Cape Verdeans in Cova da Moura, Portugal, an ethno-historical account of their destinies and legacies
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CAPE VERDEANS IN COVA DA MOURA, PORTUGAL, 
AN ETHNO-HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THEIR 
DESTINIES AND LEGACIES

PhD Thesis Submitted by Elsa Casimiro

Supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Jan Rath
Prof. Dr. Martha Montero-Sieburth

Lisbon, September 2013
Cape Verdeans in Cova da Moura, Portugal, an Ethno-Historical Account of their Destinies and Legacies

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements ........................................................................................................................................... 1
Table of Contents ............................................................................................................................................. 3
Table of Figures ............................................................................................................................................... 6
List of Tables ................................................................................................................................................... 6

I. Introduction .................................................................................................................................................. 7

I.1 Purpose of the study and Research Questions ......................................................................................... 9
I.2 Role as Researcher and Rationale for the Study ....................................................................................... 13
I.3 Overview of the Chapters ......................................................................................................................... 17

II. State of the Art .......................................................................................................................................... 21

II.1 Studies on Cape Verdean Migration ........................................................................................................ 21
II.2 Background: History of Cape Verde ........................................................................................................ 23
II.3 Alto da Cova da Moura .......................................................................................................................... 31

III. Review of the Literature ......................................................................................................................... 41

III.1 Conceptual Framework ........................................................................................................................... 41
III.2 The Concept of ‘Culture of Poverty’ ....................................................................................................... 42

III.2.1 The Controversy of the Concept of ‘Culture of Poverty’ .................................................................. 45

III.3 The Concept and ramifications of the ‘Underclass’ ............................................................................. 48

III.3.1 Relationship of British ‘underclass’ with the Portuguese Case ......................................................... 50
III.3.2 Discussion of ‘Culture of Poverty’ versus ‘Underclass’ ..................................................................... 54

III.4 Social Networks in a Migration Context ............................................................................................... 55

III.5 The Theory of Segmented Assimilation ............................................................................................... 58

III.5.1 Analysis of the Segmented Assimilation Theory .............................................................................. 60

III.6 Transnational Migration and Households ........................................................................................... 62

III.6.1 Transnational Households .............................................................................................................. 64
III.6.2 Transnational Families ...................................................................................................................... 65

III.7 The Influence of Racism and Lusotropicalism on Post Colonial Families .......................................... 68
III.7.1 Global Conditions of Racism ................................................................. 72
III.7.2 Concealing Racism within Segregated Spaces ........................................ 73
III.7.3 Lusotropicalism within the Discourse of Racism ...................................... 75
III.7.4 Lusotropicalism in Portugal ..................................................................... 77
III.7.5 Lusotropicalism in the Salazar Regime .................................................... 78
III.7.6 Criticism of Lusotropicalism ................................................................... 79

IV. Methodology and use of Ethno-Historical Account ....................................... 83
IV.1 Research Design ......................................................................................... 83
IV.2 Ethno-Historical Process ............................................................................ 83
IV.3 Structure and Development of the Study .................................................... 84
IV.4 Data Collection .......................................................................................... 86
IV.5 Data Analysis and Triangulation .................................................................. 88
IV.6 Limitations of the Study and Validity ......................................................... 89

V. Findings ........................................................................................................ 90
V.1 Families: Sample .......................................................................................... 90
V.2 Discussion of the Migration Story Described by Families ............................ 93
V.3 Stage I - Pre-Migration and Migration ......................................................... 97
  V.3.1 Arrival in Cova da Moura: Motivations, Expectations and Prospects .......... 97
  V.3.2 Migration Experiences .......................................................................... 114
  V.3.3 Government Policies regarding Legalization and Family Reunification .... 120

VI. Stage II: Settlement Patterns ....................................................................... 128
VI.1 Ownership and the Implications of the Construction of a House in Cova da Moura .... 128
VI.2 Labour Experiences of the First and Second Generation ............................ 133
VI.3 Education of Different Generations ............................................................. 137
  VI.3.1 School Attainment of First Generation .................................................. 137
  VI.3.2 Educational System in Cova da Moura School and Attainment of the Second Generation ................................................................. 139
  VI.3.3 Nursery School and Primary School in Cova da Moura ........................ 141
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VI.4</td>
<td>Household Composition of the Target Families: Social Integration</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.4.1</td>
<td>The Cape Verdean Family</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.4.2</td>
<td>Maria’s Case</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.5</td>
<td>The Return to Judite’s New House in Porto Novo, Santo Antão</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Stage III - Adaptation and Accommodation</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.1</td>
<td>Social Integration/ Relationships among Neighbours</td>
<td>154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.2</td>
<td>The Changes in Family Organization</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.2.1</td>
<td>Francisca’s Case</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.3</td>
<td>Maintenance of Transnational Networks</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.3.1</td>
<td>Albertino’s Case</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.4</td>
<td>Transnational Lives and Remittances</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>Stage IV – Responses to Government Decisions Affecting the Future of Cova da Moura</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.1</td>
<td>The Influence of the Redevelopment Project on the Target Families in Cova da Moura</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Discussion and Concluding Remarks</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.1</td>
<td>Cova da Moura Revisited</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.2</td>
<td>Revisiting Research Questions</td>
<td>181</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.3</td>
<td>Theoretical Linkages to the Ethno Historical Account</td>
<td>188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.4</td>
<td>Concluding Remarks:</td>
<td>194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X.</td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table of Figures

Figure 1: Cape Verdean Islands ........................................................................................................ 24
Figure 2: Street-life in São Vicente / Cape Verde ........................................................................ 24
Figure 3: Alto da Cova da Moura .................................................................................................... 31
Figure 4: Year of settlement in Cova da Moura ............................................................................ 32
Figure 6: Nationality of the residents of Cova da Moura .............................................................. 34
Figure 7: 'African' and 'European' Residential Areas in Alto da Cova da Moura ......................... 35
Figure 8: Neighborhood perspectives from behind the fence ......................................................... 35
Figure 9: Backstreets of Cova da Moura ....................................................................................... 36
Figure 10: Party Colá S. Jon in the ‘Bairro’ ..................................................................................... 38
Figure 11: Association Moinho da Juventude .................................................................................. 39
Figure 12: The fence around Cova da Moura ................................................................................ 40
Figure 13: Conceptual Framework for analysis of the Literature ................................................... 41
Figure 14 The Sousas’ Family Tree .................................................................................................. 93
Figure 15 The Costas’ Family Tree .................................................................................................. 95
Figure 16 The Ferreiras’ Family Tree .............................................................................................. 96
Figure 17 Educational Level of Cova da Moura Population > 3 years old. ...................................... 141
Figure 18 Judite’s house in Porto Novo / Santo Antão ................................................................. 150
Figure 19 Remittances to Cape Verde by Country of Origin (2007) ............................................. 171
Figure 20 Cabo-Verde Londe da Vista – Perto do Coração ............................................................ 197

List of Tables

Table 1: Duration of the Target Families’ Settlement in Cova da Moura ......................................... 90
Table 2: Characteristics of the Sample .............................................................................................. 91
I. Introduction

During the past four decades, Portugal has become a country of destination for immigration flows from Africa and Eastern Europe. With close to 200 million people on the move according to the International Migration\(^1\), the Diasporas of many ethnic groups and nationalities have been well documented. However, the migration of Cape Verdeans has hardly been explored in terms of their migration to Portugal. The number of Cape Verdeans living abroad is estimated to be double the number of domestic residents: 700,000 Cape Verdeans live abroad, mainly in the U.S. (260,000) and in Portugal (100,000)\(^2\) (Cape Verdean Institute of Statistics, 2010).

In the 1960s Cape Verdeans joined the northbound outflows of labour migrants to Western Europe. Portugal remained an important work destination due to extensive construction work which required unskilled labour, partly due to Portuguese emigration to north-west Europe.

After the independence of the Portuguese African colonies of Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, Guiné and São Tomé and Príncipe following the Carnation Revolution on 25 April 1974, around 500,000 African immigrants arrived in Portugal.

Because of expensive rented accommodation and because such immigrants faced racial prejudice, they sought out other solutions (Sardinha, 2002). There was an old farm, known as ‘Cova da Moura’ in the council of Amadora (Damaia). This farm had been occupied by ‘retornados’ (Returnees)\(^3\) from the African colonies. Most of the land belonged and still belongs to a private farmer and proprietor, Mr. Moura, who emigrated to Brazil in the 1960s and for decades did not claim the land which today is also owned in part by the welfare institution (Segurança Social) and by the Catholic Church of Damaia.

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\(^1\) United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Migration (2010) claimed that 3% of the world population lived outside their country of birth.

\(^2\) The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística / National Institute of Statistics) registered a total of 38,895 Cape Verdean citizens living in Portugal, an increase of 4,050 from the previous Census of 2001.

\(^3\) The great wave of Portuguese Returnees was even noticed in the US. In the article “Refugees from Africa Decry their Plight in Portugal” (Herald Tribune, 11 April 1976, p. 24) the term ‘Returnees’ was defined as “refugees from the old colonies in Africa”. It also explained their motivation to emigrate: “Portugal encouraged poor white emigration to the colonies in Africa. Many Portuguese took the kind of jobs that few Africans had enough skills to fill.”
The arrival in the 1970s of African immigrants, mainly Cape Verdeans, had several consequences. They ‘illegally’ bought the land in the southern part of Cova da Moura from the early occupants, mostly Portuguese ‘retornados’, and they appropriated the northern undeveloped part. They built shacks from debris from other houses, sometimes within a week, because they had nowhere to live. Fearing demolition by the City Council, these wood and plastic shacks were rapidly transformed into concrete houses.

But Cova da Moura’s problems were multifaceted: There was only one tap of water for the whole population. The streets were muddy, the common spaces were not paved, sanitary conditions were non-existent and garbage was not collected. In addition, electricity and other infrastructures (roads, sewage) were insufficient, with no green areas available. In fact, the majority of the shacks had insufficient or extremely poor living conditions.

The creation of an image of a run-down neighbourhood with a bad reputation quickly turned Cova da Moura into one of the most stigmatized areas in greater Lisbon. Its residents faced problems related to its urban marginality and social exclusion under Portuguese policies in the tradition of Lusotropicalism⁴. Besides economic deprivation, these immigrants experienced social and racial exclusion from their neighbours in the new blocks that had been build in the 1970s around Cova da Moura.

The first inhabitants were hard-working people who laboured six days a week for more than ten hours. Men worked on building sites, while many women sold fish in central Lisbon (Cais do Sodré area), or were employed by cleaning firms. Being undocumented, they were exploited by employers without scruples who made them work extra hours without payment. Many did not even receive their salaries at the end of the month. Despite these situations, Cova da Moura gained the reputation of having a strong network of informal ties among its residents and of developing strong local organizations.

This thesis sheds light on how several target families reconstructed and adjusted their lives under Portuguese policies while living in Cova da Moura. It analyzes how mainstream society views and deals with this new influx of immigrants through both a macro (politics, settlement patterns, social infrastructural and cultural and economic) and a micro (generational, family

⁴ This idea emerged during the dictatorial regime of Oliveira Salazar; it was introduced and defended by Gilberto Freyre (1951). Lusotropicalism emphasizes the uniqueness of Portuguese colonial relations which I define in chapter III based on their alleged empathy and natural ability to relate to African people (cf. chapter of this thesis).
units, social structures and expectations) approach. It adds new knowledge to the social sciences in documenting the families’ histories, how they adapted their lives to cope in a country of which they once belonged to a colony and how they developed and thrived over three generations.

Since 2007 one of the main challenges for the inhabitants of Cova da Moura has been implementation of the Redevelopment Project. This project has engaged seven ministries, associations and residents. Its objective has been to legalize the land, improve housing conditions and public spaces and create an open cultural area, or meeting-point, for residents and visitors to the neighbourhood. At the same time, a series of measures concerning justice, health and education have already been implemented with the help of the associations, which will improve the legalization processes of foreigners, access to free medical appointments, the literacy of its inhabitants and professional development.

This study shows how the inhabitants responded to the changes that might occur with implementation of the Redevelopment Project and documents their suggestions and expectations. Although the Project should have been concluded by 2011, it has been suspended due to the current critical economic situation in Portugal.

The research questions focus on the lives of each family unit and their extended families, covering three generations. Their social and economic status and educational attainment is identified. Another important aspect of this research is their relationships with each other, their aspirations and challenges. Judging from the existing literature and from the experiences of my previous MA and work as a teacher in schools with a large number of African immigrants, it seems obvious that Cape Verdeans are ‘tuned’ towards maintaining mutual relations across local and national borders.

I.1 Purpose of the study and Research Questions

This thesis documents and analyses the historical trajectories of three families: their departure from the Cape Verdean islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago in the 1970s, their
arrival in Portugal as undocumented citizens who settled over 30 years in Cova da Moura, a segregated neighbourhood in the greater Lisbon area, of which they took possession. These Cape Verdean families, whom I define as transnational, are closely connected with their home country and countries all around the world, places where their relatives or friends are living.

I focused my research on the Cape Verdean community for personal and professional reasons: 1) after reading Oscar Lewis Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty (1959) and La Vida. A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (1965), I realized that these narratives seem to have similarities with what the Cape Verdean target families had told me about their lives; 2) despite being the oldest ethnic group living in Portugal; most Cape Verdeans did not feel integrated in mainstream Portuguese society. Segregation seems to target mainly people with a ‘dark skin’, whereas this group was also confronted with other forms of racism in everyday life; 3) my contacts and interest in the education of Cape Verdeans intensified, while teaching at secondary schools in areas of council housing (Setúbal, Moita and Alhos Vedros, from 1984 to 1995) and later in Casa Pia de Lisbon (from 1996 to 2004). My former work as a teacher with migrant pupils and families served as a form of experiential knowledge necessary to attempt understanding the complexities and peculiarities of their migratory experience. When I conducted a study that led to my M.A. thesis (Casimiro, 2006), comparing and contrasting professional courses and educational programmes available in Lisbon and in Rotterdam, I dealt with the educational opportunities and academic performance of Cape Verdean students and their families; 4) at the time when I initiated my research in 2006 I had become curious about Cape Verdean life and culture in the ‘bairro’ of Cova da Moura, due to the information spread by several Portuguese newspapers and TV channels brandishing its inhabitants as delinquents and murderers. The versions I heard from my students, some of them living in Cova da Moura, about their neighbourhood did not confirm the image presented by the media. Once, a pupil challenged me to go there, and I did. I discovered friendly people and a different way of life. Everyone knew each other and I was invited to have tea and sweet couscous in his uncle’s house. At the beginning we were a group of four people; an hour later we were ten. It was hard to leave, and I promised I would return – a promise kept.

5 The concept of Cape Verdean culture and tradition is not an undisputed subject. Cf.: Roundtable on the Cape Verdean, ‘Perfil Psico-social, Agenda e Discussão Duma Mesa Redonda Sobre O Homem Cabo-Verdiano (1956), no Grémio de Mindelo’, S. Vicente, Mindelo: Lessa and Rufflié (1960), pp. 73-152.
To deepen understanding of these families, the research objective and focus is defined as describing each family unit and their descendants over two and in one case, three generations, as well as their extended families such as cousins and godmothers, identifying social, economic, cultural, educational and political factors, their relationships with each other, their aspirations and challenges. Of significance is the role that transnationalism plays in their households and activities. This objective identifies the migration of Cape Verdean families to Portugal, how this process will occur and how such a process will influence their daily lives, the decisions they make, and the actions they take in relation to migration and remaining in Cova da Moura. Consequently, the investigation focused on the practices in the neighbourhood and family links, and the roles that are sustained, reinforced or changed after their migration and the types of other practices that emerge, coming to substitute or complement them. Also important is linking domestic strategies with the available public resources, at the local, national or transnational level. Finally, the descriptions of the family households vis-à-vis the transnational changes they have experienced and their vision of their future in an illegally settled community.

Cova da Moura used to be a shanty-town of the ‘Cape Verdean community’ whose members often do not interact directly with Portuguese mainstream society. Aware of the community life among the residents in Cova da Moura and those that left the neighbourhood to confront difficulties in adapting to a new life, I studied the ‘bairro’ as a major Cape Verdean local unit, where many transnational contacts and activities converge. My interest is the family and friendship ties and how Cape Verdeans constructed their world inside Cova da Moura: how they remain connected to their homeland through specific rituals and practices; how they interact with each other and with mainstream society and how they are accepted as African immigrants in a former colonial power. Lives on a tightrope between integration in the host country and maintaining Cape Verdean traditions, after dwelling in Cova da Moura for more than three decades.

Since 2007 the main challenges for the Redevelopment Project in Cova da Moura (implemented by the Socialist Government) are land ownership issues, as the neighbourhood was built illegally on private farmland. This study will also take into account measures already taken by the promoters of the Project at different levels (health, juridical and educational). Social and economic developments represent the subsequent challenges of the programme.
**Research Questions**

Since this study attempts to identify the kind of family relations that exist, the arrangements to sustain the lives of those who live and stay in the area, and those who leave, and as a consequence change and transform the institution of family, the core questions I address are the following:

1) How have the people of Cova da Moura (greater Lisbon area) who are mainly Cape Verdeans, and often in irregular situations, constructed their livelihoods over thirty years during the continuous process of their community’s reconstruction through diverse Government policies and practices?

2) How have they adapted, socially, and what coping strategies have been developed by these families in this time frame, together with their relatives, neighbours and other inhabitants of Cova da Moura?

3) What role does transnationalism play in terms of their households and activities?

4) How have the Portuguese government and the local administration responded over the years to the settlement of immigrants on privately owned land and what have been residents' responses over time?

In this research, I cover a detailed ethno-historical study of:

1) The **thirty years of migration history** of the Cape Verdean first generation immigrants in Lisbon and their ensuing generations formed by family units;

2) The **settlement patterns and historical evolution of these families**, influenced by the transnational histories, personal, social and cultural experiences as Cape Verdeans immigrated to Lisbon and living in Cova da Moura; and by their settling into an illegal neighbourhood today undergoing land-use negotiations (tension between families and the city government)
3) The human capital brought initially by the parents and developed over time in the second and third generation, and the description of their social, economic and cultural adaptation, including the responses they have faced in an ex-colonial power like Portugal;

4) The different ways these families in several generations have acculturated within Cova da Moura by responding to normative work, social, cultural and educational demands, and in particular, the way the youth of the second and third generation deal with and confront barriers in their social, cultural, economic, political and educational adaptation;

5) The coping and management strategies which these families have developed over time in each and between generations, with their neighbours and other community members and the way these will be influenced by urban redevelopment policies and current restructuring of their community following a synchronous analysis of this group's socio-economic situation, the transnational circulation of these families and their identification processes.

**Terminology**

Throughout the study I used the label ‘target families’, referring to the Sousas, the Costas and the Ferreiras. Each family represented a unit of research during my fieldwork and in this thesis. ‘Second and third generation Cape Verdeans’ was reserved for descendants whether they were born in Cape Verde or in Portugal (one member belongs to the 1.5 generation and eleven members belong to the 2.0 generation) (Rumbaut, 2002: 49). It identifies those whose parents were born in Cape Verde.

In general, the term ‘Cape Verdean’ is used as a general descriptor of a community whose members trace their cultural and national heritage back to Cape Verde and immigrated to Portugal.

**I.2 Role as Researcher and Rationale for the Study**

As a researcher and as a confidante to some of the members of the target families, I had a
great interest in exploring how Cape Verdean migrants cope with the various hardships of their particular situation (sometimes undocumented or in the process of legalization) and how migration challenges several dimensions of their lives including the transnational relations among family members split between two worlds.

Following Lewis’ (1958) recommendations, the researcher needs to be honest with himself and should know how to distinguish his role as researcher from a personal point of view. To formalize entry into the Cape Verdean community living in Cova da Moura and to gather the necessary data that would provide me with an understanding of these families, I developed a semi-structured interview guide that included several interrelated topics concerning the migrant’s background, their family relationship before and after migration, their perceptions about their migratory experience and many other topics concerning working and living conditions. Responses to the questions helped to contrast and compare information and to potentially verify information from family members interviewed separately. During informal conversation new questions arose that helped to structure the life histories being collected, leading to chats and informal conversations.

The ethnographic research was conducted in Cova da Moura (in the Municipality of Amadora) from 2007 to 2010. The majority of the population from Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOP) is located there. This council also hosts 35% of the Cape Verdean community in Portugal6.

Selection of the neighbourhood was based on the literature and discussions with various key-informants. Its location is close to the city of Lisbon. Criteria for its selection were accessibility for a researcher, my interest in the contradicting images of the neighbourhood transmitted by the media and the diverging testimonies of my students who lived in the area. At the time, crime rates in the area of Cova da Moura were high and when policemen were patrolling the streets, they advised me to take another way. However, soon I could walk around freely and without fear, because people got accustomed to seeing me in public spaces, sometimes accompanied by residents of the neighbourhood. I sat there for many hours, listening to stories about the neighbourhood and their Cape Verdean islands. These informal conversations contributed to my understanding of the dimension of the subject I was studying.

A second criterion for selection was the ethnic composition in the neighbourhood. My objective was to find an ethnically concentrated community of Cape Verdeans that had lived

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for more than 30 years in Portugal. The neighbourhood of Fontaínhas, north-west of Lisbon\textsuperscript{7}, could also have met these requirements, but as it was being demolished and its inhabitants relocated to the new ‘bairro social’ (council estate) of Casal da Boba / Amadora, Cova da Moura with its intact social life seemed to be a better option.

Official sources and the general public considered Cova da Moura a threatening low-income area in the city of Amadora, representing a singular case of an ‘illegal ghetto’\textsuperscript{8} not only in Portugal, but also in Europe. As already mentioned, the poor neighbourhood has a strong African character, with a well established Cape Verdean community preserving their own culture (language, cuisine and habits) through generations. To what extent can neighbourhood affect individuals? At an individual level, being poor in a disadvantaged neighbourhood such as Cova da Moura, is worse than being poor elsewhere. And if this neighbourhood is continuously subject to criticism in the media as is the case here, this stigmatization necessarily affects the residents. The implications of living in such neighbourhoods show that socio-economic status is not only determined by individual characteristics, but also by the neighbourhood. Living in a socially mixed environment has a positive effect on the socio-economic status of disadvantaged people and a negative effect on those who live in poor, segregated areas. The majority of ethnic minority groups in Portugal are low-income groups, occupying low socio-economic positions. This can be explained by neighbourhood-based discrimination. Nevertheless, it cannot be dismissed that some immigrant groups may prefer living in ethnic neighbourhoods due to cultural preferences, regardless of discrimination. The ‘ghettos’ inhabited by immigrants (in the area of Lisbon, Setubal and Porto) and also the phenomenon of native minorities, which form an alternative oppositional subculture (like black Americans in the U.S.\textsuperscript{9}), play a role in the assimilation outcome. Certainly, the ‘group feeling’ created in the neighbourhood and immigrant working-class experiences are determining factors in the assimilation process.

Cova da Moura is often called ‘Cape Verdean concentration area’, due to the large proportion of inhabitants belonging to this specific ethnic minority background. But due to Portugal’s

\textsuperscript{7} Film director Pedro Costa has produced a rather poetical trilogy about this neighbourhood: \textit{Ossos} (1997), \textit{Vanda’s Room} (2000) and \textit{Juventude em Marcha} (2006).

\textsuperscript{8} The name ‘Ghetto’ was given to the Jewish quarter in sixteenth-century Venice. Later, it came to mean any section of a city to which Jews were confined. America has contributed to the concept of the ‘ghetto’ as the restriction of persons to a special area and the limiting of their freedom of choice on the basis of skin colour (Clark, Kenneth (1965), \textit{Dark Ghetto, Dilemmas of Social Power}, New York: Harper and Row.).

\textsuperscript{9} In ‘Second Generation Decline? Children of Immigrants, Past and Present – A Reconsideration’ Perlmann and Waldinger, (1997: 915) suggest that if today’s second generation does develop an ‘oppositional culture’, it is no more likely to result from the process of assimilation into the American underclass than to arise spontaneously out of the immigrant working class experience.
long colonial history this neighbourhood is really multi-ethnic, and this(170,147),(919,195) neglected. The physical segregation of a concentration of non-native people is considered a problem in Portugal, whereas the opposite is not.

To what extent does the neighbourhood play a significant role in the life of its residents? In Cova da Moura, residents’ identification with the neighbourhood is visible, and this contributes to feelings of belonging and acceptance. Exclusion from society, and identification with such a neighbourhood could be regarded as an oppositional identity and this fact could lead to downward assimilation.

On my first visits to Cova da Moura, I registered these field notes from memory:

“Their first visits to Cova da Moura, I registered these field notes from memory:

“After getting off the train that takes you to Damaia, a district in Amadora, 10 km away from central Lisbon, you see a big accumulation of houses on top of a hill, all built very close to each other. This is Cova da Moura. In front of Cova da Moura there is an old aqueduct that still transports water to town. On the left side the neighbourhood is separated by a fence from the surrounding buildings, the other entrances to the neighbourhood are open. From the street, you can see a boundary of old white houses with small gardens (the European quarter), those of the Portuguese, and other dwellings, built very close to the front houses (the African quarter) with narrow roads, where no car can pass.” (Taken from field notes from October 2007).

“Going up a steep road, you will be watched by lots of men in the street. They are curious to know what you are coming here for and where you want to go. This can be very helpful, because there are no street signs and the streets all look the same. Some locals say ‘Olá’ (hallo) to you with a very inquisitive look. Entering the neighbourhood, the many bars, all crowded with men, immediately catch the eye. The bars usually have African names - Coco Verde (Green Coconut), Pedra Preciosa, (Precious Stone), Vulcão, (Vulcano), Coqueiro, (Coconut palm) - and are always bustling with locals drinking beer, listening to ‘Kuduro’ and smoking hash outside (cannabis is illegal in Portugal).” (Taken from field notes from November 2007 to January 2008).

“In the middle of Cova da Moura there is a big Primary School surrounded by a high fence with iron bars, which offer little security: anyone can enter, even the doors of the building are open. There are only pupils from Cova da Moura at the school, because parents that live in other neighbourhoods do not enrol their children in this particular school. Opposite the school there is the Association of Clube Social e Desportivo da Cova da Moura. In the afternoon, after classes, the pupils go there to eat, to do their homework and play until their mothers arrive to pick them up. Sometimes they only go home after 20.00h. The Association also has also literacy and computing classes and helps residents to solve legal issues.” (Taken from field notes from October to November 2007).

“When I pass by, people come to the windows to see who I am and who I am talking to. On the very top of the hill is the white structure containing the premises of Moinho da Juventude, the largest and most prominent association offering social services and organizing cultural activities for all age groups in the community. Almost only Cape-Verdean people work there (70 workers). They offer many activities for the old and the young and therefore, this Association have become a reference not only for the
population of Cova da Moura but also for other associations. From this building with graffiti and paintings on the front walls, you can see all of Damaia, the neighbourhood below with lots of buildings but without green spaces.”

“The numerous bars are crowded at any time of day. Besides, Cova da Moura boasts more than twenty beauty parlours and barbershops, where there are posters with African models with long straight hair in their windows. The main streets have asphalt paving and are single-lane, accommodating oncoming traffic with difficulty. Most streets are dirt roads, often dead-end alleys, displaying a constant movement of adults and children. On the streets, empty beer cans and other rubbish serving as pigeon food are lying around. African music, the smell of cachupa (Cape Verde’s national dish) and grilled fish is in the air.”

“The front doors of the houses are not always locked, which shows the trust the people have in each other. The rents of flats or rooms are very high, but no deposit or ID is required. However, the situation is changing. Due to the arrival of new ‘drug addicts’ from Casal Ventoso, an old neighbourhood with a reputation as a ‘hard drugs supermarket’, drug dealing in Cova da Moura has increased. This fact created a problem of security for the residents and more interference by the police.” (Taken from field notes November to December 2007).

These impressions changed over the past three years. The neighbourhood does not look the same; Cova da Moura used to be in permanent construction but is not anymore. Many community members and families do not increase the height of their houses as before, by adding several floors, which they occupied with their extended family or rented out at high prices. Some attempts were made to legalize this situation through initiatives by the Residents’ Association (Comissão de Moradores), the Association of Moinho da Juventude and the Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura. Concrete measures, such as the prohibition of any type of new buildings, were taken in 2007 with the Protocol of Partnership (Protocolo de Parceria) within the governmental scope of a project identified as Operações de Qualificação e Reinserção Urbana de Bairros Críticos (Operations of Improvement and Urban Reinsertion in Critical Neighbourhoods)¹⁰ in the Projecto dos Bairros Críticos (Development Project of Critical Neighbourhoods). This Project involved local and governmental organizations in order to regulate the residents’ expansion and to intervene in the use of public space. The project’s objective was to bring about desirable and effective changes for the community involved.

I.3 Overview of the Chapters

This thesis consists of nine chapters and begins with an ethno-historical account, following historical trajectories, but also depicts the ethnographic, social and cultural meanings that are acquired over time by individuals and family members.

Chapter I open with the history of the arrival in Portugal of thousands of immigrants and ‘retornados’ from Africa and presentation of the three Cape Verdean immigrant target families in this scenario. It then proceeds to show the place where they settled, namely in Cova da Moura, an ‘illegal’ neighbourhood in Greater Lisbon. Subsequently, the theoretical framework of this thesis is developed and the research questions presented. It contains a review of the main theoretical approaches dealing with migration processes, to gain an understanding of the interplay of families, social networks and individuals in the community. It addresses the phenomenon of transnationalism in order to explain the complexity of the transnational activities these families embark on and provides some insights into the everyday lives of these migrants.

Chapter II focuses on the history of Cape Verde, and on how the colonial power’s policies influence the lives of the Cape Verdean people before and after their arrival in Portugal. I continue by exploring the social construction of the migrant squatter ‘ghetto’ of Cova da Moura, where the largest Cape Verdean community in the Lisbon area is concentrated. My aim is to register the socio-economical implications of living in such a neighbourhood (segregation, marginality, ‘illegality’, job-related problems) and despite all the difficulties, residents’ identification with it.

Chapter III seeks to develop a dual analytical framework, providing the theoretical underpinnings of this research. In the first part of this chapter, I present the sociological literature relevant for the subject in question. In the second part I discuss theoretical aspects related to the cases of the target families.

Chapter IV describes the use of ethno-historical techniques and methods for studying the Cape Verdean community in Cova da Moura, and the members of the three families in particular, relying on oral sources. I select and compare several theoretical approaches that facilitate interpretation of the data obtained. My approach, based on qualitative methods and
statistics, provides opportunities to compare results from data obtained over three years of field work.

Chapter V introduces the historical trajectories of the three families since they left the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and Santiago in Cape Verde until their arrival in Portugal and their settlement in Cova da Moura as undocumented citizens. It presents how they reconstruct and adjust their lives under Portuguese government policies and the Portuguese response to this new wave of immigration in 1975.

Chapter VI focuses on the ongoing process of adaptation and on the life of the three families in their *kasas* (houses) in Cova da Moura and in Berlin (Cape Verde). I explore the elementary relationships that constitute the core of the target families, describing the ties between conjugal relations, siblings and neighbours. I also illustrate in detail the interplay between the local Portuguese administration and migrant organizations of the Cape Verdeans in Cova da Moura. The two local organizations (Moinho da Juventude and Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova Moura) developed a multiplicity of strategies and alliances with various state and international institutions.

Chapter VII explores the important transnational practices of the target families, reflected in their daily lives at home and in their communication with their relatives abroad. I distinguish different types of connections and the interrelatedness between various members of the family around the world.

Chapter VIII presents background information and reasons for the negative image of the residents of Cova da Moura constructed by the media, and the changes that have occurred there in recent years. It also directs attention to local implementation of urban development policies, especially to the Cova da Moura Redevelopment Project. I analyze the impact of these measures on the residents and their response.

Chapter IX discusses the theories linked to the findings and the conclusions drawn from the previous chapters and presents the main ethnographic findings of this research. It describes how practices and ideas associated with migration are entrenched in the first and second generations and how they are part of their everyday lives. Moreover, the summing-up of the ethnography suggests that Cape Verdean migration is connected to construction of both the
individual and the nation. Through migration, the target families reproduce their nation in Portugal.
II. State of the Art

II.1 Studies on Cape Verdan Migration


Undertaking an exploratory ethno-historical study, I examined several complementary theories which provide a useful framework (although sometimes overlapping in their definitions) even for future research about this community. To gain an understanding of the interplay of families, social networks and individuals in the Cape Verdian community, I use and compare several major theoretical frameworks. Poverty can be the result of social and behavioural deficiencies in individuals that make them less viable within conventional

In terms of theories of migration, in the study by Portes (1995) ‘Social networks’, kin, friends and neighbours influenced the migrant’s integration in the host country (accommodation, information, finding a job). For a better understanding of the types of social networks these families have developed, the research by Portes (1955), Boyd (1989), Vertovec (2001) and Elizabeth Bott’s early analysis of family networks (1957) proved useful. According to her model, highly interconnected networks would be more likely to share similar values and beliefs regarding conjugal roles than loosely connected networks.

Following the studies of Basch and Szanton (1992), Schiller (1995) and Carling (2002), the movement of individuals and groups that remain linked to their home communities is growing every year. A good example is the Cape Verdean community in Cova da Moura, as Batalha (2004) and Gois (2010) mention.
During the past two decades, research results have shown the transnational\(^\text{11}\) nature of Cape Verdean migration in Portugal (Jesus (1996), Machado (1997), Carling (2002), Meintel (2002), Gois (2002), Grassi (2003), Sorensen (2004)), but there is still very limited ethnographic research about Cape Verdeans living in Portugal. Further studies should be made particularly about Cova da Moura and concerning their adaptation within Portuguese society.

The theoretical framework provided by Olwig and Sorenson (1995, 2002) and Sorenson (2005) on ‘transnational families and households’ was useful in the case of the target families because of the importance of the women’s role in this group. This approach offers a convincing basis for analysis of the complex family relationships and transnational activities these migrants embark on, both in their place of origin and at their destination. To gain an understanding of the motivations and social ambitions of each family; I used the concept of ‘narrative’ used by Wallace (1980), Portes and Rumbaut (2001). I realized that the ‘stories’ people tell about themselves and each other will help them to make sense of their lives, difficulties, limitations and responsibility towards others. Their recorded narratives are ‘the stories of their life’ with a beginning, middle and end which will form the corpus of my research.


II.2 Background: History of Cape Verde

For a Cape Verdean, emigration does not only imply sadness on leaving but also hope for a better life. To emigrate is to follow a tradition and the Sousa, Costa and Ferreira families are only three of

the hundreds of thousands of Cape-Verdeans who have left their homeland since the eighteenth century.

**Figure 1:** Cape Verdeen Islands (Google Maps, 2013)

**Figure 2:** Street-life in São Vicente / Cape Verde (Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2010)
They left Cape Verde, an archipelago of ten islands and several islets located off the West African coast in the Atlantic Ocean, 300 miles east of Dakar in Senegal, with a total area of 1.552 square miles. These islands are volcanic and one volcano is still quite active on the island of Fogo. The archipelago is mountainous with the exception of the eastern islands of Sal, Boavista, and Maio. Lack of rainfall leaves the islands very dry throughout most of the year. Nevertheless, the extremely fertile soil requires only a small amount of rain for the ground to burst forth with vegetation.

