

# Reshaping Space in a Global World: Portuguese and Brazilian Networks\*

Cristina SARMENTO  
Observatório Político  
CAPP/ ISCSP – Universidade de Lisboa  
cris.lu@mail.telepac.pt

Patrícia OLIVEIRA  
Observatório Político/ CIAC-Ualg  
ISCSP – Universidade de Lisboa  
patricia.oliveira.pt@gmail.com

Carlos VARGAS  
Observatório Político  
IHC/ FCSH – Universidade Nova de Lisboa  
vargascarlos@live.com.pt

Recibido: 16-02-2015

Aceptado: 17-10-2015

## ABSTRACT

In a contemporary context, the concept of power networks is used in the study of political society. The overlapping of political power and the varied networks of entities that shape the social context create a consensus on political communities' analysis. This paper aims to develop the study of some historical examples of the phenomenon of transatlantic transmissions of norms, beliefs and values that revise the sense of a Luso-Brazilian community. New approaches, namely on the perspectives that documentary films offer on political and cultural paths are made possible by a revised historiography and new cultural political approaches. In the late twentieth century, the image and the documentary film formed an important communication mechanism enhancing the cultural and symbolic imagery shared between Portugal and Brazil. However, the new political configurations under the globalization process confiscate and transform that imagery. Reshaped power transferred from institutions to individuals allows other readings of cultural and political language communities.

**Key words:** Portugal; Brazil; political and cultural networks; documentary cinema; globalization.

---

\* The work of Patrícia Oliveira was supported by FCT - Funding Agency for Science, Research and Technology, Portugal [PhD Grant SFRH/BD/89754/2012].

## **Remodelando el espacio en un mundo global: redes portuguesas y brasileñas**

### **RESUMEN**

En un contexto contemporáneo, el concepto de redes de poder es una herramienta ineludible en el estudio de la sociedad política. La superposición del poder político y de las muchas redes de entidades que conforman el contexto social, constituyen las comunidades políticas. Este trabajo tiene como objetivo desarrollar el estudio de ejemplos históricos del fenómeno de las transmisiones transatlánticas de normas, creencias y valores que han alterado el sentido de la comunidad luso-brasileña. En este sentido, la historiografía contemporánea ha registrado un proceso de renovación de los dominios de la historia cultural y política, en el que el estudio de las relaciones entre Portugal y Brasil ganó visibilidad. Como el análisis de las perspectivas del documental para demostrar las formas políticas y culturales. A finales del siglo XX, la imagen y el documental serán mecanismos importantes de comunicación y de mejora del imaginario cultural y simbólico entre Portugal y Brasil. Sin embargo, las nuevas configuraciones políticas en el marco del proceso de globalización confiscan y transforman esas imágenes. El poder transferido de las instituciones a los individuos permite otras lecturas de las comunidades lingüísticas políticas.

**Palabras clave:** Portugal; Brasil; redes políticas y culturales; cine documental; globalización.

## **O espaço em mudança num mundo global: redes portuguesas e brasileiras**

### **RESUMO**

Na contemporaneidade, o conceito de redes de poder permite a análise da sociedade política, na medida em que a sobreposição do poder político e das várias redes constituem o contexto social e político. Este artigo analisa os exemplos históricos das influências transatlânticas, sejam normas, crenças ou valores que alteraram o sentido da comunidade luso-brasileira. A historiografia contemporânea passou por um processo de renovação no domínio da história cultural e política, em que o estudo das relações entre Portugal e o Brasil ganhou visibilidade. Exemplificando a partir do cinema documental, demonstramos a emergência de novas formas políticas e culturais. No final do século XX, a imagem através do cinema documental é um mecanismo de comunicação e transformação do imaginário entre Portugal e o Brasil. No entanto, as novas configurações políticas da globalização confiscam, alteram e transformam este imaginário. O poder transferido das instituições para os indivíduos produz outras leituras das comunidades políticas.

**Palavras-chave:** Portugal; Brasil; redes políticas e culturais; cinema documental; globalização.

### **REFERENCIA NORMALIZADA**

Sarmiento, Cristina; Oliveira, Patrícia, y Vargas, Carlos (2015) "Reshaping Space in a Global World: Portuguese and Brazilian Networks". *Geopolítica(s). Revista de estudios sobre espacio y poder*, vol. 6, núm. 2, 267-282.

**SUMARIO:** Introduction. 1. Political approaches to culture. 2. Historical perspectives. 3. Portuguese and Brazilian political and cultural networks. 4. Documenting politics through cinema. 5. Reshaping space in a global world. Conclusion. References.

## **Introduction**

Our main goal in this paper is to demonstrate that through a common language and long-term historical ties between Portugal and Brazil, political and cultural power networks were structured.

