

MEDIA AND PORTUGUESE IN FRANCE

(ANTUNES DA CUNHA Manuel, March 2002)

To the recognition of the cultural diversity praised by the English-speaking countries, France opposes with its republican model for integration, which lies on the ideology of the society melting-pot. As a matter of fact, despite some census' figures available, it is extremely difficult - even sometimes impossible – to get reliable data regarding immigration to France. Nevertheless, it would be quite wrong to argue for a French consensual model. The assimilationist (Todd, 1994; Taguieff, 1996; Tribalat, 1996), integrationist (Schnapper, 1994; Costa-Lascoux, 1996) and multi-culturalist (Wierworka, 1996) sociological approaches – only to quote some authors – are there to remind us of the diversity in the approaches of that political matter.

The Portuguese immigrants holds a grip on their relation to the country of origin (Lourenço, 1994). Some continue to see the “communities” as mere extensions of a deterritorialized nation, often as a link from the Portuguese rural exodus to the Discovery Epopee and to a worldwide lusophony (Fonseca, 1999), while others prefer to talk about the Portuguese of France with their own specificities, as creators of a new identity (Lopes, 1998).

An “invisible” population

Since the maritime discoveries of the 15th century, economic necessity has been the main cause for Portuguese emigration. A popular social image seems to urge the low-income groups to emigrate rather than improve their life conditions in their own country (Leandro, 1999). The Lusitanian society consists of more than four million Portuguese living today in five continents – especially in France, the United States of America, South Africa, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Venezuela, Germany but also in the old colonies of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, St. Thomas and Principe, Macao, Mozambique and Timor.

In France, the roots of the Portuguese community's identity were established before Second World War. However, the migratory flow of the 1960s structured the history of the Portuguese communities in France at the time where the dictator Salazar ruled with an iron hand this small country isolated in the European periphery. If there were 50,000 Portuguese

immigrants living in France in 1962, and there were more than 750,000 Portuguese in 1975, then several hundred thousand people crossed the Pyrenees during that decade.

The Lusitanian migratory flow springs up in the Northern and Central areas following a deep economic crisis and refusing the colonial war (1961-1974). Although Portuguese immigrants were rooted in the values of respect, work, and savings, these immigrants carried out the cultural backwardness of a country with an illiteracy rate of 40% in 1960. After a period of isolation, sometimes in communitarian shantytowns (Volovitch-Tavares, 1995), the media and the French society became interested in this population during the middle of the sixties and placed at their disposal a set of infrastructures as associations, residential centres, trade unions' units, newspapers and a radio broadcasting (Volovitch-Tavares, 1994). But it's only with the end of the dictatorship in April 25th 1974 that the emigrants were able to enjoy their Portuguese cultural life. The Portuguese community living in France increased the number of Portuguese associations from 80 in 1974 to more than 800 in 1985.

Even though the Portuguese immigration in France is recent, massive and familial, it did not take a long time for the Portuguese community to melt in the reception society. This community was designated "the invisible" population (Poinard and Hily 1984; Cordeiro, 1999). This phenomenon was reproduced in the UK, the United States and Canada, (S. Lopes, 1998). That corresponds to a really developed strategy case as M.-E. Leandro (1994) demonstrated it when comparing the invisibility of Portuguese in the 16th area of Paris with the exuberance of some towns in the suburbs of the capital.

This population, concentrated in some areas (45% in Ile-de France – around Paris – 10% in Rhône-Alpes, 6% in the centre, 5% in Aquitaine and 3.5% in Bourgogne and Auvergne), over represented in specific sectors of activity (65% of workers and 22% of employees, specially in the tertiary) constitutes the foreign population most represented in France. If in the eighties, it was question of a "migratory cycle", with time passing they noticed its lasting visible feature in the phenomenon of goings and comings (Charbit, Hily and Poinard, 1997) as a frequent practice of both territories.

In spite of the 1999's census, it's an illusion today to set out a specific figure relatively to the Portuguese living in France, even if we are only sticking to the sole citizenship criteria. According to the French national institute for statistics and economic studies (INSEE) which is taking into account people with the only Portuguese citizenship they are counting 553,663 while using the same figures the Portugal's Embassy in Paris is reaching a number of 788,683 people (51.3% men and 47.8% women; 14.8% people under twenty years old, 38.8% are aged from twenty to forty and 35.1% from forty to sixty and 11.3% up sixty years old) including

those who became French by naturalisation who for the Portuguese legislation have kept their own citizenship. In those calculations thousands of luso-descendants who acquired the reception's country by birth are not accounted and the statistics are melting them in the number of French citizens without specifying that a lot of them got the Portuguese citizenship too. Indeed, the belonging feeling is extremely complex to reduce it to a mere matter of citizenship.