During the last phase of colonialism (1961-1970) the Portuguese government issued a short ‘monography’ about the province of Cape Verde, in order to keep their record of civilizational progress updated. These publications include information concerning improvements in infrastructure, health, education, agriculture, tourism, etc. Before the first wave of Cape Verdean migration to Portugal, the three consecutive editions of Cabo Verde Pequena Monografia registered the increasing numbers of the islands’ population: Census 1950 – 148.331 inhabitants (2.909 brancos (whites), 42.092 pretos (blacks), 103.255 mistos (mixed), 6 Indians and 59 of other groups) (CVPM, 1961: 12). In 1955 there was an estimated 178.315 inhabitants, while the Census of 1960 confirmed 201.549. (CVPM, 1961: 13) In 1964 this number changed to 221.770 inhabitants (CVPM, 1966: 15) and in 1969, six years before Cape Verde’s independence, to 256.640 inhabitants (CVPM, 1970: 22).

The nine inhabited islands of the archipelago can be divided into two groups: the Barlavento and the Sotavento. The census of 2010 revealed the following numbers: the southernmost islands of Santiago (991 km² / 273.919 inhabitants, 55,7%), Fogo (476 km² / 37.051 inhabitants, 7,5%), Brava (67,4 km² / 5.995, 1,2%) inhabitants and Maio (269 km² / 6.952 inhabitants, 1,4%) fall into the Sotavento category. The Barlavento islands lie to the north: São Vicente (227 km² / 76.107 inhabitants, 15,5%), Santo Antão (779 km² / 43.915 inhabitants, 8,9%), São Nicolau (388 km² / 12.817 inhabitants, 2,6%), Sal (216 km² / 25.657 inhabitants, 5,2%), and Boavista (620 km² / 9.162 inhabitants, 1,9%). These figures amount to a population of nearly half a million, more precisely to a total of 491.575 inhabitants.

According to demographic information, the population of Cape Verde nearly doubled from 1969 to 2010 despite the several waves of emigration that occurred during these four decades.

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12 The last violent eruption of the Pico do Fogo volcano was in 1950.
However, the population of the Cape Verdean diaspora exceeds this number by far, but can hardly be accurately estimated.

The majority of the archipelago’s population live on the island of Santiago where the capital city of Praia is found. Praia is the cultural and economic capital of the South, whereas the port city of Porto Grande in Mindelo, located on the island of São Vicente, is that of the North. Located at the crossroads of several transoceanic routes, Porto Grande is a noted refueling point for Portuguese and international steamship lines.

Opportunities for migration arose from Cape Verde’s strategic position in the geography of trade and empire; the necessity for migration was created by Cape Verde’s lack of natural resources and insufficient agricultural base (Wall et al, 2002). The history of the islands is a history of abandonment and repopulation, of constant drought, of slaves being sold and of free workers being obliged to emigrate to other Portuguese colonies. Maybe this historical characteristic of populational fluctuation is one of the explanations why so many people are still leaving the islands, because the Cape Verdeans feel it as a necessity, or even destiny.

For more than a century, emigration to the United States, the Netherlands or Portugal has become a hope and a dream to be achieved by young Cape Verdeans. When interviewed in Cape Verde or in Portugal many of them confirm this kind of predestination. According to Grassi, a Cape Verdean senses the “spirit of movement that emerges at the same time as a strong feeling for his country (caboverdianidade) that urge from the necessity of escapá vida (emigrate to survive)” (Grassi, 2006: 3).

It was mainly a male migration. As Sobrero (1998) mentioned, already in the Brazilian slave market the men were worth more than double the women that served in Cape Verde for work in the fields, for the economy of subsistence and for worker reproduction. The men worked as sailors on big American whaling ships or got time contracts in the ‘roças’ (coffee plantations) in São Tomé and Príncipe. Female emigration was mainly trips between islands to sell or change agriculture goods.

When it was discovered in 1460, the explorers António de Noli of Genova and Diogo Gomes of Portugal came across five uninhabited islands located approximately 500 kilometres off the coast of Mauritania while sailing under the auspices of the Portuguese Crown (Carreira, 2000).

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15 Emigration was encouraged by the Portuguese Government to resettle in Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe.
The Portuguese King Afonso V claimed these islands and seven others discovered shortly thereafter for Portugal. As a reward, the king gave Noli control over half of the island of Santiago, then partitioned the rest of the territory between Portuguese and Genoese nobility.

These settlers, especially Noli, came to the islands with hopes of producing great wealth. They began by populating the islands of Santiago and Fogo, first with Portuguese from the Algarve and Minho and some Jews who left Europe because they found themselves a target of growing persecution. Immigrants subsequently arrived from Madeira, Genoa, and slaves acquired from the coast of Guinea-Bissau. Within a couple of decades they had laid the foundations for a plantation society in the archipelago (Carreira, 2000).

The islands of Fogo and Santiago were the most suitable for agriculture and became the cornerstone of Cape Verde’s economy for several centuries. Slave labour was harnessed for the production of exports including sugar, livestock, orchid (a plant that produces a purple dye), and textiles (Bigman, 1993). Settlers used the drier and flatter islands of Sal, Maio, and Boavista for livestock production and salt harvesting (from large salt flats). The archipelago also became notorious for using slaves, some of whom were exported to the Azores, the Canary Islands and Europe (Carreira, 2000).

After the discovery of the Americas, Cape Verde’s strategic location made it an ideal point for ships to refuel, pick up supplies, have ships repaired and purchase slaves and livestock to transport to the New World. Despite the importance of the slave trade, textiles and dye exports remained the main source of revenue for the islands until the 19th century (Bigman, 1993).

The Portuguese empire underwent a series of significant changes during the 19th century, which affected its relationship with its colonies. The independence of Brazil in 1822 and the British empire’s assault on the slave trade effectively displaced Portugal as the central power in international trade and permitted its replacement first by the Netherlands and then by England (Ferreira, 1974). This was a devastating loss for Portugal, a country that was overly dependent on trade. Ferreira explains:

Merchants in the Portuguese empire were allowed to trade only on behalf of the Crown which laid down conditions regarding times and prices which deprived them of

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16 In 1836 a decree called for the abolition of the slave trade. But Portugal only prohibited slavery in 1858. Nevertheless, the system of indentured labour in the context of plantation economy was conducted until the 1970s and this hardly could be differentiated from the exploitative conditions of slavery (Batalha 2004: 39)
economic initiative. They became a commercial aristocracy, adopted feudal ways, and depended exclusively on trade instead of making investments and helping to establish industries – the stage through which other colonial powers passed on their way to industrial capitalism. (1974: 32).

The restraints of these mercantile practices combined with the starkness of the aforementioned events led to a crisis in Portugal that forced the empire to rethink its relationship with its colonies, for Portugal was itself an “underdeveloped economy which needed colonial profits to maintain her position” (Ferreira, 1974: 33). Another equally decisive event that shaped colonial policy at the time was the victory of the liberals over the monarchists in 1834.

The rise of liberalism allowed new values to shape colonial policy (at least for a period) and compelled the state to wrest control of colonial education away from the missions. Portugal began to introduce formal education in the colonies and at the same time, tighten administrative control. The decree of 1845 marked the establishment of several primary schools in Cape Verde for the first time in its history (Ferreira, 1974).

In 1901, at the Congresso Colonial Nacional (National Colonial Congress), an eight-point programme was introduced, aiming for decentralization of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and giving them more autonomy. The metropolis should regulate, inspect, approve or disapprove measures. More power was given to the governors and their staff and African and European codes were separated.

These reforms were sanctioned by the Colonial Reform Act of 1907 and followed by decrees from 1908 to 1912 that tended to increase local autonomy in the colonies. The decentralization and provincial autonomy of Portuguese-African possessions was accelerated by the proclamation of the First Republic in Portugal in 1910.

In 1926, Portugal became a military dictatorship that came to be known as the Estado Novo. The deepening financial crises were followed by serious questions as to the ability of Portuguese Africa and indeed of Portugal itself to survive.

António Oliveira Salazar, interim colonial minister, promulgated a new Colonial Act in 1930, restricting the local economy, although not entirely eliminating it, and giving catholic missions a privileged position as “an instrument of civilization and national influence” in Africa (Abshire et al, 1969: 85).
The new administrative system in Portuguese Africa was established by a new Colonial Act in 1933 and incorporated into the constitution of the same year. The main principle of the act involved affirmation of the unity and solidarity of a Portugal consisting of people ethnically, economically and administratively varied but united in goals and interests. Other principles included the special character of colonial legislation, normally pertaining to the colonial ministers; extensive granting of power to the colonial governors, financial autonomy, economic organization according to the principle of national unity, establishment of a special judicial system for the Africans and a degree of decentralization according to the state of development of the various colonies and division into colonies of ‘simple government’ as was the case of Cape Verde (Caetano, 1951: 275-276).

Anti-colonialist movements started to form in Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau. Initially, Cape Verdean nationalist sentiments were expressed in the literary Claridade (Clarity) movement, founded by Baltazar Lopes and others in 1936. The intellectuals and writers of the Claridade movement, known as Claridosos, examined the roots of Crioulo and spoke out against racism, fascism and Portuguese colonialism.

In 1951, Portugal changed Cape Verde’s status to that of an “overseas province” in an attempt to avert growing nationalism. Despite this action, nationalists responded by founding the clandestine party Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), in Guinea-Bissau, an initiative by Amílcar Cabral and others in 1956. Influenced by the writings of political theorists, including Marx and Lenin, the PAIGC created a political strategy of national liberation and Pan-Africanism, its main goal being to liberate both Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde from Portuguese colonial authority. Relying on the support of the Soviet Union, Cuba and other socialist/communist states, the PAIGC\textsuperscript{17} abandoned peaceful means of protest in favour of a war of national liberation.

In 1963, an armed struggle began, subsequent military action concentrating in Guinea-Bissau. After a serious illness, Salazar was replaced in 1968 as Portuguese Prime Minister by Marcelo Caetano (one of the authors of the Portuguese Corporate Constitution). As far as the African provinces were concerned, Caetano promised continuation of the Salazar government’s policies and consequently further suppression of ideas of independence. By 1972, the PAIGC

\textsuperscript{17} PAIGV, Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo-Verde (African Party for Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde).
controlled the greatest part of Guinea-Bissau. Although Amílcar Cabral was assassinated in 1973, the PAIGC intensified its attacks against the Portuguese armed forces.

After the revolution in Portugal in April 1974, the independence of Cape Verde was declared one year later on 5 July 1975. Aristides Pereira became the first president of the Republic of Cape Verde, while the PAICV kept ruling the young state until 1990. In 1991, the first multi-party elections took place with the Movimento para Democracia (MpD) (Movement for Democracy) replacing the PAICV. António Mascarenhas Monteiro was elected president. The MpD increasingly privatized the country’s economy and continued the earlier policies of improving educational and social services, which resulted in assuring this party’s parliamentary victory in the second multi-party elections in 1995.

Desiring change, the citizens of Cape Verde returned the PAICV to legislative power in 2001 with Pedro Pires as elected president. The 2006 legislative and presidential elections confirmed a PAICV legislative majority and the continuation of Pires in the highest office. Under the newly oriented PAICV, Cape Verde has developed economically. Since 2001, the government, supported by international organizations, has implemented a series of programmes which improved the infrastructures fundamental to the development and sustainability of the archipelago.

These programmes included public investment in infrastructure, private investment in fisheries, services and export processing, an increase in agricultural output and increased services in international air and maritime transport. Through another government incentive, tourism has become the major industry (especially on the islands of Sal and Boavista). As a result of nearly two decades of free and fair democratic elections, good governance and strengthened political and economic ties with donor states including Portugal has made Cape Verde one of the fastest developing African countries, with economic growth of 4.5% in 2009. Consequently, access to health services and education has greatly improved for the whole population – nevertheless, emigration continues.

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18 PAICV, Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo-Verde (African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde) founded in 1980 after the rupture with the Party established in Guiné-Bissau.
II.3 Alto da Cova da Moura

Cova da Moura is a district of Amadora in the western part of the Greater Lisbon Metropolitan Area, inhabited mainly by Cape Verdeans. In terms of infrastructure, Amadora received a first dynamic impulse with the inauguration of the Sintra railway line in 1887. However, it was only after the Second World War, especially between 1950 and 1980 that Amadora began to have a significant increase in population. As the most densely populated town in Portugal, situated on the periphery of Lisbon with a total population of 255,000, it is known for its immigrant population and cultural diversity. In 2005, the percentage of non-Portuguese residents in Amadora was 12.3% (cf. Grassi, 2006: 10)\textsuperscript{20}, decreasing to 7.27% in 2010.

As Figure 4 illustrates, settlement in Cova da Moura started before the 1970s. From the beginning of the 1970s to 1974, the neighbourhood was mainly occupied by Portuguese farmers who had built shacks and cultivated the area to sell their products in the local

markets. After 1975 a new period of settlement began, characterized by a great influx of immigrants and Portuguese ‘retornados’ from the ex-colonies. During this period the urbanization of the neighbourhood (including basic infrastructures) was initiated. The decade from 1980 to 1990 coincided with the arrival of an immigrant population, mainly Cape Verdeans, leading to consolidation of the neighbourhood. After 1995, the statistics show a new influx of undocumented immigrants from the ex-colonies in search of better opportunities close to Lisbon.

![Figure 4: Year of settlement in Cova da Moura](image)


Everett Lee (1966) gave expression to push and pull theory. Dual labour market theory states that migration is mainly caused by pull factors in more developed countries. Applied to the Cape Verdean community in question, the secondary labour market in the Portugal of the 1970s was very labour-intensive, requiring low-skilled workers. Migration from a less developed country like Cape Verde to a more developed country like Portugal is a result of a ‘pull’ created by the need for labour. Migrant workers are employed to fill the lowest ranks of the labour market, because native workers have emigrated to other (even more developed) countries in Europe, or simply rejected these jobs, as they are hard, imply low social status and impede social mobility. The main factor of attraction for the Cape Verdean immigrants’
choice of Cova da Moura is its location ten minutes from the centre of Lisbon and proximity to train station and buses.

Figure 5: Alto da Cova da Moura: Plan of Intervention
(Projecto dos Bairros Críticos, Gabinete Central, 2008)

This migrant neighbourhood is located on a small volcanic plateau with an area of 16.3 square hectares of which 11.1 hectares belong to the Moura family, private proprietors, with the remaining area being owned by the Portuguese State and the Misericórdia (Institute for Public Welfare).
During the 1970s Cova da Moura experienced its peak of occupation. Cape Verdean migrants constituted 59% of the total population, 28% were Portuguese repatriates ('retornados') from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and rural migrants from North and Central Portugal. Only 9% came from Angola and 4% from S. Tomé and Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau. In 2010 it had 7,000 residents.

Cova da Moura is an ethnically heterogeneous neighbourhood. According to the Survey of the Municipality of Amadora (1983) it was spatially divided in two areas: the African quarter (‘Quarteirão Africano’), which was much more densely occupied and the European quarter (‘Quarteirão Europeu’), where Portuguese ‘returnees’ (retornados) lived, together with internal migrants and some Africans.

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21 Newcomers frequently settled in residential areas already occupied by Cape Verdeans and people of their own nationality (cf. Malheiros and Vala, 2004).

22 Estudo de Caracterização/Diagnóstico do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura (Study aiming to characterize the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura).
Figure 7: 'African' and 'European' Residential Areas in Alto da Cova da Moura (Municipality of Amadora 1983, in: Horta, 2000: 166)

Figure 8: Neighborhood perspectives from behind the fence (Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2010)
Alto da Cova da Moura\textsuperscript{23} is an area occupied at the end of the 1960s by poor families of immigrants that had taken advantage of incentives for returning migrants promoted by some European countries. The shortage of housing and poor economic conditions caused a large number of internal and external migrants to occupy this area near Lisbon. It was easy because the land-owning family, called Moura, was in Brazil. For African residents, economic deprivation as well as social and racial exclusion were the major difficulties.

The first constructions (shacks) in Cova da Moura were built in 1960 by former agricultural workers from the neighbouring area (Quinta do Outeiro)\textsuperscript{24}. In 1974/1975 Portuguese working-class families from the north of the country and Portuguese ‘retornados’ from the ex-colonies started to arrive in Cova da Moura. They occupied or bought the largest plots in the southern part of the neighbourhood, where they built their houses along the main street. During the post-revolutionary period (1975/1976), African immigrants arrived and bought the land from the former occupant or appropriated the northern part of the neighbourhood for themselves,

\textsuperscript{23} 'Cova' means hole, but the name cannot be derived from Cova da Moura’s physical location. Moura is the name of one of the legal owners of the land, on which the quarter was built. He had emigrated to Brazil in the 1960s.

their family and friends. They started to build brick houses or transform wooden shacks with debris from previous constructions. According to a municipal report (1978)\textsuperscript{25}, the ‘African blocks’ were overcrowded, invading the public space and should therefore be demolished.

As the surveillance and pressure from the City Council to demolish their shacks became more intense, the residents built brick houses overnight or at weekends with the help of relatives and neighbours. These houses had only one floor and the inhabitants realized that the space was too small. The arrival of new family members and friends from Cape Verde needing accommodation made them improvise a second floor, again with the help of family and neighbours.

Anyone who ‘owned’ a house could take advantage of the social and economic opportunities within the neighbourhood by renting out rooms or apartments to friends, acquaintances or other families. The informal rental market was, and still is, very profitable. The rents in Cova da Moura were almost the double those asked then in nearby neighbourhoods, because neither deposits nor identification documents were required. Some of the houses have an open room at street level to be used for small businesses. There were a significant number of entrepreneurs in Cova da Moura who rented these spaces for high prices and the house-owners would receive a percentage of their earnings.

For many newcomers, Cova da Moura offered an opportunity for home ownership close to Lisbon, for work and some social mobility. The majority of inhabitants worked in low-paid jobs in the construction industry (58%) and in services (32%) outside the neighbourhood. Access to schools and public services was provided by extended family ties and a network of contacts, spread through Portugal and other European countries, particularly the Netherlands and France, and the United States of America.

A continuous flow of information between those living in the neighbourhood and their relatives, friends or co-villagers living in other European countries provided neighbourhood residents with a wide space of membership and identity (Horta, 2000: 151). Frequent trips abroad have contributed to the development of social networks, sometimes to visit relatives, but mainly to work temporarily in the informal sector of the Channel Islands (fruit-picking on farms) or in Spain, France or other European countries (on building sites).

Neighbourhood mobilization and tacit alliances with local authorities and political partisanship were some of the strategies developed to improve living conditions. In 1978, a small group of residents with one of the first Portuguese residents in the neighbourhood, Ilídio do Carmo (Portuguese repatriates from the African colonies, Angolans and some Cape Verdeans) founded the Residents’ Commission of Cova da Moura (Comissão de Residentes da Cova da Moura) to successfully demand the construction of basic infrastructures (paved streets, water pipes, electricity, garbage collecting) from the Oeiras Municipality. Four years later, the same group founded the Association of Sport and Leisure Club of Alto da Cova da Moura (Clube Desportivo e Recreativo da Cova da Moura) which promotes collaboration with state authorities (Social Security) to provide social services for the inhabitants and also a cultural project with activities such as dancing, theatre and gymnastics for more than 60 children.

Figure 10: Party Colá S. Jon in the ‘Bairro’ (Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2010)

In 1984, the Cultural Association of Moinho da Juventude was established by a small group of residents, led by Eduardo Pontes and his Belgian wife Godelieve Meersschaert. The Association presented itself as a ‘community project’ with two objectives: the appreciation of cultural difference and social integration of ethnic migrant communities in Portuguese
society. This ongoing project has an educational component providing schooling for almost 200 children (aged 5 months to 10 years); from nursery school until the end of primary school (the school timetable is from 7:00 until 20:00). Professional courses for young unemployed residents in the neighbourhood, sports and cultural activities like the female music group *Grupo Batuque Finca Pé* (traditional Cape Verdean song used in weddings and parties), which has gained an international recognition.

![Figure 11: Association Moinho da Juventude](Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2009)

In Cova da Moura recreational areas only exist in these two associations, where everyone can enter freely and use the facilities. Nevertheless, the neighbourhood is ‘alive’ with many children playing in the streets even with traffic all day and at night. There is also a constant movement of adults, and weather permitting, they sit in front of their dwellings or in cafes, talking and greeting passers-by. Businesses are geared towards satisfying personal needs and are marginal to the economy of the city as a whole, and the area is considered self-sufficient in commercial terms. There are an increasing number of shops, in 2010, hairdressers and barbershops (more than 20), boutiques, repair shops, a telephone and an internet centre, garages, a travel agency, an undertaker, a typography and consumption of food and drink, coffee-houses (more than 25), restaurants, groceries and butchers. But informal business is
also carried out by the residents (selling ready-made food, fish and vegetables in the streets) and by outsiders: gypsies selling cheap clothes and drug addicts who exchange stolen goods for cash to buy drugs in the same streets.

The ‘ghetto’ da Cova’, as it is called by the teenagers, because of a fence that separates the neighbourhood from the surrounding buildings, is like a small island imported from Africa and separate from the outside world.

Figure 12: The fence around Cova da Moura (Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2012)

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26 The fence that surrounds Cova da Moura to divide it from the neighbouring buildings contributed to the image of a ghetto. The word is used by young residents as a synonym for Cova da Moura and shows their identification with the place.
III. Review of the Literature

III.1 Conceptual Framework

My overall approach to analysis of how the three families (first and second generations) could adapt and cope in the host country, is illustrated in Figure 13.

![Conceptual Framework for analysis of the Literature](image)

**Figure 13:** Conceptual Framework for analysis of the Literature

The factors identified for inclusion in this conceptual framework and the way they are organized into components rely on literature with a focus on: immigrants’ poverty, social networks, segmented assimilation, transnationalism and racism. It aims to explain the lives of Cape Verdean families in Portugal, more precisely in Cova de Moura, influenced by strong legalization issues and city constraints.

The framework suggests that the socio-economical characteristics of these families (informal work, low school attainment) combine with institutional factors (being undocumented) in predicting low mobility associated with poverty.
III.2 The Concept of ‘Culture of Poverty’

Poverty is largely the result of social and behavioural deficiencies in individuals that ostensibly make them less economically viable within conventional society (Jordan, 2004). However, due to persistence of poverty in certain areas, the behavioural perspective is reinforced by the ‘culture of poverty’ thesis, suggesting that individuals create, sustain, and transmit to future generations a culture that reinforces the various social and behavioural deficiencies (Rodgers, 2000).

The idea of the ‘subculture of poverty’ was introduced by Oscar Lewis in 1958, at the International Congress of Americanists in San Jose, Costa Rica (Harvey and Reed, 1996: 466). Later, Lewis mentioned it in his book *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1959). Although admitting that he had meant a ‘sub-culture’, Lewis chose to use the term ‘culture’ for convenience, and the term became popular in this form. The fullest description of the developing concept was given in Lewis’ book *La Vida, A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty* (1965). Comparing his study of 171 families in Mexico City with data on slums collected by other social scientists, and with descriptions in other essays, Lewis “noted certain persistent pattern associations of traits among families with the lowest income level and the least education” (Lewis, 1970: x).

In anthropological circles Lewis is remembered for: 1) his ethnographic study of the above-mentioned community in Mexico, which came to different conclusions from those of an earlier study of the same community by Robert Redfield (1930); 2) the quality of his ethnographic texts, whether he was writing about rural or urban Mexico, about Puerto Ricans in San Juan, New York or in communities in India, and 3) his most important theoretical contribution to anthropology and social science, the concept of the ‘Culture of Poverty’.

But what are the problems and conditions favouring the development of a ‘culture of poverty’? Lewis argues that the concept is based on people’s adaptation in urban areas to an

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28 Lewis’ research in Topoztlan took place in a village that became famous earlier through the study by Robert Redfield. The following work by Redfield, *Tepoztlan: A Mexican Village* (1930) and *Chan Kom: A Maya village* (1934) included anthropological studies of Mexican communities.
industrial capitalist society with its inherent inequalities: low wages, high unemployment, underemployment for unskilled labour, a failure to provide social, political and economic organization for the poor population, bilateral kinship system, the possibility of upward mobility, and thrift. All of these factors and blaming the poor for personal inadequacy make the poor develop certain patterns of behaviour to deal with their low status, in order to adjust to their marginal social and economic position in the wider society. This behaviour is characterized by low aspirations, political apathy, helplessness, disorganization, and pretending to adopt middle-class values (Lewis in Berndt, 1969: 190-192).

“The way of life which develops among some of the poor under these conditions is the culture of poverty. It [...] can be described in terms of some seventy interrelated social, economic, and psychological traits,” writes Lewis (1965: xlv).

The ‘culture of poverty’, however, is not only an adaptation to a set of objective conditions of the wider society; it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on the children. This is due to the basic values and attitudes of their parents that accompany the children during their growing process. Fatalism and low level of aspiration are some of the main determining and conditioning factors in this process (Lewis, 1965: li). Consequently, they are not psychologically prepared for changing conditions or to grasp opportunities which may occur during their lives even if structural conditions change, as Lewis observes:

“Once it comes into existence, it tends to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effect on children. By the time slum children are six or seven years old, they usually have absorbed the basic values and attitudes of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.” (Lewis, 1965: xlv)

The poor remain in poverty not only as a result of their economic condition, but also because of cultural values and practices they have developed from poverty (orientation towards the present and instant gratification, a preference for happiness over work, a tendency to value family ties over moral considerations of right and wrong, engaging in sex with multiple partners and others). Briefly, “the culture of poverty is both an adaptation and a reaction of the poor to their marginal position in a class-stratified, highly individuated, capitalistic society”, defines Lewis (1965: xlv). But it is not just an adaptation. Therefore, overcoming a situation of poverty does not necessarily mean ending the culture of poverty. In other words, even if the situation of poverty changes, people do not automatically abandon behavioural
patterns adopted during their (long lasting) previous situation. The ‘culture of poverty’ as a way of life, is a combination of certain traits, passed on through generations. It is an adaptation to poverty, to ‘being at the bottom’ in an industrializing society, but perpetuating itself once started. It crosses national and ethnic boundaries, but has different characteristics in different circumstances.

The four main characteristics of the ‘culture of poverty’ can be summarized as:
1) the lack of effective participation and integration of the poor in the major institutions of the wider society; 2) poor housing, overcrowding and a minimum of organization beyond the level of the nuclear and extended family; 3) the absence of childhood as a specifically prolonged and protected stage in the life-cycle of some of the poor, as well as early initiation in sex, free unions or consensual marriages. There is also a trend towards the female-centred family; 4) strong feelings of marginality, helplessness, dependence and inferiority.

In recent times of global economic recession, the gap between the rich and the poor is widening - a reality that many societies in Europe are experiencing today. It can be assumed that those who are wealthy will do everything they can to remain in that category, but the poor do not have many possibilities to escape the dynamics of downward mobility.

For Lewis, a ‘culture of poverty’ develops when persistent poverty exists and when the poor are thrown back upon their own resources. In most of our parliamentary democracies, and especially in the U.S., there is no political consensus to support them.

In fact, they are liable to be blamed for their own condition, without consideration of their real resources, as they have no sufficient means to change their situation. In their efforts to adapt to these extreme situations, they often end up engaging in patterns of practice which can easily be psychologically and socially dysfunctional. But such patterns, which constitute a subculture of poverty, are the product rather than the cause of persistent impoverishment.

Once these patterns are established, they contribute to reproduction of poverty. The ‘culture of poverty’ does provide an adaptive strategy for low living conditions, excluding, however, many options that could lead to upward mobility. This may sound rather deterministic, but my fieldwork results corroborate this assumption in several cases.

In this context, I would like to emphasize two issues in Lewis’ delineation of the particular traits of the culture of poverty: 1) the part of Lewis’ discussion that involves empirical
description. The characteristics he describes are actually present in particular impoverished surroundings, as my research confirmed. After my readings, I realized that some anthropological works criticized Lewis’ writings for over-generalizing on the basis of information from a specific community, or sometimes even from a single family. This may be true (in the case of the Sanchez family), but does not invalidate the theoretical concept for the attention given to specific details of sub-cultural patterns associated with the ‘culture of poverty’; 2) the fact that Lewis transmitted an unpleasant image of poverty does not mean that he is blaming the poor for their condition. Instead, Lewis takes care to point out the circumstances in which a ‘culture of poverty’ is likely to develop. In La Vida (1965) he distinguishes a set of mechanisms to cope with precarious conditions, to change the circumstances in which the ‘poor’ are stigmatized by poverty.

The ‘culture of poverty’ theory has proven to be applicable in certain societies, but it is not consistent throughout different societies across time and space. Some scholars claim that the ‘culture of poverty’ does not exist, or at least that there is no evidence of it. Others hold that poverty can be explained through the situational theory, which concerns economic and social structures within societies. Still, and despite extensive criticism, the concept of ‘culture of poverty’ seems to continue its influence as a credible theory.

III.2.1 The Controversy of the Concept of ‘Culture of Poverty’

Already in the 1960s, several scholars contested the concept of ‘culture of poverty’, which started some controversy. For example, Charles Valentine (1968): one of the critics of the ‘culture of poverty’, suggested that one of the most serious defects in current studies of the poor is the lack of comparative analysis. A major task of research on the poor, he argues, should be “to discern what cultural features are shared by different but related subsystems” and “what culture traits or configurations are shared by the lower class with the middle class or with the system as a whole.” (Valentine, 1968: 114-115). He defined his concept as a distinct sub-culture characteristic for lower classes which is different from the dominant culture of the wider society. According to Valentine, the distinctive element of poverty sub-culture is a disorganized, pathological or incomplete version of the major aspects of the generally dominant culture. He claims that poverty sub-culture is self generating in two ways: 1) the cultural patterns of the group are perpetuated by socialization; 2) its socialized individuals acquire psychosocial inadequacies which block their entry into the dominant
culture. Valentine contrasts these two models used by social scientists to explain the persistence of poverty in advanced industrial societies.

Valentine also criticizes Lewis’ style of writing and the way his findings are presented: a short introduction by the author is followed by simple “transcriptions of testimony” of the informants, without the narrator commenting on them “The transitions, connections, and interrelations among the different levels of analysis are never entirely clear” (Valentine, 1968: 51). He also disapproves of Lewis’ methodology in La Vida (1965), pointing out that the collected data and his conclusions do not match: “Thus does Lewis attempt to move back and forth from individual to family to culture” (Valentine, 1968: 51). In Valentine’s opinion this approach is not altogether successful.

Also, O’Connor (2001) accused Lewis of not adequately contextualizing the life stories he presented, so that “any connection to political economy or broader social conditions was completely obscured” (2001: 120). In fact, some misunderstandings arose from Lewis’ generalizations. Both in Five Families: Mexican Case Studies of the Culture of Poverty (1959) and in La Vida (1965), not all the families described and not all family-members represent the ‘culture of poverty’.

This fact seemed self-evident to Lewis himself, but his descriptions can be confusing. Instead of trying to distinguish where the described people are placed in the continuum of ‘culture of poverty – working class – middle class’, there is the temptation to generalize the assumption that Lewis warned against: equating poverty with the ‘culture of poverty’.

Other important arguments in the controversy referred to the values and behavioural patterns of the poor and to the author’s questionable assumptions: 1) Lewis assumes that individual practices were caused by their values, ignoring the fact that many people, from different social classes, act against their values; 2) he lists both values and behaviours, leading to a circular argument (excusing a certain behaviour based on cultural patterns); 3) he assumes that a single culture categorized very diverse people; 4) he assumes that people’s culture is static and does not change in their lifetime and that individuals play a comparatively minor role in creating their own culture and practices.

Although Lewis emphasized that the ‘culture of poverty’ is adaptive, just as helping the poor to survive in their circumstances, he was criticized for writing about it in largely negative terms. The concept itself had negative implications for poor people, despite Lewis’ view that
his notion of ‘culture’ should stress the dignity and worth of the poor. That was especially true when the concept gained popularity and even started to be used in public debates and political discussions in the U.S. and European countries.

Once again, Valentine disputes the whole “prehistory” of the idea that the poor should have certain self-perpetuating traits and that certain doctrines interpret their social position and deprivation as resulting from internal deficiencies. He criticizes conservative scholars, such as Franklin Frazier, Nathan Glazer, and even Daniel Moynihan30 for writing in this “pejorative tradition,” especially about ‘black’ people (1968: 20).

In Valentine’s perspective Lewis is following, maybe unconsciously, this line of thought, especially when he mentions policy questions. Moreover, he interprets the ‘culture of poverty’ and ‘lower-class culture’ as “twin concepts” (Valentine, 1968: 76). As an answer to this criticism, Lewis wrote: “… I find Valentine’s book tendentious, self-righteous, pedestrian, and downright irresponsible in its distortion of the views of others” (in Berndt, 1969: 189).

Nevertheless, it was also noticed that the description of a ‘culture of poverty’ is not only consistently negative, but reflects middle-class values. Clearly, “the actual terms used to describe the attributes are value-laden” (Eames and Goode 1970: 481). The ‘culture of poverty’ model, being “grounded in what today is called ‘Marxist humanism’” (Lewis in Berndt, 1969: 485) was intended to argue against racial, national and regional discriminatory explanations. However, discrimination became one of the issues Lewis was criticized for later. It is crucial to realize that it was not his concept of the ‘culture of poverty’, but his development of new methods of family ethnography which Lewis considered his most important work.

The idea of ‘culture of poverty’ was proposed as “simply a challenging hypothesis which should be widely tested by empirical research” (Lewis in Berndt, 1969: 191). Although Lewis tried to point out positive, adaptive sides of the ‘culture of poverty’, for example that low aspiration helped to reduce frustration, he recognized that the ‘culture of poverty’ “is a thin,

30 Daniel Patrick Moynihan’s report investigated poor families of urban blacks and concluded that the disintegration of many of these families could be traced to their matriarchal character, a situation that stood in contrast to the patriarchal character of the wider society. The cognitive dissonance this created for black males contributed to the dysfunctional behaviours that reinforced their own condition. Before the 1960s, scholars argued that poverty was primarily caused by economic conditions. The ‘Moynihan Report’, which called for policies to improve the condition of the black family, contributed to a gradual resurgence of behavioural arguments. However, Washington at the time was dominated by the liberals and Moynihan’s recommendations were effectively ignored.
relatively superficial culture” (Lewis, 1970: 78). It also seems that some of Lewis’ critics use definitions of culture that differ from the definition Lewis provided. For instance, Valentine was criticized for understanding culture merely as “a system of strongly held values passed on by formal instruction” (Hannerz in Berndt, 1969: 186), which is much narrower than the system of traits and way of life, as understood by Lewis.

Likewise, some authors applauded the concept of culture as a mechanism for adaptation, because it implies the approach of cultural ecology (Eames and Goode, 1970: 479). Others were sceptical about the appropriateness of the concept of culture in the circumstances of poverty for the same reason, arguing that the “way of life” starts as an adaptation to very oppressive circumstances (Valentine, 1968: 114). This point was probably most exactly summed up by Peter Townsend, who claimed “it would be not consistent to call it culture, when the members of it do not accept its supposed values” (Townsend, 1979: 69). Defining subculture as a system of values, beliefs and institutions, “positively established and upheld”, and at variance with the majority in the society, he concludes that disorganization, instability, fatalism and inferiority are neither approved nor self-perpetuated. Despite its limitations, the ‘culture of poverty’ theory still has its reason to exist as a heuristic tool in explaining poverty.