The current understanding of these networks became possible, on the one hand, by the historiographical review (Sarmiento and Guimarães, 2010; 2012) of the relationship between both countries, and on the other hand, by the scientific development (Pye, 1973) in the fields of politics and culture. These power networks can be qualitatively demonstrated in several historical periods by cultural events.

After revisiting key topics of some historical moments of these networks, we focused our attention on the impact of the 1974 Portuguese Revolution. In this context and throughout the relationship between power and image (Nichols, 1991) namely in documentary cinema, this paper aims to demonstrate specifically these political power and cultural networks. However, this central argument is followed by a difficulty generated by the globalization process.

This globalization process de-territorialize and de-institutionalize (Thussu, 2007) those bilateral processes between Portugal and Brazil. New readings of space and other forms of communication, generate and reconfigure all the participants on the political and cultural networks empowering individuals.

Consequently, institutions no longer hold all the power over the forms of communication and the cultural cohabitation (Wolton, 2013) gains visibility. These political power and cultural networks between Portugal and Brazil also faces this reconfiguration. Nevertheless, the linguistic and historical structure, as we demonstrate here, remains as an active power.

### **1. Political approaches to culture**

As a social science, political science was one of the latest disciplines to incorporate the concept of culture (Pye, 1973: 55). However, the space of culture in political action (Arendt, 1961) and the analysis of politics in relation to cultural perspectives (Dean, 2006) are embedded in the history and foundations of political science (Gooding and Dieter-Klingermann, 1996).

In recent decades the literature in the field of culture and politics (Thompson, Grenstadt and Selle, 2005) has focused on several debates related to civic culture (Almond and Verba, 1989), to mass society, to advanced industrial societies (Inglehart, 1990; Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998), and to how such societies acquired an important role in explaining processes and mechanisms of political transformations (Tilly, 2001: 24), but altogether in the perspective of a political culture design.

Nevertheless, on another level of analysis — namely through documentary cinema —, the connection between cultural praxis and political science is atypical (Miller and Yúdice, 2002; Yúdice, 2003; Vargas, 2012). A closer relationship between political science and image, for instance, suggests a methodological adaptation that does not deny a scientific pretension (Smadja, 2010).

Documentary cinema, on the contrary, is used as an original reasoning that objectifies social phenomena (Esquenazi, 2000; Costa, 2002; Reia-Baptista and Moeda, 2010; Areal, 2011), thus allowing political, social and geographical interceptions for innovative approaches to political culture.

From the relationship between documentary cinema and political culture emerges one of the difficulties in building up rigid conceptualizations (Dogan, 1996) based on measurement, quantification or objective reasoning, which chiefly stems from the symbolic, plural and hybrid nature of the concepts.

Until recently, the development of the study of political power was under constraints generated by the majority of monolithic studies (Sarmiento, 2008) that last on social structures, institutions, and established political hierarchies.

As social power is disseminated in contemporary societies, in what can be best understood as the emergence of power networks, symbols and cultural codes that frame the relations between social agents (Sarmiento, 2008) allow original methodologies.

The line which divides political and non-political issues (Dogan, 1996) is defined by the collection of social interactions that took place in certain historical moments that can stretch or contract these notions of bordering line which reject an attitude of exception between politics and some other cultural spheres such as cinema (Thompson, Grendstad and Selle, 2005; Dean, 2006: 752; Oliveira, 2012).

The available knowledge on this subject demonstrates that the political field possesses nowadays a new and complex cultural and geographical dimension (Clark and Hoffmann-Martinot, 1998). The role of politics is however less defined when it comes to its political potential, in particular if we attempt to analyse the way in which contemporary cultural praxis might create alternative views of political contexts.

## **2. Historical perspectives**

Some historic cases of transmission of norms, beliefs and values between Portugal and Brazil renew and transform the meaning of a Luso-Brazilian community.

Joint cultural events, interactions among intellectuals, diplomats, cultural institutions, and mobility or migrations, all diagnose tendencies and shifts in the Portuguese-speaking network of power and culture (Sarmiento and Guimarães, 2010, 2012).

In a historical perspective, the founding of the Brazilian Republic in 1889 established the backdrop for Portuguese scholars who researched the influences and idea networks that could provide the future Portuguese republicans with a basis for their political ideals (Ribeiro and Vicente, 2012). The consequences in Portuguese thought regarding the change of regime was essential over the two decades that elapsed between the victories of republican ideas in both countries.

The ruptures in the Portuguese Empire appear to be perceived differently in both countries, but cultural knowledge was upheld and the collaboration between intellectuals was so intense that various joint publications offer the most immediate expression of the existence of such a debate and the intellectual sharing of ideas.

On the Brazilian side, a renewed perspective took shape. Recognized as a shared historical legacy, the Portuguese heritage was revised without complexes or constraints.