The radio: A Reference medium

The emergence of a Portuguese community media constituted a logical consequence of the migratory flow. Because of their number, the Portuguese living in France form a very interesting audience and market. In the middle of the sixties, a series of publications in Portuguese had already been circulated in France. But for a population that is not really familiar with writing and that has not yet accessed television, the radio was undoubtedly its main source of information.

Between 1966 and 1992, the French public radio service broadcasted a major program for the Portuguese community apart from its marginal character in the French broadcasting's scenery (Antunes da Cunha, 2001). The Portuguese program¹ had always been limited to an hour, a space² and a specific status³. In its over than a quarter of a century life, more than seven thousand programs have been broadcasted and some hundred thousand letters have been sent. This daily program filled undoubtedly a major media and communitarian space in the building of this community social dynamics while going through different steps:

¹ The first program in the birth language set for the foreign population settled down in the French territory was broadcasted in October 1st 1965 for the Italian community after some talks initiated by Rome. On the contrary, Portuguese and Spanish programs (September 1966) which had been an exclusive initiative of the French government. On the one hand, the Polish programs were massively listened by the immigrated of the Northern mining area and were broadcasted since 1947 from Lille but they were at the beginning aimed at Poland. On the other hand, The Arabian hour program broadcasted from the D network of Paris Inter from 1958 to 1964 aimed at the North African community had been suppressed two years after the Algerian independence.

² The program was always broadcasted on France Culture's Network B (middle waves) and at the same time it was being worded by a Portuguese staff linked to the service of the ORTF's programs abroad (then RFI since 1975). The broadcasting hour was really peculiar too: in September 1966 from 6.40 a.m. to 6.50 a.m., in May 1972 from 6 a.m. to 6.15 a.m., in October 1976 from 5.30 a.m. to 5.55 a.m., in October 1982 from 5.35 a.m. to 6.00 a.m., in January 1985 from 5.30 a.m. to 5.55 a.m. and in January 1986 from 10 p.m. to 10.30 p.m.

³ The operation's cost is financed by the Social Action Fund for the immigrated workers and their families (FAS), organisation whose funds are coming at the time quite exclusively from the National cash desk for family allowances (CNAM). Those funds corresponded to the allowances' discrepancy that received the families of the foreign workers depending on whether their children were living in France or in their birth country. So, there are the immigrants themselves that were paying for their program. Those programs were taken over by the public service but they will never be completely assumed as a public service by itself. Amounted to a 185,000 francs in 1966 the FAS allowance rises regularly up to reach a million of francs in 1972 when they included new communities and put a ceiling of 12 millions and a half in 1983.

Time for social matters (1966-1973): the very beginning is September 15th 1966 when the ORTF broadcasted “the program for the Portuguese workers”. Ten daily minutes in the birth language, specially dedicated to give social information and the authorities planned a better resolution of the problems met by the immigrants (work accidents, family allowances, unemployment-bad weather, paid holidays, residence’s card and work, etc.)

Time for democracy (1974-1975): It’s the shorter but also one of the most intense steps. The breakdown of the Portuguese dictatorship focuses the topic on the political struggle that follows the democracy arising. It’s the first time that thousands of Portuguese citizens express without fear their political opinions. The program is diverted the time of a revolution from it’s first task until diplomatic pressures compel it to re-establish it’s former face.

Time for coming back (1976-1982): Recovered by the public services, the program evolves to a more cultural and informative grid written in the politics of promoting birth cultures and assistance to come back that is set up by the Immigration State ‘s office.

Time for integration (1983-1992): the advent of the free radios and the Portugal’s membership to the European and Economic community (EEC) in 1986 marks the crossing of to an integration’s policy completely centred on the “second generation”.

Whereas general/mainstream media are attributed the task of a social link protecting the national identity and building “collective cultural frames as well as bridges over world’s visions of the numerous communities composing a society” (Wolton, 1997, 104), minority media and ethnic programs are often understood as ghettos. Do they create public micro-spheres? Are they factors of opening or withdrawal?