III.3 The Concept and ramifications of the ‘Underclass’

One particular aspect of the ‘culture of poverty’ thesis, the idea that the adaptive behaviour of the poor contributes to their continued poverty, developed into the theory of ‘underclass’. The debate waged over the notion of the ‘culture of poverty’ in the 1960s and 1970s; the emergence of ‘underclass’ as a widely used concept in the U S. and in Britain occurred more recently. In many ways the two concepts appear to refer to the same population and set of dynamics, an observation that has been made by several scholars (Auletta, 1982, Wilson, 1985, Lemann, 1986, Murray, 2001).

The term ‘underclass’ appeared in the U S. and was used by Gunnar Myrdall (1962) referring to unemployed, unemployable and underemployed persons and families at the bottom of society. Other scholars used the term referring to diverse subjects: Herbert Gans (1965) connected the ‘underclass’ to public housing. Andrew Brimmer (1971) linked the ‘underclass’
to welfare dependency. Ken Auletta (1982) attributed certain behavioural patterns and values to those seemingly belonging to the ‘underclass’: 1) synonymous with the black residents of urban slums 2) implied poverty was a permanent condition 3) connected to an end to black progress.

Generally, the term designates people without means or opportunity for effective legal participation in society. The ‘underclass’ is thus situated below the working class, which, although exploited, is able to participate in economic reproduction, rather than subsisting on government subsidies (although sometimes it may be necessary), charity and crime.

The emerging ‘underclass’ of structurally unemployed individuals is often concentrated in minority groups. Nearly all definitions underline the lack of employment opportunities. This has to do not only with a job shortage, but with a mismatch of skills to opportunities through rising demands for formal education and declining demands for manual labour in industrialized countries.

One key part of contemporary sociological debates about the ‘underclass’ involves the cultural reproduction of structural features of poverty and dependency (single motherhood, devaluation of education) over the relative absence of steady employment.

Wilson defined ‘underclass’ as “that heterogeneous grouping of families and individuals who are outside the mainstream of the American occupational system. Included [...] are individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not members of the labor force, individuals who are engaged in street crime and other forms of aberrant behavior, and families that experience long-term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency” (Wilson, 1987:8). Later he subscribed to another definition developed by Martha Van Haitsma (1989) in which the ‘underclass’ are “those persons who are weakly connected to the formal labor force and whose social context tends to maintain or further weaken this attachment’ so that structural factors are either reinforced or counteracted by the cultural factors of social context” (Haitsma, 1989:28). According to Wilson, the urban poor, especially blacks, belong to the ‘underclass’. His criteria are the structural labour market position rather than the behaviour of the ‘underclass’. Being against race-specific policies to address the problems of ‘underclass’, he uses the ‘underclass’ theory in the context of the persistent urban poverty which is the result of the combined interacting effects of joblessness, deteriorating neighbourhoods, and the oppositional culture. These forces generate: 1) disappearing job opportunities, 2) moving out of stable working-class families, 3)
disintegrating employment networks, 4) disappearing role models, 5) declining number of two-parent families and 6) declining number or disappearance of communities and institutions that depend on resources provided by middle-class families. Also the young poor become socially isolated from mainstream social networks that facilitate social and economic advancement. They become more vulnerable to gangs, drugs, dropping out of school and teenage pregnancies. Obviously, these behavioural factors impede their economic and social mobility.

In his study What is the Underclass and is it Growing?, Jenks (1989) distinguishes three types of failure in people belonging to the ‘underclass’: the moral (deviant behaviour), the economic (unable to get paid work) and the educational (lack of skills and qualifications) (Jenks, 1989: 14). Also in Beyond Poverty, O’Brien (1997) makes a distinction between two groups of the poor: the deserving poor, those who find themselves in poverty but struggle to exist (for example ‘working poor’ for low wages) and the undeserving poor, those who live on the margins of society (the ones that live on state benefits).

Even if there is still no terminological agreement about ‘underclass’, its different definitions tend to reflect whether the definer subscribes to a structural or behavioural/cultural explanation of its causes. Thus, the ‘underclass’ is defined purely and simply in terms of relationship to the labour market’s social relationships. Even if the relationship to the labour market forms the basis of the structural definition of ‘underclass’ used by Wilson, he also points to behavioural characteristics. From his point of view, the long term unemployed, whether forced or voluntary (living on state subsidies) and marginals belonged to the ‘underclass’.

The next section identifies the case of the British underclass as an example of a post-colonialist stance similar to the Cape Verdean families studied in Portugal.

III.3.1 Relationship of British ‘underclass’ with the Portuguese Case

The concept of ‘underclass’ had different formulations across the Atlantic. In Britain, earlier usage of the term in the 1970s tended to focus on the racial dimension as a way of demonstrating the impact of discriminatory employment and housing policies on minority
ethnic groups (Murray, 1996: 2). Dahrendorf (1959) had already emphasized that it was a phenomenon of race in Britain, as well as in the U. S.

Both Field (1989, 1995) and Murray (1996) explicitly dispute this racial connotation in the British context, where the ‘black population’ is much smaller than in the U. S.

In his books The Emergence of Britain’s Underclass (1989) and Making Welfare Work (1995), Field argues that the very poor constitute a “class apart” from mainstream society. According to this argument, this class not only exists at the bottom of the society, but is also socially excluded in terms of income, life chances and political aspiration.

In 1998, Field’s own portrayal of the emergence of a British ‘underclass’, in his book Losing Out, identifies four main “forces of expulsion” (unemployment, widening class differences, the exclusion of the very poor from rapidly rising living standards, and a hardening of public attitudes) as having created an ‘underclass’, separated from the rest of society “in terms of income, life chances and political aspirations” (Field, 1998: 196). For Field, this process of exclusion is closely connected with “the loss of a comprehensive approach to citizenship” (Field, 1998: 153). This concept was previously developed and explained by Horowitz in his work On the Dole in United Kingdom (1995).

Murray (1990, 1994) discusses the concept of an ‘underclass’ relating it to issues of illegitimacy and the state of the British family, crime and unemployment. He claims that “‘underclass’ does not refer to degree of poverty, but to a type of poverty” (Murray, 1996: 24). His interpretation of the concept refers to those excluded because of their anti-social, or even criminal behaviour, including drug-taking, unwillingness to work steadily, absenteeism from school and violence.

Murray considers ‘illegitimacy’ the best indicator for an ‘underclass’. The crime rate was increasing in the 1990s when his articles were written, and he cited statistics that pointed to more property crime in England than in the U.S. Murray’s special concern, however, was crimes of violence particularly committed in problematic neighbourhoods where it became difficult for parents to raise their children. According to his findings, also the education and labour sectors determined acquisition and preservation of both self-esteem and the respect of others. The increasing numbers of drop-outs from school and the decrease in labour force participation in the 1980s led Murray to the conclusion “that Britain has an ‘underclass’ and that it is growing” (Murray, 1996: 19).
While Field set out to investigate the structural causes of an ‘underclass’, Murray’s analysis focuses on behaviour as both its cause and defining characteristic. It is this association between an ‘underclass’ and the behaviour of its members which has contributed much to the controversy surrounding the work of Murray (1996) and others who subscribe to his ‘underclass’ thesis. This association with long historical antecedents and the debate about the role of behaviour in causing poverty has been an issue over the years.

During this debate, the anthropological concept of ‘culture’ had gradually changed due to the influence of the sociological/ economic terminology of ‘class’/ ‘underclass’. Morris (1989) discusses this shift, claiming there is an ideological basis for preferences in use of some concepts rather than others. According to Morris, “the underclass represents a segment of the poor who are not only economically deprived, but who manifest a distinctive set of values, attitudes, beliefs, norms, and behaviors as well” (Morris, 1989: 125).

On the other hand, Runciman (1972) argues that the class analysis relies on economic assumptions (benefit receipt), determining the definition of ‘underclass’ as those among the working classes “whose roles place them more or less permanently at the economic level where benefits are paid by the state to those unable to participate in the labor market at all” (1972: 27). However, it is not simply benefit receipt which defines the ‘underclass’ but also their exclusion from the labour market on a more or less permanent basis. Moore (1975) suggested that, despite its possible inadequacies, a collective term such as ‘underclass’ may be needed to refer to the group of marginalized migrant workers, refugees and asylum seekers, inner city ethnic minority populations and the very poor who “typically have little or no control over goods and skills either within or outside a given economic order” (Moore, 1975: 60).

However, in his work on the history of the ‘underclass’ theory, Macnicol (1987) summarizes it as “the way that ‘underclass’ has been used to signify and denote the alleged cultural differences of the poor, whether these are seen as behavioral inadequacies, such as an alleged inability to plan for the future, or as an adaptive response to the structural challenges under which these people live” (Macnicol, 1987: 293). The idea of social exclusion is emphasized by Welshman (2002) in his book *The Cycle of Deprivation and the Concept of Underclass* based on a “cycle of deprivation” in terms of “material deprivation” factors such as low
family income having cumulative cultural effects such as “culture deprivation”, dropping out from school leading to educational failure and to low-paid, low-skilled work (2002: 3).

The interpretation of this section requires moving between the very different cultures of Britain and the US, raising the question of how ideas were transmitted between the two countries and whether a parallel process was going on in other countries, such as Portugal. I argue that the answer can be found in their economic structures, histories and collective identities. The persistence of the ‘underclass’ and related concepts suggest the importance of behavioural and structural factors in the causes of poverty and deprivation.

The term ‘underclass’ is often employed by Portuguese scholars, such as Mendes (1997), Baganha (1999), Pires (2009) and can be found even in Government publications about different ethnic groups31. At a cultural level, Fado32 might be considered the expressive voice of the Portuguese ‘underclass’. Also the Portuguese media mention the idea (not the term) of a growing intergenerational ‘underclass’ and connect it directly with the economic crises that affected the most vulnerable part of the population, including many immigrants33. In fact, this rise of the ‘underclass’ coincides with periods of economic reforms or changes, accompanied by high levels of poverty, unemployment and social dislocation.

My research points to a historically-specific emergence of what may be considered an ‘underclass’ formation in Portugal and I argue that ‘underclass’ does apply to certain segments of the wider Lisbon communities. Moreover, this ‘underclass’ is usually spatially separated from mainstream society. And unlike the poor, their members are often regarded as a category of persons who live on social resources. Although this ‘social problem group’ exists in Portugal it appears not to have influenced government policy directly, as concerted official measures were hardly introduced. Their members remain unemployable, unemployed and spatially segregated. Being ‘unemployable’ due to their lack of professional and educational skills led inevitably to precarious social and economic situations. The continuing acceleration of technological change, globalisation and economic uncertainty originated

32 Fado is an urban popular song-genre of Portugal originating from the Alfama area in Lisbon. Historians believe that Fado is a multicultural blending of songs of Portuguese homesick sailors, musical traditions from rural areas of the country brought by successive waves of internal immigration, African slave songs and ancient Moorish ballads. In 2011 it was awarded the World’s Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO. According to UNESCO, ‘Intangible Cultural Heritage’ includes traditions and skills passed on within cultures.
33 On 21 March the Census of 2011 founded 394,496 foreign citizens living in Portugal, which represented 3,7% of total residents in the country.
groups perceived as ‘left behind’ and ‘cut off’ from the mainstream. Furthermore, residential segregation near urban centres, such as Cova da Moura, provokes a concentration of economically vulnerable groups in poor housing neighbourhoods. The study of Sparkbrook by Rex and Moore (1967), a comparable example, focuses on the notion of ‘housing class’ and shows how the type and location of housing is a crucial aspect of stratification at both subjective and objective levels. The groups in question were restricted in their choice of housing location due to their low incomes, prejudice and the hostility of landlords. Mostly, they were not entitled to council houses, a situation experienced by many African immigrants when they arrived in Portugal.

However, there is another Lisbon that offers economic opportunities and is upwardly mobile. It is this dynamic of increasing socio-economic exclusion, on one hand, and socio-economic improvement, on the other, which allows us to speak of ‘underclass’ formation and its tendency to grow.

These facts and the attempt to explain them are likely to ensure that the term ‘underclass’ and related concepts continue to be debated in the future.

III.3.2 Discussion of ‘Culture of Poverty’ versus ‘Underclass’

Can the two concepts, ‘culture of poverty’ and ‘underclass’ be compared? One of the meanings of ‘underclass’ presented by Morris (1989) is that “the underclass represents a segment of the poor who are not only economically deprived, but who manifest a distinctive set of values, attitudes, beliefs, norms, and behaviors as well” (Morris, 1989: 125). Since then, the concept has become more popular; Morris discusses this shift and finds there is an ideological basis for preferring to use some concepts rather than others. The anthropological concept of culture was changed by the sociological and economic language of class. Morris gives four reasons for that: first, ‘underclass’ is a more neutral term. It is less demeaning to poor people than the ‘culture of poverty’. Second, it does not depict the poor in general, but only one subgroup. Third, the ‘underclass’ concept fits better the sociological frameworks focused on class-based stratification systems. This also means it fits the structural explanation of poverty better.
Finally, the understanding that just a small segment of the lower class has some problems is considered acceptable, meaning there is no need for large scale restructuring of society in order to change the economic redistribution system (Morris, 1989: 128-131).

Finding remedies for the constraints of the ‘underclass’ in a competitive environment, based on economic values, is a difficult task. Auletta (1982) maintains that some are "passive victims of government support" (1982: 49), which is a relatively new phenomenon. However, in times of crisis the ‘underclass’ tends to become a larger segment of society, contrary to the assumption of Morris (1989). Wilson’s notion of cultural pathologies with structural origins has met with scepticism. The poor with little education and low wage employment become vulnerable due to their precariousness. As Anderson (1978) puts it: “When jobs are not available, living up to rules of conduct based on the values of ’decency’ becomes difficult, and those rules based on residual values become a more viable alternative for maintaining self-esteem” (1978: 210).

But the real advance in the ‘underclass’ debate is the acceptance that the poor are neither homogeneous nor a monolithic segment. The dilemma of the poor is connected to a global economy and attached to international economic processes. In a speech, Emília Ferreira (2012) concluded, “It is not possible to invent new policies to solve everyone’s problems; the fundamental questions are about the basis of community, the conditions of citizenship, and the achievement of human dignity. They are about our definition of a fair Portuguese society and how much we are willing to do to achieve it”.

III.4 Social Networks in a Migration Context

A social network is, in itself, a theoretical abstraction which allows us to trace and reveal relational links between individuals. In the case of migration, the identified variables are the actors themselves, migrants, groups of migrants, communities of migrants and the relationships among them (Gois, 2002: 260). Several migration studies emphasize the role of the migrant's family and friends, in the place of origin and elsewhere. They documented the impact of social networks on migrants’ lives and the different functions they fulfil. These

social networks are important factors in facilitating migration. They have positive or negative impacts on migrants’ residence strategies, and they partly explain transnational behaviours (Banton, 1955; Massey et al.; Jerrome, 1978; Granovetter, 1983; Courade, 1997; Marques et al., 2001; Mazzucato, 2003 and Riccio, 2003). Some research results reveal the implications of the maintenance of emotional and financial links among members of the family across national borders (Mahler, 2001, Sorensen, 2005 and Landolt and Da, 2005). Others emphasize the dual role of social networks in the process of migrants’ integration (Bourdieu, 1986; Marques et al., 2001; Portes et al., 2002 and Guarnizo et al., 2003) and the importance of kinship for social relationships in transnational space (Bryceson and Vourela, 2002, Faist, 2004; Eastmond and Akesson, 2007).

The long history of the Cape Verdean Diaspora in three continents shows the complex social ties between Cape Verdeans living in different countries. Members of one household in Cape Verde may maintain relations with other migrants in Lisbon, Rotterdam or Boston. In another household people receive remittances from their relatives living in Paris. Even those living in the same household may maintain different transnational contacts or be part of ‘Transnational Social Fields’. However, it seems more appropriate to speak of networks rather than ‘Social Fields’, since network analysis sees each individual as “… a ‘node’ linked with others to form a network.” (Vertovec, 2001: 6).

The term ‘social network’ was already mentioned by Portes (1995), who suggests that migration in itself can be conceptualized as a network structure, which depends on, and in turn, strengthens social relationships across space. Consequently, social networks allow an understanding of migration as a social result, rather than just an individual decision. Transnational networks are essentially based on kinship ties. Belonging to the same família, (family) is regarded as a natural and obvious basis for both local and global ties. According to Vertovec, “social networks are crucial for finding jobs and accommodation, circulating goods and services, as well as psychological support and continuous social and economic information” (Vertovec 2001: 13). They transmit information about destinations, and supply help for the migrant's settlement in the new place.

Certainly, relationships based on friendship and neighbourly support are important for Cape Verdeans in Portugal. Ethically, migrants’ neighbours and friends can claim support from the migrants, but such requests do not have the same social weight as demands directed towards relatives, and are consequently less effective. There is a strong ideal that relatives, and
especially close relatives, should keep together and help each other. It is common to hear that “the word ingrót (ungrateful) does not exist between Cape Verdeans' relatives”.

According to Boyd (1989), the process of chain migration and the role of relatives and friends in it are of crucial importance. These networks can provide migrants with direct or indirect support. They supply important resources (money, information on work, housing), contacts and information. The quality of contacts in a migrant network can open doors and create opportunities for the new arrivals. If migrants are confined to a very limited network with few hopes of improving their situation, there is a greater risk that they will never get access to the conditions and skills needed for a prolonged stay in the host country.

Particularly in the settlement phase, familial and extra-familial networks are vital. All the immigrant pioneers of the target families obtained shelter on arrival, either from their family or from friends, mainly originating from their Cape Verdean island. Each family member received different types of support from different groups at different stages of their migration, but according to their testimony, the most important help came from their kin.

Being regularly in touch with each-other allowed the formation of a network of strong ties which grants support by those already settled in a certain destination to those who have just arrived. According to Douglas Massey (1990), migrant networks generate a group of social bonds that link communities, regions, cities or original locations to specific destinations in the host societies. Important characteristics of these social networks in terms of social structures are their formation and maintenance, which have only been possible due to the development and decreasing costs of communication systems (telephone, internet) and the emergence of low cost air companies. These technological factors have led to an easier maintenance of bonds between the migrant Diaspora and their families in the place of origin. They form social and economic structures for the individual, family and community. These networks are not static units; they develop through time and space, as migrants depend on their support to pursue their migratory projects. They are the result of the union of small family networks, based on a concept of enlarged family, on the union of networks of individual, group and regional social capital; as well as on ethnic identity sharing a common language, the Crioulo. These social networks need to be stimulated by new migrants; otherwise they will lose their defining characteristics, closely linked to different geographical spaces.
III.5 The Theory of Segmented Assimilation

The two major theories of the ‘underclass’, straight-line assimilation and segmented assimilation, point to different processes underlying second-generation immigrants' outcomes.

Straight-line assimilation was associated with the founders of the Chicago School of Sociology, who studied the integration of first and second-generation European immigrants in the early twentieth century (Park and Burgess, 1925). This process was investigated by several researchers who found little evidence of second generation decline or downward assimilation.  

The model of straight-line assimilation demonstrates that assimilation processes will enable each succeeding generation to show upward social mobility in education and occupation. It points towards more integration into American society and less ethnic distinctiveness in language use, residential concentration and intermarriage patterns (Warner and Srole, 1945). Alba and Nee (2003) formulated a new version of straight-line assimilation for post-1965 immigrants. Retaining the thoughts of earlier theorists, they predict that most members of the contemporary second generation will experience gradually increasing social integration and upward mobility.

The theory of segmented assimilation emerged as an alternative to this model in the 1990s and has been very influential. It was formulated by Alejandro Portes and his collaborators, elaborated and empirically tested by Portes and Rumbaut (Portes and Zhou, 1993; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001) and further developed in a recent article by Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller, 2009). This approach claims there is no homogeneous path of adaptation for the second generation of immigrants as was maintained by the traditional assimilation theories. As the adaptation process is segmented, different socio-cultural and socio-economic outcomes are possible, depending on the challenges faced and the resources available. “They can ascend to the ranks of the middle class or join in large numbers the ranks of a racialized, permanently

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35 Cf.: Hirschman (2001); Boyd (2002); Farley and Alba (2002); Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters (2002, 2004); Smith (2003); Waldinger and Feliciano (2004); Waldinger (2007); Kasinitz et al. (2008).

36 The traditional assimilation theory claims that second generation immigrants experience complete assimilation to the main culture and upward socio-economic mobility.
impoverished population at the bottom of society” (Portes, Fernandez-Kelly and Haller, 2005: 1004).

As Waldinger (2004) observed, some second generation immigrants tried to share the American (lower-class) way of life by adopting their values, which may have negative consequences, whereas holding on to immigrant distinctiveness can turn out to be an advantage.

According to Crul and Vermeulen (2003), there are also two different individual acculturation modes for the children of immigrants. The first is adaptation to the host society, called ‘classical acculturation’ (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003: 972). The second applies when children adapt to the new society, but at the same time remain partly adapted to the parental culture and the strong co-ethnic community called ‘selective acculturation’. However, the assimilation outcome for children of immigrants cannot be explained by their individual acculturation processes, but by the acculturation processes in relation to their parents (intergenerational acculturation patterns), which are partially determined by the human capital of each family. The result could lead to upward assimilation, downward assimilation and upward mobility combined with persistent biculturalism. The three intergenerational acculturation patterns are: 1) consonant acculturation: when children and parents acculturate to the culture and language of the host country, which mainly occurs in high-human-capital families and can lead to upward acculturation 2) selective acculturation: when children selectively adapt to the values of the host country and selectively stay connected to the parents’ culture and co-ethnic community which can lead to upward assimilation, because the children have access to family and community capital; 3) dissonant acculturation: when children reject their parents’ culture, values and language which happens mostly in immigrant families with low human capital (including parents’ education and income), modes of incorporation (state definition of immigrant groups, eligibility for welfare, and discrimination towards immigrant groups) and family structure (single families vs. married couple, multigenerational vs. nuclear family) and is likely to lead to stagnation or downward assimilation, because of a lack of access to family and community capital. This situation is characterized by a rupture of family communications and an increasing cleavage between parents and children (Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller, 2009: 1082).

Portes and colleagues also identify several challenges that create vulnerability to downward assimilation: 1) discrimination within the host society; 2) an economic structure with a
widening gap between the lower and higher status jobs, with less possibility for upward mobility; 3) concentration of immigrant households in poor areas where children of immigrants are exposed to the adversarial subcultures of marginalized native youths. Adversarial youth subculture is considered one of the greatest risks of stagnation or downward mobility. Also Gans (1992) identifies another factor that causes stagnation. He argues that “many children of immigrants have developed ‘Americanized’ ambitions and expectations, and reject ‘immigrant jobs’, which mean low-wage and low-status” (1992: 182). Due to the changed economic structure, there are few alternatives for their skill level, which is likely to lead to unemployment and marginalization. This situation is similar to the Portuguese case where immigrants are confined to live in segregated areas that influence their educational evolution and necessarily affect their chances of employment.

III.5.1 Analysis of the Segmented Assimilation Theory

The segmented assimilation theory is based on two assumptions. The first is that a specific intergenerational way of acculturation leads to a specific assimilation outcome and the second that intergenerational acculturation patterns are determined by the level of human capital in the family. As shown previously, in low human capital situations the second generation immigrant could possibly assimilate in selected acculturation (Thomson and Crul, 2007, Stepick and Stepick, 2010).

This is the case of the second generation of this research’s target families, which forms a cohesive ethnic group with low family capital, but shows a small socio-economic advancement in relation to their parents who began at the very bottom of the occupational ladder, which makes upward (and not downward) mobility the possible outcome (cf. Farley and Alba, 2002, Alba and Nee, 2003). The same can be said about educational attainment in the second generation, whose school performance represents a significant advance compared to their parents. Although this generation may be considered downwardly mobile because of having badly paid, insecure jobs, they are slightly better off than their parents. Therefore, the use of the term downward assimilation may not be applied in this case.

Classifying an immigrant group in terms of trajectory typologies should also consider variations over time in adaptation processes. As Crul and Vermeulen (2003) argue, the second
generation could be wrongly classified, because over time the adaptation process can change. Challenges and resources are in the first place treated as group characteristics, as are intergenerational acculturation patterns. Thus, both the challenges and resources and the intergenerational acculturation patterns are regarded as being determined by the context of the ethnic groups.

As a result of the focus on ethnic groups in the analysis of segmented assimilation theory, the great differences that exist in ethnic groups are largely neglected. By focusing on the explanation of differences between ethnic groups there is no recognition of other factors that could play a role in socio-cultural identification processes and socio-economic advancement, such as gender, class (which might differ from average human capital within an ethnic group), profession, origin and local context. Crul and Vermeulen (2003) explained that “different segments of the same group may follow different paths” (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003: 975). This appears to be true, because of the polarization within ethnic groups, such as Angolans, Mozambicans or Guineans in Portugal. And it is even possible that for one individual the acculturation mode varies depending on the context and on the life phase (Crul and Scheider, 2003). If dissonant acculturation was the mode of adaptation in somebody’s youth, his/her adaptation in adulthood, for example in accessing the low middle class, with changed relationships with family and friends, may have a different outcome.

It is certainly justified to be concerned with the prospects of the children of immigrants, the majority of whom were born in Portugal and are more assimilated (schooling, language acquisition). For low-skilled immigrants, moving to Portugal meant entering an economy that provided little reward for workers with modest schooling. Therefore, it remains doubtful whether their children will benefit from any upward mobility. Although the majority of the second generation is moving slightly ahead in terms of educational achievement and employment compared with their predecessors, there are still some left behind. This group corresponds closely to predictions based on immigrant parents’ human capital, family type and socio-economic status and could face ‘downward assimilation’.

The segmented assimilation theory also takes into account the advantages and disadvantages of deliberately limiting assimilation and maintaining strong ethnic social ties. Such limited assimilation will have a protective effect for the immigrants, allowing them to achieve better outcomes than if they were fully assimilated.

III.6 Transnational Migration and Households

Towards the end of the 1980s, several scholars focused on immigrants’ close relations with their country of origin, even from geographically distant places and on their lives across national borders (cf. Boyd, 1989). Originally, the term transnationalism referred to multinational corporations and other organizations simultaneously operating in several countries (Duany, 2002: 1).

Conventional migration theories, in which push and pull factors were used to explain the choices of migrants and the causes of migration received more attention than the effects of migration, have been replaced by theories that put more emphasis on migration as a social or cultural act, on the relationships between migrants and their relatives at home, and on mobility instead of on destination.

The term transnational migration was introduced in the 1990s by the social anthropologists Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Blanc-Szanton (1992). They show the need for new concepts which make it possible to understand the ‘in-between’ life of migrants. They defined the term ‘transnationalism’ as:

“We have defined transnationalism as the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build such social fields are designated ‘transmigrants’ when they establish and maintain several familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political relations that enlarge the frontiers and interconnect the global and the local” (Schiller et al 1992: 1).

Nevertheless, social scientists avoided using the concept ‘transnational’ to include individuals and groups who move across national boundaries, but remain tied to their home communities. Also, political economists preferred to write about ‘transnational’ instead of ‘multicultural’ or ‘international’ companies, because these conglomerates are often controlled by capital from various centres, usually located in the industrialized world in North America, Western Europe
or Japan (Schiller et al., 1995). The main focus in transnational studies was on the movement of commodities and capital, on communication and transport of people, and on people’s movements across national borders, whereas family dynamics received little attention (Bryceson and Vuorela 2002: 4).

The studies of Schiller and Basch (1995); Kearney (1995); Smith and Guarnizo (1998); Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt (1999) and Vertovec (1999) were grouped as ‘transnational’. This definition refers to a set of relations and ties that are established across borders (in one or many nations). Through transnational practices migrants can live abroad, but at the same time ‘be’ in their country of origin. These spaces cannot be considered a ‘national’ space, as “they regenerate their border-crossing nation” (Akesson, 2004: 52). Two years later Schiller defined ‘transnational migration’ as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlements” (Schiller et al, 1994: 7). However, Portes (1997) and Smith and Guarnizo (1998) came to the conclusion that transnationalism in the field of migration studies is best characterized as ‘transnationalism from below’. This refers to people who adapt to the influence of global capital by means of transnational practices. Migratory networks that shape transnational communities developed, for example, by Cape Verdeans, are part of a process of globalisation that expands the concept of globalised localism described by Santos (2001). Since these processes are driven by “below”, they can be understood as counter-hegemonic to dominant, state and business led neoliberal processes of globalisation (Portes 1999: 143).

As a concept of research, ‘transnationalism’ has a diversity of descriptions, focusing on the idea that it entails bonds and interactions, connecting people across the borders of a nation state (Vertovec, 1999: 447). At the same time, Portes et al. (1999) and Levitt (2001) defined it as a sphere in which people live dual lives, meaning that they have a ‘home’ in two different countries or regions. Their lives are engaged in activities that need constant contacts across national borders. Portes and colleagues (Portes et al., 1999) name two conditions for the appearance of transnationalism: technical advancement and the emergence of migration networks across national boundaries. According to Portes:

38 Many scholars critically examined the complex phenomena associated with this international movement (circulation of capital, goods, people and commodities) (Cohen (1997); Vertovec (1999); Urry (2000); Koser (2003).
“The ready availability of air transports, long-distance telephone, facsimile communications, and electronic mail provides the technological basis for the emergence of transnationalism on a mass scale.” (Portes et al., 1999: 223)

Social networks of migrants extend their distant home regions to the host countries, which leads to the phenomenon of transnationalism. The analysis of the social processes that result from the interaction of specific groups of migrants in different nation states enables us to study the emergence of a new social space, a transnational social space (Pries, 1999; 2001), in which the members of a nation may live anywhere in the world and, in a sense, still not live outside their state (Basch et al. 1994, 269). The case of the Cape Verdean Diaspora in the 1960s and 1970s drew attention to the existence of transnational families who spread their members in several countries. These transnational practices, referring to relations and ties established across borders, are an important part of life for many Cape Verdeans. Therefore, supporting the consolidation of transnationality developed into a vital function of the family. The majority of families are involved directly or indirectly in this migration process. Furthermore, the intensity of emigration from the Cape Verdean islands to Portugal facilitated networks and exchanges.

Analyzing these migratory networks reveals the importance of the theories of social networks, of transnational communities and transnationalism. They help explain the development and continuation of migratory flows that have become an intrinsic feature of the Cape Verdean community.

### III.6.1 Transnational Households

Research in the areas of migration and development has demonstrated that individual migration-related choices are usually related to his/her family members’ needs and that migration affects the migrant’s countries of origin. This area of research largely focuses on the economic effects of remittances on households as a whole. However, studies from this field do not consider non-economic effects such as the impact of migration on the well-being of family members who live apart. In this section, I analyze the fields of both family and migration studies by examining the effects that migration has on the well-being (defined as psychological, educational outcomes) of children who are left in the host country when the mother emigrates to a third country.
Several studies on transnational families have emerged, in which scholars from different disciplines have engaged with the topic of families with members who live across national borders, and the effects of such transnational living arrangements on children (cf. Dreby, 2007; Parrenas, 2005). These studies have shown that children benefit from remittances sent by their emigrated parents, while suffering emotionally from prolonged separation (cf. Dreby, 2007, Heymann et al., 2009). Sometimes the cause of migration of one of the parents for the well-being of the child has defined motives and reasons (educational, health). The role of the caregiver of the child in the country of origin suggests the great importance attributed to the child's well-being. According to a study by Dreby (2007), children felt abandoned by their parents and in some cases responded by detaching themselves from the one who left. Such feelings might lead to marginal behaviour (dropping-out of school, leaving home). Thus, for migrants who left to ensure better opportunities for their children, the unintended consequences of their migration could have negative implications for the relationship and their children's educational outcomes. Moreover, these psychological and economic processes are gendered. Abrego (2009), for example, found that families in which the mother migrated are more likely to thrive economically than father-migrant families because of the greater sacrifices mothers tend to make to send remittances home. On the other hand, Parrenas (2005) claims that children experience more emotional problems when their mother migrates (compared to when their father migrates), because of traditional gender norms related to care.

III.6.2 Transnational Families

Transnational theories established that ‘family processes and relations between people defined as kin constitute the initial foundation for all other types of transnational social relations’ (Basch et al, 1994: 238). ‘Families’ are often considered homogeneous entities in which individual members share the same long-term objective. It is a term that generally suggests notions of ‘nuclear’ or ‘extended’, which include the diverse forms of family structures in different cultures. As a result of migration, ideas about who belongs to the family and who does not may change. Through ‘delocalization’ their composition can assume different forms, not only in the place of origin as some members may be absent for a long time (Escrivá, 2003). In the new place of residence in the host country, the closeness to family members who used to be part of a household, may decline in favour of other forms of proximity, by
including other immigrants from the same country or island or even other foreigners, as long as the original family unit is not reunified or the migrant does not form a new family.

In the 1990s, Basch and her colleagues (1994) argued that “only recently some attention has been paid to family dynamics in transnational migration” (Basch et al. 1994: 6). Meanwhile, scholars in migration studies stated that families take deliberate decisions to migrate with the aim to improve their income or their members’ educational standards. Due to international migration, “the family structures easily become exposed to traumas of deterritorialization as family members pool and negotiate their mutual understanding and aspirations in spatially fractured arrangements” (Appadurai, 2003: 42), but not all lead to disorganized families and may be part of a strategy of social mobility for all members (Olwig, 2002). These results contradict Sorensen’s (2005) findings and confirm what is described in the following chapters.

The formation of transnational households is no novelty for Cape Verdeans and other labour migrants who have experienced it for centuries. Early transnational theory established that “family processes and relations between people defined as kin constitute the initial foundation for all other types of transnational social relations” (Basch et al., 1994: 238). In early periods, family members were left behind in the country of origin and later followed the migrants to their country of destination or eventually reunited with the returned migrant in the country of origin (Hsu, 2003, Gardner, 2005).

An investigation by Sorensen and Olwig (1995), concerning immigrants from America, the Caribbean and Africa, showed that livelihood practices quite commonly engage people in extensive movements at local, regional, national and transnational levels. Such mobile livelihoods evolve not just in order to explore economic opportunities unavailable within local communities, but also in order to pursue particular types of culturally and socially desirable livelihoods. This suggests that movement is an integral aspect of the life trajectories of many individuals and groups of people preserving at the same time their transnational behaviours. Therefore, a transnational perspective changes the focus from place of origin and place of destination to the movements involved in sustaining cross-border livelihoods (Sorensen and Olwig, 2002). Sorensen (2005) distinguishes between different transnational family members,

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analyzing the power relations served and sustained through transnational family ties. Moving temporarily or permanently elsewhere does not necessarily mean that women and men are cut off from social relationships with those left behind.\(^{40}\)

Sorensen’s argument is based on the assumption that most gender constructions give prominence to notions of masculinity and femininity, where women's roles are dependent on men. Men are usually the ‘pioneers’ in a migration trajectory (cf. Pumares et al., 2006; Solana et al., 2009). This certainly applies to Cape Verdean migration to Portugal. Obviously, it is important who in the family engages in transnational migration for the form and conditions under which their migration is evaluated.

The work of Sorensen on Latin Americans in various European countries addresses similar issues to those analyzed by Montero-Sieburth and Melendez (2007) for Latinos in the U.S. *Latinos in a Changing Society* focuses specifically on issues, related to Dominicans, Mexicans, Cubans and Puerto Ricans in the United States. Through extensive analytical data, provided in tables and charts, the authors examine the disparity of poverty, the difficulty of health care and services, labour practices, interaction with communities and education.