There are some impressive examples of this new attitude: the way Camões' legacy was used in the 1880 celebrations (Venâncio, 2012), or even in the revision of the great cultural conceptualizations present in the Lusotropicalism of Gilberto Freyre (Guimarães and Cabral, 2012). In both cases, it is clear that a new historiographical standpoint was adopted.

All these experiences recognize the impossibility of separating the cultures which overlap with one another and which are still united through a common language.

From this powerful acknowledgement emerged other researches, such as Brazil's perspective on the Portuguese *Estado Novo* (Serrano, 2012) and its relation with the colonial Portuguese history, which takes different forms. Newspapers, media and correspondence provide noteworthy information for researchers into Portuguese political exiles before and after the April Revolution, and are a fundamental instrument that can shed light on the networks that these exiles (Santos, 2012) forged with their Brazilian counterparts.

These researches were disseminated in the academy even before Brazil renewed its internal affairs policy (Sarmiento and Guimarães, 2010), which was, at the time, on a route opposed to a newly-democratic Portugal. Those assessments also emerged before the renewed significance given to the triangulation of Brazil's external affairs, in the geopolitical South-South panorama, in which Angola's decolonization (Serrano, 2012) becomes relevant. Thus, the pressure exercised by the Brazilian republican ideology, which sought to legitimize the new regime through the end of the monarchy in 1889, can be identified not only as a consequence of the Portuguese colonization, but also as a consequence of the Portuguese political exiled networks in Brazil.

An important influence that contributed to the misunderstanding of the Portuguese and Brazilian political and cultural networks was the strong ascendancy of the French historiography matrix over the Brazilian historiography production during the last century. As is known today, the theoretical and methodological

tendencies of the *Annales* movement relegated political history and interlinked territories to a secondary plane in the priorities of historians.

### 3. Portuguese and Brazilian political and cultural networks

Over the last two decades, the study of Luso-Brazilian relations has achieved greater visibility (Sarmento and Guimarães, 2010; 2012) in terms of the renovation process undergone by the domains of political history. The notion that the political is subjected to the action of time and is composed of specific contexts, has thrown a new light on certain topics through questions formulated by cultural history.

Thus, the expansion of the idea of culture and the emergence of the features of human behaviour as a privileged focus of historical knowledge, have opened up the way to more fruitful dialogues with other fields of knowledge, such as anthropology, social psychology, and political science.

The so-called “cultural shift” — a term coined by Peter Burke — explains the sharp turn which historical studies underwent due to the abandonment of generalizing analytical schemes, with a move towards the values of social and political groups that has favoured specific places and time periods.

Nowadays, there is a consensus among Portuguese historians (Sarmento and Guimarães, 2010; 2012) that the end of the colonial pact did not signify a schism in the relationship between Portugal and Brazil in spite of the dissemination of an oppositional quarrel to the old metropolis which, in turn, was directed towards the development of an ideal of “Brazilianness”.

This discourse was admittedly of greater rhetorical effect than it was of an ideological nature. It is worth remembering that in the national memory, woven by the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute since its foundation in 1838, the monarchical State established in 1822 identified itself as the legitimate heir and successor of the overseas Lusitanian empire (Mary, 2010; Silva, 2010).

Furthermore, underlying this idea was the forged notion that the transition from the status of colony to an independent country was a natural process without traumas or ruptures. This was a unique aspect which sought to distinguish the recently established *Império do Cruzeiro do Sul* [*Empire of the South Cruise*] from the troubled republican experiences of its neighbours on the continent.

In this context, the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the death of Camões was celebrated in Rio de Janeiro in 1880 in pompous style (Venâncio, 2012). The celebrations held in the capital of the Brazilian Empire gave rise to the development of an intellectual field that was conditioned by a myth concerning the founding of the Brazilian national identity, which was originally — and fundamentally in the view of understanding of its organizers — a Lusitanian myth. The beliefs, traditions, and values transmitted by the motherland were brought back into the discussion by reference to

Gilberto Freyre's (1900-1987) concept of Lusotropicalism and its dimensions (Guimarães and Cabral, 2012).

On the one hand, the thesis defended by Freyre was arrogated by the government of António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) and used as expedient of Lisbon's colonialist politics before the international community. On the other hand, uncoupled from Salazarism, the work of the Pernambucan sociologist was re-signified and actually ended up by becoming an important element in the dynamics of the relations between Portugal and Brazil, thereby making a decisive contribution to the development of a Luso-Brazilian political culture (Serrano, 2012).

However, the cultivated Portuguese cultural heritage was to be granted official recognition with the signing of the Luso-Brazilian Cultural Agreement, completed between the governments of Getúlio Vargas (1882-1954) and of António de Oliveira Salazar in 1941.

