benefits provided through the Center, he will adhere to particular rules of conduct. These rules include agreeing not to commit crimes and not to break regulations governing behavior in residences provided by CAR, (which include not taking illegal drugs on the premises and not inviting non-residents into the domicile). Upon signing the contract criminal forced return migrants are immediately given shelter and a monthly stipend. They receive medical assistance including psychological and health care services in addition to any necessary Doctor-prescribed medication. Once acclimatized, (and if they are medically able) they can begin job training and after a brief period are provided with work.

According to internal governmental operational reports from CAR, it is the ultimate goal of the Center and the Azorean government that, at the end of about one year, the repatriated individuals will have been fully integrated into Azorean society. In principle, by the end of one

year, those participating in the program should have gradually moved from a position of total dependence on CAR housing and programs to be in a position where they are now living and working on their own without any governmental assistance. To aid the forced return migrants in this end, in addition to financial and medical assistance, CAR also provides what can effectively be termed “cultural training”, including Portuguese language tutoring and instruction in how to successfully “socially and culturally integrate” into the Azores. Although a period of one year is set out as the amount of time necessary to accomplish the goal of “integration,” officials at the center and in the government, however, will be the first to point out the near Sisyphean impossibility of making this goal concur with any sort of tangible reality.

It should be made clear that no newly arrived deportee is under any obligation to sign a contract with CAR or take advantage of the center’s services. Nonetheless, CAR remains effectively the only option for all but a small percentage of arriving repatriados, as most have little family remaining in the islands—or few family members willing to take them in and support them. Although other minor forms of assistance are available (such as an evangelical Baptist missionary pastor from the United States who has attempted to provide some assistance to the repatriados) CAR is the only comprehensive assistance center available.

There are three broad phases of intervention during which CAR assists the repatriados. The first phase is a three month long orientation program during which the recent arrival is given housing, a monthly stipend and is assisted in obtaining documentation and after an initial orientation period, work. The second phase is a transitional period lasting a maximum of six months during which time each repatriado develops a “life project” that includes the development of long term written goals, job training, psychotherapy and training for socio-cultural integration into the islands. During this phase the repatriado is still sponsored by the government, receiving a housing stipend and given work through one of a number of government projects. The third and final phase is ideally completed by the end of one year with the end goal that each repatriado

would find his own job so that he could afford his own housing and in so doing become self-sufficient, no longer needing the stipend provided by the government.

By the end of the first year of its existence, CAR had assisted more than 100 repatriados through the program. By April of 2001 the number of repatriados participating in the Center's programs had reached some 500 individuals between the ages of 19 and 46.⁹¹ Over the years since its creation, CAR's staff, its programs, and the number of buildings under its control likewise burgeoned. Beginning with the small basement portion and the abutting courtyard of a building occupied by another governmental service agency, by 2001 CAR had grown to include a Drop-in center, a transition house, and various training centers used to teach repatriados trades in azulejo and ceramic, masonry, construction and shop keeping.

CAR administration

Working at CAR are the following personnel:

- Psychologist/Sociologist (CAR Director)
- Therapeutic assistant
- Director of personal finances
- Socio-professional insertion associate
- Social rehabilitation and formation director
- Therapeutic assistant in Terceira
- Therapeutic assistant in Lisboa
- Administrative assistant
- Domicile support assistant
- Socio-professional instructors (2)
- Professional training assistants (2)
- Maintenance and office workers (7) (these are positions given to repatriated workers who assist at the Center, at the Transition House, at the Drop-in Center, at the various work training centers.)
- Medical Doctor for weekly consultations

CAR philosophy and practice

CAR's approach is to be available 24 hours a day, operating as a type of crisis management center that can be relied upon in the event of personal emergency. The goal of the

⁹¹ All statistics in the figures here and below, unless otherwise noted, are current as of April 2001.

program as CAR documentation indicates, is to help the repatriated citizen in a holistic manner and assist them to in the process of reinsertion back into Azorean society. To accomplish this objective, CAR has designed a program assembled from the collective expertise of a team that includes medical and mental health professionals and sociologists along with the extensive first-hand experience of the staff, experience gained through trial and error over the years of the program's existence.

In theory, the hands-on portion of the CAR program is intended to last for nine months, broken into three distinct phases each lasting three months. The last period of the one-year contract is designed to allow for some leeway, and for the final insertion of a deportee into Azorean social life, at which point he or she according to the Center will have become a member of Azorean society. To accomplish this objective, the CAR attempts to attend to the needs of the repatriated population by acting as a resource to answer questions, by treating "practical human necessities" in the areas of physical, emotional and psychological well being, and helping the population to become sufficient in financial, social, cultural, work and linguistic spheres.

Despite the recognition of a reality that greatly differs from the rhetoric, however, both current and previous government sponsored programs had as their primary objective the social integration and re-insertion of the repatriados into Azorean life. Further, the success or failure of the CAR program is evaluated by the government, the media, and the public based on how well this objective has been met. Internal governmental reports carried out by CAR, academic papers and projects, newspaper and magazine articles and television stories discuss, and public discourses all deliberate on the "repatriation problem" as refracted through the prism of social integration. The reality may be seen as different from the ideal, but the ideal yet guides the government's project, and subsequently the lives of the repatriated themselves.

The CAR project is designed to meet these objectives through a program, mentioned above, that is carried out in three distinct phases: Orientation, Transition—Life Project, and Integration in the Community. Although it is intended that the phases will last only three each,

those participating in the program have access to CAR services for a period of one year and some latitude exists even beyond the space of one year. Owing to a recognition on the part of CAR staff that each individual deportee faces a unique set of circumstances related to his or her integration, built into the project is a wide degree of flexibility regarding financial and human resources as well as the amount of time the individual may continue to participate in each phase or in the project in general. Further, the particular program phase in which an individual will enroll is also subject to flexibility. Given personal circumstances, aptitudes, a person's physical and mental health state, one may skip Phase I and enter directly into Phase II or Phase III; may enter into a later stage of a particular phase; may delay enrollment for a period of time; or may never even enroll at all, only taking advantage of others of the services offered by CAR.

CAR Phase I: Welcome

The first phase of the program effectively takes place from the moment of the repatriated Portuguese citizen's arrival at the João Paulo II airport in Ponta Delgada. Greeting the arriving deportee at the airport will usually be at least two functionaries of the repatriation program. As a result of various protocols between the US Secretary of State, the Canadian Consul and the Portuguese government, the consular offices of the North American governments inform the Portuguese government at least 2 weeks in advance of the impending deportation of a Portuguese citizen. Although the US/Portuguese protocols were designed to make things easier for the Azorean government and CAR, the director of the program said that oftentimes the protocol works to their disadvantage. Prior to the 2000 protocol, the Director could haggle back and forth with the US consul, making a mutually beneficial time to stagger out the acceptance of deportees arriving in the islands. Under the old system, requests could be made to postpone a deportation if CAR did not foresee having beds available for the new arrival (or a large group of arrivals), was in a period of strained resources, or was overwhelmed as a result of the almost daily crises that arose at the Center. The US consular office, negotiating on behalf of CAR with INS would often

be successful in arranging for the request. As a result of the protocols, however, CAR does not have this flexibility and often must scramble to find resources when the US carries out deportations at an inopportune time for the Center. Once notification is given, CAR has only two weeks to prepare for the arrival, whether resources are available or not.⁹²

No deportee is compelled by law to identify himself to the CAR official holding up the sign with his name on it at the airport and as is often the case, some repatriados will walk on by without a word, usually if they have some family waiting to pick them up.⁹³ Others will inform the Center that they have a parent, an uncle, a cousin or some relative waiting to pick them up and that they do not need CAR assistance. Even in these cases, CAR informs the forced return migrants that the Center is available to help with anything they might need related to their deportation and their re-integration back into life in the islands. Indeed many of these deportees end up coming into CAR after a number of days or weeks if their living situation with family has become problematic, or if they merely hope to take advantage of other CAR assistance programs, including psychological and medical services, or if they might need assistance finding a job.

In the earlier days of the program many arriving repatriados were under some misconceptions about what took place at CAR, and what role the Center had in relation to the

⁹²The protocols were agreed upon when President Clinton went to Lisbon for a series of meetings with European Union leaders, including Jorge Sampaio who as President of the Portuguese Republic held the EU's rotating Presidency during the period of Clinton's visit. At a state dinner Sampaio made headlines when he challenged Clinton to end the death penalty in America. Various Azorean pundits in the islands were perplexed as to why the headlines he made were not about his anger over the repatriation issue. In fact, during the entire period of President Clinton's visit to Lisbon, appearing in the continental press and media were only sporadic articles about repatriation as well as issues around the US continued presence at the Lajes air base, articles usually buried deep in newspaper editions (and even then these were often just reprints of pieces picked up from Azorean newspapers). The lack of coverage in the continental media about these prominent issues of concern to those in the Azores as related to the Presidential visit speaks to the general lack of interest of these issues in Lisbon, as continental Portuguese tend to see repatriation as an *Azorean* government problem, not as a *Portuguese* problem.

⁹³ Although participation in the program, signing a contract and obeying the terms of the contract are neither socially compulsory nor required by the law, most of the repatriated have no other choice but to participate. This is not to say however, that they are coerced into participating in a rigid governmental program. CAR is anything but rigid, a fact that unintentionally poses problems by creating a feeling among many repatriados that all are not being treated fairly or consistently through the normal functioning of programs intended to assist them.

police and the criminal courts. As a result, some deportees upon arrival would avoid contacting the Center as they felt that the Center's primary role was to keep tabs on them from committing further criminal activity. As more repatriated participated in the CAR project, and as more deportees became increasingly desperate to participate in the programs offered, a truer picture of the role of CAR with law enforcement officials emerged.⁹⁴ In addition, subsequent private and public sponsored information programs in the North American Azorean communities and in the state, county and federal prisons and immigration detention centers where the forced return migrants await deportation, also educated the deportees about the assistance that would be available to them once they arrived in the Azores. Today, before they even embark on the flight that will eventually take them to Ponta Delgada, the repatriated are all well aware of the existence of CAR and already have a general idea of what type of assistance they will receive from it.

After picking up a new arrival at the airport, CAR functionaries will bring the deportee to drop off his luggage (usually a single duffel bag) at the transition house or in a hotel if the transition house is currently full. Over the course of the next few days, the deportees will be introduced to the Center and the programs available to them, will receive a small stipend of about ten dollars a day for food, and will be shepherded around to various governmental bureaucratic agencies to receive documentation necessary to work, including the Portuguese equivalent of a Social Security card and residential documents including a National Identity Card, proper health insurance documentation and will usually be brought to a bank where an account will be opened for them. Although the repatriated will be present throughout each stage of this process, a CAR official will accompany him throughout, given that most of them would not only have difficulty filling out the documents, they would have a difficult time even locating the many governmental agencies. Further, the deportees would not be able to speak Portuguese to the responsible bureaucrats once arriving and would not even know what documentation was necessary for them

⁹⁴ There are yet a few deportees who yet hold a somewhat paranoid impression of CAR's role in relation to law enforcement and the court system.

in the first place. CAR assistance then is not only helpful to the repatriados, it is in effect, quite necessary.

During this phase of the CAR program, the repatriated citizens will also begin to receive treatment for psychological and medical problems, if necessary, including treatment for frequent cases of diagnosed illness such as schizophrenia and bi-polar disorder, alcoholism and other drug addictions, HIV, and Hepatitis. The government pays for medical treatment and psychological counseling for the repatriados, and CAR also employs staff who provide medical and psychological services on a day-to-day basis.

Work training generally also begins for the repatriados during this phase of the program in addition to language instruction. In earlier stages of the program, work training had previously taken place on an ad hoc basis, as was the case with language instruction. The logistics of bringing together a voluntary group of repatriated in an organized manner, with a rigorous schedule for the purposes of teaching a class has generally met with little success. As the program has developed however, several training centers in various areas of occupational instruction were created and repatriados in the program were compelled to attend these programs in order to fulfill the terms of their contract. Although there are language classes, such instruction also takes place on an ad hoc basis or merely during the course of CAR operations, as functionaries, as a policy, will attempt to use Portuguese with repatriados rather than English. The need for clear communication however with the program's participants usually necessitates that this policy be abandoned with regularity and that English be used instead.

During this period of time, deportees will also move their residence from the transition house into their own apartment or a shared apartment, costs for which will be defrayed by a government subsidy. Upon matriculation into the next phase of the program, once they have begun full-time jobs in private and public companies, the program will continue to provide the housing subsidy in addition to the work stipend that they will receive.

CAR Phase II: Transition, Life Project

In addition to helping a participant in the practical aspects—work, housing, etc.—of daily survival, CAR carries out its social re-insertion project by working with each repatriado to help him develop a “life project”. Part of the CAR philosophy is that social reinsertion will only be possible through a multi-tiered approach that helps criminal forced return migrants to address psychological issues along with the practical issues confronted in their day-to-day existence. The “life project” program is in part designed to assist repatriados in examining his or her life, by way of understanding the life circumstances, social conditions and personal decisions that have brought them back to the Azores. Programs in Phase II are also designed to assist the deportees to deal with the practical realities of their quotidian existence in the islands. Throughout the course of this phase, the deportees will continue with job and professional training, will continue with psychological therapy, will take on a job through CAR sponsored partnerships with private companies or public sector agencies and will continue to develop (as CAR describes it) their “socio-cultural competencies.”

CAR staff are involved in all stages of this process, a period that tends to present the greatest practical difficulties to the Center. As the novelty of their new surroundings has worn off, participants in this phase of the program begin to confront the grim reality of their deportation, the fact that they have left virtually everyone they ever knew, and the familiarity of every place in which they ever lived far behind to be exiled to the middle of the Ocean. Concomitant with this realization is that during this period the repatriados are now required to keep full-time jobs to earn their housing subsidy and living expenses stipend. Upon beginning work, they begin to see first hand how little the money is that they will earn compared to the amount of work they must do; they begin to encounter problems with co-workers; and they realize that their lives prior to deportation, usually spent hustling on the streets or in prison, has done little to prepare them to undertake the physically arduous jobs that deportees are usually provided through the Center.

These factors leave them angry, frustrated and disillusioned; and it is usually the Center that must cope with the repercussions of the repatriados' agitated emotional state.

The expression of such emotions also results in challenges and difficulties to social integration, and can also have negative physical and psychological consequences. Progress made toward kicking a drug dependency often suffers relapses during this phase, given the difficulties the deportees confront. Increasing feelings of isolation often leads to violent and physically aggressive acts against other repatriados, against members of CAR staff, and against co-workers and other Azoreans. The emerging frustration that results from their small paycheck and their lack of familiarity with arduous manual labor, encourages some of the repatriates to find other ways to supplement their income including returning to crime. Of course those who return to committing crimes in the islands compose only a small portion of the broader repatriated population; but increasing violence, anger and the abuse of controlled substances are frequent reactions of the general repatriated population when confronting problems during this phase.

During the beginning of this stage, even prior to it, the initial euphoria that many of the repatriated express they feel upon first arriving on the island—especially among those who have been recently released from US and Canadian prisons and immigration services detention centers—begins to wane. The deportees come to the realization that they are now stuck, far from family, friends and their homes, in the middle of the ocean with little support, among a population in which they are (or the category they are in is) generally detested. Virtually every repatriado whom I interviewed formally or with whom I spoke informally about their arrival expressed, in addition to their anger at being deported and how it was the last thing that they wanted, the fleeting feeling that they had just received a free plane ticket to take a vacation. After a short period, a few hours or days for some, a few weeks or months for others, however, this attitude changes dramatically and if there was ever any even brief optimistic outlook that feeling turns to anger, resentment and bitterness.

It is in the context of this transition that CAR's second phase, the construction of a "Life Project" takes place. Working in the temporary job obtained through the program provides a small stipend, makes one eligible for a housing subsidy to assist with paying for an apartment usually integrated into a neighborhood in the city or in a smaller community outside it, and also provides the repatriated with other services offered under the contract, including medical and psychological assistance, professional training and other forms of tutoring and counseling. Working and living on his own, albeit still under the auspices of the center, provides a forced return migrant with what can be a positive practical education in living in the islands. The socio-psychological counselors at the center, however, are aware that this transition phase also presents the repatriated with psychological and emotional uncertainties that can potentially lead to other problems. According to CAR data, 95% of the repatriados dealt with at the Center have drug dependencies—including alcohol and narcotics. Other problems include serious mental illnesses, including HIV, Hepatitis, and Schizophrenia.

That these problems—violent behavior, abuse of drugs, illicit criminal acts—adversely affect both the deported in their progress toward social integration, as well as the broader society in which they live, during this phase, program participants are required to continue with therapy and psychological counseling, as they develop what the Center terms their "Life Project." The life project consists of an outline of goals and an examination of the personal and societal circumstances of their lives and is intended to assist the forced return migrants in conducting a broad evaluation of their new lives in the islands so that they may better understand what will be required of them in the practical aspects of their social integration.

It should be noted that accommodation is made in severe cases of psychological and medical illness, such that a serious addict of controlled substances will be exempted from the provision of the contract that requires him to work for his stipend and subsidy. Such addicts with continuing drug problems will remain in the program as they receive mental and physical health assistance while the struggle to break their dependency, along with their living and housing

subsidy. Also, if an individual who had already undergone treatment in Phase I, and then suffers a relapse during Phase II of the program, he will be given additional chances to maintain the terms of the contract, as long as treatment is being sought and actively undertaken.

CAR Phase III: Community Integration

As a repatriado commences with Phase III of the program—expected to take place over the final three months of his participation—he has presumably demonstrated progress toward objectives of the CAR project by moving toward successful “social integration” into Azorean society. During Phase III, it is expected that those participating in the program will complete their CAR sponsored job training, or will have already demonstrated that they have the proper work aptitude and attitude in their job with a CAR partner company demonstrating that they will be ready to take-on a full-time position in the normal market. During this final phase it is expected that a repatriated participant will have found his own apartment, and be able to earn enough of a wage in order to subsist on his own once CAR subsidies and stipends have ceased.

Movement out of Phase III of the program constitutes a “successful social integration into Azorean society” in as much as it is presumed that a forced return migrant is no longer financially dependent upon the government (or criminal activity) for survival, and has learned enough through CAR sponsored educational and training programs and through his interaction with Azoreans over the past year that he is now ready to negotiate daily social life in the islands, without further burdening the government or the society of which he is now a part. A repatriado can now work, live and socialize in the Azores without reference to the fact of his repatriation, which, given the deportee’s social integration is, in theory, an inconsequential part of one’s former life. After leaving CAR, the idea of the program is that the forced return migrant will have been born-again an Azorean.

Services offered by CAR

Rights to CAR services and subsidies

All who sign a contract with CAR have the right to services and subsidies offered by the program for a period of 12 months. Services include general information, assistance in managing the practical necessities of life, psychological counseling and therapy, medical assistance and consultation, and assistance in procuring a job. Subsidies include payments to cover the cost of housing, a monthly stipend and the cost of medicine and other miscellanea. Unless special provisions are made, however, after the 12-month period subsidies and the stipend will no longer be available to a repatriated individual who will only have a right to utilize the services offered by CAR.

The services are wide-ranging and cover a number of areas intended to assist the forced return migrants, who CAR considers to be “the sons and daughters of dysfunctional families, who have encountered great difficulty in the US and Canada throughout the phases of adolescence and youth.” It is pointed out in CAR literature that the repatriated “belong to a deviant sociological subgroup, whose profile, values, intellectual, linguistic and cognitive abilities require psychological interpretation.” The program recognizes that among those participating in the program at least 95% are addicts of controlled substances, including alcohol and predominantly opiates and as such, whatever difficulties they encounter are often compounded by “concomitant mental illnesses.” In addition, CAR also recognizes that the process of undergoing a forced repatriation in and of itself carries with it the potential for worsening psychological conditions that can potentially lead to increases in drug abuse and related problems.

Program of personal services

Psychological evaluation and diagnoses: Forced return migrants undergo a series of psychological evaluations with CAR staff psychologists with the end goal of creating a “personalized” program

to facilitate their social integration. Personal therapy sessions and other diagnostic tools⁹⁵ are used to understand the particular psychological issues of a repatriated individual, the nature and duration of addictions to controlled substances, and other “social dimensions” of the repatriados life in the Azores and North America. As of April 2001, a total of 439 out of 470 individuals participating in CAR’s programs had used this service.

Ambulatory treatment of drug dependency: Operating under studies that ambulatory care is as efficacious as institutional programs (with the exception of extreme cases in which patients suffer from serious psychotic conditions for whom institutionalized care is essential) CAR has established several guidelines for the participation of repatriados in ambulatory drug treatment programs:

1. The person entering treatment must express a desire to do so.
2. Medication must be determined through medical consultation.
3. Daily medications must be supervised and can only be administered if accompanied by psychological treatment.
4. During the course of treatment, the individual must gradually be integrated into the work program.
5. Evaluation of the process and a demonstration of progress must take place.
6. Follow-ups must continue after recovery.

Overall, a total of 173 out of 470 individuals in the program have undergone ambulatory treatment for drug dependencies. On average, however, each individual enters then re-enters the program three times, so that the total number of interventions for these 173 individuals totals 519

⁹⁵These include a battery of evaluation tools: Social Adjustment Index (WHO), Self Reporting Questionnaire , Alcohol Use Questionnaire and Inventory of Drinking Situations.

separate periods of participation in this program. These figures indicate that of those inserted into the CAR program nearly 40% of the repatriados have participated in ambulatory treatment for drug addictions.

Institutional treatment: Institutional drug treatment is not specifically undertaken by CAR, but by a partner medical facility. Psychologists at the center are, however, involved in providing counseling to individuals who have serious drug, physical and psychological problems and will advise and make recommendations about such individuals for whom institutionalization may be required or desired. CAR has a close relationship with the Drug Treatment Section of the Clínica de S. Miguel, and since the opening of the clinic a total of 57 individuals (12% of the total) from the CAR project have been institutionalized there for treatment of drug addictions.

This institutional treatment program was created primarily in response to the large number of deportees with serious drug addictions, but it has also served the broader Azorean population as well. Although the development of the treatment clinic certainly came about as a result of the repatriated population, they are not the only individuals who are treated at the clinic. Nonetheless, the clinic and the need for institutionalized drug treatment on this pronounced a scale is an example of the adaptations necessary on São Miguel as a result of repatriation.

Methadone program: Also operating at the Clínica de S. Miguel is a methadone treatment program designed to gradually assist deportees with serious heroin addictions address their habits. A total of 38 individuals (8%) at CAR have participated in the clinic's methadone program, which operates in cooperation with the Center's ambulatory treatment program that administers the medication. The methadone program at the clinic came about, like institutionalized drug treatment, as a result of repatriation; although the deportees are not the only individuals to be treated through the methadone clinic. Prior to the initiation of the methadone treatment program much debate had occurred among politicians and in public discourses related to the

appropriateness of such a program along with a proposal for a needle exchange program. Given the public awareness (and perception) of the increase in the number of drug addicts—both as a result of repatriation and among other island residents—those advocating for the programs had a great deal of support among the insular population.

Anger management program: The anger management program was specifically created to directly address some of the difficulties faced by the repatriated population. An assistance program designed to increase anger management skills, of course has universal utility, but this particular CAR program came about through the creativity of the CAR staff to help certain of the repatriated not only with anger control problems that existed prior to deportation, but to assist them with the inevitable increase in anger that has come about as a result of their deportation. The perceived heightened aggressiveness of the repatriated population (presumably in comparison to the Azorean population) is one marker of group identity that is universally cited as a defining characteristic of the repatriados, an assumption that is taken as self-evident by CAR. According to CAR documents, the repatriated have “since a tender age learned to react violently to everything that comes at them as a way to resolve the conflicts that have resulted from their exclusion and discrimination. Such violent reactions are also the way that they resolve conflicts with other repatriados.”

The CAR program operates to assist the repatriated with actual anger management problems, however, through individual and group therapy. Although the broad Azorean public would not hesitate to suggest that generally boisterous behavior by a group of repatriated was an example of violent behavior on their part, at least one CAR official in an interview recognized that the problem is also one of perception. In addition to treating specific social and psychological causes of anger, at certain times the program also attempts to make the repatriated aware of how they are perceived by the local population and how to address this so that they do not appear aggressive in public.

Overall, 252 of the 470 repatriated at the Center (or over 50%) have participated in the anger management program. Over the period of my field research, there had been 63 group sessions and 1310 individual anger management sessions.

Treatment for perpetrators of domestic violence: Although on the one hand, CAR staff are clear in their belief that domestic violence is a universal problem and not specifically the provenance of repatriated men, it nonetheless sees domestic violence as a heightened feature of the repatriated population. According to documentation from the center the program to curb domestic assault was created because: “male repatriados, who are involved with women in the Azores, carry out their relationship acting with an aggressiveness that is more intense than those among the general population.... these men, overall, have relationships with local women that are precarious and take the form of dominant and subjugated.”

Treatment is effected through a three-month-long group course through which the repatriated participants develop interpersonal skills, conflict mediation skills and discuss how the objective of equality should exist in their relationships with women. There have been 9 domestic violence courses of this type with total participation in the courses numbering 100 individuals or 21%.

Assistance for the partners and children of repatriated persons: CAR attempts to provide assistance to repatriated individuals who want to participate in the program but who also have husbands or wives or are in conjugal relationships (either prior to or after deportation) as well as those who may have children. Counseling, additional funding, and housing assistance is provided to help participants provide not only for themselves, but also for their families. Most CAR officials say that, with notable exceptions, when the repatriated marry, or enter into conjugal relationships, either with Azoreans or with other repatriated, the process of social integration can be greatly facilitated. Presumably this is even the case among those deportees who commit acts of

domestic violence. Since its initiation, this program has assisted a total of 37 couples and 46 children.

Family re-unification: Another aspect of the CAR program to assist deportees and their families is the allocation of funds and support networks to assist with the re-unification of families that have been separated as a result of deportation. In those cases where the family of a deportee desires to move from North America to the Azores, CAR and the Azorean government will attempt to fly the nuclear family of the repatriado to the Azores and provide assistance for housing and education for children if necessary. 7 families have been re-unified as a result of this program, however almost 30 other repatriados have requested the service.

CAR Assistance for repatriated in the Estabelecimento Prisional Regional de Ponta Delgada (the Ponta Delgada Prison): CAR provides a number of services to repatriated who are incarcerated in prison either locked up awaiting court dates or while they are serving time for having already been found guilty of crimes. Among those whom CAR assists in prison are both deportees who had been participating in the program at the time of their arrest and subsequent incarceration as well as those in prison who were not in the program (either because the year-long period had expired, or because they never entered into it). Given that many of the deportees have little family who would either be in the islands or even be willing come to visit them or provide them with practical necessities while they are in jail, CAR staff will periodically offer the incarcerated deportees cigarettes, clothing, cosmetics, telephone calling cards, and the like. CAR's position is that they should take on the role of a repatriated inmates' family during his or her time in prison. This is a service that takes place in other prisons in the islands as well.

Another aspect of the CAR services for prisoners is the continuation of psychological counseling during the term of the repatriated inmate's confinement so that upon his release from

prison, his reintegration into Azorean society will be facilitated. CAR has provided this service to 41 repatriated inmates.⁹⁶

Education programs: Given that many of the criminal forced return migrants have scant to no recollection of their younger lives in the Azores, upon arrival in the archipelago, CAR has designed an educational program that is intended to provide the repatriated with what the government program sees as a fundamental knowledge base for an Azorean-Portuguese citizen. These educational programs further provide the deportees with training in proper “social and cultural comportment” designed to teach a deportee how to “appropriately” interact with other Azoreans. Without this training, it is the position of the framers of the program that the repatriated would be unprepared to confront life in the islands.

Quoting from CAR materials, the educational program is intended to address the following deficiencies that the government perceives exist in the education and knowledge base of the deported:

- They do not have a minimal notion of the history and geography of Portugal, the Azores and Madeira.
- They do not understand what the European Union is, nor do they understand the role of Portugal in the confederation.
- *They have unlearned proper social and cultural modes of comporting themselves in public.* (Italics are mine.)
- They interpret Portuguese laws as if they were the same as the laws of the United States and Canada.
- Their Portuguese language skills are not competent and their writing in English is largely deficient.
- They are unable to fill out even the most simple governmental and official forms and documents.

Among all of the broader programs of CAR, the educational component is utilized by one of the higher percentages of repatriated engaged in any program, with 217 individuals (45%)

⁹⁶The situation of repatriados at the Ponta Delgada prison is treated at length below.

participating in it. The educational program is taught by CAR staff, volunteer teachers and other repatriados themselves, who offer instruction to participants by way of addressing the deficiencies—perceived and real—outlined above. Classes provide a basic education in civics, history, politics and geography; some basic language instruction and tutorials in Portuguese law, as well as training in proper “social and cultural comportment.” This latter area of instruction attempts to make participants directly aware of acceptable and unacceptable behavior in their dealings with “Azoreans” by offering a set of guidelines for comportment including suggestions such as not swearing loudly in public, not acting publicly drunk and not fighting at the drop of a challenge.

Most of this instruction, however, does not take place in formal training sessions (which are difficult to organize and maintain, given the deportees’ attitudes about participation) but in informal one-on-one or small group discussions between staff and individual repatriados and in counseling sessions; and is reinforced, as well, through daily interactions with Azoreans, many of whom do not hesitate to tell a deportee that he is acting inappropriately either through non-verbal cues or in direct complaint and challenge.

The repatriated themselves also instruct others and reinforce expectations for how they are expected to comport themselves among Azoreans through their own complaints. It was common in the center that one would hear a deportee angrily complaining to all who would listen about an Azorean with whom he had had a negative interaction. Forced return migrants in this situation complained about being treated shabbily, being discriminated against, and the end result of some interactions with Azoreans over a deportee’s proper comportment would end in violence. Whether or not those listening want to change how they interact with Azoreans, they will nonetheless begin to grasp the contours of what is considered inappropriate behavior, and the potential consequences for failing to act appropriately.

Portuguese language instruction: CAR staff members have expressed exasperation over attempts at formal educational classes (e.g. language and history) that they say are a virtual impossibility given the interests and mental capacities of much of the repatriated population. According to one staffer, “no one wants to come in here on a regular schedule and sit down for an hour. They don’t think and they don’t act like that.... Most of them have enough problems with English, forget Portuguese.” Owing to the difficulty of convening formal classes, CAR staff attempt to put together one-on-one training, oftentimes gathering a small group of individuals—who are at the Center just to pass time, or waiting for a specific meeting—for the purposes of providing information or training in a specific area. Although most of the instruction takes place on such an ad hoc basis, CAR has however, offered formalized courses in Portuguese language instruction. The classes for one such course met five days a week for two hours a day and were taught by a certified language teacher. Although 22 students began taking the class on the first day, by the end of the course, only seven remained. CAR staff point out the difficulties in repatriado participation in anything that has a “regular and systematic” schedule. But other problems exist as well. Many of those working to teach repatriados Portuguese, point out that part of the difficulty that they encounter is that many are essentially illiterate in English. In order to teach them Portuguese, one also has to teach them other basic information that would be taught in a grammar school, such as punctuation. The task of teaching Portuguese vocabulary to individuals is made all the more difficult when one considers that many of the deportees do not even know the words for the same concepts and objects in English.

CAR partnership in Lisbon: In October of 2000, more than four years after large-scale deportations to the Azores from the United States had begun, CAR worked with the Continental government to inaugurate an assistance center in Lisbon. Although the deportation situation in the continent was for the most part outside of the scope of my research, there have, in any event, only been 15 deportees participating in the Lisbon program. The program was designed to “integrate”

the repatriated population into continental Portugal and the European Union—with the hope of easing the burden on the Azores, by drawing Azorean deportees to Continente—but thus far few of the criminal forced return migrants have been willing to leave the islands, even including those who were born in continental Portugal before migrating to the US and Canada.

CAR partnership on Terceira: As there were 57 repatriados living on Terceira, the component program of CAR on that island has had a far greater level of participation. Although the majority of those deported from the US and Canada to the Azores are from the island of São Miguel (given the high percentage of poor, Micaelense-American urban and semi-urban migrant communities) there are also a high number of migrants from Terceira who have also been deported—predominantly from the large Terceirense communities in California. The Center at Terceira operates to fulfill the same role as that in São Miguel, albeit with a smaller repatriated population, a smaller staff, and fewer programs. The Terceira Center also functions to assist the deported population among a smaller island population and in two much smaller urban and semi-urban centers, when compared to Ponta Delgada and São Miguel's larger urban and semi-urban locales. The Center will also send deportees who may not be from Terceira to that island for work projects.

Orientation and crisis program: Assisting the repatriated population to secure housing is an on-going battle for CAR. Most individuals who rent rooms and own houses do not want deportees as tenants; individuals who live in apartments do not want repatriados living in their buildings, and even the residents in houses along a street do not want repatriados living in their neighborhoods. As a result, CAR has had to develop creative solutions in order to secure housing for those deportees. A number of different housing solutions were resolved for the repatriated whose needs during the first days and weeks after their arrival from North America, for example, differed greatly from their needs later in the first year of their participation in a CAR contract.

In all cases, CAR attempts to create a balance between the need for housing to be provided to the repatriated population and the needs of the local Azorean population in neighborhoods in which the housing is situated. There are many exceptions, but most deportee residences are situated in poorer neighborhoods in Ponta Delgada. Factors contributing to this are obviously limited governmental resources, but certainly it is the case that poorer residents would be less likely to have the political capital necessary to complain or act to keep the deported out of their neighborhoods.

Transition house: A temporary residence was proposed and built by CAR to provide transitional housing for deportees during their first weeks in the islands. The intention of CAR was to provide new arrivals with a living space that would also have a large in-house support network and in this way facilitate their early period trying to adapt to the newness of Azorean island life. Along the second year of the program's existence the transition house was established in Ponta Delgada, but establishing the residence met with vocal and violent protests from neighboring residents who took to the streets in an attempt to thwart its inauguration. The protests dominated news coverage on television, radio and in the press, with voices coming down on either side of the issue. Reiterated in the protests, were again the notion that the repatriados were the product of North America and did not belong in the islands. Although unsuccessful, the protests did make CAR staff far more wary of the unfortunate repercussions of the negative perception of the deportee community in the islands held by the broad Azorean population at large.

If there is space, the beds in the transition house are given to deportees upon arrival, where they may live for a brief time before moving into another semi-permanent apartment. The apartments serve as a domicile until the individual leaves the program at the end of his or her contract as a deportee transitions out of the program, or upon termination of his or her contract as a result of a breach of the rules. If a recent arrival is unable to procure semi-permanent housing, or if there is simply none available, he may remain in the transition house for up to a month as

housing is secured for him. Other repatriados also reside in the transition house at different times, including those receiving ambulatory care for addictions to controlled substances. In the transition house there is also a fair amount of meeting space, used by the Center for individualized and group therapy sessions and some work space that houses the offices of CAR's Director and some of his staff. There have been a total of 127 individuals who have resided in the transition house.

Apartment network/rental rooms: Recognizing the reluctance on the part of landlords to rent apartments to repatriados, CAR constantly devotes financial and personnel resources to procure housing. Various rules are set out in a deportee's contract regarding housing such as expectations for proper behavior in the apartment, and in turn CAR guarantees the renter against any damages caused by the repatriated living in the domicile. Failure to adhere to the rules of behavior (no damages to the facilities, no loud noises, no drug use in the building, etc.) theoretically results in termination of the CAR contract, and a deportee will lose his stipend and housing subsidies. Depending upon the specifics of the situation, however, a deportee breaking the contract may receive subsequent chances, and remain in the program.

As of April of 2001, there were 110 rooms available for deportee housing in the Azores (most in São Miguel) in the larger urban and semi-urban centers of Ponta Delgada, Ribeira Grande, Vila Franca, and Povoação on São Miguel and in Angra do Heroísmo on Terceira. CAR also manages two larger houses with a capacity for 8 individuals each in Ponta Delgada. A total of 237 single and multiple person rental spaces have been procured for program participants.

Drop-in center: Although the Drop-in-Center had not been built until after the extended period of my field research was concluded, plans for its creation have been long in the making. In April 2001 some 40 repatriated individuals were unable to keep a permanent home as a result of serious drug addictions, and psychological and emotional illness. Proposals and plans were made for a

Drop-in Center, where such individuals, living on the streets and with the health problems related to their situations, could stop by a building open 24 hours with some limited amenities as they desired to take showers, receive medical attention, take a nap, etc.

Many programs that were developed specifically to assist with the problems of the deported population have been extended to also assist the other Azoreans who may need such services, as with the Methadone or needle exchange programs. In this case, however, for the first time in any of CAR's programs, it was explicitly suggested that the drop-in center would be designed not only to serve the deportees, but would also provide assistance to any Azorean who needed the service. CAR's director said that such a development would be positive on a number of levels. First, more financial resources would be available for the program, as the drop-in center's budget could be derived from the broader Social Services resources available for the promotion of general Azorean health care. Including other non-deportees in the program, however, he said, would also point out to the general population that it was not just the deportees who had serious social welfare problems related to poverty, social isolation and drug abuse, but that non-deported Azoreans confronted similar difficulties as well.

Socio-professional program and professional training

One prominent area of the CAR program is to assist repatriated individuals in becoming economically self-sufficient. CAR's work programs are designed to both procure work for repatriados along with providing them with job training as part of the process of their broader socio-cultural integration into Azorean life. Included in this area is one of the newer areas of the CAR program—initiated over 2000 and into 2001—socio-professional schools through which participants spend their time as worker's apprentices, in support of learning a specific trade. Other CAR programs designed to find work for the repatriated have been in place since the founding of the Center.

Work Integration: The majority of the repatriados (for whom work is an option) are provided with either public or private sector positions, with the latter category of jobs providing the repatriated with the grand majority of their work opportunities. 254 CAR participants (57%) have been provided with private sector jobs, and 43 (10%) have been given positions in local municipalities, with CAR finding work for another 43 individuals (10%) in various social assistance institutions including the Casa da Saúde de São Miguel and the Santa Casa da Misericórdia (two Portuguese parochial health care institutions). It should be noted, however, that although there were 86 participants in these two later categories, originally, a total of 162 individuals had been contracted to work in those positions. Seventy-six individuals, however, broke the terms of their contract and as a result lost their jobs.

In private sector jobs, the wages of a participating deportee are subsidized by the government. This subsidy provides an incentive to employers to hire a deportee, necessary in a climate that finds open employment discrimination against them as a commonplace occurrence. Once on the job, however, repatriated workers can and do stay beyond the duration of their contract. If such a worker shows aptitude and has an acceptable approach to his work, it is not unlikely that his temporary private sector job will turn into a permanent position once he has left the program, at which point the employer will take on responsibility for the payment of his entire salary, and usually give him a raise (necessary, given that the worker is also no longer receiving his housing stipend from the Center). Public sector jobs usually offer less opportunity to transition into permanent employment; nonetheless it is a possibility. Unlike the private sector salaries that are subsidized by CAR, the government—through various economic agencies—assumes the full responsibility for paying salaries to repatriated workers in public sector jobs.

In rare cases, (5 individuals or 1%) some of the repatriado workers have attempted to start companies through which they employ themselves. The few cases of repatriated in this

category comprise an auto mechanic, an electrician, a house-cleaner, a landscaper, and a bar owner.

No matter what the occupation taken on by a repatriated worker, CAR makes it clear that when a deportee works during the first year of the program, the goal is to “create structures that will provide the conditions for their learning of aptitudes and how to integrate.” It is the purpose of the work programs to assist the repatriated in finding permanent jobs outside of the program, but promoting the financial independence of the repatriated population is a goal that is carried out in conjunction with socio-cultural training. In the CAR project, the goal of financial self-reliance can only be achieved through a course of socio-cultural integration into Azorean life.

Professional training schools: CAR has attempted to place some repatriated individuals into vocational schools to help them develop the skills necessary to receive permanent jobs upon the completion of their training. After only a short period, according to CAR documentation, this program has met with little success. Statistics bear out this assessment as there have been only seven participants in such training courses, four of whom were required to drop out of the school immediately given their lack of Portuguese language abilities. This provides a clear example of the dual nature of problems and how they are framed around deportee identity in the islands. On a purely practical level, the difficulty of the deportees in completing the training was directly related to their lack of language skills. But a lack of language ability is, in and of itself, not how the failure is treated by CAR or by other Azoreans. There is the presumption among Azoreans that the deportees, as a result of their connection to the islands, should know how to speak Portuguese. That they do not speak the language is further evidence for those judging them that they do not belong to the Azores.

Certainly a lack of language ability is a practical cause for their failure in this particular program. But as with all other aspects of deportee life in the islands related to how they are categorized in national and ethnic frameworks, perceived cultural considerations (like dress,

comportment, and in this case, language use) act as a reference point to frame socio-cultural interaction among Azoreans and the repatriated.

Home living training: The goal of the home living training program is to assist repatriated individuals in managing the every day aspects of their own households. For those individuals who are unaccustomed to living on their own, the training is designed to provide them with the autonomy and know-how to live without assistance in their apartments. In some cases, this training acts as a work program for certain deportees who, for medical or psychological reasons are unable to work, for others, home living training serves as a pre-requisite to their being able to take on employment. The program educates participants through home-economics training that teaches proper house cleaning, basic cooking skills, appliance care, shows participants how to pay bills, manage a check-book, shop for food, etc. A total of 37 individuals (8%) have participated in this training program.

Learn to work project:⁹⁷ This program is designed for those repatriated individuals in ambulatory treatment for drug dependency and as such there is only a light work requirement involved. The principle objectives of the program are to furnish some job training, but primarily provide activities that have therapeutic value. Participants might dabble in ceramics or might spend time tilling, planting, weeding and caring for the Center's victory garden. Although the specific work done might do little to directly prepare them for a job they might take upon recovery from their addictions, the fact that they were involved in a work project of whatever kind can be of practical value in developing confidence and feelings of self-worth that would be necessary once they obtain a full-time job. A total of 72 individuals in the CAR program (15%) have participated in such work activities.

⁹⁷ *Núcleos de ocupação pelo trabalho*

Community service projects: The Azorean government has given contracts to CAR for the construction of a range of children's playground equipment (jungle gyms, swing-sets, etc.) as well as the construction of wooden toys, which offers temporary work to the groups of repatriated who build them. One of the objectives of this program is to offer training and experience in construction, woodworking and masonry to those individuals without such skills, by way of preparing them for jobs they might take later on. Another important objective of this program, however, is to provide both CAR and the repatriated themselves with positive public relations exposure. Given the negative impression held by much of the general public toward the repatriados, the building of toys and playgrounds destined for use by children provides the repatriated population with a respite from the usually negative press about them, as the positive television and print media coverage has offered the public a view of "typical" deportee activity that differs greatly from what many may believe to be the case.

A total of 57 individuals (12%) have participated in this project.

Proazulejo: Another program developed by CAR was a project designed to train participants in the art of azulejo production. 7 individuals had participated in this program as of April 2001 and had even had gallery exhibits displaying their artwork. Like the press generated from the building of playgrounds and children's toys, the art exhibits resulting from the Proazulejo program attempts to present the local population with a positive image of the repatriados.

