Being a Part of Several "Worlds": Sense of Belonging and Wedding Rites among Franco-Portuguese Youth

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"Esse identidade plural
é uma força que deve ser cultivada."
Jorge Sampaio[1]

The article explores transnational practices and multiple senses of belonging of Franco-Portuguese youth. It is based on a multi-sited ethnographic research in both France and Portugal, which was carried out between 1999 and 2002. The author first points to the permanence and the specificity of mobility that Franco-Portuguese youth establishes with the country of origin. In the second part the focus is on wedding rites, which appear as a particularly interesting locus for the construction and negotiation of the sense of belonging.

Keywords: migration, transnational mobility, Franco-Portuguese youth, wedding rites

One million Portuguese emigrated to France between 1960 and 1974. Initially a temporary project of economic emigration of individuals – which evolved into family migration – allowed the transmission of cultural heritage to the generation of their children who were brought there at an early age or were born in France. Frequent homecomings – once a year, or even twice – to a place marked with family memory, made the passing on of

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[1] President of the Republic of Portugal, Mairie de Paris, June 10, 2002.

intense ties (social and emotional ties) with Portugal possible, without being an obstacle to their social integration in France.[2]

Meanwhile, Portugal underwent profound changes such as the fall of the dictatorship (on April 25, 1974) which lasted for almost fifty years, as well as its accession to the European Economic Community in 1986. In forty years, only a minority of those first migrants definitively returned to their native country,[3] but there are many of those who maintain this project[4] as well as those who periodically go to Portugal and come back.[5]

Four decades have thus passed and the migration is still a part of the present, originating from a family experience based on a transmitted social memory tangled up in intercultural reasoning. The research carried out (by geographers, psychologists and sociologists) into the Portuguese immigrant population in France since the 1970s has mobilised concepts such as "bipolarity" to show the parallel presence of two cultures referred to two societies, two countries, two languages (Villanova 1994:30), as well as the permanence of geographical mobility and circulation of property between the country of origin and the host country.[6] Researchers who were studying the "second generation of the Portuguese" in France, highlighted that a "bilateral affiliation" was a largely predominant option when deciding on a sense of belonging to a culture (Oriol 1984 and 1988). Portuguese immigrants' children integrated in the French society without giving up ties with Portugal (Petit and Charbit 1996).

These studies were on the fringe of the French sociological research of immigration, which still tends to favour only the perspectives of the immigrants' and their descendants' integration or return, and underestimates – even ignores – the space of identity anchorage that is represented

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[2] Integration into the world of work, access to the property. See Leandro 1995 (a, b) and Silvano 2001-2002 for a fine description of the variations in this process according to gender.

[3] Among the Portuguese having emigrated towards the north of Europe in the 1960s, 51,280 returns were registered between 1977 and 1981 and 32,240 between 1997 and 1998 (Rato 2001:165). Projections of the INSEE – French national institute of economic and statistical information estimate between 15,000 and 20,000 the number of annual returns of the Portuguese of France (Portugal Branco 1991).

[4] Especially men. See also Brettell 2003.

[5] See Charbit *et al.* 1997. It turns out that an important number of these migrants, once retired, settle in an "in-between" space as a result of the difficulties due to re-integration within their native countries, and also because of the strong links that bind them to the host country. These oscillating migrations allow them to establish a balance between homecoming and being in company of their children. Furthermore, thanks to this solution, they can keep an address in France, and keep in touch with French infra-structures, especially for medical care. In this light, the geographical proximity between France and the native country, the improvement of the road networks and the popula-risation of aircraft transport, make these goings and comings easier, and strengthen the idea of a possible return.

[6] See particularly Rocha-Trindade 1976 (the author compares bipolarity of Portuguese communities in Brazil, United States and France) and Villanova 1994 (the author shows bipolarity in the family and in the habitat).

by the village of origin.[7] Since the 1980s,[8] the research dedicated to "young people issued from immigration" is focused on a set of topics, such as the evolution of cultural identity (interculturalism), integration and discrimination (regarding employment, housing), collective action (political associations), marginality, and delinquency (see Abou-Sada and Milet 1986; Lapeyronnie 1987; Lorreyte 1989; Aubert *et al*. 1997; *Migrations Société* 1999). Many of these studies, which probe "identity crisis" of the young people of immigrant families and conflicts produced by the double cultural heritage, emphasise the mediating role that they play between the French society and the family: a child constitutes a considerable factor of integration for his/her parents (Richard 1998). The major survey conducted on "immigrants and children of immigrants" – "Geographic mobility and integration" – shows that the assimilation is in progress in all populations[9] (Tribalat 1995). This is allegedly the proof of what this author considers as the "exemplary" nature of the French model of integration.[10]

Our research is relying on qualitative studies that have been done about Portuguese population in France since the 1970s. It is based on material gathered among migrants' adult children (either those who arrived as young children to France or who were born in France). It leads to the treatment of the subject of migration as a dynamic phenomenon (of moving, of coming and going...) and in this respect it joins the "new" analytical space in migration studies[11] which has developed since the 1980s, evaluating the double belonging, connections and circulation between the country of origin and the host country.[12] With the aid of the German example Andrea Klimt (2000) shows that Portuguese migrants in Europe have became "transmigrants".[13]

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[7] The viewpoint is part of the French tradition of national integration which does not recognise particular communities in the public space.

[8] The period coincided with the awareness of the durable installation of the immigrants of the 1960s and with major social, cultural, political and ideological transformations that were induced by the immigration.

[9] Moroccans, Algerians, Turks, Africans, Spanish, Portuguese, Asian.