More informal — but no less important —, another expression of reinforcement of the narrowing of Luso-Brazilian ties came from the action of social networks which, for various reasons, established themselves in the Portuguese-speaking world. One of those networks is the one assembled around the *Portugal Democrático* newspaper [*Democratic Portugal*] (Santos, 2012), which circulated between the 1950s and the 1970s, and which was edited in São Paulo by a group of political exiles.

Among them were intellectuals such as Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho (1920-1980) (Pinheiro, 2010), Jorge de Sena (1919-1978) and Agostinho da Silva (1906-1994) (Sarmiento and Ribeiro, 2010). The newspaper contained expressions of the great mesh of information exchange, which gave voice to the Portuguese oppositionists in exile in various continents, as well as their proposals for a post-Salazar future.

The collapse of *Estado Novo*, which paved the way for the process of building democracy in Portugal and the definitive dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire, had repercussions on the Brazilian press (Freixo and Freitas, 2012), which emphasized that although the country still remained under military dictatorship since 1964, the victories of the Carnation Revolution were for the most part freely reported in Brazil.

In Portugal, the revolution of 25 April 1974 put an end to the 48 years of dictatorship of the *Estado Novo*. The authoritarian regime ended with a military *coup d'état* led by the military forces of MFA – *Movimento das Forças Armadas*. During the first two years, the process of democratic transition in Portugal took the name of PREC, the *Processo Revolucionário em Curso* or *Revolutionary Process in Progress*, and the emergence of popular action and political activism achieved unprecedented public meaning.

Throughout the ongoing revolutionary process, Portuguese civil society was mobilized in an exceptional way, giving rise to a set of circumstances that allowed the emergence of a democratic political organization. In contemporary Portugal,

just a few days after the 25 April revolution, mostly during the process of democratic transition, the production of documentary films emerged as a strategic plan to renew the cinematographic aesthetic and industry. On the other hand, it accompanied the renovation of the political and social structures, values, attitudes and behaviours.

#### **4. Documenting politics through cinema**

Political documentaries carry out the role of intermediation in the cultural critique and experience brought to memory and shared by the spectator (Ranci re, 2010). The meanings attributed to documentary cinema not only manifest themselves in socio-political, cultural and symbolic schemes, but also in the theoretical and normative fields. Subsequently, political culture analysed through documentary cinema (Oliveira, 2013) also makes it possible to identify ethical and political aspects, highlighting the way in which values, beliefs and attitudes dwell in the public and the private sphere.

In Portugal, after the 1974 Revolution, one of the core questions of the democratic transition process was related to *who* occupies political power and *how* political power is taken. During the VI Provisional Governments and until 1976, when the Portuguese Constitution was approved, queries on the *who* and *how* questions were recurrent. A radical politicization led by left-wing political parties and trade unions was disseminated to all sectors of production, namely in industry, agriculture, education, and arts.

Thus, an empirical approach to the documentary cinema of this period constitutes a vital record offering an understanding of such subjects as freedom, equality, propriety, values and attitudes, political mobilization, social cleavages, rural and urban cleavages (Areal, 2011). A sample of the several documentary films that were produced at the very moment of the revolution and during the ongoing revolutionary process is patent in Table 1.

Following the demonstrative categories (Areal, 2011) table 1 allows us to see that the Carnation Revolution in Portugal was one of those historical moments bountiful in images of power, validating the intermediation role of documentary cinema. We witnessed a “boom of documentary film production” (Areal, 2011; Costa, 2002), that complemented the ongoing revolutionary process and the overall democratic goals.

Less obvious is the democratic path and the political “decompression” taking place in Brazil. According to Huntington (1991), Brazil belonged to the *second reverse wave* and in 1964 a military coup overthrew the civilian government in Brazil. The installation of a military government brought about the feeling that in developing countries (Latin America) the *workability* and *viability* of democracy was more difficult to achieve. Only the emergence of pressure groups, intellectuals



opposed to the regime (Puppo, 2012; Ficamos, 2013), and the international network in favour of democratization could bring about changes to the political system. In Brazil, the Portuguese revolutionary events soon gained the attention of government, intellectuals (Sales, 2009) and public opinion.