After the analysis of the audience’s letters (Antunes da Cunha, 2001), we have been able to draw a typology, which is taking some preconceived ideas in the opposite course. The program was seen as a refuge for the “lonely”, “nostalgic” and the “immigrants” and consumed for different reasons respectively for personal, historical and social motives. On the opposite, it has rather caused a passing over to the universalism for the “autodidacts”, “citizens” and “mediators” respectively for reasons of intellectual curiosity, civilian participation and associative mediation.

A public micro-sphere, a communication territory has taken place but properly speaking the program itself is not a reason to withdraw citizenship or for integration’s vector in the reception society. The chart of meaning and uses built by audience as well as the awareness of belonging to a public, link a series of independent variables from the radio’s texts and from the sole communitarian criteria.

The reception of the RFI broadcasting had been a meaningful place of production where intersected the interpretative structures of institutions and animators with those of the audience. This last one is shouldering identities and asking for different ways of interpreting. Each grammar referred to personal references and to specific social places. Individual paths and collective belongings, cognitive and emotional logics are shaping practices suggested by producers.

So, the reception is played in the interaction of two distinct frames (institution and audience) and none of them get the total mastering of the communication process. It's here a question of identity. It's the other's image and it's own that makes the point, the way they have been hearing and that are being caught ...the public's identity even if it's appearing perfectly visible it is never determined itself as *a priori*. It has been building little by little, it has singularly been strengthening during the strong moments of the reception's bursting and has been nourishing on the reality's complexity.

In the mean time, since 1981 when the public monopole over the audiovisual ended up, the Portuguese requested programs have also besieged local radio-stations in areas concentrating a great number of Lusitanian people. A 1984 enquiry recorded 52 programs whose major part is dealing with a special attention of the Portuguese authorities thanks to the setting down of a pre-recorded system of cassettes lasting for forty minutes each containing information about immigration, Portugal and music.

The last census (CCPF, 1998) took into account five Portuguese radios (*Alfa* in Paris, *Altitude* in Clermont-Ferrand, *Antena Portuguesa* in Tours, *Arc en Ciel* in Orléans and *Triomphe* in Roubaix) but also 77 other Portuguese-speaking programs broadcasted in 50 radios around the territory. These programs are still covering 60 of 95 French departments as a testimony of this media's success within the community.

A Weak Interest for the Newspapers

Apart from the government's publications circulated in France, Portuguese language newspapers spread in France before 1974 were basically antifascist. At this time, there were seven types of publications (Clímaco, 1992):

-- *French organisations' publications for the economic immigrants*: *Presença Portuguesa* (Paris' catholic diocese, 1965-1996), *Testemunho* (Workers' Catholic Action, 1967-1977?), *O Imigrado Português*, (French communist party, 1969-1981), *O Trabalhador*

(CGT- a trade union- 1964-1980) and *A Voz do Trabalhador* (CFDT – a trade union- 1967-1974), etc.

-- **Portuguese institutions' publications (banking, government, church) for the economical emigrants:** *O Emigrante/Mundo Português* (1970-2002), *Correio Português* (1966-1971), *Portugal Popular* (1968-1976), etc.

-- **Publications from the Associations:** *A Voz do Povo* (1968-1976), *A Faísca* (1973-1982), *O Cravo* (1974-1979?), *O Mensageiro* (1971-1972), *A Verdade* (1971-?), etc.

-- **Publications of exiles to the economical immigrants:** *O Alarme* (1972-1975), *Encontro* (1968-2002), *Jornal do Emigrante* (1968-1972), *O Salto* (1970-1974), etc.

-- **Publications of exiles to other exiles and French intellectuals:** *Alavanca* (1972-1974), *Cahiers de Lutte* (1971-1972), *O Grito* (1968-1973), etc.

-- **Publications exclusively to deserters or refracts:** *Lutte* (1972-1974), *Não* (1972-?), *Portugal Anti-Imperialista* (1968-?), etc.

-- **Internal Publications of Political Groups:** *Portugal Libertário* (1973-1974), *Combate Operário* (1973-1975), *Folha Comunista* (1971-1974), etc.