[10] See Simon's article (2003) with the evocative title "France and the Unknown Second Generation": "In its efforts to retard the creation of a second generation, the French model of integration minimises the transmission of cultural legacies from the immigrants to their children, simultaneously denying collective acknowledgement of immigrant origins" (Simon 2003:1092). Also compare North American research into "second generation" (Portes 1996).

[11] This line of research often comes from north-American authors who adopt a critical view of postmodern anthropology. For a discussion about contributions and limits of this new corpus, see Monsutti 2004 (chapter 1).

[12] See Glick Schiller *et al*. 1992 (a, b). In France, concepts such as "*circulation migratoire*", "*territoire migratoire*" have appeared only recently, see Tarrius and Missaouí 2000.

[13] "Immigrants are understood to be transmigrants when they develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political – that span borders" (Glick Schiller *et al* 1992a:ix).

The aim of this study is to critically relate ethnographic data regarding migrants' children (discourses about belonging, practices of social and territorial inscription in the country of origin and the host country) to anthropological discussions on transnationalism.

First we shall point to the permanence and the specificity of circulation practices and links that Franco-Portuguese youth establish with the country of origin within the framework of the European space. Then we shall analyse the construction and the negotiation of the sense of belonging to several social spaces rooted in particular places. The question that is being asked is the following: to what extent are wedding rites the key to negotiating belonging in this migratory context?

Ethnographic fieldwork

The fieldwork was carried out between 1999 and 2002 among around fifty Franco-Portuguese youth (students, graduates, employees and workers) in France (the region of Ile-de-France, Lyon and Clermont-Ferrand) and in Portugal (Lisbon, Porto, Leiria, Viana do Castelo and Castelo Branco districts). At first, the fieldwork focused on community social spaces (associative, political); later, it was completed by a collection of personal accounts of individuals who do not participate in "community" practices and spaces. We have encountered informants at various places: at universities, at work-place such as building sites, at their homes in city suburbs and in provinces. Following mobile individuals and groups (families and associations) who pass national frontiers (e. g. international encounters of Portuguese descendants, so-called Luso-descendants[14] in Portugal, vacations, family feasts, students' stays), the research took on the form of a multi-sited ethnography.

The age of informants (aged 18 to 35) corresponds to a moment of life when people look into the future they are building for themselves, making major choices (studies, work, contacts, marriage, etc.). Life plans created by these youth are interwoven with family migratory situations and plans, which influence them, e.g. through the network of French and Portuguese friends; their parents' investment into schooling and education; overcrowding in rented apartments; positive images of French and Portuguese society; omnipresence of the plan to return supported by discourse and practices (see also Richard 1998). It is on the basis of the possibilities of personal fulfilment that become available through these different realities that a young person will assume his/her autonomy with regard to the family plan or, on the contrary, will become a part of the continuity.

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[14] The expression used by the Portuguese State for the children of Portuguese emigrants.

Perpetuation of mobility in the European space

Two aspects of trans-European Portuguese migration, the first one geographical and the second related to time, must be taken into account. Proximity between the country of origin and the host country has enabled constant coming and going of families and material and symbolic investment in the country of origin.[15] Since the emigration of the Portuguese to central and northern Europe is relatively recent, the majority of migrants' children still have living grandparents. They represent a link between generations, which has a special significance in the situation of migration. The migrants' children have a feeling that they have inherited a debt, which is that of having to perpetuate the bonds with the community of origin: "*This year, there was a feeling of uneasiness; it had been three years since I had last gone [to Portugal]. But I had the impression that my family was less happy to see me (…). Apparently, certain people felt we forgot them*" (Carlos).[16]

Social perception and political stakes

It is estimated that in 1999 the "Portuguese community" in France numbered almost 800,000 individuals.[17] It is the second most numerous immigrant population after the Algerians.[18] The "second generation"[19] numbered 237,500 individuals (Simon 2003:1099). The studies about the "assimilation" of migrants' children point to the loss of the language of origin. Among the "second generation" of the Portuguese, as well as among that of the Spanish migrants, we can observe a heavy rise in mixed marriages (particularly in comparison to Algerians and Moroccans), relatively feeble social mobility, stronger professional specialisation (workers) and the choice of short studies, especially among young men.[20]

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[15] The study of transatlantic and intra-European migrations point to different dynamics. Transatlantic migration differs from the European one in a feeble rate of return. In the context of European migration, links to the country of origin (made concrete by frequent travel to the country of origin) and the real possibility for a definitive return, have induced strong interdependencies between the place of origin and the place of immigration (Garcia 2000:59).

[16] Aged 22 (2000), born in France (Ile-de-France region), Portuguese citizenship, bank clerk.

[17] Composed of people with Portuguese citizenship (so-called mono-nationals) and people who by acquiring French citizenship became French (majority with dual citizenship).

[18] 1999 census, source INSEE – French national institute of economic and statistical information.

[19] All individuals born in France from at least one parent born abroad (waves of immigration of the 1950s and 1960s).

[20] The evolution of the length of studies between the generation of youth born in Portugal who have immigrated before the age of 10 ("generation 1,5") and those born in France ("generation 2") (Simon 2003:1107), shows the interest to distinguish them, but also the limitations of using notions or expressions such as "second generation" or "the youth of Portuguese origin", which makes the studied reality uniform. Some of the

The role played by family networks would induce specific conditions of access to labour market and a low rate of unemployment. Discussing the power of the Portuguese network of associations in relative terms, Michèle Tribalat argued in favour of "the absence of identity withdrawal" (*l'absence de repli identitaire*) and strong "acculturation of immigrants from Portugal and their children" (Tribalat 1995:221).