Theoretically, a household includes people living together under the same roof who share resources and the responsibility of securing survival and welfare. However, these transnational households have been defined by Brycesson and Vuereda (2002), as groups that live separated most of the time, but remain united and create a collective feeling of well-being and unity. This implies the maintenance of emotional and financial links among family members across different nations. The basis for keeping these transnational households intact is built on communication, remittances and periodic visits.

Any attempt to define transnational families must be aware of differences between various migrant groups and of social, cultural and economic differences within the various groups. At the same time, state regulation in host societies through immigration policy (citizenship, integration), labour market regulations and social welfare policies are related to forms of exclusion and inclusion and must inevitably have consequences for the lives of these

\(^{40}\) “Apart from family reunification, asylum and work contracts most European countries have been legally closed to migration since the early 1970s” (Sorensen, 2002: 4). This could be the explanation why in Europe, females outnumber men. They are concentrated in the domestic service with low paid jobs. They have strong transnational family links and responsibilities for providing for families back in their home country.

\(^{41}\) Once men get a certain labour and residential stability, and in most cases the appropriate documentation, the process of family reunification is activated. The wife and other relatives will therefore come to the host country, when the situation is more stable.
‘transnational family members’. Therefore, transnationalism is conditioned and affected by complex and interconnected social, political and economic processes.

III.7 The Influence of Racism and Lusotropicalism on Post Colonial Families

Racism implies the conviction that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that racial difference produces an inherent superiority of a particular race.

There are various conceptualizations of racism, for example, in the Portuguese literature (Vala, 1999; Sobral, 2008; Peixoto, 2011; Gomes, 2011) and also in the American literature (Wodak and Reisigl, 1999; Winant, 2000; Taguieff, 2001). Some scholars claim that this term is limited to analytic value (Mason, 1994; Wacquant, 1997), whereas others consider the concept essentially an ideological and/or subjective issue (Bonilla-Silva, 1996).

However, there is a debate associating racism with modernity42, explaining its emergence in the context of European expansion and the consequent enslavement of Africans. This debate links racism to colonialism and imperialism. Wade (1997) suggests that physical differences are the main reasons for contemporary racial distinctions. His line of thought could be described as social perceptions built of phenotypic variations, which correspond to the “geographic encounters of Europeans in their colonial histories” (Wade, 1997: 15). It is interesting to observe the changing and historical contingency of the meaning of these perceptions and distinctions. English, French and Dutch travellers portrayed Pacific Islanders differently at various points in time depending on prevailing global and regional agendas. Gailey (1996) noted that their willingness to reduce judgment to skin colour was associated with the rise of slavery in West Africa and colonization in other areas.

Portugal was noted as the first European country to keep large numbers of black slaves. As one of the major maritime powers of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portugal also shipped and sold many African slaves to other parts of the world. Unsurprisingly, the issue of slavery has shaped racial tensions between Portugal and Africa. It dominated Portuguese colonialist practices and prompted Africans to have hostile attitudes

42 Scholars such as Abramovitz (1996); Goode and Maskovsky (2001) and Morgen and Maskovsky (2003) focused on contemporary anthropological studies of the structural dynamics of poverty and its racialization. They analyzed the national and transnational processes that reproduce racial inequalities.
toward the Portuguese. Even in 1960, Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar emphasized in a speech delivered before the National Assembly in Lisbon that the autonomy of colonies may not extinguish “racial conflicts” 43. He feared “… violent explosions of racial hate against the white man, to whom the progress achieved is due and who is supposed to be no longer necessary to the economic and social development of the lands concerned. Facts exist to gainsay these forecasts…” (Salazar, 1961: 27).

Following this argument, the alleged superiority of the ‘white men’ that brings progress to the African colonies should be reason enough to justify and continue an ideology of racial distinction. However, Malik (1996) observes that “Racial difference and inequality can only have meaning in a world which has accepted the possibility of social equality and a common humanity” (Malik, 1996: 39). I agree with the underlying idea of Malik’s assertion that the basis for any objection to the concept of inferior or superior races is the consensus on the egalitarian principles introduced by the French Revolution of 1789.

Mignolo (2009)44 states that during “the period of heavy slave trade lives made dispensable for economic reasons implied that the people involved in slave trade or benefiting directly or indirectly from it, did not subjectively care. And if they did not care it was because either they accepted that Africans were not quite human …” (Mignolo, 2009: 78). This colonial past complicated race relations between ‘blacks’ and ‘whites’ in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and even in Portugal.

The term ‘racism’45 has evolved from both biological and cultural explanations. Often the biological aspect has been connected to poverty accompanied by implications of genetic inferiority. One reason for this connotation was the social development after the abolition of slavery (1751 in Portugal and 1850 in the U.S.). Mignolo blames the oppression of the so-called ‘savages’ by Europeans, who marked them for economic and capitalist reasons. He

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43 Session held on 30 November 1960 in Lisbon.
44 As for the epistemic racism of the modern world, he refers to the *coloniality of knowledge*: “decolonial projects have to start from the decoloniality of knowledge and of being, in order to de-colonize the economy and authority”. (Mignolo, 2009: 82).
enquires why “the cosmology in question constructed enslaved Africans as undesirable, dispensable or unvalued human lives” (Mignolo, 1999: 74).

Over the past centuries Portugal has developed separate and distinct cultures within its social class system. Some of them became the target of ‘cultural racism’. Cultural racism refers to devaluation of the cultures of minority groups which are considered inferior. There was a dominant ‘white’ culture, divided into various ‘sub-cultures’ and an African culture with its subdivisions. Each culture had distinctive characteristics and a limited permeability; racial barriers were particularly hard to overcome46. A behavioural codex and strict rules required each racial group to have a separate identity and existence. Nevertheless, some changes were bridging the gaps at the end of the twentieth century. For example, schools became increasingly multiracial after the Revolution of 1974 and the teachers’ approach multicultural as the curricula began to take into account the different cultures of the pupils ten years ago.

Research investigating the history of racism confirmed that racism: 1) is inextricably bound with the historical emergence of nation states, 2) is frequently built on earlier conflicts, and 3) emerges amid contestation (Mullings, 2005: 667). However, there are basically two distinct perspectives concerning the source of racism. The ‘natural racism thesis’ generally perceives racism as a set of psychosocial orientations, prejudices, and beliefs, linked to in-group/out-group phenomena, the source of which is human nature, considered to be innate, natural, or primordial (Allen, 2002). The more persuasive perspective links racism to structures of power that emerge through processes of accumulation and dispossession within local and transnational contexts (Mullings, 2005: 668). Unsurprisingly, not only the ‘black’ groups are targets, but also social classes. Rath (1999), for example, suggests that “there is a tendency to localize racism exclusively in colonial and post-colonial relationships. The occurrence of racism in European centres is then directly related to the migration of black people from the colonial territories.” (Rath, 1999: 1). However, Rath does not ignore the observations of Miles (1993) that students of racism deal with the concept in a unidimensional and monocausal sense and often start with the assumption that the only or the most important racism has “black” people as its object (Rath, 1999: 2). Quite rightly, Rath dismisses these affirmations, as the use of such a concept “excludes to a greater or lesser extent that any non-black population can be the object of racism” (Rath, 1999: 2). In fact, not only the ‘black’

population is the target of racist behaviour, but also the lowest social classes and other minorities.

Racism is a relational concept. It is a set of practices, structures, beliefs and representations that transforms certain forms of perceived differences, generally regarded as indelible and unchangeable, into inequality. It works through modes of dispossession, which have included subordination, stigmatization, exploitation, exclusion, various forms of physical violence, and sometimes genocide. There are different conceptualizations of racism and it is distinguished from other forms of discrimination, such as xenophobia and cultural, ethnic, and class prejudice.

It is both overt and covert, and it takes three closely related forms: individual, systemic and institutional. Individual racism consists of overt acts by individuals that cause death, injury, destruction of property, or denial of services and opportunities.

Systemic racism is the basis of individual and institutional racism as it provides the value system rooted in a society that supports and allows discrimination.

Institutional racism is more subtle but no less destructive. It involves policies, practices and procedures of institutions that have a disproportionately negative effect on racial minorities’ access to quality of goods, services and opportunities. To understand institutional racism, it is important to observe the interaction between prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice is an attitude based on limited information or stereotypes; it is usually negative, but can also be positive. Both positive and negative prejudices are damaging, because they deny the individuality of the person. Anybody can become the victim of prejudice, although in Portugal there are some minority groups, mainly of African origin, that are more often targeted. The same applies to a discriminatory attitude which is an intentional behavioural pattern, disqualifying a person or a group of people, very often based on their racial origins.

Institutional racism and discriminative practices are often denounced by ethnic groups. In Portugal, 11% of immigrants declared they had been victims of institutional discrimination (EUMC, 2006). According to this report the ‘overt racist’ institutions in question showed clear signs of prejudice and discriminatory behaviour. It depends on the possibility to give or withhold social benefits, facilities, services or opportunities from someone who is entitled to

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47 Cf. Racism of low expectation.
them but is denied them on the basis of race, colour or national origin. Overt racism involves actively and intentionally expressing unfairness, discrimination or prejudice against others as members of the three target families testified.

### III.7.1 Global Conditions of Racism

With increased immigration to Europe, racism is both local and global. Although modern racism is a global system significantly influenced by Western conquest and racialized labour, it can take local forms. In migratory processes, new manifestations of racism in various areas of the world are recurrent. During the past five decades, three major events have interacted to bring about substantive transformations in racism: the national liberation struggles in the third world, the ‘black’ liberation movement in the U.S., and the antiapartheid offensive in South Africa all effectively challenged ‘white’ supremacy, overturning the old racial orders, and bringing about powerful changes in how race is lived (Mullings, 2005: 668).

Nevertheless, the consolidation of global capitalism has resulted in new racialized consequences. In this century, globalization, which is driven by the deployment of capital for production around the globe, has been accompanied by continuing crises within industrialized countries. The relocation of industrial production to Asian countries, for example, has raised unemployment in Portugal and influenced the decline in state benefits for the most vulnerable part of the population, especially migrants.

Racialized labour forces continue to be central to old and new forms of accumulation. As much of the world’s population tried to find work wherever it existed, ‘transmigratory racism’ was and still is noticeable in Europe. Immigrants face various forms of discrimination and right wing anti-immigration movements have appeared all over Europe. Ethnic groups faced intensification of racialized inequalities but also new forms of racialization, as Justino points out: “The unregulated job market which feeds on the unprecedented and insatiable offer of ill-paid and mostly illegal jobs has become a catalyst of a social reality which stands out by the novelty and discrimination/exclusion it has originated” (Justino, 2007: 154-155). In Portugal, construction and manufacturing workers with flexible labour and precarious working situations, experience massive exclusion from the formal economy. In situations of limited opportunities, emigration becomes a viable option for employment. Only in the first semester
of 2012, 65,000 Portuguese nationals, aged from 24 to 35, immigrated to African and other European countries.

Nationality, race and class intertwine in complex ways. Entire nationalities may be racialized according to the dominant class position of their members. Recently, new forms of frightening physical violence have been documented and perceived as a racial problem on a large scale, for example neo-Nazi attacks on refugees in Germany, riots in the suburbs of Paris and other French towns in 2010, and the massacre in Norway in 2011. In Portugal, for instance, racial discourse linking Cape Verdean immigrants to crime is directed to the inhabitants of segregated neighbourhoods (Machado, 2004); African migrants in Spain also face xenophobic campaigns as the country experiences recession and high unemployment. These contexts influenced by the fear of social decline of the lower classes, create great tensions between native and migrant workers. Although racism is frequently associated with working class populations, a recent ethnographic study of racial attitudes toward African and Asian immigrants revealed ambivalent positions among the mainstream society (Cole, 1997). It suggests that the upper classes tend to adhere to Universalist ideologies, while in reality they are the greatest beneficiaries of race, class and gender segmentation.

III.7.2 Concealing Racism within Segregated Spaces

Although direct racism has diminished in many countries, racial inequality continues and has in some instances worsened. Perhaps the most significant is the transformation of practices and ideologies of racism to a configuration that takes place without the official support of legal and civic institutions. For example, the ‘unmarked racism’ (Harrison, 2000) that has been registered mainly in former colonial powers. Machado (2004) describes the post-racial view that emerged in the 1970s in Portugal concerning the Cape Verdean who was considered “unmannered, uncultured ‘black’ and someone to be mocked” (2004: 135). According to Machado, this racial inequality is the result of cultural limitations; a consequence of the history of conquest, enslavement and continuous discrimination.

There are important variations among regional and national racisms, but they all emphasize cultural and individual explanations for inequality. In Brazil, for example, the ideologies of ‘racial democracy’ and ‘lusotropicalism’, which will be discussed below, have facilitated discrimination as well as their absorption into a culture of poverty for ‘black’ people.
In the twenty-first century residential segregation and spatial segregation are almost as intense as they were in the past. In Portuguese neighbourhoods, residential segregation was the cause of discrimination and isolation mainly for the first and second generations of immigrants. Inhabitants of Cova da Moura experienced residential segregation when they mentioned their address to people from outside the neighbourhood and when applying for jobs. Exclusionary practices by landlords and political decisions keep neighbourhoods segregated and their residents the target of discriminatory acts. In the contemporary context, discriminative neighbourhoods are no longer only segregated communities but enclose their inhabitants in ‘ghettos’ where interaction with the mainstream is difficult. Cova da Moura is an example of such an enclosure with a wall (height ca. 1,5 m) and a fence on top (ca. 1 m), all along the street which divides the neighbourhood from the surrounding buildings. The majority of this community, mainly of African origin, is low class and faces discrimination and segregation.

In Portugal, where immigrants find themselves inserted in a racial context, class may mediate the ways in which immigrants are racialized. However, the general discourse tends to use entire nationalities that can be racialized, according to the position of the dominant class. For example, descendents of Cape Verdean immigrants who are pupils in Lisbon schools assume that rich Cape Verdeans from Praia (the Cape Verdean capital) have a ‘brighter’ complexion than those from other small islands, who are ‘poorer and darker’ (Casimiro, 2006: 241). At school, children of immigrants are sometimes assessed differently according to the status of their national homeland, which may, to some extent, mediate phenotype.

Although these previously mentioned analyses provided a basis for understanding how complex variables of inequality interact in particular circumstances and places, the challenge remains to build on ethnographic work in order to move beyond understanding these forms of inequality and to develop new theoretical concepts of their causes and effects.

Globalization and new technologies create new possibilities for transnational antiracist organization through coalitions and networking. With the growth of an international labour force and the unwillingness and inability of nation states to implement equal redistribution, there is awareness among antiracist movements that they must interact globally. Their objective is to make concealed racism visible and to promote the implementation of legislation to combat its diverse forms. The variety of antiracist strategies and interventions derive, in part, from the local specificity of conditions but also from differing ideological
perspectives among antiracist activists about the cause, nature, and the most effective means of confronting it.

The next section addresses one particular aspect of racism which directly influences Portuguese policy. Since the 1950s, ‘Lusotropicalism’ has affected the relationship with the European Community and the former African colonies such as Cape Verde and the term is still in use and positively conotated. This myth still persists and has been internalized by generations of scholars and politicians.

III.7.3 Lusotropicalism within the Discourse of Racism

The idea of Lusotropicalism is based on the hypothetical existence of a specific Portuguese cultural trait: the natural capacity and ability of the Portuguese to relate to people who are considered different. This alleged quality would explain the unique character of colonial relationships and would nowadays have a positive impact on the relationship between the Portuguese and immigrants (Vala and Lopes, 2008). Its concept had its origins in the early 1920s, when Brazil struggled with issues of identity, facing hegemonic European values that propagated material wealth, industrialization, and the supremacy of the ‘white’ race.

In 1922, the city of São Paulo witnessed the appearance of a ‘Modernist Movement’ and the Week of Modern Art, during which a new generation of artists and intellectuals questioned the official ‘white’ culture. This movement produced a new anthropological and sociological Brazilian literature that embraced local traditions and rejected European measures of cultural value. The most influential academic in this new way of thinking was the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre (influenced by the anthropologist Franz Boas), who published the book Casa Grande e Senzala (1933 / English title: The Masters and the Slaves).

He claimed that miscegenation had been a positive force in Brazil, and this argument encouraged scholars to develop a new way of thinking and arguing: art, literature and music created by Afro-Brazilian culture and miscegenation were suddenly held in great esteem (Fine, 2007).
Racial mixing had become an issue at a time when ethnic purity was claimed by the Nazi movement in Germany (cf. Nürnberger Rassengesetze, 1935). Freyre credited the Portuguese tendency for miscegenation among colonized peoples for the uniqueness of Brazilian culture. He praised the ideal of a racial paradise, defending Portuguese colonialism and its aspects of cultural integration:

“… by valuing in men, to the greatest extent possible, authentic qualities independent of colour, social position, economic success; through equality – as much as possible – of social opportunities and of culture for men of different origins, regions moulded by the Portuguese …” (Freyre, 1938: 18).

Freyre claimed that “wherever this type of colonization prevailed (the humanizing colonization), racial prejudice becomes insignificant…” (1940: 45). Despite his assumption “that after Christ nobody has contributed as much as the Portuguese to the fraternity of men” (1940: 58), his writings received positive contemporary reviews. Murias (1938) confirmed the absence of “any kind of racial mysticism” in Portugal (1938: 469)\(^\text{49}\). Smith (1938) comments: “Of all the colonizing European nations, Freyre asserts, Portugal has been the most successful in conveying the essential spirit of the homeland to the conquered territories and in maintaining in both colonists and natives a common racial fuling [feeling]” (1938: 140-143)\(^\text{50}\).

However, only in the 1950s did Freyre use the term *Lusotropicalismo* (Lusotropicism). According to him, the specificities of Portuguese history, with its long periods of contact with Jewish and ‘Moorish’ cultures, created in the Portuguese people an aptitude for developing racially harmonious societies. He argued that Portuguese multi-racialism resulted in a more egalitarian colonialism than the exploitative colonialism of other European countries. Using again the example of the Portuguese propensity for miscegenation, Freyre reiterated that Portuguese contact with natives was marked by integration, rather than by domination and subjugation:

“Once the expressions ‘integration,’ ‘assimilation,’ ‘subjugation’ have thus been qualified, we see that in the Portuguese system of relations with non-European groups and non-European cultures, in spite of rare cases of crude subjection of the non-


Europeans by the Portuguese […] the most characteristic tendency of the system has been towards ‘integration.” (Freyre, 1953: 24)

III.7.4 Lusotropicalism in Portugal

In the 1930s, when Freyre’s *The Masters and the Slaves* was published, Portugal was living under Prime Minister Oliveira Salazar’s dictatorship. He had come to power in 1926 after a military coup against the First Republic. Only in 1910 The First Republic, a progressive, anticlerical regime, replaced the Portuguese monarchy which had lasted for 800 years.

One of the major reasons for the loss of prestige of the monarchy was its inability to respond to the British Ultimatum of 1890. In the late 19th century many European nations were engaged in occupying Africa, while Portugal had no economic, military or demographic power to compete. After the demise of the first and second empires, respectively in India and the East in the 16th and 17th centuries, and in Brazil in the 17th and 18th centuries it was impossible to effectively occupy and maintain its territories in Africa.

It was not until Salazar’s regime that a revival of colonial projects in Africa began. In the 1930s discussions about the colonies were still revolving around racist and racialist issues. But this discourse was slowly replaced by an already existing one about the merits of discoveries and expansion as a feat of humanist ‘globalization’, of evangelization, of expansion of the Catholic faith. Discourses about the inferiority of ‘blacks’ could be proffered at the same time as discourses on the different way in which the Portuguese had encountered and colonized other peoples with supposedly less violence and with more miscegenation (cf. Vale de Almeida, 2008: 6).

Soon, the Portuguese government began to rework some of its colonial legislation by ceasing to refer to its colonies as such. Indeed, before the Acto Colonial (Colonial Act) of 1930, Portuguese colonies were called provinces. The Acto Colonial had made these ‘provinces’ colonies law, but in 1951, the Portuguese government released a new constitution, renaming these territories Overseas Provinces of Portugal and turning the Ministry of Colonies into the Overseas Ministry (Frye and McGowan Pinheiro, 1961: 161). However, the African colonies continued to be an obstacle to joining the UN. Nevertheless, in 1955 Portugal succeeded and was admitted into the UN.
Immediately, the overseas territories were called into question. The Portuguese government responded that its overseas provinces were non-contiguous extensions of the mother country and labelled them ‘Non-Self-Governing Territories’. Still the only possible solution for the UN would be the controlled territories’ autonomy. Portugal argued its case before the international community, reaffirming its commitment to the African colonies and demonstrated the help and development which, in fact, mainly brought benefits for the Portuguese settlers (cf. the National Development Plans from 1953-1958 and 1959-1964 provided infrastructures, such as roads, bridges, railways, irrigation projects, ports and factories).

Furthermore, the administration of the African colonies had worked out different measures and rules. Some territories were classified as ‘different’, as in the case of Cape Verde, because of on-going miscegenation. The Cape Verdean population was the outcome of a mix between Portuguese colonials and slaves from the African mainland who had been brought to the deserted islands. Their culture was classified ‘regional’, not ‘colonial’, and its population (the elites) had special rights, one of which was their recruitment as colonial middlemen on the African mainland.

III.7.5 Lusotropicalism in the Salazar Regime

The African colonies became ‘real’, important factors for the Portuguese economy and self-representation precisely at the moment when anti-colonial protest started. At that juncture, in the 1950s, Freyre was invited by the Overseas Minister to visit and write on the colonies. After these journeys Freyre published Um brasileiro em terras portuguesas (1953), in which he confirmed that the unique colonizing abilities of the Portuguese, as evidenced in Brazil, could also be witnessed and experienced in their contemporary overseas provinces.

In his speeches Salazar also claimed that the Portuguese were uniquely capable settlers who created multi-racial societies free of the oppression, racial hierarchies and economic exploitation of other colonial powers. Consequently, Article 135 of the Constitution of 1933 stated: “all provinces are integral parts of the Portuguese State. We became the kind of people we are by the strength of spirit, not by the force of arms – one people only, dispersed
throughout four continents, but united by the same national faith” (Diário da República, nº 43, 1ª Série, Suplemento of 22 February). Despite Portugal’s desire to join the UN and growing international criticism of its colonial empire, Salazar insisted that anti-colonialist accusations and decolonization efforts were not relevant in Portugal’s case. Soon, the theory of Lusotropicalism had been adopted by politicians of the ‘Estado Novo’ and effectively transcribed into state propaganda and speeches, justifying Portugal’s colonial possessions.

In his speech before the National Assembly on 30 November 1960 Salazar emphasized the benefits that the ‘white’ man had brought to the colonies, and warned that their autonomy may not extinguish “racial conflicts, even among coloured people themselves” (1960: 6)\(^{51}\).

Indeed, the arguments Portugal presented to the national and international community were both unorthodox and rhetorically effective and resisted demands to decolonize.

By examining the theory of Lusotropicalism, it becomes clear that maintenance of the colonies served several important functions beyond the economic benefits Portugal accumulated: 1) during its long history of exploration and colonialism, continued colonial possession became an integral part of Portuguese national identity, and the loss of colonial territories was perceived as politically disastrous for Portugal in the world of politics; 2) the articulation of Portuguese anti-racialism allowed the country to claim a moral superiority and colonizing reward, and to be recognized as an economic and political power by other nations; 3) Portugal’s claim of a superior colonizing method and continued presence in Africa was considered proof enough of the nation’s ability to ‘compete’ with stronger political powers; 4) by emphasizing threats to Portugal’s empire from abroad, the Salazar and Caetano regimes were able to silence internal dispute about colonial policy and create support for the New State dictatorship; 5) lastly, by defying the UN and the ideological conventions of the time, Portugal felt it was defending its national autonomy.

All these arguments imply the refusal to decolonize at a national and international level.

**III.7.6 Criticism of Lusotropicalism**

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From its appearance, the scientific character of Lusotropicalism was questioned by African liberation activists and European scholars. Mário Pinto de Andrade, the founder of MPLA (Movement for the Liberation of Angola) was the first to openly denounce the generalizations and the lack of political and economic aspects of Portuguese colonialism. He points out the difference between the theory of Lusotropicalism and practice in the colonized African countries:

“C’est justement le refus d’envisager le fonctionnement de l’appareil colonial comme étant au premier chef une emprise d’exploitation économique dirigée par un pouvoir politique, c’est ce refus-là, qui détermine la faiblesse de sa sociologie” (Fele, 1955: 34).

Pinto de Andrade affirmed that the cultural system of Lusotropicalism was based on a relation of dominant cultures upon submitted cultures. But criticism was not restricted to the theoretical approach, and extended to the historical domain. The historical research published by Charles Boxer (1963), for example, demonstrated with ample documental material that the racial relationships in the Portuguese Colonial Empire were not as harmonious as might be insinuated by Lusotropicalism. He presented a complex vision of racial relations in the colonized territories. His study ranges from the XV to the XIX centuries and revealed various aspects of Portuguese racism. Prejudice and racial inequalities were noticeable in all the colonies, even in Brazil, where mobility was denied to free ‘blacks’ and dark ‘mulatos’, who suffered legal and social discrimination.

Although the colonial project was abandoned in 1975, the media still insist on continuing the Portuguese ideal of Lusotropicalism in several areas, be they educational or political. This is documented by the research results presented at a Conference in 2006, exploring the concept of Lusotropicalism and its impact on education:

“… Lusotropicalism has survived to present days. The myth that the Portuguese are not racist by nature and are actually more tolerant than other peoples is occasionally present in official discourses…. The media has also preserved the myth: ‘Portugal is the most tolerant country in Europe’ still makes newspapers’ headlines. All these discourses have been helping to promote the idea that the Portuguese are less racist than other peoples. This is particularly significant as a large number of teachers in Portugal were socialized into this idea…. When talking about the usefulness of

intercultural education, a teacher told me that he felt no need for it, because “...integration is easy...We...And we have that advantage and I tell them that, so they can see... Which were the countries that integrated Black people like Portugal did?” (Araujo, 2006: 5-6)

Indeed, as can be concluded from the statement above, the ideal of Lusotropicalism would have lost its usefulness long ago, if it were used only as the premise for economic exploitation. But the theory’s continued prevalence implies that Lusotropicalism served to create a shared sense of Portuguese identity. Salazar’s emphasis on Portuguese multiracialism must be considered a truly effective rhetoric which perpetuated a long-lasting ideal. The topic of Lusotropicalism continues to this century, in the discourse of former politicians (from the right and left spectrum), such as Adriano Moreira, former Minister of Ultramar (Overseas) in Salazar’s government, now a university lecturer, Mário Soares, former President of Portugal and Cavaco Silva, presently President of Portugal. According to Hélia Santos (2006), Moreira published articles in which “he does not hide his Lusotropicalism”. In a television debate about ‘Identidade Portuguesa’ (‘Portuguese Identity’) Moreira reaffirmed his Lusotropicalist vision, claiming the “necessity of Portugal to maintain its secular and almost ontological connection with Africa” (Santos, 2006: 44). Similarly, Thais Cabral (2010) emphasized in her MA thesis Mario Soares’ belief in the Lusotropicalism theory, expressed in the Brazilian newspaper Jornal de Brasília during a state visit to Brazil in 2000: “... what he [Gilberto Freire] said about Luso-Tropicalism is true. It is a culture of its own and we have to develop it in the future” (Cabral, 2010: 118). In an extensive research, Lloyd-Jones and Pinto (2003) reported Cavaco Silva’s affinity with the Lusotropicalist ideal in an interview given in 1988, in which he emphasized the good relations between Portugal and the former ‘colonial empire’: “Portuguese ties with its former colonies, Brazil and other areas of the world are indeed trump cards which increase our relative weight in the Community.”

This conviction still haunts widespread perceptions within Portuguese society and has also been internalized by many who were colonized, as a ‘positive’ aspect of their colonizers. Undoubtedly, Lusotropicalism was ultimately instrumentalized by Salazar and Estado Novo to justify and prolong the Portuguese Colonial Empire. Indeed, the Portuguese insistence on its anti-racial attitudes has long outlived its political suitability. However, many Portuguese, some of them with political and economic influence, continue to defend a historical anti-

53 Jornal de Brasília, 30 January 2000, Brazil.
racism. This theory resonates even in the first decade of this century, long after it served as a justification for colonialism and economic exploitation.

The literature cited in this chapter provides the conceptual framework necessary to describe the ways in which ‘poor’ immigrant Cape Verdean families conducted their lives in a former colonial power where they were still considered as ‘Cape Verdean blacks’. Of great importance was the existence of networks that provided direct or indirect support and the regular contact with siblings dispersed all around the world. Furthermore, ethnic groups are disproportionately more likely to become an at-risk-of-poverty population. Contrary to the Lusotropicalism myth, discrimination seems to affect different generations for decades and separates low-income families from the mainstream.
IV. Methodology and use of Ethno-Historical Account

IV.1 Research Design

The research design is mainly qualitative with the use of statistics evolving over time from field work intervention. It follows Miles and Huberman’s approach of analyzing qualitative data, using the method of shifting, mapping, coding and sorting data as they were collected and following up analyses with ongoing observation and interviews.

I carried out my ethno-historical research in Cova da Moura from October 2007 until December 2010. This research relies mainly on fine-grained ethnographic and historical analysis of the families and their settlement. It has involved participant observation, informal conversations, in-depth semi-structured interviews, community visits and participation in celebrations and on-going presence in the community setting. I interviewed each member individually, using in-depth semi-structured and open-ended interviews. The interviews were conducted in migrants’ homes and in public places, mainly in cafes and at their workplaces.

The techniques and methods I used for the analyses of the Cape Verdean group in cultural terms included recording of anecdotal stories remembered by the three Cape Verdean families, which became important documental data on audio files. This resource-collecting, together with ethnographic investigation and field research, based on a useful ethno-historical and integrating method, leads to a cultural-historical description of the development of the Cape Verdean group through time, as it portrays the selected Cape Verdean families in Cova da Moura, constructing their lives in both diachronic and synchronic dimensions.

IV.2 Ethno-Historical Process

The ethno-historical approach chosen seems to be best suited to the exploratory and descriptive nature of this project. Traditionally, ethno-history has been defined by anthropologists as study of the ‘history’ of the peoples who are usually the subjects of
anthropological research (Wylie, 1973). It uses concepts and methods from ‘other’ social sciences, including structural or synchronic analysis by historians and by those anthropologists who are interested in both diachronic and synchronic explanations. Its main objective is the recovery of the history of non-literate peoples through archaeological or even written evidence. However, this narrowest possible definition, which is rarely returned to today, implies the use of non-anthropological diachronic materials by anthropologists.

The ethno-historical concept has developed in response to the problem of analyzing non-literate societies over a span of time. Some of the earliest efforts in this field emphasized the importance of documentary historical data for acculturation research. One example is Oscar Lewis’ (1942) investigation of the effects of the fur trade on Blackfoot Indian culture, illustrating one type of study in which the data available in documentary sources are analyzed in anthropological terms in order to illuminate a particular problem.

For my approach, which also emphasizes contact and acculturation, ethno-history has two important aspects 1) collecting historical documents and anecdotal historical records as depicted by diverse populations provides valuable data relevant for these interests. Exploitation of this resource, in conjunction with ethnographic investigation and other forms of field research found useful in dealing with a particular problem, constitutes an ethno-historical method; 2) the use of such an integrating method leads to a cultural-historical description which portrays the development of one or more ethnic groups through time (cf. Valentine, 1960).

**IV.3 Structure and Development of the Study**

The structure of my thesis is determined by two distinct approaches. Primarily, a general assessment and scanning of my impression of the entire community is given in order to describe the environment, its social context and its transnational connections. The second approach records extensive autobiographies of each family member. Some biographies are more extensive than others; selection of the ‘central characters’ in the study depends upon their place in the kinship networks that form the sample population of the research. Apart

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54 The use of the tape-recorder allows people to talk about themselves and relate their observations and experiences in an uninhibited, spontaneous, and natural manner (Lewis, 1961: xii).
from family ties, friendship patterns within the neighbourhood, a short history of the family
member’s life and information concerning migration from Cape Verde to Portugal are
examined. Studying extended families provided a complete genealogy, including names and
relationships of all relatives, living or dead, from the first generation of each family until now.
Some basic inquiry patterns are applied to each sample family. They deal with household
composition and analysis of available space. They also include questions about income,
division of labour, recreational patterns, health and treatment of disease, religion and the
world view.

From the responses to these research questions I attempt to identify family relations and the
arrangements to sustain the life of the three Cape Verdic families in Portugal living in Cova
da Moura: the answers to the first research question document how emigration has influenced
the lives of the target families and give a description of their settlement. In contemporary
Cape Verde, however, the desire to emigrate is so widespread and considering the current
emigration rate, it may be assumed migration flows are almost entirely controlled by factors
affecting the ability to emigrate (Carling, 2001: 36). This ambition turns emigration into an
ideal type project. But what influence did this experience have on their lives? I learned about
life in the 1970s in Cova da Moura as told by Judite, Deolinda and Josefina and their
husbands and how they adapted to the new neighbourhood without the most basic
infrastructure. It enabled me to discover the various strategies these families developed to get
by on a low income. I documented their working day from 5 am to 10 pm with other Cape
Verdean women (undocumented as themselves). Working hard and raising their children at
the same time without the help of their husbands, only relying on the help of neighbours and
relatives showed the strength and determination of these women. The third research question
aims at the reality of migration, which forms part of Cape Verdic society and continues to
shape the islands’ way of life in the 21st century. In this sense, Cape Verde may be a unique
example of a state that could be characterized as transnational at the moment of its creation
(Gois, 2005: 255). These families are not an exception. If we look at the family network, the
three families have close relatives residing in Rotterdam, Luxembourg, Boston and London.
The existence of this scattered network provides close contacts among its different members
and is usually maintained by communicational means or visits. These proved to be
instrumental in finding accommodation and jobs for newcomers in what could be considered
transnational families. The results obtained for the fourth research question explain the
‗laissez-faire‘ policy of the Portuguese government and local administration after the 1974
Revolution, which turned a blind eye to the building of illegal houses on private land, thus contributing to the proliferation and consolidation of illegal neighbourhoods especially in the Lisbon and Porto areas. Over the years, the inhabitants improved their houses and felt more attached to the particular ‘way of life’ in the neighbourhood. Negotiations between the inhabitants and the government about the measures of the Redevelopment Project have taken place since 2007 without concrete results. Consequently there is fear among the inhabitants of losing their house, their culture and their neighbourhood.

IV.4 Data Collection

The most intensive part of this research, three years of continuous field work (from 2007 to 2010), took place in Cova da Moura.

My work is based on a large amount of ethnographic data I collected during my fieldwork (more than 200 qualitative interviews and participant-observation), which are subsequently interpreted in the thesis.

I conducted all the interviews with the Cape Verdean families in Portuguese and ‘Crioulo’. Although my knowledge of Crioulo is limited, I can understand it due to the similarities of many expressions in the Portuguese and French languages. This permitted close interaction with the target family members and other Cape Verdeans, as it is used by most Cape Verdean inhabitants of Cova da Moura in their daily lives.

During these years in the field, I focused on: interviews conducted with family members, neighbourhood residents and political representatives of the Cova da Moura Redevelopment Project. Furthermore, data was collected on migrants’ representation institutions and policies through taped interviews.