*Table 1. Main tendencies on Portuguese documentary films (from '70s to '80s)*

Legacies from the dictatorship	<i>Deus, Pátria, Autoridade</i> , Rui Simões [1975, 103']
Revolutionary path in urban areas	<i>O Caso Sogantal</i> , CINEQUIPA [1975, 47']; <i>Por uma Coroa Sueca</i> , CINEQUIPA [1975, 45']; <i>Barronhos – Quem tem medo do poder popular?</i> , Luís Filipe Rocha [1976, 52']; <i>Greve na construção Civil</i> , CINEQUANON [1975, 23'].
Revolutionary path in rural areas	<i>Terra de Pão</i> , <i>Terra de Luta</i> , José Nascimento [1977, 68']; <i>Continuar a Viver ou os Índios da Meia-Praia</i> , António Cunha Teles [1976, 108']; <i>Ocupação de Terras na Beira baixa (Quinta da Vargem)</i> , CINEQUIPA [1975, 42']; <i>Nascer, Viver, Morrer, Paradinha, Moimenta da Beira</i> , CINEQUIPA [1975, 37']; <i>Assim começa uma cooperativa</i> , Grupo Zero [1976, 16']; <i>Terra de Abril (Vilar de Perdizes)</i> , Philippe Costantini and Anna Glogowski [1977, 90']; <i>...Pela razão que têm!</i> , João Nascimento and CINEQUIPA [1976, 45']; <i>A Luta do Povo – Alfabetização em Santa Catarina</i> , Grupo Zero [1976, 29']; <i>Torre Bela</i> , Thomas Harlan [1977, 117'].
Historical perspectives explaining the revolution	<i>Scenes from the Class Struggle in Portugal</i> , Philip Spinelli and Robert Kramer [1976, 96']; <i>Revolução</i> , Ana Hatherly [1975, 11']; <i>As Armas e o Povo</i> , Trabalhadores da Actividade Cinematográfica [1975, 81']; <i>Caminhos da Liberdade</i> , CINEQUIPA [1974, 54']; <i>Bom Povo Português</i> , Rui Simões [1980, 132'].
Tradition and renewal of the Portuguese political culture	<i>O Encoberto</i> , Fernando Lopes [1975, 11']; <i>Que Farei eu com esta Espada?</i> , João César Monteiro [1975, 65'].

Source: Patrícia Oliveira, December 2014 (Areal, 2011).

In the meantime and thanks to the significance of Chico Buarque's music, the Brazilian popular music composer and singer, the Carnation Revolution became widely known. It was with *Tanto Mar*, intentionally composed in honour of the Carnation Revolution that the enthusiasm and adherence to post-1974 events in Portugal became more evident. Composed during the military dictatorship, the lyrics were straightforwardly censored. The first version spoke of a country in a celebration which vividly contrasted with the Brazilian sorrow. When Chico Buarque was finally able to record the music, this revolutionary radicalization had already vanished.

For left-winged Brazilian intellectuals, the end of the revolutionary impetus had more weight than the achievement of democracy by the Portuguese. The Portuguese Carnation Revolution became a place of hope and an example to be followed.

Those opposed to the Brazilian military dictatorship celebrated the Portuguese revolution and the image took place. Exiled in Europe, the filmmaker Glauber Rocha (1939-1981), along with other Portuguese filmmakers, produced the documentary *As Armas e o Povo* [*Guns and the People*], emphasizing how Portuguese population viewed the subject of those events.

Even prior to those revolutionary times, a new generation of filmmakers in opposition to the political regime on both Brazilian and Portuguese sides founded the cultural movement of *Cinema Novo*. With its roots in the French *nouvelle vague*, *Cinema Novo* designates this cinematographic movement of the 1960s.

In Portugal as in Brazil, *Cinema Novo* and its filmmakers were concerned with the human condition — the films focused on living conditions, the splits between environments, and politics. *Cinema Novo* followed an anthropological approach, which explains why documentaries were the preferred way of filming, besides fiction.

The filmmakers of the *Cinema Novo* movement intended to produce a cinema completely different — from an aesthetic point of view — and also completely independent from the status quo of authoritarian political regimes. They were deeply convinced that through cinema they could anticipate an overthrow of elites and of the political system. *Cinema Novo* was deeply committed to a different vision of society.

A systematic approach to those events leads us to table 2, where the similarities on timeline and subjects allows us to read them as a political and cultural networks between Portugal and Brazil.

*Table 2. Portuguese and Brazilian networks on documentary cinema ('50s to '60s)*

<i>Presidente Café Filho em Lisboa</i> [ <i>President Café Filho in Lisbon</i> ] (1955), António Lopes Ribeiro	Official visit of the Brazilian President, Café Filho, to Portugal. Crowds of Portuguese people attended the Brazilian President on the streets of the capital, Lisbon.
<i>A Viagem presidencial ao Brasil</i> [ <i>Presidential visit to Brazil</i> ] (1957, 65'), António Lopes Ribeiro	Official visit of the Portuguese President, Francisco Craveiro Lopes, to Brazil, accompanied by the Minister of Foreign Affairs at that time, Paulo Cunha.
<i>Relíquias Portuguesas no Brasil</i> [ <i>Portuguese relicts in Brazil</i> ] (1959), Leitão de Barros	Documentary about the historical presence of Portugal in Brazil in the 17th and 18th centuries.
<i>Cruzeiro do Sul</i> [ <i>South Cruise</i> ](1966, 23'), Fernando Lopes	Documentary celebrating the first flight crossing the Atlantic ocean, which bound together Portugal and Brazil, in 1922, by the Portuguese pilots Sacadura Cabral and Gago-Coutinho.
<i>Voo da amizade</i> [ <i>Flight Friendship</i> ] (1966), Fernando Lopes	With publicity purposes to the Cabral's and Gago-Coutinho's first flight crossing the Atlantic.