The "invisibility", the "discretion" of the Portuguese in the French society[21] was interpreted at the same time as the demonstration of the integration capacity of the French society as well as the demonstration of the will of the Portuguese to integrate. This interpretation not only disguises the intensity of community bonds among the Portuguese population in France (through a wide network of associations) and strategies of perpetuating cultural identity, but also refers to an "ethnic-cultural" representation of the immigrant.[22] In this context, the speech of François Copé, spokesman of the Raffarin government, given at the occasion of the "Meeting of Luso-descendant and Portuguese municipal representatives" organised in November 2003 by the Portuguese embassy in the Senate (Paris), is very illuminating. He insists decisively on his admiration of "the exceptional model of integration that [the Portuguese] represent" in the context of "the surge in fundamentalism and extremism". Active bonds that the Franco-Portuguese youth maintain with their parents' country of origin – in certain cases, identity claims, for example linked to the teaching of the Portuguese language in the French education system, voiced at the meeting of the municipal representatives – do not oppose the image of the well-integrated population of immigrant origin.

The rapprochement of Portugal and France in the EU brings out new stakes for individuals as well as for the States: nation-states of which one, France, is historically a country of immigration and the other, Portugal, a country of emigration.[23] From the French point of view, the Franco-Portuguese youth represents within the EU a model of adaptation which is compatible with the maintenance of bonds with the country of origin, to the point where they become carriers of a "European identity". Indeed, from the Portuguese point of view, the State, which estimates that there are more than four million emigrants and people of Portuguese

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informants of the same age can be children or grandchildren of the first migrants, and the arrival to France of their parents during their childhood influences the sense of national or cultural belonging that is transmitted to the "second generation", as well as the material bonds with their native country.

[21] Andrea Klimt has come to similar conclusions regarding the Portuguese in Germany, where the politics of immigration is very different (Klimt 2000).

[22] On "ethnic-cultural" tradition of the French immigration policy, see Weil 1991. While there is a refusal of ethnicity in the definition of the nation, at other levels of the French thought, the ethnic logic is permanently present (Noiriel 1989:213).

[23] Since the 1980s, the immigration in Portugal has been on the increase, which has resulted in a large non-Portuguese speaking population coming from Eastern Europe. See for example, Garcia 2000.

origin living around the world today, puts a lot of effort into building a "diaspora consciousness"[24] based on an "ideology of return" (Brettell 1991). At the same time it advocates the integration of people of Portuguese origin in the country of residence: once they are well integrated, they make up an "influential lobby"[25] that favours the interests of Portugal.[26] Therefore, one can argue that in relation to "Portuguese communities" elsewhere in the world, the "Portuguese community" in Europe plays a specific role in the European space. From the people's point of view, the fact that France and Portugal are a part of the EU has created an identity space in which the Franco-Portuguese youth can circulate, reside and work freely: however, they do not come and go between just any of the countries nor for only simple economic reasons.

Transnational mobility of Franco-Portuguese youth

Transnational mobility of these young people (regarding both work and studying) is favoured by the freedom to circulate freely in the EU and by the recent economic development of Portugal. According to the General Consulate of France in Porto (1999):[27]

> *The French community in the north of Portugal, which has been getting larger since the beginning of the 1990s to reach more than 3600 persons today, has been significantly transformed in the past few years: there is less expatriate managerial staff, but more French people of all social and professional categories, especially the French of Portuguese origin (...) a lot of them, the second generation in particular, have taken the French citizenship and have decided to return or to come and live in Portugal.*[28]

This mobility is also part of a family history, based on a certain knowledge and inherited material and social capital (family and friends' networks).[29] At least until the end of adolescence all informants have regularly so-

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[24] See Rocha-Trindade 1999, Santos 2003.

[25] Minister of Foreign Affairs and Portuguese Communities, June 10, 2003 (Paris).

[26] An aspect that one also finds in the State policy of Algeria: "While the Algerian government led for a long time a policy focused on the return (non-recognition of dual citizenship, university grants), Algeria has now started favouring the potential that this generation represents (qualifications, knowledge of a language and Arab cultural values) recognizing their sense of dual belonging" (Santelli 1999:158, translation from French).

[27] Area of major migration.

[28] Many articles have been published on that subject in French and Portuguese newspapers since 2000: *Libération*: "Retours aux sources" (May 9, 2001), *Le Point*: "Portugal, le difficile retour" (July 2000), "Portugais de France: le fado du retour" (August 10, 2001), *Expresso*: "O regresso dos lusodescendentes. Uma questão de coração" (September 2000), "A geração do regresso" (May 2003).

[29] The approach to mobility as capital that relies on knowledge (compare the work by Pierre Bourdieu on social capital and *habitus*) underlies "the fact that mobility is also a matter of choice (and therefore of strategy) and not only a matter of social, economic, cultural or tehnical determinateness" (Allemand 2004, translation from French).

journed in Portugal during summer vacation. This time-space has functioned as a real source of identity. As adults they perpetuate this tradition, though less regularly and travelling both to the villages of origin of their parents and to more tourist sites. While many say that they are attracted by a certain quality of life (climate, rhythm of life, sociability), by place(s) of origin, and by relatives, it is too early to say what direction those practices will take in their adult life.

Those who circulate outside the frame of vacation are attracted by a student experience (through the European programme of inter-university exchange Erasmus)[30] or a professional one. The idea that French graduates in Portugal enjoy a high standing and a feeling of being able to contribute to development of Portugal are still widely shared by young people: "*I thought I would be more useful there… I'm not sure about it (…) I think we can bring them something though: it's complicated*" (Christelle).[31] The possibility of the "return"[32] to Portugal can also arise in a situation of malaise (caused by the feeling of being a foreigner,[33] wherever one is), of failure at school, or work.