My proceedings were influenced by methodologies used by Oscar Lewis in his life-histories, combined with biographical interviews for the study of the history and transnational background of the target families.

I interviewed each member individually, using in-depth semi-structured and open-ended interviews. The interviews were conducted in migrants’ homes and in public places, mostly in cafes and occasionally at their place of work.
Due to the reciprocal relationship between me and the interviewers, open-ended interviews seemed more appropriate on some occasions, although a set of general questions to guide the interview was prepared.

**Data and additional documentary sources:**

Field notes — a fieldwork diary, including notes from participant observation and unrecorded interviews. Besides interviews, data was also compiled from a wide range of available sources: official (ACIDI and INE) and non-official statistical data, information from earlier qualitative and quantitative studies, research projects and reports and other documentation, issued by the local institutions and associations.

Further data was also compiled from official government documents, policy papers, bulletins and articles from local and national newspapers (*Jornal da Região Amadora*, *A Tribuna*, *Jornal CNAI*, *BI Boletim Informativo ACIDI*, *Pretextos*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Expresso*, *Jornal Público*, *Sol*, *Destak*, *Metro*, *Global*).

Official inquiries — semi-structured interviews carried out with local officials (20): Mayor of Damaia, Health Director of Damaia, Police Officers exclusively in charge of the neighbourhood, Association Directors, Head of the Cova da Moura Redevelopment Project.

Teachers’ inquiries — semi-structured interviews (25) with school teachers and cultural mediator and pupils carried out at Primary School nº1 of Cova da Moura and School B2/3 Dr. Pedro D’Orey da Cunha.

The semi-structured and open-ended interviews include recorded conversations with members of the three families (184), neighbours and residents of Cova da Moura (47). As I spent a long time in the field I had the opportunity to visit the family members several times and go beyond first impressions, creating a higher level of trust - a situation in which first attitudes and ideas change. Moreover, I had the opportunity to collect and record observations on topics not decided upon beforehand and also obtain information from people inside as well as outside the research setting.
I developed a close and lasting relationship with these families, who confided in me on very personal issues, gave me insights and let me take part in their daily lives. This ethnographic study was only possible because I was allowed access to various fields of my informants’ lives. I visited them on many occasions (festivities, private gatherings, family parties and during periods of illness) and helped to fill in official forms for naturalization processes or health procedures. I also visited the Ferreira family in São Vicente and the Sousa family in São Vicente and Santo Antão, conducting interviews, taking photographs and collecting other forms of data locally. In Porto Novo (Santo Antão) I stayed in their house and was invited by other members of the family to share their meals. This was not only because we had established close relationships, but also because they wished a faithful portrayal of their histories and they trusted me to do so.

IV.5 Data Analysis and Triangulation

The term triangulation is often used to describe a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. It serves to reach valid, true or transferable findings.

In this study theory I followed Guion’s suggestion (2002) of five types of triangulation: data, investor, theoretical, environmental and methodological triangulation. Data triangulation was established in various ways. For each type of interview (in-depth and open-ended interviews with members of the three families, residents of Cova da Moura, representatives from local associations, government representatives), a basic structure was applied. Consequently, the same or similar questions were asked to all members of each family, to the representatives of the associations and to official representatives of the municipality and other institutions. This approach permitted me to obtain several people’s opinion about the same issue, and therefore, results are not based on the report of only one person.

Data was also collected over a long period of fieldwork which made it possible to seek clarification, double check for inconsistencies and compare conflicting information with a third view. In this study I used methodological triangulation involving quantitative and qualitative methods, an approach that provided opportunities to compare outcomes from one data set with the others.
IV.6 Limitations of the Study and Validity

During participant observations and meetings with members of the target families, my former work as a teacher with migrant pupils and families served as a form of experiential knowledge necessary in the attempt to understand the complexities and peculiarities of their migratory experience. However, my partial insider status and my acceptance by informants brought risks as my informants might have expected more recognition or support from me than I could actually give.

Also the fact that I am a white, middle-aged woman determines the residents’ and the target family’s interaction with me. Consequently, I have opted for a methodological approach that supports construction of knowledge based not only on my subjective interpretation of reality, but includes other locally valid perceptions and views. This approach increases the robustness and validity of data integrating this study.

The external limitations I confronted during this study were the following: 1) the mobility of some members of the first generation that returned to Cape Verde; 2) the high mobility of the second generation due to the economic recession (unemployment, lack of social benefits), which led to an increase of internal (José to Açores, Lourenço to Porto) and international migration (Albertino and Felizmino to Switzerland, Paulina to Holland) prevented any further gathering of information; 3) the Cova da Moura Redevelopment Project, planned to be accomplished by 2011 was not implemented on schedule. Due to this delay, this study cannot include an analysis of the project’s outcome: of its efficiency concerning achievement of its objectives and its effects on the target families.
V. Findings

In this ethno-historical study, the statements obtained from the variety of data provided by the three families were synthesized to show the structural and developmental aspects of the changing culture from its earliest beginnings to the present.

V.1 Families: Sample

The sample includes three Cape Verdean families; each emigrated from a different Cape Verdean island:

The Sousa family (Island of Santo Antão, Porto Novo) - ten members (3 members of the first generation, 4 members of the second generation and 1 of the third generation) + relatives = eleven people.

The Costa family (Island of Santiago, Praia) – eleven members (2 members of the first generation, 3 members of the second generation and 2 members of the third generation) + relatives = ten people.

The Ferreira family (Island of São Vicente, Mindelo) – seven members (2 members of the first generation and 2 members of second generation) + relatives = eight people.

The table below shows the ‘theoretical inspiration’ of the target families' settlement:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Families</th>
<th>Duration of settlement in Cova da Moura</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family Sousa</td>
<td>1976___________________________________1997</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Costa</td>
<td>1979____________________________________2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family Ferreira</td>
<td>1975____________________________________2011</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows the characteristics of the target family members. The majority (24 members out of 44 members) participated in this study and had Portuguese nationality. Sixteen obtained Portuguese nationality more than fifteen years ago and ten received it only recently (less than five years ago) after a long process of legalization. Two family members came to Portugal with a temporary visa for health reasons to get medical treatment on the basis of an agreement between the Cape Verden and Portuguese governments.

Table 2: Characteristics of the Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>84 %</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origins:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of S. Antão</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of Santiago</td>
<td>16 %</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island of S. Vicente</td>
<td>9 %</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Cap.-Ver. Islands</td>
<td>4,5 %</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>54,5 %</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;15</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-31</td>
<td>18 %</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-51</td>
<td>68 %</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 60</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Level of Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School</td>
<td>20 %</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basic School</td>
<td>66 %</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School</td>
<td>7 %</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (37)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupil</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic sector</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housekeeper</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Babysitters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pensioner</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Total: 44 members)
The first generation members (68%) were aged between 32 and 51 and 7% of the seniors were over 60 years old. One male pensioner died in 2008. The second generation represented 18% (15 to 31 years old) while the third generation (under 15 years old) represented 7% of the members.

Considering education, there is great discrepancy between the first and second generations: The first generation had a low level of education, 7% were illiterate and the remainder attended three or four years of primary school. All members of the second generation finished at least compulsory education, 86% (Basic School, 9 years) and three members attained or finished Secondary School (12 years). None enrolled in professional education or university courses.

Regarding employment, there is no noticeable generational differentiation. The first generation worked in the service sector. The females worked in the domestic care sector as cleaners, in-house domestics, and/or babysitters or carers of older people. Some of the women worked in more than one job. The majority of males were employed in construction and one was a fishermen. In the second generation, the females worked in the domestic and catering sector. Two men held office jobs while the others had unqualified work. Two males emigrated to a European country. Three members were unemployed.

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55 Most of the cleaners and domestics worked in more than one job: from Monday to Friday as cleaners at several houses/offices and kitchen helpers during the weekend.
V.2 Discussion of the Migration Story Described by Families

Profiles:

![Sousa Family Tree](image)

**Figure 14**: Family Tree Sousa (My Heritage, 2013)

The lack of economic resources in Santo Antão made the Sousas decide to emigrate to Portugal. The whole family supported this decision even monetarily. Lourenço had already contacted relatives in Portugal who could provide him with temporary accommodation and a possible job near Lisbon. He arrived alone in 1976 and lived in Cova da Moura in his cousin’s shack. At this time it was easy to find work on building sites even for an undocumented Cape Verdean citizen: two days after his arrival he had a job. After two months he started building a shack next to his cousin’s dwelling. Judite (his wife) and her son Daniel, arrived one year later to live there. Through a neighbour she managed to get a cleaning job, working for a cleaning firm that belonged to a Cape Verdean entrepreneur who had lived in Cova da Moura. Every day a van would collect her and other Cape Verdeans women near the main entrance to
the neighbourhood, Rua Direita, at 5 am and bring her back at 6 pm. Two afternoons a week, she also worked in a private home until 8 pm.

The couple had three children, Francisca, José and Martin who were all raised mostly by their mother alone. These children grew up occasionally supported and looked after by other members of the family and neighbours living in the same street (Beco de Santo Antão in Cova da Moura). Beco de Santo Antão was mostly inhabited by the relatives and friends of the Sousas from the same island.

Three years later, Lourenço found a better-paid job as a sailor on a fishing boat and spent a long time away from Portugal (fishing for cod off Scandinavia). His two months holidays a year were spent at home in Cova da Moura where he developed a drinking habit. The couple got divorced in 1997 because of Lourenço’s alcoholism and the ensuing domestic violence.

Together with her children, Judite moved in with relatives and later decided to buy a small apartment in a poor neighbourhood in Cacém. She kept working during the day as a housekeeper in private homes and at night for a cleaning firm. Being the oldest son, Daniel also felt the responsibility of providing money for the rest of the family. Therefore, he left school and started to look for a job. Daniel finished Basic School in the 10th year and did not continue his studies, although he was a good pupil and liked attending classes. Soon after, he got an administrative job.

Lourenço stayed in their house in Cova da Moura, but his drinking habit made him seriously ill and soon he could no longer work. As the illness got worse (he had a stroke and became quadriplegic) he was supported by his younger son Martin and by neighbours who went there every day to keep him company and give him hot meals. He died in 2007. In 2009, Judite remarried to a Portuguese husband, worked as a housekeeper and took care of an elderly woman in a private household, but planned to return to Cape Verde where she had already started to rebuild her family house. In June 2010, the couple moved permanently to Santo Antão, living in Judite’s unfinished house which they continue to renovate.
Deolinda came to Portugal from Santiago in 1970 at the request of her mother who wanted her to have a better future. At the age of fourteen she already had a pre-arranged job (through her god-mother’s connections) waiting for her, as an internal maid in a private home in Algés, near Lisbon. She did not want to stay, but out of respect for her god-mother she kept working hard there. After three years, Deolinda decided that working six days a week from 8 am to 9 pm was too many hours and asked for more time off. As her boss disagreed, she quit the job and moved to the Algarve, where she worked as a maid in a hotel and as a house-keeper in some private homes. At seventeen, she had her first son Rui and raised him alone, because the relationship did not last long and the father never contributed to expenses. Three years later, she moved to Lisbon where she met her future Cape Verdean husband and they moved to Cova da Moura. The couple had two daughters, Luisa and Dália. They rented a small house in Cova da Moura which was very humid as the roof leaked. Deolinda started working as a cook and house-keeper in her employer’s home.

When her husband became an alcoholic and mistreated them, their relationship became unbearable. After getting divorced she was able to stay in her house, as her husband moved out. With the help of her mother who had immigrated to Portugal from Santiago, Deolinda raised the three children. When the family’s economic situation got worse, she got an extra job as house-keeper to survive. Two years later, she remarried and had two more daughters,
Cristina and Carla. Her second husband died soon after (2006). With some money from her husband’s life-insurance, she was able to buy an old apartment close to Amadora. She continues living there with her younger daughters, still doing the same jobs. Cristina is finishing High school and Carla is also in High School. They were very happy to move away from Cova da Moura and thought that it was very beneficial for them because their school has better teachers and a wide range of professional courses to choose from. Every day at 4.30 am Deolinda travels by train to Cova da Moura to work. She hardly leaves the neighbourhood for long - she even spends her scarce free time there with her mother and friends.

![Family Tree Ferreira](image)

*Figure 16: Family Tree Ferreira (My Heritage, 2013)*

Extremely poor living-conditions and famine on the island determined Josefina and Alfredo’s decision to leave. The family agreed and helped them to leave São Vicente. After their arrival in Portugal in 1975, they ‘bought’ a house at the end of the Cova da Moura settlement and never moved from there. They had two children, Albertino and Felizmino. Through a friend, Alfredo always worked in construction but never got a contract. When he was 58 years old he had a serious accident at work. But as he was undocumented and had no ‘legal’ working contract, he was not entitled to any welfare benefit or subsidies. The consequences of this accident are his limping and forgetfulness. He always stays at home, sits on a plastic chair in a small yard in front of their house, not wishing to meet or speak to anyone. Although many friends pass by daily, his reaction always remains indifferent.
Josefina, his wife, was contracted by the same cleaning firm as Judite. She left the house at 5 am and returned at around 7 pm. She never thought of getting further education or professional qualifications in Portugal, although she had only studied for two years at primary school in São Vicente. For twenty years, she had always worked for the same cleaning firm without any ‘legal’ contract. Like her husband, Josefina was not eligible for welfare or other subsidies when she fell ill in 1995. Furthermore, she did not get paid and lost her job. Since then she has been participating in the activities of the Association Moinho da Juventude, where she took a course for nannies. After Alfredo’s illness, she decided to offer her services as a nanny in her own house. Since 2008 she has taken care of three children from 8 am to 8 pm at home six days a week.

V.3 Stage I - Pre-Migration and Migration

V.3.1 Arrival in Cova da Moura: Motivations, Expectations and Prospects

This section focuses on pre-migration expectations, including the migrants’ perspectives and prospects at different stages of their arrival in Portugal, from the first to the most recent of the Cape Verdean families, with particular emphasis on identifying their status and visibility, but also their experience of exploitation and discrimination.

Before the independence of Cape Verde in 1975, the great majority of Cape Verdeans were poor. Agriculture has always been precarious: more than one third of the population died of starvation in the 1960s and thousands were forced to leave. Many of them worked in the fields as day-labourers, like the Costa and the Ferreira families. Others, mainly men but also women, depended on the industrial activities at the waterfront, carrying heavy loads in the harbours (Silva, 1998). Women such as Sílvia were “cooking or washing clothes for seamen and passengers in transit “(Akesson, 2004: 60).

According to Carreira (1982), economic and historical factors were the most significant causes of emigration from Cape Verde. “Economic reasons include deficient socio-economic structures, frequent droughts resulting from irregular or scanty rainfall which diminishes the
supply of foodstuffs and provokes catastrophic famines, demographic pressure and bad land distribution”. The main historical cause was certainly “the influence exercised among the islanders by the pioneer emigrants and their descendents affecting above all the flow of emigrants” (1982: 2).

The country had little to offer the world market, except labour. Josefina was aware of this, describing her life in São Vicente as “poverty and misery”. Her lack of economic security was a valid motive for wanting to leave the island. In the background of this precariousness the vision of another country as “a place where everyone can get what they want although through hard work”, is deeply rooted in many Cape Verdeans I talked to in São Vicente.

The history of endless departures has created a nation that is dispersed around the world (Machado, 2004). Migration was almost conceived as predetermined necessity linked to strong feelings of belonging to the homeland. However, Judite told me that “a ‘real Cape Verdean’ never forgets his country and wants to die there” (nunka ta skesë ses terra e quer morer la). An assumption which turns the act of migration into “a sacrifice one does for a better life”. This statement emphasizes the lifelong identification of a loyal Cape Verdean with his country (or island), implying the support of his kin there, as much as possible. These notions prepare the immigrant to be strong enough to work hard abroad and to live separate from his family in exchange for some comfort and mobility when returning at the end of his life. His (financially) successful return would then complete the migration cycle that begins and ends in Cape Verde.

Despite the difficulties in crossing the Portuguese border, caused by a restrictive law imposed on foreigners in Portugal after the independence of its former African colonies (1975), emigration was possible. Nevertheless, “during the first period in the 1960s migration to Europe was male dominated yet by the 1970s, it had begun to slow down considerably with the recession of the world economy and the changes taking place in Portuguese to Cape Verdean nationality” (Akesson: 2004: 76).

According to a survey by the Portuguese National Statistics Institute (INE, 2004), more than half the Cape Verdean immigrants who came to Portugal, were men aged under 30. They joined the labour market, working in low ranked jobs (65%), mainly in construction (48%).
They had a little education and only 1,3% had specialized jobs\textsuperscript{56}.

\textbf{Sousa Family} – Lourenço and Judite escaped from very poor conditions in Santo Antão, where they worked in the fields far from their house. Lourenço was the first to emigrate in 1975 with a limited visa but intended to stay longer, even facing the possibility of being expelled due to his undocumented status. He was fully aware and motivated in his decision to adapt to new conditions in a different country with a strong determination of “trying to make a living against all odds”. However, before they arrived, Judite and Lourenço were attracted by the possibilities they believed Portugal could offer in terms of a healthier life. Their common aspirations were to build a house of their own in their home country, a better future for their children and provide for their family-members who stayed behind in Santo Antão. A further stimulus to mobility was the idealized image they had formed of ‘the promised land’ transmitted by other migrants who had arrived in Portugal earlier. On the phone they were told, how easy it was to build a house and buy a car in Portugal - ‘a paraís’ (paradise), compared to life on their island of Santo Antão.

Accounts of life ‘lá fora’ (out there) were central in social orientation towards the outside world. What was impossible to achieve on the island, seemed possible far away, verified by success stories. This aspect of the term ‘image’ was used by Appadurai (1996) who defined imagination as a property of collectives and not only as something produced by an individual. He distinguishes fantasies which may jeopardize projects and actions from an imagination that “… can become the fuel for action” (1996: 7). This latter kind of ‘productive’ projection characterizes the target family’s image of Portugal.

\textbf{The First Impact on Arrival in Cova da Moura}

Contrary to what Appadurai (1996) claims, migration always had a strong influence on the ideas and life of Cape Verdeans for centuries. The idea of another life ‘somewhere else’ became easier to put into practice in the 1970s due to improved means of transport and

\textsuperscript{56} Only in the 1980s did female migration start, to work in the domestic sector due to the increasing participation of woman in the Portuguese labour market. Afterwards, it was mostly a migration of families (family reunification), including a high number of married couples with many children. In 2010, men and women emigrated at a quite similar rate according to the Cape Verdean National Statistic Institute (Instituto Nacional de Estastística, Cape Verde, 2010).
communication. However, the difficulties for those who intended to leave the islands increased with Portugal’s political and economic development. Furthermore, their limited knowledge of the Portuguese language and modest levels of formal instruction created major barriers to social progress and mobility among the target family members. Nevertheless, their expectations of a better life remained intact. Their indistinct understanding of migration as a destiny seemed to prepare people for lives apart, as Judite expressed:

“It was hard to take the decision but there was the expectation of a better life, even leaving everything and your family behind... I didn’t know what was waiting for us here (in Portugal), it was like a dream of a better life that could help all of us... reality is not always what you dream about...It was hard work, but we had a roof. Also a bad reaction from the Portuguese who mistrusted us: we were considered ‘desgraçados’ (wretched) and they wouldn’t speak to us. We were invisible to them. They feared we would take their jobs away and therefore we closed ourselves inside the neighbourhood (Cova da Moura) and lived for ourselves (the Cape Verdeans). But we were able to face everything, we had to adapt and we are still alive.”

Although Akesson argues that “this adaptation is something that distinguishes Cape Verdeans from other migrants” (Akesson, 2004: 50, 51), it appears that facing discrimination from the natives, humiliating working conditions and low income in Portugal made them isolate themselves inside the neighbourhood. Family and neighbourhood networks proved to be the most important help in the first period of Judite and Lourenço's adaptation to the new country. The choice of where to settle depended on the areas connected to their social networks, usually located around big towns, such as Lisbon, Setúbal, Porto or Faro. Cova da Moura was and still is a neighbourhood where Portuguese and African communities of diverse cultural backgrounds live together.

The family lodged in primitive huts and lived in precarious conditions to save as much as they could in order to be able to send some money to their families back home, most of them in rural areas. Work was relatively easy to find due to strong social networks and economic

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57 Poor quarters emerged and kept gradually growing in dimension as Cova da Moura and others such as: Fontainhas, 6 de Maio, Casal da Bopa, Bairro da Estrela de África, Santa Filomena, Quinta da Lage, Quinta do Mocho (Greater Lisbon), São João de Deus, Quinta da Fonte (Setúbal), Freixo (Porto), Zambujal, Horta da Areia (Faro).

58 According to the Departamento de Renovação e Habitação de Áreas Degradadas da Cidade da Amadora (Department of Housing and Renovation of Degraded Areas of the City of Amadora), the total population living in poor housing far exceeds the numbers in official reports. Officially, the total number of residents in Cova da Moura in the 1980s was 172 persons, living in 39 shacks (Survey PER- Special Re-housing Program). A survey conducted in Cova da Moura (Municipal Report, Cova da Moura, 1987) identified 836 dwellings and the number of the residents was left unaccounted.
opportunities offered in the neighbourhood (Daniel worked and still works there) and the
closeness “between Cape Verdeans” became stronger as a reaction to the hostile environment
from the autochthones. Since Judite worked alone as a domestic, she was neither connected
to, nor needed to interact with people outside Cova da Moura. The same applies to Lourenço,
whose work colleagues on the building site were mostly Cape Verdeans, living in his
neighbourhood. Lourenço adopted a humble position, feeling ‘rejected’ and in a way
excluded:

“It was two different worlds, us and the others. Even in the neighbourhood the
‘whites’ mistrusted us and considered us as the ‘poor’ immigrants. It was even a
division in the neighbourhood, the south with good houses and the north with huts. Of
course, we kept ourselves to ourselves.”

There was some friction in the relationships between the residents of the northern and
southern parts of Cova da Moura. In the 1980s, some inhabitants of the northern part (mainly
Cape Verdean) did not feel represented by the Association Cultural e Desportiva da Cova da
Moura, situated in the southern part of the neighbourhood, where mainly Portuguese
‘retornados’ and Angolans live. After the people involved had debated and emphasized their
common interests, these problems became less evident. The legitimacy of the members who
would negotiate with the Council of Oeiras about the installation of basic infrastructures in
the neighbourhood increased.

Avoiding contact with the outside world was partly self-imposed. Lourenço refers to a culture
of adaptation in their new ‘bairro’ (neighbourhood) in the host country, but socially and
hierarchically⁵⁹, Cova da Moura was and still is a continuation or re-creation of their Cape
Verdean island.
The neighbourhood functioned as an important place for partial integration of the newcomers,
as an ‘island’ where they can feel safe and understood by their compatriots.

Costa Family – “Departure should take place in adulthood. Only then begins the period when
you can face the real problems of life.” This is how Deolinda describes her experience of
being ‘forced’ to emigrate by her mother at the age of only 14. Deolinda lived with her
mother and five brothers and sisters in Santiago. Her mother, Sílvia, did not have the

⁵⁹ These hierarchical structures distinguish the Cape Verdean ‘badjuda’ (which refers to communities of
different islands) from the ethno-racially and culturally different ‘badius’ who originated from Santiago, the
Cape Verdean capital.
economic means to raise the children alone. Her father hardly contributed to the family income. Deolinda could not go to school for more than three years, because she had to take care of younger brothers and sisters and had other domestic duties at home when her mother was working in the fields, sometimes far from home. Deolinda’s god-mother had already offered Sílvia the possibility of taking her god-daughter to Lisbon. Given the impossibility of attaining social and economic well-being in Santiago, Sílvia decided to send her oldest daughter to the “País dos ‘brancos’” (country of the ‘whites’). Deolinda’s mother thought that such an arrangement would provide a higher standard of living, because work abroad was believed to be very well paid by Cape Verdean standards. The godmother, who had immigrated to Portugal in the 1960s, offered to help the family to find a “casa séria e decente” (decent house with a good reputation), where Deolinda could work in domestic service and become “uma mulher para a vida” (a ‘down to earth’ woman, able to work hard).

Deolinda’s ‘madrinha’ (godmother) became her ‘substitute’ mother in Portugal. Godmothers are a tradition derived from Catholicism and the ceremony of baptism and is strongly upheld by Cape Verdeans. From all interviewed Cape Verdeans, to be a ‘madrinha’ means having great responsibilities for your god-child. The selection of a godmother or godfather requires that they be someone you respect, are affectionate, have some economic well-being and be able to carry out the role of standing in or being a substitute for the parent in the event of the parent dying. In exchange for bringing up a child, the social compensation is recognition within the family and the community. Nevertheless, Deolinda felt that her godmother had taken the wrong decision, and she expressed it in an emotional way: “only after many years could I forgive my godmother, but the suffering is still there”.

When Deolinda knew that she had to leave Santiago, all the arrangements had already been made in Portugal by her godmother with her mother’s approval. She knew little of what awaited her in Algés, the suburb where she would be working. The only information transmitted to her by Sílvia was: “my mother knew that it was a family of five people, a couple with three children; the father being a naval officer”. Deolinda was scared of the unknown, the mainland and the new family. She still speaks about it with a suffering expression on her face and gets emotional when she remembers what she experienced when she left her family and friends in Santiago, thirty years ago:

“I couldn’t sleep any more, I was afraid of going by ship, of the new family, of doing everything wrong. Most of all, I was afraid of not being able to fulfill the expectations
that my godmother and my family in Santiago had of me. But I had to do it. I had to go alone on a ship to Lisbon, leave my family behind… I was just a child… you know… I was counting the days, hoping that something would make me not leave home, but deep inside I knew that this would never happen…”

These expectations produce obligations on both sides: for those who stay and for those who leave: Sílvia’s main motivation was the hope of providing a better standard of living for Deolinda and the expectation of receiving regular remittances from her daughter to help the family. Deolinda ought to feel grateful to her mother who had chosen her among all her brothers and sisters. She was the only one who was given the possibility to migrate and would be able to fulfill the high expectations that the mother and godmother placed in her. However, Deolinda does not feel too grateful and interprets this “sacrificis” (sacrifice) as fate: “in life, there are good and bad moments, but God always helped me. It made me stronger”.

**The First Impact on Arrival in Algés**

In the 1970s, it was common for wealthy families in Portugal to have two or three girls from the countryside or the colonies as servants in their homes. These demands came mostly from middle and upper class Portuguese households that could afford a maid or a cleaner, relying usually on Portuguese women from the rural low-class or ‘African’ women. An elderly lady of an elite family recalled: “At this time it was ‘fashionable’ to have a Cape Verdean cleaner on a daily basis and an ironing maid”. This situation provided working opportunities for ‘African’ women. “Cape Verdeans were preferred to Angolans, Guineans or other Africans due to their image of being hard working, a similar preference being noticeable for Cape Verdean men in the construction industry” (Batalha, 2004: 147). A member of the Association Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura remembered these times:

“The Portuguese families preferred young Cape Verdean girls because they were humble and adapted easily. Their household mistress took advantage of their docility and made them work for more than 10 hours a day for a meager salary. We can’t generalize, but it happened a lot… If they were alone in Lisbon and they didn’t know anyone, they had no one to complain to… You know how it is… and they were ‘illegal’ in Portugal, which made the situation even more difficult. This was even the case of some girls from Cova da Moura who went ‘serving’ because their parents had no economic means to raise them here. Many of them suffered a lot, but continued working for many years with the same family, sometimes raising more than one

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60 These women originated from the rural exodus that occurred in Portugal in the 1950s and 1960s.
generation of children in the same household. Usually, they didn’t study and remained servants all their lives.”

These services were poorly paid and strictly controlled by their household mistresses. The upper-class lady gave me a number of reasons why she chose ‘black’ Cape Verdan servants: “I preferred ‘black’ women as domestics because they took orders from me, and they did exactly what they were told. If something was not done exactly as I ordered, they would do it again, even if they had to spend their free time”. What surprised me was the fact that she did not emphasize that ‘black’ women’s labour was cheaper and their migrant and undocumented status facilitated the work arrangements. Although Deolinda is a Portuguese citizen born in Santiago, her employer never gave her a contract during three years of work. Every week Deolinda had to carry out more tasks in the household:

“I was dusting, cleaning the entire kitchen and the toilet, helping with the cooking, and ironing. Sometimes there were so many clothes that I only finished at 10 pm. If I wanted to stay in bed a bit longer the next day the mistress would shout for me at 7 am to hurry up and prepare breakfast for the whole family. That’s how my life used to be then…”

Non-existent Portuguese legislation concerning domestic work in the 1970s facilitated emerging structures of exploitation with long working hours, no contracts and obviously no legal rights. These working conditions without any legal contract continued for years.

An anthropological study on this subject was carried out by Kesha Fikes (2009) in 1990s about Cape Verdan ‘peixeiras’ (fishsellers) who sold fish in the streets of Lisbon (mainly in the Cais do Sodré area). She evaluates the controversial debate about what racism looks and feels like in contemporary Portuguese society. The ethnographic focus was an ‘illegal’ fish market that employed both Portuguese and Cape Verdan women. As this way of selling fish was increasingly criminalized by the Portuguese government because of the sanitary risks it implied, they shifted trade and sought work in low-wage jobs such as maids, nannies or cleaners in the city’s homes and businesses. The former fishsellers experienced a ‘rationalization’ of their low-wage working place, as Portuguese women left vacancies because they tried to find occupations in less-stigmatized professions. Fikes confirmed that these Cape Verden women were disempowered vis-à-vis a drastic reduction in their income and estrangement from mainstream society with which they could no longer interact as self-functioning entrepreneurs. She also described the “distant, yet polished” interactions, in which former colonizers and colonized “perform” normality as a strategy of coexistence. However,
some of Fikes’ conclusions are debatable, when compared to Portuguese critique. She does not mention the causes and consequences of Cape Veridian immigration to São Tomé (2009: x) in the island of São Vicente due to the famine in 1864 (Carreira, 1982: 104). Their experience of “exploitation, brutality and hunger in São Tomé have left deeply ingrained marks…” (Beja-Horta, 2000: 152). There is even a saying among Cape Verdeans when someone is obliged to do something against his will: “Tudo é melhor que São Tomé, terra de castigo” (Anything is better than São Tomé, land of punishment). Furthermore, there is a misrepresentation of the world of domestic services in Fikes’ assertion that cleaning is the only work Cape Veridian women are ‘allowed’ to do, because these jobs were also performed by Portuguese and other migrant groups (Fikes, 2009: 129). Obviously, Cape Veridian women are not the only workers in the cleaning business, which does not mean that this area is not generally associated with African women, but they were mostly suffering from discriminative attitudes.

Nevertheless, the discrimination suffered by Deolinda during the three years in Algés was the source of her motivation to achieve some independence and mobility: “I suffered a lot and am aware now of how much I was exploited, but I always believed that, if God helped me, I could have a life of my own and support my family economically”. She experienced unfair treatment from her employer who made her work overtime without monetary compensation and used often derogatory expressions that consequently made her feel an outsider in a strange country:

“I still have ‘scars’ (metaphorically speaking) from the time when I was a teenager. I even dream of it. The separation from my family was the hardest thing. The ‘saudades’ (longings), the loneliness, the language, everything was new to me… The first job I had in a house in Algés taught me a lesson. I will never let someone treat me this way again. I was sometimes called ‘pretinha’ (little black girl) and when they had visitors, I had to put white gloves on, not to touch the tablecloths and the plates with my bare hands. They thought I could make them dirty… I took it as mistrust and because I was ‘black’…”

Deolinda’s employer defined her through ‘race’61; the diminutive ‘pretinha’ (little black girl) does not necessarily turn the expression into a nice word. *Preta*62 has always been considered

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61 The word ‘race’ and comparable terms in other languages do not appear before the seventeenth century. The precursors to the racial ideology in the eighteenth century were Carolus Linnaeus, Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, and the Comte de Buffon who classified all flora and fauna, including humans in a framework based on morphology and complexity. They were classified into subspecies on the basis of geography, skin colour, and physical traits (Banton, 1998: Chapter 2). In the mid-nineteenth century Charles Darwin (1859)
a pejorative word in the Portuguese language; its meaning is defined by the intentionality of the speaker. Gradually, it became unacceptable and was replaced by expressions such as \textit{negro}^{63}, \textit{minoria étnica or pessoa de côr} (black, ethnic minority, coloured person) as more politically correct labels for people of African origin.

Hostile and discriminative behaviours are generally directed at the supposed manifestations of ‘otherness’ (Hirschman, 2004: 388). With her Cape Verdean upbringing, Deolinda was not like the Portuguese, because she had not been socialized into their culture although they spoke the same language. This ‘stigma’ also affects the descendants of ‘others’ who must face and live with the widespread conviction that they are not able to socialize into the culture of the host country.

Discrimination of ‘blacks’ in Portugal became more apparent in the 1990s when followers of an extreme right movement^{64} started fights with African immigrants in Lisbon. Racist attacks of extreme violence happened. The worst was the murder of a Cape Verdean man, Alcino Monteiro, in 1995 by members of a Skinhead Movement^{65} and the National Action Movement (MAS) in the centre of Lisbon (Bairro Alto). His death^{66} led to the organization of the first demonstration against racism with an overwhelming participation of African and Portuguese citizens. They were supported by immigrant associations and political parties, condemning the incident. For the first time in Portugal, Africans took to the streets to claim justice. This has been one the most important collective and public protests in the Portuguese anti-racist and immigrant associative movement.

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Footnotes:

62 In 1969 Portuguese State Television (RTP) showed an advert by the firm of Couto for a line of hair products with the purpose to darken white hair. The text of the voice-off was the following: \textit{um preto com cabeleira loura ou um branco com carapinha não é natural, o que é natural é usar o cabelo que é seu.} Restaurador Olex (a black guy with a blond wig or a white guy with corkscrew-hair aren’t natural, what is natural is using your own hair. Restaurador Olex. This advert provoked controversy due to the use of the word ‘preto’, but still continued to be shown on RTP for more than a year. Only in 2005 was production of Olex stopped for health risks provoked by the use of lead acetate in its composition.

63 This word was used in Portugal during the sixteenth century in slave registries or for places such as neighbourhoods associated with ‘blacks’, both enslaved or free, like Rua do Poço dos Negros (Street of the Pond of the Blacks) which still exists in Lisbon - an old street in an old area of São Bento.

64 On 10 June 1995, followers of the same movement murdered the Cape Verdean Alcino Monteiro in Lisbon’s Bairro Alto.

65 The Skinhead Movement and the National Action Movement were banned for their fascist ideology by the Portuguese Constitution.

66 His killing provoked a massive debate in Portugal. According to a research conducted by the Universidade Católica Portuguesa this subject appeared in 61 articles in the media.
In the same year, publication of the book *Preto no Branco* (‘Black in White’) by N’Ganga (1995), a university student and association activist from Angola, caused discussion of colonial relationships and their connections with interethnic relations in Portuguese society. This book’s critical approach represents the political attitudes of the young generation of Africans, as N’Ganga affirmed: “The real purpose of the process of miscegenation [...] was [...] to build an obstacle that would not allow the awakening of a black consciousness” (N’Ganga, 1995: 86). He claims that the second generation of Africans did not want to assimilate to ‘white’ norms, as colonialism had forced their parents to. They assumed their ‘blackness’ as a right and as an essential element of their identity as citizens. This statement had a great impact and provoked public discussions in the media, which improved the visibility of migrant associations and also of the ‘differences’ between first and second generation African immigrants in Portugal.