More than one hundred titles were counted for the 1963-1974 period, but the majority did not last for a long time. Some lasted only one or two years. After the Carnation Revolution, a great number of these titles leave their place to associations' newspapers and to free publications as *Publi-Portugal* (1983-1992), *Aqui Portugal*, *Portugal no Mundo* ou *Luz Portuguesa*, among them several are often characterized by a weak writing part, some opinion articles and a lot of publicity. During the same period, different attempts to create reviews failed (*Talism*, *Partir*, *Portugal Presse Magazine*, *Notícias*, *Elos*, etc.) showing the lack of interest of the community for these newspapers (Cordeiro, 1996).

Today, despite the titles' diversity, the Portuguese newspapers continue to live with difficulties with some exceptions. Four kinds of publications exist:

1) *Portuguese newspapers published in Portugal for the whole communities:*

Almada Press/França Press (Lisbon, 1995-2002): Portuguese bimonthly (12,500 copies whose 4,500 are circulating in France). Headings: politics, criminality, sports, local life, health, culture.

Emigrante/Mundo Português (Lisbon, 1970-2002): Portuguese weekly (75,000 copies). Headings : regional, national, communities, economy, sports, audience's letters, advertising.

Lusitano (Lisbon, 1986-2002) : Portuguese weekly (37,500 copies). Headings : regional, economy, sports Portuguese communities.

2) *Bilingual newspapers (mostly in Portuguese) published in France for the Portuguese community:*

Aqui Portugal (Paris, 2002) : bilingual weekly (30,000 copies). Headings : national, international, economy, reports, art and culture, artistic life, associative life, women, astrology, spare time/leisure, newspapers' review, regions, opinions, advertising.

Encontro das comunidades de língua portuguesa : (Paris, 1968-2002) : bilingual monthly (15,000 copies). Headings : opinion, culture, sports, economy, national, legal topics, communities, useful information.

O Correio Português (Paris, 2000-2001): monthly bilingual. Headings: opinion, culture, sports, economy, national, communities, useful information.

Opinião (Paris, 2000-2002): bilingual monthly (30.000 copies). Headings: editorial opinion, dossier/file, France, Portugal, associations, advertising.

Portugal Sempre (Paris, 2000-2002) : free monthly. Headings: opinion, audience's letters, Portugal, associative life, culture, sports, editorial publicity and advertising.

Vida Lusa (Paris, 1998-2002): bilingual monthly magazine (25,000 copies). Headings : opinion, socio-cultural information, audience's letters, legal matters, poetry, useful information (restaurants, TV program, etc.), advertising .

3) *Associations' Publications* (a non-exhaustive listing) :

Cahiers Albatroz, official instrument of the turpentine's spirit literacy (Paris, Albatroz Associations): French quarterly satirical review. Headings : opinion, newspapers' review, poetry.

Cap. Mag. Le journal des lusodescendants (Cap Magellan Association, Paris, 1993-2002) : bilingual monthly review (5,000 copies). Headings: current events, economy, sports, literature, cinema, internships and jobs, regions.

Ça Folk dans le sol (« O sol de Portugal » Bordeaux' Association) : quarterly publication in French (1,000 copies). Headings : current events, music, arts and literature.

Convivência (Portuguese Folkloric Association, Strasbourg): bilingual six monthly publication (150 copies). Headings : mailing box, gastronomy, humour, associative life, memories, information, leisure time, agenda.

Contacto (Portuguese Associations' Federation for Alsace, Colmar): bilingual, bimonthly publication (60 copies). Headings: editorial/leading article, region's associative life, various information, sports.

France-Portugal (France-Portugal Association, Tours): bilingual quarterly publication (80 copies). Headings : sightseeing, cinema, books.

Interaction Aquitaine/Portugal (Federation of French-Portuguese Associations of Aquitaine, Bordeaux) : bilingual quarterly publication (from 500 to 1,000 copies). Headings: editorial, various information, and agenda.

Journal Agora (Institute of Portuguese Culture and Language, Villeurbanne): bilingual monthly publication (2,500 copies). Headings: economy, culture, information and leisure time.

Latitudes (Portuguese-speaking notebooks Association, Paris, 1997-2002): bilingual and cultural review: three numbers per year (2,000 copies). Headings: studies, chronics, testimonies, cultural activities, teaching, associative life, shorts.