The first exploratory "return" can serve as a basis for the return envisaged as a definitive one: positive experience of the Erasmus programme can incite a desire to continue with a professional experience. It can also disclose the disparity between personal expectations and the reality, which is not possible during vacations spent with family in sometimes remote areas of the country. The experience of living in Portugal enables confrontation with the economic and social reality and allows the person to overcome the idealisation generated by the distance.

The relationship with the country of origin contributes more to the symbolic construction of the person than to the simple socio-economic definition of a mobility plan. When she was 19, Ana Maria[34] went to Portugal to study journalism. Only when she got involved in an association of "Luso-descendants" which gave her a "positive image" of Portugal, did she start asking herself: "*Where do I have to live?*"[35] Until then she had a "*negative image*" of Portugal (constraints imposed by her Portuguese family, folklore, gossiping of village women) and had a hard time dealing with her

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[30] In other respects there is a certain number of places reserved for the people of Portuguese origin in Portuguese universities (7%).

[31] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 25 (2001), double citizenship, Doctorate in economy (research grant of the French government).

[32] An expression that is often inappropriate because half of them, born in France, do not return but – leave.

[33] "*Here, I'm Portuguese (They used to call me the Portuguese at school) and there, they call me the Frenchman: I don't know where I belong*" (Carlos, note 16).

[34] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 19 (1999), double citizenship, student.

[35] Cap Magellan, Paris-based association, the aim of which is to spread a positive image of Portuguese culture within the French society (campaign against the stereotypes of Portuguese immigrants, creation of Portuguese-speaking positions through the creation of the internship and job department etc.)

Portuguese origins (teasing at school, Portuguese lessons imposed by her parents). The desire to "*personally discover the country and the Portuguese youth*" arose also because leaving to study in Portugal enabled her to get out of "*the overprotective family cocoon*" and to liberate herself.[36]

This mobility requires bilingual and bicultural[37] competences and relies on double residence. Like the other informants having had an experience of life in Portugal, especially students, Ana Maria wanted to join a university situated in the region her parents came from. It is interesting to note how the informants juggle with the search for autonomy (especially important for girls) acquired through settling in a big university town and the maintenance of social bonds with the family. They regularly visit their grandparents and live with them at weekends, in a house built by their parents: "(…) *this house represents an anchorage to the territory, which, at any time, risks to become an option in life*" (Leite 1999:312).[38] It is also an opportunity to accept the family memory that many of them are unaware of.

French and Portuguese are two languages used in professional environment: depending on the country, French and Portuguese play an important role in education as well as in the professional sphere, especially in banking, multinational companies and tourist industry. At university, students frequently choose a class which mobilises their knowledge of Portuguese language.[39] Similarly, when they return to Portugal, they often choose to study something that enables them to use their languages, especially French.[40] An emigrant and his children are often stigmatised in the Portuguese society due to their use of broken Portuguese which often has social connotations ("*my parents taught me a vulgar language*") as well as to their use of French in public: "*At the baker's or photographer's, when they asked me to repeat what I had said; it was awful*" (Carolina).[41]

The fundamental question regarding the knowledge of Portuguese is that of the sense of belonging to the Portuguese nation: being stigmatised as *emigrante* (emigrant) or *Francês* (French) means not being "entirely" Portuguese. At the Faculty of Arts in Porto, the Portuguese students from

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[36] The family lived in a small housekeeper's apartment, where Ana Maria shared a room with her younger brother.

[37] See Rouse 2002, about the cultural "bifocality" of Mexican migrants' children in California.

[38] Building a house was one of the first aims of the emigrants coming from rural areas.

[39] Out of 2221 students with Portuguese citizenship in the 2000/2001 school-year (INSEE counts "bi-nationals" people with double citizenship as French) 527 studied languages: they are the most numerous group studying languages, although their number has been decreasing since 1980 (Portugal Branco, 2001).

[40] According to the data given by the Portuguese Ministry of Education (General directorate for higher education) regarding the candidates of Portuguese origin at the national entry exam for universities in 1996/1997 academic year, 30% of applications were for "the departments of literature, translation, interpreting and the secretarial college".

[41] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 27 (2000), double citizenship, student (Erasmus programme in Braga).

France are also categorised as *francófonos* (French-speaking). During his internship in Portugal, one of the informants noticed: "*During the internship* [in Porto] *they called me the French* (...): *the French is more over there, and the Portuguese is used more in France*" (David).[42] The study of the social perception of emigrants and their children in Portugal, as well as the exclusion they feel when they try to (re)integrate in that society, questions the place that these people actually have in the Portuguese society when they settle there. We have observed that young people who, in France, go to places where they can share their Portuguese origin (Portuguese associations and discotheques), when in Portugal, go to places (like discotheques where everything is in French) where, with other emigrants' children, they can share the same references to "French" culture and identity based on migration. These are social practices that the young "local" Portuguese people do not share with the children of emigrants.

Young Franco-Portuguese people (students and graduates) circulate between France and Portugal using new means which appeared thanks to the state policies: the freedom to move and reside on the territory of the EU for all citizens of the member states, recognition of diplomas, programmes for the integration into the world of work of the Portuguese government.[43] Furthermore, they mobilise various cultural, identity and symbolic resources: bilingualism, dual citizenship (sometimes used in making carrier plans), double residence (residence and relatives in Portugal, but also a family house in France, where they can always return).