SOS Racismo had already documented the activities of skinhead groups in Portugal linked to the Movimento de Acção Nacional (Movement of National Action), an extreme right-wing group with connections to similar organizations in other countries. On 26 May 1993 the Secretário de Estado para a Juventude (Secretary of State for Youth), Miguel Costa, stated “I must say that in Portugal this problem of intolerance, xenophobia and racism is fortunately less prevalent than in other countries. First of all, and as everyone knows, there has been a very clear policy of proximity between races and cultures since the time of Afonso de Albuquerque (a naval officer and the second Governor of India in the sixteenth century)”.

Here, this statement enters into a dialogue with Lusotropicalist logic by attributing anti-racist practices to the Portuguese since colonial times. The discourse of Lusotropicalism would become Portugal’s ideological justification for maintaining and continuing to enforce its colonial mission (Castelo, 1998). In an emblematic speech made during the celebration of 506 years since Cape Verde’s discovery by the President of the Liga de Amigos de Cabo-Verde, (League of Friends of Cape Verde), Aguinaldo Veiga, a Cape Verdean who collaborated with the *Estado Novo*, Lusotropicalism was associated with the Cape Verdean people emphasizing peaceful coexistence in the colonial empire, Christianity and ethnic

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67 SOS Racismo was a Non Governmental Organization which drew attention to discriminatory behaviour against migrants in Portugal for 21 years.

68 “Devo dizer, contudo, que em Portugal este problema de intolerância, de xenofobia e de racismo felizmente tem uma expressão menos grave do que noutros países. Em primeiro lugar, porque todos sabemos que desde o tempo de Afonso de Albuquerque houve uma política muito clara de aproximação de raças e culturas”.

69 Lusotropicalismo (Lusotropicalism) is a term introduced by Gilberto Freyre in 1951 in a speech in Goa and appeared two years later in his book *Aventura e Rotina e um Brasileiro em Terras Portuguesas*. It is a Brazilian narrative celebrating the practice of racial-cultural intimacy among the Portuguese and colonized Africans.
conviviality: “... the human mould from which emerged the Cape Verdean people, today proclaimed as the most perfect human and social synthesis of Lusotropicalism in the world and the most concrete expression of tranquility and ethnic conviviality in peace and according to Christianity, represents a unique formula for a plan of peace in the world” (Veiga, 1966: 13). At the same conference, Álvaro Rego, the Portuguese speaker identified himself as a Cape Verdean to enhance the mutual feeling of cohesion: “I did it, as if I was a real Cape Verdean. It was no longer a question of humour: If the Cape Verdeans were Portuguese, and I was Portuguese ... I was also somehow Cape Verdean!” (Rego, 1966: 26).

Racial differences have been a primordial source of identity and intergroup antagonism from the earliest times to the present, with ancient hatreds, exploitation, and discrimination being among the common patterns. There has never been any “credible justification for assuming that physical markers, such as skin colour, can be considered as ascriptive characteristics that universally predict socio-cultural characteristics” (Hirschman, 2004: 410). It was only in 1999 that the laws and social policies in Portugal prohibited discrimination in the exercise of rights based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin. However, reality showed a continuing infringement of rights related to racial discrimination of ethnic groups, even after legislation criminalized these acts.

**Ferreira Family** — Josefina and Alfredo’s life narratives are comparable with the migratory experience of other early settlers such as returning Portuguese emigrants from the former colonies, mainly from Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique. Some had lived a hard life in São Vicente, an island with scanty vegetation and partly unproductive. Alfredo resumed it in

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70 Boletim Cultural (1966), *Número Comemorativo do 506º Aniversário do Achamento das Ilhas de Cabo Verde*, Liga dos Amigos de Cabo-Verde: Luanda, Angola. Agualdo Carvalho da Veiga was born in Santiago in 1916. As a lawyer, he collaborated with Salazar’s regime; worked in Guiné as President of the Municipality of Bissau, in Angola as Vogal do Concelho Economic (Economic Council), in Cape Verde as Secretary of the Governor of Cape Verde and in Portugal during the 7th legislation-period of the Estado Novo in 1969: “o quadro humano de que surgiu o povo caboverdiano, hoje proclamado como a mais perfeita síntese humana e social do lusotropicalismo no mundo e a mais concreta expressão da tranquilidade e da convivência étnica na paz e na ordem do Cristianismo, fórmula talvez única para um esquema de paz no mundo.”

71 Álvaro Rego presented the following theme ‘Cabo-Verde, província mais genuinamente Portuguesa do Portugal actual’ (‘Cape Verde, the most genuine Portuguese province of Portugal at present’), “... Fi-lo como se fora um caboverdeano genuino. Já não se tratava duma questão de humor: Se os caboverdeanos eram Portugueses, e eu era português... eu era de certo modo caboverdeano!”

two words: “vida nhanida”73 (life of misery). In Cape Verde the word ‘nhanida’ has the sense of life of hardship. Carreira resumed the hardship of living on the islands in one sentence: “everything in these islands combines to impose on man a hard, difficult and wretched way of life” (1982: 15). For farmers, the frequent droughts74, resulting from irregular or scanty rainfall in the 1970s, diminished the supply of basic foodstuffs and caused famine and poverty in many families. As Josefina remembered “there was not a drop of rain for more than four years and food was difficult to get in the local market”. According to Carreira, “the circumstances of life in the islands forced people into work which tied them to the soil, but in times of crisis they had nothing to do or eat” (1982: 176).

Influence exercised by relatives in Cape Verde on those who emigrated to Portugal, determine the decision of other family members to leave São Vicente. In Alfredo’s case it was a hard and sudden decision, but for the majority of migrants with relatives already living in Portugal, the project to migrate was planned for months as it involved financial resources and work prospects, as Alfredo remembers:

“I could have stayed, but my brother told me every week that he had a job waiting for me and the money was good. I thought about it for months and suddenly I wanted to leave as soon as possible. With my brother’s money I bought the ticket, but could only pay him back six months after I arrived in Portugal. I did not know what awaited me here.”

Alfredo’s economic expectation made him imagine and idealize a stable life in Portugal. His brother’s network in Lisbon could provide him with enough money to migrate and work as soon as he arrived.

**The Impact on Arrival in Cova da Moura**

Alfredo explained that he “experienced a prosperous life on the mainland where the demand for work on construction sites was high”. Immediately after arriving in Portugal, Josefina and Alfredo got accommodation in a relative’s shack in Cova da Moura where they stayed for six months. One week after their arrival, Alfredo started a job on the building site close to the neighbourhood where his cousin already worked. Josefina got a small job of 16 hours a week in a cleaning firm substituting a neighbour. Her first cleaning work was in a bank chain, substituted by relatives.

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73 A Creole Word derived from nhani, meaning suffering or misery.
74 The Cape Verde archipelago was drought and famine prone from 1875-1876, 1883-1886, 1889-1890, 1896-1904, 1918-1921, 1939-1943, 1945-1948. In the years from 1903 to 1948 more than 80,000 deaths occurred (cf. Carreira, 1982: 16). Until 1975 droughts continued to be frequent and prolonged.
which had to be done before the opening hour of the bank’s branches in Lisbon at 8.30 am. She worked in a team with other Cape Verdean women from different islands. Their tasks included cleaning windows, floors, desks and toilets. Each of them had their own space to clean, and they had to do it quickly before the bank employees arrived. The team had good interaction which often provoked cheerfulness and laughter, as Josefina remembers:

“It was a good time, because we were like sisters. We often had a good laugh. If one of my colleagues was irritated, I knew that this feeling had nothing to do with us. Life is just like that … The problem was the relation with the supervisor, Dina, an Angolan woman from Nova Lisboa. She didn’t speak our Crioulo, and of course that’s our language. She got mad at us, because she couldn’t understand what we were talking about. And if something went wrong, she reported it to the boss and the person involved would lose the job within a few days. Later, she did the same thing to me, she was a devil....”

For Josefina, the bank job was perfect; not very physically demanding and an opportunity for comic relief with colleagues she liked. These interactions relied on moral ideals of solidarity between Cape Verdone from different islands. Although Josefina had just a temporary verbal work contract for three months, the good relationship between colleagues was so rewarding that she considered doing this precarious work for a long time. However, some weeks after the incident with her Angolan supervisor, Josefina stopped cleaning the bank and her group of colleagues was also dispersed, working for different firms. As for Dina, Josefina suggested that “she thinks she is something special, because she comes from a rich country, Virgin Mary has mercy on them”. Indeed, Angola held a privileged space in the former Portuguese territories in Africa due to its valuable raw materials, such as diamonds and oil. Presumably, the high esteem of the colonial power could also be reflected in the perception and attitudes of the colonized, even towards each other. An illustrative quotation from Aguinaldo Veiga, for example, compares Angola to a ‘giant’.

Josefina’s slight prejudice against Angolans extended to her neighbour Paula, born in Bié, Angola.

One day when I was visiting her, her neighbour Paula came to Josefina’s house to divide the payment of electricity bills (only one account for several households). Overhearing the conversation, I realized that Josefina intended to prove to me that she was right in her reasoning. She whispered to me “Paula sounds like Dina”. Obviously, the use of Crioulo by

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75 As Veiga mentioned “... enxertar no corpo gigante da nossa Angola, as artérias de comunicação vitais ao progresso e ao desenvolvimento económico e social do gigante” (“... implanting in the giant body of our Angola, the arteries of communication vital for progress and social and economic development of the giant (Angola)”) (Veiga, 1966: 14).
the Cape Verdean employees constituted a marker of difference and belonging. Possibly, Dina as an Angolan had felt intentionally excluded or discriminated by the Cape Verdeans and decided to demonstrate her power and higher status in the firm.

Discrimination seems to affect different African ethnic groups and nationalities. From his arrival, Alfredo was subjected to bad working conditions, which he commented sadly: “We (the Africans) did the heavy work. If the boss called us, he didn’t call our name, just ‘ó preto, vem aqui’ (hey, black guy, come here)”. They were not only discriminated as ‘black Africans’, but also exploited by their employer. Alfredo received lower wages than the minimum wage stipulated by the state, allegedly because of his low productivity: “I always did my best and I know that I was working harder than the Portuguese that were there”. Aware of his undocumented status, the employer knew that Alfredo could neither complain to unions nor to other official institutions.

A member of the Lisbon Construction Workers Union (SCL) described how the Cape Verdean workers were treated in the 1970s:

“The Cape Verdeans were often subject to exploitation, there is no doubt about it. They didn’t speak Portuguese and they were fooled by employers without scruples. At the end of the month when they wanted to have their accounts in order, employers often pretended not to have the financial means to pay them. Sometimes the Cape Verdeans didn’t even have enough money to eat, but the employers didn’t care... They often disregarded the workers’ rights. The Union tried to intervene but not in an official way, because they were ‘illegal’ in Portugal.”


“We were always surrounded by Cape Verdeans. But with the arrival in Cova da Moura some notions of unfairness appeared. I am not referring to the other residents, with whom we got along, but to the people outside the neighbourhood ... To those, we were just work force without needs, feelings, nothing... I heard comments on the bus, like as “go to your country (Cape Verde)” or “what are you doing here (Portugal), you are just taking the jobs of Portuguese who could do it much better”. How do you feel, when you just try to make an honest living in a different country and are confronted every day with racists remarks... When I was pregnant and needed to take the bus no one offered me a seat, although it was reserved for the handicapped and pregnant
women ... when there was a free seat, I didn’t even sit down, fearing to hear more comments.”

“Skin color and other attributes of physical appearance were used as identifiers for discriminatory treatment and group identity” (Hirschman, 2004: 399). After 1974 open racism was condemned in Portugal, although there were many cases of ‘subtle’ or ‘hidden’ racism, as Josefina expressed it. Casual observation of physical appearance was sufficient to provoke derogatory comments while Josefina was doing her work:

“When I arrived in Portugal, I did not realize how bad it really was. I was in Cova da Moura and only left the neighbourhood when the bus picked us up for work. But I’ll never forget that one day when we were doing our cleaning job in a bank; an employee arrived early and saw us cleaning his desk. He pushed us away and said: “If you don’t have anything better to do than disturb people, why don’t you do it in your own country” (she had tears in her eyes). This situation made me feel that I could never belong here. I was ‘black and a Cape Verdean’, so I should go back to Cape Verde. But life teaches me to overcome such comments and reactions, but I become more defensive and still after thirty years I don’t feel like you (Portuguese).”

These difficulties, as stated above, lead to what appears to be disharmonious coexistence of cultures and therefore in these cases the target family members take refuge in their own communities, avoiding an encounter of cultures that could lead to full social and economic integration. Isolation or segregation contribute to a lack of knowledge about what the ‘others’ are, and to the creation of prejudices and stereotypes which replace the mutual confidence that comes from socializing, cooperation and mutual knowledge. Alfredo observed:

“For us (first generation of immigrants) it was more difficult to interact with the Portuguese. We didn’t feel at ease, we used to live on our own and with our people, and we had our own habits. Either the Portuguese attacked us or just ignored us. Actually, the Portuguese were not interested in us, in our way of life. For the younger ones it’s different, they open up a bit, there is more acceptance and tolerance, but there are still problems.”

If ethnic and cultural isolation is often part of a strategy of self-protection and self-preservation of a group’s identity, it can also have negative effects, which may lead to self exclusion and displays of aggressive behaviour against other groups. This attitude was reflected in several statements by teenagers in the neighbourhood. Adelino, born and resident “forever, until I die” in Cova da Moura affirmed angrily:

“Outside ‘Cova’ I keep hearing stupid observations all the time. If I react in an aggressive way, it is the consequence of the bad behaviour of others and it is just a normal thing to do. I am not an apologist of turning the other cheek, I despise them all (the natives)...”
The phenomenon described above was novel in modern Portuguese history and mainly restricted to immigrants of African origin; however, it may be comparable to what happened to Jewish minorities in Portugal during the Middle Ages\textsuperscript{76}.

Before the 1960s, there were relatively few Africans, mainly students, official colonial members permanently residing on the mainland. For the Portuguese, the customs and habits of their countries of origin, then Portuguese colonies were somewhat exotic, but during the long colonial history much had been absorbed by Portuguese society. This does not mean that Africans were integrated, without difficulties. Racism\textsuperscript{77} is still prevalent in Portuguese society against ethnic groups, including the Cape Verdean community. Especially the residents of Cova da Moura continue to be targeted as a whole, because of their physical / geographical separation.

In the specific case of Cape Verdeans, the first generation of immigrants until 1975 were not considered immigrants, as they came from a Portuguese colonial territory. There was a modus vivendi that could be defined as mutual acceptance, especially when economic, social and cultural differences were not highlighted. If Cape Verdeans had a low social status, they were as Josefina points out just ‘invisible’, just “the workforce”. However, the invisible nature of Cape Verdean ethnicity is a phenomenon which Deirdre Meintel (1984) called ‘double invisibility’, because the continuing obscurity of Cape Verdeans parallels their historical lack of recognition within the colonial empire. At a national level, they also suffered from a ‘double invisibility’ as ‘blacks’ and as ‘black foreigners’.

This ‘invisibility’ of being ignored or unaccounted for except as mere work force can hardly be justified, given the increase in numbers of Cape Verdeans and their community within the greater Lisbon area. They are physically present, but for the main population they remain invisible at the same time. Their presence is simultaneously growing not only among the

\textsuperscript{76} The belief that social and cultural differences between groups are inherited and immutable is an idea that emerged as a result of three transformations: European, including Portuguese, colonialism in the nineteenth century; the slavery of millions of Africans included natives of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and the development of Social Darwinism with the theory of European superiority that also became dominant in the nineteenth century.

\textsuperscript{77} It first appeared in 1907 in the Oxford English Dictionary as racialism - “belief in the superiority of a particular race”. Cf. Miles, R. (1989), Racism, Rutledge, p. 42. Racism as such appears in the writings of Frederick Hertz as early as the 1920s. It is a structure of belief that the ‘other community’ is inherently inferior and lacks the capacity to create a society comparable to one’s own.
Portuguese population, but even in the social, economic and cultural manifestations of music and gastronomy depicted by the media. Cape Verdean food has become a common staple for many Lisboans and connoisseurs of exotic foods as is the music of the late Cesária Évora, Tito Paris, Bonga, Lura, Nancy Vieira and Sara Tavares with their melancholic style similar to Fado.

V.3.2 Migration Experiences

This section will focus on what migration experiences are in the words of some Cape Verdean family members. From early ‘forced’ migration to escape poverty to a later stage when they provided for the family in the host country and at home. Institutional help facilitated integration of the new settlers in Cova da Moura.

First Generation

**Sousa Family** – When Lourenço arrived in Portugal he already knew where to stay and had work. As already mentioned, he heard through a cousin that it was relatively easy to get work on building sites in Portugal. A continuous flow of information between the relatives in Cape Verde and the migrants already settled in Cova da Moura provided valuable contacts and the help Lourenço needed when he arrived alone. Family and neighbourhood networks proved to be an important element of adaptation in the first period of migration. These networks also facilitated the possibility for other members of their family and friends to join the Sousas in Portugal. Judite affirmed that: “it’s like a chain; we have to support each other, no matter the difficulties”. In return, they offered accommodation to others who arrived in Portugal and also helped them out financially when necessary. For Judite, the obligation to help the family back home, especially her elderly parents, was strongly felt.

It became obvious in the interviews that Judite’s feelings of guilt for not having been present when her mother died were very strong. Although she had helped her mother, Judite’s family in Santo Antão would still criticize her on the basis of being female which meant a particular obligation to family, and at the same time being the oldest sister who could migrate and hence leave the mother behind. In an informal conversation she remembers:
“After our arrival other members of the family came to Cova da Moura. We also got all the information from a cousin. They all settled in the same street making things easier for all of us. Some came alone; others with children, but when they arrived, everyone found shelter in someone’s house. There were times, when five or six people slept on the floor of one small bedroom. But that is the life of a migrant, a life of sharing. I helped my mother, who was ill, to have a more comfortable life in Santo Antão until she died. Now (in 2009), I help my father and a cousin who have money problems. Our obligation is to help those who need it; God will recognize our effort one day...”

Characteristically, this help which extends to all Cape Verdean migrants also has to do with the degree to which they send remittances to their families. Although the sending of remittances to families allows households to secure basic needs and cope with the economic crisis, income fluctuations accentuate the problem. Achieving a steady flow of money is therefore one of the most important ways for households to reduce their vulnerability. Every month after Judite’s arrival in Portugal in 1976, she sent 7, 5 € to 10 € (1500$00 to 2000$00 Escudos) from a salary of 78 € (15 600$00 Escudos) to her older brother who was in charge of their parents’ finances and welfare. These remittances allowed her brother to get a cousin to help the parents in their house, allowing them to improve their life substantially in Santo Antão. With this money, her mother could have medical help and medicine to treat her disease. The regular flow of these ‘traditional’ remittances seems to have ebbed or even ceased among members of the first generation.

**Second Generation**

The second generation is more focused on their own lives and projects, according to Francisca’s comment:

“I have too much trouble getting by with my children. I cannot support or help my family in Cape Verde. My mother always did, but I need help myself. I know that my family (mother and brothers) were always there for me, but I think that life changes. It is not being ungrateful, but life in Santo Antão is better now; they don’t need so much support as before.”

Obviously, Francisca’s difficulties in getting by and her responsibility towards her two children without the support of the fathers, has influenced her tendency towards a more individualistic attitude. Concomitantly, Francisca’s lack of employment and the worsening economic situation in Portugal are reasons for not helping her family in Cape Verde. The

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78 In São Vicente I was told by old and young residents in rural areas that receiving family remittances are a normal supportive attitude, a duty towards those relatives who had not had the chance to migrate to another country.
mental preparation for sacrifice, in the first generation, has diminished in the second
generation of the target families. However, Francisca’s loyalty to her family was never in
question. While she openly acknowledges the help and support they need, she is unable to
contribute. As limited as her income is, she shows up with her children at family gatherings
for festive occasions and calls Judite in Santo Antão on a weekly basis, indicating Francisca’s
continuous emotional although not financial commitment.

First Generation

Costa Family – The impact that a large city in a different country with a different language
had on Deolinda left some ‘scars’ upon her, even after living in Portugal for years: “I had a
hard life, but this belongs to the past”. However, after working for three years in Algés, she
thought: “It’s time to leave; I’ll go some place where I can find another job”.

When she knew that she could find the same kind of work somewhere else, she left Algés
and went to the Algarve where new hotels were opening. In a small hotel in Portimão she was
employed as a domestic. Deolinda was living in a small room just across from her place of
work, which was convenient, because sometimes she would start at 6 am. On different days
she would finish at 2 am, as she was working shifts. Her contact with her employer, a
Portuguese woman, was limited. Deolinda knew what to do; most of their communication
took place via telephone calls: “Algarve means holidays and a good time to the Portuguese.
For me it was work, low salary and isolation”. The other five employees were poor
Portuguese women near retirement age whose wages probably resembled Deolinda’s as these
women needed to do other cleaning jobs in different households. Her income was not enough
and she got another job in a café nearby, where she met Alcino. They had a son, Rui:

“During the first year things went fine. Afterwards, Alcino just wanted to go back to
his family and didn’t care for his son, I never spoke to him anymore, I don’t know if
he is dead or alive.”

Alcino decided to go back to Cape Verde and Deolinda decided to move to Lisbon with Rui.
Deolinda had a friend in Cova da Moura and through her she immediately found a job as a
cook in the neighbourhood: “It was the first job I really liked. Not only the people, but the
whole neighbourhood”. Deolinda rented the first floor of a house in Rua Direita and decided
to stay:
“Without connections in Lisbon, it would have been impossible to survive here with my son. I didn’t have money, so if I hadn't found a job immediately, I’d have been ruined, not only me but Rui, too. Fortunately, the neighbours helped me even without knowing me. It’s like it's part of my memories of Santiago.”

Deolinda told me that Cova da Moura was the first place where she felt really happy. She got to know everyone in a short time and contrary to the discrimination she had suffered before, she could count on the solidarity of her neighbours: “suddenly almost everyone helps everyone and was ‘black’ like me”. Cova da Moura was for her the place where she found real friends and support: “This place has good honest people, especially the old people like me (she is 48 years old)”. It was also there she met the father of Luisa and Dália: “a violent man, always suspicious”. The neighbourhood social network can leak secrets about the life of migrants in Portugal, and consequently give them and their families a bad reputation in their place of origin, as Deolinda confirmed:

“My husband was always jealous without reason. When he heard that some other men were betrayed, he would come home and be violent against us. When he was working far from home, he had people spying on me to know all my movements … sometimes he knew what I was doing before I did. Those were difficult times that ended in divorce.”

Apparently, the mere suspicion of Deolinda’s infidelity was the motive for much of the common domestic violence she and the children suffered. Obviously, it led to the relationship’s instability (word spread to Santiago) and consequently to separation. Nevertheless, Deolinda stayed in the same house in Cova da Moura for more than two decades: “Although I’m not living there anymore it will always be my house and Cova da Moura my neighbourhood”.

First Generation

Ferreira Family – Josefina felt ‘at home’ in Cova da Moura. The couple was surrounded by family members living close by. Just like themselves, they had recently arrived from São Vicente. There is a difficult balance between the economic benefits of migration to a host country and the emotional costs identified as the loss of contact with one’s kin. This idea was expressed by Josefina as “the main difficulties” which she identified as “the need to earn money and leave your loved ones behind”: “God knows when or if I will ever see them
The concept of ‘emotional labour’ was introduced by Hochschild (1975) referring to the use of emotions in an organizational and private setting. This notion can be applied to this family, because it is emotional labour that allows the maintenance of close kin connection spread over various countries during long periods of time. The term has been used in the literature on household and domestic workers (Constable, 1997, Parrenas, 2001, Sorensen, 2002), describing the intimate negotiation with family members left behind. The emphasis on the difficult balance between the economic benefits of migration and its emotional costs includes the act of sending remittances, ‘overcompensate’ (Parrenas, 2001: 323) for the physical absence at a psychological level, in order to rid their conscience of a sense of guilt, as Josefina confirmed:

“What I want is that all the members of my family can live a life without worries. They are far from me and that is already distressing for them, for me and for my husband. Despite our weekly phone calls their presence is important for me. My children are in Switzerland. I see them three times a year, are they well? You may say what you want on the phone, but if you talk face to face it’s a different thing, but ‘sodad’ (longing, homesickness)... What keeps me going is the relationship with our neighbourhood; there is mutual help, because everyone here has the same problems …”

‘Sodad’ (saudade) is also an expression repeatedly used by Josefina – a compensation for harsh reality; although in Cova da Moura she could reproduce the same rituals she had in Cape Verde. For the Cape Verdeans ‘sodad’ is the ‘national emotion’ (Akesson, 2004: 44). This strong feeling is associated with separation from loved ones, an almost traumatic experience of the initial separation, which slowly diminishes, leaving its somewhat nostalgic leitmotiv in Cape Verdean musical and literary culture. In colonial times, this recurrent term was already mentioned with positive connotations and later used to distinguish Cape Verdean ‘feeling’ from other mentalities: “With the epoch of Infante D. Henrique another dimension was added to Lusitanian history: the ‘saudade’” (Veiga, 1966:12). As Josefina mentioned later “we are used to this separation, it is the Cape Verdean destiny”. This sense of fatalism

79 In Portugal, the expression ‘saudade’ is associated with the Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa who portrayed Portugal as a nation, destined to depart and discover other countries.
80 Cf. Cesária Evora’s ‘national anthem’ entitled ‘Sodade’, which was curiously enough first popularized on the album Angola 74 (Bonga, 1974).
81 “Com a época do Infante D. Henrique foi acrescentada mais uma dimensão à história lusíada: a da saudade” (Veiga, 1966: 12).
can be linked to what is taught by the Catholic Church. For many Cape Verdians living in the neighbourhood may be linked to this fatalistic faith, but it lies also in its support, morally as well as economically. In Josefina’s particular case in Cova da Moura, she can speak the same Crioulo with her relatives and neighbours, as their circle of friends often originated from the same islands. She can find the same ingredients to prepare cachupa as in Cape Verde and she can buy ‘grogue’ of Santo Antão in the grocery next door. She can buy the CDs of mornas or kuduro in the local record shop, celebrate the festive dates of Cape Verde and even listen to Sunday mass in Crioulo:

“When I arrived in the ‘bairro’, I couldn’t express myself in ‘mais ou menos português’ (acceptable Portuguese language). I wanted to do exactly the same things I used to do in São Vicente, even though it was not the same. In the ‘bairro’ I could buy like I used to buy in Cape Verde. Even the mass in the church was in Crioulo - a blessing; I could understand everything the priest said. It was not the same, but it was a bit of the island in our ‘bairro’... and the ‘sodad’ for my mother and neighbours ... those were difficult times. We had to leave but the ‘sodad’ remains.”

The hostility of the migratory experience that Josefina explained was also aggravated by cultural differences, language difficulties and a non-understanding of the organization of the host society. Their scarce free time was spent mainly inside the neighbourhood even to go shopping, while the outside area was reserved for work and to go to church.

The priest of Damaia Church has accompanied the Cape Verdean community of Cova da Moura for more than thirty years. He is apprehensive about the monetary situation and tried to receive funding from welfare - until now unsuccessfully. His mission is to “give moral support to these humble and struggling people”. He was the confidant of many and noticed that the faith is growing in the younger generations, contrary to the tendency in other parishes. His assumption is that in these “difficult times, young people realize that materialism is not everything and hopefully turn to more spiritual matters”.

Second Generation

The Catholic Church provides assistance to families in precarious situations and its nursery school offers free school attendance and meals to children until the age of five. Some

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82 The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto nacional de Estatística/National Institute of Statistics) registered that 25 806 (73.62%) of Cape Verdean citizens living in Portugal were Catholics.
members of the second generation have benefited from the facilities, like Albertino’s son, who has attended this play-school since he turned one year old. His mother Marisa expressed her fear that this service may come to an end soon, due to the critical economic situation, since the church budget is mainly based on donations from private firms:

“It is a very good nursery school, and the teachers are very aware of the economic difficulties that we face at the moment. They even give second hand clothes to children that cannot afford to buy new ones. And the food is very good, too. We are very worried about the possibility of closing the school, because I am working the whole day - where would I leave Pedro? I could not pay a private play-school and Moinho da Juventude is full…”

The importance of the Catholic Church, ranging from spiritual to social activities, helped integration in the new neighbourhood. Before the emergence of the associations, it provided the only support for many immigrants that could not afford to live in Portugal. In times of general economic crisis, these activities are again of major importance in the neighbourhood, because government subsidies have been reduced and private contributions are not enough to maintain the social services provided for the residents of Cova da Moura.

V.3.3 Government Policies regarding Legalization and Family Reunification

The population of Cova da Moura consisted in the 1980s of Portuguese and African citizens, many of whose descendents were born in Portugal. 72% of the residents were foreign citizens and two thirds of them were Cape Verdeans. In this section, I explain how the new laws and policies concerning immigration, introduced by the Portuguese State, changed the status of almost all members of the target families and many other immigrants who arrived in Portugal after the 1980s.

Immigration and nationality laws explicitly pointed to the existence of new communities and consequently to new social categories to which these immigrants pertained. These laws limited claims to Portuguese citizenship by former colonial African citizens and their descendents in the Diaspora. This process started after the Revolution (25 April 1974) in Portugal and the ensuing decolonization, in order to close off the possibilities of Portuguese nationality for non-Portuguese and their descendents from Africa.
The new constitution of 1975 preserved the old law of 1959 that granted immediate Portuguese citizenship to all people who were born in the Portuguese empire. The citizenship law (Decree-Law 305A/1975) that revoked Portuguese nationality status from former Portuguese African citizens did not define the terms of nationality under which Africans would become nationals of their new nation states. Furthermore, the law (Decree-Law 308-A-75 of 24 July) withdraws Portuguese nationality from many Portuguese citizens born in the ex-African colonies, creating uncertainties in a substantial number of Cape Verdeans who claimed Portuguese citizenship.

In 1981, there were 27,000 people from the PALOPS (Países Africanos de Língua Portuguesa, Portuguese Speaking African Countries) living in Portugal, representing 45% of the foreign population and considered legal residents (Baganha, 2005: 29). The nationality and immigration laws of 1981 (article nº 1, Law 37/81 of 3 October 1981) defined who was, or was not, entitled to Portuguese nationality and determined the acquirement of Portuguese citizenship for Africans born in former colonies. Consequently, the implications of this new law affected the life trajectories of all members of the target families, as Alfredo complained: “to be ‘illegal’ put us at the mercy of people with good or bad intentions”. This law determined that all citizens born in the newly independent African countries were considered foreigners in Portugal. In addition, the descendents of Africans born in Portugal would not be recognized as Portuguese citizens unless their parents had been legally working and residing in the country for a minimum of six consecutive years as documented citizens. It thus excluded most members of the target families born (or not) in Portugal from acquiring Portuguese citizenship.

Whoever intended to immigrate in Portugal after 1981 had to apply for a visa at the Portuguese embassy in the country of origin to get permission to enter. With laws concerning deportation, residency and work visas, also passed in 1981 (Law nº 37/81 of 3 October) and 1982 (Decree-Law nº 322/82 of 12 August), a legal framework emerged that jeopardized the rights and political claims of undocumented migrants. A member of ‘SOS Racismo’ explained: “many migrants did not meet these requirements or could not prove their employment or residency status for six consecutive years”. Such laws threatened the citizenship of many second generation Africans who were born in Portugal.

In order to regulate immigration the Portuguese authorities denied automatic Portuguese
citizenship to those who were born in the former African colonies whose parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents had not been born in Portugal or who until the Revolution in 1974 and had not been living for more than five years in Portugal. These measures provoked a massive wave of undocumented migrants in Portugal.

Josefina, Judite, Alfredo and Lourenço’s common experience was that all of them arrived in Portugal with temporary visas and overstayed the period allowed, as Alfredo explained:

“When I came here I had a short-term visa. When the visa expired I had neither time nor money to renew it. I was always afraid; when I saw a policeman, I started panicking. I could not return to São Vicente, I had my life here ... my family, everything. Even so, I remained Cape Verdean.”

In the case of the Cape Verdean families in this study, being undocumented while working and residing in Portugal was tolerated as long as they did not get into trouble with the police. However, the fear of being found out by the authorities increased the partly self-inflicted isolation of many of the residents of Cova da Moura.

In order to obtain legal status and residence in Portugal the Sousas applied in the 1980s for a ‘residence visa’ which was the first necessary step for the subsequent possibility of receiving a ‘residence permit’. For the ‘residence visa’ to be granted, they had to comply with two main conditions: means of subsistence and accommodation. To obtain this, it was enough to have a work contract or the written promise of a work contract. To legally remain in Portugal with a ‘permit to stay’, they had to renew it for a maximum period of five years. As neither Judite nor Lourenço had any written contract, they consequently could not prove their means of subsistence and accommodation, because their house was not legally registered. Since they could not comply with these requirements the ‘residence visa’ was denied. Judite explained how it was impossible for her to ‘legalize’ her situation:

“I came to Portugal with a temporary visa. To renew it, I would have had to spend 280$00 (1,40 Euro) and this was too expensive for me at the beginning of my stay here. I did not care, and I was not aware of the consequences. No one from Cova da Moura was ever afraid of being deported. I don’t know anyone who actually was, although I knew of this possibility... Only in the 1990s there was a legal possibility, but I didn’t apply, because I was afraid of being sent out of the country, and at that time our life began to be more stable. I still couldn’t apply, because everything - house, work, even the family - was undocumented.”
Like Judite, the majority of Cape Verdeans who lived in Cova da Moura and wanted to stay in Portugal were undocumented due to their visas having expired, and the possibility to apply to regularize their status as foreign citizens in Portugal was non-existent as so many lived precarious lives as undocumented citizens.

The Nationality Law of 1993 (Decree-Law nº 59/93 of 3rd March) deals with granting, acquisition and loss of Portuguese nationality, as well as registering, proving and contesting nationality. Portuguese nationality was granted to citizens born in Portuguese territory, who were children of foreign nationals. They should express their wish to be Portuguese and have one parent who had legally resided in Portugal for at least five years. Since 1994, the law has required that such residence be “de jure”, meaning that the applicant should be a legal resident. Meeting this criterion requires a simple declaration to obtain Portuguese nationality. However, as most of the first generation Cape Verdatean immigrants were undocumented, they were not able to apply for legal status. Children born after this law kept their parents’ nationality. This applied to most of the second generation members of the target families who could not apply, because their parents were not legally living in the country, and thus they remained Cape Verdatean.

After implementation of the changed Portuguese Nationality Law, one year after its approval the new criterion applied was the \textit{jus sanguinis}, which determines that nationality depends on one of the progenitors. It also defines that children of foreigners born in Portugal are considered Portuguese, if their parents have had a valid residence permit for more than six years for citizens of Portuguese speaking countries and for others ten years.