Community Education

Although there are only a relatively small number of individuals in the deported population that create the majority of bad press, creating a positive image of the broader group outside of these individuals is yet not an easy undertaking. Recognizing that the Azorean population's negative perception of the repatriated presents challenges to the CAR project, the

Center began to attempt to educate the public about their misconceptions regarding the repatriados. Official CAR documentation states that the public's rejection of the deported population is half the problem that the forced return migrants face in successful social integration upon their arrival on the islands. Various projects carried out by CAR to educate the public include public lectures and panels, talks at Universities, informational sessions with health care professionals who may come into contact with deportees, and talks and workshops in Azorean Diaspora communities in the US and Canada. One objective of these public information campaigns is to disabuse the public from the notion that the comportment of a relative minority of the repatriated population is indicative of the behavior and attitudes of the majority. They are also intended to provide the public with information including the oft-argued recognition—made with backing from the police—that the level of criminality among the repatriated population is not proportionally greater than that among the general population.⁹⁸

Partner Institutions in the government and private sector

There are also a large number of private, governmental and religious institutions participating with CAR indicating the broad participation of various island institutions involved in assisting the repatriated community in their social and cultural integration in to the Azores. The

⁹⁸This statement is not necessarily borne out by statistics. The fact remains that, in the Winter of 2000 about 6% of the repatriated population of the Azores was either in prison convicted of crimes, or were awaiting trial for same. 6% of the general population of the Azores would be almost 15,000 people. During the same period there were only about 120 individuals in the Ponta Delgada prison serving sentences or waiting trial. Of this group many were not even from the Azores. Although it is certainly true that only a small number of the deportees committed crimes, it is also true that as a percentage of the total population, forced return migrants committed more crimes than other Azoreans. Potentially skewing this analysis is the fact that deportees are also far more likely to be accused of crimes—often they are considered the first suspects—whether they committed the crimes or not. Cited elsewhere in this dissertation (*op. cit.*) in support of a different argument, I would here bring up again the band of Azorean thieves who spoke English when committing robberies by way of shunting suspicion onto those in the deported population. If deportees are more likely to be accused of crimes and convicted unjustly, then the proportion would be inaccurate. My ethnographic assessment, however, is that the figure cited is not terribly far removed from the reality. An important consideration however is that according to government officials, the deportee incarceration figures are roughly consistent with percentages of Azorean drug addicts in prison.

group of institutions is truly reflective of a varied cross section of social institutions covering a wide range of sectors in Azorean society.⁹⁹

Institutions of Social Integration: Projecto Horizon

The forerunner to CAR: the São José Parish Assistance Center "Projecto Horizon"

In the earlier days of the mass deportations of long term non-citizen residents of the US and Canada back to the nation of their citizenship the Azores were ill-prepared to accept the forced return migrants from the archipelago. Without money, without the language abilities or social skills necessary to negotiate starting a new life in an alien environment without family or other simulacra of social support the returning repatriados quickly found themselves either unemployed or only employable in jobs that did not pay enough to enable them to live on their own. Many took to living on the streets, in abandoned buildings or renting the only rooms they could afford, most of which were unfit for human habitation. The difficult situation was mirrored in attempts to procure work, as few companies were disposed to hire those from the repatriated population. Employers often expressed the sentiment that "there are enough of our own people" who are unemployed and so why would one want to hire a deportee?¹⁰⁰

Compounding the extreme conditions of poverty for some was that almost all of the repatriados had been deported for drug offenses and had been accustomed to leading a rather different lifestyle in North America. For some this meant a far higher material standard of living as dealing gave them control over their lives and more leisure time. For many of those who had

⁹⁹ For example: Instituto de Acção Social (Governmental institution), Direcção Regional de Emigração (Governmental institution), Direcção Regional do Emprego (Governmental institution) Hospital de Ponta Delgada (Public Medical institution), Centro de Saúde de Ponta Delgada (medical institution), Centro de Saúde da Ribeira Grande (medical institution), Clínica de Tratamento de Toxicodependentes de S. João de Jesus (Private parochial medical institution), Instituto Margarida Chaves, Estabelecimento Prisional de Ponta Delgada (Governmental institution), Instituto de Reinserção Social (Governmental institution), 19 Câmaras Municipais (Municipal Government) of which 6 are in São Miguel, 158 Juntas de Freguesia (Municipal Government) of which 58 are in São Miguel, Igreja Baptista de Belém (Religious organization), Igreja Católica (Religious organization), Over 100 various private companies (Private sector).

¹⁰⁰ From an internal document from the San José Center, "Projecto Horizon."

been drug addicts, their new condition of alienation only increased their abuse of and dependency on the drugs that had caused their deportation in the first place.

Prior to the implementation of the CAR program, the former Azorean Presidency of Social-Democrat Mota Amaral sponsored the first deportee help center. The earlier center was much smaller in scope—due not only to the differing political philosophy of the ruling party, but also owing to the fact that upon the initiation of the first center, there was a much smaller percentage of repatriated living in the islands, and much less was known by the government about the problem. Further, the issue had not yet become a prominent topic of discussion in public social discourse as it would later, when articles and television news reports brought to light the problems and potential negative impact that the repatriation issue would bring to the islands.

Run as a partnership between the Azorean government and the São José Parish church (around the corner from the current location of CAR's operations center) and though much smaller in scale, the church administered program was similar in purpose to its later incarnation: to assist the deportees' integration into the ebb of Azorean social life. Begun in 1996 as an initiative of a parish priest who assisted deportees on an ad hoc basis on his own, government intervention in the São José Center, "Projecto Horizon" came about later through the collaborative effort of church functionaries and officials in the Azorean Department of Health and Human Services.

The original help center at São José was one of the first contact points for the newly repatriated North American (primarily US) residents and had similar goals to those of the later CAR program. In a 1997 interview, Padre Duarte, the priest in charge of running the center, revealed to me his understanding of the then nascent "repatriation problem" saying it was a situation in which the United States (and Canada) was deporting individuals whom he and others saw not as Portuguese, but as Americans: "Yes, they are citizens of Portugal, but there is little else that makes them Portuguese." In a report that outlined the "principal reasons for repatriados

immediate identification and consequent stigmatization” Projecto Horizon enumerated in bullet form the reasons repatriados were marked out as separate from the general population:

- wearing bandanas or basketball hats [likely baseball caps was intended]
- ‘sport’ boots in the Fall River style (unlaced hiking boots)
- unnecessary and overabundant display of tattoos.
- Shouting ‘F... You’ in loud voices in public areas at all times of day.

The stated mission of the São José center then, was to assist the criminal forced return migrant population in their introduction to island life, and in their long-term social integration into the islands. This included attempts to elicit from the repatriated, according to the center’s literature: “efforts to work hard, work honestly, to have a peaceful attitude and to have the will to enjoy life.”

The specific objectives of the São José center, however, were somewhat less ephemeral. The presence of repatriados was seen as a phenomenon that “had begun to inconvenience and aggravate the general population, requiring counter-measures to address the situation.” Three primary objectives of the São José center emerged 1. to prevent the deported population from committing crimes; 2. to keep the deportees off of the streets and put them in a situation where they could be supervised and controlled; 3. to avoid having them institutionalized, either in prisons or in mental health facilities. Although these objectives seem harshly weighted toward preventing the repatriated from disturbing the broader Azorean population, the specific measures intended to carry this out were centered on assisting the well-being of the deported individual. Part of the São José program would echo in the later CAR program, as it too provided professional training, Portuguese language instruction, and personal crisis intervention. The program identified the difficulties the repatriated population had in finding work and housing due to the stigma inherent in their status as repatriados, and attempted to address this situation by providing training. Moreover, one of the primary means through which the São José center sought

to prevent the above listed problems was to “assist the repatriated in creating a new life project,” one that included “creating alternative ways of comporting oneself, publicly presenting oneself, and socializing with others.” In short, training the newly arrived North Americans how to become Azoreans again.

Overall, Projecto Horizon assisted a total of 56 individuals over its two-year existence, with limited success, given the small scope of the project. Nonetheless, the São José center was instrumental in providing a framework of operations for what would later be expanded into the CAR program. Beginning with a small group of functionaries—a priest, a nurse and an artist—at the end of a few months, the project also added a clinical psychologist.

One goal of the project was to attempt to identify the underlying causes that lead to the stigmatization of the repatriated, while also making deliberate attempts to directly assist the repatriados in helping them to create “alternative ways of comportment, presentation and socialization” as one way to avoid the stigma over their identity and social-status. To accomplish these ends, the São José center created a number of specific programs:

Informational classes: At first obligatory, this project attempted to teach classes in Portuguese history and instruction in the Portuguese language. Owing to difficulties in getting any sort of participation from the repatriated, the requirement to take the class was dropped in favor of offering the classes to those who were interested. Once the classes were no longer mandatory, enrollment all but disappeared, with only two or three students showing up to the classes with any regularity.

Work projects: The program attempted to train the deportee group for work, by having them build children’s playground equipment (a project later taken up by CAR). It also attempted to work with governmental and non-governmental institutions and private sector companies to encourage

the hiring of those in the repatriated group who showed some promise or aptitude in a given work area.

Padre Duarte

The program was greatly assisted by the intervention of its director, Padre Duarte. Newly arrived repatriados were usually surprised to learn that the young, vibrant and charismatic, director of the assistance program was also a Catholic priest. As a result of his status in what is in the Azores a highly respected role, and his affable, easygoing manner, Padre Duarte was most influential in his one-on-one dealings with those in the repatriated group with whom he had contact. In Padre Duarte the repatriated population were aware that they were fortunate to have one of very few Azoreans (at that time) whom they could call an ally and a defender, one who actually wielded some influence over other institutions of power. For a deportee to say "I am with Padre Duarte" was a sure way to have doors opened for him. As would be created for a larger number of deportees through the CAR program, participation in the program with the well-respected Padre Duarte served to provide an ersatz social contact network, one that was likely non-existent among the group as a result of their long presence away from the islands, or as a result of the deterioration of their relations with family in the islands.

It should be clear that Projecto Horizon was not a terribly broad program—limited both in scope, in funding, and in the number of deportees it was able to assist. It was mostly concerned with attempting to assist the deportees, with classes, but moreover on an ad hoc basis, in making the difficult transition to social life in the islands, by 1. training and counseling them to blend in better with the local population than they did upon their return, while 2. also attempting to offer some kind of professional training for them which, coupled with advocacy on their behalf with employers, would result in their obtaining jobs.

Those working at São José earlier experienced many of the problems delineated by CAR staff in their dealings with the repatriated group. Both Padre Duarte and other staff members

wondered whether, in their workings with the group, they were truly fighting against what they saw as conditions of extreme injustice levied toward the repatriados, or if they were rather simply being manipulated by the repatriados, who were in the process of maximizing the benefits that the church and governmental project were giving to them. They usually concluded that it was likely a little bit of both.

The project was disbanded with changes in government policy due to the newly elected administration, which occurred at the time that a young Padre Duarte—who had reached a kind of celebrity status in not only the Azores but in continental Portugal and among the Azorean Diaspora communities—was reassigned by the Bishop from the central Ponta Delgada São José church, to another church far flung from the city and its repatriated population.¹⁰¹ CAR was the logical evolution of the experiences gained at the São José Center, a next step that, coupled with the increase in deportees in the islands and serious budgetary commitments by the government, would be able to create specific programs to assist the increasing repatriated population.

Institutions of Social Integration: Pastor Don

My first experience with the American evangelical Baptist Minister, Pastor Don, came about one afternoon at the Center. On a particularly crowded day, a large number of repatriados had come inside to the waiting area from the garden when it began to drizzle. In the process of interviewing two recently arrived deportees from the States (one of whom was from continental Portugal) Pastor Don, an evangelical missionary who has lived in the Azores for 20 years, approached our group and handed each of us a business card, that included his name, his ministry, his telephone number, cellular phone number and address. “Anything I can do for you guys, just let me know. Stop by sometime, we can help.”

¹⁰¹Speculation by one high-ranking Azorean government official suggested that Padre Duarte had been reassigned by a Church hierarchy that was increasingly concerned with the young priest’s celebrity and the power he had begun to wield with Azorean elected officials.

Especially when I was with groups of repatriated, throughout the period of my field research I was used to being mistaken for a repatriados, either by Azoreans, by those involved in the program, or by the deportees themselves, so Pastor Don's presumption was not surprising to me. Nonetheless, I approached him with the hope of disabusing him of his misconception, (a process that took a bit of explanation) and this first encounter with him would not be the last, as I would cross paths either with him or with those he worked to help over the duration of my field research.

By all accounts—including deportees, the Director of CAR, CAR staff, the prison warden—Pastor Don is a well-respected and well-liked individual, as much for his conscious goal of assisting the deportee population as for his affable personality. Of course as an evangelical, he is in the business of saving souls, and the ultimate end of his ministry with the deportees is to assist them on the way to showing them the path to the one God, but it was apparent his overall success with them—limited in scope as it may have been—was not deterred by his conversion attempts.

Although he often visits CAR with the blessing of the Director and its staff, as one assisting the deported population outside of the Azorean government, his private approach to “assistance” diverges greatly from that of the official state project. The assistance provided through his ministry is not so much designed to help the repatriated to integrate into the islands’ social and cultural institutions—although through various casual work and language training initiatives, it does accomplish this end in a de facto manner—but rather, Pastor Don’s approach is to recreate aspects of the cultural lives of the deportees as they were prior to deportation from North America.

A cynical argument might be made that the Pastor is playing to the deportees’ weakness in order to make inroads into their conversion. Although that may not be an entirely indefensible argument, from my observations and from interviews with the repatriados, it is clear that as a North American himself, Pastor Don is in a unique position to alleviate some of the difficulties

inherent in the deportee transition by bringing to them a little bit of the home they left behind. That it raises attendance at his ministry's events is clearly a worthy side benefit, but with rare exceptions those who frequent Pastor Don sponsored events—even those who attend them actively cynical of even the most subtle conversion attempts—say that Pastor Don truly cares more about helping the deportees to cope with their difficult situation.

His approach then, is to recreate aspects of North American cultural features, specifically those from the US, given his own cultural and national background. Pastor Don sponsors American style cook-outs and barbecues, he hosts weekly softball games in the summer, setting up the diamond on his ministry's property, he has an annual Thanksgiving Dinner that coincides with Thanksgiving in the United States, an annual Fourth of July party and often invites deportees over for home cooked (that is US home cooked) meals by he and his wife. Although fluent in Portuguese, Pastor Don (along with his wife), born and raised in the US, also speak to them in English in a way in which most are familiar and comfortable, and his non-verbal communication and cues provide many of the deportees with the feeling that they are not only talking to and befriending someone who is providing them with tangible benefits, but also someone who, as a fellow "American", might understand them better than the Azoreans do. As one repatriado said, "Pastor Don gets it."

CAR, too, has sponsored barbecues and holiday dinners at the center, but these are usually organized, planned and carried out by the repatriated themselves, even as CAR provides funding for the events. Such events at CAR in any event do not take place with the frequency that they do at Pastor Don's.

Like CAR, Pastor Don provides some of the repatriated with whom he is closest an ersatz social support network, helping to find jobs for some, if not employing them himself on various (usually temporary) work projects. He also visits those repatriados in his ministry who are in prison, providing them with both spiritual and emotional counseling, but also acting as friend for those in prison who otherwise would have few visitors. Some of the deported are also frequent

guests in his home. Among the small number of deportados who have become regulars at his services and the events he sponsors, Pastor Don has become a kind of oasis in which one can seek to recreate aspects of life left behind even as one participates in Azorean social life. Unlike their experience at CAR however, with Pastor Don, the deportees are not being trained to become Azoreans, but are rather encouraged to maintain the cultural connection—be it symbolic or tangible—to the land they left behind.

Institutions of Social Integration: family

A smaller fraction of the deportees do not participate in any of the CAR programs, nor do they take advantage of any of the services provided by the center. Of the total number of individuals repatriated to the Azores, only 15% remain permanently outside of the program, opting instead to rely on family in the islands to provide them with their support network to obtain housing and a job.

In the majority of these cases, such individuals first migrated to North America when they were older, usually over 18 years old or thereabouts, and in general only spent a relatively short period of time living away from the islands prior to their deportation. They are far more likely to speak Portuguese fluently, and have greater familiarity with Azorean cultural codes. Among these individuals, there are also far fewer serious problems with drugs and/or alcohol; and for those who once suffered from serious addictions, they have since successfully gone through recovery. As a result of the relatively short time most spent in North America and the older age at which they originally migrated, such individuals tend to have close family members already living in the islands—a parent, a brother or sister, a close aunt or uncle—who, because of a directly shared personal connection, will offer housing to their forced return migrant relative, while further assisting them to find work and potentially, eventually their own residence.

There are two general classes of outcomes faced by those repatriated who initially move in with family upon their return. In one outcome, a deportee will live with his close relations and

never be categorized as a repatriado. In such cases he and his family will hide the true circumstances of the repatriation, opting instead to use the narrative of a voluntary return migration from North America—a common enough occurrence among Azorean transnational populations—to frame a deportee's regress to his home village. Indeed, when this occurs, the course of the deported migrants re-integration into island life, as he lives with family, as he finds work either with relatives or outside the home, will mirror that of other voluntary return migrants.

Among this group, an individual may or may not manifest the usual criteria that Azoreans use to define the repatriated, but for the most part, those composing this class have a higher facility with certain practical skills such as the Portuguese language, are more familiar with proper codes of conduct and expectations for appropriate behavior and—largely as a result of these factors—are far less likely to be perceived as a deportee.

Yet, it is also the case that a deportee in a smaller village will manifest many of the same features constantly pointed to as characteristic of the repatriado population in general, and yet not be classified as such. Given the context of his integration, and the narrative told about him by family, it is possible that he will be perceived as a voluntary return migrant, though one who nonetheless must overcome the perception of himself as an outsider. His acceptance as a member of the village community, as an Azorean, will only be questioned if he fails to demonstrate the proper attitude and respect for expectations on his behavior. He may have to overcome an initial learning period of integration into his community, but, as long as he increasingly demonstrates his knowledge and abilities in various areas of socialization, factors such as his lack of facility with the Portuguese language and initial lack of familiarity in the proper expression of certain cultural codes will be overlooked. Even those individuals who are known by others to have been repatriated can overcome their initial categorization as such as a result of their perseverance in adhering to proper expectations for behavior.

Roberto, a deportee, representative of others in similar situations, had already gone through recovery for heroin addiction prior to his deportation when he moved in with an Uncle to

live in one of the larger villages of São Miguel upon his arrival. He never hid the fact of his repatriation and after an initial period of semi-ostracization and discomfort around community members in bars and stores, for example, he was accepted as a member of the community effectively losing his status as a deportee in the way that others interacted with him. Much of his success was related to his Uncle vouching for him, but family members taking in recently arrived deportees will generally vouch for them in the initial stages of their time in the islands, introducing them to other people, and helping them to find jobs, and such support does not always result in a repatriated losing his marginalized status. Once the introductions are made though, whether or not a repatriado becomes an Azorean—much as is the case among those participating in the CAR program—largely depends on his ability to conform to normative expectations for his comportment.

As Roberto said in response to a question about his acceptance in his village: “I work hard, [as a mechanic] and I am not an asshole when I go to bars. Every now and then a guy will give me a hard time [about being a deportee] and try and start something with me, but I ignore them. They all know me, and they know I mind my business. You mind your business I mind my business. You know? I get along with everyone.”

Like other repatriados who did not participate in the CAR program who have been able to shed their categorization as a deportado, Roberto felt that it was the perception of others in the community that he was really one of them that made this possible. “If someone walked into a bar and saw me talking to a group of my friends, they would never know I was a deportado,” he said. “Someone would have to tell them [I was] and even then no one would care because they all know how I am.”

Another factor for him was his refusal to have other deported migrants as friends. Although Roberto has two cousins who had also been deported (after him) he would only visit them in the city, and although as he said, he visited his cousins frequently and would do anything for them, he does not like to spend time with any other repatriados. I once suggested to him that

he might have some excellent insights to offer other recovering addicts who also faced deportation and that the Center would likely be interested in having him as a counselor. He laughed at the suggestion and said that the last thing he would ever do is hang around the Center and other repatriated, especially those with drug addictions.

Institutions of Social Integration: other deportees

Daily interactions with other deportees, either with those participating in the program or outside of it, provide yet another means through which recent arrivals learn to adapt. Yet, there can be unfortunate consequences associated with such interactions. Deportees can be greatly assisted to integrate into the islands by friendships through which they rely on other deportees, but they can also develop tremendous problems, not only in their inability to develop the skills necessary to live in the islands, but they may also be encouraged to return to the same sorts of criminal behavior that caused their deportation in the first place.

On the positive side, associating with other deportees provides a recent arrival with a peer group that is well attuned to the kinds of problems that he will encounter in the islands. This group is generally more than willing to offer advice on how to negotiate both island life and the bureaucracy of the Center. Groups of deportees will often convene jointly to disparage the Center and the biased politics of what many see as inherent unfairness in the operation of various programs. On the other hand, they will also often discuss ways to best manipulate the system to their own advantage over others.

Generally, peer groups of deportees will form around readily existing categories of identity formed prior to deportation. Deportees from New Bedford usually convene with other deportees from New Bedford, those from Toronto with others from Toronto. Canadians tend to find themselves the friends of other Canadians and those from the States tend to associate with others who are also from the US. Often such associations are based on prior contact with individuals who were already known before deportation—running mates from the same streets,

schools and neighborhoods; fellow inmates in the same regional prisons and detention centers.

Among those not previously known to one another, the associations are based on contacts from mutual friends and family. Not always, but generally, the mere fact that two deportees grew up in the same North American town was cause enough for a friendship to develop between them after deportation—unless prior antagonisms there followed them to the islands.

Recreation activities, living situations, even work projects can be jointly undertaken among pairs or small groups of fellow deportees. In some cases, CAR attempted to find work on the same job for two repatriated friends. CAR recognizes that this can potentially cause problems, and if staff members determine that two running mates working on the same job would have negative repercussions to them or others they will balk at putting the two together. They also see that in other cases such associations can be positive for some of the program's participants, in helping them to feel comfortable in their new surroundings, providing them with stability and confidence in the course of their social integration. In one case, CAR assisted two deportee friends who wanted to live and work together in relocating to another island. CAR accommodated them and, under the terms of their contract, provided them with jobs (together at the same company) and a subsidy for them to share an apartment together.

A number of romantic relationships among a group of female and male deportees have also arisen, including one couple that was married while serving time in the co-ed Ponta Delgada Prison Establishment. At one point or another, every one of the four female deportees that I interviewed found themselves romantically linked to a fellow deportee. Two of the women expressed to me the difficulty that they faced in finding Azorean partners given their different attitudes about the role of women from what they perceived to be the expectations of Azoreans with whom they might become involved.

Given the problems faced by both the male and female repatriated population in socialization with other Azoreans and the negative stigma that being a repatriado carries, the ability to have successful social relations with Azoreans of the opposite sex can often be a

difficult undertaking. It should not be surprising then that romantic couples frequently form among the repatriated in the islands. There are a number of practical benefits to such relationships. Financial gains made by cohabiting couples, for example, can be substantial if both are participating in the CAR program, as the housing stipend of each can be applied to one apartment, as each can also pool their mutual resources for household items and food. This means that a couple tends to have more disposable income than a single deportee—even when he lives with other repatriated. There are other outcomes as well, as interviews and ethnography suggest that being a part of a couple can better assist the repatriated Azoreans in the course of their social survival if not integration.

Relationships between male and female repatriated do not, however, only take place within the confines of a monogamous coupling. Sexual relations outside of married, cohabiting or dating deported males and females in the Azores were commonplace. Again, given the difficulties confronted by the deported in their social interactions with Azoreans, relationships with other deportees can be among slim options if they hope to successfully pursue physical relationships.

Although forming a romantic relationship with another repatriated migrant can have both practical and emotional benefits, such relationships can also present problems. During my field research, two of the four deported romantic couples were in prison together, both awaiting trial. In one of the cases, the couple was accused of robbing a jewelry store together. Although they were found not guilty, couples can also be more likely to engage in mutually destructive activities together. This is especially true when a couple shares a physical addiction to controlled substances. All of the couples with whom I conducted formal interviews habitually used drugs with their partners—although in two of the cases, the couples also attempted to go into recovery with their partners. Recovery, or even a temporary recovery that one of the partners is able to have, however, does not mean that both will have similar success.

Repatriated migrants also become involved in long-term romantic relationships in which they date and become involved in monogamous relationships (including marriage) with non-

deported Azorean partners. In most of the cases in which I observed this occurring, there is a circular continuity between repatriated Azoreans who are romantically involved with non-deported Azoreans, such that a relationship assists their social integration, while at the same time, a relationship would not have been possible unless they were already well on their way to integration.

Institutions of Social Integration: the Ponta Delgada Prison

In the summer of 1997, when the deportation problem was already a prominent issue in the Azores but CAR had not yet been founded, I conducted some preliminary research at the Estabelecimento Prisional de Ponta Delgada, the Ponta Delgada Prison (EPPD). Interviewing the warden about the repatriated Azoreans incarcerated in the prison, our conversation wandered to other aspects of the issue. We discussed the existing program Projecto Horizon, and spoke about a range of practical problems that would be faced by any transition house that might be instituted. At one point in our discussion, the Warden smiled and said, “Really, the best help center the deportees have is right here” and he patted the table at which we were sitting in his office, indicating the prison itself. At the time, I laughed at his comment theoretically grasping what he meant, but after months in the prison working with the deportees myself, I understood exactly what the warden was trying to tell me. Prison life for the repatriados is in many respects a microcosm of the Azorean world outside its walls, but for an outsider forced to adapt to that world, unfortunately, the organized life of the prison provides a much more structured arena in which hands on indoctrination in a wide range of practical skills—language instruction, cultural socialization, work training—can be carried out when compared to the CAR program. How this takes place among the incarcerated prison population obviously differs greatly from the voluntary CAR program, but the prison’s relatively rigid environment presents an alternative means through which the deported can and do acquire many of the same kinds of skills with which CAR attempted to imbue participants in its program.

As of 2000 more than 50 deportees had already been sent to prison for crimes that they had committed since arriving in the islands, with another two dozen in other prisons in Portugal. At any given time at least 25 of the 150 beds at the EPPD are occupied with repatriated, who are either serving time for convictions or who are awaiting trial. As a percentage of the entire repatriated population, those serving prison sentences in Portugal fluctuates at around only 3% of the entire group, even as some 8% are in prison awaiting trial without having been convicted. The number of deportees in prison fluctuates, but between those serving time or waiting to serve time the number is consistently between 20-30 at any given time. This also includes repatriados serving time at other prisons in Portugal. Overall more than 5% of the repatriados are in prison at any one time, a figure that is high when compared to the Azorean non-deportee population, but consistent with imprisonment figures for those with drug addictions in the islands.

A commonly held misconception of the repatriated is that upon arrival they automatically go to prison in the Azores. Of course as a citizen of the Portuguese state, who upon his arrival has never been convicted of a crime in Portugal, a recently arrived deportee is treated as any other Portuguese citizen. Even those repatriated who leave prison in North America before the term of their sentences have been completed will not serve time in Portugal for that crime. The deportees will only spend time in a Portuguese prison in the event that they are awaiting a trial for which they have been accused, or are serving time for conviction of crimes committed in Portugal.

Although the number fluctuated as For the period of my field research there were only around 25-30 deported prisoners at any given time out of a population then of under 500 deportees.¹⁰²

¹⁰²Exact statistics as percentages for any given moment in time are difficult to cull as the deportee inmate population was constantly in flux as new prisoners came in as others were exonerated or convicted as new deportees came to the island.

The Estabelecimento Prisional de Ponta Delgada: an overview

On his first day at the EPPD Tomás was shown around the prison and instructed to leave his bag at his new bunk. “I couldn’t believe this place. They had like 15 guys all in one room, bunk beds going up all over one area. Nothing like prison back in the States, all the guys in one big room. I am thinking to myself I can’t live like this, all these guys together.”

Tomás or Tommy as his fellow inmates call him had a reaction not unlike many of the deportees accustomed to the relative privacy of North American prison cells in which usually no more than two inmates will share a small space. Incarcerated while waiting for his trial on a charge of international narcotics trafficking the shock expressed by Tommy on initially seeing his new domicile—a shock expressed by all incarcerated repatriados upon their arrival at the EPPD—was not limited to the dormitory quarters of the prison. “Everything is different here,” he said. All of us [deportees] are all put into one [sleeping] area and the rest of this place....[shakes head side to side]” Common areas with minimal supervision from guards, the fact that the prison common areas (recreation areas, classrooms, workshops, the café and the cafeteria) are all co-ed, and the relative lack of security in lock-down were some of the drastic changes between North American prisons and the EPPD. Moreover, deportee prisoners like Tomás frequently cite that the significant structural differences in prison management, layout and operation are nothing when compared to differences in prison culture as experienced by inmates accustomed to life in lock-down in North America.

Teotónio, whose friends call him Tiny, a nickname he picked up during his childhood in Toronto, talked about how difficult serving time was in the Azores. “I hate this place. I have been in prisons in Toronto and it is nothing like this. The screws [prison guards] here don’t hassle you too much, and this place is like a joke. It makes doing time real hard. I went to the hospital for a check-up and it was just me and one screw driving over in a van. We got there and if I wanted to I could have just walked away any time. It is like how you are in here. Anyone who really wanted to leave could. I don’t like it. It messes with my head. When I am serving time, I like to be treated

like an animal, like the animal I am [laughs]. You know that way you have a mindset, a mentality that you know you are doing time. It's easier that way. This way, the days just go on and on."

Repatriated inmates must also deal with animosity directed at them from both the other prisoners who do not want to interact with "deportados" as well as various factions that develop among the repatriated group itself, predominantly along Canadian vs. US lines, but also extending to other cliques among Fall River deportees, New Bedford deportees, Providence deportees, etc.

Ultimately the prison experience of the repatriados in the Ponta Delgada prison is an experience for which their time in North American prisons, even when they were incarcerated there with other Açor-Americans and Portuguese speakers, has little prepared them.

The Prison and the general inmate population

The prison system in the Azores is without parallel in the United States and Canada especially in regard to the prior prison experiences of the deportee inmates. The EPPD is a converted convent, facing the ocean, with minimum security and short walls. Inside are individuals serving penalties that range from a few weeks to the maximum penalty under Portuguese law, 25 years. Although it has occurred recently that those convicted of harder crimes such as murder have been sent to serve their sentences in facilities in the continent or Madeira there yet remain prisoners in the EPPD who are serving out maximum penalties or awaiting trial for crimes that could draw a maximum penalty. Such individuals eat in the same cafeterias, share the same recreation areas and classrooms, sleep in the same dormitories, and serve alongside of those who are in prison for shorter periods which has included drunken disorderly charges, as well as those who have not been convicted of any crimes whatsoever, but stand accused by the state of crimes and are awaiting trial.

In some cases the wait for the accused can be rather lengthy. By Portuguese law, after arraignment, an accused defendant can be required to remain in jail waiting for trial for as long as two years. The seriousness of the alleged crime has little to do with one's incarceration. Two

repatriated inmates, for example, spent the better part of a year in the EPPD awaiting a trial where they were accused of stealing a car radio. In general, wealthier individuals, with higher social standing will not be forced to remain behind bars while awaiting trial, although some white-collar criminals have. The deportees, however, occupying the lowest levels of Azorean social strata, will in almost every case be placed into the prison while awaiting trial.

Although the EPPD would be considered to have minimal security standards in comparison to North American prisons housing those convicted of similar crimes, it remains, nonetheless, most effective. The Azores islands themselves were historically used as a prison colony (even as recently as the mid 20th century, when political prisoners under the Salazar dictatorship were exiled and imprisoned there). The effectiveness of the Azores as a historical prison colony—its remote mid-ocean location—yet makes it a formidable criminal fortress of sorts. Should a prisoner escape he would have nowhere to go, surrounded by the ocean and abandoned to conceal himself among an island population where, village to village nearly everyone is known to one another. Echoing the famed line about Alcatraz, or perhaps Stalag 13, no one has ever successfully escaped from the EPPD.

There have of course been attempts by inmates to escape, in recent years, most frequently by deportees. Usually attempts will be made when inmates have been brought to the hospital, where one or multiple prisoners will normally be escorted by a single guard and a driver, and then left unattended with the medical staff. Although guards will usually be in the general vicinity of a prisoner when he is escorted off grounds, he will usually, by North American prison standards at least, have only a relaxed eye on his charges. Guards will chat with acquaintances or other prisoners, for example, while an inmate is in a hospital room; or escorting prisoners to trial, guards may share and smoke cigarettes with inmates, while other prisoners will wander about the capacious courthouse lobby talking with family or girlfriends.

Prisoners are not shackled when they leave the prison to go to the hospital, the courthouse or other locations off grounds, and if he or she so desires can simply slip out a door when no one

is looking and flee. There are no prison uniforms at the EPPD, no orange jumpsuits to be easily spotted among the general population. Inmates are allowed to dress however they desire, so escape does not require the theft of street clothes and the ditching of a distinctive prison garb. Outside of the prison for more than a few days however, with few possibilities to get off of the island, an escapee may as well be wearing a neon sign informing all with whom he comes into contact that he does not belong, given the insular nature of the islands.

But there are other disincentives to ensure that attempted prison escapes are rare. There is no parole from the EPPD, no time off for good behavior, if one's sentence is to serve eight years, one will remain in prison for the duration of eight years. A furlough policy however allows inmates who have "behaved" during their incarceration to leave the prison for a period of as long as a week once every 6 months to a year, provided they return when they are required. A prisoner serving a four-year prison sentence, for example, will be eligible for furlough after half of his time has been served. He will then be able to leave the prison for one weekend every few months. After the next year, that weekend will be increased to a week, and provided he returns, will be allowed to continue to leave on furlough until he is eventually released for good. Breaking the rules of the prison, attempted escapes, not returning from one's furlough at the appointed date and time, will all result in the revocation of future furlough (and other) privileges.

Should a prisoner desire to escape from the prison itself, this too, poses few problems. The exterior wall around the prison yard is only about ten feet high and abuts a sidewalk below where an escapee could easily blend in with passers-by in the course of everyday foot traffic. A lone sentinel in a solitary guard tower not much higher than the wall itself is one of few hindrances to an inmate fleeing. Yet, these relatively sedate security features do not encourage escape attempts. Indeed, as the EPPD's warden pointed out, the problem is not the policing of secure walls around the prison to keep inmates inside, but rather to keep others out. According to the warden, the illicit traffic in drugs inside the penitentiary has been a common problem as the low walls have been used as an exchange point.

The relatively gregarious interaction among the inmates and the majority of the prison guards has caused some consternation among many of the deportee inmates whose previous prison experiences in North America have left them unaccustomed to such an environment. One deportee inmate complained echoing Tiny's comments: "This place is like a camp. I hate doing time like this, easy time like this, it makes the days last forever. I would rather be locked up where the bell rings, boom, you get up, the bell rings, boom, you go to breakfast, boom you go outside, boom you go to work.... This place makes me crazy in my head. You know I just want to explode in here."

As noted by the deportees, there are a number of other prominent organizational and operational differences in the EPPD when compared to North American prisons. In contrast to their previous prison experiences in the US and Canada, where inmates are housed in single person or two-man cells, in the EPPD, prisoners are housed in large dormitories with as many as 15 inmates in three-man bunk beds in one large open room. No distinctions are made among inmates who have already been convicted of crimes and those who are awaiting trial. Of further curiosity to many of the repatriated is that no distinctions are made among the prison population in the dormitories along types of crimes convicted. In the US and Canada for example, individuals convicted of similar crimes will be confined on one level, so that those convicted of trafficking in narcotics or other drugs will be housed in one block, those convicted of rape in another block, theft in another block and so on.

In this way, a prisoner convicted of a petty crime serving only a few weeks, (e.g. for disorderly conduct) may share a bunk with a repeat offender who has been convicted of aggravated assault. One of the few distinctions made, however, among the prison population, is that deportees sleep in a residential block unto themselves, segregated from the rest of the prisoners. According to various sources, it was not infrequent for fights to break out among the repatriated inmates and the general Azorean prison population. Interestingly, although other non-Azoreans, including inmates from the continent, and from other countries (both Portuguese-

speaking and non Portuguese-speaking) were also incarcerated in the prison, problems of violence among groups of inmates (not including disputes among individuals) were generally confined to the two categories of “Açorianos” and “Repatriados”.

The deportee inmates themselves are of mixed opinion as to whether or not they want to be confined with other deportees or within the general prison population—although most appreciate the fact that this arrangement means they deal with fewer instances of harassment. As factionalism exists outside the prison, factionalism among categories of repatriados—notably between those from the US and those from Canada, but also among those from different cities such as Providence or Fall River and New Bedford—also exists in the prison. Some complain that they would rather be in with other inmates and away from the national or local group of deportees with whom they have disputes. In other cases, national or regional differences may be noted but do not necessarily cause problems. Nonetheless these national and regional pre-deportation point of residence are categories that the forced return migrants use in their interactions with one another, categories that are generally invisible to the general Azorean population.

Beyond organizational differences, however, there are other aspects of disparities in EPPD prison life confronted by the repatriated. That the forced return migrants must adapt to life inside a Portuguese prison as a result of their previous experiences is apparent, but as the repatriated population of the prison makes its presence felt by others, the general Azorean inmates must also adapt to as result of the circumstances imposed upon the prison by the incarcerated deportees.

Prison life

The Deported population of prisoners, both those awaiting trial as well as those serving time, live in the prison as a distinctly separate group. The division of prison populations into voluntary categories and classes based upon perceived racial or ethnic divisions is commonplace in prisons in North America. Prisoners form such cliques for mutual benefit, protection from rival

cliques and to exert power over others and among their own group. Azorean and Açor-American prisoners serving time in Rhode Island for example will find themselves in cliques with other Portuguese prisoners, with Cape Verdean and Hispanic inmates generally separate from “white” inmates. In Massachusetts, the Lusophone inmates from the Azores, Portugal and Cape Verde will form cliques, generally separate from “white” inmates but also separate from Hispanic inmates. In Toronto prisons, Lusophone inmates will form cliques that include “the English” or white inmates. In the EPPD however the primary distinctions among the prison population finds separation among the repatriated and non-repatriated inmates. That the repatriated would be taken as a group however is a process that exists far more among the Azorean inmates than it does among the repatriados, as frequent infighting occurs among the group usually along lines that separate individuals into other regional categories. Upon incarceration in the Ponta Delgada prison, such categorizations continue to take place, albeit with some twists. The deportee population both actively emphasizes their separate identity from the rest of the prison population, even as other divisions exist among the deported themselves.

Differences between Açoriano and Repatriado inmates often played out in conflict through dissimilar expectations for proper prison comportment. For example, North American prisons have certain strict codes of behavior that generally preclude informing on other prisoners to the guards. Of course informants exist in North American prisons, but would be far more likely to occur as the result of an inmate looking for protection from a potentially dangerous situation than it would from that inmate’s desire to gain some sort of material benefit from “snitching”. In the EPPD, informing on fellow prisoners is one of the easiest ways to gain material benefits that will result in extra privileges, or preferences in the furlough system. There are not any codes that preclude Azorean inmates from informing on others. As a result, differing cultural expectations for trust among inmates witnessing wrongdoing outside of the guards sight, leaves the repatriados at a disadvantage. Deportees who adopt Azorean standards for informing, will often be ostracized

by their fellow repatriated inmates, resulting in their being marginalized by both groups within the prison.

Another standard of behavior that differs among the Açoriano and Repatriado categories when it comes to prison life is in expectations for appropriate comportment required when interacting with categories of fellow inmates. A situation arose at one point, when an individual accused of child molestation was incarcerated ahead of his trial. A group of deportee inmates who found out why he was in the prison seriously beat up the accused inmate. Given codes in North American prisons, this was perfectly appropriate behavior.¹⁰³ The other inmates, however, although in no way condoning the crime, would have been less likely to attack the accused inmate.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, violent behavior in general is far more characteristic among the deportee inmate population than it is among the Azorean inmates. Fights and physical altercations as well as angry violent arguments take place among themselves and other inmates, as do physical disputes with guards with much higher frequency among the deportees. Although the incidence of violent activity is much higher among the deportees from the US than it is among those from Canada.

Considerations of appropriate recreation activities form another area of difference. The repatriated inmates were shocked that there were no weight facilities in the prison, and that virtually the only recreation activity that took place inside was soccer. Receiving permission from the warden, a group of deportee inmates fashioned a crude set of weights out of some tin cans,

¹⁰³ While conducting research in a US penitentiary with prisoners awaiting deportation to various nations, as part of my standard questionnaire I asked a prisoner what crime he had been accused of to trigger his deportation. Prior to admitting possession of child pornography, he made it very clear to me that I couldn't tell any of the other inmates, because "you know how it is in here."

¹⁰⁴ Although in some cases, depending on the severity of the charges, it is appropriate cultural behavior to attack an accused molester. A riot ensued at the courthouse in Ponta Delgada when a man from a small village on São Miguel was accused of raping and murdering a pre-pubescent girl. Many individuals from his village stormed the court house the day of his arraignment, causing a riot as they shook cars, threw rocks breaking the court house windows (from which they had been barred) and shouted threats that they were going to kill the accused. Fearing that the threats were not empty, and that he would surely be killed if he went to the EPPD, the authorities had the accused flown to Continente where he was to await his trial. One deportee inmate said he was disappointed when the accused did not come to the EPPD, who said, "I was licking my chops waiting for that guy."

into which they poured some hand-mix cement before jamming a length of pipe more or less in the center where it would set in the concrete. They would often laugh at their makeshift barbells and how pathetic they were, by way of complaining that if this were a prison in the US or Canada (those lifting weights were from both countries) they would not have had to have resorted to such a ridiculous contrivance. In so doing they also implicitly pointed out how different were their sensibilities of what constituted appropriate prison life when compared to those from the Azores. According to the two craftsmen of the makeshift weights, it was only deportees who lifted together.

Another area that made the deportees initially baffled upon their incarceration was the fact the EPPD is a truly co-ed prison. Although the women inmates will share their own dormitory, locked apart from the men, all other activities including classes, dining, recreation areas, and all hallways were completely co-ed. The adjustment for the deportee inmates—both men and women—was substantial, although neither of them thought it was a bad thing. In fact there were two married couples living in the prison together. One of the couples had already been married prior to their incarceration, but another of the couples actually got married in the prison. Sexual relations however among non-married co-ed deportee inmates, did occur, although I do not know the frequency. Whether or not it also occurs among Azorean inmates, I am not aware.

Programs in the prison

There were a number of programs offered in the EPPD, many that that were similar to those offered by CAR. Instruction was provided to the inmates—not only those who were deported—that taught a range of skills necessary for certain jobs that they might obtain upon leaving prison including basic construction and masonry. Home economics was taught to inmates so that they might better be prepared to handle their daily lives when they left jail, and other remunerated jobs in the prison included work for which a forced return migrant, with little familiarity otherwise, might begin to learn some of basic aspects of Azorean cultural life in a

structured environment. Even a job as simple as mopping floors, as was one deported inmates job—given that cleaning materials, mop and broom are provided, and one is trained by someone else exactly how to do the job—can teach a deported inmate some basic skills that help in the integration process.

The training is of course far more involved than teaching someone about Azorean expectations for cleanliness through their activities mopping floors, as classes provide real training for not only construction jobs, but also in working with computers, finance and also language instruction. The language classes, attended by all inmates had a high participation rate among the deported population, an experience that differs greatly from the attempted classes that organized through CAR or previously through the defunct Projecto Horizon.

In addition, taking meals with other non-deportee inmates, watching them socialize with one another or with their own family, overall cordial relations with prison guards (although conflicts did occur with certain deportees) are all ways that the repatriated population is able to become enculturated into Azorean life through the structured space of the prison.

I would be remiss, also, not to mention a program in which I participated, a weekly discussion session that I organized among a group of deported inmates lasting for a period of more than 6 months. Required by the prison warden to have a title for the “class” (to obtain approval from the national prison bureaucracy), we called our discussion group “*Encontro Entre Culturas*” (“Encounter between cultures”, with a word play on Encontro as both a meeting and as an encounter between disparate entities). Over the half of a year that we held our discussions, membership fluctuated as new inmates entered, as older inmates left and as some lost interest in participating.

My goal in organizing the discussion group was both to create personal relationships with deportees who were either incarcerated after being found guilty of crimes or who were serving time while awaiting trial for my own research ends, but also to assist them by providing information, moderating deliberations about the political and historical circumstances of their

deportation and to provide a forum for them to discuss whatever they wanted within the broad context of migration, deportation, and their lives both on the islands and in North America.