In some cases this mobility is the result of the difficulty to elaborate a life project within the French society, because of the difficulty of integration,[44] linked to an idealisation of the country of origin in the domain of sociability. This mobility corresponds to a more global phenomenon, that of the mobility of managers that is observed internationally (see Peixoto 1999; Tarrius 2000), but in this case it is linked to identity (i.e. better knowing the country of origin). However, it seems as if those who do have an experience in Portugal (students or graduates) are those who, in France, have the most difficulty to build social networks outside their community of origin.

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[42] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 23 (1999), double citizenship, telecommunications engineer.

[43] The programme called *Estágios Profissionais para Jovens Portugueses e Luso-Descendantes Residentes no Estrangeiro* (Internships for the Portuguese youth and people of Portuguese origin living abroad) was started in 2001 by the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Work and Solidarity. See Santos 2002.

[44] "It happens that bifocality has a sociological ambivalence" (Villanova 1994:38). Being children of migrants, many of them feel the need to choose the country where they are going to live. "*I have to make a choice. You're not well between the two* [countries] (...) *You cannot live with the two at the same time.*" (Paula, Born in France, Pays de la Loire region, aged 22 (1999), double citizenship, student).

Those who settled and live in Portugal (definitively?) maintain ties with France where they go regularly to visit their family and friends.[45] The last time we saw Ana Maria, she had just come back from Paris where she had celebrated Christmas and New Year holidays with her parents and had just written an article on the "return" of the Franco-Portuguese youth. For the question she had asked herself: "*Where do I have to live?*", Ana Maria found a definitive answer: "*Why should we choose?*".

Double belonging to France and to Portugal: the example of wedding rites

The development of marriages practice constitutes an indicator for "measuring" integration of immigrant populations in the sociology of migrations (Tribalat 1995). Since the beginning of the Portuguese immigration, we have witnessed a constant increase in the number of mixed marriages.[46] The only mixed couple among our informants[47] had a civil wedding in France and a church wedding in Portugal, even though if the groom had wanted, a church wedding could have been organised in France during the mass celebrated in Portuguese language. This example shows that an exogamous marriage has nothing to do with the sense of belonging, especially since the groom works in a Portuguese bank and has refused French citizenship.[48]

In France, the church wedding is legally subject to the civil wedding: consequently, it necessarily precedes the church wedding when there is one. On the other hand, in Portugal, the concordat of 1940 stipulates the civil recognition of the church wedding: civil registration of a marriage is a simple administrative procedure undertaken by a priest and the only ceremony is that of the church wedding. That being the case, the wedding procedure in France (when there is a civil and a church wedding) is an opportunity for two distinct ceremonies – even if they follow one another – and therefore enables diversification of places and time of a wedding. This is a common phenomenon in France today (Segalen 1997).

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[45] In the case of the family return to Portugal (during child's adolescence) social ties are rarely maintained.

[46] Mixed marriages concern 59% of men and 47% of women born in France of Portuguese parents (Tribalat 1995:69). One of the limitations of this survey is that it did not take into account the situation of dual citizenship which is widespread among the Portuguese immigrants: dual citizens (French/Portuguese) could thus be declared as French spouse, although they also have a Portuguese citizenship.

[47] The couple are Christine, aged 22 (2000), of French origin, child caregiver and Carlos (See note 16).

[48] This is a frequent situation among the young men of that age, who refused to fulfil their military obligations in France. Nevertheless, we should note that this might be a case of practical choice (like finishing one's studies) which does not depend only on the sense of belonging.

What is, then, the particularity of practices that we can observe among the Franco-Portuguese youth? In the cases we studied, a civil marriage contracted before the French authorities in the municipality where partners live, is followed by a church wedding in Portugal several months or even years later. Of course, the wedding ritual does not come down only to these "civil" and "church" dimensions. The national chaplain of the Portuguese community in France working at the National Pastoral Service for migrants confirms that "*the majority of church weddings in Portugal were* [before that] *celebrated as civil weddings, with the family card in France* [before the French administration]". What is the motive for the multiplication of places and moments of a wedding rite among the Franco-Portuguese?

This reflection, based on a collection of five couples' accounts,[49] is a part of a larger analysis of contemporary rites, which shows "(…) its plasticity, its capacity of being polysemous, of adaptation to social change" (Segalen 1998:5). Its aim is rather to bring out how a wedding rite might constitute a privileged time-space reaffirming belonging within migrant families. How does the multiplication of places and moments of a wedding ritual illustrate the will of those who perform it to become a part of different social spaces in France and Portugal?

Among the five couples who got married during the research, only one organised their wedding only in Portugal.[50] It was a "traditional" type of wedding if judged by the facts such as the organisation of the wedding by the parents, the importance given to the absence of cohabitation before the wedding and the symbolic dimension of the ritual (Bozon 1992). "*The bride puts a rose into the hands of Nossa Senhora* [Our Lady] *de Fátima when the couple has not lived together before the wedding. (…) This is for serious people, we feel it in us, it's a present we give to her*" (Sandrine), "*This is not for girls who have already slept with other boys*", her mother makes it clear. Commitment to virginity seems, nevertheless, to be marginal, both in practice and in the discourse of the group under research.

Another couple wanted to have a civil wedding in France, but in the Portuguese consulate: "(…) *since we're both Portuguese*".[51] Elisabeth and Olivier explain that the French authorities (in the town council) obliged them to have a civil wedding in France: "*In fact, as I was born in France, they* [the French authorities] *don't understand why I would want to get married at the consulate when I'm supposed to get married at the town hall in my town of birth*"[52] (Olivier). Consequently, "*The simplest solution is to*

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[49] Our reflection does not intend to render in detail the whole wedding scenario.

[50] Sandrine, born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 22 (2002), double citizenship, hairdresser, and João Paulo, aged 25 (2002), construction worker, a Portuguese emigrant who came to France less than four years ago.