Le petit journal (Association for the development of the Portuguese and Brazilian studies, of Portuguese-speaking Africa and Asia, Paris): French publication without set periodicity . Headings: editorial, various information, teaching, culture and events.

Le Petit Journal de France-Portugal (France-Portugal Association, Talence) : bimonthly publication in French (120 copies). Headings : associative life, regional Portuguese-speaking current events, cultural new in France, Portuguese-speaking documents.

Magazine Bilingue (Portuguese Cultural Association of Houilles) : bilingual monthly publication (700 copies) ;

O Nosso Jornal (Portuguese Cultural Association of Garennes Colombes): bilingual quarterly publication. Headings: information and agenda.

Le Perroquet (Cultural and Sports' Association of Aubervilliers): bilingual monthly publication (200 copies). Headings: editorial, current events, associative information, sports.

Lusitanos (Sports Union of Lusitanos from St Maur): Bilingual publication without a set periodicity. Headings: information about various teams of the US Lusitanos.

Portugal Magazine: first number in January 2002. Headings: Portugal, associative life, sports and useful information.

Portugal em França (French-Portuguese Cultural Association of Alfortville) : bilingual monthly publication (300 copies). Headings : Health, gastronomy, points of view, history).

4) *Online newspapers for the Portuguese of France:*

Portugal Presente (Paris, www.portugal-presente.com): bimonthly bilingual journal. Headings : culture, regions, associations, society, politics, finance, current events, youth.

O viru(s)lento. Jornal das incomodidades portuguesas em França (Paris, 2000-2002) : bilingual and bimonthly satirical journal with a E-mail free distribution.

The numbers printed are very limited and for some publications they do not correspond to real conditions. Most bilingual newspapers published in France survive on advertising, whereas associative publications whose number of copies are limited and only sent to the members.

Portuguese national newspapers sold in France also have low rates of circulation. According to a study that we conducted between November 1998 and December 2000, the Portuguese community bought an average of 19,200 sports journals, 5,000 general dailies, 5,000 magazines and 1,600 Portuguese general weeklies per month. With a community counting on more than half a million of people (only Portuguese citizenship) that corresponds to 166 general dailies per day; that is to say a newspaper for 3,331 people. On the other hand, the Portuguese regional press is a major presence in the homes of emigrants. A weekly as *O Jornal do Fundão* sold 20% of its copies abroad in 2001 (APCT, 2001).

In spite of the lack of statistics, figures are very low in what concerns the French national press but restrained by the French regional press. Around Paris, *Le Parisien*, is unquestionably known among the Portuguese immigration as being closer to reality and being more relevant to their neighbourhoods and towns than of the national current events. This daily newspaper did not hesitate to sometimes slip texts in Portuguese (see the one of February 10th 1999) or to include names sounding Portuguese in its street interviews. If the weak interest of the Portuguese emigrants for the newspapers' reading is an endemic phenomena it was strengthened by the access to the Portuguese TV channels.

THE ADVENT OF TELEVISION

At June 10th 1992, Portugal inaugurated RTPi⁴ (Radiotelevisão Internacional), channel of a Portuguese sovereignty addressed to the diaspora and, on the one hand, to the Portuguese-speaking countries. Since the establishment of the RTP-Africa in January 7th 1998 for 25 million of Portuguese-speaking Africans of Angola, Mozambique, Cape-Verde, Guinea-Bissau and St Thomas and Príncipe, the channel is targeting more than its four million immigrants in addition to East Timor and Brazil.

For the successive governments, RTPi is a symbolic power serving a collective imagination materialised in the Portuguese-speaking world. To this concept is linked a century imperialist rhetoric: “*RTPi is the conquest of the Portuguese Nation-State. Portugal is not only a territory. It's a nation with million of Portuguese who live and work outside Portugal. RTPi translates that reality in the audiovisual. In every corner of the world where a Portuguese is, we feel, we leave and we assert Portugal. RTPi reveals this true to life of the Portuguese mind (...) RTPi fairly gave their own deserts to our emigrants and is helping to come true our wish of cooperating with Africa*”, declared a minister of this time (www.rtpi.rtp.pt, june 1998).

Following the erosion of the Portuguese public service, the channel condenses a significant part of the political ambitions dealing with the general interest, especially the Portuguese language and culture worldwide, and the disclosure and the strengthening of the link with and between the emigrants' communities. RTPi is rhythm by ten of daily news programme and is building the core of its broadcasting from the Public channels (RTP1, RTP2, RTP Madera and RTP Azores) and appeals to the African editorial staff for RTP Reporter .