Source: Portuguese Institute for Cinema.

As table 2 demonstrates, the cultural networks are evident, but are also linked to political events, such as the presidential visit to Portugal or Brazil, clarifying the political institutional inputs. Political institutions used cinema to reinforce those commemorative political moments.

Besides its concerns with politics and the arts, these artists also shared very similar networks and cultural backgrounds. Although we have found some differences in the historical timeline of revolutionary events, we have also have asserted the conceptual and cinematographic journey undertaken by its main players. We argue that documentary cinema was driven as a mechanism for enhancing cultural and symbolic imagery between Portugal and Brazil, formulating them as partners in the globalized world.

The resulting historiographical revision supported by these documentary works, offers an original contribution to historical knowledge in both countries.

Furthermore, on the Brazilian side, the case studies presented here indicate the potential of the proposed approaches as well as possible new interpretations, which constitute an advance since these interpretations put aside the usual focus on old paradigms, marked sometimes by lusophilia, at others by lusophobia.

## **5. Reshaping space in a global world**

The relations between Portugal and Brazil are nevertheless conditioned by the phenomenon of globalization. Under the topic of globalization, it obliges to introduce other axe of analysis. That seems to favour the prevalence of ruling cultures which produce other apparently and contradictory movements by exposing and bringing out new centres of creation and diffusion (Farchy and Renaivoson, 2013). New forms of governing cultures are thus created.

In a first step to the *Europeanization of the world* (Defarges, 2012), under the conquest of the available territories appropriated by the European states, this phenomenon is arbitrated by the clash of various cultures with a Western modernity expressed in different ways by individuals or states.

Globalization as a new extensive, intense and multidirectional flow of relations that regulate or extinguish themselves, does emerge in the traditional territories of the nation states as well as among other states' new infra/supra territorial configurations which impose other forms and dynamics on the balance of governing cultures among those same territories.

Cultural globalization, firstly, and the subsequent globalization of *media* and capital, secondly, propitiate multiple and renewed micro-emitters of contents which meet on a global scale and also cause the atomization of receptors.

Moreover, global networks reconfigure themselves at a technological speed which creates and destroys emitters and receptors, turning them into *hubs* which, in

turn, recycle and reproduce themselves thus preventing a traditional and institutional mapping as well as the assessment of the relation between nation states.

This rhizomatic pattern (Deleuze and Guattari, 1980) lives on the speed of creation, transformation, propagation and extinction of a *communicational short selling*, which obstructs institutions and states and surely contributes to a political and cultural deterritorialization.

The complexity and dynamics of these naturally unstable networks are in opposition to the traditional dichotomy of power, systematically confronting it with “empty spaces” that power cannot control, what can be identified as “empty territory” (Sack, 1986).

Paradoxically, it is the invisible lightness of networks and software that prevent dissolution at the centre of society; that is to say, at the centre of political action. Now, this radical transformation, this altering of the communication paradigms also originates a cultural disintegration and an *erosion of the singular cultures* (Warnier, 2004: 88), simultaneously generating an overwhelming identitarian demand no longer emanating mainly from societies, but also from individuals: each person has access to communication channels, is a cultural emitter and claims an individual fraction of power.

Meanwhile, powerful demands of individual differentiation – albeit autonomous, occasionally spontaneous and often viral – can severely condition political power and seem to take precedence over the struggle for the cultural diversity of communities. When those demands are staged not in institutions but in media substitutes, individuals themselves become spectators of a kind of reality show which seems more democratic than democracy itself (Scheer, 1994: 106).

At the same time, one can observe an inexorable transfer of power to invisible entities, annihilating the traditional representative powers and emptying institutions. This being so, individuals (once citizens) dangerously come closer to a new mutant condition: we might be in the presence of a *post-human citizen*. This *new citizen* does not exclude himself from the community; he exiles himself instead from the History of Mankind (Baumier, 2007). It is no longer a question of ensuring cultural diversity, but of establishing the conditions for a sustainable coexistence at the centre — and not on the margins — of society.