[51] Elisabeth, aged 24 (2002), pharmaceutical assistant, emigrated from Portugal with her parents at the age of 11 (1989), and Olivier, aged 26 (2002), born in France (Ile-de- -France region), unemployed.

[52] Information that was not checked at the administrative level.

get married in the town hall and to have the marriage validated at the consulate in order to obtain a marriage certificate in Portuguese to give it to a priest in Portugal" (Elisabeth and Olivier).[53]

In these two cases, one of the members of the couple emigrated more recently, as an adult or a teenager. We could also ask ourselves about the reasons for which Sandrine and Olivier, who were both born in France, do not care about a civil wedding in France. We will come back to the lack of importance that a civil wedding has for Sandrine. When it comes to Olivier, it is interesting to note that he lived in Portugal for 5 or 6 years when his parents tried to return – an attempt that failed.[54]

Civil wedding in France

The timing of civil weddings of other three couples celebrated in France follows the local custom: weddings took place on a Saturday in June. They were organised in the towns where partners live and all of the couples cohabited before getting married. Cohabitation and control of the ritual by the couple are factors of evolution of the wedding ritual (Segalen 1998:94). Today, it celebrates other things than "passages" (cf. Van Gennep 1909), since often the couple has already entered a new social phase that was in the past attained through marriage (co-residence, sexuality, procreation).[55] Nevertheless, in the three cases, newlyweds' control of the ritual has to be put into perspective. Indeed, although the parents do not have the right to express their opinion on the choice of the place, the restaurant and guests, they participate financially and are often very much engaged in all parts of the ritual.

The importance of a (civil) wedding celebrated in France does not depend only on the local belonging of partners (municipal responsibility, involvement in associations, type of profession etc.), to which the type of contacts is linked (the number of friends who are not Portuguese or of Portuguese origin), as well as financial means (of their parents), but also on the prestige and the social recognition that the couple and their parents expect in the French society. It is expensive to organise two parties and, anyway, the Portuguese friends, as well as the emigrant members of the family, gather in Portugal in August, when a great number of church weddings are celebrated.

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[53] When a couple asks for it, a marriage certificate is actually transcribed at the Portuguese consulate which issues *assento de casamento*, document required for the registration of their new civil status with the Portuguese authorities (in Portugal). This document is also needed for the church wedding celebrated later in Portugal.

[54] Nevertheless, his parents did later return to Portugal.

[55] "*If we were to follow Portuguese customs, we would have to be married before, but my parents were influenced by the French culture. This has become normal (…) The grandmother on my mother's side deals with it very well, but I don't know whether she realises that we actually live together, I don't think she does*" (Carlos).

For Elisabeth and Olivier the civil wedding "*is really the administrative aspect of a wedding, that's all*". They didn't organise a party:

> *We wanted to have a big wedding in Portugal (…) my mother and my sister, my family and her family were there. We have friends here and most of them are Portuguese who go there for summer vacations every year, so for them there was no problem. It was more complicated with the French friends, we thought of bringing them over – if they wanted to take part in our wedding, this was not going to stop them – some of our friends came, not all, but quite a lot of them: the majority. Therefore, we really focused on the party in Portugal with a real wedding: for us it is the church wedding* (Olivier).

On the other hand, the civil wedding of Dulce[56] and Helder[57] shows the important symbolic meaning attached to both, the wedding in France and that in Portugal. It is a matter of showing the social prestige of the couple. The civil wedding was celebrated in Paris, but in a town hall other than that of the district where they live, which was chosen for its architectural beauty.[58] The lunch was organised in a renowned Portuguese restaurant in the centre of Paris, where the couple mainly invited their friends of different nationalities (former students of an international grammar school that he used to go to) but also those from the Portuguese community – a fifty or so guests who were invited to the wedding in Portugal as well.

For those who deliberately decided to have a civil wedding in France, this is a matter of becoming a part, legally (Joanna[59] and Yves[60]) but also socially (Helder and Dulce) of "*the place where we live*". Unlike the "very simple" wedding of Joanna and Yves, the wedding of Christine and Carlos in France had a special importance because of the presence of the entire family of the bride (of French origin). All of them are not necessarily going to take part in the wedding in Portugal (especially grandparents, who are too old to travel). The couple rented a reception hall at the municipality they belong to (in Paris) and the groom's family prepared the food themselves (dishes bought at a Portuguese caterer: wine, suckling-pig, grilled chicken).[61] The wedding lasted one day while in Portugal it lasts two days.

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[56] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 33 (2000), double citizenship, communications executive.

[57] Born in Portugal (Castelo Branco district), aged 33 (2000), double citizenship, president of an association.

[58] The town hall of their district was a modern building without any charm. In order to register for a wedding there, the groom used another person's address (address of a friend).

[59] Born in France (Bourgogne region), aged 22 (2000), double citizenship, nurse's aide.

[60] Born in France (Ile-de-France region), aged 25 (2000), double citizenship, delivery-man.

[61] A practice that resembles weddings in the countryside several decades ago.

Religious wedding in Portugal

The wedding rite organised in Portugal comes several months (one or two months for the weddings of Joanna and Yves, Helder and Dulce, Elisabeth and Olivier), even several years after the civil wedding. Carlos and his wife got married in Portugal two years after their civil wedding in France because, in the meantime, they had a baby. They waited for the baby to be older than a year in order to organise the wedding ceremony in Portugal in which the baby also took part (baptism was celebrated at some other moment). The wedding was organised with a lot of splendour, the groom and his father having gone to Portugal during the year in order to make the preparations for it.