Being a foreigner created some constraints even for the second generation, as Francisca confirmed:

“I like and I don’t mind being Cape Verdatean, although I was born in Cape Verde and came to Portugal at three months [of age]. Even though I don’t have my status legalized, it would mean spending too much money and time in the Cape Verdatean Embassy to get it. So it’s a problem. I can’t get a work contract. Nevertheless, I can get free welfare for me and my children and education for the kids, even being ‘illegal’ in this country. Another problem is that I don’t have a passport and Paula [her daughter] is in London, which means that I can’t see her…”

For Francisca, the requirements to get valid documentation as a Cape Verdatean national were too expensive and time-consuming. Similar complaints were expressed by many in the
neighbourhood. Apparently being an undocumented citizen does not have any major consequences, as long as no official documents are needed.

Francisca, as an undocumented citizen, was admitted to school when she was six years old. The Portuguese education system offers “Primary school\textsuperscript{83} which is universal, compulsory and free”. Portuguese law does not deny attendance at state schools to children without legal status: “I went to school, but I didn’t have my nationality up to date. I was neither Cape Verdean, nor Portuguese, and this was the case of the majority of my classmates at the school in Cova da Moura.” The same applied when she needed to go to a public hospital - she was entitled to general health care.

Being undocumented in Portugal made several members of the target families invent new strategies to fulfil their dreams by circumventing the obstacles of immigration laws. The example of the Sousas shows that, despite the difficulties in obtaining legal status as immigrants in Portugal, it was not impossible to reunite the family. Portuguese legislation allows those with a ‘residence’ and ‘short term visa’ permit for at least one year to invite their kin\textsuperscript{84}: any legal immigrant “has the right to bring his family together by having those members of his family who are outside Portugal join him, provided that they have lived with him in another country or are financially dependent on him” (Decree-Law 4/2001 of 10\textsuperscript{th} January). However, if a family member’s current situation is not ‘legal’, he or she will have to pay a fine to be eligible for family reunification. Lourenço’s case illustrates the difficulties of the process. After having stayed and worked in Portugal for one year as an undocumented Cape Verdean citizen. He applied to legalize his situation and be reunited with Judite and Daniel. Previously, he had asked for a ‘short term visa’ permit for himself. Before he knew the answer, he asked for a ‘temporary visa’ – one year of permanence (renewable) for his family members. That was the only way to achieve family reunification. For the following reasons, he gave up:

“\textit{I had already some sort of steady job on the building site, but no contract. I had already built a shack in Cova da Moura, but not legalized it. It was time to bring Judite\textsuperscript{83} It spans nine years and is divided into three cycles: the first is four years, the second two years and the third three years.\textsuperscript{84} Family members eligible for reunification are: spouses; under-aged sons/daughters and children adopted by the immigrant or his/her spouse (under 18 years old); first degree ancestors of both the immigrant and his/her spouse (but only when they are economically dependent on the immigrant or his/her spouse); and under-aged brothers/sisters under the custody of the immigrant residing in Portugal (cf.: Law 23/2007 of 4 July 2007, art. 98 n°1).}
The process was denied, because my temporary tourist visa from Cape Verde was already expired, anyway, it needed too many papers and too much money. They come anyway ‘illegally’, as Cape Verdeans.”

To apply for family reunification, Lourenço had to prove that he could provide financial and housing conditions to receive family members and he had no documents that confirmed these conditions. No objective criteria were defined for these financial and housing assessments, but since he was living in an ‘illegal’ house, working without a contract, with an expired visa, he could not fulfill these requirements.

The Serviços de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Service for Foreigners and Borders), dependent on the Ministry of the Interior, approves this process which takes a legal period of nine months to assess and answer. This period is extended in most cases to one or two years simply because of the backlog of requests. Consequently some of the most important documents required have expiry dates that are usually exceeded.

To enter Portugal in the 1980s, Albertino, a cousin from Josefina, had a short term visa (for three months) issued by the Portuguese embassy in Cape Verde. He wanted to remain in Portugal even after the validity of his visa had expired. To apply for an extension of his visa he had to prove that he had a valid working contract and as that was not the case he had to pay a considerable amount of money. This is how Albertino reflected:

“I went to Portugal with a visa. A month before the trip I got my three-month ‘tourist visa’. I did not know if I would stay in Portugal or not, or go to another country. After the visa expired, I never had time or money to renew it, and I became an ‘illegal’ worker. I told my wife that she was going to Portugal as soon as possible. I had always heard that wages were much better here and I was young and eager to build a better future for me and my family…. I told my family I was going to send them money and soon bring more family members and my brother also … Yes, I was easily employed but sometimes I did not receive money for my work and could not complain to anyone. I was ‘illegal’ here. Then I survived on ‘biscates’ (odd jobs on the side) but I

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85 The Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) is a security service under the Ministério da Administração Interna (Ministry of Home Affairs), with administrative autonomy and is part of the internal security policy of the country. The mission of this service is to implement the Portuguese policy for immigration and asylum in agreement with the provisions of the Constitution and the Law, and the Government’s guidelines. The objectives of this service are to control the movement of persons at borders, the permanence and activities of foreigners in Portugal, as well as examining, promoting, co-ordinating and executing measures and actions related to these activities and to migratory movements.
always had work … I never thought that later, having paid no income tax, I'd have no social rights”.

Albertino reported that his decision to migrate was motivated by the possibility to overstay in Europe and get steady work in another job other than working in the fields in São Vicente. Like so many others who left the country, he overstayed in foreign destinations and tried a new line of work which he hoped would provide a steady income every month.

In the Town Hall of Amadora, the person responsible for regularization processes recalled how hard it was for the immigrants that arrived in Cova da Moura:

“The family reunification process is very slow and causes a lot of suffering for the different parties involved. Usually, the father emigrates and has to wait for his legalization process to be concluded, as only legal immigrants can apply for the family reunification process and only after staying legally in Portugal for at least one year. Moreover, it is necessary to prove that the immigrant has financial and housing conditions to receive the family members. The average waiting time for the actual authorization for family reunification is in most cases almost two years. So, together with the first year that the immigrant has to wait to apply for the process, the average waiting time to bring family members to Portugal is actually around three years. All these aspects increase the number of family members entering Portugal through more informal processes, and leads to a high number of immigrants living and working illegally.”

That was the case of Deolinda’s mother, Sílvia, who arrived in Portugal from Santiago in the late 1990s after her daughter had applied for family reunification. After Sílvia’s husband had died, she decided to move to Cova da Moura to help Deolinda raise her two daughters Dália and Luisa. She applied for a ‘temporary’ residence permit (for two years / renewable), in order to obtain the same rights as defined by law for foreign residents. According to Deolinda, who had Portuguese nationality (as she came to Portugal when Cape Verde was still a Portuguese colony), the process took a long time and some of the documents expired. She tried a second time and somehow the application was ultimately successful:

“My mother (Sílvia) came to Portugal to help me. Since she is a widow she applied for a temporary permit. It was difficult because it took a long time to get an answer and in the meantime the documents from Cape Verde expired and I had to prove that I could support my mother financially. This was another problem, because I earned the minimum wage and my two daughters were teenagers and studying at home. But finally, after three years she got her permit.”
Only three years later did Deolinda’s mother receive a residence permit that made her eligible for social and welfare benefits. The legalization procedure in Portugal was a long process, with bureaucratic constraints. The inefficiency of the institution that deals with foreigners' cases created extra difficulties for immigrants so that many eventually gave up their regularization process. This fact has resulted in an increase in numbers of undocumented immigrants, as well as family reunification difficulties. This last aspect has consequences in terms of the number of women and children living undocumented, waiting to solve their legalization process, as some of them have joined their family in Portugal through an informal family reunification process.

The difficulty in getting a work contract in domestic services, construction and fishing, limited the eligibility to apply for a legal residence permit in Portugal. This impediment obviously restricts the possibility of obtaining the necessary authorization for family reunification for Cape Verdean immigrants and the process causes a cyclical situation leading to further illegal immigration.

There were two amnesty periods, in 1992 (Decree-Law 212/92 of 12 October) and in 1996 (Law nº 50/96 of 24 May). During the first period, 6778 Cape Verdeans obtained Portuguese nationality and during the second, 6872 legalized their status (SOS Racismo, 2002: 158-170). According to a member of SOS Racismo, “these measures aimed to obtain correct numbers of the undocumented migrant labour force that was estimated to be much greater than the legal resident population”. None of the target family members were eligible. In 2001, an extraordinary amnesty law (Decree-Law 4/2001 of 10 January) authorized residence in Portugal for one year, renewable for further periods; 6073 Cape Verdeans were eligible.

By 2006 (Decree-Law nº 237A /2006 of 14 December), the vast majority of the target families' members were able to obtain Portuguese nationality, since they were born in Portugal as children of foreign parents who had lived in Portugal for more than five years. This was possible through implementation of the new criterion of *ius soli*, contrary to the law of 1981 (Law nº 37/1981 of 3 October) that emphasized *ius sanguini*. A further premise for acquisition of the nationality, important for several members of the target families was that a minor who had completed the first grade of primary school in Portugal was eligible. This law had a great impact in facilitating the acquisition of Portuguese nationality especially for second and third generation immigrants.
VI. Stage II: Settlement Patterns

VI.1 Ownership and the Implications of the Construction of a House in Cova da Moura

Besides the family, the other fundamental unit for the immigrant’s social belonging is the ‘kasa’ (Port. casa / home, household). In this section I will examine aspects of ownership and the implications of building a ‘house’ as a central value and status symbol in Cova da Moura. In this context, I will outline its significance concerning the ideals of a ‘vida digna’ (dignified life) in the receiving country.

In Cova da Moura, residents are strongly identified with their physical homes, especially if they own them. Some of the houses are even named after the family name of their proprietors (e.g. casa Sousa) and are perceived as an emblematic continuation of the owner. According to Judite, her house represents a reflection of herself: “To possess a house is like having a relative who needs to be looked after; it is your shelter and something of value for the whole family. A house becomes part of you and if you live in a small neighbourhood, it is your image”. Being the owner of a house in the neighbourhood is a source of self-esteem and prestige among the neighbours. This prestige affects not only the actual owner, but all the family networks and neighbours involved in the construction.

**Sousa Family** - In 1975, Lourenço arrived in Cova da Moura and bought a plot without official licence located in the northern part of the neighbourhood for 20.000$00 Escudos (100€). Once more, without any licence he built a wooden shack in an area devoid of infrastructures. Like many others he had no running water, no electricity and no sewage, but this was the situation Lourenço was used to in Cape Verde: “It was an achievement to have a shack of our own, even if everything was lacking”.

Fearing demolition by the Town Council, the shacks had to be rapidly transformed into brick houses: Lourenço remembers that they were given only three weeks: “ Afterwards they would arrive with their machines and destroy everything that looked like a shack”. Within two weeks, he transformed his shack into a small brick house. As he was working on building sites, he could ask colleagues for some truckloads of old construction materials. With the help
of Judite, some relatives and neighbours, he was able to improve their dwelling. They worked day and night and soon the exterior part of the house was ready. It was a narrow house of one block of 45m², located between two other houses. It had two rooms, a living-room, a kitchen and a very small toilet. Often, the construction of a house until its final state is an activity carried out over a long time. Some years later, when their financial situation had consolidated, they managed to add a second floor, which they rented out to neighbors - newcomers from Santo Antão. This is how Judite recalls this time:

“When I arrived in Cova da Moura, Lourenço had already built our shack; he bought an empty plot from his cousin. Because he was working in construction, he picked up the leftovers, wood, bricks, and parts from other buildings. It is just next to the house of the cousin who had arrived one year before. My husband stayed there before he built the house. Every day we had to walk in big boots just to get bread or to the fountain to get water, because the streets were so muddy, but we did the same in Santo Antão, so it was not much different. Only there it never rains... But it was a difficult time, and sometimes we asked neighbours to help, but this was a normal thing to do. Later, more relatives came and we built a second floor to rent. It meant some extra money and at the same time we were close to our family.”

“The construction of a home in livelihoods of urban poor is of great importance” (Moser, 1998: 3). The solidarity of relatives and neighbours helped the target families to achieve this goal in Cova da Moura. However, households are not static units, but change over time as a result of people’s capacities and opportunities, choices, strategic decisions and generational differences. The selection of the neighbourhood, the acquisition or occupancy of the plot and the construction of a house, the birth of more children and the arrival of other members of the family in Portugal obliged these households to transform and adapt to the new demands. In Judite’s words: “When the family grows the house has to accompany it.”

According to Moser’s (1998) study, households develop various strategies that result in either consumption modification or extra income generation. These strategies may increase the number of household members that have paid work (especially women and children), increase reliance on family support networks and increase the size of the household, including the renting out of rooms. With the arrival of many immigrants in the 1980s, rental speculation in Cova da Moura augmented. In some cases, rents inside the neighbourhood were higher than those outside. High demand for housing, social exclusion and the undocumented status of many immigrants were the main reasons that made it difficult to find accommodation in the
formal housing market. Judite, for whom rental revenues constituted an important source of income, benefited from this situation:

“We needed more money after building the second floor and renting out the house was an income to help to pay for what we had spent. The people who occupied the second floor were neighbours from Santo Antão; they were like family. They didn’t pay much rent, but it was something…”

To possess a house is perceived economically as a valuable resource, not only in terms of its use but also in terms of social mobility. A property also implied aspects of relative security for future generations. In Judite’s case, it meant a status symbol and an asset for the next generations, as she put it: “If we ever get what was promised to us (legalization of the plot and the house), what we were fighting for all our lives, then our duty to our children will be accomplished”.

For Judite and Lourenço, their house represented the fulfilment of their aspirations and expectations and at the same time social prestige inside the neighbourhood.

**Costa Family** – Deolinda never had the economic means to build or buy a house in Cova da Moura. Her family rented a first floor apartment of a friend’s house in a central street of the neighbourhood. Her small home of 40m2 had a living room, two other rooms and a kitchen. The toilet was built later in the backyard outside the house. Deolinda’s first husband, Victor, installed the toilet together with the owner of the house at weekends. He was working in construction so he could bring home some building materials not needed on the site. In one month the toilet was ready, as Deolinda confirmed: “it was necessary to have a toilet near home, but at that time not many houses had one, it was hard work, and we all helped day and night in our free time”. In 1982 they paid 350$00 (1,75€) monthly rent. Her good impressions of the apartment still remained:

“I was happy there, and I always remember it as my home, although I didn’t own it. It was small and very humid. In the toilet we always kept an umbrella, because the rain came in. I could never afford a house of my own. I always had many children with me and the earnings were low. But the flat was well located, close to my work and close to everything I needed in the neighbourhood. There was a school just around the corner, which made things easier. Even now, I sometimes pass there just to ‘feel the home’... Now, in the new flat, I have other facilities, but I’ve been living there for five years and the only conversation I had with my neighbours was ‘Bom dia or Boa noite’ (Good morning or Good evening).”
The main reasons why Deolinda decided to move away from Cova da Moura were allegedly related to educational values: “my daughters wanted to go to a better school with a wider range of courses, so I had to give them the possibility to have a better life, but I regret it”. Nevertheless, the acquisition of an apartment in Cacém (Amadora) was a symbol of upward mobility and meant prestige for the family. Buying a ‘legal’ flat outside the neighbourhood, Deolinda also tried to dissociate herself from the low status linked to her rented apartment in Cova da Moura. Deolinda tried to leave the relative safety of the (stigmatized) environment, but failed to be accepted outside Cova da Moura, where the influence of the social network diminishes. Soon she regretted moving to Cacém, where she established no social contacts: “we are just neighbours living in the third floor A”. The isolation she felt in the new neighbourhood was attributed to the stigma of having lived in Cova da Moura: “they (the new neighbours) think they are not like us, that we are a different kind of people”. This feeling persisted in her daughters’ perception, as Ana mentioned: “we went to school and came back home. We just greet the neighbours in a polite way, but we don’t socialize with anyone in the building or at school”. Deolinda’s daughters still find refuge from their isolation, meeting other family members, who live in Cova da Moura. However, their expectation of social mobility by moving to a less stigmatized neighbourhood was not fulfilled.

Ferreira Family – Josefina and Alfredo experienced hardship and difficulties to acquire a ready-built house, as Alfredo explained: “it was hard work to save as much as possible, but it meant the certainty of a better life for the family with our own house for us and the children. I think this was my ‘destini’ (destiny)”.

The couple came from São Vicente directly to Cova da Moura, because their relatives, who lived there, allowed them to stay in their house until they could find accommodation. Josefina and Alfredo knew that there were houses available and the price for these properties was still affordable. In 1976, after saving some money and with the family’s help, they bought an already finished house without legal licence for 80 000$00 Escudos (400 €). Their house is situated in a square between two muddy streets at one end of Cova da Moura, surrounded by other houses. Architecturally, it was in a bad state, very humid, without a toilet, no running water and electricity. As Alfredo was working as a builder, he could install several facilities (e.g. a toilet) over the years and add several rooms for his family. Although his house
consisted only of a ground floor, he never thought of adding a second floor: “It was too much money, the house was just enough for the family”. Their house covered 60m², divided in three small bedrooms, one living room, a kitchen and a recently built toilet. In the backyard there is a small garden with trees “brought directly from Cape Verde to make us feel at home”, and some vegetables. In another informal interview, Alfredo reflected on his first month in the neighbourhood:

“It was hard in São Vicente, there were no jobs and we wanted a better life for us and for the family that we left there. In the beginning we helped them with what we could spare, it is our duty... We bought a house with our savings and with the support of the whole family. It was a lot of money, but we could manage now we are the owners of a house. It was a great sacrifice to pay it back, but afterwards my children will benefit from it. I don’t regret coming here, and I think the neighbourhood helped us to get by. Looking back, it was the right thing to do; I would not leave here for anything in the world. We have friends that supported us in rough times, Cape Verdeans like us.”

Social relations as expressed above show the support of family members based on norms of reciprocity and value: “If I help now, I will receive assistance later” and “family is supposed to help each other”, confirmed an old resident of Cova da Moura. None of the family members stated that they felt uncomfortable asking or receiving financial help from other family members to construct a house, although they would probably take a long time to pay it back. In some cases, the loan would not be paid back at all. Families are supposed to support family members who start a new life abroad, as Alfredo’s simile taken from the oceanic fauna explains: “Each member of a family is like a leg of an octopus. We cannot live without the others and if one leg needs help, the whole body has to help”.

For the residents of Cova da Moura ownership is associated with the acquisition of economic and symbolic capital, as can be learned from the evidence of their statements and from the way they discuss material objects. Living near acquaintances helped the newcomers to get used to the host country, or to what they conceived of it through the ‘Cova de Moura way of life’. This means the importation and implementation, or simply the continuation of vital aspects of the Cape Verdean way of life: conviviality and sharing.
VI.2 Labour Experiences of the First and Second Generation

During the 1970s, Portugal’s economy was structurally dependent on foreign work-force. Labour market situations, through constraints and opportunities, had important implications for the processes of integration of the target families into the host society. The integration of immigrants in the labour market depended on its composition and demands within the economic context of Portugal. National policies regulating immigrants’ access to the labour market implied more obstacles for those who had less professional qualifications. The following section focuses on aspects that show how the three families managed to cope with this precarious work situation over two generations.

Portugal had welcomed labour migrants in the 1970s and 1980s, mainly for low paid work in construction jobs and services. Their work experience in Cape Verde significantly affected their professional position in Portugal. All members of the target families who had experience in different areas of activities (agriculture, fishing, construction) tended to continue in the same branch and at a similar professional level after immigration. This was also the conclusion of the study LIMITS (2006). Its target-group were first generation immigrants from different countries of origin (including Cape Verdan migrants to Lisbon and Rotterdam), in six cities in five European countries, and identified trends in the life courses of selected groups of immigrants. The results show that their work experience in the home country also significantly affects their professional position in the destination country (2006:34). There was no mobility among the members of the first generation, just continuity of the same activities in another country.86

The unemployment rate in the tertiary sector in the 1980s was practically non-existent, as Lourenço affirmed: “there was always a possibility to get work in Portugal. There were a lot of construction sites, if not near home, then somewhere else, and we had to go where the work was”. Hardly any inspections occurred on building sites, and therefore the undocumented

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86 In 2010 employment statistics for Cape Verdan immigrants (INE, Instituto Nacional de Estatística / National Institute for Statistics) indicated that 76,5% of the second generation of immigrants had an occupation, while 9,9% were studying. Only 4,7% were unemployed, while 1,8% were looking for their first job. 2,5% were housewives. The sector in which most of the target families were employed was the building sector, followed by personal and domestic services with 35,4% and 23,2% respectively. Males predominated in the first sector; women were mainly active in the second sector. Most of the members had no permanent work contract (38,8%). Only 8,7% had a permanent contract and a significant percentage had a fixed term contract 15,8%, while 14.2% had no contract at all.
status of the workers was beneficial for the employer (low salaries, no expenses for health or social insurance and no regulations concerning working conditions), but rather negative for Lourenço and Alfredo who could not get a regular job.

Not only construction and industry, but also the tertiary sector employed Cape Verdean immigrants, as Alfredo emphasized:

“What we could get in Portugal was construction work and it was not difficult to get these jobs, the Portuguese didn’t want to do it … it was ‘black’ work. We were all Cape Verdians and mostly all from Cova da Moura working on the building sites. We were used to doing the same kind of work as in Cape Verde. In all the constructions I worked in, the majority of my colleagues were Africans. The same happened with Josefina’s job - her colleagues were mostly Cape Verdians.”

Construction work employed mainly Africans. In Cova da Moura there were entrepreneurs who recruited Lourenço, Alfredo, other local residents and newcomers to work on building sites. Alfredo told me that his contract was verbal and his salary was paid daily or monthly, depending on the dimension of the construction. When the construction was over “another construction work would appear or another ‘empreiteiro’ (builder) would come to my house with another job proposal”, explained Alfredo. The networks were essential in the informal labour market, not only for construction work, but also for getting jobs in cleaning services\(^7\).

Judite, Deolinda and Josefina got employed through Cova da Moura networks. Contrary to her husband Alfredo, Josefina was offered a fixed term contract (monthly renewable) as she stated:

“I always worked without a legal contract, I had a verbal agreement for one month with my boss, but I always got by. Later, I had a monthly contract in writing. As long as I could work hard I had a job, the problem was when I got ill. No social security, no unemployment money, nothing. We already had two children (Felizmino and Albertino) and we had to live on my husband’s (Alfredo’s) salary. Just one salary for four people … he also had no contract. Thank God we didn’t get ill at the same time.”

In the late 1990s Josefina had an accident at work. She fell from a ladder while cleaning a lamp and suffered an arm injury. As she was undocumented, the cleaning firm she worked for kept the accident a secret. She could not work for months, was not insured and the firm would

\(^{77}\) The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto nacional de Estatística/National Institute of Statistics) registered that 5 426 (34,18%) of the Cape Verdean citizens living in Portugal were working in domestic service and 3 063 (19,30%) in construction.
not pay her - she lost her job. After more than twenty years the pains remain: “I still feel that I don’t have much strength in my arm, but I don’t need to work as hard as before.”

Without work contracts, the Ferreira family and the other two families were extremely vulnerable to unemployment situations without any social support. Alfredo made the point: “if you can’t be useful, you can be dumped.”

Although two males of the three families’ first generation are retired, the females are still actively working, but apart from Deolinda, still without legally binding work contracts. Deolinda is employed as a cook and Josefina works as a home nanny. Judite is the exception, because she returned to Santo Antão, but until 2010, she took care of an old lady in Lisbon.

Second Generation

Basically, the second generation of the target families faces the same problems as the previous generation. Their employment is concentrated in the services sector, but without any specific professional qualifications. The first generation’s characteristics of precariousness seem to apply to the second generation: no steady contract, no unemployment benefits and no retirement benefits. They work with a fixed short-term contract (monthly or three month contract) that may or may not be renewed, always depending on whether their work positions are still necessary. However, Daniel managed to get a long-term contract job. He organizes short professional courses, giving training to pupils who have dropped out of school, teenage mothers and delinquents. Daniel identifies with his work: “I like to see people getting a job and trying to have a different life from before, not continuing to be ‘gandulos’ (villains).”

After his eight hour job, he still trains a children’s basketball team twice a week in the new stadium of Cova da Moura, “to get the kids out of the streets and out of bad habits”. Only at 10 pm does he usually arrive home.

Several of the second generation were prone to exploitation, because of their precarious, undocumented situation and fear of being unemployed. José admitted: “Sometimes I had to work ten hours and didn’t get extra pay, this happened quite often”. Despite agreeing to work more hours than initially required by verbal contract, an increase in unemployment has been noticeable during the last years among the members of the target families.
The rising unemployment rate in Portugal over the last five years (in 2012 approaching 16% and in the 18-25 age-group over 52%) had a particular impact on low-skilled migrants and those in modest occupations. The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística/National Institute of Statistics) registered that 16534 (47.36%) of the Cape Verdean citizens living in Portugal were working and 15.70% were unemployed.

Francisca had no job and two children living with her. She attended school for nine years, but acquired no professional training and cannot find long-term work. She has had several small jobs without legal contracts: taking care of a sick old lady, cleaning apartments, at a supermarket check-out, and as a kitchen help in a café. She had never been eligible for unemployment benefits, because she had no contracts and was undocumented. Only after the respective law changed in 2006 did Francisca obtain Portuguese nationality in 2010 and applied for state benefits. Being a single mother with children, she receives 440€ a month from welfare and still does undeclared work in two apartments in Lisbon.

Other young Cape Verdeans considered emigration as the solution to find work following the first generation’s example. Albertino and Felizmino could not find work after finishing high-school. They had a cousin living in Geneva who offered Felizmino work as a mechanic during the week and in a restaurant at week-ends. Consequently, Felizmino emigrated to Switzerland and soon his brother Albertino followed him. They both worked in the same garage that belongs to a distantly related Cape Verdean. In 2011 they got long-term contracts and are entitled to welfare and unemployment benefits.

As previously observed, both the first and second generation of the target families occupy the lower echelons of the occupational pyramid, working in the labouring sectors: manual jobs, no special skills required and no contract given.

This labour market situation of immigrants and their descendants was not unexpected or new. Alejandro Portes and his colleagues analyzed similar scenarios decades ago (cf. Portes and Manning, 1986; Portes, 1995; also Portes and Zhou, 1993) for Latinos in the U. S. They presented extensive research in the U. S. proposing a typology of modes of incorporation of migrant populations into the host country economy and society, which differentiates four modalities: incorporation into the primary labour market, incorporation into the secondary labour market, ethnic enclaves and middleman minorities. Considering the typologies
established by Portes, this group’s incorporation in the secondary labour market is hindered and even prevented by Portuguese mainstream society.88

VI.3 Education of Different Generations

In this section, the school attainment of the first, second and third generations of the target families and the possibilities offered to children in Cova da Moura will be analyzed. It also includes observations about educational activities organized by the local associations and of both schools that received students from the neighbourhood, Escola Primária EB1 da Cova da Moura and Escola EB2/3 Dr. Pedro D’Orey da Cunha.

VI.3.1 School Attainment of First Generation

The Portuguese Constitution recognizes that education gives concrete substance to individual freedom and rights89. Respect for human dignity is granted to every citizen, Portuguese or not, the fundamental personal rights related to education in the form of a lifelong education/training process, aiming at the individual’s personal worth and social development90. This is an ambitious set of objectives which, for any educational sector, is difficult to accomplish, especially when people do not have much time for their professional training, due to long working hours and the responsibility for many children. This was the case of the first generation of the target families, as Deolinda explained:

“My days were busy. Arriving home late at night, I had to do all the housework and take care of my children, before I could finally go to bed. I had no more time and with so much work my head couldn't take in anything more. Who can think of school education if you have to wake up at 5 am, six days a week? Who would take care of the children, if I went to a night course? This is only possible for people who work from 9 to 5 …”

In the 1970s, the vast majority of Cape Verdean immigrants in Lisbon (80%) arrived with only primary school education. Almost all the target family members of the first generation attended Cape Verdean primary schools until the fourth grade, except Josefina and Lourenço

88 Cf.: “While immigrants arrive willing to do the jobs that natives won’t hold, a similar situation experience by Mexican immigrants in the U.S.” (Portes and Zhou, 1993: 85).
who had dropped out after three years: “we had to take care of our brothers and sisters because we were the oldest. Afterwards, we had to help in the fields to bring some food home…”. Consequently, the possibility of climbing up the career leader depended on further education in the receiving country. Usually most of the investment in education or professional training takes place during the first few years after arrival in the host country, as this gives the migrant a longer time-span in which to obtain a return on his investment. This was not the case for Deolinda and Josefina, the only two members of the first generation who invested in professional training decades after their arrival in Portugal.

After her arrival in Portugal, Deolinda was a cook for thirty years; at a later stage she became the head of a team of cooks. Then she attended a Professional Cooking Course (Curso Profissional de Cozinha e Pastelaria) for two months (six hours a week) during her work, as she explained:

“My life is mixed with my job. I like what I do, because I like eating. I couldn’t live without it. I only managed to join a cooking course in the Moinho da Juventude association, because I was living near there. The course was not as an investment, it was more for pleasure. Because I’ve been cooking all my life, I know a lot about food. And of course, I learned some more things and I also got a small amount of money at the end of that course. That too was a motive for my choice. And life is so difficult at the moment with the children that everyone has to think in materialistic terms…You know, for poor people all the cents count… It was an achievement for me, I learned new things, I got a diploma …, but after all, I’m still doing the same job.”

Once Deolinda was the coordinator of four other kitchen assistants, she did not receive any financial benefits or a better working position due to her training, but she felt that she had learned from it, and in the Association Moinho da Juventude she became a reference. When a party was organized, Deolinda would be the first to be called and she enjoyed this distinction and responsibility: “I always have a lot of work. Preparing around two hundred meals a day for children from one to six years old and for adults is quite a task…”.

Josefina attended a three-month course (four hours a week) to become a Nanny Assistant (Curso de Auxiliar de Educadora de Infância)\textsuperscript{91} also at the Moinho da Juventude Association. More than twenty years after her arrival in Portugal this certificate entitled her to become a

\textsuperscript{91} This course promoted the know-how and competences that are acquired in non-formal and informal learning contexts (Law nº 147/97, 11 June 1997).
recognized home-nanny for children up to three years of age in the association’s crèche. As Josefina’s illness (arm injury) made continuing in the cleaning service impossible, her investment in education in the host country brought a significant change to her life:

“I always liked to have children around me. When I got unemployed, I thought that I would like to have another kind of work. My children were already independent, so I had more time. In the association (Moinho da Juventude) they were promoting a course for nannies with subsidies. I enrolled and was selected. Since then I can be at home and take care of three small children. It meant extra money and at the same time I could also take care of my husband.”

Josefina got two benefits from her further education. She got a more pleasant job in a ‘crèche familiar’ (family crèche) and she got greater financial rewards during and after her study. She could also stay at home to take care of Alfredo, who needed permanent assistance.

Only a very small percentage of first generation Cape Verdean immigrants (3.2% Ministério da Educação, 2010) furthered their education in the host country, as Deolinda and Josefina did. Adding educational competences to local associations are an essential element in any process involving the development of education. By upgrading her qualification, Josefina could find a more rewarding and suitable job. Deolinda chose professional training that improved both her working-skills and her self-esteem, but did not produce any sizable monetary results or higher social status.

VI.3.2 Educational System in Cova da Moura School and Attainment of the Second Generation

Consistent with the research findings, the educational attainment of the second generation immigrants are higher than the first generation. All the members completed at least compulsory education\textsuperscript{92}. The second generation was not able to enroll in university courses for different reasons. Daniel, for example, completed the 10\textsuperscript{th} grade of high school, but had to leave due to a lack of financial resources. Judite moved to a flat in Cacém, but her salary was insufficient to pay all her expenses: the bank loan and providing for three children. Being the oldest, Daniel had to find work in order to help the family financially. His sister Francisca

\textsuperscript{92} The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto Nacional de Estatística/National Institute of Statistics) registered that the Cape Verdean community had the lowest levels of education of the communities of the PALOP. 18592 (66.01%) Cape Verdean citizens with an educational level lower than Compulsory School. 7960 (28.26%) had completed compulsory education and 544 (1.93%) had finished Secondary School.
finished 9 years of obligatory schooling, but due to her early pregnancy left school at the age of 15. José and Martin also completed obligatory schooling, whereas Luisa, Albertino and Felizmino reached the 12th grade of secondary school. Luisa and Carla wished to continue their studies at university level but the family’s economic restraints did not allow this. Despite all the efforts made in Portugal during this decade by the Ministry of Education and the associations of immigrants, the educational system is not flexible enough to promote equal opportunities for all students and encourage the educational success of those from underprivileged backgrounds. As a consequence, they enter the labour market without the necessary skills to be competitive and rise in the social hierarchy. This tendency applies to pupils of lower social classes, whether Portuguese or African, as the problem is not merely ethnic but mainly social and economic.

Nevertheless, at a national level, introduction of the model of nine years compulsory schooling to combat illiteracy and early entry to the job market with professional training had a positive effect. The number of drop-outs from Basic School was reduced from 13,1% in 2000/2001 to 8,7% in 2009/2010 (GEPE, ME, April, 2011). However, in 2009/2010 Cape Verdean pupils still had a 12,8% drop-out rate from Basic School (GEPE, ME, April, 2011). Only in 2005 was a wide range of professional courses (at Basic and Secondary School levels) implemented for pupils who wished to start an early professional life with a recognized qualification. In these courses the percentage of drop-outs was 16,1% (GEPE, ME, April, 2011).

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93 In 2012 Portugal is the European country with the eighth highest rate of illiteracy: 3,2%.
**Educational Level of Cova da Moura Population > 3 years old**

1) Illiterate; 2) Can read and write but no schooling; 3) Primary School; 4) 6th grade; 5) 9th grade (Compulsory Education); 6) 12th grade (Secondary School); 7) Polytechnic; 8) University; 9) Professional Course.


Figure 17 shows that the majority of residents in Cova da Moura achieved the sixth grade of schooling, which is less than compulsory schooling. The high illiteracy rate is presumably related to the first generation migrants in Cova da Moura. There has been an increase of educational attainment in recent years due to the second generation completing the nine years of compulsory education or secondary education.

**VI.3.3 Nursery School and Primary School in Cova da Moura**

For females with offspring, Cova da Moura is a place where all children can be looked after in the three local institutions. In the 1990s, both the associations of Moinho da Juventude and Clube Social and Desportivo da Cova da Moura and also Jardim-Escola São Gonçalo dependent on Damaia Church together with the Ministry of Education established a legal framework to create the development and expansion of crèche and pre-school education for children in the neighbourhood. With these measures, all children living in Cova da Moura could use nursery schools where they were allowed to stay during their parents' working
As this work period usually started at 6.30 am and continued after 9.00 pm, the nursery school of the Association Moinho da Juventude is open daily from 6.30 am until 10.00 pm. Judite recognized the effort of the Association: “I am not worried when my daughter arrives late to get the child. The Association even provides dinner, if parents take their kids home late”.

Contrary to nursery schools in nearby neighbourhoods, these institutions always have vacancies. At a national level, state crèches and nursery schools have a waiting list to admit new pupils. Although the facilities at Cova da Moura are open to all children, there were hardly any enrolments from children outside the neighbourhood as Joana, an employee of Moinho da Juventude, commented: “There is still a lot of segregation and prejudice against the people in Cova da Moura. People who live nearby don’t want to enrol their kids in our play-school, because they think that our children have a bad influence on their children. They never really did, it’s sad…we are in the twenty-first century…”.