That is why the dialogue between cultures and the commodification of culture and communication (Wolton, 2004) — meaning cultural coexistence more than a concrete reality — is, above all, a decisive political issue for the maintenance of the unstable balance between the states, regions and globalized world.

In this context, the cultural and political networks of power between Brazil and Portugal, cultural co-habitation is strongly consolidated by the aggregating and facilitating historical backing, which is today better understood.

This cultural dialogue is continuously promoted through networks of multiple relations, which have, in the language of Camões, irreplaceable competitive and patrimonial value. In this context, the Portuguese-speaking community is a power-

ful ecosystem of cultural co-habitation for permanent transatlantic communications between Portugal and Brazil.

## **Conclusion**

One valid contribution to cultural political approaches may transcend the particular and suggest to other academics new ideas on the numerous ways in which the various aspects of a civilization may interact. Within these, the way in which shapes, symbols and words acquire the load of what we may call cultural meanings constitutes a particular challenge.

The relationship of symbols with the structure of institutions is one of the more fecund issues, and its primordial importance lies in the use that is made of these symbols to justify the organization of power. Symbols and politics necessarily establish a close relationship.

The science of politics as a cultural science has to compile the existing symbols, in which politics is always a reflection of the image, which a society historically constructs of itself.

The historiographical revision and study of documentary cinema during the last quarter of the twentieth century is, undoubtedly, one of the mechanisms of exchange and dialogue between the two sides of the Atlantic during historical moments. The relationship between cinema and politics through the scope of documentaries reflects the conditions of the emergence of power.

If, on the one hand, language and history have contributed to the establishment of a historical political and cultural network, on the other hand, the globalization phenomenon has meaningfully decreased the power of the institutions, and allowed individuals of a global world, to construct and develop new power networks outside institutions.

Nevertheless, as demonstrated in this paper, the networks, grounded on mutual language and history, remain as a political and cultural active between Portugal and Brazil.

## **References**

- Almond, G., and Verba, S. (1989) *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations*. London: Sage.
- Areal, L. (2011) *Cinema Português – Um País Imaginado. Vol. II – Após 1974*. Lisbon: Edições 70.
- Arendt, H. (1961) *Between Past and Future. Six Exercises in Political Thought*. New York: Viking Press.

- Baumier, M. (2007) *La démocratie totalitaire. Penser la modernité post-démocratique*. Paris: Presses de la Renaissance.
- Clark, N., and Hoffmann-Martinot, T. (eds.) (1998) *The New Political Culture*. Chicago: Westview Press.
- Costa, J. F. (2002) *O Cinema ao Poder! A revolução do 25 de Abril e as políticas de cinema entre 1974-1976: os grupos, instituições, experiências e projectos*. Lisbon: Hugin.
- Dean, J. (2006) "Political Theory and Cultural Studies," in J. S. Dryzek, B. Honig and A. Phillips (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 751-772.
- Defarges, P. M. (2012) *La mondialisation*. Paris: PUF.
- Deleuze, G., and Guattari, F. (1980) *Mille Plateaux. Capitalisme et Schizophrénie*, Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit.
- Dogan, M. (1996) "Political Science and the other Social Sciences," in R. E. Gooding and H. Dieter-Klingermann (eds.) *The New Handbook of Political Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 97-130.
- Esquenazi, J. P. (2000) "Le film, un fait social." *Réseaux*. vol. 18, no. 99, 13-47.
- Farchy, J., and Renaivoson, H. (2013) "Défendre la diversité culturelle: soubassements économiques et arbitrages politiques," in P. Rasse (ed.) *La diversité culturelle*. Paris: Éditions CNRS, 125-140.
- Ficamos, B. (2013) *Cinema Novo. Avant-garde et Révolution*. Paris: Nouveau Monde éditions.
- Freixo, A., and Freitas, J. V. (2012) "Mídia e política externa: a Revolução dos Cravos e a descolonização de Angola na imprensa brasileira," in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 271-298.
- Gooding, R. E., and Dieter-Klingermann, H. (eds.) (1996) *The New Handbook of Political Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Guimarães, L. M. P., and Cabral, T. P. (2012) "Da teoria ao discurso da memória vivida: breves reflexões sobre o lusotropicalismo," in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 183-204.
- Huntington, S. P. (1991) *The Third Wave. Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Inglehart, R. (1990) *Culture shift in Advanced Industrialized Society*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mary, C. P. (2010) "Geografias pátrias: 1878-1889," in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 25-54.