The church wedding organised in Portugal takes place on Saturday or Sunday, according to the local custom.[62] The concentration of all the weddings (of local people and of migrants) in August, when migrants come to spend their holidays in Portugal, shows that the migration influenced the wedding calendar of the rural Portuguese society.[63] Numerous villages have moved a great number of their festivities to August. Family and village celebrations, as well as religious and secular ones, are events where dispersed migrants (whether nationally or internationally) reunite with the villagers.[64]

Like different family rites, especially baptism, weddings are not always celebrated in the town the mother comes from, or in the town where the parents built a home. But this is not a particularity of the Franco-Portuguese weddings.[65] The place of the celebration in particular seems to be chosen for its religious prestige (a cathedral): "*They are making an exhibition, a show (…) Even for those who do not go to church regularly, the aim is to make it as beautiful as possible, because they are in Portugal, it's for the grandparents.*" (National chaplain of the Portuguese community in France at the National Pastoral Service for migrants – Paris).

"*Having a civil wedding is not as good,*" explains Sandrine. In the rural Portuguese society the religious ceremony is what makes the union

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[62] See Callier-Boisvert 1999. One of the explanations regarding the increasing number of weddings on Sunday (day which became prominent in the 1980s) is that it became a part of the Eucharist: "Religious celebration of a wedding is more glamorous and lends prestige to the families of the newlyweds. Thus, this practice, which tends to spread, is as much social as it is religious" (Callier-Boisvert 1999:125, translation from French).

[63] It is the same for baptisms: "It is precisely this discrepancy between the date of birth and that of baptism that makes sense and discloses the main function of gathering of the village" (Charbit and al. 1997:47, translation from French).

[64] Celebrations in honour of emigrants (mass, processions, folk dances, football matches between locals and emigrants, balls...), weddings and wedding anniversaries, baptisms which take place during that month.

[65] We should nevertheless note that apart from the wedding of Dulce and Helder (to which we shall come back), a wedding is organised in the region the bride comes from: "*I didn't want to get married anywhere else but there (…) in the local church, in my region*" (Elisabeth).

of a couple legitimate in the eyes of local society (Callier-Boisvert 1999:131). Catholic religion (as a belief or commitment to a tradition) holds an important position among the Portuguese population in France.[66] For many informants, believers but not practicing Catholics,[67] it is unthinkable not to have a church wedding: as a family "tradition" but also out of "respect" (and gratitude) for grandparents.[68]

Celebration of family rites in Portugal reflects the need to become a part of a lineage (a family) and, at the same time, it is the assertion of fidelity to the land of origin (where the "roots" are). It also expresses commitment to the tradition, which, among the migrants, is generally symbolised by the country of origin. Why get married in Portugal? "*It's a tradition (…) it's where we come from, our entire family is there, it's to have the whole family together… our grandparents*" (Sandrine).

Another reason for organising a wedding in Portugal is showing off social and economic capital acquired thanks to emigration. The parents of Dulce and Helder come from villages in the centre of the country (Castelo Branco and Coimbra districts), but the entire wedding ritual took place in the town of Sintra close to Lisbon, an ancient resort of the Portuguese court and a socially prestigious place. The wedding reception was organised in *Quinta de São Thiago* (*quinta* – an estate composed of a manor and a park), where stayed the closest family brought over from their respective regions by buses.

Lavish character of the wedding is primarily associated with the one celebrated in Portugal, which was until now possible due to the difference in purchasing power favourable to emigrants: "*In France, we couldn't have such a big wedding*" (Elisabeth). "Weddings have become an additional opportunity to luxuriously celebrate economic and social success of migrants, especially when they come from poor families. After a house and a car, their children's wedding is a means of displaying their newly acquired social status" (Callier-Boisvert 1999:131) At that level, the abundance of food at the wedding reception ("*my mother ordered yet another dish on the menu*", Sandrine) organised in a restaurant, but also the number of guests (330 at Olivier's and Elisabeth's wedding, 250 at Sandrine's and João

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[66] The majority of our informants had, for example, religious upbringing and went to Portuguese catechism classes.

[67] "*We are believers but we don't go to church that much*" (Elisabeth). "*We are not practicing any more at all, we don't go to church, we don't pray. We go from time to time. Once a year we go to Fatima to pray a little but (…) when I was younger, until I was 15 or 17 years old, even at 18, I went to church all the time with my parents. I often went with my mother to the Bac street* [Paris] *to say the rosary. Later, we started going out, we became rebellious towards our parents*" (Olivier).

[68] For Agnès (born in France, Ile-de-France region, aged 25 (2001, double citizenship, student), the fact that her partner (of French origin, with whom she lives, is an atheist and wasn't baptised represents a problem: "*One day, at the table at my parent's house, he said he wasn't baptised. I was fearing that moment My parents didn't say a thing (…) I managed to negotiate a blessing for our wedding. I told my grandmother that I went to church every Sunday, but not that D. was an atheist… we didn't lie…*"

Paulo's and Dulce's and Helder's) make up the criteria on which the success of the wedding depends. Olivier's parents also rented a bus to take the family's guests to the north of the country, where the bride came from and where the wedding was celebrated. The couple remember: "*Among the guests, there were a lot of our parents' friends, people from the neighbourhood, a lot of people we didn't know*" (Elisabeth and Olivier). The wedding was also organised in a *quinta*, chosen by Olivier's parents, his grandfather and a neighbour of Elisabeth: "*there is a pool, a small park with a forest, a river… the scenery is beautiful* " (Elisabeth). The wedding, paid for by the parents of the couple, cost more than twenty thousand euros: "*The day we got married, we felt like kings, it was our day. Our parents were happy, proud of us*" (Elisabeth). An emigrant shows off his success through ostentatious practices, which legitimise his departure and his numerous sacrifices.