Thursday, March 29th 2001, for example, more than six hours (395 minutes) were devoted to the general and specialized news: *Acontece* (culture, 15 min), *24 horas* (30 min), *RTP Economia* (economics, 10 min), *Remate* (sports, 15 min), *Notícias de Portugal* (regions, 30 min), *Notícias* (15min), *Regiões* (regions, 30 mn), *Jornal da Tarde* (60 min), *Caderno Diário* (youth, 10 min), *Repórter RTP* (Africa, 30 min), *Telejornal* (60 min), *2010* (new technologies, 60 min) and *Jornal 2* (30 min). From those programs only 2010 is not a daily program. And, it has to be taken into account the repeat broadcast due to the time difference between countries (110 min).

⁴ RTPi began transmitting six hours a day, then twelve in January 1995 and 24 hours worldwide by June 10th of the same year. In Paris it's part of the basic subscription for *Paris TV Câble* (since December 6th 1994) of the *Canal Satellite* numeric network (November 18th 1996) and of more than one hundred cable networks all around the country.

The sports' program, entertainment broadcasts, cultural magazines, *telenovelas* (soaps), TV series, music and game show are completing the national programs board of repeated broadcast. Accused of being mere showcase for Portugal, the channel strengthens its production step by step to ensure daily broadcastings and very often at the beginning of the night with guests and the TV-viewers' participation by calling. Dealing with the week from 18 to 24 February 2002: Fados de Portugal (On Tuesday: *fado*), *Reporter RTP Comunidades* (On Thursday: diaspora's information), *Terreiro do Paço* (On Friday: music), *Atlântida* (On Saturday: Azores and Madera).

According to the last statistics, RTPi broadcasts 77% of programs from the national channels, 18% of its own production and 5% of foreign programs. The items' distribution is: entertainment and talk shows (23.6%), news (22.2%), fiction (14.4%), sports (11.5%), music (9.3%), various (6.6%), documentaries (4.9%), cultural (4.4%) and kids and youth (3.1%).

In addition to this daily programming, RTPi transmits official and national ceremonies such as: April 25th and June 10th (Portuguese speaking-world day) annual commemorations, the inauguration of the Vasco da Gama bridge in Lisbon on April 1998, of the Expo 98 (world-fare, May 21 1998), and of "Oporto, European capital of the culture" (January 13th 2001), the funerals of the archbishop of Lisbon (March 1998) and Amália Rodrigues (October 1999), presidential, local and parliamentary elections, (January 14th 2000, December 16th 2001, March 17th 2002), championship matches and the soccer national selection or the beatification of the shepherd lads by the Pope in Fátima (May 12th and 13th 2000).

News items or catastrophes as the one of March 4th 2001 when a bridge collapsed in Castelo de Paiva, carried away a fallen bus and several cars, displaced the usual programs line-up. During a whole week RTPi recovered the place as the first Portuguese public channel and is then completely transformed into an endless information channel. That kind of event is followed a lot by immigrants' community who asserts tightening the social link by means of a collective solidarity celebration.

Today, RTPi is no longer the only Portuguese channel present in the emigrants' market but it is the one most watched as since it is provided at no cost. SIC international began broadcast for four hours a day in the TPS numeric network in September 1997 and then through the Paris' network cable NOOS since November 1998. In March of the following year this channel doubled its broadcasting time finally reaching 24 hours a day in December 2000.

Since a few months, every hertz' channels (*RTP1*, *RTP2*, *SIC* and *TVI*) as some Portuguese thematic channels (as *Sport TV*) are opened in France by subscription to the

Portuguese numeric bouquet of *TV Cabo*. Meanwhile, the price seems to be a brake for lots of Emigrants who are content with RTPi, despite the repeated critics.

The “second generation” seems to be uninterested in these TV channels, as they prefer French television or even channels such as MTV or Disney. Nevertheless, a group of other “neo-traditional” media might not have been misunderstood (Dayan, 1998, 108) that are completing or supplanting television, radio and newspapers. Around Paris, for example, clubs, concerts or Portuguese associative parties even though the religious practice places are socializing privileged rooms for thousands of young people. So, the identity question is not only to become operative in the single media arena.

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