Although participation in the “encounters” fluctuated, the 18 inmates participating at the beginning eventually winnowed down to a core group of about 6-8 participants who came nearly every week, with a total of 25 individuals who were present for at least one meeting. Membership was fluid, as two of the core participants were released after the judge in their trial found them guilty but sentenced them to time served; but these were soon replaced by two others who had been recently arrested. The group was fairly evenly divided between Canadians and Americans; between individuals serving time for crimes committed and those awaiting trial; and between drug abusers and drug sellers. In addition to Azorean forced return migrants, the group also included two other individuals. The core group of the “encounter” included an Açor-Canadian (with dual citizenship) who had come back to the island on vacation who was subsequently arrested for and convicted of murder. The other was a Toronto born Açor-Canadian (Canadian citizenship) who moved to the Azores after birth before re-migrating to Canada when he was 6 years old. He was awaiting trial for drug trafficking after having been allegedly caught by the Ponta Delgada police in a hotel room with sufficient amounts of heroin to merit an intention distribute charge.

In an ironic twist to the usual deportation proceeding involving Azoreans, the Canadian inmate, was actually awaiting potential removal from the Azores back to Canada by the Portuguese government if found guilty for the deportable offence of drug trafficking within the national territory of Portugal. Other participants who came either once or twice or only a few times over the course of our weekly meetings included a non-deportee Azorean inmate who was interested in improving his English as this was the language in which our class was conducted, a non-deportee Azorean inmate who was interested in the topic, and a white South African who was serving time after having been apprehended for smuggling drugs from South America when he stopped in the islands to re-provision his ship. These three individuals eventually stopped

coming to the group. Only the South African gave me his reason, citing that he felt uncomfortable participating in discussions in which he felt like an outsider among the deportee group.

Topics covered in the course of the encounter included discussions on the history of Azorean migration and return migration to the Americas, national, local and ethnic identity, issues related to the Azorean and Portuguese North American communities, specific problems confronted as a result of deportation (both practical and emotional), family issues, attempts to get back to North America, and hopes for the future. Although I would usually start off with some theme of discussion it was a rare day that we kept to the suggested topic, our conversations meandered over a host of other issues. In addition to the informal loose discussions that took place in the encounter, I also conducted targeted one-on-one interviews with the prison participants.

Although this narrow study group formed only a limited percentage of the general deportee population (indeed deportees in the prison form only a small percentage of the entire group) their experience is yet pertinent to the broader, non-incarcerated forced return migrant population, at least those participating in the CAR program. First, although they have been caught, the circumstances under which they were apprehended, are awaiting trial, or have been found guilty yet remain similar: the social stigma that affects all repatriados find them as a class far more suspect of wrongdoing than the general non-deportee Azorean population. In part this is due to the fact that as a percentage, those repatriados committing crimes (whether those are crimes against others or involve consuming drugs) do so at a far higher rate than the general population. There is no doubt however, that the social stigmatization that holds a deportee is probably guilty when accused—independent of the consideration of any evidence—has in part led to the higher rate of incarceration among the deportees than among the general population. Although not all of the deportees participate in the kinds of activities that might lead one to prison, at least among those participating in the program, such behavior is not uncommon, even if such activities do not necessarily lead to jail.

Further, whether or not it took place in the Azores, all of the repatriated Azoreans have at some point during their lives been convicted of a felony crime, be it for consuming drugs, selling drugs or a crime related to either, and in only the exception of rare cases all have served at least some time in North American prisons. That a group would end up back in prison upon repatriation speaks to the tremendous difficulty faced by the repatriados in the practical aspects of social re-integration. Although they may form a unique class of deportees in regard to their status as inmates, those in prison number among the end part of a continuum of the most prominent cases in which individuals have not been able to successfully reintegrate. They are by no means however the only members of that troubled group.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ I would note also that I made similar attempts to organize such a group outside of the prison at CAR but had little success. It seemed that no one was interested in signing up for a weekly, scheduled meeting. Although I also touched on many of the same topics with the majority repatriate population outside of prison, these interactions were conducted in an ad hoc manner either through informal conversations or in structured interviews.

CHAPTER V

“AÇORIANO” AND “REPATRIADO” RELATIONS: SOCIAL INTEGRATION DONE AND UNDONE

The repatriados face some extraordinary obstacles in their attempts to integrate into Azorean social life. Although they are citizens of Portugal and have participated in ethnic discourses that have classified them as Portuguese and Azorean in North America, the deportees confront stigmatization as a result of their outsider status in the Azores where they are considered to be “culturally” North American. Açoriano/repatriado relations are layered, complex, and should not be seen as strictly antagonistic or as uniformly characteristic of the entire population. There are however some broad patterns representative of interactions among the Azoreans and the deportees that militate against the repatriados social integration.

Finding work and making a living the Azorean way

António Pacheco began work in a construction job about two months after he arrived on São Miguel. CAR had arranged the position for António with the owner of a masonry company. The job would pay him a CAR stipend of 53 contos (about 275 dollars) per month, not including the housing subsidy that covered his apartment rental. Reporting to work at dawn to labor for long hours as a stone mason was an abrupt change from António's usual day-to-day activities, which, since he had arrived, found him working little as he attempted to acclimatize himself to life on the island. Making the adjustment to this kind of work was even more pronounced given that immediately prior to his deportation he was finishing a seven-year sentence in a US prison on a heroin charge. António himself had been addicted to crack cocaine—and abused other controlled substances—which he also had sold in order to support himself and his habit. Deported to

Portugal directly from prison, António at first did not connect with his flight to the Azores, opting instead to stay over in Lisbon where he lived in hotels and then on the streets for about a month while reconnecting with his heroin habit. When the money his family had given him to help him settle back into the islands had run out, António picked up his SATA Air Açores voucher and caught the flight to São Miguel where he immediately joined the CAR program.

António wanted badly to clear his head and his body of the heroin that controlled him and the CAR program helped him with counseling so he would not return to abusing crack or heroin. Although he was not using the drugs during his time in prison, he would suffer a number of relapses over the two years of my field research, through which he would cycle among seeking treatment for his heroin addiction, return to abusing the drug, and then seek treatment once again. At a point in the CAR program when he was ready to work, António was assigned to the masonry job by CAR where he was one of a crew of between four and five men building houses.

On the job, António was shocked by what he considered to be antiquated methods for mixing and working with cement in the small crew. "These people are all backwards, they do everything the way we did it like 50 years ago. No machines, everything by hand," António told me referring to how cement was mixed without benefit of a truck, and how the form foundations of poured concrete now made in many places including the United States, are still in large part made with concrete blocks, rocks and hand-mixed cement in the Azores. "The worst part about it, those guys treated me like I was a slave. Not the boss, he was a good guy [to give me the chance to work there], but the other workers. These two Açorianos would say 'o repatriado, trage me [bring me] this and trage me that.' I told them to go fuck themselves, and they told the boss that I was fighting with them and got me into trouble." After that António had no choice but to take the abuse from his co-workers, as according to him, "If the boss wanted to tell the Center [about the fighting] I would have been in a lot of trouble, maybe lose the job."

Supporting oneself

Repatriated individuals work in a number of jobs in the islands, from manual labor occupations to secretarial work; some own their own businesses, some have carved out a unique niche for themselves in the islands by using their English language abilities and other skills they developed while living in North America in the documented labor market, while yet others have continued to earn money through illicit activities in the undocumented economy.

Although most of the repatriated that are physically and psychologically able to work do, the picture of long-term permanent employment for the deportees is bleak. As of April 2001, only about 10% of all the repatriados had found permanent employment in the islands, without government assistance, while nearly a quarter of them were unemployed. The remaining 65% were employed in jobs provided by CAR that were subsidized through government grants. A number of factors contribute to this situation. Foremost among these is that in the earlier months of significant repatriations to the islands, local companies and employers were reluctant to hire individuals whom they knew to have been deported. Although this is yet the case, the CAR program provides significant incentives for employers to participate in the program and hire repatriados. Employers willing to hire individuals in the CAR program receive cheap labor, as they are only required to pay the repatriado a portion of what his salary would be if he were an employee hired under normal circumstances. When a forced return migrant works for a private sector company, the government pays for the majority of his remuneration in the form of both wage and the housing subsidies.

The program has helped to mitigate some of the negative impressions held by employers even as it has helped to reinforce them. Employers with whom I spoke often expressed surprise over how hard working, or dedicated, or attentive certain workers in the repatriado category were, but never hesitated to say that they also had problems with others who were lazy and cared little about their work. One area in which the CAR work program has had success, however, is to encourage most employers in contact with the repatriados to see them less as a monolithic group, and far more as a collective of individuals with different personalities and different abilities. Yet

this tends only to take place with the particular forced return migrants individuals known personally to employers through what are perceived to be “good” work habits. Those among the broad group of repatriated are yet discerned as belonging to a category that shares (negative) cultural and personality traits in common.

Also driving the lack of permanent employment of the repatriados is that those who participate in the program are generally employed through it. As a large portion of those individuals who work in the program are by the nature of the service provided not permanently employed, this creates an artificially low percentage of deportees without permanent positions. Nonetheless, the statistics suggest that the overwhelming majority of deportees, including those who have already left the program are not permanently employed.

Work Statistics¹⁰⁶

Permanent Employment	10.7% 47
Self-employed	1.2%
Private sector	5.9%
Public sector	2%
Social Solidarity Institutions	1.6%
Temporary Employment (CAR sponsored)	65.3% 293
Private Sector	49.5%
Civil Construction	22.3%
Auto-mechanics	3.9%
Fishermen	2%
Factory workers	2.5%
Agriculture	8.9%
Other areas	10%
Public Sector	7.6%
Social Solidarity Institutions	8.2%
Unemployed	24% 106

¹⁰⁶ Data current as of April 2001

One can assume that most of the 82 individuals who have had no contact with CAR have gainful employment, whether in the documented or the undocumented economy.

Procuring work

Most Azoreans looking for laborer positions tend to find work through family and informal employment networks, not always, but usually centered around contacts within one's village or one's in-laws village. Indeed, those deported persons who lived with family, who yet had substantial contacts in their home villages had less problems finding work than those without any such contacts. Even in Ponta Delgada, with its sprawling urban population, village life—through which local communities are broken down into smaller sub municipal units based on church parish demarcations called *freguesias*—is yet prevalent. Contacts among friends, family and neighbors within one's *freguesia* are an essential factor in arranging work (along with a host of other mutual community assistance). Of course, individuals will also commute to the city to work from outlying villages and it is common among the larger urban and semi-urban areas that hiring practices do occur through which individuals respond to newspaper adds or who are hired without being known personally to a boss or manager. Arranging jobs in this manner, whether in skilled or manual labor positions however, is far less frequent than when work is provided through personal contacts.

Those deportees arriving in the islands with little or no familial or village contacts are hard pressed to find work. Even in a booming Azorean economy that found the overall unemployment rate in the Azores at one of the lowest levels since the Dictatorship, in 2001, a total of 24% of the repatriados in the islands were unemployed. There are numerous factors contributing to this including a higher percentage of physical and psychological illness among the deportee population compared to the general population, in addition to social and cultural factors.

And although some of the deportees have difficulty holding jobs once they have obtained them, others have adapted well to their new-found work situation.

Family Contacts

Close family relations and community contacts are the primary means through which newly arrived deportees are able to find jobs without the assistance of CAR. Upon arrival, those deportees who do not immediately enter into a contract with CAR generally have family in the islands with which they or a close relative have maintained close relations. In other cases a repatriado's mother or father may have earlier moved back to the islands through return migration or a parent might even accompany his or her deportee child back to the islands to move back into an ancestral home or with a close sibling. Many repatriados also have siblings and cousins who have been previously deported. When these deportee family members are already well established with homes and jobs, they will often take in recently deported family members helping them to establish contacts in the islands.

There is a correlation between deportees who have family willing to take them in and help them find jobs and the amount of time that a deportee has lived in the US or Canada. The more recent migration has taken place and the older a deportee was prior to his migration, the greater likelihood that he will have family willing to assist him with finding housing and a job. Consistent with this is the notion that such individuals tend not to use CAR's resources, at least not for housing or to find work and at least not in the initial stages of their arrival. This does not mean, however, that this group does not confront problems with finding work.

Difficulties they confront vary greatly depending upon the individual situation of a particular deportee. When a deportee moves into a house, there is a general expectation among the family members that he will find work within a short period of time. Family members use contacts and word of mouth to find work for a repatriado just as they would for any other family member or friend looking for a job. That the individual has been repatriated presents certain

difficulties as the assumption on the part of many potential employers is that the worker will be lazy, combative and will not possess the desired attributes of the Azorean labor population. Micaelense laborers are stereotypically perceived to be the hardest workers in the islands, even if they can be just as lazy and combative as anyone else, repatriados included. But such stereotypes have both a basis in reality as they have the power to frame expectations and in the case of a repatriado such behavior will be seen as consistent with the expectation whereas such behavior in a non-repatriated worker will be perceived as an exception.

Even among those repatriated that exhibit all of the expected attributes of a Micaelense laborer, other problems have existed. In the beginning of large-scale deportation from North America, one individual had been deported from Toronto, Canada moving back into his old freguesia with an Uncle. Through assistance from his Uncle, Pedro arranged a construction job and avoided telling anyone that he had spent several years in prison in Canada and that he had been deported as a result of the serious drug offense for which he had served time. His neighbors and his employer were under the impression that he, like many other Açor-Canadians and Açor-Americans, had merely returned to the islands of his own volition.

Over the summer a large contingent of the freguesia's migrant population returned for a large festival in the village. Many of the migrants to Canada from the particular village resided in the same Toronto neighborhoods in which Pedro had lived prior to his incarceration and subsequent deportation. One woman who was familiar with the story of Pedro's deportation from Toronto set out to disabuse anyone who would listen of the impression that he was a voluntary return migrant, telling them that in fact he had been forced to return after committing heinous crimes in Canada, etc. Pedro's successful and anonymous re-integration into village life was quickly derailed by the gossip. Subsequent attempts by Pedro to rent an apartment on his own outside of his Uncle's house and attempts to find a better paid job were not successful as others were suddenly reluctant to trust him. Feeling frozen out by the same people who had been previously supportive of him Pedro found a job and an apartment in one of the larger semi-urban

centers near his village where he felt he would have a greater degree of anonymity. It is important to note that this situation occurred at the very beginning of awareness to the presence of the deportados on the island, and a certain sophistication not evident in Pedro's circumstances has developed over the ensuing years among Azoreans toward those who have been repatriated.

Other problems yet arise when family members and contact networks are relied upon in helping a repatriado to find work. Even among those criminal forced return migrants who spent only a relatively short period of time in North America, personal problems often preclude them from finding and maintaining successful jobs. Drug dependencies can take a toll leading to showing up for work late or not coming for work at all; and can contribute to lethargy or poor job performance. In other cases, those repatriados who have spent time in prison just prior to their deportation are either ill equipped to work or simply not interested in the rigors of a dawn to dusk job so soon after their incarceration, or at all. These difficulties are characteristic of many newly arrived deportees, however, whether they are assisted in finding jobs through family or through the Center.

CAR Jobs

Over the course of their contract with CAR, beginning with Phase II of the program, a (physically and psychologically able) deportado must remain employed in order to continue to receive his or her monthly stipend. Within the first three months of their participation in the program (in all but a few cases a period of time equal to the amount of time they have been in the islands) the Center will work to find a match between a repatriado and an employer, taking into consideration existing job skills or previous occupations, as well as the availability of governmental jobs and private sector employers willing to participate in the program. Government funds are used to subsidize jobs in a variety of manual labor jobs in both public works projects as well as in private industry. That the government subsidizes a repatriado's salary

provides an incentive for private businesses to offer them jobs—which they would be otherwise unlikely to do.

The problem confronting repatriados who would not readily be hired by Azorean employers is not just solely one of discrimination and the stigmatization of the repatriated population, although this certainly occurs. Given the difficulties of the transition from North America to the Azores, a repatriado in the program may go through one of several jobs as he struggles through psychological and medical afflictions in addition to a host of practical problems ranging from negotiating bus schedules, having the right tools, and attempting to learn new work techniques in a work environment that is culturally divergent from those with which he is familiar.

CAR does not randomly place a worker in any position available, but attempts to discern participants who have a predisposed skill set for which there may be an opening. CAR places anywhere from between one to several deportees at one work site, be they government sector jobs or in private industry, but there is an attempt made not to have more than one deportee who is new to the job begin working at the same time for the same employer. In some cases among those working in private industry, a deportee who shows aptitude and reliability in a particular job will be hired after the period of the yearlong contract has expired, with the company taking full-responsibility for the individual's salary. There is also the possibility of working outside of the contract for one's public sector job. Often a private sector company that has had success hiring repatriados in the program will continue to hire more. It should also be pointed out that work for a particular employer in the program is not always full time, but may be a temporary position lasting for only a few months, or may be a particular job, in which the forced return migrant is hired for a specific task, like building a cabinet, or helping to do some landscaping. Once the work is completed, they will wait again until they are re-assigned to another employer. Most of the jobs that deported individuals receive through the program are heavy, manual labor projects such as masonry, civil construction and road work, although there are other positions requiring

lighter work such as positions as a baker's assistant, a position that was held by one female deportee.

From the point of view of employers, there are no problems with hiring a deportee as long as he shows up on time and puts in an honest day's work. CAR staff are usually notified when problems arise with deportee workers who are frequently late or no-shows, or who do not work hard or have problems with their employers and co-workers. If the problem is minor, CAR staff will encourage the deportee to try to resolve the conflict if he can. In more serious cases, an individual may be reassigned to another job. If similar problems recur with frequency in a number of different jobs, a deportee runs the risk of putting into jeopardy his contract with the Center and in extreme cases faces expulsion from the program—along with loss of his salary and housing subsidy. Although problems among workers are frequent, staff members of CAR are adamant in saying that the majority of the deportee population has few problems holding jobs once they are past an initial transition period. The transition period however can often take upwards of six months to longer than a year.

One project continued by CAR that had earlier been initiated by the São José Projecto Horizon program was to provide jobs in public works projects designed to benefit the general population. One of the goals was both to lessen discrimination against repatriados by showing that the population could be involved in socially constructive projects that were beneficial to the community. It also served to justify some of the governmental expenditures on the deportee population, as works projects carried out in this area included the construction of playgrounds, jungle gyms, parks and toys for children—to be used by all Azoreans. It was the hope of the Center to generate press with the work project that might positively influence the opinion of the island population to the deportees. Indeed, several articles in newspapers and television segments on the evening news highlighted these projects.

Moving to permanent positions

The most successful forced return migrant workers (according to the Center's criteria) will eventually move into permanent work positions, either in civil service construction jobs and the like or in private industry. Most of the deportees who have obtained permanent work in the islands were able to do so upon demonstrating that their work ethic is compatible with the expectations of the Micaelense labor population. In short, they must conform to their Micaelense bosses' and co-workers' expectations of what an Azorean worker should be—hard working, willing to do whatever is asked without complaining or causing problems, showing up to work on time and taking pride in one's work.

There are a number of other factors that make a repatriado's work habits acceptable to the general population. Part of the difficulty is the existence of preconceived notions that repatriados will not work well, or that they will cause problems among co-workers. Any deviation in work habit from normative expectations is cause to reinforce the stereotype that deportees are lazy, belligerent and incapable of doing a good job. The negative preconceptions, ironically, can actually have a positive influence, however, as, in the majority of cases, the deportees beginning work do a good job and in the absence of the expected problems are perceived to be competent workers.

Employers also tend to have a looser threshold for accepting behavior that is perceived as aberrant or unacceptable on the job, given that the forced return migrant worker salary is subsidized by the Center. When problems do arise employers may also not be present, which would make them less likely to complain about on-the-job-disputes among co-workers that deportees were perceived to have caused. Employers tend to only have serious problems when repatriated workers are late for work or do not show up for work at all. The governmental subsidy provided employers who hire deportees, that makes a repatriated worker desirable from the point of view of those writing payroll checks can cause friction with some of the other employees, who feel that a deportee has been given an unfair advantage in receiving a job, that should have gone

to other “honest” Azoreans. As a result, when some in the repatriado category are late or do not work as hard as their co-workers feel they should work, this can cause animosity.

Among the repatriated population, there are a number of complaints about working in the Azores, complaints that generally stem from the accumulated experiences that compose a deportee’s background—from both individual circumstances as well as from his having lived under US and Canadian labor laws—of how work is supposed to be done. Across a wide range of deportee North American work experiences (both in union and non-union jobs alike) complaints heard in the Azores—especially among those in heavy-labor jobs such as masonry and construction—were frequently related to what the repatriated perceived as difficult working conditions, over burdensome work expectations and an overly long work day. (Although the customary two-hour Azorean lunch-break was one of few things that the deportee workers said they liked.)

Indeed, many forced return migrants felt that learning how to work in the Azores, presented one of the more difficult challenges to their transition to life in the islands. A lack of sick days and vacation time was also a cause for frequent grumbling among the repatriated population as many casual manual labor jobs would dock a worker’s pay when he called in sick—a particular problem for those repatriated who battled with various health and psychological problems. Many of the repatriated frequently complained about the physical difficulty of the work given the lack of what they felt was inadequate remuneration. One forced return migrant from outside Vancouver said he worked hard in a job he had held in a hardware store back in Canada, defending himself saying that it wasn’t because he was lazy, but that what Azoreans expected from a worker differed greatly from what employers expected in Canada.

Friction among co-workers can often emerge as some of the deported laborers complain about inequities in the kind of work they do compared to other workers, especially when they were not being directly supervised by an owner or a manager. From the point of view of the deportees, they were often discriminated against, often made to do the less desirable or “dirtier”

work and complaints about such treatment would often lead to the type of situation described above, when António's co-workers threatened to turn him in for fighting with them if he did not do the tasks they told him to do. When such problems arose between deported and Azorean workers, the Azorean workers however had a decidedly different view of their repatriated co-workers' comportment.

Most of the individuals who come into daily contact with the repatriados, either in their home neighborhoods or at work, tend to be from a similar socio-economic bracket as the repatriated, and so confront many of the same social problems associated with their poverty as do the repatriados. Subsequently, some Azorean workers felt that the deportees should feel lucky that they even have jobs, and would resent the lower pay that they received in comparison to the repatriados—especially as they often perceive that the repatriados lack a disciplined work ethic. Indeed when the money from the housing subsidy is calculated along with the monthly stipend given to deportees during the term of their participation in the CAR program, the deportees earn a greater amount of money than do their co-workers. That they are better paid, however, is misleading as the amount of money earned through the stipend and housing allowance is not an entirely accurate assessment of real income, because the deportees do not have the same family and community support networks that their Azorean co-workers have, and so accrue far more expenses than co-workers who live in their own or in their parents' homes. Usually living individually, without close family nearby, the repatriados have expenditures that are usually shared by a larger number of income earners in their co-workers households. Nonetheless, many Azorean co-workers only see the earned wage and the housing subsidy and feel slighted that they, as law-abiding, hard working, life-long island residents are somehow being cheated out of money by individuals who do not appreciate what the government and people of the Azores have done to help them.

Another problem that emerges among both the repatriados and Azorean residents is an inability to read various cultural cues and disparate understandings of appropriate behavior. A

repatriated construction worker explained to me that he once took a short, unscheduled break because he felt tired and was verbally chastised by his co-workers for being lazy and having no pride in his work. The repatriated worker, who had also worked construction in the US, said he would always take a break when he was tired. From his point of view, all he did was to have a swig of water and sit down for a minute to spell himself. From the point of view of his co-workers, this made him a typically lazy deportee. Of course Azorean workers also take the occasional unscheduled break, but given the divergent context of their behavior are not necessarily perceived as shirking work.

It is clear, however, that over time, repatriated workers in a particular job can and will lose the stigma that their employers and co-workers associate with them, once they demonstrate a willingness to work hard without complaint, and once they are considered to be reliable workers. Indeed, some of the repatriados who have moved from the program to the permanent work force are individuals who have been kept on by their private sector employers even after their participation in the program had terminated. Although the overwhelming majority of permanent private sector employment of deportees who have left the program is not in the same jobs that they held during their period of CAR participation, employers will often recycle their positions to others in the program, individuals who are working in their first jobs in the Azores. The benefit of the government subsidy is certainly one reason that such hires are made, but employers who continue to participate in the program convey that—with some exceptions—they are generally satisfied with the quality of work done by the repatriated individuals who have worked for them.

When problems arise after this transition has been made, most employers, even most co-workers increasingly see work-related difficulties with repatriados as an exception, rather than a rule. Although there is a general abstraction among Azoreans about the perceived cultural habits of those in the repatriado category, through which they are defined as lazy, violent and unsavory individuals. These perceptions tend to apply to the group as a whole, however, rather than forced return migrants who are known personally as neighbors and co-workers. The most egregious

excesses of what is considered by the general Azorean population to be aberrant behavior on the part of some individual deportees is used to frame how the repatriated as a group are perceived. As workers begin to respect their deportee co-workers, the stereotypes of the general group are not necessarily readjusted, but the known individuals are rather placed into a different category. The result is not a broad reconfiguration of how Azoreans interact with the repatriado category, but rather reflects the ability of individuals to avoid classification within it.

The fact that since 1996 the repatriados have, increasingly become a more prominent social category in the Azores has also assisted them in some ways. Prior to knowing any repatriated individuals, many Azoreans had nothing but the worst of expectations of how their interactions might have taken place. Likewise, many deportees have negative expectations about how they will be received by the Azorean population, in this case their co-workers, forming impressions gathered from newspapers, and from the horror stories of certain of those who had been previously repatriated. Though these prominent negative expectations tend to govern the initial meetings between the co-workers, after a period of mutual adjustment and the recognition that the stereotypes have far less basis than is indicated by reality, the repatriados will generally be accepted as good workers. Even if the company for which they are working does not hire them, those who receive permanent positions at the end of their participation in the program will often be given positive recommendations by these previous employers.

In moving to permanent positions outside of the program then, repatriados must demonstrate, or at least be perceived as demonstrating, that they conform to Azorean expectations for what a worker should be, namely willing to do hard work with pride and without complaint, always ready to work and able to put in a full day of work whether one is sick or not. Those most successful at moving into permanent positions are those who have both demonstrated appropriate habits at work, and who have also been able to develop social and community contacts outside of work. An employer's impression of a repatriado, his comportment, his demeanor, not only at

work, but outside of work, are all factors that lead to a good recommendation or good word of mouth on a potential repatriated employee.

When the Repatriado category is advantageous for employment

There are a (limited) number of permanent positions in which the repatriated population participates that do not require conformity to Azorean preconceived expectations, and in which one's status as a deportee is actually helpful to obtaining the job. Of course some employers take a socially activist stance toward hiring deportees, attempting to provide jobs in a conscious attempt to militate against discrimination against them. There are however jobs for which the skill set (both perceived and real) of the repatriated population is advantageous to employment. One filmmaker, acclaimed for his documentary and feature length film productions, in addition to his work with other stage productions, made a practice of hiring deportees to work on his crews for as much as a social statement as he did for purely self interested practical ends. For him, hiring the deportees in for the publicly prominent positions sends a message to the general population that repatriated employees are skilled, hard working and worthy of employment. But according to some repatriated individuals who work for the filmmaker, his impression is that despite their lack of formal training, the fact that they have grown up immersed in the American cinematic and show business tradition—even as spectators—gives them a ready knowledge of film and other production spectacles that surpasses the background of the native islanders.

There are specific positions for which repatriados are hired precisely because they are repatriados. Throughout the year, but especially during the spring and summer months, Ponta Delgada and its environs has an active and vital night life centered around dozens of dance clubs, live music venues, large night clubs and intimate cafés. Several of the larger all night dance clubs, actively seek out repatriados to work as doormen and bouncers. What many in the general population perceive as an unsavory aspect of their version of the stereotypical repatriado—aggressive, tough, unpredictable, street wise—club owners see as a necessary part of

a doorman and bouncer's job description. It is perceived that these attributes enable the repatriados to keep control of the nightclubs should any problems arise. It is further felt that the repatriados are not only able to deal with the disputes and fights that inevitably occur with a heavy-drinking weekend population, but that by having the repatriado doormen in such prominent public locations the clientele might be intimidated before any trouble starts, or at least that they will think that the nightclub security staff is prepared to handle whatever is thrown at them, and those individuals responsible for starting problems will be on the losing side of any dispute—therefore putting an end to potential problems before they even start.

The Director of the aforementioned feature length film *Duplo Exílio/Double Exile* hired deportees to act in the film as deportees. Although a deportee being called upon to play the role of deportee was certainly making use of his qualifications to find work, the portrayal of the real deportees in the film only reinforced some of the worst negative stereotypes of the group. The two deportees that had prominent speaking roles in the film playing repatriados, for example, acted the part of a prostitute and her pimp.

One deportee, Sandro, has recorded a musical disk that has gained some popularity in the islands and in continental Portugal. Performed in a hip-hop musical style, the deportado raps songs in English and Portuguese about his experiences both growing up in North America and about living in the Azores as a repatriado. The content of his songs is directly related to his life experience as a deportado, and in large part he owes his popularity to this fact as well as various stories about him in the media have focused on his deportee identity. Indirectly, he has also benefited from his life experience as a deportee, given that his exposure to styles of music in North America, not readily available in the Azores, makes-up a prominent part of what Nelly Furtado might call his "musical hard drive."

CAR also makes a practice of hiring repatriados who have been through the program and who have shown they are able to work with the other CAR staff and who also demonstrate aptitude for a particular job. In most of these positions, such as the assistants at the Center and the

Transition House, it is in fact necessary that a repatriado be the one to serve in the job—as the repatriado assistants often act as a buffer between the deportee population and the Center’s staff. It is also the hope of the program that they would serve in some small capacity as role models for rest of the population. Their greatest help to the deportee population, however, may be that they are a readily available source of information on the deportation experience for those who have only recently arrived and who find themselves negotiating through the long waits and bureaucracy of the CAR program. Hiring repatriados also fulfills the dual purpose of finding permanent work for some among the population in staff positions that needed to be filled anyway.

Although these types of permanent positions in which a repatriado’s perceived skill set is not a hindrance, it is clear that they are in the minority. The overwhelming majority of the repatriated population does not hold such positions and must conform to the general expectation of those in the islands as to how a Micaelense worker must act. Although it is helpful to their ability to find work that repatriados can find jobs in positions for which their perceived skill set and status on the island is seen as a necessary part of doing the job—as is the case with the nightclub bouncers—unfortunately the public nature of such roles as bouncers, rap artists, and actors (when they play pimps and prostitutes) also tends to create, emphasize and reinforce the negative stereotypes of the repatriated population among the general Azorean population.

Undocumented economy: drugs, burglary

Virtually every forced return migrant in the islands was deported as a result of having some relationship with illicit drugs. Although official INS documents point out that the conviction that officially caused a repatriado’s deportation may also include other crimes such as theft, aggravated assault or sexual assault, in virtually all cases, these crimes were committed in support of a drug habit or occurred, at least in part, as a result of a drug habit (including crack cocaine, heroin and alcohol). Classes of repatriados involved with drugs include those that

primarily used drugs, those that both used drugs and sold them to support habits, as well as lower and higher-level dealers who were primarily concerned with selling drugs.

It should be no surprise then that there is a group among the deported population that participates in the undocumented economy—selling illicit drugs, and committing petty robberies—in order to make a living and supplement the Center’s stipend. If a newly arrived repatriado has relatively few connections (outside those created by CAR) that assist him in easily finding a job, that assist him in finding a place to live, the same cannot be said of connections to illicit trade—for which a repatriado has many ready made contacts. But there are a number of factors that contributed to the ease with which repatriados participated in the undocumented economy.

Some repatriated say that other deportees recruited them to sell illegal drugs. These individuals tend to be people with whom they had similar connections in North America, or were people who they already knew personally. Indeed among the small group of repatriados who became involved in selling drugs on São Miguel shortly after their arrival in the islands, most said they were introduced to the drug trade as a result of connections to individuals from North America that had existed prior to deportation. Although such pre-existing connections certainly facilitate the ease with which many of the repatriados enter into the drug trade upon their arrival on the islands, a wide range of other factors also contributed.

One example of a repatriado recruited to work in the illicit drug trade is telling. José Carlos arrived on São Miguel from Canada at the conclusion of a prison sentence for which he was incarcerated for selling heroin. One of the few repatriados who had close family in the islands, his mother’s sister took him in, giving him a place to live in a village located at the outskirts of Ponta Delgada. Having seen his Aunt only twice in the three decades José Carlos had lived in Canada, he was taken into her home through an obligation that his Aunt had to her sister, José Carlos mother. As is often the case in such situations, the relationship between him and his family was rocky from the outset. Part of the problem according to José Carlos was that he made

genuine attempts to find steady work (in a documented economy position outside of the program) but met with no success. On one trip to Ponta Delgada, he ran into some friends from Canada with whom he had worked and known in the illicit drug trade there and was soon introduced to a wider network of individuals involved in selling *haxixe*, for which José Carlos was offered work as a street level dealer. The money he earned was not more than pocket change, but not having to pay rent, he said that it was at least a little something.

José Carlos comments are similar to other deportees who start off working in the islands with intentions of finding work in the mainstream economy, but end up pushing drugs or committing other crimes. Although the personal contacts were obviously helpful, in that his trustworthiness as a dealer was not questioned, according to José Carlos, this was not the only reason that he was able to become involved with the illicit trade in drugs on the island. Although José Carlos had worked in various other jobs in his life, his most developed skill set was in the area of the drug trade. He had done it for a long time, and despite the many hassles he faced, from dealing with cops, to what he considered were the riff-raff he had for clientele, he overall enjoyed the lifestyle as an easy way to make decent money, certainly easier work than what he had done working in the documented economy as a laborer.

Faced with insertion into what many forced return migrants felt was a workplace in which they have few skills and in which they must often do back-breaking work for what they feel is little money, some repatriados preferred to do the kind of work in which they had success prior to their forced return migration. For the most part, it is the way they make the money rather than the amount of money that they make, that attracts the deportees to the undocumented economy. Some forced return migrants involved in the illicit drug trade say that, all things being even—factoring in the amount of time they spend in jail, bribes to police, and other expenses,

etc.—the average amount of money they earn illegally is not really all that much.¹⁰⁷ The factors that cause them to participate in the illicit drug trade in the Azores then, cannot be seen then as purely economic. Repatriados who have participated in the undocumented economy in the Azores, specifically in the area of drug trade for earnings profit, cited a host of reasons for their interest in selling drugs that had less to do with how much money is earned and more to do with *how* the money is earned.

In the first place, deportees who sold drugs in the Azores already have a pre-existing set of skills, often honed over a number of years that is necessary when dealing. Trustworthiness not to rat out others involved, personal contacts, discretion, physical and mental toughness, and not being a user of drugs oneself, or being able to use without one's use adversely effecting one's selling, are some of the positive qualities of an individual working in the drug trade. Those who have already demonstrated that they possess these qualities through contacts that know of their activities selling drugs in North America are considered good people to have working for a particular local dealer, or in operations across the Atlantic.

From the point of view of the migrants themselves, it is far more attractive to work in an occupation one already knows—especially given the many other emotional and practical adjustments that need to be made upon repatriation—rather than to be trained to do something new. Even more attractive to those who worked selling drugs was the fact that the activity provided a repatriado with a level of prestige and respect from other deportees and even Azoreans with whom they worked, than did working through CAR's program or in a private sector job, given the paucity of skills that they have, and their usual initially subordinate role. Having such a subordinate position did little to provide the repatriados with any feeling that they had control over their situation, or that they had any respect from others.

¹⁰⁷On this point see the essay on drug trade in the undocumented economy in the Bronx by Philip Bourgeois (2002). His analysis about the respect and prestige factor accorded to those participating in the drug trade as one reason to continue with a job that pays not much more than minimum wage under less than favorable working conditions is consistent with the attitudes of repatriados in the Azores.

Some low-end, part-time dealers simultaneously participate in the CAR program while they are selling drugs in order to augment the housing subsidy and their salary from the job, although it is not so easy for deportees to remain in the program if they do this for too long. If a CAR staff member learns of this kind of illicit activity the participant's contract will be terminated, and this kind of information is more readily available to CAR staff than one might imagine. Ponta Delgada is a small city, and information travels quickly. In addition, on more than one occasion, I witnessed one of two repatriados involved in a dispute attempt to spite the other by informing CAR staff of various prohibited activities the other had done in violation of his contract. Spiteful or not, depending on the seriousness of the transgression, such information can lead to a program participant either receiving a warning, losing his contract, or even being reported to the police. Although it was indeed done, given the insular relationship among those participating in the program, selling drugs for profit while under contract was not a terribly easy undertaking.

My intention here is not to impute some sort of psychological motivation onto the forced return migrants by way of explaining their participation in this illicit trade, but rather to point out some of the factors that those in it have cited themselves that steer them away from documented economy jobs, or participating in the CAR program. Certainly those repatriados who had been involved in the undocumented drug trade in North America have become accustomed to certain expectations regarding their quality of life. The trappings of life spent earning money hustling on the street—cell phones, beepers, nice cars, all-night clubbing, respect and prestige from friends and acquaintances—simply cannot be replicated for the repatriados upon their arrival in the Azores when working in a manual labor job. Even the actual money is inconsequential to some: the respect that one is accorded among one's peers being more important. One deportee drug dealer in the Ponta Delgada prison echoed similar comments that had just been made by another deportee when he said, "I wouldn't care if I didn't make any money at all [dealing drugs]. I get a rush doing it. Man you just feel so good, walking around, people looking at you and they just

know.” Although other companions in the conversation disagreed with them and said the money was the most important factor, each of the others agreed that it was not only the money that made them deal drugs, and that the respect one is given by peers and others was also high on the list.

Further, given the lifestyle that accompanies street-level hustling, repatriados who sell drugs are able to hold onto a vestige of their former lives, as their work requires that they go out clubbing, that they hang around in the right bars and spots where they will be available to those looking to buy, that they keep cell phones in case anyone needs to contact them, and in general keep a certain social profile among their clients (usually by spending much of the day drinking beers in neighborhood cafés). Further, provided they do not end up in jail and have relatively inexpensive housing, the money that they earn is more than what they would be making in a minimum wage job in the Azores. The money from dealing allows them to buy clothes, radios, televisions, compact disks, etc. in a way that they would not be able to otherwise—even though earning money in this manner is not sustainable over the long term. Earning money through dealing, even when it is not the primary source of income, provides some of the deportees with a level of dignity, and a feeling of self-reliance they feel is lacking when, in a paraphrase of one repatriado, they have to serve as someone’s lackey on a civil service construction job, or as another said, must always be under the watchful eyes of CAR. It should be emphasized that those involved in selling drugs, form only a small percentage of the overall deportee population, even as they present one of the more interesting examples of individuals who adopt other survival strategies besides social integration into the islands.

There is an important and substantial difference that exists between those forced return migrants who work as street-level dealers and commit crimes in order to earn a living income and those deportees who commit crimes in order to support their own drug habits. The attitude of each group toward the kind of work that is done differs greatly. For addicts of drugs and alcohol who commit crimes—including petty theft, burglary, armed robbery, dealing and even in the rare case prostitution—the activity is generally conducted in order to earn enough money to support a

drug habit rather than in the service of fulfilling some idealized lifestyle. Many of these individuals simultaneously participate in the CAR program, as many are exempted from working in day jobs due to their addictions and the accompanying physical and mental health problems. The poor physical and mental health of these individuals also provides them far more leeway in meeting the terms of their CAR contracts, as staff are concerned with assisting them psychologically and emotionally rather than throwing them out of the program where they would be less likely to stop using drugs, and possibly meet a tragic end.

In any event, repatriated committing crimes to support drug habits tend to work sporadically rather than constantly hustling, opting to commit crimes when there is no money available from other means when it is necessary to get a fix. Of course there are those who are also mild drug users while hustling on the street, but given the physical side effects of a hard-core heroin or serious alcohol addiction, it is simply not possible to function as a successful dealer if one is constantly under the effects of the drugs. Although selling drugs or committing robberies over the short run can help the deportees adapt to their new lives, the activity often results in arrest and conviction, obviously curtailing an individual's livelihood, and further placing them at risk for jail—where they can spend years serving out a sentence or waiting for a trial.¹⁰⁸

Although selling drugs usually means that one is involved in a network of operations, with a hierarchy of roles and positions, other undocumented economy activities such as burglary and armed robbery are generally carried out by individuals or groups of individuals without elaborate support networks. Many of the problems faced by forced return migrants in the documented economy work sphere—notably isolation and lack of contacts—can also make crime difficult in the islands. When high-end merchandise is stolen for resale rather than personal use, for example, it is often difficult to find a fence willing to take the goods; and due to the insular nature of the islands' economy, high-end stolen property like jewelry and cars, will usually be

¹⁰⁸In Portugal, an individual accused of a crime can be held in jail a maximum of 2 years before they receive a trial.

recognized immediately. As a result, stolen goods need to be smuggled out of the islands, either to the continent, or to others of the Atlantic islands. If an individual without contacts (in high seas maritime smuggling operations for example) wants to take the stolen property off of the islands himself, he will usually have few options other than flying with it to the Continent¹⁰⁹—a high-risk operation that often results in arrest. What this illustrates is that the same difficulties encountered by those in the repatriado category who hope to find work in mainstream jobs—cultural isolation, lack of professional contacts, lack of knowledge in how to comport themselves—can also be characteristic of some of their participation in illicit activities.

Overall however, when deportees choose to find work in the undocumented economy, they do so in order to avoid the usual problems of social and cultural integration into the islands. By inserting themselves into a ring of contacts, by having control over their own earning, by living a life similar to the lives they had prior to their deportation, this group of repatriados are able to maintain some link to their past lives, and at least in part avoid the inevitable confrontation with the fact that their life circumstances have drastically altered.

This lengthy discussion of illicit activity, however, should not suggest that a large percentage of repatriados participate in the illegal economy—as is often the impression among the general Azorean population, which believes that most of the repatriados are involved on some level or another in illicit activities, be it selling drugs or committing robberies. For obvious reasons it is impossible to ascertain exact figures of the number of deportees involved in the illicit trade in drugs and other merchandise, but interviews, calculations based on the percentage of the population incarcerated, and other ethnographic evidence suggests that there are only a small number of repatriados who earn the *majority* of their money working in illegal trade. A conservatively large estimate would be no more than 5% of the deportees.

¹⁰⁹Direct international commercial flights from the Azores go to Lisbon, Porto, Madeira, the United States, Canada, and during the summer vacation months Germany. Given that repatriados are barred from entering both the United States and Canada, and do not speak German, there are few other options but to go to the mainland.

Training for work

When a deportee has a pre-existing skill—e.g. as a mason, carpenter or mechanic—CAR will attempt to find him work in a similar job if that is the kind of work desired. If, as is often the case, the deportee has no formal training in the kinds of jobs CAR offers, he will either be trained on the job, or he may participate in one of CAR's professional training programs. CAR has come to develop training programs in the areas of tile making, masonry, ceramics, construction and shop keeping. The number of participants in various training programs varies, but as of April 2001, there had been more than 300 interventions by CAR for formal training and educational programs. Other training, not specifically related to jobs is in CAR's language instruction program. In addition, those forced return migrants who are incarcerated for crimes committed subsequent to their repatriation receive job training through various of the prison's programs in carpentry, masonry, writing, and computer desktop publishing skills.

Even when a deportee has a pre-existing skill set, and is involved in the same kind of occupation in the islands as had been done in North America, additional training is necessary given the differences in work practice in the two locations. There is a substantial adjustment for masons, for example—who may be accustomed to cement mixers, and large cranes to haul wood and steel forms in and out of a foundation hole—when confronted with small masonry companies in the Azores, which generally require cement to be mixed by hand and heavy rocks to be hauled either in buckets or by wheelbarrow. Techniques also differ from North America to the islands, and both forced return migrants and those among the general population considered these practical differences in work techniques to be yet another factor that encourages the deportees' outsider status.

Given the difficult nature of much of the work, the amount of money that is earned can also turn problematic for many of the deportees. Many of those who worked as drug dealers express a broad dissatisfaction with the small sum of money that one makes in jobs requiring arduous physical labor. Much of their attraction to selling drugs in the first place came from a

desire to not have to work in such physically demanding jobs. Most of those interviewed said that the allure of selling drugs had much less to do with *how much* money they were able to make—although this was clearly a factor—but rather *how* the money was made.