The wedding is an expression of a compromise between the couple and their families. The study of negotiations in the ritual illustrates management – sometimes conflictual – of the family tradition – which makes the one who respects it a member of the family – and French cultural and social customs, which can be seen in the choice of witnesses for the wedding. In the rural Portuguese society, witnesses are traditionally spiritual parents (godmother and godfather and/or confirmation sponsors), while in France today, these are often friends or brothers and sisters. To satisfy both models, the couple chooses different witnesses for each of the weddings. Elizabeth, for example, chose a friend (of Portuguese origin) whom she had met in France and Olivier chose his brother. In Portugal, they "chose" their godparents: "*We primarily did that because of the customs and because of the parents*" (Elisabeth); "*I wanted it to be my sister and my mother told me: – Watch out, in Portugal, witnesses are godparents. I found out about it a year ago. I was a bit disappointed, but it's true that it has always been like that. My parents told me: – If you don't do it like that, your godparents are going to be disappointed. So, I did it according to the tradition*" (Olivier). In the case of Hedler, the problem was the same but this time with his paternal grandmother who is also his godmother. The groom also chose different witnesses for the two weddings: the first ones were friends from school and the second ones his paternal grandparents. It is interesting to note that, in return, the groom told his grandparents not to give "*so much money*" for the wedding present.[69]

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[69] Like the timing of weddings, the type of gifts given to the newlyweds depends on local customs. In France, financial contribution to the wedding is listed in a shop; in Portugal, money in an envelope is given at the end of the wedding: "*I have friends from work who asked me if I had a wedding list. They explained what it was. I told them that in Portugal the newlyweds give small presents and in return they get an envelope. But I have nevertheless opened an account at the Fnac music store; I knew that those who wouldn't come to the wedding in Portugal would want to contribute, especially friends from work and school* " (Olivier).

Weddings are events where social and cultural identities of a family are being expressed. Multiplication of the wedding ritual among the Franco-Portuguese has a particularity not on the national but on the transnational level – i. e. in two different countries.[70] The choice of witnesses, as well as the multiplication of places and moments of the wedding ritual, shows the will of individuals to create social ties in the society where they want to live and, at the same time, to perpetuate those with the community of origin, which remains their identity reference. Wedding celebration in Portugal, which reunites the entire family, reflects the need – beyond the constraints imposed by older members of the family – to become a part of a lineage and asserts the fidelity to the land of origin. This is a commitment that surpasses a simple return to one's roots.

Conclusion

Transnational mobility of the Franco-Portuguese youth illustrates the maintenance of ties established with the culture, the country[71] and the locality of origin to such an extent that some go to Portugal for a student or professional experience, while some even settle there. This mobility points to a double cultural and social heritage and to a family experience of migration, but also to a phenomenon of student and professional mobility, which is spread on the entire territory of Europe and linked to globalisation. Ties maintained with the parental country of origin generate, in the specific context of the EU, the construction of life and work patterns which enable some of them to refer to their multiple identity ties.

These "returns" to Portugal point to the multiplicity of cultural, social and territorial belonging, which in itself is the result of "bifocality": the youth mobilise two cultures and two places of residence, they speak at least two languages, and sometimes negotiate between two social milieus, they create and perpetuate social ties in both spaces (Rouse 2002).[72] The complexity of their identity is shown in some cases of "return" in the reverse direction: after having "returned" to settle in the country of their parents, some informants came back to live in France. We can thus infer that mobility is also a result of a difficulty to integrate in one or the other society.

The example of wedding rites organised by individuals who have chosen to live in France enables us to deepen this analysis. It shows that the children of migrants successfully negotiate their belonging to two social and cultural "worlds". Yet, it also points out that by their cultural and social

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[70] This aspect does not appear in Asian or Maghrebian weddings described by Anne Raulin (2000).

[71] Professional mobility encompasses lusophone space in general, spreading to Brazil, Angola, Mozambique etc. We have not developed this point here.

[72] It may be more pertinent to speak about "multifocality" in the lusophone space in which economic opportunities are on the increase.

practices they are always identified as "Others" – as a son/daughter of an emigrant in Portugal or as a person of Portuguese origin in France.

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SUDJELOVANJE U RAZLIČITIM "SVJETOVIMA": OSJEĆAJ PRIPADNOSTI I SVADBENI OBIČAJI MEĐU FRANCUSKO-PORTUGALSKOM MLADEŽI

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SAŽETAK

Istraživači koji su od polovice osamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća proučavali tzv. "drugu generaciju" Portugalaca u Francuskoj, došli su do zaključka da se ti mladi franko-portugalci opredjeljuju za dvostruku pripadnost – i francuskoj i portugalskoj kulturi. U tekstu se razmatraju materijalne i simbolične veze koje održavaju s rodnom zemljom svojih roditelja te se pobliže analizira kako te veze utječu na njihove životne – obiteljske i radne – planove. U drugome se dijelu s aspekta održavanja civilnoga i religijskoga obreda te cjelokupne organizacije vjenčanja analiziraju svadbeni običaji mladih franko-portugalaca. Autorica zaključuje da su u širemu kontekstu ujedinjene Europe ti mladi ljudi stvorili prostor u kojemu mogu slobodno putovati, živjeti i raditi pri čemu mobiliziraju različite kulturne, identitetne i simbolične resurse koje imaju zahvaljujući svojoj bifokalnosti (koja se ogleda u jeziku, stanovanju, srodstvu, dvostrukom državljanstvu i sl.).

Ključne riječi: migracija, transnacionalna mobilnost, franko-portugalska mladež, svadbeni običaji