- Miller, T., and Yúdice, G. (2002) *Cultural policy*. London: Sage.
- Nichols, B. (1991) *Representing Reality: issues and concepts in documentary*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Oliveira, P. (2012) “Novas fronteiras para a cultura política,” in C. Vargas (ed.) *Cultura Política e Práticas de Cultura*. Lisboa: Fonte da Palavra, 53-69.
- Oliveira, P. (2013) “Political culture through film documentary in Portugal (1974-1976).” *Portuguese Journal of Political Science*, no. 3, 177-180.
- Pinheiro, G. F. (2010) “Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho: um navegante em exílio perpétuo,” in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 189-212.
- Puppo, E. (2012) *Cinema Marginal Brasileiro e suas Fronteiras. Filmes produzidos nos anos 1960 e 1970*. Brazil: Heco Produções.
- Pye, L. (1973) “Culture and Political Science: Problems in the Evaluation of the Concept of Political Culture,” in B. Schneider (ed.) *The Idea of Culture in the Social Sciences*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 65-76.
- Rancière, J. (2010) *A Partilha do Sensível*. Lisbon: Orfeu Negro.
- Reia-Baptista, V., and Moeda, J. (2010) “Algumas notas sobre o Cinema Português depois do 25 de Abril de 1974,” in *Novas e Velhas Tendência no cinema português contemporâneo*, CIAC (Centro de Investigação em Artes e Comunicação), 21-28. [Available at: <[http://biblio.estc.ipl.pt/opac-tmpl/prog/images/recortes/novas\\_velhas\\_total.pdf](http://biblio.estc.ipl.pt/opac-tmpl/prog/images/recortes/novas_velhas_total.pdf)>. Consulted on June, 2012].
- Ribeiro, M. M., and Vicente, P. C. (2010) “Uma República prepara-se: da discussão à acção política,” in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 155-182.
- Sack, R. D. (1986) *Human Territoriality: its theory and history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sales, M. (2009) “O free cinema, e o cinema novo português, entrevista a Fernando Lopes.” *Doc On-line*, no. 07, 141-151. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. [Available at URL: <[www.doc.ubi.pt](http://www.doc.ubi.pt)>. Accessed on May 16, 2014].
- Santos, G. (2012) “Diálogos transatlânticos promovidos pelos exilados portugueses à volta do jornal *Portugal Democrático* (S. Paulo, 1956-1975),” in C. M. Sarmiento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 249-270.
- Santos, MLL & Pais, JM (org.) 2010, *Novos trilhos culturais. Práticas e políticas*, ICS, Lisbon.
- Sarmiento, C. M. (2008) *Os Guardiões dos Sonhos. Teorias e Práticas Políticas dos Anos 60*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri.

- Sarmento, C. M., and Guimarães, L. (2010) *Culturas Cruzadas em Português. Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina.
- Sarmento, C. M., and Guimarães, L. (2012) *Culturas Cruzadas em Português. Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina.
- Sarmento, C. M., and Ribeiro, I. M. (2010) “O ‘mundo a haver’ de Agostinho da Silva,” in C. M. Sarmento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 213-242.
- Scheer, L. (1994) *La démocratie virtuelle*. Paris: Flammarion.
- Serrano, G. A. (2012) “Um antiquário à portuguesa – o Estado Novo e a história colonial luso-brasileira (1944-1949),” in C. M. Sarmento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 205-226.
- Silva, J. J. C. R. (2010) “A colaboração entre academias. «Ciências» e «Letras» dos dois lados do Atlântico,” in C. M. Sarmento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. I). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 55-88.
- Smadja, D. (2010) “Cinématographie du politique ou l’écriture du politique comme image-mouvement.” *Raisons politiques*, Presses de Sciences Po, no. 38, 5-16.
- Thompson M.; Grenstadt, G., and Selle, P. (eds.) (2005) *Cultural Theory as Political Science*. London: Routledge / ECPR Studies in European Political Science.
- Thussu, D. K. (ed.) (2007) *Media on the move: global flow and contra-flow*. London: Routledge.
- Tilly, C. (2001) “Mechanisms in Political Process.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, no. 4, 4-21.
- Vargas, C. (ed.) (2012) *Cultura Política e Práticas de Cultura*. Lisbon: Fonte da Palavra.
- Venâncio, G. M. (2012) “Uma festa luso-brasileira? As comemorações do tricentenário da morte de Camões no Rio de Janeiro em 1880,” in C. M. Sarmento and L. M. P. Guimarães (eds.) *Culturas cruzadas em português Redes de Poder e Relações Culturais (Portugal-Brasil, séc. XIX-XX)* (vol. II). Coimbra and Rio de Janeiro: Almedina, 27-52.
- Warnier, J. P. (2004) *La mondialisation de la culture*. Paris: La Découverte.
- Wolton, D. (2004) *A outra globalização*. Algés: Difel.
- Wolton, D. (2013) “De la diversité à la cohabitation culturelle,” in P. Rasse (ed.) *La diversité culturelle*. Paris: Éditions CNRS, 179-190.
- Yúdice, G. (2003) *The expediency of culture*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.