Even among others in the repatriated population who are not necessarily dissatisfied with the jobs they find themselves doing in the Azores, there is a frustration upon having gone from working in the US and Canada, even in the same type of occupations, when the workers receive monthly paychecks in the Azores. Many deported stated that they were not happy that they earned far more money in North America than the paltry wages they received for equivalent work in the Azores.

Problems on the job

The way that certain workers in the repatriado category carry out their labor responsibilities colors the perception of the entire group. Already with preconceived expectations of how the repatriados will act, many would-be employers and other Azoreans with whom they come in contact see the stereotype of the lazy irresponsible worker in action among some and allow this to influence their opinion of the entire group. When questioned, they levy a number of specific complaints at the repatriados regarding not only their work habits and abilities, but what many see as special treatment accorded to the repatriated population.

Some Azoreans are resentful that the repatriados have been given government subsidized jobs, and dislike the attitude taken by some of the deportees who they feel act as if they are entitled to the jobs they receive as if it were a right, rather than the result of generosity on the part of the Azorean government and the Azorean population. Later, should certain deportees be singled out for not living up to expectations for fulfilling work responsibilities, resentment is only augmented. Often in these cases, a negative perception emerges among Azoreans, who charge the North American deportees with being ungrateful for the opportunities that Azorean tax dollars and liberal social policies have provided them. This resentment is, of course, not expressed by all;

nor, even among those who hold such an opinion is it uniformly applied to all of the deportees. Even when asserting animosity toward deportee work habits, almost all Azoreans interviewed recognized that the population faces a unique set of difficult circumstances, and should be given some extraordinary assistance in finding work. Nonetheless, there is a substantial vocal sector of the general population that feels the repatriados should recognize that they are the recipients of government generosity and only have work because of broad-minded employers.

The only way for the deportees to avoid such criticism is to avoid the kinds of behavior that employers and other Azoreans deem as inappropriate. That is, that the repatriated workers should conform to Azorean expectations of how workers are supposed to comport themselves. In general, Azoreans emphasize that such workers should not be so cavalier about their jobs and rather take their work responsibilities seriously; that they should not be content with only doing the least amount of work possible; and that they should always come to work on time, rather than only needing the flimsiest of excuses to stay home sick.

Fueling much of the opinion that deportee workers are both inferior and do not conform to Azorean expectations, is the fact that many of the forced return migrants who demonstrate work habits outside of expectation, tend to be those who have only recently arrived and who have obtained these jobs at what is a traumatic and troubling period for them. Their entry into Azorean social life occurs with the expectation that they should know all of the codes and cues to successfully interact culturally with the islands permanent resident population. In the view of these island residents, a variety of factors intervene to thwart the deportees' successful interaction. In most cases, among those who left the islands at a young age to be deported when older, who never returned in the intervening period, they are essentially being introduced to the islands for the first time. In addition, they have little interest in integrating. As will be demonstrated below success for the criminal forced return migrants is defined in quite different terms when compared to how the government and the general population defines success:

according to a most deportees, by getting along in the islands without problems, one is implicitly abandoning the idea of ever going home to North America.

The social problems confronted by deportees with serious drug addictions are another factor that cause them to have difficulties with their work and the perception of them as workers. Obviously a forced return migrant with a serious drug addiction will not be required to work by the Center, but as is often the case, a deportee who has his addiction under control at one point, will have relapses in treatment and may return to abusing substances. When this occurs it only increases the perception that all of the repatriados are using drugs while working and is further evidence that they are irresponsible and lazy.

When a relapse does occur while a repatriated worker has a job, the individual will return to the CAR program for treatment. In other cases some repatriated do not go back to CAR, but rather end up on their own, outside of CAR housing, outside of the CAR work program, and outside of CAR medical programs. CAR staff tends to have extraordinary patience however, and if a repatriado is not in any of the programs, it is likely because he or she has refused to participate in them under the terms of the contract.

Using protests over work to protest deportation itself

Interestingly, some of the forced return migrants interviewed had the sense that jobs in the Azores were not unlike some of the jobs that they held in Azorean owned companies in the US and Canada or in jobs where they worked for Azorean bosses, in that the expectations for work were basically the same in both places. When asked why then, is it so difficult for many deportees to be successful in their Azorean jobs some other perspectives emerged.

Some deportees were of the opinion that drug addictions clearly played a large role in whether or not someone was successful or not in a job. As one forced return migrant said “look I know Guilherme from [the US] and he is a good kid, he was a good mechanic over there. But he is fucked up over here all the time. He isn’t going to have a job [in that condition].” This makes

intuitive sense, but what of those deportees who already had steady work in North America before they were deported and end up in similar positions in the Azores? Why do these types of individuals also have problems?

Many repatriated who are angry about working expressed that their anger at their employers and their lack of desire to work were directly related to their anger at having been deported in the first place. “Why should I have to work over here? I was making money, good money back there and I come over here, break my back all day, for what, for 10 contos (50 dollars) a week, have to listen to ‘deportado,’ ‘deportado,’ ‘deportado’. Forget it.”

Although they actually do comport themselves differently compared to most Azoreans, at times many among the repatriated population emphasize this lack of cultural continuity between the Azores and their lives in North America in attempts to point out the injustice of their deportation. Pointing to differences in work activities, to their poor treatment by co-workers at their jobs—which is by no means uniformly discriminatory—the deported make a (futile) case for their return to North America. What this again highlights is the contradictory goals of CAR and the Azorean government programs when compared to the goals of the repatriated population themselves. “Success” in the work program means the transition to a permanent job in the islands, possible when a deportee has demonstrated his ability work like an Azorean and to interact with co-workers and bosses like an Azorean would be expected to act. Yet to accomplish this goal, for a deportee, would be to abandon the idea that “going home” back to North America was the truly sought after option.

By pointing to disparities, real or merely emphasized, between work experiences in the Azores and North America, the repatriated are attempting to make arguments for their lack of belonging in the islands, as they “should be in North America”. By attempting to teach them how to act like an Azorean worker, enforced by rewarding them with higher paying, permanent jobs, the CAR program attempts to erase the ambiguity of their identity as Azorean born, North American raised residents of the islands. For the government, they will only be “successful” once

they have abandoned thought of return to their homes across the Atlantic and embraced their identity as Azoreans and as Portuguese national citizens.

Finding housing and making a home

The social stigma that surrounds criminal forced return migrants in other aspects of their lives also places them at a disadvantage when attempting to find housing. Many landlords simply do not want to rent their apartments to a repatriado. Those deportees who do not live with family encounter various problems when attempting to find housing. Some of the difficulties are similar whether housing and a subsidy is provided by CAR or if a deportee seeks housing outside of the program.

Further some of the rules put in place by CAR for those in the initial stages of the program present various challenges upon a deportees' return. Those who are in CAR subsidized housing are subject to certain restrictions under the terms of their contract. One major prohibition is the ban on having non-sanctioned guests in their dormitories or apartments, which carries as a maximum penalty the termination of one's contract. The idea is that the prohibition will inhibit the forced return migrants from partying, and the hope is this may work to keep them off of drugs. Although this may be the case for some, for others it results in a return to drug use. The prohibition serves to augment the isolation some feel, inhibiting friendships that might develop with others, inhibits them from dating and potential general interaction with the homeland population, in some ways pushing the deportees to socialize only with one another. As isolation is one part of an array of reasons expressed by some deportees as a cause of their returning to abusing drugs, this is not a minor point.

Although encouraging particular types of behavior among the deportees is one function of the prohibition on certain activities, there are other practical reasons that CAR has instituted the policy. It is certain that landlords of domiciles subsidized by CAR are more likely to rent to forced return migrants if they know that certain assurances have been made that the kind of

activities deportees are presumed to do will not occur in their homes. In this is another demonstration of how CAR's goals for re-socializing the deportees are consistent with those outside of government among the general population who have similar expectations for how the deportees should conform to normative expectations for behavior.

The ability to procure housing—along with the poor condition of the housing that tends to be obtained—presents another major obstacle to the forced return migrants integration. Whether the repatriated seek housing in private homes with CAR assistance or not the problems can be similar. Few landlords want to rent to the repatriated, even with the assurances provided by the Center through the restrictions in the contract. Given that many apartments in the Azores are rentals of an extra residence in a house in which the landlord himself lives, some homeowners are unwilling to basically reside with a deportee. There are other problems as well. Reasonable accommodation is not expensive when an individual is making a decent living wage, or when he is sharing space with a large family. But given the paucity of financial resources of both CAR and the deportees themselves, apartments rented to forced return migrants tend to be located in the poorest urban neighborhoods of Ponta Delgada. As such, the deportees reside in areas in which the kinds of activities they are trying to avoid exist right outside their doors.

CAR officials recognize this as a problem, and the government has attempted to buy outright a number of apartments in various neighborhoods throughout the city and the islands so as not to be beholden to the whims of landlords who might not want to rent to a deportee. But even when this occurs, the residents of a neighborhood can react negatively to the idea that deportees will be living among them. In one extreme example, the denizens of a residential neighborhood in Ponta Delgada on a street that abutted a high school protested vehemently upon learning that CAR would be opening a transition house in the vicinity. Protests to elected officials and complaints to governmental agencies responsible for overseeing CAR culminated in a large street protest of about one hundred local residents, who shouted and cursed at the deportees, marching in angry demonstration against the insertion of the forced return migrants into their

neighborhood. Quotations from newspapers, television reports and interviews, showed that those from the neighborhood were angry that the kinds of activities usually perpetrated by these “Americans”—drugs, crime, raping the high school girls, etc.—would destroy their neighborhood, ruin their lives and their way of life.

It is important to note, however that such attitudes will usually only exist among the general population when interactions with the deportees take place with them as a category. Usually, after landlords and neighborhood residents acquaint themselves personally with a repatriated return migrant, and see that they do not conform to the worst expectations of deportee behavior, the kinds of problems—expressed in dramatic fashion in the street protest, for example—tend to dissipate, at least in interactions with individually-known deportees. The protest against the transition house for example, was not, in the end, successful and CAR established the domicile on the street. According to CAR’s director, and some interviews with neighborhood residents and business establishments, once instituted, most of the residents were unaware that there were even deportees living in the house. CAR however is vigilant in both a de facto and conscious way of ensuring that there are no problems in the house, as the Director’s office was relocated there, and always present is some CAR functionary—providing the house with some supervision.

Real earning power and social support networks

One major cause of problems confronted by the repatriated in regard to their living situation is that significant structural problems exist impeding them from earning a living wage. A forced return migrant who is without family and without family support simply does not have the earning power that a similar individual has in the Azores who is situated within a family. A young man of 18 years old or thereabouts, for example, upon finishing high school will usually begin to work in his first job, earning the same wage that any repatriated worker would if he were also working in his first job. The structural differences in the support networks available to each,

however, makes the purchasing power of the money earned far greater for the 18 year old living with his family than it does in the case of the deportee worker on his own.

Living with his parents, the 18-year-old Azorean worker does not have to pay rent. He usually contributes most (if not all) of his paycheck to his parents, and in return, receives housing, food, clothing, recreation money, and a support network should he become ill and unable to work for an extended period of time. He is inserted into a social network that allows him to find a marriage partner, (helping him to finance the building of his own home when the time comes, support the raising of his own children and then, and then eventually make him the co-head—with his wife—of a multiple income home as his own children begin to work. Unmarried children remain with parents, continuing to earn money through a multiple income earning strategy, supporting parents in older age, and taking over family homes and any subsequent properties on their parents death.

Most forced return migrants, however, enter into their initial period in the Azores without this kind of network, especially if they have few family relations in the islands that do not take them in, or have family relations that they themselves may have rejected. Even though their wages may be equal to that of the 18 year old above, repatriated workers must use that wage to pay for housing, food, clothing and other expenses, in a single individual household, without wage pooling among other family members, without any initial family savings upon which to draw in times of hardship. Deportees living alone do not have the networks that allow for the pooling of resources, including the handing down or interchange of clothes, tools, and other work necessities among family members and the mutually shared home furnishings and appliances. One oven can be used by a family of 6 people in one household, whereas the repatriated must purchase all of the same items as used by a multiple income household, to be bought only by himself; and to be used only by himself.

The process of sharing resources through family networks occurs independent of variations in family size and family socio-economic status. One four-person family for example,

was temporarily living in Ponta Delgada in a small apartment while building a home in an affluent suburb. Although the quarters in the temporary space were somewhat cramped, they still took in a niece to live with them, whose own parents lived on the other side of the island while she finished her studies at a high school located within walking distance of the apartment. They provided her with food, a bed and if ever necessary small amounts of spending money. The girl went to that particular high school in large part to save the girl's parents the money that would have been required if she had to drive the 20 minutes to the high school nearest to their home. Receiving the most direct economic benefit from the arrangement was clearly the girl and her parents, yet, her aunt and uncle had no compunction regarding taking her in, given the socio-cultural importance of the family network in the islands and its role in creating relationships of reciprocal ties.

Though the amount of the paycheck may be comparable, the amount of a real wage earned by a repatriado can simply not be compared to an individual whose labor is situated in such a household and in a family's mutual assistance network.

Family living

Bringing Family to the islands

The CAR program to reunite families has brought some families together in the Azores that were split apart when husbands and fathers were removed from North America.¹¹⁰ By bringing families together, it might be possible to militate against some of the problems associated with earning a living wage. Yet, the experience of the CAR family re-unification program has been mostly a failure owing to various reasons. In only rare cases were the children of repatriated not born in North America. If the deportees feel themselves as strangers in the Azores, this difficulty is greatly compounded for their children. Wives who are supporting

¹¹⁰ During the time of my field research none of the female forced return migrants had husbands to bring to the islands.

children in North America have to leave jobs, their homes, their own support networks, and then on top of this, find work in the Azores. Among deportees with wives who are not Azorean, or wives who are Azorean but who, like the deportees emigrated to North America at a young age, the same problems of social integration and a lack of practical skills, combined with the lives that the spouses would be leaving make few willing to voluntarily move to the Azores.

Even in cases where family re-unification initially takes place, the difficulties encountered upon arrival make some families return to North America. After her husband was deported, one woman brought her five-year-old son to the Azores where she hoped to make a life with her spouse as a family. The woman did not speak Portuguese, and had little familiarity with the islands prior to her arrival. She was unable to get a job, encountered extraordinary difficulty acquiring the Portuguese language, and felt socially isolated, having left her own family and friends back in the United States. Within a period of six months, she had decided to leave the islands and move back to the US. She cited her lack of a job, her inability to learn the language, and never “fitting in” with anyone in the islands, feeling always as an outsider as a reason she decided to leave. Misunderstanding US migration law, another factor contributing to her decision to leave was that she became pregnant while living with her husband and wanted the baby to be born in the US “so that she would be a US citizen and not have the same thing happen to her someday.”¹¹¹

¹¹¹ As she was a US citizen herself, her daughter would have been a US citizen anyway. The US Supreme court has defined US citizenship as matrilineal. In *Tuan Anh Nguyen et al. V. Immigration and Naturalization Service* (2001) the Court determined that a child born out of the United States will be a US citizen only if the mother of the child was a United States citizen. In cases where the father is a citizen but the mother is not, the child is not considered a US citizen. In the case, a male US serviceman had an out-of-wedlock child with a Vietnamese citizen. The child who had migrated to the US at six and had been raised by his father since that time, was facing deportation for crimes committed in Texas because he never took the appropriate steps to become a US citizen. He argued that the matrilineal citizenship law was a violation of the equal protection provision of the Fifth Amendment to the US Constitution. The Supreme Court however, upheld the Federal Judge’s finding that Anh Nguyen was deportable as a non-US Citizen. In the process the court decided that the matrilineal citizenship requirement did not violate the Constitution and allowed the following law to stand: “A child born abroad and out of wedlock acquires at birth the nationality status of a citizen mother who meets a specified residency requirement. 1409(c). However, when the father is the citizen parent, *inter alia*, one of three affirmative steps must be taken before the child turns 18: legitimization, a declaration of paternity under oath by the father, or a court order of paternity.

Another woman who chose to migrate when her husband when he was deported from Toronto suffered from the same negative social stigma of the deportees even though she was not one herself. She would frequently complain that she was being treated unfairly because everyone thought she was another “deportado”; and even when she would explain that she was not, few would believe her. She complained that as a result she encountered difficulty in finding work and was subject to problems typical of negative Azorean/Repatriado interactions. After one ugly confrontation with a worker in a café, in which she was told she would not be served because she was a deportee (after she had exchanged angry words with the woman working behind the counter) she shouted in exasperation in the CAR waiting area “from now on I am going to carry around my Canadian passport, and if anyone says I am deportee I am going to take it out and tell them to go to hell, I am a Canadian Citizen and here’s the papers to prove it!” In addition to demonstrating various problems encountered by criminal forced return migrants, her difficulties also point out the way that interactions with the repatriado category can exist whether one is a deportee or not—but based on the presumption of one’s belonging in the category.

Deportees living with family encountering problems

For these repatriated migrants outside the sphere of the government sponsored program who find some ability to integrate and successfully socialize with those in Azorean communities, it is in large part, the presence of supportive family networks in their village of residence, coupled with their comportment in a manner deemed appropriate by other villagers that leads to their shedding of the *repatriado* label. This becomes even clearer in the negative examples provided by

1409(a)(4).” As Nguyen failed to satisfy this section he was rendered ineligible for citizenship (Tuan Anh Nguyen et. al. V. Immigration and Naturalization Service, 2001. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit. No. 992071. Argued January 9, 2001. Decided June 11, 2001). I have had correspondence with a Portuguese citizen who had lived in the US since he was a child who is facing deportation as a result of similar circumstances (his mother is from Terceira and his father was a US serviceman stationed at the Lajes air base on Terceira). Placed into an INS detention center awaiting deportation, the individual was shocked to learn that he was not a US citizen, and could not claim citizenship even though his father was a US citizen.

those repatriados outside the program (at least initially outside of it) who confront difficulty when attempting to forego the program and instead insert themselves into a family household in their home village.

The existence of support networks among those deportees with existing family in the islands does not however necessarily mean that they will not confront difficulties with their social integration. The forced return migrants falling into this class will have a less than harmonious relationship while residing with family. Living in the home of an aunt or an uncle can result in violent confrontations, both over expectations for behavior and actual behavior, resulting in the repatriated family member either being ordered to leave the house or leaving the house of his own volition. When this occurs, and among this class it occurs with frequency, a deportee will usually end up back at the Center, ready to sign a contract and participate in the re-integration program.

Problems were most likely to arise in these households when the family with which the deportees were living shared either little or no personal connection with one another. In these cases, a deportee was usually only assisted by a family member who was not personally known and only agreed to take him in through the intervention of some other intermediary family member (such as the deportees mother or father) who shared a close personal relationship. Often times these close familial connections will cause an Azorean with a repatriated family member to open his home in assistance, even if he barely knows the individual. Although it was far more likely for a family member to take in a close deported relative rather than taking in a distant relative, depending on the closeness of other transnational kinship networks, situations occur in which deportees will be taken in by individuals, who, though they may be part of kin networks are effectively strangers.

It should be noted that given the frequent passage and return passage among individuals living in the Azores and North America close Azorean transnational families generally extend far beyond just one generation, and encompass individuals who may have never known one another but remain bound by a culture of reciprocal assistance. Interestingly, such situations do not result

in problems among the family members; indeed such relations have been the basis of Azorean migration strategies for a century.

Even when deportees were equally close to those in transnational family networks as their parents, disputes would still arise. It was not the distance or proximity to family that caused disputes, *per se*, but rather the lack of desire on the part of the deportee, coupled with anger and frustration on the part of the family member, that a repatriated individual living in one's house did not act appropriately and according to expectation. For those in the house, the stigma of having a deportee relative can be overcome if the deportee actively strives to shed his status by adopting an attitude and temperament that is acceptable by Azorean standards. Continuing to act out according to the expectation of how a *repatriado* acts, however, becomes unacceptable to the family providing the accommodation. Most of the repatriated who are involved in disputes with family will usually end up back with the program.¹¹²

Not fitting in: recreation and socialization difficulties

Given the amount of wages earned by deportees and the fact that these wages provide them with only the barest minimum of necessities needed to survive, participating in the kind of recreation activities that might assist integration is almost impossible. Going out to nightclubs, to movies, to restaurants—the kinds of activities they did while living in North America—is an extreme luxury for those receiving only a CAR stipend. It is not just the activities themselves that cost money either, but also include the costs associated with getting ready to go out. One repatriated woman for example who wanted to go out for a night on the town with her friends wanted to put on make-up to feel good about herself at the nightclub where they were going, but did not have enough money to purchase the cosmetics. When in this predicament, she would often go to the cosmetics' counter at a local shop where she would apply her make-up from all of

¹¹²Others have lived at home only to end up in jail before going to the program. Even these individuals will accept CAR assistance however once they are in prison.

the testers at the store. Although her adaptation to limited financial resources may be seen as quite clever, by using the make-up without any intention of buying it, she only added to the negative impression of deportees when workers and other patrons saw her in the shop doing this.

Other financial considerations made certain recreation activities difficult for the deportees. The only beaches in the vicinity of Ponta Delgada require bus fare to get to. The pools and swimming areas in the city—even the public ones—require that patrons pay a fee to enter. The nicer nightclubs, restaurants and bars are expensive, and usually beyond the limited budgets of deportees. The result is that deportees are often limited to hanging out in run down bars in poor neighborhoods where their prospects of meeting others that might assist their “successful reintegration” is limited. Further, it also encourages them to spend much of their time with other deportees rather than those among the general population.

The social stigma of being in the deportee category attaches to the forced return migrants when they attempt to socialize. On countless occasions I was with deportees who—even with their limited resources—attempted to enter nightclubs and were ostracized as a result of their status, or were treated poorly in bars by servers there. Oftentimes they would be barred entry as doormen cited bogus reasons for their exclusion, claiming that the individual had been in before and run out without paying a bill, or had been in a fight (of course at times the negative attitude toward the deportees was not always based on a misimpression). Whether these impressions were false or the reality, however, the result was that deportees were discouraged from participating in the same types of recreation activities as those within the general population.

Developing friendships or romantic relationships with non-deportees can also be a problem given that the expectations governing interactions with women and men in North America differ greatly from the Azores. What constitutes a friendly conversation among the deportees, Azoreans can be perceived as drunk, loud and brash behavior. Chatting-up random women in bars is a technique that has worked for the deportees in North America, but meeting women in the Azores, even in the urban center of Ponta Delgada is often difficult without being

formally introduced by someone who is known to both individuals. Further, when deportees do try to chat-up women in what to them is a friendly way, the behavior can be perceived by Azoreans as aggressive and inappropriate. It is clear that the success in getting an Azorean girlfriend mentioned above is concomitant with already being integrated and learning the proper codes of comportment. A circular continuity exists such that a repatriated Azorean who is romantically involved with a non-deported Azorean will certainly be assisted in his or her integration, but it was clear that in order to start such a relationship, a forced return migrant would encounter great difficulty unless he was already well on his way to integration.

Poor physical, mental and emotional health of the repatriated

Another characteristic of the CAR project that staff cite as an important factor guiding the operation of various programs is what they see as the deteriorated condition of physical, mental and emotional health of the repatriated population. As pointed out in other sections, those with drug problems often encounter difficulties in holding jobs, will often commit crimes to buy drugs and return to prison, and have also been hospitalized and in not infrequent cases have died from overdoses. The isolation of living in the islands as a repatriado is enough to make those who had previously worked to control their drug addictions to go back to abusing.

In a moment of exasperation while discussing the problems of a small number of participants in the CAR program who had failed to even live alone without assistance in their apartments (given repeated relapses to heroin addictions) CAR's director once threw up his hands to state "social science, medical science, psychology can do nothing for these people. These are broken people, broken people who cannot be fixed. What are we supposed to do for them, how are they ever going to be able to live, live here [in the Azores], live there [in North America], live anywhere. We can do all the studies we want, we can try anything we want, but you cannot do anything for people who are broken by living...."

His statement, repeatedly echoed in its spirit by other CAR staff points to a fundamental difficulty inherent in the entire CAR program in its project of assisting all of the deportees, not only those with serious drug addictions. That is, that with only rare, rare exceptions not a single deportee with whom I ever spoke said he or she wanted to be deported to the Azores and wanted to leave the United States or Canada.¹¹³ The resentment that they have toward their situation, as a result, is often carried out against the Center, making the difficult job of assisting such individuals all the more difficult.

Inundated with the individual problems of what they know will only be an increasingly larger deported population, the lack of resources is less of a problem for those at the Center than is the fact that most of the deportees have little interest in participating in any program—no matter how useful—unless it is mandatory for them to do so or unless they will obtain what they see is some real, practical, tangible benefit from their participation.

Lost in translation: deportees and language

With only rudimentary Portuguese language skills, communication in the Azores presents major obstacles for the repatriados. Among those return migrant deportees who had left the islands at younger ages—living for most of their lives in North America—their Portuguese language skills are especially low and does not approach a level that allows for even basic interactions with Portuguese speakers. The specific manner in which they speak Portuguese—with the syntax and pronunciation common among Açor-Americans living in North America—also marks them as separate from the general Azorean population. Speech patterns of

¹¹³In one exception, a repatriated individual with an addiction to heroin said that deportation was the best thing that happened to him as he was able to get out of all of his old patterns and habits upon being forced to leave the United States and the neighborhood in which he lived. He still greatly desired, however to return to the US and when questioned he said he would never have felt the same positive way about his deportation now, if someone had asked him the same question upon his arrival in the islands. In another anomalous case, a deportee involved in a dispute with a drug dealer in North America (who feared for his life) willingly embraced his deportation as a way to escape from the situation. Were it not for his problems, however, he said that, whether it would have helped or not, he would have fought his deportation order.

the deportees often shape interactions with those in the general Azorean population making transition and integration through the Azoreanization process all the more difficult.

Assessing the practical language skills of the repatriated is a difficult undertaking as these two spheres of language use—and the subsequent problems each poses for the forced return migrants' integration—must be examined separately. Ability to understand, speak, read or write at a proficient level, although difficult to master for most of the newly arrived forced return migrants, presents a different set of problems than those confronted when the deportees speak Portuguese in a way that marks them as members of the deported category. Despite their usual complaints to the contrary, language acquisition to complete work tasks is usually achieved within the space of a few months after return, even among those deportees with virtually no speaking or writing skills prior to their return and even among those with mild to severe learning disabilities. In depth conversations and the ability to converse in Portuguese facilely, without being marked as a deportee or even as a voluntary return migrant, however, is another issue entirely. Most of the repatriated simply cannot attain a level of language proficiency that would allow them to be taken as a non-repatriated member of the Azorean population.

In a working paper written in the early stages of Azorean deportation that compiled data on various aspects of the repatriados social conditions both prior to and after their arrival in the islands, Rocha, Medeiros, et al. demonstrated the many practical difficulties confronted by the deported due to their abilities in four Portuguese language skill areas, (conversation, radio and television comprehension, reading, and filling out forms). More than 40 percent of the respondents had either much, or at least some difficulty in conducting conversations in Portuguese; almost 60% expressed much or some difficulty in comprehending Portuguese as it was spoken on the radio or television; more than 60% had much or some difficulty in reading Portuguese language newspapers and over 70% expressed much or some difficulty in doing the writing necessary to fill out forms and the like. Of those in this latter area, 50% of the respondents said that they had much difficulty (Rocha, Medeiros, et al: 1996).

That the repatriados have difficulty with their Portuguese language skills is not surprising given the young age that most had migrated to North America, the amount of time most spent away from the islands, and the fact that the vernacular language of virtually all of the repatriados in North America was English. Also making Portuguese language acquisition even more difficult for the forced return migrants is the low educational level of their parents. The Rocha, Medeiros et al. study points out that among respondents, about 60% of fathers and mothers obtained no more than a fourth grade education¹¹⁴ while almost 40% of the deportees' parents were entirely illiterate (ibid. p. 94-95, *quadros* 28; 32).

Although the majority of the repatriated interviewed in my research stated that within these four areas above, conversational skills were at the highest level, most interviewed also pointed out that their ability to comprehend language in conversations with others is vastly superior to their ability to speak it. Accounting for this in large part is the pattern of communication among parents and children in Azorean immigrant households that finds parents communicating with their children by speaking Portuguese (which children understand and is the language their parents are most comfortable speaking) while their children respond in English (with which they are most comfortable, and which their parents for the most part understand, even as it may not be their preferred language of communication).¹¹⁵

Another factor useful in assessing the Portuguese language abilities of the deportees is what can be a dramatic discrepancy between the self-evaluation of some repatriados of their own communication skills and how the general population of Azoreans perceive their linguistic abilities. In separate interviews with repatriados and other Azoreans who had been conversing together in the Portuguese language, a pattern emerged that found the repatriated speaker self-

¹¹⁴Until the end of the *Estado Novo* dictatorship in 1974, the state provided only up to a fourth grade education, after which, any additional schooling had to be paid for privately. Even despite the lack of state support for education at the secondary level and beyond, education beyond the fourth grade was, at the time that most of the deportees' parents left the islands, not a priority among the broad peasant agricultural class that composes most of the Azorean population.

¹¹⁵It is often children who teach English to their Portuguese speaking parents.

evaluating his language skills at a higher level than that given from the perspective of the Portuguese-speaking individuals with whom he conversed. It was not uncommon that a repatriado would say he had excellent conversational skills in Portuguese while the person with whom he spoke would grade his speaking skills as quite poor. Interestingly, a non-Azorean American or Canadian speaker of Portuguese, although having a limited vocabulary and only rudimentary abilities to speak grammatically correct Portuguese is almost universally evaluated by Azoreans as having excellent language abilities. The non-Azorean's Portuguese language abilities would be evaluated against his or her expected familiarity with the language. When deportee' language skills were evaluated by Azoreans however, the point of comparison would be to other native and fluent speakers of Portuguese in dialects specific to islands within the Azores who had never left. Conversely, deportees would often compare their own abilities, not to fluent Portuguese-speakers in the Azores, but rather with other deportees. This fact further points out once again the way that deportees are evaluated, not as cultural neophytes, but rather as individuals who, because of their connection to the islands, should be able, in this case, to speak Portuguese like any other Azorean native.

When language is a problem: from the deportees' perspective

Repatriados Portuguese language abilities tended to be far less of a problem on the job than it was in social situations, or when the repatriado was interacting with individuals who he did not know and who did not know him. Portuguese language skills are obviously necessary in every facet of a forced return migrants integration and life in the islands, from ordering food or drink in a café to completing necessary tasks required for work. Although problematic for some, ultimately language skills, as they are used as a tool enabling the repatriated to maneuver through the quotidian tasks of life, pose less difficulty in assisting the repatriated to accomplish simple tasks than they do in social situations.

Although there are some repatriated who come to the islands without any Portuguese language abilities in the areas of speaking, aural comprehension, reading or writing, such individuals form only a small minority. For these and other individuals with only minimal Portuguese language abilities, CAR staff members provide assistance in the initial stages after deportation, designed to help with filling out necessary forms to receive working papers, social security and identity cards, as well as medical and other forms necessary before social service assistance can be administered. CAR also provides some language instruction classes although these are only sporadically attended by most of the repatriated. More successful are the language instruction classes in the prison.

As previously mentioned, the prison in Ponta Delgada offers various levels of Portuguese language instruction, and part of the success of these programs may be related to the fact that it is not only repatriados in the classes but also other native speakers for whom Portuguese is their only language who are taking the classes to improve upon what they feel to be their own poor language skills. Some of the classes, however, at both CAR and the prison are quite remedial, a confirmation of the absolute paucity of Portuguese language abilities of the repatriados (as evident by the homework handout given to one deportee taking the class in prison above).

Most repatriados say that their language abilities, even when self-evaluated as negligible, pose fewer problems at the workplace, while shopping or asking someone a question and that they are generally able to use language to successfully accomplish the necessary task at hand. Even a newly arrived repatriado, who speaks little to no Portuguese, will, within a few months, begin to feel comfortable with the language, at least in his ability to communicate with co-workers and bosses in the function of their jobs.

Beyond the difficulty that language abilities present in accomplishing practical tasks, a forced return migrant's real and self-perceived language level can also result in their separation from the general Azorean population. Many repatriated have admitted that they feel self-conscious and half-witted going out in public when people start to talk to them in Portuguese and

they do not understand or can only struggle in response. I have seen deportees respond angrily, sometimes violently, when they go out to bars for example and misunderstand what they are being told by doormen or other patrons. Their reactions either indicate that they little understood what they were being told, or feel that they are being treated unfairly merely by virtue of the perception of them as “Repatriados”.

It should be noted that others in the Azores also struggle to communicate with the Micaelense population, either because their Portuguese language skills are not advanced or because of the particularities of the islanders’ accent especially in certain poor rural villages, including tourists, voluntary return migrants, and native Portuguese speakers from other islands, from Continental Portugal, Brazil, Cape Verde and other Portuguese-speaking nations like Angola that have contact with the Azores. Yet, the lack of language ability was experienced by the repatriated in a manner unique to those in these other categories. Their difficulty with the language, coupled with the negative social stigma associated with being repatriated caused problems that were not faced by foreigners and others who also lacked an understanding of local cultural codes or simple social conventions.

Indicative of this kind of situation is the following incident that occurred between a group of Azorean deportees and a café owner. Although the specific details of this episode took place at an outdoor street café in Lisbon, I both witnessed and was told of similar situations taking place in the Azores. This particular example, however is included for the clarity with which it illustrates the case in point. While sitting at a table on the outside street patio down in the Rossio section of Lisbon—a part of the city that on any sunny afternoon will be filled with international tourists and well-dressed *Lisboetas* taking coffees and drinks until evening—I witnessed a group of three deportees¹¹⁶ enter the inside of the bar. The three emerged after a few minutes with beers in their

¹¹⁶I was later to confirm an earlier suspicion that were forced return migrants in a conversation I had with them. Two in the group had been deported from the US a few weeks earlier after having migrated to California from the central group of Azorean islands as children. Upon deportation they had remained in Lisbon rather than returning to the archipelago, even though one of them made an allusion to the fact that

hands and proceeded to sit down at one of the tables in front, coincidentally right next mine. Within seconds of their appearance a barman came out rapidly shouting at them in Portuguese that, because they had bought their drinks at the bar inside, were not allowed to bring their drinks outside, and that they would have to either drink the beers inside, or order them from the waiter outside and pay the extra amount of money that table service drinks cost.

It appeared to be a perfectly honest mistake on the part of the three repatriated, a mistake that I had made myself on an earlier trip to Lisbon at another cafe, although when I did it, apparently my sport jacket appearance and better command of Portuguese than the three repatriados had my barman merely pointing out the sign and apologetically explaining the rules to me. The three deported Azoreans had far less luck with their waiter, and responded to his agitated shouting by throwing around chairs, slamming the door of the bar loudly open and running angrily back into the bar to yell at the barman before understanding the waiter's complaint and indignantly paying the extra amount required to sit with their drinks outside. Talking with them later, they told me that they simply did not know they were supposed to pay for the drinks outside, saying that they didn't see the sign posting this requirement, and leave it to this "backward country" to have such a "stupid" rule.

Likewise, I have seen some Azoreans misunderstand the motivations of some deportees, who simply do not have the practical language ability, or a familiarity with non-verbal communication codes to indicate their motivation, their stature, and their intentions in various social situations. At a disco in Ponta Delgada I was with Ric, who was mistaken for another deportee who earlier that week had been in a fight and had been barred entry to the night club after having been forcibly removed. Ric was trying to gain entry by explaining with his limited language skills that he was not the person they thought he was. Listening to the conversation Ric

he knew about the center. Each said that they had little interest in going back to the islands. As one of them said "I got nothing there, no family, why would I want to leave this place [Lisbon]." In response to a question each answered that they were not yet working but rather "enjoying ourselves right now." As the period of my field research in the islands ended shortly after our conversation, I don't know if they ever found their way to the Azores.

spoke in a frustrated tone, blurting out simple phrases with a limited vocabulary and a heavy Açor-Canadian accent. The doorman just kept shaking his head and made the comment that it was a *deportado* that was in the fight, and he knew that it was him and that there was no way he was getting back inside. Ric asked me to plead his case and I had better success finessing the situation, urging the doorman that I was certain that Ric was not the person that had been thrown out earlier that week, and that it was unjust of the doorman to say that Ric had to be the one because he was a *repatriado*. After both of us carried on for a several minutes about the injustice and lack of fairness of the doorman, he let finally capitulated and let us in. At no point did I get angry with the doorman; rather, using non-verbal codes and cues was able to talk the doorman into letting Ric inside. Whether he ultimately believed that Ric was not the same person that he let in earlier or not is inconsequential. The point is that my better command of Portuguese than Ric, and a better familiarity with non-verbal codes of Micaelense communication, and including the way I was dressed, allowed me to succeed where Ric had not been able. Such practical problems related to accomplishing more complex tasks than simply asking a co-worker for a hammer, were commonplace among the criminal forced return migrant population.

The deportees' inability to understand Portuguese presents them with difficulties in everything from ordering at a restaurant to understanding instructions for filling out documentation. Such problems not only greatly inconvenience the repatriated but also cause them to encounter difficulty integrating with the homeland population. Other areas in which the deportees struggle with their lack of ability to speak Portuguese however can present far graver problems. When going to the hospital for treatment of various illnesses a member of the Center's staff will almost always accompany a deportee. Miscommunication between a doctor and patient who do not speak the same language or do so only with great difficulty places the non-Portuguese speaking deportee population at risk for mistreatment of medical protocols, as unintended as it may be. CAR staff will interpret the doctor's medical advice for deportee patients and when drug subscriptions are part of the treatment, will either administer the drugs themselves or assist the

deportee patients in obtaining them from a pharmacy. Without the intervention of CAR staff in this process, acting as both interpreter and providing guidance, serious medical problems stemming from miscommunication would be the result.

Another area in which repatriated Azoreans' difficulty with the Portuguese language can and did cause serious harm was among those deportees who come into contact with the law, from their first interaction with the police to conversations with their defense attorneys to their ability to understand questions levied against them by Judges and Prosecutors during trials as well as the procedures and rules of law in the cases brought against them.

Observing a number of trials, arraignments, and hearings involving deportees in the Tribunal of Ponta Delgada, it is apparent that the court system is little prepared to deal with individuals who are not entirely equipped to speak Portuguese in their own defense. Although interpreters are generally provided for the deportees they are not present at all stages of the court cases. Often times interpreters are Açor-Americans who have spent time either in Canada or the United States and are not only fluent in English but have some familiarity with the North American cultural milieu in which the deportees were living.

In one trial I witnessed, the interpreter was a woman who spoke English quite well, (she was an English language student at the University of the Azores), but was either not equipped to provide a running narrative of the court's proceeding to the defendants or was not asked to do so. Nervous as anyone would be in front of a judge with the power to sentence one to prison for several years, the defendant struggled to form answers or to completely understand some of the complex legalistic subtleties of the quickly spoken Portuguese-language questions themselves. His lawyer was seated on the other side of the courtroom and when he would ask the judge's permission to hear a translation of a particular witness' testimony the translator would merely distill five minutes of question and answer testimony into a single sentence. During the trials, a lack of familiarity with cultural features of the deportees' lives in North America was also manifest. At one point the judge asked another defendant about her educational background and

she explained that she had a GED, only to have the translator have no idea what a GED was, and then when it was explained to her by the defendant, did not accurately describe to the judge what it was.

There is no requirement for any accreditation that a court translator must have to work in a court in Ponta Delgada. Overall, the various translations I heard over a number of deportee trials were accurate in as much as the translator adequately summarized a judge's question or a defendant's response. When what a person says and how he understands the questions he is answering however can mean the difference between 8 years in prison and freedom, (as was the case in one trial) there was still no verbatim and immediate translation of the entire proceedings between the court and the accused. A fact that several forced return migrants said was a point of concern.

Further, when defendants struggled to speak Portuguese—depending upon who was presiding over the trial—certain judges had little patience with struggling to understand the repatriated. Interruptions of deportee testimony, and exhortations for the forced return migrant defendants to speak up or exclamations of exasperation such as “I just don’t understand you” were commonplace, especially with one particular judge. When Azorean prosecution witnesses spoke in a soft voice, as was the case with one well-dressed man in suit and tie, the judge’s tone was markedly different as she apologized, asking the *Senhor* if he could please speak a little louder. In non-deportee cases I also witnessed, of course language was not a problem, but even when Azorean defendants (or witnesses) mumbled, the same Judge that I witnessed excoriate the deportees was demure in her treatment of the Azorean defendants.

Perceptions of the Azorean Population: defining the deportee category through language use

Communication with those speaking in the accents particular to Açor-North Americans would often lead Azoreans to the conclusion that the speakers were repatriados even in cases where the individuals were other Azorean voluntary return migrants who were either vacationing

in the islands or residing there permanently after a long absence. Observations during fieldwork and formal interviews reveal that certain Portuguese language styles associated with the repatriated caused them to be treated as members of a marginalized category rather than as individuals, at least when they spoke to people who they did not know or often when they were overheard by others speaking among themselves.

These instances were even more prevalent when the overheard conversations were being conducted in English. Azoreans would often tell me that they saw or spoke with a group of “your friends”, offering as evidence the fact that “they had to be repatriados because they were speaking in English.” When pressed, further evidence was presented such as how the individuals were dressed, or how loudly they were talking. Further questions on my part would often result in serious doubts as to whether the individuals were indeed deportees, or rather Azorean-Americans in the islands on vacation—despite my friend’s usual protests of their continued certainty that the group was a group of deportados. On one occasion, a close friend of mine told me that she had walked by a group of repatriated at a cafe on the Avenida drinking heavily and making lots of noise, causing problems for everyone. Clarifying the day and time of her encounter, I realized that I actually had been at the cafe with the group when she walked by, and was talking with the group that she had seen. I told her that the group was not composed of forced return migrants, but rather was a top-caliber soccer team from Rhode Island—composed of Azorean immigrants and Azorean-Americans—who had come to São Miguel for a few weeks over the summer to barnstorm against local soccer clubs in friendly matches.

From my perspective, it was clear that they were not any more or any less inebriated or loud (although there were a large number of them present) than any other group of working-class Azorean residents at an outdoor cafe together enjoying a warm summer evening. The only real difference between similar groups of Azorean islanders and the group from Rhode Island was that the soccer players were all predominantly speaking in English. It did not occur to my friend that the group she saw might be Azoreans and Azorean-Americans from North America visiting the

islands. Indeed, despite my insistence that I was at the bar and with them the night that she saw them, and my demonstrations through recounting facts about them that proved we were talking about the same group, she refused to believe that they were not a group of repatriados.

Her certainty that they were deportees was, according to her, due in large part to a rash of robberies that evening that occurred in the vicinity in which a number of cars (including one owned by one of her co-workers) had been broken into on the night she saw the group of Açor-American soccer players. She was convinced that the group of “deportados” at the café with me were responsible for the break-ins. Whether or not the break-ins were indeed perpetrated by repatriated Azoreans or not, her response—that the crime in the area made sense given that a group of “deportados” was nearby (and they were presumed to be the group given the language they spoke). Of course it is not only spoken language that marks off the deported population from the general Azorean population, but also certain forms of non-verbal communication and self-presentation. Recall the Proyecto Horizon description of a deportee based on how they are perceived to dress and act, wearing, as the documentation stated, ball caps, bandanas, and arrayed with tattoos.

These kinds of markers—verbal, non-verbal and performative—were indicative of general Azorean perceptions of how *Repatriados* differed from *other Azoreans*. Language and accent, styles of clothing, how an individual walked down the street, how he speaks with friends, how he interacts with others in public spaces, having tattoos, the places he chooses to stop and loiter were all areas that Azoreans said the repatriated were distinct from others in the islands, areas that defined the deportees as a group.

Repatriados wear shorts, baggy pants, baseball hats, hooded sweatshirts pulled up over their heads, unlaced basketball shoes, say Azoreans when asked in interviews about how one spots a deported North American as separate from the general island population. Even clothing that Azoreans wear, when worn by a deportee will be worn differently, in a looser style, some interviewees said. Other markers mentioned include how the deportees carry themselves in public

spaces. Repatriados talk and argue at high volumes, letting their voices carry throughout an entire bar or café, whether the space is empty or full of other patrons. They walk down the street with arms out at their sides, in a posture that means they are ready to fight anyone who crosses them. Their arms and legs are filled with tattoos and they give anyone who walks by a menacing angry scowl on their faces, making people afraid of them as they move along the street. They are publicly drunk and are prone to getting into fights with one other or with Azoreans for no reason at all. They don't know how to act, and do not treat others with respect.

Simultaneous to these descriptions is the further statement that all of these failings of personal comportment that make the repatriados members of a distinct category are not entirely the fault of the repatriated individuals themselves, but are perceived to be the result of broader processes of Azorean migration to North America. They act as they do those interviewed said, because they learned this kind of behavior in North America. Had they never left these islands they would never have acted in such a manner.

The use of language by the deportees is yet another feature that falls into this category. The problems that repatriated have in speaking Portuguese and the way that they speak it is further evidence to point out that they are creations of North America and not the Azores.

English as a positive adaptation

The repatriated generally use English as vernacular when talking with one another. Even those repatriated for whom Portuguese is the language of expression with which they said they were more comfortable, English was usually used when speaking with fellow deportees. Others use English to what they see as a positive advantage, saying that sometimes speak English in public as a way to intimidate resident Azoreans in certain situations, tapping into the fear, say these deportees, that the Azoreans have of them.

In bars frequented by deportees and other Azoreans, it is commonplace to hear comments in English being shouted across the bar among repatriated. Where some deportees might be timid

to do so in other public spaces, such exchanges in English took place freely in bars claimed by the repatriated as their own—reinforcing the space as a place where deportees should feel comfortable and welcome, where they expressed themselves as they desired. Although any number of bars in Ponta Delgada were frequented with regularity by various repatriados, certain bars were unofficially known as “repatriado bars” not so much by virtue of the number of deported Azoreans that frequented them, but rather as a result of the manner in which the deportees exerted their presence over these bars’ other patrons, accomplished in large part by speaking English, without worrying about who was hearing them.

The way that English was used in bars to both claim and reinforce deportee ownership of public space was also characteristic of how English was used outside on the streets when deportees were in groups. The use of language in private spaces—inside of CAR, among deportee cliques in the prison, at bars and cafés and bars claimed by the deportees—when moved to more public spheres, however, would often have quite different results in reaction to it among the general Azorean population. Rather than reinforcing ownership of the space, the use of English in public areas is one of the more prominent markers separating the repatriated as marginal outsiders among the homeland population. Gatherings of deportees on street corners who were talking loudly in English would bring stares from passersby and police. When deported patrons spoke English loudly in bars they would often be vigilantly monitored by wait-staff and bartenders, with the expectation that violence was soon around the corner. Where English would assist the repatriated in reinforcing their claim over space in a deportee bar, the use of English in other public would often provoke antagonism from the general population. Even when no overt hostility was directed at the repatriados, speaking English was often pointed as one of the (undesirable) characteristics of deportee behavior.

The level to which use of the English language is associated with criminal forced return migrants is made clear in the following example. In Ponta Delgada, police and other law enforcement officials spoke of the tactics of some non-repatriated Azoreans who committed

burglaries and robberies. Some of the thieves, working in tandem or in small groups, used English to communicate with one another while they were in the act of committing robberies. According to the law enforcement officials, they did this to shunt suspicion away from themselves and onto the deportees. Given the inclination of Azoreans to find deportees culpable of criminal activity, speaking English would give eyewitnesses a reason to identify those whom they saw or heard committing the crimes as deportees. At one criminal trial I was at, a witness said that he knew the perpetrators were deportees (one factor leading to the defendants arrest by police) because he had overheard them “speaking English” during their getaway. For the defendant and many other Azoreans, *res ipsa loquitur*, speaking English and being associated with a crime automatically places one in the repatriado category.

Certainly, there were other factors besides the use of English that caused deportees to be marked as a separate category from Azorean—including clothing, mannerisms, the loud volume at which they spoke; and the fact that the deportees were far more likely to be recognized when publicly drunk, as some examples. Nonetheless, speaking English in public served as a prominent presumed marker of deportee identity, one used to define the boundary—however malleable—of the deportees’ status—both by the general Azorean population as well as the deportees themselves.

In some cases English language skills are used to positive advantage in securing jobs, as with two repatriados who started a company offering guided tours of São Miguel to English speaking tourists from North America and Europe. English language skills were also helpful to certain deportees who worked at the Center, whose ability to speak English allowed them to have jobs in support of the Center’s programs. Such cases, however, in which English language skills would be seen as a positive adaptation were rather limited.

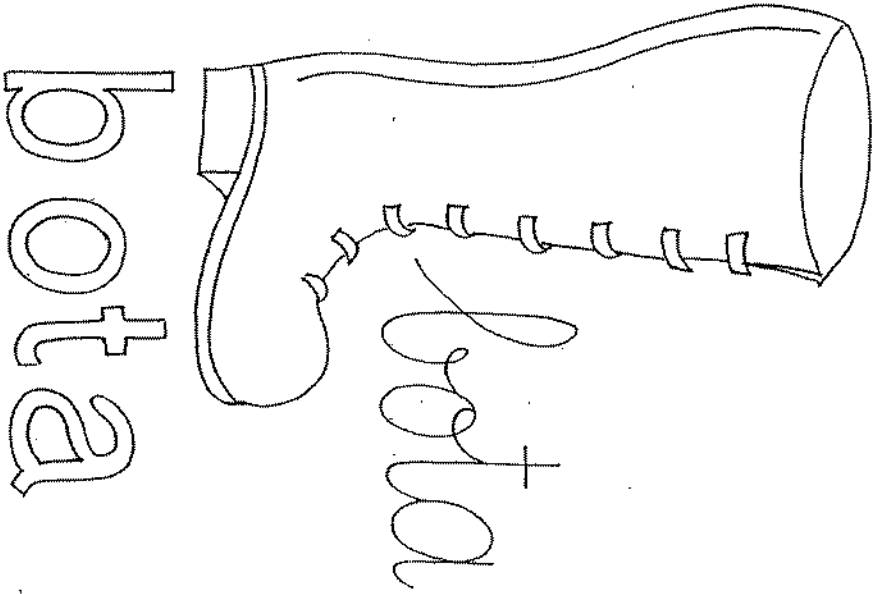
Language Instruction

Understanding that poor Portuguese language skills were a factor contributing to difficulties in deportee social integration, the Center instituted programs to improve upon or teach basic Portuguese language skills. The language program at the Center, however, met with little success. Most of the problem was on the part of the deportees themselves, who, in the context of the Center's language program, demonstrated little interest in participating in structured and scheduled language classes. Rather, most of the Portuguese learned by the forced return migrants came about as a result of living and attempting to speak with others on the islands. Although Car Staff had a policy of attempting to talk Portuguese with the deportees with whom they interacted on a daily basis, the logistics of providing necessary information in a way that would not be misconstrued moreover necessitated that they speak with them in English.

Absent formal language instruction, the deported population acquired Portuguese language skills at work, among friends who did not speak any English, and in conversations with other deportees, who, although predominately expressing themselves in English with other deported would still speak some Portuguese either in groups of repatriated or in the presence of other deportees while conversing with the Center's staff or with other Azoreans in the course of daily interaction.

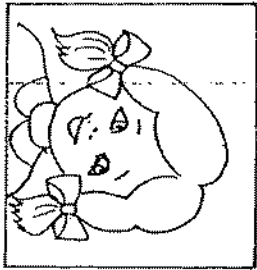
Official language instruction at the Center would begin at the most rudimentary level, and follow a program of instruction not unlike that offered to a beginning elementary school student (for example see plate 4 on following page for a homework assignment given to a repatriated Portuguese language student). As previously stated, language classes were poorly attended by the deportees who did not take well to the structured format and schedule. But even when classes were attended with some regularity, other problems existed. According to one language instructor at CAR, the biggest obstacle after poor attendance of her classes was the lack of education among the deportees who worked hard at learning the Portuguese language. The problem, she said, in their difficulty in acquiring Portuguese as a second language, was that most of her students had

Plate 4. Forced return migrant language class assignment.

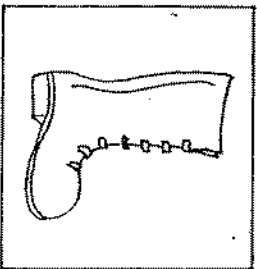


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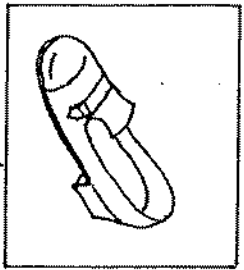
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only a basic ability to speak English in the first place. She said that she spent much of her time teaching them rudimentary lessons in English, necessary, as she saw it, before they could undertake to learn a new language.

The other primary set of formal language instruction classes took place at the Ponta Delgada prison. According to the prison warden these classes were attended regularly and deported inmates had a high level of participation in the classes. A number of factors contributed to the higher success both in terms of participation and in terms of actually teaching Portuguese to the deportees in the prison program. Repatriated inmates said that they enjoyed attending the classes as a way to break-up the tedium of prison life. One offered half joking that the instructor, a female, was attractive and that was another reason that they went. But all participating in the language instruction program among the repatriated inmates said that they were genuinely interested in learning Portuguese but they never really felt they had the opportunity, or the desire to do so when they were not in prison. The fact that they had a high level of social interaction, day in and out, with the prisons' other non-repatriated inmates, who only spoke Portuguese, was also a factor both encouraging them to learn the language and subsequently to attend the classes. Friendships that developed in confinement with such individuals who only spoke Portuguese; as well as their daily interactions with prison guards provided the deportees with numerous opportunities to practice the language in practical circumstances. Another factor mentioned by one deportee inmate regarding attendance in the Prison language classes was that native Portuguese-language speakers also attended the classes. Hearing his classmates who were life-long residents of the Azores struggle to speak Portuguese—many of whom were even illiterate—made him feel less foolish about how poorly he himself spoke the language.

Language as a barrier to integration

Language and how it is spoken is a prominent feature in the marginal social categorization of the deportees. Speaking either English or Portuguese with the particular accents

of Açor-North Americans marks the deported population as a separate group from those living in the islands.

From the point of view of the deportees, a lack of language skills presented prominent problems as they worked to integrate into island life through social interactions both at work and in recreation activities. On a purely practical level, their inability to speak Portuguese can make it difficult for them to accomplish rudimentary daily tasks necessary to live in the islands. Not speaking Portuguese, or only speaking it poorly put them at a disadvantage as they attempted to find work, and create relationships with the islands' life-long residents. Even upon dominating the syntax of the language however the difficulty does not disappear. Not only poor language skills, but their North American-Portuguese accents are also used to place them into a marginal social category, one that presents them with other obstacles to their social integration.

It is clear that the forced return migrants will be treated as a separate social category from those in the general Azorean population as a result of the way that they speak Portuguese. This aspect of social exclusion, however not only occurs on the part of Azoreans who use Portuguese accents to socially marginalize those in the repatriado category, but forced return migrants themselves use language to exclude themselves from the general Azorean population, by way of creating power for themselves in particular situations.

As the repatriated category is both imposed upon and reinforced by those within it, language use presents obstacles in the Azoreanization process by hampering one's ability to move out of the deportee category. In addition to a host of other features, to be Azorean is to speak Portuguese in one of the accents of the Azores. Failure (or struggles) to do so, in the case of the deportees, makes the task of transcending their marginalized status all the more difficult.

Violence and crime

One frequent response by many of the repatriated to their feelings of isolation, anger and frustration at their deportation is violence directed at people and property in the islands. Although

most of the deportees do not conduct themselves in this manner, a great many do, with often-tragic results. Repatriado/Azorean relations are colored by the idea that violent behavior is regarded as typical of the deportees—ultimately acting as a hindrance to social integration.

One factor leading to an increase in violence among the deportees is that the general Azorean population at large holds different attitudes and norms of comportment than are held by the forced return migrants. Many Azoreans commonly hold the stereotype of deportees as violent angry men, as sociopaths who are always spoiling for a fight. But these attitudes are often misinterpretations of what is logical and understandable behavior of many in the deportee group of what is considered by them to be proper comportment.

At one large festa on the island of Terceira, this was clear. The festival grounds, filled with thousands of dancing, eating, talking and drinking festa-goers turned violent as the result of the particular perspective of a group of forced return migrants that differed from others present. I was having drinks with a couple of deportees at one of the dozens of outdoor *tasca*s (makeshift restaurants built with wood, plastic and thatch, with open sides, filled with about 50 or so picnic tables, a kitchen and usually two bar areas) that circle the festival grounds, when nearby, what appeared to be a boyfriend and girlfriend were involved in an angry shouting fight. The two were yelling at one another, and at one point the man struck the woman, at which point she ran away. Still shouting at one another, the woman ducked behind the large square bar at which we were standing and her boyfriend put chase to her, eventually jumping over the bar, catching up to the woman and violently dragging her with him back out into the grounds. During the chase and fight, the tasca went nearly quiet, with the patrons inside and out watching the two fighting. Of those most intent on watching were a group of four repatriados with whom I was standing.

Ironically, about a day earlier I had a conversation with one of the deportees with whom I was speaking (Utíneo) who said, in reference to no one in particular, that he would personally physically attack any man who ever laid his hands in violence on a woman. So I expected what was about to come. At the point the man caught up to his girlfriend and started to drag her off,

four of the deportees charged him, grabbed him, and kicked and punched him to the ground where they continued to beat the man until he was nearly unconscious. If his girlfriend had not jumped on top of him, in an attempt to shield him from the assault, those kicking him did not appear that they were about to stop at all.

The woman helped her boyfriend up, and the two ran off together. Catching up again to the deportee with whom I was speaking before he charged the man, Ufímeo looked over to me and said “hey man, I told you I hated to see that. Anyone hits a woman is going to get killed.”

Though one may feel some sympathy for his perspective, one also suspects that the deportees were perhaps looking for what they felt was an acceptable reason to fight back against the islanders by creating what they saw as a justified rationale for the attack. From the perspective of the Azoreans though, although they condemned the man’s action, they would not directly intervene, unless they felt that the woman was in serious danger—the feeling being that the issue is between the couple, and intervention would be inappropriate. Once an attack has been made, the islanders can be relentless in vigilante assaults, as with a riot and assault on a courthouse during the arraignment of a man accused of rape and murdering a small child. But in a situation of a couple in an argument, the presumption is that this is between the couple. Clearly the repatriados did not perceive events in the same manner. After it was over, they spoke about their actions, saying how they had done a good thing, how they had helped justice to be done. Islanders, however, saw their actions and were given another reason to hate and fear repatriados.

Disparate sense of appropriate behavior

Ideas for appropriate behavior in bars, cafés, nightclubs and while inebriated also diverge among the deportees and the general Azorean population. In public venues such as those listed above, it would not be uncommon for a minority group of repatriated Azoreans to become angry and violent while intoxicated with alcohol or under the influence of other addictive drugs, either fighting among themselves or looking for fights with others. In some cases, a round of excessive

drinking would get out of hand, with the repatriados loudly shouting and laughing with one another.

This type of comportment in a public space, even when not accompanied with violence, is perceived by the general Azorean population to be grossly inappropriate. When such a situation occurs—caused by a group of deportees or not—surrounding patrons will either move to tables away from those conducting themselves in such a manner, leave the bar or café entirely, or on rarer occasions confront the table, asking them to quiet down, or directly challenging someone at the table to a fight in the event that some norm of appropriate behavior has been dramatically trespassed like a table overturning, or a beer inadvertently (or purposefully) poured on the angry person or someone else at his table. A manager of a café or club might ask the deportee to leave if complaints are lodged, or if he himself deems the individual to be acting inappropriately. When fights do occur, however, it is usually the repatriated that have the upper hand.

In most cases, the forced return migrants will feel that they were not doing anything wrong to merit a reproach or expulsion from a public space. “I don’t understand these people” was one comment he heard (that acts as a refrain), “we were just having a good time. These people don’t know how to have fun.” As interviews with repatriated who had been involved in physical and verbal altercations with the general Azorean population reveal, their perception of the events was consistently related quite differently from the Azoreans with whom they had the dispute. To hear the deportees “we were just out having a few drinks, minding our own business, having fun, when they told us we had to leave” or alternatively “when some *Açoriano* attacked us”. When it would be brought to their attention that perhaps they were acting in a way that might have caused the altercation, responses were usually along the lines of what one individual said, “hell yeah, we were a little rowdy, a little drunk, but what else are you supposed to do [in a bar]?”

In fact, he had a point, because when non-repatriated in the city behave in the same drunken rowdy manner, the result is no different, with fights sometimes the result. The rules of fighting however among deportees and the general Azorean population can differ greatly. Fights

among most Azoreans, especially if those fighting know one another personally—which most everyone does if they are in a bar that they both often frequent—will not be conducted with the same angry abandon as when many Azorean non-deportees fight.

In one example I witnessed at a bar on the Avenida in Ponta Delgada, an altercation broke out between a waiter and a deportee, that clearly was a continuation of an earlier dispute. The two argued for about five minutes before the deportee angrily stormed out of the bar. He returned about 15 minutes later brandishing a baseball bat which he swung wildly attempting to hit the waiter, who scrambled around the café for a few minutes avoiding the bat before running out into and down the street. Although this was certainly dramatic even by the standards of the North American communities from which the deportees have come, such an escalation there would not be entirely uncommon. In the Azores, however, the action was extraordinary to say the least. Azoreans obviously get into fights, but usually the two individuals will know one another; and there is not a main mentality: a fight will usually stop when others intervene before it escalates to a dangerous level. The impression that fights like the one described above create among the Azorean population however, is that all deportees are not only capable of this kind of behavior but also regularly act this way.

Although it is true that many of the deportees are prone to violent behavior (indeed, many of them have served prison time for convictions on armed robberies, assault, rape and in the rare case murder) clearly it is only a small minority that act in this way. Inserted into what amounts to most of them as a foreign cultural environment, one in which they are openly discriminated against, and in which they have few social support connections, it is certain that the conditions of repatriation—to be flip—have not exactly been beneficial in helping them to maintain their tempers. Distinctions however, should be made between impressions of aggressiveness and actual aggressive behavior. Although it is certain that many of the deported will act with aggression and anger, leading in some cases to physical battery, it is equally certain that the impression among the general population of the deportees aggression is far greater than the reality suggests. Often

what was perceived as angry or aggressive behavior by the Azoreans was not understood in the same way by the repatriated.

Participation in the program is taken as a marker for those who have had previous problems with domestic violence. As a percentage of each group, CAR documentation is correct to state that domestic violence occurs at a higher rate among the repatriated than it does among the general population. Of course CAR does not suggest that domestic violence is only a problem of the deportees and recognizes that it is also a problem confronted by the general Azorean population. Interestingly, however, there are no social service programs—outside of incarceration in extreme cases—designed to assist these individuals with their propensity to perpetrate domestic abuse. Part of the problem is age-old, as domestic abuse goes unreported, even when neighbors, and other family members are aware that the violence occurs even as it occurs with regularity.

Regarding domestic violence however there are a few interesting points to be made that speak directly not only to the general Azorean population's perception of the deportees but also to how the CAR program attempts to address that perception. Although domestic abuse goes under-reported throughout the islands, ethnography and interviews with police suggest that cases of domestic abuse perpetrated by repatriados tend to be reported at a higher rate than the general Azorean population. A number of factors contribute to this.

Among the deportees, most of the cases of domestic violence of which I was aware occurred within a relationship of unmarried couples, violence against a woman by her boyfriend, rather than a husband committing such acts against his wife. There is far less outside tolerance given to acts of violence of boyfriends against girlfriends than when it is a husband against a wife. In certain cases certain family members have been unhappy that a sister or daughter is romantically involved with a repatriado, and have put more pressure on a woman to go to the police than they would have if her boyfriend was a close friend of the family, or someone from one's village that had been known to her since birth. Ultimately, it is a deportee's lack of an

integrated social contact network that makes it more likely for him to be reported when committing an act of violence against another person. If his girlfriend's brother had been his best friend for life the matter would be handled between the two friends, without the intervention of the police. But as the deportees are treated as outsiders, there is a greater tendency to interact with them less as individuals and more as an undesirable class.

In the context of the CAR domestic violence program, in addition to assisting those deported individuals in the program to better cope with anger within the space of romantic relationships, it also trains the forced return migrants to act less violently in public. By training them to be less publicly aggressive, the program also works to encourage them toward behavior that is considered more appropriate for Azorean citizens.

Despite the lack of basis in fact, the existence of broad and random violent acts on São Miguel, particularly in Ponta Delgada and other semi-urban municipalities in the islands is seen predominantly as part and parcel of the deportation problem. Everyday acts of violence, violence on public streets and café's, domestic violence and the like, are—even as CAR understands the problem—more likely to be perpetrated by deportees than by those in the general Azorean population. By attempting to address this part of the “deportation problem” CAR is of course attempting to assist these individuals in treating problems with anger, and helping them to live less violent lives, but this cannot be separated from another objective, the objective that assists the repatriated to stop acting like repatriated and act more like Azoreans. Both anger management and domestic violence programs operate within a framework that casts the way repatriados act as unacceptable when placed against the organizers' hopes for their comportment, such that the deportees may learn to behave in a way similar to Azoreans, and that Azoreans find acceptable.

Police and the Repatriados

The introduction of a sizeable, visible, and (at least in how they are perceived) violent repatriated community in Ponta Delgada has altered policing practices toward the civilian

population in the city, specifically in how police deal with individuals they presume to be deportees. Historically, the police force in the islands has operated with an authority that mirrors other institutional officers of state and official power in the archipelago. Under the Salazar and subsequent Caetano dictatorships, the power complex including state officials in conjunction with many local priests exacted from the general population an allegiance to positions of authority—through coercion and acquiescence. Various manifestations against this authority by those outside of state power took place with some frequency throughout the 20th century—through both surreptitious means as well as outright rebellion. But even in the post-Revolution Azores, the population has maintained its pre-Revolution reverence for authority figures. The local police, as well as the guards working in the island's main prison, have been afforded this kind of authority traditionally operating under the expectation that they can wield their authority without question, and without protest from the population to be guarded or policed. The repatriados however have done much to alter this expectation and subsequently, the police and the prison systems have taken different approaches in the execution of their mission.

On several occasions I found myself on street corners, on sidewalks, on benches talking with repatriados while under surveillance from beat-walking policemen. The police in these situations would usually loiter on the next block, or down the street from us, but it was clear that they were there because forced return migrants were there, as they would dissipate as soon as we began to walk away. My initial assumption upon first observing the frequency with which police would loiter around the repatriated, was that they were unjustly profiling the population, but this initial assumption would prove to be a part of a far more complicated dynamic.

Indeed, the police were concerned with a general surveillance of the deportees, but according to some policemen with whom I spoke this was part of a deterrence strategy, rather than by way of intimidation. Intimidation was certainly characteristic of the relationship between the deportees and the police, but it was more often the police who were intimidated by the deportees, rather than vice-versa. In direct confrontation with the police, during arrests, during

questioning, the general population will accede to the authority of the police with little question and usually without violence. But various police arrests of some among the deportee population have ended in violent fights, with the police in the beginning unprepared to deal with the aggressive nature of this population—who were schooled in how to interact with police on far meaner streets than are found on São Miguel.

Faced with arrest by Azorean police, some repatriados fight back, most knowing fully well that the police may be afraid of them. My initial assumption of the frequent surveillance of the beat patrolmen of the repatriated coupled with comments by the deportees themselves led me to believe that the police were actively involved in harassing them. Stories of intimidation directed at deportees from a particular Azorean police detective were common. Indeed I witnessed one police detective verbally attack a deportee who was doing nothing but talking with friends on the street, telling him that he knew what he was up to and that he had better watch it or the detective would be coming after him, etc. The deportee responded with humor, yelling back at the detective and pointing to his own body, “You see any tail and horns? I’m no devil.” But such instances of Police harassment of the deportees would seem to be the exception rather than the rule.

In the balance of power on the street among police officers and the deportees, it is clear that the deportees have the advantage. The police are reluctant to respond too ardently when fights break out involving deportees, are reluctant to make arrests of deportees for brash or violent behavior. Certainly part of this police response to the repatriados is understanding and even compassion at what many police themselves consider to be an unjust plight and a horrible situation foisted upon the deportees. Especially sensitive to this position is the Commissioner of the Police who is adamant in his public position and interviews that the deportees are not entirely responsible for the increase in crime in the islands and are in an extraordinary position regarding their cultural unfamiliarity with the situation into which they have been thrust. Nonetheless, violent challenges to police authority through confrontations with repatriados breaking the law

and trespassing convention have made police wary of intervening too assiduously when direct confrontations arise. The police, unaccustomed to such direct challenges to their authority, challenges that often imply physical threat, often turn a blind eye to minor wrongdoing by the deportee population.

From the point of view of the forced return migrants, the police unfairly target them for every perceived wrong to be perpetrated on the island. They feel that they are the presumed first suspects of any crime committed. Despite the understanding expressed by the Police Commissioner—echoed by the Prison Warden—that the deportee population is not responsible for the increase in crime in the islands, it is difficult to not see the logic in the deportees claim that everyone really believes that they are responsible. Although the police may seek to avoid confrontations with the deportees, when a crime is committed many among the forced return migrants are considered in the group of usual suspects. Assumptions on the part of the local population to the responsibility and culpability of the repatriated in these crimes contribute to this process.

When an individual repatriado is seen in the vicinity of where a crime was reported to have taken place he or she is usually targeted for questioning. Despite the protestations of the police commissioner, being repatriated immediately increases the likelihood of one's being profiled as a criminal suspect. This fact is made clear by the number of non-migrant resident Azoreans who have increasingly begun to speak English and dress "like an American" when committing robberies and burglaries by way of shunting suspicion onto the deportees. If the deportees were not likely to be considered the most likely suspect of a crime, it would be far less likely that this would occur. Another factor in the unjust targeting of deportees for crimes lies in the deportees not conforming to Azorean conventions for dealing with police. When other Azoreans would be demure when questioned by police, cooperating with them and doing all they can to answer a detectives questions, many deportees, either through silence or in angry confrontational responses, do as little as possible to support police investigations. Such reactions

on the part of the deportees to police questioning—taken by them as appropriate behavior for confrontations with police in North America—make the police perceive that the deportees are either guilty or aware of information that they are not disclosing.

Violence and female deportees

Although the general perception of the repatriated—independent of gender—finds that they are regarded as more prone to violent behavior than other Azoreans, how deportees interact with one another on this level as well as with those in the homeland population has some disparities based upon gender.

When compared to male deportees, female deportees are generally perceived to be less violent, however, they are still perceived to be more violent than other Azorean women. Like male deportees, the female repatriated suffer from the same forms of social stigmatization as the men, and are understood as part of the same problem as repatriation as the men. It is certainly the case however, that repatriation is understood in the islands to be a “male” problem. Islanders sometimes expressed surprise upon learning that there were also female repatriated, but in interviews with and observations of both male and female deportees, I noted few differences in how each were treated by the general population. One difference is in the kind of work that female deportees were offered when compared to male deportees. For example, where male deportees were generally given positions in construction companies or doing some other form of heavy manual labor, female deportees would be given work that required less strenuous activity than men working for example in a bakery. Nonetheless, the treatment of female deportees in their work was also characterized by the negative interactions with their co-workers and praise for appropriate work ethic as encountered by the male deportees, even as most of co-workers of the female repatriated were also female.

The number of female deportees in the islands during the period of my fieldwork may be too small to make any broad generalizations but among the group of female deportees with whom

I had regular contact, all four were constantly battling with recoveries and relapses to addictions to Heroin and other drugs. This made the particulars of their social integration problems more closely related to the problems encountered by deportees fighting addictions, rather than to those in the group who were deported for selling drugs. One of the women was HIV+, and two of the women were in jail for much of the time of my field research.

As previously mentioned, four of the women were involved in serious relationships (cohabitation and marriage) with fellow male deportees. Again, the sample size is small, but this fact might indicate both some similarities with male deportees and reveal some differences. The difficulty with which men are able to find serious romantic relationships outside of the deportee group was overcome only when they began to become both familiar and comfortable with interacting with the homeland population according to expectations of appropriate Azorean behavior. The physical and mental health problems of the particular deported women with whom I had contact may have precluded them from overcoming these difficulties, leading to their relationships with deported men who in each case, suffered themselves from the problem of drug addiction. Lélia, a female deportee who had been acquitted (along with her husband—who she had married in the prison) often confided the problems that she and her husband had with addictions, always threatening to leave him when she was trying to clean up, but never leaving him when he didn't. At the end of my period of field research Lélia broke down to me one day when she told me that her husband had recently been arrested and was waiting trial again—only a few months after the two had both been released from prison after their trial.

Another female deportee participated in sexual relations with various deportees even though several with whom I spoke said they knew she was HIV+ (and married). When I once asked if they were not worried about the risks associated with having unprotected sex with an IV drug user who was HIV+, one individual explained his behavior away by saying it was just a rumor, and informing me that one could not get the disease from the type of sexual acts in which the two participated.

When overtly violent behavior was exhibited by female deportees it was generally not directed toward the general population however, but against other deportees, usually the men with whom they were involved. One forced return migrant female got into violent fights with her co-habiting boyfriend, resulting in one occasion on her stabbing him with a knife. At least within the confines of this particular relationship, she was far more violent than her boyfriend.

CHAPTER VI PROBLEMS AND ISSUES CONFRONTING SOCIAL INTEGRATION

The “Integration” project

Although the majority of the forced return migrant population participate in the CAR program, and encounter various degrees of marginalization upon their repatriation, others do integrate into the island, often disappearing with little public knowledge of the fact of their deportation among their fellow villagers. In these cases islanders and the repatriated themselves participate in local narratives that accept them in the community, as any other non-deported voluntary return migrant would be. In general, these individuals do not participate in the CAR program, but this fact in and of itself does not point to or demonstrate a lack of efficacy that government efforts have had in reaching stated goals. What it demonstrates is that those who opt out of the governmental assistance are generally individuals who have left the Azores later in their lives, who had lived in North America for shorter periods of time, and who yet have close family in their home villages with which they can live and work. Better adjusted emotionally (indifference to their deportation) and physically (lacking physical and mental health problems) and with a higher level of practical socio-cultural skills (ability to speak the language, familiarity with cultural cues) it is no surprise that these individuals are better adapted to social integration into Azorean society—and often seamlessly disappear into the fabric of island life, without any public disclosure or suspicion of the true reasons for their return.

Others—both those participating in the CAR program and those who have been removed from it (for any number of reasons including breaking the contract, or imprisonment after committing crimes in the islands)—encounter greater difficulty given a poorer disposition towards social integration. Part of the problem is circular, in that those who continue to commit

crimes, and who are perceived by others as outsiders, are by definition not successful at integrating into Azorean society. One must be careful however to treat critically this notion of “success in social integration” among the repatriated, an objective that is at the heart of the CAR project—providing one prominent rationale behind the availability of governmental resources and funding and providing the ultimate criteria among the general Azorean population of whether or not the CAR program is itself successful. Part of the problem in attempting to understand what exactly is meant by “successful social integration” is competing definitions of the term. For the repatriated population, of course depending on the context, success is defined in an opposite way from how the government, CAR and other Azoreans define the term. From the point of view of Azoreans and their public institutions, success with the “repatriation problem” means that the government is able to receive the deportees without a subsequent increase in crimes for which they are responsible; and is able to assist the repatriados to integrate into Azorean social life in such a way that their overt public presence goes unnoticed by the general population. For the deportees however, “success” means that they are able to leave the Azores and go home to North America, that they are able to live in the Azores as they did in the US and Canada without the Azorean population unduly stigmatizing them, or being considered as social and cultural outcasts. These are two rather opposite ideals with the goals of each group at distinct cross-purposes.

For the government and the general population, “social integration” is really a catch phrase that includes a host of cultural practices as well as physical and intellectual skills that a forced return migrant is able to develop, and so be indistinguishable from other Azoreans. This suggests that they must conform to normative expectations and act like “the average Azorean” a construction that of course does not exist in reality. In order to not be marked as outsiders, the deportees must develop a sense of familiarity with cultural practices in the islands such that they will not be perceived to have been unduly and negatively shaped by their time away from the Azores in North America. In other words, they must act like the Azoreans that they are.

It is also erroneous to presume that the repatriated population participating in the CAR program is *sine qua non* of the criminal forced return migrant integration experience. Although about 85% of the nearly 550 Azorean repatriated population has had some contact with CAR according to statistics from the Center, more than 80 repatriados have had absolutely no contact with the program and have either integrated into the island on their own or confronted the problems of integration on their own, without any assistance from the program. Interviews with those who had no contact with CAR point out that the individuals who never rely on assistance from the Center fall into two groups. The majority of these only spent a relatively short period of time in the US and Canada, after having migrated to North America as adults. Individuals in this category stated that they had close family relations on the island in their home villages and had no interest in using CAR resources, as they wanted to avoid being labeled a repatriado. There are also a small number of deportees who had no contact with CAR and either left the islands (for other destinations on the Continente or back in the US and Canada) or ended up in prison prior to contact with the center. Of the group that had had no prior interaction with the program, once in prison, they readily accepted assistance offered by CAR (which offers cigarettes, toiletries and other items to repatriated prisoners).

Nonetheless, among the majority of the some 450 criminal forced return migrants who have had significant contact with the Center, CAR stands as an important frame of reference, because most in this group tend to understand their experience in the islands, intellectualizing the expectations for their integration into Azorean society through CAR. They treat CAR as if it were representative of the Azorean government and the Azorean people themselves. To participating forced return migrants CAR is their primary interface (for good and for bad) between they and the islands' residents.

CAR also provides the forced return migrants with one of the few connections that they have to the North American communities they left behind. CAR informs the population of recent developments in North American law changes or sponsored legislation along with the progress of

Supreme Court appeals, while attempting to disabuse the repatriated of the almost daily flow of misinformation about changes to deportation statutes. CAR offers a conduit between deportees and their North American families, by facilitating family re-unification, helping with letter writing home and offering them pre-paid phone cards for calls. CAR is also in constant contact with the two North American governments on the issue—even if the form of this contact is usually to prepare for new arrivals.

Interestingly, it is in part the fact of the deportees' participation in the CAR program, despite the stated goals of social integration propagated by officials, ironically, that guarantees that they will retain a prominent status as North Americans. Although their categorization is subject to contestation, although their interaction with islanders is certainly variable, their association with the program and participation in it has tangible repercussions in the formation of the repatriado category itself, in the way that the existence of the CAR program reifies the category. This is not to say that without CAR the deportees would not undergo the same problems of social stigmatization or be classified as outsiders by the general Azorean population, but that their status as outsiders becomes further codified and institutionalized by their participation in the program. As much as the program is a frame of reference for the deported population, it is also a frame of reference for understanding the deportees as construed by the general Azorean population.

The objectives of the CAR program, the government, and the general population (as evident in political rhetoric, academic discourses, media coverage of repatriation and from interviews with the general population about the issue) cast the problem of repatriation as one that finds the forced return migrant residents of the Azores to be citizens with only a tenuous status of belonging. They are seen as a special class of insider-outsiders in Azorean society and the expectation is that the primary objective of any governmental assistance (financial and personal) provided to them should result in their reinsertion back into the society that they left. Among each of these areas of discourse, the recognition exists to a greater or lesser degree (greater at CAR,

lesser among the general population) that the adaptive abilities of all repatriados are not necessarily co-equal given the amount of time that they spent in North America and the age at which they left the islands; but there is a general agreement among these sectors that the end goal of any repatriation assistance project should be, as stated in the oft used phrase, the “social (re)insertion or integration into the Azores” of the forced return migrant. What exactly is meant, however, by the terms “social (re)insertion” and “integration”?

In the phrase is the summation of a range of discourses used to describe different aspects of the repatriados social integration (or more appropriately, lack of social integration) into various spheres of island social and cultural life. There are those deportees, of course, who upon their return to the islands eschew any assistance from the center and move back to their home village. Even more rare, are those in this category who are accepted back into Azorean social and cultural life without having their status as a deportee adversely affect their ability to do so. Most who do not rely upon CAR are individuals who have “disappeared into the island” as it is said, individuals whose identity as repatriados is only known if they choose to reveal that identity. When discussing these individuals, CAR staff, Azoreans and the deportees themselves will say that these are individuals who “only spent a small time in America” or were “already adults when they left”, and as such were not “marked by American culture.” In practice, these deportees do not have marked status as such, and would be, in theory, somehow indistinguishable from the general population.

The other group is a group that has a marked identity as a “deportado” or “repatriado,” an identity that places them outside of the Azorean population, even as the category is dependent upon the sense of Azorean identity for its existence. It is this group for whom “reintegration” and “reinsertion” is a prominent issue. These are individuals who have been influenced by their time in North America, individuals who are considered by Azoreans to be “more American than they are Azorean or Portuguese.” What gives them this identity however is not only the fact of their deportation, but a wide array of aesthetic, physical, cultural and linguistic factors that include

dress, public comportment, knowledge and enactment of culturally defined norms of behavior and cultural cues, and a lack of (Portuguese) language abilities or the ability to speak Portuguese but with a particular accent. Azoreans questioned about what makes the repatriados different from other Azoreans will offer some variation of the following, heard repeatedly over the course of my research: These are people who were created by North America and the culture of North America. They were turned into criminals by social conditions there, and if they never left, they would never have been criminals. The problem is created in the United States and Canada, and the repatriados became how they are there, but then the North American governments ship their problems off to us. These are people who are the product of America, not the Azores.

For the reinsertion or reintegration of such individuals to take place then, several areas of their (re)socialization must be addressed to allow for this transformation. It is only through the process of re-Azoreanization that a repatriado may cease to belong to this publicly enacted category. In the unfolding of this proposition, for example, forced return migrants have difficulty moving outside of the category if they do not speak Portuguese, and so attempts are made to teach them, whether they are willing to be taught or not. For those who speak some Portuguese, the Azorean population will continue to interact with them as members of the repatriado class unless they overcome the limits of their language skills—usually learned Portuguese outside of the classroom and cultivated from their memories as children in struggles to respond to parents questions—to speak Portuguese as it is spoken in the Azores (or with a particular island dialect). They must learn how to interact with other Azoreans, leaving behind the behavior learned in impoverished barrios in Fall River and New Bedford, on the mean streets of Toronto, they must stop getting publicly drunk, making loud noises in the streets, selling and taking drugs and committing crimes. That much of the range of these examples of behavior can also characterize many voluntary return migrants along with any number of Azoreans who may have never lived anywhere but the archipelago does not dissuade the general population from relying upon such

characteristics to set the behavior of the forced return migrants apart from the general Azorean population.

The differentiation is reinforced even in the labels used by both repatriated and non-repatriated Azoreans to describe themselves. The repatriated are “deportados”, “repatriados”, “um daqueles” (“one of those”), where conversely those in the general Azorean population are referred to by the repatriated as “Açorianos.” Complicit in this process however are the deported Azoreans themselves, who, although they may consider themselves to have some identity as Azoreans, yet use these oppositional terms “Deportado/Repatriado” and “Açoriano” by way of delimiting the groups to which they belong and do not belong. This points out the extent to which even the repatriated themselves understand their presence in the Azores as antagonistic between their group and the general island population, from which, depending of course on the context, they generally seek to separate themselves.

The notion that the repatriated can be transformed into Azoreans through language instruction, training and reinforcement encouraging appropriate cultural behavior, and the like, so that a repatriado may complete his reinsertion into Azorean society is of course an ideal; and the reality, as staff at the Center frequently attest, is far from the ideal. Nonetheless, such an ideal is the stated objective of the government-sponsored program, and, whether it be in response to questions or is merely volunteered in general conversation, is also the frequently expressed position among Azoreans of what should occur with the deportees in the islands.¹¹⁷

Practical objectives and cultural integration: defining a deportee

The logistical practicalities of daily life (financial stability and obtaining work and housing outside of the program), however, form only a part of the deportees’ transformation upon

¹¹⁷ Of course more cynical statements from certain government officials and emerging from interviews with those in the general Azorean population, state the problem as one official did in an earlier stage of repatriation: “if we just could keep them from sight, if we could help them enough so that they did not commit crimes, I think most people would be satisfied.”

their successful social and cultural integration into Azorean society. Coupled with the ability to meet practical needs related to personal survival, is also the ability to socialize and present oneself in the Azores to other Azoreans not as a member of the repatriado class, but as an Azorean. Embedded in the CAR project is the implicit and explicit presumption that in the ultimate objective of successful integration, there is a synergy between a deportees ability to meet the practical needs of his existence with a cultural re-education that will transform him into an Azorean. From the point of view of the deportees, however, the ability to meet practical ends is mutually exclusive from the presentation of self.

CAR programs are designed then to address these two specific branches in the forced repatriation of Azorean citizens, two branches that are not necessarily perceived as separate from the point of view of CAR staff. One is assistance in helping deportees confront practical aspects of their repatriation—obtaining shelter, a job, money, and food in a foreign social and cultural environment when one is ill prepared on any number of levels to do so. But CAR staff and official documentation make it clear that the ability of a deportee to satisfy these needs is necessarily inseparable from his medical and psychological well-being. As CAR staff state, physical and emotional health problems will extend beyond the just the specific medical problems of the illnesses and can effect how deportees will comport themselves in the Azores—subsequently effecting their integration. It is of course the goal of the center to provide the forced return migrants with the practical skills that will enable them to become functioning members of society, but the particular manner in which these skills are taught and then performed—in order for the Repatriados social integration to be considered truly successful—is such that they become functioning members of not just any society, but specifically of *Azorean* society.

An appropriate criticism of this perspective might be to posit that it is rather a function of the logistics of deportation to a specific place that causes the deportees to have to conform to the expectations of behavior of that particular place—that it is only because the deportees are

integrating into a society that happens to be in the Azores or São Miguel that they are expected to work and behave like individuals from the Azores or São Miguel. But with the deportees in the Azores, how integration occurs is not the mere result of attempts to adapt to the structural specifics of a particular society. Expectations for the appropriate adaptation of the deportees occurs on a conscious level and is an active goal of the government, the program and Azoreans themselves, not because they are outsiders adapting to a new society, but because they are perceived as insiders, who should know better how to act. The nature of the services provided, as is the case with the quotidian practice of integration, makes clear how essential it is to both CAR and other Azoreans that the deportees not only learn how to function in society, but rather how to function as Azoreans.

Structural organization of the integration project

The CAR program can be better understood if three particular components are analytically separated: 1. the economic survival of the forced return migrants; 2. the physical and mental health of the forced return migrants; and 3. the social and cultural integration of the forced return migrants. Distinct as these three areas may appear from an abstracted perspective, however, there is much overlap in these assistance programs, and distinctions among them are not be made by those responsible for running them. Work for example, is specifically designed to provide the deportee with a living wage, but the process of integrating into a full time job also has the dual purpose of teaching the deportee in a conscious and de facto manner, how to fit-in to Azorean society. Nonetheless, the three domains can be analytically parsed out by way of elucidating particular goals of the government within each.

The amount of money provided a deportee is just barely enough to cover living expenses and does not provide anywhere near the level of money earned by him in his participation in either the documented or undocumented North American economy. Further, how deportees were inserted into the consumer economy of North America provided them with a different quality of

life—the ability to purchase disposal items, radios, etc. at a cheaper cost—in a way different from their situation in the Azores such that their ability to purchase such items is difficult if not impossible. Besides food, about the only products less expensive in the Azores than they are in North America are cigarettes and alcohol. Given the bare subsistence earning level of the forced return migrants upon arrival, they had a much higher income and greater purchasing power prior to leaving North America (at least among those not in prison before deportation). The money provided by CAR is intended only to help a deportee to maintain a basic level of subsistence, buying necessary food, paying for house expenses, and otherwise provides little disposable income.

In part, the amount of money given to them is the result of scarce economic resources, but it also acts as an incentive for those in the program to move through it at a reasonable pace so that they might eventually procure a better job for a higher wage. Moreover, however, the stipend and subsidy are fixed at the rate they are because from the point of view of the center and of the general Azorean population it is quite a bit of money, certainly more than what an indigent (non-repatriated) Azorean would receive from government social services assistance.

From the deported population's point of view, what they see as an unacceptably low wage has often pushed many of them to greater levels of social isolation and, often times, back to crime. This should not, however, suggest that simply raising the forced return migrants stipend would decrease crimes committed by the population. Deportees in prison said repeatedly that although the low wage was a partial incentive in committing crimes, they would be likely to do so anyway, as a result of other factors having little to do with the amount of money made. What the low wage often does, however, is force a deportee into a cocoon, providing him with little money for social activities through which he would be able to meet and mingle with others from the islands, beyond his frequent peer group of other deportees, with whom he will spend much time hanging about the Center or out on the streets in the city.

The second area of the CAR program that can be analytically abstracted is the area of mental and physical health. The CAR program recognizes that concomitant with a forced return migrant's ability to earn a wage and undergo the transformations necessary for successful social integration, is his physical and mental well-being. Substantial resources are expended to ensure that repatriados have ample counseling, medication, and the medical assistance necessary to stop abusing controlled substances.

The importance of this area should not be underestimated given the significant medical and mental health problems associated with the forced return migrant population in São Miguel. Many of the deportees are no different from other addicts who have spent years abusing hard narcotics like heroin, which have taken a toll in the physical, emotional and intellectual degradation of their minds and bodies. As CAR's Director said, no amount of science—medical, social, psychological or otherwise—has the ability to help individuals become self-sufficient when they suffer from substantial debilitating illness. Without giving up entirely, CAR continues to provide medical and psychological assistance to the group. Of course some of the deportees are never able to kick long-standing drug habits—a condition that, according to physicians and psychologists who treat the repatriated daily, has only been exacerbated by the fact of their forced return to what for them is a foreign environment. Others succeed and move on to hold down jobs and maintain their own households. Some deportees with diagnosed mental illness such as schizophrenia receive treatment and work to cope with their sickness as they would, had they remained in the United States but with the added pressure of the circumstances of their repatriation.

That CAR responds to these individuals with sensitivity, with compassion, and with financial and personnel resources in equal measure is beyond any doubt. How mental and physical illnesses (i.e. HIV, Hepatitis) frame conceptions of the repatriated forms another interesting wrinkle when considering the goals of socio-cultural integration for the group. As those in the deported group are perceived to have failed on the level of their social integration, the

fact of mental and physical illness and related problems is frequently called upon to explicate the situation. In such rhetoric, if a repatriado was unable to survive on his own, then his deteriorating capacities due to existing physical and mental illness is in large part responsible.

The third of the analytically abstracted areas of the CAR project is the area of socio-cultural integration. Statements by CAR officials, governmental documents and other social discourses around repatriation from the public, scholars and the media all discuss their “social and cultural integration” into Azorean life as an end-goal of the government assistance program. This concept is central to the CAR project and encompasses all of the programs and social service assistance projects provided by the government and other partner institutions.

Of course the civic and social-minded individuals involved in the repatriation issue genuinely want to assist individuals who they see as the victims of capriciously enacted global power processes carried out by foreign nations. The relationship that the deportees have to North America is recognized by CAR and the general public alike, and even though the US and Canada will be blamed for having created the violent, dangerous, anti-social Repatriado population, Azoreans fairly uniformly express that they have nonetheless been unjustly and inhumanely treated by the two foreign governments. They are seen as North Americans, yet, because they are conceived as belonging to broader Azorean migration processes, and the fact of their Portuguese citizenship, the Center takes it as its task to “re-integrate” them back into a world from which they may have come, but to which they no longer belong. Even as simple social skills are taught, as they are taught how to work, how to talk, how to comport oneself in public—in short, as they are taught to live like any *normal* person—the goal is both consciously and in a de facto way more than just training them to act like a *normal* person, but rather to act like a *normal Azorean*. If a one in the Repatriado category would only stop acting like a North American and more like an Azorean, the logic goes, he or she will have no problems in the course of socio-cultural integration.

This circular logic is of course a stated ideal, and especially among those working on a day-to-day basis with the deportees, there is the recognition of a reality that finds them declaring success if, among some of the more difficult cases, they were at least able to assist some forced return migrants to learn how to live in a house alone and stay off of drugs. Overall success however would be declared if a repatriado was able to move through the program and emerge from it able to live in the islands as if the conditions of his life had been such that he never left, or if he had returned as if he were any one of the many voluntary return migrants that come back to the Azores every year.

Much of the problem however is precisely in competing interpretations of what constitutes success. The Azorean public, CAR officials and the functionaries of its affiliated institutional partners along with rhetoric from the Azorean government, all define success in terms appositional to how success is defined by the majority of the repatriated population—especially those who are within the first months after their return. From the point of view of the government and the Azorean public, success for CAR means that upon their forced return from North America, deportees will undergo a process that transforms them back into Azoreans, into individuals who are no longer marked by the circumstances of their time away from the islands. How these groups define successful “integration”, however, is what the repatriated would term as abject failure. Success for the repatriated involves the ability to retain their former lives, in the ideal, returning to North America, but in the reality that finds them unable to return, they at least hope to recreate in the Azores the lives they left behind in North America.

Failure as defined by the deported is if they give up the past, forget the circumstances of their deportation and blend into Azorean society. It is this disparity in goals that causes much of the tension among the repatriated and those who would attempt to assist them. This dialectic around competing understandings and definitions of success, forms a backdrop for the rest of the discussion of this section, which enumerates some of the broad problems encountered by

deportees in their participation in CAR and some of its programs, as compared to the impressions of what CAR officials see as the problems in working with the repatriated population.

It is important to emphasize that despite my analytical abstraction of the three areas in which the CAR project functions—financial self-sufficiency; physical and mental health; and socio-cultural integration—within CAR, these areas are not separable. From the perspective of the forced return migrants, how these three areas could be seen as related is often seen as problematic. For CAR, full socio-cultural integration is both the goal of the project but it is also the means through which financial and emotional stability will be possible. For the repatriated, socio-cultural integration is antithetical to their emotional well being, makes financial stability difficult if not untenable, and as a result, presents the CAR project with an inherent contradiction in the functioning of its programs on the road to meeting its goals.

Perceiving injustice everywhere: the deportees' perspective

Spending time at CAR, for me, usually proved to be an adventure. Most of my significant time spent conducting research at the Center was during the first half of 1999, before the building was eventually remodeled and the space of CAR expanded, and prior to the building of the new CAR office space and transition house (although I frequently revisited the remodeled center and transition house throughout my field research). Reporters and day-tripping academics who spend only a few hours or days, even weeks at CAR on the way to hastily written reports about “the repatriation problem” might briefly remark about, but rarely truly appreciate the disorganized, frenetic, mad, illogical ballet that is the Center for the Assistance of Repatriated citizens.

The episode related in the introduction to this dissertation with the Canadian deportee who was insistent that I had been repatriated myself, and initially failed to accept my explanation that I was an Anthropologist, took place at the Center, and the exchange was not atypical of conversations that I had with others there. Arguments would take place amid laughter and tears. Fights would break out, to be broken up by other deportees or the CAR staff, sometimes with

threats to involve the police. Heated conversations, misinterpretations of laws, broken coffee cups, mean-spirited comments about harmful and terminal medical afflictions and disparaging remarks stemming from rivalries based on the nation or region of ones former residence in North America would be thrown about by the same people who moments later would be offering each other cigarettes and inviting one another off to a nearby café to trade coffees or beers. Some disputes would only be resolved by CAR staff after conversations and threats, others could only be soothed by fellow deportees, for whom the two parties involved each had respect. There were also fights that no amount of intervention could smooth over that ended in blood shed and trips to the hospital.

The specifics of my own interaction and disputes with the deportees at the Center differed in the specifics of the comments from those that might have been levied at a fellow deportee, but the rhetoric with which the comments were made did not necessarily differ. I was the recipient of angry words blaming me for the deportation problem on more than one occasion, comments which were perhaps only less absurd than when deportees would thank me for “trying to solve” the problem of deportation. Of course it was more often than not, the same individuals making both classes of comments. One time, a deportee wanted to fight me. Working with the repatriated, I found though that conversations tended to last longer the more liberal I was in handing out cigarettes to those who asked for them. One individual kept asking me for cigarettes, and rather than smoking them would put them in his pocket and then ask for another one. (Another deportee later told me that he was trying to test me—to what end I have no idea.) What led to the fight challenge however was when I told him that my never-ending supply of cigarettes was indeed ending for him, given his abuse of the system. He then started shouting and wanting to fight me, prompting me to ask him (in the spirit of the conversations that usually took place at CAR) if he had not yet learned how to walk to the corner café, where everyone at the Center went to buy cigarettes. The situation was diffused when the rest of the room—who were themselves becoming sick of this particular individual’s daily antics—burst out in laughter. With the other deportees on

my side, the individual changed his approach, apologized and asked me if I wanted a coffee, and hoping to make peace, I accepted. He went to a coffee station in the room and poured me a cup with some milk and a few sugars. There were no stirrers available so he reached in with two fingers and mixed the milk and sugar that way. I still am not sure if he was being genuine in his attempt to mix the coffee or just trying to get the last laugh on me. As he handed me the coffee, I felt as if he had accomplished both.

The example, though, illustrates the mercurial nature of deportee moods and dispositions. The swings between attitudes, from fighting to wanting to make peace in the course of a few minutes, with quickly escalating violent behavior turning into hearty laughter, characterize much of the interactions at CAR. The greatest constant however among those deportees and others at CAR is not violence, is not the unpredictability of how individuals will react to comments innocuous and intentionally cutting; the one immutable variable for those spending time at the Center is the incessant waiting. From the Center's founding in 1998 through its remodeling at the Rua de Lisboa site until the establishment of the transition house, waiting to talk to someone who one absolutely needs to see, and see soon, is one of the true universals of the deportee experience. With a limited number of Center staff present to attend to what is always an increasing number of deportees needing assistance, such waiting periods are understandable. But part of the long waits—often lasting for hours—were a function of the way that the repatriados sought services from CAR. Although set appointments were made for specific activities—counseling sessions, doctors appointments, etc.—most of the quotidian problems for which repatriados sought assistance were attended to by dropping by the Center with the hope that someone might be able to help. Given the barrage of practical problems manifest daily in forced return migrant life, deportees would stop by the center with regularity.

I also experienced this situation first hand, as even scheduled appointments to talk to or interview CAR staff workers at definitive, pre-arranged times, would often leave me waiting anywhere from 15-30 minutes to several hours for the meeting. Given the high volume, the

volatility, and the unpredictability of the problems that might arise at the Center on any given day—subsequently causing the staff to scramble to fix problems, running off to unexpectedly take this or that deportee to the Casa da Saúde or the court house to testify in a case—such waiting periods exist makes perfect sense. The repatriated tended not to see the waiting periods as reasonable however. Sitting in the waiting areas, either inside or outside the Rua de Lisboa Center, one would hear an incessant litany of complaints of a kind that the following quotations overheard there aptly reflect:

“no one ever helps anyone at this place.”

“I got here 2 hours ago, then they say come back after lunch, I come back after lunch and I am still here [waiting].”

“I am waiting here before [two other deportees] ever even came by. They had appointments. I have an appointment too.”

“It’s always the same in this place, some guys get everything and everybody else gets fucked.”

Such comments also demonstrate one side of what would seem to be a counter-intuitive development regarding the relationship among the deportees and the primary agency designed to help them survive in their first few months (and even beyond) on the islands. Most of the forced return migrants involved in the program have a relationship of pronounced ambivalence with CAR and its staff. The repatriated population alternates from detesting the Center, blaming it and its staff for all of the problems they encounter in the islands, to describing CAR staff individually or collectively as: “angels,” “the only people who care about me here,” “a really good guy, who has looked out for me” or “I would be lost without her, I really don’t know what I would do.”

Despite creating an environment of idleness in which the deportees’ frustrations and anger at their situation can often boil over into heated arguments and violence, the waiting periods also serve other purposes. Placing the repatriated population all together in the often confined quarters of Rua de Lisboa also worked to get them talking to one another about the

common experiences they confronted in attempting to re-settle as forced return migrants to a land they little remember. Forced return migrants who had been around for some time often counseled recently arrived deportees about what to expect, about what to look out for, even as the newer arrivals would look to one another for mutual support.

The waiting periods also served as one of the first introductions to differing norms and subsequent expectations for proper comportment between their new lives on São Miguel and their former lives in North America. The deportees often framed their experience in terms of fairness, both the lack of fairness of the laws and the individuals (District Attorneys in the US, Crown Representatives in Canada, and the police in both countries) who sent them back to the Azores, but also around what they perceived as a lack of fairness and even-handedness in their dealings with Azoreans and CAR staff. Although this is obviously not a uniform nor constant occurrence, generally, in the Azores, confronting difficulties that are out of one's control (of which long waits are one type) are not met with the expression of frustration or anger (unless the problem is the result of someone not adhering to what is perceived as appropriate behavior) but rather with a shrug of the shoulders reflecting the philosophy of the phrase "*a vida é sempre assim*," that's just the way life is.

Further, concepts of fairness, special treatment of certain individuals by those with power are not perceived as inappropriate, nor is there that North American expectation of order that one sees in lines. An excellent example of the differences in situationally defined expectations of behavior can be demonstrated by the kind of queues that form at the airport check-in lines in Boston and in Ponta Delgada (among the same individuals going to and from the Azores and the US respectively). At the Logan check-in there exists a strict sense of order for those already in line or just arriving at the back of it, with those forming the line cognizant of the proper expectation for their comportment in the queue. There is one single file line and one's position in the line depends only upon the neatly ordered rule that the first one to arrive at the end of the line takes the place behind whoever was there in front of him and so on. Of course those holding a

First Class ticket have their own rapid check-in window, and can move past the others, but even in their shorter line they must yet adhere to the first-come, first-serve rule.

In the Azores, one does not so much see a single file line as one sees a large flat triangle. The point is the available ticket window and the base of the triangle, to the untrained eye, is a melee of individuals jockeying for the best position to arrive at the front of the line by the quickest route possible. For the initiated there are of course strict rules of negotiation, edging ahead of someone else must be done without being overly aggressive, so as not to be perceived as being rude, and other factors exist allowing certain categories of individuals to move ahead or be passed in front of based on considerations such as socio-economic status, professional status, age, gender and the number of people and bags one has in one's entourage. Depending upon where one has learned how to negotiate lines, the process can be confusing and in the uninitiated will result in flabbergasted facial expressions and pointed comments at the perceived rudeness of the others cutting them in the line, and usually leaves them struggling to move ahead in the queue at all.¹¹⁸

Waiting at CAR for many of the North American deportees can have a similarly jarring effect. Many express anger that they are not being treated fairly when others go ahead of them to speak to CAR officials for whom they have been waiting; or as is often the case, when an official goes to lunch or leaves the Center on some errand when a deportee has been waiting to talk to her.

¹¹⁸This of course has changed over the years. In the early 1970s, an American University professor living in a small Azorean village would tell stories about walking into the post office, only to be called to the front of the waiting group by the post-office functionary, to be served ahead of all of the other villagers (George L. Hicks, personal communication 1996). Now, in the larger urban centers, at post-offices, at deli counters in the large supermarkets, at banks, systems are in place (Disney World like rope lines, and numbered-ticket machines, etc.) to allow for the first-come to be first-served. Nonetheless, even at the banks, certain individuals due to professional status or personal familiarity with certain functionaries, will be pulled out of line and assisted at side desks, so they do not have to wait. When I witnessed this occur while standing in lines at an Azorean bank, I never witnessed anyone in the queue—who had been waiting ahead of such individuals—become visibly agitated at this practice.

When asked about this, CAR functionaries say that this is just the way things are in the Center, often saying that the deportees always want to be able to talk to them immediately as if their entire job at the Center was solely to assist that particular individual. Yet, such experiences, the waiting, the manner of selecting who is next in line that differs so dramatically from how things are done in North America, provide the deportees with one of their first confrontations with perceived cultural differences between the Azores and the lives they have left behind.

This perception of unfairness and the perceived uneven application of what are taken by the deportees to be immutable rules (in the contract) is also manifest in what some deportees see as an unequal distribution of benefits—usually seeing themselves as being cheated as a result. There is a litigious character in the way that repatriados discuss the terms of their CAR contracts, as if the disbursement of benefits therein delineated and the specific rules of behavior outlined and punishments for transgressions of same should be uniformly applied to all deportees regardless of personal circumstances. But the concept of a uniform application of the rules—the corner stone of rhetoric (even as it is not the practice) of the US and Canadian legal systems, and the pervasive North American rhetoric of equality do not similarly exist in the rhetoric around equality in the Azores. Individual circumstances (practical, psychological and physiological); history of progress and difficulties in the program; and personal relationships with CAR staff are considerations that factor into how the rules are applied to a particular forced return migrant's situation. Sometimes certain deportees would receive extra money from the Center's funds, would be allowed to break certain rules without repercussion, would receive extra attention or assistance from various members of the staff based on these above factors.

From the point of view of CAR officials, there is nothing inconsistent with this kind of uneven treatment, as the situation of each individual has unique circumstances and so the approach to treatment must likewise be individualized. To the deportees, however, this way of interacting was the cause for much dissension. Mistrust developed among the group, with the assumption that if someone was receiving extra benefits or special treatment, then he must be

doing something to earn it. Suspicions of snitches acting as informants to CAR staff were commonplace, even as such impressions were fueled by actual cases of informing—usually perpetrated by repatriados involved in disputes with others, who hoped to extract revenge through the negative intervention of CAR.

The feeling of unfair treatment caused deportees to express anger and bewilderment with the perceived injustice, resulting in increased feelings of isolation and alienation among them. The repatriated said they often had the sense that even when they were being helped, they still felt like they were being treated unfairly. Much of this feeling stems from a lack of understanding of expectations for their appropriate behavior. What were merely cultural differences in expectations for social interaction were usually understood as the result of some inherent unfairness in the system itself.

Moreover, the repatriated generally adopt the street-wise attitude that no one is willing to give anyone anything unless they receive something back in return. This posture presented a constant problem that needed to be overcome in the course of my field research, as I made it plain that any information a repatriated informant provided me about their lives and the deportation issue in general would only serve to help me write my dissertation and that I had no power to help them to return to the US or Canada. Perhaps, I said, there may be some limited tangential benefit that might come with an understanding of the broader problem should anyone read the dissertation, but any direct benefit to them, I said, was nil. At that point potential forced return migrant informants would often lose interest in my project. In interviews and conversations most were forthcoming in saying that they only talk to reporters and the like, in the hope that it will help them to get back home to North America.¹¹⁹ Likewise, much of the relationship between the deported population and CAR officials and others working with the program is filtered through a

¹¹⁹In one of the pitfalls of taking media reports or brief research projects on deportation as accurate depictions of deportee life, some deportees admitted that when talking to reporters or people doing one-shot interviews with them they would usually lie about their personal situations, playing up difficulties and certain of the negative aspects of deportation in the hope that their individual stories might be more enticing for publication and subsequently might help them to return to North America.

similar set of expectations. What is in it for me, and what do those who are helping me really want? This attitude often results in mistrust and anger directed at the staff.

Further, certain deportees will consciously manipulate their relationships with CAR staff to increase practical benefits they receive from the center including endeavoring to receive extra disbursements of money from CAR staff responsible for payments, to gain extra chances upon breaking the terms of one's contract from those in charge of jobs and housing, and to obtain extra doses of prescribed drugs from CAR staff handling medications. Over the course of my research project, CAR staff had grown increasingly savvy to such attempts, in which a deportee might manipulate the conditions of his experience, playing up alienation, playing up various difficulties, including discrimination and the inability to make ends meet, in order to gain extra benefits from the program. In most cases, playing up problems is not necessary, given the adversity presented in the practical reality of their living in the islands as pariah to much of the local population. Nonetheless, the repatriated have both openly admitted and have been observed attempting to manipulate the conditions of their post deportation lives and status as deportees to gain benefits from CAR; and have often been successful in doing so.

Other situations arose in which forced return migrants hoping to gain benefits for themselves would inform on rules transgressions and the law breaking of others. Although there was a perception among the deportees that this took place with a greater frequency than it actually did, deportees would indeed inform on one another from time to time. In general however, this was not a practice in which the majority of deportees participated. Informing was most likely to occur when a deportee was aggrieved for some reason. In one case, a deportee informed on a contract transgression of another individual in the program after his request for extra monetary assistance was denied by CAR staff. In angry protest, he shouted at CAR functionaries and everyone within earshot "this isn't fair, you helped out [another deportee] this week, and I know that he was out last night using the money to get high." In other situations, a forced return migrant might be successful in a job or finding a nice place to live, which some other deportees might

attribute to extra help from CAR. The perceived injustice or simple jealousy felt by other at his success often led to a deportee informing CAR staff of what they perceived as wrong-doing on the part of the successful individuals, comments made either to point out in one deportee's words that "no one is an angel", or so that the informant should be given extra benefits too, or merely out of spite for the success of others.

One should point out however, that forming generalizations about the repatriated populations is anything but easily accomplished, and as sure as there are instances of deportees informing on others, there are those in the deportee group who are quick to state how much they detest such informants, and how much they themselves would never do such a thing, even as they agree to what they see as an inherent unfairness and inequality in the disbursement of benefits existing in the system.

What these responses demonstrate however is that expectations of appropriate behavior on the part of the deportees are framed around their definition of "fairness" and "equality" (observable through the deportees reaction to expectations on their behavior and the way CAR staff interact with them) a concept that differs greatly from that of the CAR staff. Their interaction with CAR operates under the assumption that all those participating should be treated equally, that the rules that apply to some should apply to all (at least as this concerns benefits given to others). If a program participant is receiving advantages over others, individual circumstances are unimportant: if someone is getting special treatment, then I should too, goes the logic.

It is CAR's goal that each forced return migrant be given an individualized treatment, as each individual has different issues. The manner in which family connections, interpersonal relations, class and socio-economic status in the Azores take precedence over norms of interaction based on discourses of equal opportunity, remains a prominent point of contention between the deportees and CAR staff, and works to frame their interactions with each other. The

North American deportees, especially those from the US,¹²⁰ constantly expressed their interaction with the Center articulating their problems around notions of fairness and unfairness, equal and unequal treatment. What became apparent to some was that benefits could develop for them, if they cultivated relationships through personal relationships with staff and if they learned and enacted the verbal and non-verbal cues used by Azoreans when they seek assistance from those in positions of power. Learning to manipulate (consciously or not) these kinds of interactions, in part, provided the deportees with knowledge of the normative codes necessary for them to perform as an Azorean.

What makes this problematic from a social integrative perspective, however is that although developing one's social interaction skills to conform to Azorean expectations of behavior was beneficial in maximizing the benefits from CAR staff, one ultimately can only be successful in receiving special treatment if from the point of view of the staff, they are having problems integrating, and cannot shed status as a deportee. In the context of gaining benefits from CAR then, this complex finds forced return migrants, on these occasions, emphasizing the characteristics considered to be typical of the repatriado category, rather than abandoning them.

CAR as an urban institution

Although CAR technical functionaries will travel about São Miguel in addition to the other islands to manage various projects, most of the project's programs operate predominantly out of Ponta Delgada, from the Center's day-to-day operation headquarters on the Rua de Lisboa. The decision to run the program from the islands' largest urban center was made for both logistical reasons of space availability as it was necessitated by a number of other factors.

As discussed earlier, the majority of the deported population has as its point of origin São Miguel, and it is to São Miguel that they return. Although there is a prominent repatriated

¹²⁰ Although Canadian deportees yet operated under similar conceptions, those from Canada tended to be far less vocal about inequalities than did their US counterparts.

community on Terceira and despite efforts on the part of the center over recent years to disperse the population over the nine islands—offering work projects and housing by way of encouragement—most of the deportees gravitate to the Azores largest island.

Although there are exceptions, most of the repatriated are in agreement that they would rather live in the urban environment of Ponta Delgada rather than in a small isolated village on the far side of the island, even if (and often especially if) they have some family living there. CAR, situated in central Ponta Delgada is located in order to maximize access to the greatest number of deportees. Although residences and work projects are situated around São Miguel and the other islands, most apartment units and most of the work projects are located such that the deportees can walk from home to work, or to a pick-up location, and can walk from home to the Center. Many deportees often complain that they have to walk all the way across the city just to get to CAR or a job and how inconvenient it all is, but despite such complaints, the location of CAR truly provides the largest number of deportees with the greatest amount of access possible.

The location of CAR however has indeed been an issue, as there have been, from time to time, complaints from residents and business owners in areas around the Center and around existing repatriated housing, with protests and complaints also emerging when proposals for new housing and CAR program facilities are made public. The protests range from letters to responsible government agencies and personal discussions with the Center's director, either in phone calls, or in angry confrontations, to organized public picketing and protest marches.

Structurally, the urban location of CAR (along with other partner institutions such as the hospitals and the mental health facility) that brings a visible repatriated population to the city, means that much of the creation of public perception of the deportation issue revolves around the impression islanders have of urban deportees (rather than those in rural locations) and the specific difficulties of that particular group, which are manifest and many. As a result the tendency is to ignore those repatriated living in rural villages, who generally have fewer problems and who usually stand out from the general population in less dramatic fashion. Outside of the few

repatriated Azoreans with close family in Ponta Delgada (and who also do not participate in the Center's program or use its facilities), the repatriated population in the city predominantly consists of those participating in the program, or those who have already participated in the program. By its very definition, if a deportee is participating in the program, he or she is confronting difficulties in integrating into island life. It is this group—a group that has a cultural identity marked as distinct from the Azoreans and that copes with the problems of surviving with serious mental and physical health problems that Azoreans see clustered about the city—who end up being defined as “Repatriados”¹²¹ and seen as normative for those in the category. Another reason that many deportees gravitate to Ponta Delgada in addition to CAR's location is the easier availability of drugs there, as it is also easier to find the money (by committing crimes or dealing drugs themselves) to buy drugs than it is in the rural spaces of the island. Those with serious addictions, who come to the city to find fixes also tend to manifest in their comportment the outward behavioral characteristics associated with social exclusion, and in the city, they are on display to a greater percentage of the local population. The rare repatriated female who is involved in prostitution can also find a greater degree of autonomy and space in the urban center to make more money than she would in a rural freguesia.

As the prominent media outlets (the television station RTP-Açores; the two major Micaelense newspapers *Açoriano Oriental* and *Correio dos Açores* and the largest magazine *Açorianíssima*) are all located in Ponta Delgada they have ready access to images of the repatriated that both guide and create public discourses about the deported. This, coupled with the fact that about 60,000 individuals or almost half of the 130,00 person population of São Miguel live in Ponta Delgada—and so have an almost daily personal interaction with the deported—means that the image of the repatriated on São Miguel is primarily an image of a population that is confronting vast difficulty in what Azoreans would define as successful social

¹²¹ The inverted quotation marks around “Repatriados” indicates a use of the term as a category of analysis, as in the Repatriado category, as this category is treated in my analysis rather than merely the name given to the deportees by the local population and others.

integration into Azorean island life. Given the logistics of assisting the population, having CAR in a non-urban setting would be impossible, if it were even desirable. As unavoidable as such a situation may be, however, that CAR is an urban-based institution is one in an array of factors that contributes to perceptions of the deportees as they exist.

Indeed, on another level, CAR staff recognize that the deportees' urban residences can be another factor contributing to difficulties. Congregating with other forced return migrants in the city, many often fall back into the same patterns of behavior that they had prior to deportation. According to CAR staff, although having a peer group of deportees with whom to share one's experience can have a positive influence, when a deportee falls back in with his old pre-deportation friends and running mates, it can have a negative effect, as a deportee might be more likely to commit crimes, might return to abusing drugs, or might fail to ever become comfortable with quotidian aspects of Azorean life, given the amount of time he spends with others like him. Various deportees themselves told me that the only thing that kept them from relapses in drug treatments or in avoiding recidivism was the fact of their social and cultural isolation from other deportees living, as they did, in remote island villages.

Always uphill: CAR Staff's perspective on what they and the deportees confront

There are few jobs as difficult, as emotionally strenuous and as frustrating as those of CAR functionaries. CAR staff members are the first to point out that specific training in social work, psychology, sociology, and previous experiences in occupations providing assistance to the socially marginalized does little to prepare one for working with the repatriated population. A worker is inserted into a volatile, unpredictable situation and though they may endeavor to assist the deportees the relationship they often with the group is mostly contentious.

In interviews with and observations of staff it is clear that from basic entry-level technical functionaries to the Center's Director there is an extraordinary, almost difficult-to-fathom compassion directed at the repatriated population. This compassion is all the more exceptional

given that the staff is anything but naive in their understanding of the population with which they work to assist. Car officials recognize in moments of introspection that they often feel as if they are part of one big hustle, with the deportees doing all they can to maximize whatever benefits they might be receiving.

The staff know that the repatriated population can be volatile, that they will have a conversation on one day with a weeping deportee who praises some small effort on her behalf as the only thing that keeps her alive in the islands, only to have the same individual verbally attack them in anger the next day, as the officials are blamed for all of the problems the deportee has encountered since her arrival. Certain of the officials who are responsible for managing CAR programs in prominent aspects of a deportee's life—including jobs and money—have on occasion received death threats, which they take seriously, but with the knowledge that the person threatening them today will likely be hugging them tomorrow. At a particularly low point of frustration dealing with disputes among a group of repatriados at the Center and their perception of a lack of fairness in how resources were managed, the Director confided in me that he took it as a given, as a condition of his daily job he would be killed as a result of his work with the group. The tendency toward hyperbole in the Azorean cultural character aside, working under the conditions that would prompt such a statement is not the norm in other island occupations.

With the exception of the Center's director who had lived in both Canada and the United States before returning to the Azores, few CAR staff members have had much experience living or spending an appreciable amount of time in North America. All of them spoke English to a lesser or greater degree, but few functionaries had any practical understanding of the social and cultural milieu in which the forced return migrants had lived in North America. As such, although there is some difference in the way the repatriated group is discussed and classified, the overall personal perception of the group echoed repeatedly by CAR staff is that the deportees are a group of North Americans who, due to abuses of human rights by the US and Canadian governments have been forced to adapt to an environment, a culture, and despite the passport that they carry, to

a country that is not theirs. Although the staff, especially those working with and treating medical and psychological problems of the deported, will point to dependencies on addictive drugs as a major causative factor confronting social integration, they say it is also their status as Americans that presents among the greatest challenges in their keeping off of drugs. When recovered addicts returned to abusing drugs once they arrived in the islands, for example, CAR staff and other medical professionals treating them pointed to the stigma and social isolation they felt as a result of their lack of familiarity with their cultural surroundings as a major factor in the relapse.

I do not raise this point by way of making an argument about the psychological disposition of the deportees in the Azores, but rather to demonstrate the level to which discourses about the “repatriated problem” are constantly framed through what Azoreans see as disparities between the fact of one’s national identity (as Portuguese citizens with a connection to the Azores) and the expectations this carries for the proper performance of one’s cultural identity (at odds with the perception of the deportees as North Americans). Indeed, although this does not always play out in reality, CAR staff state that those who have fewer problems with adaptation and integration are those who spent more time in the islands before migrating to the US and those who spent less time in North America prior to their returning to the archipelago.

This narrative runs through discourses among the general Azorean population, casting deportation as a problem in which the Azores and Azoreans must deal with the negative social ramifications of laws passed in the US and Canada, that effect Portuguese national citizens, who no longer have any ties to Portugal. In this manifestation, the deportees are seen as cultural exiles from America, who do not belong in the Azores. They are seen as North Americans, who happened to have been born in Portugal, but, as a result of the length of the time spent out of the country, should be able to stay in the US and Canada as they are now US Americans and Canadians and no longer Azoreans or Portuguese.

More sophisticated in discussing this perceived disparity than other CAR staff members, the Director, having lived in the US and Canada for much of his life, was less likely to see the

issue in simple terms such as “the deportees are Americans who were sent back to a country that is no longer theirs.” The director (and even some other staff members) often spoke about deportation as an issue of contradictions. Contradictions in cultural identity, contradictions even in national identity—given that many of the deportees were unaware at the time of their deportation order that they were not US or Canadian citizens. This view represents yet another mode of discourse about the deportees in the Azores, with repatriation highlighting and bringing into confrontation the contradictions inherent in having both transnational affective ties and a legal right (though in their case contested) of belonging across the boundaries of distinct state entities.

Related to this formulation is another discourse, one that recognizes that the repatriated are suspended between two nations and two cultures, but that also places them—along with the circumstances forcing their return—as part of larger processes of Azorean transnational migration. Although the deportees are unlike other return migrants in that they were forced to return, like other migrants, coming back to the islands to live permanently or just for extended visits, the deportees provide the Azores with yet another prominent feature that links the islands to the communities in North America. This is a multiple part process. From the point of view of many Azoreans, deportation is framed as the “negative side of migration” or “what America did to some of our migrants”. CAR’s director has said that, “the conditions that made criminals and drug addicts out of Azoreans were created in America. And now that they don’t want them anymore, they want us to take them back.”

In the perception of many voluntary return migrants—who return to retire, or tend to a sick relative—the deportees give a bad name to other Azoreans who lived in North America, causing those who return on their own to distance themselves from the group. Although other discourses see a clear relation between migration and deportation, the voluntary return migrants want to distance themselves from status of the deportees, even though they may exhibit similar behavior. In this formulation however, it is clear that the deportation issue is integral to and

inseparable from broad Azorean migration processes that include not only the forced return of Azorean migrants, but also those who return voluntarily. One cannot discuss migration and voluntary return migration without also discussing deportation as part of the same process.

The three broad categories of repatriation discourses—contradictory cultural and national identities of the repatriated; national and cultural identities in contestation and negotiation; and deportation as inseparable from migration as a whole—tend to overlap among discussion of CAR staff and government officials, in the media and among the general Azorean population, even among the deportees themselves.

In none of these formulations, however, are the deportees ever perceived as belonging solely to the Azores, or solely to Portugal. In both is the recognition of a problematic relationship to one's *a priori* place as a member of Azorean society. Upon arrival, the deported may enter into a political and socio-cultural environment that has accepted them and has provided services for them as a result of their Portuguese national identity, but their status is anything but that simple. Their situation is driven, despite the specifics and disparities in the discourses laid out above, by the overall sense that the repatriated have a contested status as Azoreans—even as they provide an important link to the Azorean North American communities, and even though it is ultimately the fact of their national citizenship and connection to the islands that forces them to respond to expectations for their appropriate comportment. It is addressing the problems associated with this contested status, and the attempt to eradicate the ambivalence of this status that CAR has as its predominant occupation.

CHAPTER VII

AZOREAN TRANSNATIONAL IDENTITY AND FORCED RETURN MIGRATION

Instrumental transnational community

Although they are certainly Azoreans in most contexts—place of birth, personal and family connections to the islands, Portuguese nationality—on the level of their acceptance and integration into the islands, North American deportees fail to fulfill definitions that would confer in-group status upon them in other contexts. The difficulties they face in “social integration” are related to their overall place in the transnational identity scheme. These obstacles and the perception of the deportees as challenging the Azorean category cannot be understood merely by analyzing the reception of the deportees in the islands outside of their place in broader processes of transnational Azorean identity. The relevance of the Azorean transnational identity category as a process through which broad political and economic objectives are assisted depends upon a construction of the category that allows for a diverse range of individuals to be included within it. Yet this array is only possible if those included within it contribute positively to the political and economic strategies carried out through the process. The deportees fail to conform to Azorean expectations of proper comportment, not only because they may act differently from other Azoreans, but, because they are perceived as a negative outcome of what has been the otherwise overwhelmingly adaptive migration process.

What the situation of the forced return migrants suggests is that definitions of in-group status cannot be separated from the instrumental processes of the transnational identity category. In this way, the markers necessary for inclusion in the transnational collective identity category are in many ways proportional to the role that an individual or a group of individuals have in providing positive adaptive benefits to the rest. Azorean transnational identity can be understood

as a form of collective identity derived to achieve instrumental ends, yet there are few interests shared in common by this “transnational community”. So in what sense is it a community at all, especially since it is the presumption of commonality—however contextually commonality may be defined—around which the identity is organized? Ultimately it is through an organization of diversity into a discrete category that the transnational community is able to accomplish the instrumental ends achieved through the process. Forced return migrants however, become increasingly difficult to organize within the category. Although their lack of inclusion in the category is framed in the islands around their inappropriate comportment and their unfamiliarity with various cultural codes and markers of identity, it is rather the way they contribute to constructions of transnational identity that has them received as they are. How the forced return migrants are framed within discourses of Azorean identity is also not without complexity, as the process of deportation—not the individual deportees themselves—actually serves specific ends in bolstering the transnational construction rather than threatening it. To understand this process however, it is first important to make clear some necessary points about the transnational identity category into which the deportees are inserted.

The creation of symbolic links to ethnic identity that reinforce social and economic ties necessary for adaptive survival is a prominent function of Azorean transnationalism. Moreover, the reliance on transnational ethnicity serves both the migrant communities as it serves those in the homeland—albeit in a divergent, but necessarily related manner. Indeed, among those in the category in both locales, the usefulness of transnational ethnicity and its importance is directly related to the participation in its construction of a broad range of individuals arrayed across diverse social categories transcending class, educational level, socio-economic status, gender, age group, nation or locale of residence and place of birth; and further includes symbiotic interest group pairings such as politicians and voters, intellectuals and their audiences, businessmen and their patrons, organizers of cultural and recreational events and those who attend them, and social activists along with those who rely upon and benefit from activist work. The Azorean

transnational identity category creates social ties binding individuals across these diverse social categories assisting them in the process in achieving intricate and diverse ends. Gained through the category is tangible political and economic power along with symbolic capital, all of which are helpful, even necessary for adaptation and social survival in both the immigrant context and in the homeland.

Certainly the elements of Azorean transnational identity operate across borders, conceived and constructed to link those in the Azores with those from migrant communities. “The Azores,” according to the Director of the Azorean governmental department dealing with the Diaspora communities, “do not end within the borders of its Autonomous region much less within the borders of the Portuguese Nation,” but include “the spaces where millions of Azoreans have settled, far from their homeland” (*op. cit.*). Although the presumption of a common group interest exists, processes of Azorean transnational identity construction work in local and individual contexts to generate economic and political power by those participating through an aggregate of interests. Transnational Azorean identity may be expressed through the affective ties binding the Azores and Diaspora communities at the level of family and ethnicity—and there certainly is an emotional component to the link—but the result of this supra-territorial social relationship is better analyzed through attention to the locally enacted economic, political and adaptive ends that it accomplishes.

Ultimately, it is this transnational category—along with the concomitant instrumental ends achieved through the process—that is threatened by deportation. As such, repatriation should be analyzed through the frame of Azorean transnationalism, not only as it affects the North American communities from which the migrants have been deported, but moreover in the islands, where local responses and governmental initiatives are directly related to broader constructions of the Azorean transnational ethnic category.

Transnational identity in the Diaspora

Writing in *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, (Glick Schiller, Basch and Szanton-Blanc 1992a)—a collection of essays that taken as a whole presents one of the first systematic examinations of transnational migration processes (*op. cit.*)—Feldman-Bianco analyses the role of transnational ties in a Lusophone community in southeastern New England. Discussing transnational constructions of Açorianidade and Portuguese identity among multiple generations and classes, Feldman-Bianco suggests that the “reinvention” of Portuguese and regional (including Azorean) identities, based on a shared historical memory, provides political and economic advantages to individuals across territorial boundaries. Focusing exclusively on the Diaspora communities, Feldman-Bianco’s analysis focuses upon how cultural characteristics—specifically through constructions of *Saudade*—are emphasized by those in the community to maintain links to the homeland. *Saudade*, writes Feldman-Bianco, sometimes translated as “nostalgia” or “longing,” can better be summed as “the memories that touch a soul”; but *Saudade*, moreover, is used by migrants in the formation of a “collective historical memory” to construct Portuguese and regional identities, and forms the basis of the Portuguese “imagined political community” (p. 145-46).

The concept of a shared “collective historical memory” is problematic, given the diverse personal experiences of a vast array of individuals composing the Portuguese “imagined political community,” especially when distinct articulations of regional, island based and even national identities are considered. Without explicitly describing it as such, however, Feldman-Bianco seems to render at least part of the concept as the reliance on certain publicly shared symbols derived as representative of Portugal that are enacted to demonstrate belonging in the group. She also touches upon other aspects of this process that find “collective historical memories” or shared public symbols that are used to articulate other identities that compose the broader

Lusophone group, even as they exist apart from it such as Azorean, Madeirense, or Cape Verdean identity.¹²²

One aspect of transnational identity construction posited in the essay is that shared public symbols are used even among diverse generations of migration in the group as a strategy to create political and economic power through practices that confront assimilation. The practices of these individuals—who seek to emphasize ties to the community through the symbolic representation of transnational identities—existed in contrast to strategies adopted by some older generations of Luso-Americans, who abandoned symbolic ties to the community in order to avoid discrimination in achieving political acceptance and economic success through “assimilation” in Anglo-America. She points to symbolic rifts in the community over the display of these symbols, using as one example, a dispute in a Portuguese social club about whether or not to display an American or a Portuguese flag during public meetings; while also examining more substantive debates about on the topic, as civic organizations argued over the best way to achieve political and socio-economic success, as groups argued for or against strategies that either downplayed ethnic identity as an “other” in America or emphasized cultural symbols that marked the group as separate.¹²³

Although one set of discourses sought to emphasize the transnational nature of the category, even as others framed the interaction in a way that de-emphasized the connection to the

¹²² Although in her treatment, the author tacks back and forth—sometimes including Cape Verdeans in broader processes of Portuguese national identity construction, and at other points excluding them from Portuguese national identity as the members of an independent nation.

¹²³ One prominent example of this thinking among older generations Portuguese was represented by Francis M. Rogers (his grandfather was da Rosa) who, while doing much to promote Portuguese language and culture in America (through various books and from his position as chair of the Romance Language department at Harvard, later the Dean of its Graduate School) he also worked to distance Portuguese migrants in America from maintaining transnational ties to the homeland. In one example of his thinking, while participating in a professional academic organization dedicated to the study of Portuguese History, he sought to ban all non-American members from belonging (Kenneth Maxwell, personal communication 2001). (For more on Rogers ambivalent anti-transnational stance, see an exchange of letters between Moniz and Rogers-Ackerlind: Portuguese Times May 23, 2001; June 13 2001.) Rogers was also instrumental in controversial lobbying efforts that resulted in the overturning of the Congressional EEOC minority status of the Portuguese as he felt that this would inhibit Portuguese assimilation into Anglo-America, a step that he felt was necessary for the groups political and economic success.

homeland, what makes the example interesting is that despite these differences older generation migrants were yet participating in distinctly Azorean and Portuguese social institutions with more recent arrivals. Independent of the discourses and debates creating and framing the interaction among migrant communities and the homeland, there yet existed a direct participation in the economic and political life of a transnational Azorean community.

Feldman-Bianco suggested that those advocating for transnational discourses over a de-emphasis of ethnic identity persisted and thrived because of the greater adaptive success of that strategy in meeting the political and economic needs of the community. In the intervening years since her work in the 1980s it is clear that the presence of transnational discourses, and the broad use of publicly shared symbols to define in-group identity has increased among the Azorean and Portuguese migrant communities. The result has been a circular process through which the aspects of Azorean transnational identity related in previous chapters both reflect collective belonging in the category, even as the discourses around Azorean transnationalism work to create the category itself. It is true that ties to the homeland are often expressed through emotional displays of connection among those who may have only a tenuous connection to it—among individuals who were not born there or who have not lived there for decades, for example—but this fact does not deny the serious economic and political ends that are yet met through their and others participation in a category that not only conceptually joins the homeland and the Diaspora communities, but also joins them through the flow of money, symbolic capital necessary for political power and through the movement of individuals among each.

Azorean and Portuguese transnationalism in North America accomplishes diverse ends when compared to those in the islands. Azorean transnational identity is situated in a context that finds Azoreans maintaining boundaries among themselves and others living in Canada and the US; between themselves and those from other Lusophone migrant groups; and even plays out among Azoreans from distinct islands and towns within the archipelago. In both the migrant context and the homeland, by creating and affirming Azorean transnationalism, or by articulating

a local island identity, individuals participate in layered relationships that allow for a maximization of ties through which one can be Azorean, can be Portuguese, can be Micaelense, or can be Ribeira Grandense as the situation requires. Because there is a mutual value given to belonging as a member of any of these in-groups—predominantly through reciprocal gestures but also by participation in a mutually beneficial and circumscribed economic system—the process allows for those in these migrant communities a range of possible connections through which they can seek to optimize political and economic power.

The complex and contextual layers of identity serve to bring an aggregate of individuals together to accomplish what individuals cannot. These ends however are met in the migrant context of North America in ways that are quite separate from those in the islands. Nonetheless, maintaining connections to the homeland is both symbolically and practically instrumental. It is the construction and affirmation of ties to the homeland that feeds the bounded economy, that forms the basis of the political interest group, and that provides a diverse array of individuals with a symbolic foundation for the existence of the in-group. This is a process however that, although requiring that the homeland be included in the collective construction, and certainly requires participation with those in the homeland to accomplish goals there, also serves ends that are quite apart from those of the homeland. It is through the maintenance of their connection to the homeland, however, that provides them with the symbolic wherewithal necessary for them to define a distinct identity apart from other local ethnic groups.

Transnational identity in the Azores

As demonstrated above, constructions of a transnational collective in the islands in the support of the local economy and in support of an Azorean identity that is separate from the mainland Portuguese government of which it is a part have had a profound effect. In the Azores themselves, discourses surrounding Azorean transnational identity provide political capital, encourage the flow of money back to the islands in the form of remittances, capital investments,

tourism, tax revenues, and in the case of retiring return migrants, US and Canadian retirement funds and social security moneys.

One of the unique aspects of Azorean transnationalism and one contribution of studies of the Azores to theories of transnational migration is that the fact that Azorean transnational discourses exists without the Azores being a sovereign nation. Part of the explanation for this lies in the lengthy treatment of Azorean political and economic history that has found insular interests often antagonistic to those of the mainland. That although the Azores economic and political survival since their population has been embedded in and subsumed by the continental authority, the Azores have used, at times, discourses of separation and the islands quasi-national status to maximize political and economic power vis-à-vis the mainland. The contribution that Azorean transnationalism provides to broader discussions of transnational identity and migration is how the transnational discourses of the islands not only create a collective identity category politically and economically beneficial to those directly involved in connections between the Diaspora communities and those in the homeland in forging political and economic links, but also provide those in the islands with a basis of separation between the centralized authority and the regional autonomous government. Lessinger (1992), Georges (1992) and Ong (1992), for example, examine how the construction of transnational migrant communities provides economic and political benefits to those participating in them, but such benefits are confined within the context of the migrant communities across the two nations in which the transnational communities exist. In the Azores, this obviously takes place, but the repercussions of this community building are also relevant at the level of relations between the Azores and the mainland.

Part of the Azores ability to advocate for power within the Portuguese state takes place through discourses that articulate a separate insular identity, even as those in the islands remain a part of broader constructions of Portuguese identity. The existence of migrant communities abroad—given that their connection to the islands has been used in part to define this separate

insular identity—has assisted the Azorean government in maximizing the Azores political power and economic standing in dealings with the national state authority.

Relevant to the former point, according to statistics from the Bank of Portugal, from January until September 2002, remittances totaling almost 40 million dollars were sent by migrants from the US and Canada to Portugal. Although data for the Azores are not separated from those of continental Portugal, the figures—given the majority-North American Azorean populations and the limited population of the islands in comparison to continental Portugal—yet represent the dramatic economic importance of migrants to the homeland and speak to the importance of transnational constructions of community. Further, these figures represent only direct remittances and not money earned in North America that flows into the islands from other sources, such as money spent by returning migrants on vacation, purchases of property, money from the export of products and the like to Diaspora communities. Finding jobs, housing or educational opportunities in North America are further benefits accruing to those in the islands from transnational constructions of Azorean identity, as Azoreans migrate to the US and Canada either on a permanent or semi-permanent basis to work, attend college and live.

Since the installation of the Autonomous government in 1980, elected and appointed officials in the islands have worked to promote constructions of Azorean transnational identity. The transnational project serves the government and through it those in the islands, by supporting the local economy. The project also serves the construction of separate identity that contributes to increasing power within the political configuration that resulted from the Azores constitutional Autonomy and through the archipelago's political and economic place within the Portuguese state. Azorean transnational identity does not so much serve to articulate an Azorean national identity as it differentiates the Azores from the broader Portuguese state.

Although the push for Azorean (and Madeirense) separation from the continental Portuguese authority came about as other former Portuguese territories gained independence during the post-25 de Abril period, unlike Angola, Mozambique, and other former African

colonies including Cape Verde (with which the Azores share many structural similarities) the result of the Independence movement resulted not in the formation of a nation-state, but rather in the formation of the complex political configuration of autonomy. This configuration has influenced constructions of Açorianidade in the post-Autonomy period, and is fundamental to understanding the creation and adaptive uses of Azorean transnational identity.

An excellent illustration of the politico-economic relationship between the Azores and Portugal (and through Portugal with the European Union) and Azorean identity formation is offered by Neves (1995). Situating discourses of Açorianidade in political processes through which Azorean politicians create separation between island and continental interests to seek funding and a favorable legal status vis-à-vis the European Union, Neves study provides insight into how the Azorean government and others advocating for insular interests have used the particulars of a separate Azorean identity to advocate for political and economic interests. Addressing the tension between promoting a common economic market among member nations with decidedly divergent national economies the treaty of Maastricht created a governing principle that could provide additional funding to those areas that were able to demonstrate a status at the “abject periphery” of the Union (Neves 1995). In order to gain certain benefits and exemptions under the European Union’s POSEIMA agricultural policy—institutionalizing policies and economic subsidies in the areas of agriculture and cattle production—the Azores defined themselves as an “ultra-peripheral” entity within the Union, relying on the same discourses in building their case for separation from Portugal as the discourses around Açorianidade. The Azores geographic seclusion, unique climactic conditions, demographic and structural barriers to economic success—all factors informing constructions of Açorianidade—were employed in the Azorean government’s report advocating for the special status. Neves ultimately attributes the success of the government strategy in obtaining the legal exceptions under POSEIMA to “an objectification of collective identity” (Neves 1995:83-87).

Although the scope of Neves argument was limited (examining the uses of Açorianidade in the specific context of a single Azorean governmental initiative within the European Union) and did not specifically speak to the role of migrant communities in the process, her broader point—relating to instrumental uses of identity as Azoreans draw on a tableau of features to create separation from themselves and the Portuguese state—resonates in other political affairs. It is clear from other sources including this work that discourses around migration and transnational identity are used by the Azorean government to argue for the islands' separate cultural identity. Discussed above was how the Azorean government and de-territorialized migrants born in the islands and elsewhere participated in theory and in practice in the Azorean transnational project, forming through the conjunct an insular identity that sets it apart from the mainland. By remaining a part of the Portuguese state, however in the process, while maintaining a conceptually separate status—as a quasi-nation—Azoreans obtain a range of political and economic benefits that would not accrue to them otherwise. The deportation of North American migrants back to the Azores poses some challenges in the construction of this identity category, a situation that will become clear upon an explanation of how this separate identity within the broader frame of Portuguese identity works to provide Azoreans with tangible economic benefits.

Other aspects of Azorean transnational identity work conceptually to separate the Azores from Portugal. In this context, the presence of the Lajes airbase also promotes distinctions between the Azores and continental Portugal, creating Azorean links to North America that are not in this case dominated by migrant populations. Beyond the political and economic ramifications of the “special relationship” between the Azores and the United States as a result of Lajes, the base also provides a conceptual link to the United States (although this takes place predominantly on Terceira where the base is located). Many return migrants find jobs at the base—given their pre-existing skills speaking English—even as those who work at the base develop skills (usually English language abilities) and a familiarity with the United States that encourages migration to North America. Interactions among Americans at the base and Azoreans

working there form yet another factor shaping a social reality that connects the islands with North America as it separates them from the Continente. Another aspect of this separation is the articulation of separate identity categories among those in islands who are from Continente. Perhaps not as prominent in Madeira for example, where those born on the Continente will be referred to by the less than flattering term *Cubanos* even among individuals who have lived on the island for fifty years, Azoreans will yet articulate a conceptual separation between themselves, as Açorianos and Portuguese from the mainland.

It would be erroneous however to see the articulation of a separate insular identity from the point of view of Azoreans as entirely separate from the Portuguese state, given that the construction of Açorianidade in the islands operates similarly in the communities and allows for inclusion within broader constructions of Portuguese identity when the situation necessitates. This operates at a level quite different from oppositional constructions of identity, however such oppositional constructions are malleable or contextually defined, although this certainly occurs. Azorean identity, rather, is structured to both oppose Portuguese identity, even as it is subsumed within it. As identity is construed in this manner, those in the isolated islands can advocate for insular interests both in opposition to those of the Portuguese state, even as it is the islands' inclusion within the state that makes the political and economic benefits gained from the mainland government possible. Of course the Azores' marginalization, given their geographic location and relative poverty is not a fantasy, but presents those in the islands with concrete social problems. At times of political or economic crisis, however, such constructions are beneficial, as distinct senses of Azorean identity can be used to argue for the islands' marginality from the Continente and from this Azoreans are able to make arguments within the political context of the European Union framework, as demonstrated above, or in direct appeals to Portugal.

Although politicians and intellectuals in the Portuguese state often challenge separate constructions of Azorean identity—denying that Azoreans are culturally any different from any other Portuguese citizen—Portuguese geopolitics necessitate that the Azores remain enveloped

within the national state. For more than 500 years, the islands have served national interests, either in support of trade initiatives, or in providing the state with an important strategic resource.¹²⁴ Another area in which the Azores assists continental interests is the ability of Portugal to claim Azorean migrants as Portuguese migrants. Inasmuch as the vast Azorean migrant communities can be included in constructions of Portuguese transnational identity—an instrumental category itself (see Noivo 2002) the Azores continued conceptualization as a part of the Portuguese state remains important.

The unique quasi-national political status of the Azorean archipelago—as a constitutionally derived autonomous entity—has certainly framed the development of Azorean identity. Yet, it was discourses of Açorianidade emerging in the early 20th century that led to the legal status of the islands that simultaneously separates them from the mainland while also leaving them embedded in the nation. At the heart of discourses of Açorianidade is this tension between creating separation in the advocacy of insular interests, while there is a simultaneous need to remain connected to Portugal in order to receive those benefits. Concomitantly, the government is involved in a project that connects Diaspora migrants to the islands contributing both to the economy of the islands, as the connection is itself used to construct and affirm a separate Azorean identity. Although it is all part of a complementary process, when politicians rely upon discourses of Açorianidade and transnational identity to advocate for economic and legal benefits at the national and supra national (EU) level, the goals are obviously quite different

¹²⁴ The Azores continue to provide the Portuguese state with an ability to advocate for national interests outside of the political sphere of NATO and the European Union (Maxwell 2001, 1991; Monje 1992; Vasconcellos 1988). The 2003 War summit in the Azores between US President Bush, British Prime Minister Blair and Spanish Prime Minister Aznar is an example of this dynamic. The Portuguese Prime Minister hosted the event, in geopolitical strategy intended to create links with certain partners in the EU, even as links were created outside of the EU with the United States. In a situation revelatory of Portuguese/Azorean relations, the summit, known in the United States and throughout the world press as the “Azores Summit”, was referred to by the Portuguese Prime Minister and the Portuguese national press as the *Cimeira em Portugal* (Summit in Portugal) or alternately the *Cimeira Atlântico*, and when reference was made to the Azores, it was usually only to mention Lajes or Terceira (the island where it took place). That the Azores were enveloped in these discourses as part of the Portuguese national territory, in this as in other dealings with the US, provided the continental state-authority with the geopolitical wherewithal to advocate for what the Portuguese Prime Minister saw as Portuguese national interests.

from discourses of Açorianidade that encourage migrants to return to the Azores to spend money during feasts or to invest their North American-earned retirement funds in the islands. This further demonstrates how constructions of Azorean transnationalism serve broad and multiple ends, functioning in diverse, variegated and local contexts.

Defining the transnational Azorean

The tendency to examine collective communities through Anderson's formulation of them as "imagined"—that is, individuals participating in categories as the nation or as an ethnic group do not know one another and so have no practical basis for collective identification—is widespread in the social sciences. Certainly the parameter of Azorean transnational identity that finds the maintenance of collective identity among groups with little connection to the islands—for example Azoreans in Brazil who Leal (2002) and Lacerda (2003b) point out have little interaction with the Azores on anything but a symbolic level and who use this imagined connection to accomplish local ends—is an example that fits Anderson's mold. Even within the islands, those advocating for individual interests do so by relying on a group collective identity that encompasses a diverse array of individuals and factions, even for potentially antagonistic interests, speaking as well, to the "imagined" nature of the construction. Even as discourses around Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity provide an impetus for collective interaction, taken as a whole, Azorean transnational identity is not entirely a "constructed" or "imagined" community. That is, in as much as the Azorean transnational category provides a structural frame in which tangible survival strategies are enacted, it critiques the notion that it is an entirely "imagined" community. The intense political and economic connection among those within the category, who rely upon one another for decidedly concrete practical interests such as advocating for political positions, gaining jobs, money or housing, presents a critique of positions that focus upon the imagined community as a predominantly hegemonic practice of a power elite (i.e. Hobsbawm 1990). The Azorean transnational community operates to serve the interests of a

broad array of factions that construe it, including both landless peasants and the propertied moneyed elite.

As discussed, collective participation in supra-territorial Azorean identity has developed as an encompassing and necessary means through which agents accomplish locally enacted ends. Through this nuanced process, discourses of transnational identity are employed by those across diverse social categories to accomplish specific individual goals by creating and maintaining links that maximize economic power and provide political power and prestige. Azorean and Portuguese transnational identity practices are carried out in the communities among business interests, media outlets, politicians, and individuals working to create economic opportunities, maximize personal power, and assist transnational kin networks in survival strategies. Although there exists a symbiotic relationship among these categories as they seek to reach their ends, the goals are not necessarily shared among them. Constructions of Azorean transnational identity will assist a restaurant for example in bringing in a paying clientele, individuals who will obviously not share in the profits derived from their patronage. Yet, connections made at the restaurant might provide an individual with an apartment, with a job, with a connection to a community that might be able to assist him in a myriad of required practical initiatives. This community-wide reciprocity is not merely the result of the economic exchange created among clients and patrons, but exists additionally through the frame of collective identity.

Within the Diaspora, articulations of Azorean transnational identity also assist those within the collective in articulating identities in local contexts. Leal's discussion of the "invention" of Azorean transnational identity in southern Brazil is relevant to articulations in other migrant contexts. Certainly, as is the case with Leal's discussion of Azorean transnational identity in Brazil, discourses articulating Azorean ethnicity in North America also cannot be separated from the other ethnic groups against which Azoreans vie for resources.

Azorean transnational identity provides the group with a vocabulary with which to articulate a sense of marginality in relation mainland Portugal, or against mainstream Canadian or

US society, useful for advocating for collective political rights in a local context; while also providing adaptive economic strategies, as jobs, resources and capital move among the collectively defined communities. In times of difficulty Azoreans did not migrate to continental Portugal, they migrated to North America. In the process they maintained multiple levels of identity, as Portuguese, as Azorean, as Micaelense, as Pico da Pedrense, etc. providing them with an array of possibilities for instrumental strategies relying upon collective participation and reciprocation.

The political power of the regional government, as the Presidency seeks funds and resources from the continental government, is greatly augmented as a result of the transnational construction of the Azores as both polity and territory. Yet the migrants, themselves living in America, are served by politicians in the Azores, as the regional government seeks to facilitate travel and investment, for example, while also providing funding and resources for activities in North America. Likewise, the political power of the communities has led to preferences being given to Portuguese citizens who would migrate to the US for extended periods of time.¹²⁵ As examples, Azorean migrants seeking jobs or education outside the archipelago in North America are aided through the connection as their presence assists local communities in sustaining separate identities; the tourist and travel industry in the islands and North America benefit greatly through constructions of collective identity that encourage migrants to return for summer festivals, as do exporters and importers of Azorean food stuffs and dry goods, consumed by Azoreans in North American restaurants or purchased in stores.

The Azoreans get contacts that help them to migrate, that promote return migration and subsequent boosts to the economy through expenditures, investments and pension money upon retirement and relocation. Azoreans receive the symbolic wherewithal to cast themselves as separate from the Portuguese state, as Açor-North Americans are provided with the symbolic

¹²⁵ Until new US security measures enacted in March 2003 made Visas mandatory for all stays, Portuguese citizens visiting the US were able to stay for a period of three months without a Visa.

wherewithal necessary to cast themselves as an ethnic group—essential to how they have adapted to life in North America.

Azorean transnational identity, however collectively construed it may be, operates rather at an individual and family level. For the most part, Azorean working class and landless peasants do not have considerable power at the individual level; and even among those who do possess political, economic and symbolic power, such power tends to be enacted within the confines of the community rather than outside it. When individuals have clout outside of the community, such as state and federal politicians or wealthy businessmen, their power is still largely dependent on the community and the construction of collective identity. As such, effort is made to both represent what they perceive as the best interests of the community, or barring that, to at least support initiatives that echo discourses of the transnational collective. The symbiotic relationship between those living in the islands and those living abroad is both a direct result of the transnational construction of identity even as it is the source of the identity itself.

Individual goals are collectively achieved by participation in group identity processes. By remaining connected to an imagined or real homeland and to a collective that may use a geographic territory as a marker of in-group status but is not defined by territorial boundaries, instrumental collective ethnic identity processes have an even greater adaptive value. Divorced from the economic constraints of existence as a single nation, able to rely upon and contextually manipulate ties to overlapping state entities, Azoreans have developed a complex array of survival strategies for the unique social and demographic problems that they face. Further, Azorean transnational identity acts as an adaptive response to restrictive definitions of the nation; restrictive not only when regarding definitions of identity within the receiving nation, but in the home nation as well.

Although it has been suggested by some (i.e. Neves *op. cit.*) that the category has been created through self serving discourses intended to advance narrow interests, as it is articulated by Azorean governmental agencies, politicians, intellectuals, cultural elites, businessmen, workers

and the like it is indisputable that the discourses also reflect the social reality. They may serve particular instrumental ends, but the social networks provided by the collective “Azorean” category are nonetheless quite real. Although intellectuals and politicians have indeed been prominent in promoting discourses around transnational identity, it has been the usefulness of the category among a wide array of individuals with divergent interests as a way to maximize personal power that has done the most to advance Azorean transnationalism as a category of social action. For those in the homeland and the Diaspora communities, as well as the individuals moving across borders, transnational identity certainly operates in a divergent manner as different groups participate in the category to achieve distinct ends. Nonetheless, all rely upon the social networks connecting those composing the rest of the collective both to maintain the category and to achieve the practical ends it serves. To separate out the two sides, the Diaspora communities from the homeland, may be possible for the purposes of analytical abstraction, but the workings of transnational identity require that the two sides be conceived not only as symbiotic, but also as inseparable.

Definitions of Azorean in-group status reflect the multiple levels and contexts in which collective identity is enacted. As with all boundaries and definitions demarcating ethnic-group identity there is no consistent or uniform delineation of what constitutes an Azorean. Rather, Açorianidade is treated contextually with definitions of in-group identity based upon vacillating primordial articulations that may include place of birth, place of residence, whether or not one speaks Portuguese, how one speaks Portuguese, one’s ancestor’s home, and familiarity and conformity with a range of cultural codes and behaviors. None of these features need be consistent however, but rather are defined based upon the particular requirements of the moment and the particular purposes the collective Azorean identity serves at the moment. For example, Azorean in-group status has included individuals who have only one great-grandparent from the islands, who don’t speak a word of Portuguese, who have little familiarity with cultural codes. Extending the rubric of collective identity to such individuals is beneficial as it encourages travel

to the islands, where such individuals have spent money on a vacation, and has fomented individuals to go to Portuguese restaurants. In as much as one's participation is beneficial to the rest of the collective, only the most tenuous connection to the islands can yet confer insider status in certain contexts.

In an almost entirely Azorean social club in southeastern New England, for example, there is a broad participation among a wide range of individuals identifying themselves as Portuguese. The community includes the children and grandchildren of older migrants coming to the United States over a period of time from the late 1800s to the mid 1900s along with a newer group of migrants arriving from the islands during the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. Given the symbiotic economic relationship among the group as whole, with most of the newer arrivals first coming to the US in order to work for those from the older generation, from the point of view, of those participating, the construction of a collective group identity—and the concomitant reciprocal social relations derived from it—makes sense. For those from the older generation—most of whom had never set foot in the islands, who spoke only a limited amount of Portuguese or none at all, and who had spent much of their lives acting out discourses of assimilation in the US—engaging in a collective identity with the newer arrivals provided them with an identity category that separated them from newer wealthy (non-Portuguese) arrivals in the town who had in recent years usurped the Portuguese communities stronghold on local elected and appointed positions in government and civil service (Moniz 1996).

In this example, Azorean transnational identity is broadly construed. It is the recognition of historical and continuing processes of mutual reciprocity among those participating in the category that define belonging rather than an immutable and consistent checklist of cultural features. In the context of this example, the checklist defining inclusion in the “Azorean” category—having lived in the town, tracing ancestry to one of the town's early Azorean migrants—is rather different from the checklist of features that excludes the North American deportees living in the islands from inclusion. Below, it will be demonstrated that inclusion and

exclusion of deportees in the Azorean category will indeed depend largely upon the goals of those individuals promoting or denying their participation.

Various theorists have touched upon the malleable nature of identity and how contextual identity can serve multiple ends. Gluckman 1958, 1961; Leach 1956; Mitchell 1956, 1966; A. Cohen 1969, Colson 1967, 1974 and Moerman 1965 as early examples, examined collective identities in urban and colonial contexts. Works in this vein sought to analyze migration not through assimilationist processes but, rather how behavior in the post-migrant community should be understood as an adaptation to a different social milieu from the home (Hicks 1977:8). Mitchell (1956) for example points out that being a “tribesman” in the town had little to do with being a “tribesman” in the rural area in that in each place the identity was acted out in a different social organization and context.

Clearly my argument benefits from the work of Abner Cohen’s (1969) contextual instrumentalism and its offshoots, such that ethnicity and collective categorical identity serves individuals in political and economic processes of interaction. Cohen’s suggestion along with others cited above that the features marking identity are subject to change speaks to processes of Azorean transnational collective identity construction, as does Mayer (1962) who posits that although ethnicity is indeed situational, an individual is not free to claim any identity he may desire, but is constrained by a fixed array of culturally ready choices.

An analytical distinction can be made between the symbolic aspects of Açorianidade, defining expectations for what constitutes the “Azorean community” so that the transnational construction of identity can be maintained, and the tangible instrumental benefits that accrue from participation in it. Such distinctions cannot be made at the level of practice, however, because the process is circular and simultaneous. The symbolic construction of identity creates the ties through which political and economic advantages are endowed, as the existence of political and economic advantages create the necessity for maintaining the collective identity. In different contexts, inclusion in the Azorean category will rely on a different set of markers, such that North

American-born Azoreans, those born in the islands who migrated, those who never left the islands, will all be held to distinct standards of comportment in order to be subsumed within the category. A North American born Azorean need only meet a set of criteria for inclusion that may include visiting the islands, speaking Portuguese with a minimal level of proficiency, participating in organizations and events linked either in the communities or in the archipelago that articulate transnational identity in order to be included in the category. An Azorean born migrant is held to a rather different standard for inclusion that includes a different set of expectations for comportment and familiarity with (ever shifting) cultural codes.

The construction of collective identity, however, is not presumed to be contextual. To the contrary it is a presumption that those forming collective identities somehow share some similar world-view, or some similar self-interests, as if the enacting of public symbols had a concrete and one to one relationship with internal private thoughts.

A. F. Wallace examines this position in his discussion of collective identity and the interaction with public symbols (of which cultural codes of comportment are a part) and posits that cognitive similarities among a certain group (a category in Mitchell's formulation) of individuals are a "wistful dream," and that individuals do not communicate motivation and meaning, but rather articulate "uniquely private cognitive worlds" (Wallace 1970: 33,34). Wallace's implication is that humans live on individual islands in their conceptualizations of experience and the attempt to communicate with others using public symbols is ultimately bound in such a way so as to create an order out of "cognitive diversity" (Wallace 1970: 36). Wallace states that a lack of conformity in cognitive structures does not negatively influence social cohesion, because "the behavior of various people under various circumstances is predictable, irrespective of knowledge of their motivation, and thus is capable of being predictably related to one's own actions" (Wallace 1970: 35). Hicks (1997 personal communication) picks up on the implication of Wallace's construction on ethnicity as a form of categorical identity, stating that although individuals can never know if they share meaning, they do share the symbols that are

supposed to represent meaning. In this way, it is unimportant whether or not those within an ethnic category are sharing the meaning of the category, it is enough that they at least agree to share the symbols to be considered an ethnic category. That is, as long as they conform to public expectations of behavior, social interaction will not breakdown. The implication of this formulation for constructions of transnational identity is that it allows for the interplay of a diversity of interests to come together under a broad category of presumed common cultural identity.

In the Azorean transnational identity example, the symbols that define Azorean in-group belonging operates in a divergent manner from context to context, but because of the importance of the category in assisting those within it to accomplish a range of personal and group economic and political ends, definitions of inclusion and exclusion, when they can be, are construed to preserve the transnational category. When this identity plays out in a particular context, however, in order to maintain the power of the broad symbol—"transnational Azorean"—the normative rules governing interaction in the particular context however must be complied with. There is, however, a far looser standard for the inclusion of certain individuals based upon what they are able to provide those within the collective, either in terms of tangible monetary and political advantages or through their ability to conceptually promote the notion of transnational identity. It is no doubt then that celebrities with tangible connections to the islands and the communities, such as Nelly Furtado have as prominent a symbolic place as they do in discourses of Azorean transnational identity.

Transnational identity and the deportees

Understanding the utility of the Azorean transnational identity category, how it is constructed, and how it operates provides an analytical frame through which the negative reception given the deportees, and the difficulties they have in integrating into island life can be examined. This is not to downplay that many of the problems faced by forced return migrants are

practical. Among those who have spent a longer time in North America, they obviously face problems related to their lack of language skills, to their lack of practical skills stemming from having little knowledge of cultural codes. It is their effect on the transnational identity category, however, that makes the insertion of the forced return migrants in the Azores problematic. As stated above, the deportees have difficulty conforming to Azorean expectations of proper comportment not only because they are unfamiliar with the expectations themselves, but, moreover because of their negative impact on symbolic constructions of the transnational identity category.

Azorean transnational identity can be analyzed as a form of collective identity derived to achieve instrumental ends, yet there are few interests shared in common by this “transnational community”. So in what sense is it a community at all, especially since it is the presumption of commonality—however contextually commonality may be defined—around which the identity is organized? Ultimately it is through an organization of diversity into a discrete category that the transnational community is able to accomplish any of the instrumental ends achieved through the process. Deportees however, become increasingly difficult to organize within the category. Although their lack of inclusion in the category is framed in the islands around their inappropriate comportment and their lack of familiarity with various cultural codes and markers of identity, it is moreover the way they contribute negatively to constructions of transnational identity that leads to their reception. How the deportees are framed within discourses of Azorean identity is also not without complexity, as the process of deportation—not individual deportees themselves—actually serves specific ends in bolstering the transnational construction rather than threatening it.

Deportation: Transnational identity undone

In the only previous academic (though limited) treatment of deportation, Brillhante (2000) argues that it is the “deviant” nature of the repatriados in the islands that causes their difficulties in successfully integrating. Relying in part upon constructions of deviance and criminality

forwarded by Goffman (1980); Giddens (1989, 1992, 1994); and Vant (1984), Brilhante argues that the deportees encounter the problems they do because of an inherently marginal status that they possess, in both the islands, as well as the North American communities from which they came. He sees their status as criminals the result of social problems consequent from a lack of appropriate socialization as children and their social exclusion as adults, a condition only heightened by the situation they encounter in the Azores. As such, the “long term patterns” of criminal behavior that characterize the deportees in the islands is an extension of their lives prior to deportation. He sets up dichotomous oppositions between the “us” and the “them” seeing their exclusion as the marginalization of drug addicts and criminals by the productive members of society. According to Brilhante, the deportees’ categorization in the islands as marginal outsiders is foremost because of their criminality and their lack of conformity to cultural codes, and is only made more difficult to overcome given the structural lack of support available to them in the form of family assistance networks.

Interviewing six deported individuals from the US and Canada, Brilhante looks at variables such as family structure, drug dependency and the deportees’ predisposition to criminal activity concluding that these factors affect how they are viewed in the islands given their inability to conform to norms of behavior in the islands. Although this argument is not entirely without merit, it is problematic. There are, first, some gross inaccuracies in his treatment. He writes for example “repatriation is a way to combat criminality existing in the large urban centers [of the US and Canada], provoked by illegal immigrants residing in these nations” (194) and “repatriation is a clear rejection of immigrants who have lived for many years in the US and Canada.” In fact, very different sets of laws exist to treat the deportation of undocumented migrants living in the US and Canada who are considered to have virtually no rights in the state, and documented migrants, whose legal right to reside within the state is only questioned by their reclassification upon committing crimes of moral turpitude—who as discussed in Chapter III, are deported through processes that have a history quite apart from that of undocumented migrants.

The deportation laws were specifically enacted to remove criminal documented migrants, not undocumented migrants, not documented migrants who have not broken laws. As such, the deportation of these migrants is not a “rejection of migrants who have lived for many years in the US and Canada”, but rather the rejection of certain narrow class of resident migrants of North America. This distinction is not trivial as it is also made in the Azores in responses to the repatriados, especially as categories of voluntary return migrants attempt to separate themselves from forced return migrants, and as forced return migrants attempt to use the voluntary return migrant category to escape stigmatization.

These problems are minor, however, when compared to his basic argument. Certainly it is the case that the repatriados are classified as outsiders because of their comportment, their drug use, their violent behavior, and governmental programs are indeed intended to address this issue, but if the matter were merely the case of their appropriate comportment—that is that they not act like socially marginal individuals—then it would be safe to presume that anyone who acted similarly to the repatriados would likewise be socially excluded. This however, is not the case.

Brilhante is correct to point out that a lack of assistance networks, poor relations with family in the islands, difficulties from serious drug addictions and concomitant illnesses, and lack of familiarity with language and cultural codes do contribute to difficulties. But he does not account for the fact that other non-deportees also have similar problems in the islands without suffering from the concomitant social stigmatization accompanying the “Repatriado” category. Further he fails to adequately analyze those forced return migrants who—despite these problems—are able to escape the social stigma of classification as a repatriado. His position suggesting that if one can just learn the right cultural codes and have the right kind of family connections in the islands, then he will not be stigmatized is, intentional or not, a re-articulation of the stereotypes held of the repatriado category in the islands, rather than a critical analysis of why they exist in the first place.

In one example critical to Brilhante's thesis that the deportee's social marginalization is caused by their criminality, the Ponta Delgada Prison (EPPD) is filled with individuals, both deportees and others who fit the criteria of social marginalization; who have been accused and convicted of crimes including dealing drugs, assault and battery, rape, even murder, and although their activities are not condoned, these individuals do not face the same kind of social stigmatization faced by the deportees. In fact, as my field research demonstrates, the same dichotomy that exists on the island separating the Açoriano category from the repatriado category is replicated within the prison itself. Brilhante's argument that their social exclusion is further related to their lack of familiarity with cultural codes is also not borne out by the data. There are non-Azorean, non-Portuguese, non-Lusophone prisoners and convicts in the islands who have served time in the EPPD for crimes including some of those listed above, who are even less familiar with cultural codes and appropriate forms of behavior than are the forced return migrants, yet they escape entirely the negative social stigma that the deportees receive. Tsuda (2000) in part spoke to this issue as he discussed the fact that Japanese-Brazilians faced the problems of social exclusion, not because they were considered foreigners, but because they were considered foreigners with some cultural connection to Japan.

Other examples cited from my field research include voluntary or visiting return migrants who have been classified and responded to as repatriados—including the anthropologist. Although these individuals have been mistaken for repatriados, they have not lived the kinds of lives of criminal social exclusion that characterize the deportee group. Oftentimes, the process of categorization takes place such that an individual is considered a deportee and treated in one manner, and then has a completely different relationship with the same individuals once it was learned he was not a deportee. It was a situation that I experienced on a number of occasions during various stages of my fieldwork, but I also noted numerous other examples of this occurring as well. One Açor-American student for example, George, who, over several summers participated in a program at the University of the Azores—underwritten by the school and the

government to bring Açor-North Americans to the islands—had this problem frequently. In 1999, I was invited by the summer program’s organizers to participate on a panel about deportation with officials from CAR, the government and from the defunct Projecto Horizon. During the question and answer period, one of the students asked me “how can anyone tell the difference between a deportee and someone who is just from the island.” Fielding the question, I quoted from a government program’s literature on the topic, a description that said deportees wear baseball hats, have tattoos, walk around in shorts, wear unlaced hiking boots, etc. Every time I mentioned a new deportee “characteristic” the group of students would snigger, until the end of the list when the room broke out in laughter. I understood the joke when I glanced to my right and saw that they were all laughing at George, who looked and was dressed exactly as I had been describing.

George later told me a number of stories about how he had been routinely mistaken for a repatriado. Once he was walking down the streets of Ponta Delgada and there was a small group of people blocking the sidewalk. When those in the group saw him coming, he said they immediately scurried out of the way. At other times as he walked down the street he was accosted by individuals who directed disparaging remarks at him. George said that by the third summer he had participated in the program, however, some of the same people who had initially made nasty comments to him in years past when they thought he was a deportee, recognized him and would wave to him and call him over to for friendly chats. No doubt George’s gregarious personality was part of the reason he befriended so many people in the islands, but friendly personality or not, George was initially categorized as a repatriado and as such, was responded to in a manner fitting his classification. As a young earnest Açor-American student who loved coming to the University’s summer program because, in his words “I love this place and anything that makes my mother let me come over here is good”, George did not exactly fit the profile of social exclusion forwarded by *Brilhante*. Yet he was responded to through the same patterns of behavior that characterize the reproachful nature of interactions with those in the deportee category.

Other voluntary return migrants, like George, come back to the islands speaking little Portuguese and participating in roughly the same kinds of activities as the deportees but once it has been assessed that they are not in the repatriado category, their behavior does not subject them to the same social stigma of the deportee group. As another example illustrates, during the period of my field research, I ran into a group of about 20 friends, family friends, a couple of cousins and some others with them from my home town who were visiting São Miguel for a golf trip. I offered to bring the group out one night to a local restaurant that I thought they would all enjoy. Many in the group drank steadily all night, becoming increasingly loud as the evening wore on. Some were swearing profusely, most were drunk and unruly in their behavior—at least by Azorean expectations for comportment in a public restaurant. Later, one of the individuals (who I did not know prior to the evening) was acting in a boorish manner at a club talking to some women in a way that—were he a deportee and not an American—would be exemplary of the kind of behavior that islanders say is typical of the repatriados. Yet neither the waiters at the restaurant nor the bartender at the club responded to the predominantly Açor-American group (including migrants and those from American-born generations) in a manner anywhere near the way that some waiters treated deportees in bars or cafés. To the contrary, the waiter himself was getting caught up in the reverie of the evening, offering to pour free drinks to anyone who wanted them as the group settled up the bill. Of course, given the large amount of money the group was spending, and the fact that Azorean waiters know that expectations for gratuities are different in the US than in the islands, all manner of cultural transgressions perpetrated by the return migrants and the Azorean descendents were ignored. Contrast this to the treatment of forced return migrants in bars and cafés as discussed in earlier sections. It is clear that the same behavior is framed quite differently in the two contexts.

Another problem in the argument forwarded by Brilhante is his suggestion that the deportees' marginalization is in part the result of behaviors that they exhibit that the islanders do not. Although one can abstract certain aspects of cultural performance enacted by the deportees

and say such behavior is atypical of most Azoreans, this is simply not always the case. Even among those who have never left the islands, there are those who exhibit behavior often attributed to the deportees, including getting into fights, loud, inappropriate behavior in public, drug dependency and criminal activity, etc. Yet, these individuals also escape stigmatization as members of an outcast group and are not socially marginalized as the forced return migrants are. There are many voluntary return migrants who come back to the islands to live permanently after residing in North America for many years, yet these individuals do not suffer the same social stigmatization as the deportees. As demonstrated above, many deportees even attempt to call themselves voluntary return migrants in order to escape stigmatization, only to find that the friendly terms upon which they were accepted turn sour when it is “discovered” they are really deportees.

Another critique of this position are the voluntary return migrants who found jobs in which they were able to make use of experiences gained living in North America, introducing cultural features not present among the general population. Such positions include taxi-drivers and restaurant workers (as English, usually learned in North America, is useful); or chefs, who have expanded Azorean culinary tastes opening non-traditional restaurants; or university professors and Government officials whose education in the US or Canada led to their positions in the islands. Indeed, some voluntary return migrants have lived in North America for far longer than the deportees. It is not uncommon for someone to leave the Azores as a teenager and come back at retirement age. None of these individuals however suffers from the social stigmatization of the deportees. Despite this apparent lack of conformity to appropriate modes of comportment or expectations of how Azoreans should act, the contributions of these individuals—in as much as they have expanded Azorean expectations (as an Italian and a Mexican restaurant have done for example) are celebrated and welcomed by the general population.

Among the repatriated working in the archipelago, there exist certain jobs—such as bouncers in local clubs—in which the stereotypes about deportee comportment will work to their

advantage, making repatriados the best candidates for the positions. Likewise deported individuals working in the film production company mentioned above do so because of the owner's belief that through their experiences in North America, they will have a greater familiarity with the kinds of projects he hopes to produce. Although the range of work activity in this vein is rather limited, it nonetheless points out that even when deportees conform to all of the expectations of deportee behavior, they will not always suffer from social stigmatization. Further, within the context of certain illicit activities—such as selling drugs—deportees are considered excellent candidates for jobs, because they know the work and presumably have the right aptitudes for it. Although the activity is illegal, and would be disparaged by the general Azorean population, within the circle of Azoreans for whom a deportee dealer might work, he is certainly respected and appreciated—not because he conforms to Azorean expectations of behavior, but in part, because he does not, and has lived the kind of life that ultimately resulted in his deportation.

To be certain, the percentage of those suffering from mental illnesses, drug dependency and associated ailments is far greater among the repatriated group than the general population. Further the particular conditions under which the deportados have been forcibly brought back to their place of birth causes them to respond to their return in a manner obviously divergent from how a voluntary return migrant will act. Deportees are far more likely to respond violently to their surroundings, and far more likely—given the structural problems embedded in the lack of support networks for them and the lack of personal skills they possess—to encounter difficulty dealing with the practical aspects of their lives. Examining success stories and comparing those for whom the social integration project worked with those for whom it did not, some patterns do emerge that indicate those who will or will not have success. Factors such as length of time spent in the islands prior to migration to North America, closeness of family in the islands upon repatriation, language skills, duration of time spent in North America can, as a general rule, all be factors that influence whether or not a deportee will have “success” in his social integration into

the islands—that is success in not being included in the deportee category. Yet this is not always the case.

In part, this is another criticism of *Brilhante*, in that there are those who have lived lives of criminal marginalization who are yet able to abandon the repatriado category upon their return to the islands. Nonetheless, even among those who encounter limited problems in their ability to find housing, work, and integrate into the social networks of the islands, they still must negotiate the deportee category, given the circumstances of their return to the islands. “Negotiating the category” includes the actions of those who have worked to conform to Azorean expectations of proper behavior—with some having greater success than others; those who have lied about the facts of their return supplanting the truth of their forced repatriation with narratives of voluntary return migration; those who attempt to avoid all contact with other deportees; those who do not necessarily conform to cultural expectations of comportment, but rather confront those around them with their status as a deportee, while demonstrating that the stereotypes are without merit.

A number of forced return migrants, for example, successfully shunned the negative consequences of responses to deportation by attempting to exclude themselves from the category itself. This group does not participate in any of CAR’s programs and most of them are able to successfully integrate themselves into island social life with narratives about themselves as voluntary return migrants. It is true that most of those among this group whom I interviewed had spent a shorter time in North America than those participating in the CAR program; had migrated to America at a later age; had closer family in the islands; and had a greater dominion of various cultural skills and codes than those at CAR. Yet there were a number of individuals, including a recovering heroin addict who had lived most of his life in North America, who never had any contact with CAR or other deportees (apart from two deported cousins whom he would go to visit occasionally in the city, never bringing them to his home on the far side of the island) and for this reason was able to escape classification as a repatriado. His success had less to do with the particular manner in which he acted as much as it had to do with his ability to not be classified as

a deportee—despite the knowledge among those in his village that he was a forced return migrant. Although strategies are divergent, what is consistent among all of those who have had success in “integration” is that they have achieved success as individuals, gaining acceptance by moving from the categorical identity of repatriado into a relationship of personal networks through which they are no longer responded to in the terms of the category but rather as an individual.

When examining the process of deportation in the broader context of transnational Azorean identity, the reception of forced return migrants must be analyzed in relation to the treatment of temporary and permanent voluntary return migrants. Although in certain contexts voluntary return migrants may run into similar problems being cast as outsiders or marginal to Azoreans, as a category, the presence of voluntary return migrants is seen as a predominantly positive contribution to those living in the islands. The confusion that often takes place when Azoreans attempt to categorize Açor-North Americans as either deportees or voluntary return migrants speaks to the difficulty with which one can easily separate out the two groups in terms of conformity to expectations of comportment or the proper performance of ethnic identity. Yet it is the deportee category that confronts the broad and pervasive social marginalization that is levied against those in the group.

It is not my intention to disavow the existence of certain characteristics of the deported population that lead to the difficulties that they face in social integration including their comportment outside of norms, lack of familiarity with cultural codes, lack of close family in the islands, and limited experience with Azorean cultural practices prior to migration. There is an obvious and clear relationship between the comportment of many of the deportees, their expectations for their own lives and the personal choices they make in living and how they are categorized and responded to by those in the islands. The greater point to be made, however, is that those who are deported display a range of behaviors that cannot all be classified as representative of islanders’ descriptions of the “Repatriado” category. Further, other non-

deportees display similar behaviors without being marginalized. For their part, the deportees are expected to act in a certain way because they are considered insiders, given their legal status, yet many are effectively foreigners given the particular cultural experiences of their upbringing. From their point of view, most of the deportees *are* acting according to expectations of appropriate behavior, although these expectations are typical to working class and impoverished Azoreans living in North America. The divergence in the presumptions of what is considered appropriate is another problem that the deportees must confront, one that definitively governs their interaction with islanders upon their return. Acting outside of expectation, however, also characterizes the relations between voluntary return migrants and islanders. In this, there is clearly a tension between the marginalization of individuals who may encounter problems with social integration as a result of personal skills or choices and the category of repatriado into which they are placed.

Deportation and Azorean transnationalism

Examining marginalization consequent to the categorical nature of their identity, rather than the personal, what needs to be addressed is why this category is treated so negatively? This discussion has demonstrated that it is not so simple a matter to say that it is merely the deportees' comportment that leads to their social marginalization, as others behave in a fashion similar to the deportees without concomitant stigmatization. It is my contention that the general population marginalizes the deportees and the government goes to such great lengths to reintegrate or "re-Azoreanize" them because of the negative impact their presence in the islands has on the adaptive processes of Azorean transnationalism.

If many voluntary return migrants behave in a fashion similar to the deportees, one area that they do not share with them is the way that their perceived and actual impact on the islands is regarded as overwhelmingly positive. As voluntary return migrants represent the positive aspects of Azorean transnational adaptive strategies, the deportee category represents a maladaptive

aspect of Azorean transnationalism—in ways both practical and symbolic.¹²⁶ From an economic standpoint, deportees, however, drain Azorean financial resources and from the point of view of their social impact in the islands, they are perceived as responsible for a range of social problems including increases in crime and violence in the islands. Substantial economic resources are expended on assisting the deportees to integrate, and many among the islands' population feel that they receive benefits from the society that they do not deserve, given the negative contribution that they make to the local social environment. Unlike return migrants, they do not come back to the islands and spend money: they come back to the islands and take money. They are not perceived to contribute in (directly) positive ways to the traditional adaptive strategies undertaken by Azoreans through which the migrant communities provide those in the islands with remittances or other monies¹²⁷, and they do not participate in the networks of assistance that furnish jobs and housing to Azoreans who leave the archipelago to seek them in North America when economic conditions necessitate. The process also calls into question the adaptive aspects of the Azores connection with the archipelago's migrant communities. Deportation is constantly cast as a problem through which the deportees are seen as individuals created by the social problems of America, and then sent to the islands, where the Azorean residents must deal with the repercussions. No one ever questions that the money earned by migrants abroad sent back to or spent in the archipelago was also created by the social conditions of North America. This is a taken for granted aspect of Azorean transnationalism that forms an adaptive aspect of the strategy. The deportees, however, present the negative side of transnational economic strategies.

¹²⁶ Although symbolic aspects of deportation are more complex. In certain contexts, deportation is used to bolster discourses of transnational identity. This dynamic is discussed below.

¹²⁷ Although some deportees leave North America with substantial funds usually provided by family in North America in order to help them get back on their feet, many in this group spend most of the funds in Lisbon prior to arrival in the Islands. In fact, some among this group, however, do arrive with money. In addition, family members will often make the trip to the islands solely or in part to visit deported relatives. In this way, deportation serves as another factor bringing migrants back to the islands, although this contribution is completely overlooked by the general population and ignored when the (negative) contributions of the deportees on Azorean social life are considered. Part of the reason may be that although some do bring money, the majority of deportees do not; and the fact that the existence of family connections often results in public confrontations.

Further, their presence, the way they interact with those in the islands, and the difficulties many face in social integration through their lack of familiarity with appropriate norms of conduct—which should after all, as the thinking goes, be natural to all Azoreans—also calls into question the symbolic construction of Açorianidade and Azorean transnational identity. Although the markers defining Azorean transnational identity operate differently in distinct contexts, what holds the concept together is the presumption of a commonality among those participating in it. That many deportees have so much difficulty in performing to cultural expectations in the islands; and behave in a way that would however, in other contexts provide them an Azorean identity, questions the existence of that commonality.

That they have a legal status as Portuguese citizens and residents of the Azores both emphasizes and creates the conditions for this dichotomy, separating how they act and the expectations for how they should behave. In this is a relationship between not only supranational constructions of Azorean transnational identity, as has been discussed throughout this dissertation, but also has implications for constructions of transnational identity based upon citizenship in a particular state. The legal status of “nationality” further provides the category with an apparent concreteness that leaves it less subject to challenge than other non-legally constructed forms of categorical identity.

Despite divergences in the specific manner in which citizenship is bestowed, all participants in nation-state entities have come to agreement upon the concept that some form of belonging within the nation-state is a fundamental fact of social identity. Even an undocumented migrant who elects to cross borders without detection is deeply involved in the reification of national identity. Even as a conscious agent who attempts to maximize personal economic gain by working as an undocumented migrant (and so in part challenging the validity of the state) by choosing, for example, to cross a desert when migrating, rather than drive in a car, one is acquiescing to the power of the nation to define one’s legal status, where one can work, where one can live, etc.

Independent of the legal machinations through which one's national citizenship status is delineated, there are presumptions that are made about how a citizen so defined should act in practice—presumptions that are made about culturally appropriate behavior that are expected from those defined as holding a particular national citizenship status. Migration law and case studies point out the connection between who may become a citizen and whether or not there exists a presumed cultural compatibility with the rest of the population. Even within nation-states that are constructed around discourses of cultural plurality this concept is yet difficult to escape. One such nation that can be used as an example is Canada, which is defined by even the Canadian government as a culturally plural state, and migration laws that encourage those with necessary skills to migrate to Canada independent of national origin. Nonetheless, a system of *de facto* preferences remain in Canadian migration law that encourage the exclusion of individuals presumed or deemed to be culturally and linguistically incompatible with the rest of the citizens of Canada. In order to be eligible and to receive residency status, a potential migrant to Canada must meet a certain minimum of a total number of required points (units) in a check list of compatibility criteria. Among other criteria, points are given for being of an acceptable age, possessing particular vocational and language skills, having a preferred occupation and for attaining higher levels of education.

Although the system has changed over time to emphasize or de-emphasize preferred characteristics by increasing or decreasing the number of points awarded in a category as well as the overall number of points required for eligibility, nonetheless, nearly half of the total number of points required for eligibility can be achieved simply by speaking both French and English (with maximum points awarded for “fluency”) and matching the “personal suitability” criterion. In this way, the system is favored, at least in part, toward individuals from the nations of traditional migration to Canada—England, France, Australia, and the US. Such laws promoting a presumed cultural compatibility with the nation of residency and potential citizenship also demonstrate the efforts on the part of the state to attempt to maintain what can be described as a

perceived ethnic continuity between the existing (traditional) citizens of a state and those who would reside among them.

In the Azores, where constructions of the state supplant discourses of plurality with discourses of commonalty, efforts to deal with the challenges presented by the repatriados—who are not culturally incompatible migrants, but rather culturally incompatible citizens—not only have implications for Azorean transnationalism, but for the state itself. If an individual has a legal status that is presumed to reflect a deep primordial belonging to the nation, yet has difficulty exhibiting the presumed characteristics of primordial attachment, the implication calls into question the reality of the state. In the Azores, this contradiction also applies to the presumptions around transnational identity, to wit: the Azoreans of the Diaspora share a common cultural community and mutual interests with Azoreans in the homeland.

The government's response to deportation in the Azores, then, must do more than merely provide the deportees with jobs and housing. Programs must also attempt to address the negative effects of deportation on Azorean transnational constructions (and Portuguese constructions of national identity) by not only addressing the physical needs of individuals who no longer have familial assistance networks that are common to those in the islands and who do not have jobs or cultural skills necessary to survive; the programs must also attempt to remove individuals from the repatriado category and turn them back into Azoreans.

It is not only in the government's interest to accomplish this, but given the broad participation of various interest groups and institutions in the adaptive aspects of Azorean transnational identity, the general population, business interests, media outlets, and political, religious and educational institutions also participate in direct and de facto attempts in the process of re-Azoreanization of the deportees. Through the negation of inappropriate behavior with disparaging remarks, through protests against repatriated housing being located in their neighborhoods, or other forms of social exclusion the general population not only expresses apprehension over the challenges the repatriado category presents to constructions of national and

transnational identity, they also delimit the boundaries of expected comportment providing individuals with a way to escape classification as a deportee—whether they actually are able or willing to escape classification or not. Business interests also respond to deportation and encourage re-Azoreanization through decisions about who to serve, who to hire, to whom houses will be rented—all necessary to the process through which a repatriated individual is able to move out of the deportee category or continues to confront exclusion.

The media has also played a role in re-Azoreanization through their portrayal of the forced return migrant community. Along with the summer festival cycle; the two major civic holidays Dia de Camões (Portugal) and the Dia dos Açores; natural disasters and other tragedies in the islands including floods, earthquakes and plane crashes; the standing of teams in the Portuguese Super Liga and the National Selection; and changes in the flight schedules of the Portuguese national airline TAP and the Azores airline SATA, deportation has formed one of the more prominent areas of coverage in the print, radio and television outlets in both the Azores and the North American communities about the islands. Likewise, it is common for front-page articles in the major Azorean daily newspapers or the lead story on the evening news to cover statements or visits by a US congressman or an appeals case or some recently introduced bill treating the deportation issue.

In the first few years of mass deportations, newspapers regularly published articles on crimes committed in the islands by pointing out that perpetrators were repatriados. This practice, resulting in a de facto negative reinforcement of deportee behaviors (although it was not only deportees committing crimes) was for the most part suspended after the intervention of CAR, which encouraged the papers' editors to understand the difficulty that such characterizations presented all within the deportee category in the process of social integration. Although code can still be used leading readers to infer that a perpetrator is a forced return migrant (such as "the accused returned to the Azores after living in North America," for example) it is also not used, and such articles in part form elements of the conscious shift in discourses attempting to mute the

perceived differences among the Azorean and deportee categories. Ending the practice of regularly naming a perpetrator's status as a repatriado was not necessarily the only factor promoting a shift in discourses, however. When others knew a perpetrator to be a deportee, and a negative article appeared about him in which his status was not mentioned, readers (or television viewers) were nonetheless encouraged to conceive of deportee criminals in a manner similar to that of other Azorean criminals. In this way they may be responded to as criminals, but in specific frames, potentially not as "Repatriados."

The media also participated with CAR in running articles and news segments about some of the social outreach programs sponsored by the Center. The construction projects building children's playground equipment, for example, worked to foster a positive image of deportation and instrumental in this were various media outlets' promotion of the program to the general public. Attempts to portray the positive social impact of the deportees in the island can yet be understood as part of the analysis through which the deportees encounter problems due to their challenges to transnational constructions of Açorianidade. Recognizing the difficulty of convincingly turning all of the deportees back into Azoreans, efforts were made to shift some of the discourses so that the repatriado category could at least be seen in a less negative light. Through their participation, media outlets and these other institutions complement the CAR project, which makes clear its attempts to re-Azoreanize the deportees. But even if a positive image was presented, the frame of the article or news piece was such that positive behavior by deportees was such a marked category that it merited a space in a newspaper or on a television news broadcast.

Attempts to militate against the negative aspects of transnational identity from the "downward assimilation" of the forced return migrants however are not the only response to deportation in the service of insulating and maintaining the transnational identity category. The social reality of the "deportation problem" itself is also used by the government and various island institutions to create links between the communities and the islands. Regardless of

responses to them or perceptions of them, the very presence of the deportees in the islands stands alone as symbolic of the connection between the migrant communities and the homeland. But the issue of deportation and how the political fact of deportation is handled also serves ends within transatlantic constructions of the broader Azorean category.

Deportation has fostered a connection between homeland and Diaspora as the government has provided money to the communities to assist in language instruction and the training of individuals in INS custody who are presently to be deported. Deportation has brought visits by Azorean government officials (from the President, his cabinet Secretaries, and functionaries of deportee assistant programs) to North America and has been a topic of speeches and addresses by the President and deputies to the Azorean Parliament and Azorean Deputies to the Portuguese Parliament in both the islands and North America. In speeches and rhetoric, Azorean government officials frame deportation, not as a problem solely confronting the immigrant communities who live in North America, not as a problem that must be handled by Azoreans in the islands, but rather as a problem confronted by *all* Azoreans independent of their geographic location, a problem that links the migrant communities in tangible ways to the homeland.

The speeches of President Carlos César and various government officials addressing the “social problem” of repatriation have not been limited to the effect of deportation in the Azores. The President, Cabinet Secretaries and CAR functionaries have made frequent visits to the North American Azorean communities in which deportation has been the subject. Speeches and addresses have reflected upon deportation as an abuse of human rights by the US and Canadian Governments and have attempted to inform the Azorean communities of their efforts to assist the deportees both prior to their deportation and once they have arrived in the islands.¹²⁸

¹²⁸The Azorean government has paid for instruction materials for deportees to be taught Portuguese while they are in prison in the US awaiting deportation. The classes instruct them about aspects of life in the Azores and initiate Portuguese language instruction ahead of their removal to the islands. They are taught by local community activists including paid and volunteer employees of the Immigrants Assistance Center

The President and his entourage as well as other governmental officials have visited North American prisons where deportees awaiting removal are yet incarcerated, making public appearances with politicians and local, state and federal government officials in the US who have some involvement with the deportation of Azorean Portuguese nationals. These Azorean government officials (as well as other officials in the Portuguese Foreign Ministry) including the Azores' President, have also hosted US congressmen and Canadian MPs as well as State Department and Canadian Foreign Ministry officials in the Azores and Portugal to both express their condemnation of repatriation and to work to develop protocols to ensure that the flow of deportees can locally be handled as smoothly as possible. The visits, the speeches, the academic and governmental conferences organized around deportation in both the Azores and the US are all covered by the media outlets (television, radio and print) in the Azores as they are equally covered by Portuguese community television and print media organizations in the United States and Canada.

Legal status and transnational identity

The deportees' legal status as Portuguese citizens reifies the construction of Portuguese nationhood given that the Autonomous region of the Azores is a part of the national territory. This legal status also presents the idea that if the deportees can behave so differently from other islanders and yet still be Azoreans who still have a national identity status that makes their home Portugal, then the transnational concept of Açorianidade has a broad social reality—one perhaps created by the legal status itself. There is a tension in the islands between rejecting them because they are different, but accepting them because they belong as a result of their citizenship. Ultimately they are rejected on the one hand because of their negative contribution, but

in New Bedford, an organization that has traditionally assisted Lusophone immigrants in obtaining citizenship, health services, answering questions about migration law, etc. Since 1996, however, the Immigrants Assistance Center has increasingly taken a substantial role interfacing between the Azores and the deportees and their families in the US, providing information for those prior to deportation and to their families once they have been removed.

interestingly, in different contexts, the deportees also work to promote discourses reifying transnational identity (as is the case when politicians make appeals to the transnational community about its work with the “deportation problem”).

This has ramifications for the inclusion of other non-deportee return migrants or descendants of Azoreans in North America, in broader discourses of transnational identity. Although contradictions exist around how the deportees are framed within concepts of Açorianidade, their legal status and right to live in the Azores are never questioned. There are those who argue against the logic of deporting the forced return migrants back to a land that they do not know, when they would be much better suited to staying in North America, but once in the islands, there is no debate from politicians, pundits or those on the street about whether or not the deportees have a right to live in the archipelago—just over the *manner in which* they live in the archipelago. In this case, state authority and the primacy of national identity are reified, such that that they are carried out through the US’ and Canada’s ability to deport life-long residents in those nations along with Portugal’s and the Azores’ willingness to accept individuals many of whom have only a tenuous practical connection to the territory of their post-deportation residence.

The action also reifies the existence of transnational identity, as a deportee—no matter how far removed from the archipelago geographically he may be; no matter how much his migration experience has caused him to “lose” the cultural traits that make him an Azorean—is still ultimately an Azorean, and those in the islands have an obligation to assist his reintegration back into his native land and “native culture”. Although attempts are made to re-Azoreanize the deportees, and so diminish the challenges they pose to discourses of cultural constructions of commonalty among the Azorean transnational group, there is a basic acceptance that their legal status makes them insiders.

A tension exists between their legal status and the concomitant expectations for their presumed comportment. It is further suggested that it is because of their legal status that this

tension exists in the first place. There is a vocabulary of inclusion for other return migrants to be subsumed in constructions of Azorean transnational identity. The children of migrants, return migrants who have remained abroad for many years, and anyone who can claim some sense of primordial—defined in this case as some form of belonging or connection to the homeland—can be considered to belong to a transnational collective that encompasses a broad population exhibiting a diverse range of cultural practices. The deportee category however is excluded from such cultural discourses that allow other marginal groups to be presumed within the broader transnational collective.

The process has implications beyond transnational identity constructions and also assists the Azores in the age-old political and economic dynamic that causes those in the Azores to advocate for belonging in the Portuguese national territory, even as they make arguments that they are a separate entity apart from it. The specific nature of the deportees' legal status is that they are Portuguese national citizens who are residents of the islands. They carry with them Portuguese passports and this is significant as the political and legal machinations that cause the deportations to be carried out and the arrival of these individuals in the islands are the result of their national status as Portuguese. That Azoreans would be forced "home" to the islands as a result of their national identity—an identity rife with structural tensions in the way it is manifest in the Azores—also indicates that the deportees may be Azorean, and the circumstances of their deportation may be directly related to their participation in processes of Azorean transnational identity, but they are very much a part of the Portuguese national state. That this is the case also assists the Azores in advocating for their inclusion within the Portuguese state, and through it as a peripheral territory within the European Union—in as much as the process brings a tangible economic and political windfall—even as the process simultaneously allows the Azores to be conceived as a separate political entity.

Likewise, deportation is another way that the Portuguese national state can use to claim territorial control over the archipelago. Although deportation is a social problem confronted only

by Azoreans—even many deportees from the Continente come to the islands rather than to their own place of birth—protocols governing state level negotiations among Portugal and the US or Canada are carried out by the Federal government, albeit with the input and participation of the Autonomous government. Given the strategic necessity of the Azores continued inclusion in the Portuguese national territory, such links allow the Federal government to speak rhetorically of deportation as a “Portuguese problem” when useful rather than a problem specific to the Azorean transnational community—even when deportation is understood as an Azorean problem in practice.

Success or failure? Deportees in the transnation

The diverse aggregate of individuals composing the repatriated population must also confront the repatriated category that frames so much of their interaction with the local population. It is important to recognize again, that the deportees all face unique problems upon arrival in the Azores, and each must deal with the practical aspects of diverse personal situations that vary from individual to individual. What each deportee shares in common however, is the pervasive category of repatriado and how reactions to this category are embedded in the social relations they must negotiate in their daily lives. From the point of view of the forced return migrants, they have first been treated unfairly by the US and Canadian governments, which in their estimation disregarded cultural and affective ties to North America in favor of a national citizenship status that most deportees may recognize, but that they feel only tangentially links them to Portugal or the Azores.

Upon arrival in the islands however, it is the fact of their connection to North America that allows them to receive the practical benefits of participation in the CAR program. Ironically, the problems and difficulties they encounter in social integration ultimately provides them with the justification to continue to receive funds and other tangible benefits from the Center.

As discussed in earlier sections, the forced return migrants use their inclusion in the repatriado category to their advantage, whether this occurs when they act according to expectations of deportee behavior to claim space for themselves in public spaces; or whether the category is used by them to gain tangible benefits through their participation in the governmental programs carried out by CAR. This dynamic forms a central difficulty in their ability to socially integrate in the terms set out by CAR and the general population. Even if integration were simply a matter of their changing their comportment and so move from the deportee category (and the process is far more complicated than that) integration will ultimately make them ineligible for the tangible economic subsidies and structural assistance provided by the center. As long as the assistance center is designed to specifically help “Repatriados,” the category—and concomitant negative responses to it—will continue to exist.

Another part of the dynamic may be explainable in reference to strategies adopted by Brazilian Nikkeijin in Japan who attempted to avoid stigmatization by emphasizing perceived Brazilian cultural traits, because in terms of ethnic integration, “total marginalization is easier than partial marginalization” (Takenaka 2000:59). The constraints placed upon the deportees however by CAR and the general population to conform normative expectations for the appropriate performance of ethnic identity limits the successfulness of such a strategy in the deportees escaping marginalization.

There has been some movement by the Center to institute programs that would address the social problems associated with poverty and drug dependence in general terms, not directed solely at the deportees. According to CAR’s director, the “drop-in center” in the planning stages at the end of my field research was intended to assist *anyone* who might be homeless and in need of a shower or place to rest protected from the elements, not only the deportees. Interestingly, CAR staff felt that making the drop-in center available to all Azoreans would be beneficial in gaining support for the initiative among the general population. Politically the initiative avoided the problem of creating benefits for the specific repatriado category, and as such recognized that

social problems endemic to drug abuse is not solely the domain of the repatriated. But it also created a situation through which North American deportees could use the drop in center without reifying the repatriado category as a marginalized and stigmatized class.

In practice, this indicates that individuals who are deported may have greater success in surviving on their own if the terms of their integration are not seen solely as a problem of re-Azoreanizing national citizens who do not fit expectations for proper comportment. If deported residents and Azoreans can face the same social problems, then the problems of social integration are less likely to be seen as related to the cultural inappropriateness of those in the deportee category. Despite the movement of individuals between belonging in the category in certain contexts and being able to interact outside of the category in other contexts, the category of “Repatriado” itself yet exists. It is my contention that the deportee category persists, not necessarily as a result of the comportment of the individuals within it, but because deportation in these contexts—including responses to the way it challenges the validity of a presumed cultural commonality among members of a nation and of a transnational community—has come to assist the broader political and economic objectives of Azorean transnationalism.

From the deportees perspective their desire to go “home” considering that home is North America bolsters the conception of Azorean transnational identity by creating a situation in which Portuguese national citizens, and residents of the Azores consider “home” to be in the North American Diaspora communities. In only rare cases did any of the deportees with whom I spoke question their legal status as Azoreans, or as Portuguese citizens (even as they sometimes admitted that their lack of US or Canadian citizenship came as a surprise to them). What this accomplishes is to further manifest the construction of Azorean identity as a transnational entity.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions

Implications of deportation on the formation and uses of transnational identity

This study has examined a unique phenomenon in transnational identity studies. Although examinations of other categories of return migrant groups (including refugees and non-resident deportees) have been extensively researched, to date, there has not been a systematic examination of global migration processes through an examination of forced return migrant groups like the Azorean criminal deportee population—long-term documented permanent residents of one nation who, as a result of criminal activity, have been forcibly deported to the nation of their birth. Suspended in broader processes of transnational migration, criminal deportees also face issues quite apart from those of other categories of transnational migrants. Unique in the process of return, unique in the process of both their social and cultural integration into the “homeland,” and unique in the effect they have on discourses surrounding transnational identity, the permanent resident criminal deportee category elucidates specific processes of transnational migration including the interaction between the homeland and the Diaspora community, the reception of return migrants, the relationship between state entities and a transnational migrant group, and the discourses surrounding the creation of in-group status among transnational groups. The criminal deportees present an interesting unit of analysis in transnational migration.

Deportation as a social frame of reference

Responses to the repatriated in the islands by the government and the local population and how deportation as a category is conceived, reflects the supra-territorial character of social

processes of Azorean identity, which find their expression as adaptations to specific economic and political needs. Symbolic constructions of Azorean identity—through which individuals participate together to achieve ends both locally and across the category—are construed by creating discourses of cultural similarity among individuals not necessarily reflected in the diversity of interests of those in the group. Even as deportation challenges the conception of commonality that links together the Azorean transnational community with the homeland, discourses around deportation also work in other contexts to support the existence of transnational identity.

Embedded in the broader processes of transnational identity construction, deportation forms a prominent part of attempts by the Azoreans to respond to pressures resulting from the changing political and economic situation in the islands. Under the post-25 de Abril reforms that resulted in Azorean Autonomy, the political organization that for much of the 20th century caused tremendous poverty (in an agricultural environment already made difficult by the islands' geologic volatility) was drastically altered. The new political configuration that emerged continued to deal with older forms of power contestation between the Azores and the continental authority, but strategies adopted by the islanders to argue for their interests took on new forms.

For much of the 20th century migration formed for the islands a potent economic strategy in the face of natural disaster as well as oppressive economic and political policies directed at the Azores by the mainland. Discourses of Azorean transnationalism that emerged over the century have been instrumental in assisting the inhabitants of the impoverished islands to survive. In the post-Autonomous period, transnational migration strategies came to force, satisfying some of the economic and political ends accomplished through it in the earlier period; while expanding into other areas, providing those participating in constructions and affirmations of Azorean transnational identity with increased forms of economic and political power. In the islands and in the communities, the discourses provide both symbolic and tangible links among the members of the category, while also assisting the Azorean government in advocating for island interests by

both setting the islands apart from the EU and the Portuguese state, even as they are embedded within each of these two political communities.

Because the construction of Azorean transnationalism has such a prominent and important role in the political and economic strategies of the islands, a potentially divisive situation like deportation becomes for Azoreans all the more important to address—especially given the broad and increasing presence of repatriated Azoreans living there. Responses to the deportees have been consistent with attempts to maintain the notion that transnational Azorean identity is viable. Pushing the issue further, the Azoreans have also adapted this threat to transnational identity by responding to the issue in such a way as to further bolster the discourses that find constructions of Açorianidade possible across territorial boundaries.

In this way, it is useful to see the deportees' social reintegration as separate from their cultural reintegration. Of course, the deportee's integration is about their finding work and a place to live, but this process is mediated through their ability to culturally integrate into the islands at the level of conformity to appropriate expectations of behavior.

Permanent Resident Criminal Deportees as a category of transnational migrant

There is an analytical distinction to be made between other classes of return migrants who contribute to the transnational community and the deportees. Although there are some similarities in the way that those in the homeland receive each group, the relationship the deportees share with the homeland is also quite divergent from other return migrants, as is the role that the deportees have in framing broader transnational identity discourses.

Various scholars (Noivo 2002; Lubkemann 2002; Lorenzo-Hernandez 1999; Pacheco, Lucca-Irricary and Wapner 1986; Takenaka 1999; Tsuda 2000; Smerdon 1994) have written about the relationship among transnational communities examining the homeland reception of return migrants and their marginalization. Less examined is the effect this has on the construction of the transnational community itself. Noivo, Tsuda and Takenaka look specifically at the

negative reaction that many in the homeland have toward return migrants who fail to conform to local expectations of comportment. Noivo sees this negative reaction, in her terms “disconnectivity” to the transnational community as a defining characteristic of transnational identity processes. As demonstrated, there are indeed some negative responses to voluntary return migrants in the Azores. These negative responses, however, are muted as a result of the voluntary returnees’ positive economic contribution and because of their contribution to discourses of transnational Azorean identity in practice for the symbolic capital they provide.

The negative responses toward voluntary return migrants are also muted as a result of the deportees themselves. The deportee category is a part of social discourses that can be used to reshape voluntary return migrant behavior deemed inappropriate by the islanders, as negative actions outside of expectation can be attributed to the deportees. Noivo focuses upon the way that “disconnectivity” is a logical response to individuals who face marginalization upon their return, and addresses her analysis of this reception on constructions of transnational identity among transnational migrants. The marginalization of the deportees however is part of a response to “disconnectivity” that shapes the entire transnational migration process—in both the homeland and Diaspora. The behavior of the Japanese-Brazilians who attempt to emphasize their “foreignness” in order to escape marginalization as examined by Tsuda is not an option open to the deportees. The participation of encompassing social categories in Azorean transnational identity and the importance of their classification as Portuguese Citizens, results in their only means to escape marginalization—cultural reintegration as an Azorean.

The criminal forced return migrants are similar to the Japanese-Brazilians in that the stigmatization they face is directly related to their presumed primordial connection to the islands. Because they are presumed to be “Azorean” they are presumed to know how to conform to expectations of acting Azorean. What is it, however, that makes them presumed to belong to the islands in the first place? Certainly local constructions of Azorean transnational identity that hold that migrants from the islands yet belong to the broad transnational community are one factor.

That this is the case, however, speaks to the importance of maintaining the transnational community—ensuring that the Azores do not end at the geographic boundaries of the archipelago but extend, as the Azorean Presidential Administration official suggested (*op. cit.*), to wherever there are Azoreans. Although there are certainly broad transnational discourses among Japanese communities in Brazil and Brazilian Communities in Japan, there are a number of reasons that account for the differences in local acceptance strategies in Tsuda's research and in mine.

Certainly, the local constructions of Japanese identity differ greatly from constructions in the Azores, which have a greater degree of fluidity. The "foreigner" category is limited in the Azores to those with no connection whatsoever to the islands. Of course, distinctions are made in relations and expectations between native born, first, second generation, etc., depending on context, but possessing and articulating any marker of identity whatsoever that links one to the islands will place one into the transnational Azorean category. Interestingly, in interviews and through first hand experience it becomes clear that constructions of transnational identity in the Azores are not consistent with constructions in other territories within Portugal. In the Azores, one is expected to be an Azorean, for example, if one is from the islands or descended from migrants who are from the islands. Local constructions of identity find the Azoreans comfortable with multi-stranded identities in a way that those, for example, in Lisbon are not. As construed, Azoreans can be born anywhere in the world: an "American" usually defined as an Azorean who is from the US or Canada. In Lisbon, however, an American is, usually, just an American. The Lisbon population simply does not have the same instrumental connection to transmigrant communities that exists among those connected to the Azores.

In this regard, the strategies adopted by Tsuda's Japanese-Brazilians in the city, may perhaps work better for the deportees in a place like Lisbon, where local identity discourses are not so tied up in transnational identity constructions; when, as demonstrated in this study, such strategies would not work in a place like the Azores where they are tied to such constructions. It would be an interesting point of comparison to look at constructions of "*Portugalidade*" through

the frame of deportee communities in those parts of continental Portugal that have active migration flows to other parts of the world (though no deportee “communities” on a scale anywhere near that of the Azores exist on the Continente), to see if they too are marginalized as they are in the Azores and to see if they are forced to conform to local expectations of behavior. The point would further be tested if one were to examine a community of Japanese-Brazilian return migrants in a rural area of Japan in which the majority of the townsfolk had kin and personal network relations in Brazil that they depended upon in instrumental economic and political adaptation processes. Would Japanese-Brazilians in this kind of a community be successful at avoiding stigmatization by adopting the same strategy? The Azores example suggests that the process of their integration would not be the same in such a community as occurs in Tokyo.

I have often heard suggestions that the deportees would have an easier time if they went to Lisbon rather than the Azores. What is usually meant by this is that they would feel less isolated and more comfortable in a large urban environment. My field research indicates that this is not the case, however, if the supposition of the above paragraphs is correct, then moving to Lisbon might at least allow the criminal forced return migrants to adopt the strategy of the Japanese-Brazilians and so have the ability to interact with the local population, not as Azoreans who should know better how to comport themselves, but rather as North Americans who may not.

Deportation at the intersection of ethnicity and the nation

The sense that there is a concomitant relationship between citizens of a nation and expectations for conformity to appropriate behavior is made clear in local responses to the deportees. In order for the deportees to mute their marginalized status, they must stop comporting themselves like North Americans and learn or “relearn” how to be an Azorean. An analytical departure point is the way that the deportees challenge the concept of the nation; and how this challenge is responded to locally. The presumed cultural dissimilarity of the deportees (such as

they are perceived as “culturally” North Americans, not “culturally” Azoreans) despite having held Portuguese passports since birth, puts them at odds with the presumed sense of cultural commonality among the citizens of a national territory, as the notion of a presumably shared “common culture” and “values” is an important feature in constructions of a nation; even a quasi-nation like the Azores. If the deportees were not Portuguese citizens, the response to their actions would not necessitate their cultural integration. Further, by accepting the deportees, and by deporting other national citizens from Portugal as well, the Portuguese authorities reify the concept of the nation-state. Future studies of the impact of the negative reception of deportees may do much to provide insight into this dynamic by exploring how social processes involved with the reception of criminal return migrants relate to the conception of nations, national territories, and the authority of the state.

Although national citizenship status and presumed ethnic identity forms a fundamental part of the deportees reception by the homeland population, one feature that makes the criminal forced return migrant category interesting as a unit of analysis is rather the way that those within the category confront these national and ethnic constructions. The treatment of the deportees suggests that in social practice national identity operates as more than simply a legal status. Rejected because they are citizens who do not know how to act, the deportees demonstrate that individuals must have more than a legal status of belonging to be accepted as members of the nation. The deportees also point out how rifts in the constructed nature of presumed ethnic group commonality, embedded in the transnational migrant category, operate. It is not enough to say, as some who have looked at the problem have said, that there is a direct correlation between familiarity with cultural codes and ability to integrate. One must analyze why the expectation for conformity to the normative behavior exists in the first place.

Granted, most deportees do have an easier time with both cultural and social integration if they spent less time in North America and migrated there at a later age. Simple markers of identity, however, are not the only variable in deportee integration. The category of “Repatriado”

exists beyond the individuals that compose it, and can even include those who were not actually repatriated. Likewise, individuals deported to the Azores for crimes committed in North America have escaped classification as a “Repatriado,” even if they exhibit all of the behavior usually seen as typical to the group. The forced return migrant category is intricately tied into national identity status and presumed ethnicity, and the deportees certainly must confront these social facts as they negotiate their status in the category. But unlike the contextually defined but presumed permanent nature of ethnic identity (ethnic identity may be malleable and contextual but from a participant’s point of view, one’s ethnic identity cannot change over time) the categorical identity of a forced return migrant, though directly related to the performance of ethnic identity, can indeed change over time.

Other studies in transnational migration and identity have examined the difficult reception of those in the homeland. Lorenzo-Hernandez (1999), for example, examines the return back to Puerto Rico of transnational migrants who had settled in New York. Focusing on the way that migrant Puerto Rican adolescents (born both on the island and in the continental US) felt rejected by other Puerto Ricans, Lorenzo-Hernandez ties the stigmatization they feel to broader processes of Puerto Rican self-determination and nationalist discourses. Because the return migrants are perceived as “Americanized,” it is felt that they deny the cultural argument separating Puerto Rico from the US, which is used to bolster the argument for political autonomy. To deal with this dynamic, a category has been created for these return migrants, and they are labeled as Nuyoricans. Like the Japanese-Brazilians articulating a foreign identity, the Nuyorican label works to protect the Puerto Rican category by placing Nuyoricans outside of it, while still linking the transnational migrants to the island, important for adaptive instrumental ends.

Similar to Puerto Rico and the US, the definition of a separate insular identity in the Azores is central to the islands’ advocacy of political power in the broader Portuguese state. There is, however, no local category in the Azores similar to the Nuyorican category in Puerto Rico, perhaps with the exception of the “*Americano*” category when this is used to define

Azoreans visiting from North America. This category, however, does not have the power and is not used to mark difference in such a stark manner as the Nuyorican category. In part, the “Repatriado” category alleviates some of the pressure on *voluntary* return migrants in the Azores who may act, like the Nuyoricans, in ways outside of expectation, but who can be potentially recast as deportees. Overall, however, the social process of accepting the criminal forced return migrants differs from Lorenzo-Hernandez’ example.

The criminal forced return migrants may have their own category, but the existence of those who act in such a way that they are placed in the “Repatriado” category is not seen as directly beneficial. In one context, the strategy in the Azores does not create a category of identity that recognizes their lack of conformity while simultaneously accepting them. Rather the category exists to marginalize the repatriated citizens until they learn how to conform to the Azorean category, and thus stop challenging the construction of Azorean transnational identity. The goal is for an individual to eventually stop being considered a “Repatriado.” Further, as discussed above, the “Repatriado” category is also in certain contexts used to reify the existence of the transnational community in discourses that link the Azores to North America, but these features are related to the existence of the “Repatriado” category itself rather than as a result of the individuals within the category.

Given the pervasive instrumental adaptiveness of the Azorean transnational category, the strategy adopted is, like the creation of the Nuyorican category, a local, contextual response to a threat against the presumed cultural underpinnings supporting adaptive social processes.

This raises some issues about the nature of categorical identity in relation to transnational migrant communities, and the way that connections are constructed between those in the homeland and those in the Diaspora. One of the more perplexing features in the Azorean deportee example is the apparent contradiction inherent in the social field of repatriation. That is, the North American criminal deportees are repatriated back to the Azores and in part are received because they are Azorean and hold Portuguese passports, yet, their status as Azoreans is essentially

contested. An examination of the way that transnational identity works in the Azores is illuminating in explaining this contradiction and has implications for broader processes of categorical constructions in the transnational migration context.

Deportation in conceptions of transnational communities

The deportees also elucidate another aspect of transnational identity construction related to how such a broad social category can hold together as a viable (that is practical, adaptive, instrumental) imagined community. Through census and map as Anderson writes, can nations be conceived by their citizens. Transnational communities however have no fixed borders, levy no taxes and have no means of enumerating their members. Attempting to see the transnational community as a large extended ethnic group, for the purposes of analysis, is also problematic. With relevance to the discussion of transnational community formation, Barth (1969), in his seminal theoretical contribution to ethnicity, asked the question: how are the Pathan able to conceive of themselves as a group given that they are so spread out? The emphasis in understanding an ethnic group writes Barth, is by shifting emphasis from how the group is defined to how one group is able to mark difference between it and some other group. He focuses on how the contrast emphasized between in-groups and out-groups is delineated through markers of identity such as food, clothing, rituals, etc. Although individual Azorean Diaspora communities indeed do operate as instrumental interest groups, relying upon markers of identity to maintain boundaries in the local context, there may be overlap, but ultimately these markers of identity differ from one to another migrant community. This fact does not challenge local constructions of identity to serve useful ends, when “ethnicity” from a participant’s perspective is enacted in a local context. Although the Azorean transnational category satisfies instrumental ends, it cannot however rely upon the various local markers of identity defining what it means to be an Azorean, because there exists a broad variation on how Azorean identity is symbolized among all of the Diaspora communities.

The “transnational community” is far too dispersed over a diversity of geographic locales and political and cultural contexts to have a definable set of common markers of identity, yet in order to be conceived, must rely upon some ideology of similarity/difference to tie the group together. The connection (imagined or otherwise) to a homeland is one common link but this and the above studies have shown that when migrants return, the connection is often not enough to overcome the disparity between discourse and practice that often results in marginalization. Taking into account the adaptive aspects of transnational community, why individuals among these disparate geographic entities would continue to conceive of themselves as a social category is patent. One problem that transnational communities confront in constructing continuity, however, is at this moment of return, when the imagined community becomes a face-to-face reality that is rife with contradiction.

In discourses of transnational identity, there exists a contextually defined presumption of a common “culture” that is shared by members of the imagined transnational community. As discourse, defining the transnational community in this way poses no problems when the group exists as a theoretical abstraction. When the geographically, politically, historically and culturally diverse members of the Diaspora return to the homeland, however, the abstracted markers of identity delineating in-group status can fail in practice to reflect the social reality and as such can potentially challenge the existence of the transnational community itself. The disconnectivity, marginalization and need to adopt strategies of integration faced by return migrants are part of the difficulty apparent in perceiving a transnational community as a bounded cultural unit by those who compose it. There are great disparities presented by this wide transnational coalition of individuals whose inclusion is essential to the maintenance of the category, but who do not consistently present the appropriate “markers” of identity that are necessary for its existence to be conceived. Deportees, as one type of return migrant, are certainly part of this socio-cultural phenomenon within the transnational identity category. Their position however is also unique when compared to voluntary return migrants. Given the broad socio-political and socio-economic

importance of the transnational identity category in the Azores, given the impression of their negative social impact in the islands, the deportees' primary option to escape stigmatization is to conform to local expectations of their behavior. It is not enough for them to socially integrate into island life; they must integrate "culturally" as well. When they do not conform to normative expectations for behavior, deportees delineate the limits of the transnational category and the underpinning assumptions that allow it to be conceived in a way that voluntary return migrants do not.

One feature of this aspect of the criminal forced return migrant process that has implications for analyses of transnational migration, is how the reception of the deportees elucidates the fluid nature of constructions of transnational identity. As demonstrated implicitly and explicitly throughout this dissertation, constructions of Azorean transnational identity are not based on rigid definitions of in-group belonging, but rather are constructed loosely, using context specific markers of identity to delineate belonging in diverse geographic locales. In this, there is a separation between the social reality of migration processes and how a migrant or transnational migrant community is perceived by its members.¹²⁹ Likewise, one can analytically separate between discourses of in-group identity that coalesce around a common "culture" and a social reality that finds the markers of identity that are presumed to be shared by the group existing and operating in a divergent manner from one Diaspora context to the next. Ultimately, when pushed empirically, the only real marker of identity shared in common by the entire group is the category that they belong to in and of itself.

As Wallace and Hicks suggest above, what provides a polysemous symbol its incorporative power is the notion that private, multivariate, individual interpretations and understandings are united within the same symbol, allowing those who share the public aspects of the symbol to feel that they also share its private aspects. Applying this insight to the instrumental

¹²⁹ Klimt and Lubkemann (2002) apply this concept to their configuration of Diaspora as a category of analysis.

aspects of transnational identity processes through the Azorean case example, one can better understand the disjunct between participants' discourses of commonality that do not reflect the fluid and contradictory nature of the social reality.

As demonstrated in this dissertation, what provides the transnational category with its greatest instrumental power, however, are the discourses of commonality that allow for a broad and variable group of interests to come together serving diverse political and economic ends in far flung geographic locales. The criminal forced return migrants, however, contest the underpinnings of presumed commonality through their return to the homeland. Given the importance of the constructions of Azorean transnationalism, it is essential that this challenge be dealt with.

Deportation and social injustice

There is no doubt that beyond the implications of the criminal forced return migrants situation on esoteric theoretical debates, the humans caught up in these state level decisions have had their lives taken from them—this includes both the deportees themselves and their family members. In violation of even the most conservative understanding of basic human rights, these state level deportation decisions to repatriate the forced return migrants, have resulted in their separation from their parents, in the separation of husbands and wives from their spouses, parents from their children, and sent these migrants—who suffer from the worst problems associated with poverty and social exclusion—into exile, to a home that is no longer theirs, if it ever even was.

It is a tragedy, however, that is unlikely to change as long as the existence of an undesirable other is useful to constructions of citizenship and belonging within a nation. What can be done is to force the state to act reasonably in making decisions that so dramatically alter so many lives. One solution that could at least check the most egregious abuses in the United States at least, would be to restore the legal provision known as 212c and with it due process, so that those facing deportation will at least have the chance to appear in court and plead their cases.

Another solution may be to achieve a critical mass of nations that simply refuse to accept the deportees. Were this to happen, the costs of indefinite detention would perhaps force nations (especially those like the United States, which has already repatriated hundreds of thousands of criminal deportees) to rethink their deportation policies. Given the fact that nations that receive deportees also create them, however, this is a highly unlikely proposition.

Given the extraordinary challenges faced by CAR, private sector businesses, social service agencies and those in the general Azorean population that seek—in the most genuine way—to assist the forced return migrants at such a traumatic time in their lives, that they are able to help the repatriated to integrate at all is an astonishing accomplishment. One area that shows tremendous promise in CAR's dealing with the deportation issue are efforts to provide services for the deportees that are concomitant with services useful to other Azoreans that suffer from similar problems of addiction, mental illnesses and poverty. I would suggest that increased efforts of this kind would have a dramatic effect on muting the stigmatization and marginalization of the deportees. Without offering any logistical solution to how this would practically take effect (if it were even possible) I believe an even further beneficial step would be for governmental agencies to stop treating the "Repatriados" in rhetoric and practice as a separate category unto itself, and rather see them as merely Azoreans. In this configuration, the frame of social interaction with the deportees through which they are cast as "Repatriados," the products of North America, would be substituted for a frame through which they are seen rather as the products of poverty, of a lack of education and of the social problems concomitant with drug abuse and mental illness.

One of the ironies of the government's attempts to assist the forced return migrants social integration that was noted in an earlier section, was the way that deportees will be more likely to receive social services benefits, not if they integrate, but rather, if they continue to conform to expectations of the "Repatriado" category. It was noted that they receive economic and medical assistance subsidies not because they have been successful at integrating, but rather because they have been unsuccessful. As a result, there is ironically something beneficial about their remaining

in the category, even as their inclusion in the category inhibits their integration and ultimately causes their marginalization. However, by placing not only the deportees' treatment and care alongside, rather than separate from other Azoreans, but also treating them as Azoreans in rhetoric, it would perhaps be possible to work against this social exclusion.

As the deportees continue to be marginalized between nations and cultures, one tragedy of the process is that the deportations continue unabated around the world. Some impetus to change deportation laws in the United States went out with the bathwater after the events of Sept. 11, 2001 and the anti-immigrant sentiment that swept the country in the aftermath—especially against those migrants considered to have broken laws. That those in the Azores could, on the one hand, attempt to do so much to assist the deportees, while simultaneously continuing to create the conditions for their exclusion is another tragedy. As human beings victimized by policies of the state, which defines belonging in a community based not on emotional affinity or on personal and familial connections; but rather upon the capricious whim of unjust laws that cause humans to be treated without a modicum of compassion, the deportees, their families and their communities face yet another tragedy. Perhaps the greatest tragedy in the deportation situation, however, is that the adaptive processes that allow transnational migrants to maximize social survival networks that would be so well-suited to assist the deportees in other contexts, is ultimately the very cause of their gravely unfortunate post-repatriation social condition.

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