At the age of six, pupils can enrol in the neighbourhood's primary school (Escola B1 da Cova da Moura). The primary school teacher explained why the children attending the school were exclusively residents of Cova da Moura:

“I think there is still a lot of segregation. The children are considered disobedient, rude and burglars. Therefore, the parents of the other neighbourhoods around here don’t want to have their kids in such an environment. In a way it is true that there is a lot of misbehaving, but the pupils here have much more supervision than in other schools and the work we do with them, as you can see, is very creative and they like it. For the past five years we basically haven’t had any drop-outs.”

Such segregation affects not only the adults, but also the children who live in Cova da Moura. The attitudes and behaviour of the pupils at the local school appear to be determined by the particular curriculum functioning within the school space rather than by the official school curriculum. I realized that this four-year primary school curriculum was more open to pedagogical visits to several monuments in the Lisbon area and to contacts with pupils from other schools. The aim was “to avoid pupils' isolation and to show them new aspects of life that some of them don’t even know exist. Sometimes these places are just half an hour away”, a teacher said.
Soraia testified social closeness between school-mates: “my classmates are like family, I am with them at school; afterwards I play with them in the Association and then in the neighbourhood”.

On the other hand, leaving Cova da Moura does not seem so easy, because outside, the children are under some kind of suspicion. In fact, when I went to a stationery shop in Damaia the employee told me: “Every time kids from Cova da Moura enter the shop after school, I take everything I can from their reach to avoid being robbed”. This seemingly discriminating attitude is absent at school, where an atmosphere of respect and self-critical discipline can be felt, as Ana puts it: “I love to be in this school, I love my teacher, but sometimes… I don’t behave correctly. The school is pretty and I even have my work displayed on the wall.”

The primary school of Cova da Moura (Escola EB1 da Cova da Moura) is located in a street parallel to the main street, Rua Direita, which crosses Cova da Moura. It is a modern, white, two-storey building, surrounded by a large open playground. Around the school area there is a high fence (around 2m) with two large gates which are often closed. Outside the school, women are usually waiting for hours for their children, talking to each other. In 2012 it accommodated 280 pupils, mainly Cape Verdean descendents (85%), of whom the majority (80%) were eligible for official benefits (Acção Social). Due to the parents' low income; they were entitled to free school material and meals (free breakfast, lunch and a small snack in the afternoon).

The head teacher has held her position in this school for many years and explained the difficulty in keeping a steady group of teachers:

“It is difficult to find teachers that have the skills required. We receive pupils from different countries almost every day. Some of them do not speak Portuguese and they have to be integrated in our classes which already have 20 pupils. Their age also varies. In the second year we have children aged 7-8 and others who are 12 or even 14 years old, with other interests. It is difficult to deal with this situation. The pupils from here are also not easy to deal with…there is a lot of bad behaviour.”

The pupils, and consequently the teachers, are confronted with two distinct cultural and social environments: the cultural difference at school and at home with their families and in the neighbourhood. However, the situation improved immensely after the opening of the nursery school of the Association Moinho da Juventude, the Association Cultural e Desportiva da
Cova da Moura and São Gonçalo (organized by the Church of Damaia) in 1982. One elderly teacher who has been teaching at the school since 1985 explained:

“...When I came to this school some of the children did not even speak a word of Portuguese. We had to teaching them from the first word, and I am speaking about children of seven years old, born in Portugal..., they did not know how to behave in a classroom and they had no interest in the curriculum taught in classes. We had to teach them everything. Another problem was speaking to their mothers who also did not know how to express themselves in Portuguese. We could neither understand them nor be understood. Their mothers’ lack of interest in the school extended to the families in general. They hardly appeared at our scheduled meetings, although they lived just around the corner ... It was a struggle ... Now, it is better. Some of the pupils still do not know how to behave, but they are more sociable and inclined to accept the rules. Their language skills improved with attendance at nursery schools. Unfortunately, their mothers still do not show much interest in the children’s work at school, but if we call them directly at their homes they will appear, even if it is at 7pm (the school closes at 6pm).”

One problem that still remains is parents’ lack of presence at school. Although education in Cape Verde is traditionally highly valued, the attitude of the second generation target families towards their children’s education seems lacking.

Francisca’s daughter, Ana, is a very smart nine-year-old girl. She attends the fourth year of Primary School in Cova da Moura. Before, she was in the nursery school of the Association Moinho da Juventude. Her Portuguese language skills are excellent and she switches easily to Crioulo, depending on who she is talking to. At home, Francisca usually speaks Portuguese, while the rest of her family communicates in Crioulo. Francisca goes frequently to school meetings, but refuses to take on any official role, even if the teachers try to involve parents in extra-curricular activities. She notes:

“I don't think it is necessary to go to all meetings at school. Ana is clever and she is doing OK at school, but she is not disciplined. She thinks she can do whatever she pleases… the teacher is always complaining about her behaviour. It is difficult to keep her seated and quiet during classes. Sometimes I have to ask Daniel (Francisca’s brother) to punish her, because my punishments have no effect and she has no respect for me.”

Ana, like many children in the neighbourhood, speaks Crioulo with family and friends (even at school without reprehension) and Portuguese during classes with the teachers. Even so, her fluency in both languages does not create any communication problem. She has her preference:
"I prefer to speak Crioulo. I think I can say more things and all my friends speak Crioulo better than Portuguese. I think that the teachers should speak and teach us in Crioulo, because then we would pay more attention in the classroom."

At school, Crioulo was not contemplated in the curriculum, just two languages are taught: Portuguese and initiation in English as an extra language.\(^{94}\)

The lack of communicative skills in Portuguese of many parents in Cova da Moura is an obstacle to the necessary exchange of opinions between families and teachers. Misunderstandings are unavoidable, when one cannot understand what the other is talking about. Josefina testified this problem: "I was scared to speak with my sons' teachers just because I couldn't understand them and be understood". In an effort to establish a link between schools and immigrant families, the Ministry of Education has recently appointed 'mediators'\(^{95}\) (Law n°105/2001 of 31st August), whose task it is to visit families in their communities and establish a communication link between them and the schools in order to help solve some existing problems (aggressive behaviour, bullying).

As the majority of pupils in the primary school of Cova da Moura are of Cape Verdean origin, the ‘mediator’ is a Cape Verdean who speaks Portuguese and Crioulo and lives in the area. Júlio has been living in Cova da Moura for twenty years and knows almost all the pupils and their families. According to his comment, his mission is not only to control conflicts, but also to draw attention to any sort of help needed:

“The pupils often gather around me and talk about their lives at home with their families. Sometimes, I need to intervene and I visit their homes, even at weekends, to solve the problem. It is not easy to get the confidence of the pupils and of the family without betraying one of the parties involved. My aim is to prevent pupils from dropping out of school. At the moment nobody abandons this school, except when the family moves to another area. It is a job that I enjoy, and I am not afraid of the consequences, because everybody knows who I am and where I live in Cova da Moura.”

Júlio’s task implies special training and the ability to deal with specific family and area problems. Mediators are also used in another school, which the pupils of Cova da Moura

\(^{94}\) Some private schools offer education in parallel with the Portuguese curriculum (Lycée Français Charles Lepierre, British School of Lisbon and Deutsche Schule Lissabon) and these are allowed to use foreign languages as the teaching medium.

\(^{95}\) In Portugal the employment of ‘mediators’ in difficult schools only started in 2005, although in Holland they have been used since 1990 to ‘bridge the gap’ between students, teachers and families (Casimiro, 2006).
attend after finishing primary school: the Basic School B2/3 Dr. Pedro D’Orey da Cunha. The results of their interventions are very promising: drop-out rates decreased significantly and marks improved, as a teacher from the Dr Pedro D’Orey da Cunha School confirmed:

“Júlio made the difference; the pupils’ behaviour improved and certainly their absence from classes became more controlled. He knows almost all of the pupils, especially the ones that give us trouble. He has a good relationship with them and with their family, and this helps a lot.”

The measures implemented by the official educational institutions to improve the school attainment of African *lusófono* (Portuguese-speaking)96 students who had revealed high levels of repeating years and drop-out during the last decades (cf. Casimiro, 2008) began to have positive results, as was the case in both schools mentioned above. Only recently have the government’s educational proposals and laws also targeted these children. Although they were born in Portugal or arrived at an early age, they remained strongly connected to their parents’ language and cultural practices. The investment in education aimed at the generation of descendants of African communities in Portugal certainly gives hope for mobility in the near future.

VI.4 Household Composition of the Target Families: Social Integration

In this section I show how the cohesion of family ties through generations is so strong that relatives and friends may be housed temporarily or, if necessary, for a long time. In exchange, they provide housekeeping and child-rearing help and even money from small jobs they find. In addition, elderly dependents and young children may circulate among different related households.

Developed societies have a tendency to reduce the size of the nuclear family and the number of members that make up the household (e.g. Flaquer, 1998) contrary to the target families. However, people also live together in search of emotional, physical and economic support. The present situation in Cova da Moura is the result of a cultural environment in which

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96 In the late 1990s the term that described a ‘black cultural movement’ of Portuguese-speaking Africans in the Diaspora was *Lusofonia*. Furthermore, the expression *lusófono* was highly charged with migrant experience.
households used to be larger and include several generations, even distant relatives and friends. Certainly a common feature in the first phase after arrival in the host country, but also several years after, as Judite commented: “Like in Cape Verde, the door of my house is always open for those in needs”. Not only had these households more members on average than native households, but also the relationships between household members were not necessarily based on blood ties. An example of this mixture of family and non-family links is one of the target families who housed a neighbour from São Vicente who had come to Portugal for medical reasons for more than one year, as Josefina explained:

“We have to help each other as that was what God said. Jocelino’s family lived in a house in the same street where my parents lived. I played with him when we were kids. He got very ill last year, and only in Portugal could he get treatment for his leukemia. I had to put him up, even for a long time... the time he needed. We used to say ‘a pan for two is enough for four’. He has relatives living in Portugal, but not as close to hospital as we do. Thank God, he got better and now he is backing home.”

Jocelino did not pay Josefina for food or accommodation. She had a free room from her son, Albertino, who had emigrated to Switzerland and Jocelino could occupy it and have his privacy. These non-familial or partially familial households share household expenses or help in other duties. Often, they divide the rent, bills and food expenses and distribute the cooking and cleaning responsibilities. Jocelino could not afford to pay for a room near the hospital for long. In exchange, he helped in the garden once a week, when he felt better, and took Alfredo for long walks.

Sometimes, due to their ‘precarious’ living conditions, members have to borrow money from each other to pay someone’s debt, help pay someone’s rent in times of unemployment, save money for someone’s family reunification or even to send to relatives in Cape Verde. This was the case of Lourenço, who helped his brother to immigrate to Portugal:

“My brother wanted to do the same as I did in my youth - emigrate. He was already in his 40s. At that age, it is difficult to start a new life in a new country... He couldn’t afford all the expenses to come here. You know... money for a visa in Cape Verde (to enter Portugal) and money to start a new life. All the family helped, but it was not enough. I had to ask a guy in Cova da Moura to lend me some money and afterwards I gave it back to him.”

This system applies to many transnational households and to the target families, where the first migrants sent money back which was used, among other things, to allow someone else to emigrate. Every month, Lourenço paid back a certain amount of the borrowed money, but
never told his brother what he had done for him: “When he can, he’ll give it back to me.” Judite told me that she already did the same and concluded: “It’s in our blood. We couldn’t live any other way.”

VI.4.1 The Cape Verdean Family

The tendency in immigrant households in Cova da Moura, especially in those from the second generation which follow the model of Portuguese mainstream society, is to reduce their size and composition to that of a nuclear family. However, these nuclear structures remain open to newly-arrived relatives or others with their own migration projects or those receiving medical treatment. Maria, for example, would not have been eligible for the Health Cooperation Programme between Cape Verde and Portugal\(^7\), had her sister Judite, Francisca and other relatives not already been living in Portugal. Besides, she depended on the support that a patient should have, after leaving the hospital. Since the monthly benefits were 280 €, Maria could not afford to live independently and also needed assistance during her long sickness. I met Maria at the end of her radiotherapy treatment. She agreed to meet in the café of D. Rosa in Rua Direita in Cova da Moura. Although still very fragile, she was eager to talk about what had happened to her:

“In Cape Verde I used to stay at home, working in my father’s fields or doing small jobs from time to time. Only my husband worked regularly and with six children to bring up, the money was not enough. Luckily, in 2008 the Cape Verdean government signed an agreement with the Portuguese Government about treatment of serious health problems. The local doctors and I applied for treatment in Portugal and I got a visa. I had breast cancer and at the end of my treatment, I stayed for weekly treatment. I still get some money from the Portuguese state for further treatment, but this will end in December (2009). My sister and her future husband helped me a lot. He spent months with me in hospital. I stayed in Francisca’s house and I don’t know when I will return to Santo Antão.”

In Maria’s case, the density and size of the networks were extremely important: she received help from her sister Judite and Alfredo and Francisca, where Maria stayed for more than one year.

\(^7\) Since 18 November 1980 Portugal has been linked by a bilateral international cooperation with Cape Verde’s social security system (Dec. Law 129/80 of 1980) which allows Cape Verdean citizens to be treated in Portuguese hospitals: Programa de Apoio ao Doente Estrangeiro / PADE (Programme of Support for Ill Foreigners), promoted by ACIDI and Instituto da Segurança Social (Institute of Social Security).
VI.4.2 Maria’s Case

Judite’s younger sister Maria came to Portugal for medical reasons. She went to live with her sister Judite in Amadora. Maria’s neighbours did not speak to her; therefore she spent a lot of time alone in front of the television. Judite worked from 6 am until 9 pm and when she arrived home, she was too tired to stay awake for long. Maria’s daily visits to hospital required someone to accompany her due to her fragile state of health and also because of her difficulties in speaking Portuguese. For more than two years Judite’s future husband Alfredo spent five hours a day in the Hospital de Oncologia (Cancer Hospital of Lisbon) with Maria.

After her state of health had improved, she moved to Francisca’s house in Cova da Moura where she felt well and even made friends in the neighbourhood, as she told me: “Here I feel at home and the people are the same kind of people I am used to from Berlin (Santo Antão). I know I can get help if it’s needed. Like today, I didn’t feel so well and Francisca was not at home, so I asked a neighbour to make me something to eat and to get the baby from Moinho”. Maria stayed for almost two years in Francisca’s house. She helped in the house and looked after the children. She took them to school, picked them up every day and gave Ana lunch. Francisca was pleased to have her aunt at home and it never crossed her mind to consider her an intruder:

“She is my aunt, my family, she stays as long as she wants or needs. There are only advantages; she helps with the children, who like her a lot, and I have more freedom. I am used to sharing my house with more people, sometimes my brother would come to Cova da Moura and stay in the house, and every now and then he brings friends along whom I don’t even know. They sleep on the floor, I don’t mind”.

For Francisca, a house full of people, some of them even unknown to her, does not seem to be a problem. Trusting her brother’s friends to sleep in her house is far from normal behaviour and role-expectancy in the Portuguese way of life, where privacy is treasured. However, it seems that habits and housing in Santo Antão are similar to those of the families in Cova da Moura, as Maria told me: “not everyone can enter my house, but if they come along with family members or friends, the door is always open”. This may explain why there was such a high fluctuation of inhabitants in the households of the target families in Cova da Moura and in Cape Verde. Maria and Natália are good examples to illustrate this fact. Every Sunday, Maria called her sister Natália in Porto Novo (Cape Verde), to talk with her and sometimes with her father. “I don’t feel right if I don’t hear their voices. I know how things are going, just by the tone of their voices”, Maria commented. Her role as a daughter had been replaced by her sister who looked after her father regularly and also by a cousin who lived in his house.
since Maria left Santo Antão. I was surprised when Maria told me that her sister and her cousin had moved to her father’s house for almost eight months, leaving the family behind. Maria did not understand my surprise and simply explained that “someone had to take care of our old father, which is a normal thing to do, if you are a family”. Being attached to the European way of life, this kind of arrangement would be very difficult for me. But as my fieldwork continued, I realized that it is not unusual for these families to give shelter to those who need it, be it for illness, old age or for any other reason.

VI.5 The Return to Judite's New House in Porto Novo, Santo Antão

The return to ‘Judite’s roots’ is the end of a migration cycle in the Sousa family. In this section, I describe the proceedings involved in the construction of a ‘big’ house, one of the biggest in the neighbourhood. This achievement is the visible testimony of a successful migration project that ends up where it started - in Porto Novo, Santo Antão.

The complete circle of the Sousa family migration ends with the return of Judite and her husband Alfredo to Santo Antão. During my conversations with Judite in Cova da Moura, in 2007, she expressed four wishes: to live near her family, to live in Santo Antão, to rebuild her
old house and to die on her island. She explained that “a real Cape Verdean woman never forgets her country and wants to die there”.

For many years Judite had worked hard in Portugal, always trying to save money for a house in Berlin, the neighbourhood where she was born. She inherited her mother’s old barn and decided to build her house in the same place in honour of her ancestors. As Carling testified, “Having a house in Cape Verde is sometimes given as a precondition for return” (Carling, 2003: 16). Even if construction is still not finished, the new house represents the success of her life abroad in the perspective of family and neighbours. For Judite the house means the fulfilling her dream of a lifetime, and in a practical aspect, means a place to live and a way of earning money when the project of a restaurant in the basement is carried out.

When I visited her in Porto Novo three years later, the door of her house was always open and Alfredo, her husband, was sitting on a white plastic chair at the side of the door. Relatives and neighbours entered or stayed on the doorstep in front of the house just for a chat or to bring her cakes or fruits “as if they were part of my family” as Judite affirmed. She was always very lively and greeted them joyfully and proudly.

Few people speak Portuguese in Berlin and Alfredo does not speak Crioulo: “I understand bits and pieces if they speak slowly”. Although he refuses to learn it, Alfredo feels quite happy in Santo Antão:

“I like it here… it is so calm. The weather, Judite’s family and the neighbours are very friendly. I don’t miss Portugal much; I only miss my ‘Água das Pedras’ (special Portuguese sparkling water) which I cannot find here. I am very proud of the new house that Judite is building. I am in charge of supervising the workers that come to work when we have some money left at the end of the month. And I make them work hard.”

Alfredo often sits outside the front-door, from where he can see all movement in the street and greet whoever passes by. Socializing is considered very positive and an important element of everyday life in Cape Verde. He was very well received by Judite’s family and neighbours. Judite’s brother and other members of her family often come to talk with him and ask him to help his nephews with their school homework. In comparison with his former stressful life in Lisbon, Alfredo’s existence in Berlin seems relaxed: “In Lisbon everyone is running, here the time stretches”, he remarked.

Immigrants who have succeeded with their life projects are admired and are even envied in the neighbourhood. Judite feels that she is one of them: “I am well considered here, because I
worked all my life and helped my family, now I can enjoy my life in my neighbourhood, in my hometown”. When I went for a walk around, I got lost in the many similar streets of Berlin and asked people the way to Judite’s house. Everybody knew where it was and that Judite had recently returned from Portugal for good.

Her successful return with her ‘white’ Portuguese husband, and building a big house were considered the result of a life of much ‘sacrifis’ (sacrifice) and also a reward for more than 30 years of living abroad. According to Judite, “Portugal was a place to work, but living is here”. This notion of sacrifice and reward is not only evident in Cape Verdean migration. The same idea was already mentioned by Oscar Lewis (Lewis, 1965) in the context of Mexican migration.

Although many migrants experience difficulties in adapting to the way of life in their country of origin after their return, this does not apply to Judite. “A successful woman” as Alfredo puts it, and sometimes the cause of envy in neighbours, but Judite seems not to be affected by this, as she explains:

“I am so happy to be here (Porto Novo). It is like I never left. Everyone seems to be the same, all the small things, the sun, the heat make me even happier to be here. The money I saved, even if I don't rebuild my house as fast as I would like, it is enough for us (she and her husband). But I have my dream (to open a small café in her house) and if God wishes, it will happen sooner or later.”

Despite having being away for many years, Judite has readopted the islanders’ way of live. She dresses simply; she speaks the Crioulo of Santo Antão well, prepares local dishes and listens to the same Cape Verdean music as she used to abroad.

Before she left Portugal, she applied for a special programme implemented by the International Organization for Migration and financed by the Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF) (Portuguese Foreigners and Borders Service) the Programa de Retorno Voluntário (Assisted Voluntary Return Programme, AVR). This programme is mainly directed to Cape Verdeans who decide to return to Cape Verde. After her successful

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98 The AVR Programme is part of a comprehensive approach to migration management aiming to promote the return and reintegration of migrants who are unable or unwilling to remain in the host countries. It was implemented in 1997. The demand for AVR among immigrants has grown progressively over the years (1209 applications in 2011). Such an increase in demand is due to the economic downturn linked to the developing financial crisis.
application, she received 1800 €, which helped her to pay for the trip and shipping her belongings to Santo Antão.

As she worked all her life without a contract, she is not entitled to any further pension from Portugal, but she accumulated enough savings for a future without worries. Her husband Alfredo receives a monthly retirement pension from Portugal.

Living a ‘vida boa’ (good life) after having returned ‘home’ seems almost like the cliché of a ‘happy end’ to the migration cycle. Judite can benefit from an independent life ‘back to my roots’.
VII. Stage III - Adaptation and Accommodation

VII.1 Social Integration/ Relationships among Neighbours

In this section, behavioural expectations and the relationship between family members and neighbours in Cova da Moura are analyzed. Is solidarity restricted to the first generation? The first generation could rely on neighbours who helped each other on almost all occasions, but the second generation’s situation is different. Judite’s appeal is based on the assumption of a ‘Cape Verdean nature’, rather than on adaptation to social circumstances: “The residents of this neighbourhood are known for their solidarity, that’s how we are. And that’s how it should remain”.

Almost all those interviewed in Cova da Moura confirmed that they highly valued strong social relations with neighbours and other family members and had clear views on what this type of behaviour requires. Deolinda mentioned: “good relations mean that neighbours assist each other in their daily life, they look after older people and children; they give them meals and pick them up from school. Even in times of sickness, accidents, burglaries, death and any other emergencies”.

The physical closeness of Cape Verdean neighbours in the host country makes them part of the family. Neighbours are supposed to “look out for each other”, an old resident told me. Only this kind of relationship enabled Judite to organize her work and simultaneously raise her children without a husband:

“I left home at 5.30 am every morning. The children were still in bed; my cousin who lived next door went to work at the same time, so the two neighbours that lived opposite would come to our house at 8 am to give breakfast to Daniel, Martin and Francisca. The children stayed outside playing almost all day, knowing that Anabela (the neighbour) was always at home and would look after them if they needed something. She gave them the lunch I had already prepared the night before and dinner too. When it grew dark they would go to her house or stay at home and she would take care of them.”

Organization of the children’s daily routine was only possible because Anabela was not working and willing to look after them. The lack of nursery schools in the neighbourhood in the 1970s and Judite's long working hours made this kind of supervision indispensable. Only in the 1980s were the Clube Desportivo da Cova da Moura and Moinho da Juventude
Associations founded to channel the children’s activities, and the Primary School B1 da Cova da Moura opened in 1988.

However, only with the family’s permission are neighbours allowed to discipline a child. Judite described how this kind of informal neighbourly support-system is now slowly disappearing since she arrived in Cova da Moura in the 1970s:

“My neighbours were part of my family. They helped me to raise my children…they looked after them. This was the normal relationship between neighbours. Everyone needed the help of everybody else. Now it is different…look at Francisca, she does not ask the neighbours for help and does not go to their house for a chat, too much gossip, she dislikes it… You know, now the children are at school all day and neighbours are only called in emergencies.”

It seems that relationships in the neighbourhood are changing, as can be concluded from Francisca’s expectations of her neighbours, who were viewed with certain mistrust, while members of the first generation still preserve the same conviviality as before. Good relations mean that neighbours are able to trust each other and do not “tell the life of others to everyone”, as Deolinda says. Gossip is not fostered since there is a close dependency upon each other. Such relationships imply that money can be borrowed, food can be asked for, houses or cars can be repaired, and children can be taken care of. Inevitably, and contrary to Judite’s opinion expressed above, such a caring relationship also means that people get to know about each others’ lives and acquire a right to make comments on and interfere in their lives.

**Second Generation**

Obviously, the relationships with neighbours must have changed from the first to the second generation. While the first generation could expect social and economic ‘family-like’ sharing, as Judite mentioned, the second generation has privileged relationships with neighbours reduced to extreme situations. What has remained of the old support relationships is emergency care. In a recorded conversation, Francisca complained about the disappearing sense of unity and trust and the increase of gossip, carelessness and mistrust, especially among young people, who seem to be more self-aware and self-centered, emphasizing their individuality. As a result of these changes, many residents and also some members of the target families preferred to ‘stick to themselves’ and close family. Francisca told me that she
happily greets her neighbours in the street, but does not get too involved, since she expects it to cause gossip and problems:

“Yes my neighbours are OK. I greet them when I see them in the street, but this is as far as I go. I go home and get on with my own life alone, with the help of my mother, my aunt and my brothers. If they invite me and my children to a party I will go, but not always, it depends…. If they need help, I will try to help them, as I did before. But I do not go to their house and spend much time with them just talking. You know, in Cova da Moura there is a lot of gossip, jealousy, envy and news travels fast, which only causes problems. They tell their own version of a story or may accuse you of bad behaviour or something else. No, I'd rather keep to myself”.

Francisca’s statement represents the widespread attitude of the second generation, which is not immune to the growing influence of globalization and its levelling effects. The receptiveness of this second generation to publicity, consumerism and middle class values propagated by the media undermines the traditional ethics of their parents.

However, a leading member of the Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura Association pointed out an internal factor that may have caused these changing relations between neighbours. They are related to the composition of the community. First of all, he mentioned the arrival of “new people” (drug dealers and drug addicts) since 2005 in the area, especially in the main street, Rua Direita. In the time I spent there during my field work I witnessed how several addicts, mainly male, met in the main street in daytime, buying and selling drugs. In the Lisbon of the 1990s, there used to be a shanty community called Casal Ventoso, where cocaine, heroin and other prohibited substances were trafficked (cf. Chaves, 1999, Vasconcelos, 2003). When Casal Ventoso was demolished to be rebuilt, addicts and drug dealers moved to other areas and some of them went to Cova da Moura.

According to this member of the Association, the drug dealers are outsiders who use Cova da Moura as a smuggling area: “these intruders show a behaviour that possibly exerts a negative influence on the teenagers and gives a bad name to the whole neighbourhood”. An official organization, ‘Portas Abertas’, recently established in the neighbourhood, advising and helping users of hard drugs, has already detected several cases among young residents. “Outsiders coming into the community” are also blamed for the changes in the traditional support system between neighbours which diminish active participation in community life. Apart from that, people’s lives have not only become economically more difficult, but also fragmented. As a result, community life has lost importance and relevance for many residents. The same member confirmed this development:
“It is a problem at the moment (with the drug smuggling). We cannot relax in our own house, people are afraid. Of course many people benefit from it, but it is bad for the kids and a bad example. The people here are honest and work hard. Sometimes we are afraid at night and friendship is not the same as some years ago when anyone could go to anyone else’s house at any time, if they needed something. Now, there is no time and no motivation, it is a different neighbourhood”.

It is hard to say whether the quality of social relationships in the community has decreased or whether this is a perception similar to the idea of the elderly that “some years ago everything was better”. However, it is a fact that crime rates have increased 8.3% and fragmentation in terms of family units has grown. The perceptions of what people can expect from their neighbours and the extent to which they can trust them has changed. The second generation members feel that they can expect neighbours to help them, but only in emergencies. The former level of social relationships and exchange seems to have become more restricted due to mistrust, gossip and differences in values and attitudes, as mentioned by two families. Daniel felt that the “relationship between neighbours has changed, as has the neighbourhood over time. From very united to everybody for themselves. It has something to do with the hardships of life. Of course, if help is needed they are there, but not like before”. Fragmented relations within the community and increasing insecurity definitively affect the life of the residents in Cova da Moura.

VII.2 The Changes in Family Organization

In this section, the focus will be on the changes in family organization and conjugal relationships in two generations of the target families.

First Generation

The role of the three women of the first generation of the target families as wives, mothers and breadwinners was essential to keep the family united. Alleged male violence and unreliability in the first generation and their irresponsibility in the second generation was present, but Cape Verdean woman considered this behaviour as traditionally and culturally conditioned.

“The ideal of family unity is characterized by mutual attachment, regular social contacts and a reciprocal flow of material and nonmaterial benefits” (Akesson, 2002:113). But family dynamics change over time with migration and through generations. There were important changes going on in the family organization of different generations and in the conjugal relationships of the target group. All members of the first generation (aged over 50) of the three families were married; in two families more than once. For the first generation of Cape Verdians that arrived in Portugal in the 1970s, the dominating norm was to marry and have a lifelong relationship. The idea of the nuclear family was adopted from the Portuguese model based on the Catholic religion (Carreira, 1984). Despite this family orientation, extramarital relations were very common. The man was considered head of the household and provider of the main source of income, usually through local work in fishing, agriculture, construction or by improving the living conditions of his family through emigration. Even now, the image of a ‘responsible father and good provider’ contributes to a man’s reputation in the neighbourhood and also among his male friends, as Lourenço stated:

“I may spend a lot of time with my friends in the bar around the corner, but I always send money from where I am, to help my family survive. I worked a lot, sometimes overtime, so that they had enough to live. Relationships come and go, but no one can say that I didn’t care for my children.”

However, this version of Lourenço was called into question by Judite, who claimed that her husband would only send money once, while being at sea for four months, and not enough to maintain the household: “It was a bit of money for us and the rest was for him to hang around drinking … you know how men are”. Judite had to work long hours to pay her expenses and support her children.

In a long-term relationship, a partner willing to provide for the family is one of the most important factors. But Deolinda blamed the fathers of her children for economic neglect, maltreatment and infidelity: “My first husband gave me money when he felt like it, but we had to eat every day and pay the rent every month. When he had money he had other ways to spend it”. During my interviews with the residents of Cova da Moura, I was told that many Cape Verdian men maintain sexual relations with more than one partner at the same time. Some women said – and not disapprovingly: “they are natural ‘konkistadores’ (conquerors)”.

100 The Census of 2011 published by INE (Instituto nacional de Estatística/National Institute of Statistics) registered 7079 (18,2%) of married Cape Verdian citizens living in Portugal.
Apparently, this attitude is considered a ‘cultural aspect of being a Cape Verdean man’. Deolinda’s husband Justino could be unfaithful without any constraint\(^{101}\) as she testified:

> “My husband usually went to the cafés in Rua Direita until late at night. Sometimes I had to get him - so drunk he was that he could not walk anymore. I knew that he wasn’t faithful, but we (Cape Verdean women) are used to this. Men always jump from bird to bird…but they return to the nest. Women stay at home.”

This behaviour was accepted among the first generation females of the target families, who explained to me that “they did the same in Cape Verde - my father and probably my grandfather”\(^{102}\). Deolinda’s acceptance of her husband’s infidelity is blamed on the attitude of ‘Cape Verdean men’, but at the same time she considers him responsible, because he returns home to his wife despite his infidelity. On the other hand, it is socially unacceptable if women maintain a relationship with more than one man at the same time. Justino, for example, would never accept the same behaviour from Deolinda: “No Cape Verdean man could stand disloyalty from his wife. I would leave her immediately”. A husband’s loss of control over his wife appears to be interpreted as a sign of weakened masculinity. However, it is not at all uncommon for female members of the target families to experience a number of conjugal relationships and have children with more than one man during their lifetime. Judite had her son Daniel before she married Lourenço but there would be harsh criticism if she maintained other extra-conjugal relationships. The mere suspicion of female infidelity was the cause of domestic violence experienced by several female members of the target family, as Judite admitted: “Lourenço was sometimes violent just because he heard a comment from his pals. It was unbearable”. These situations led to separation and later to the divorce of the couple.

**Second Generation**

In the second generation (aged over 21) only Daniel and Martin are married. In this age group, only Francisca is single\(^{103}\); Albertino, José and Rui are living in de facto union\(^{104}\). The

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\(^{101}\) In his book *Cabo Verde: Aspectos Sociais: Secas e Fomes do Século XX* (1984), António Carreira shows that these relationships have been common from the time Cape Verde was a Portuguese territory and the Portuguese slave-owners considered female slaves as their propriety.

\(^{102}\) Andrade confirmed in his book the “widespread occurrence of male extramarital relationships in Cape-Verde” (Andrade, 1996: 47).

\(^{103}\) The Census of 2011 published by Instituto Nacional de Estatística/INE (National Institute of Statistics) registered 29,974 (77.06%) of single Cape Verdean citizens living in Portugal.
slightly younger Cristina and Carla (16-18 years) are single. Among the second generation, most of the members do not consider marriage in the near future, which corroborates Akesson’s conclusions: “These facts and convictions seem to illustrate the weakening of the institution of marriage, which is linked to an increasing instability in the relationships between men and women” (Akesson, 2009: 387).

Male irresponsibility was identified as one of the main causes for not getting married, as the parents did. Francisca never considered this option, even having three children with different fathers:

“I never wanted to get married, because I experienced my parents’ relationship …even after having a child at an early age. Now… it’s OK to have boyfriends, but marrying involves a lot more responsibilities, and I am not willing to suffer from it. Men just can’t be trusted.”

The traditional and cultural aspects of men’s behaviour evoked by the first generation do not seem to fit in with the image and gender expectations of the second generation. Francisca just wanted to escape from commitments and responsibilities and protect herself from future problems after her experience of an early pregnancy. Early pregnancies are common in Cova da Moura. Sexual life is said to begin around the age of 13. There are so many cases of teenage pregnancies in the neighbourhood that the Dr. Pedro D’Orey da Cunha school and the Moinho da Juventude Association organize debates to inform about how to prevent unwanted pregnancy. Often the pregnancies are intentional, even if the girls are in their early teens, as in the case of Marlene:

“I had my first baby at 14. I was at school and I liked a classmate who was also my neighbour. I wanted the child, because I liked him and also, because I was treated like a woman in the neighbourhood. When you have a child your image changes. People take you more seriously and have more consideration for you. My mother accepted it well, and I stayed at home and didn’t go to school any more. Rui continued to go to school and stayed with his mother. I had to find work, because a child needs a lot of things and the father was not working. But the money had to come in, somehow. I live in my mother’s house with Carlota and my brothers. My relationship with Carlota’s father did not last long, we drifted apart, and each of us has their own life.”

A similar picture was transmitted by Francisca. She intentionally had her first child, Paula, even knowing that neither she nor the father could provide for the family. Referring to her role as a mother in the neighbourhood, Francisca remembers being seen in a different way by her peers: “more consideration and respect”. She gave birth to Paula at the age of 15 and in

104 The Census of 2011 published by Instituto Nacional de Estatística/INE (National Institute of Statistics) registered 7 578 Cape Verdean citizens living in de facto union in Portugal.
this period the perception of others has major importance for any young person’s personality. Francisca and Marlene had to leave school during pregnancy. Marlene’s schooling is less than compulsory education and the financial responsibility for Carlota made her go to work at the age of 14 as a kitchen assistant for 200 € a month (the minimum working age in Portugal is 16). Receiving less than the minimum wage (480 €), she continued living with her mother and her baby, while her boyfriend stayed with his kin, because they could not afford to set up a separate household. This physical separation was one of the reasons for dissolving the conjugal relation.

These transitory relationships are typical for the young people of the neighbourhood: 66% of the couples (aged 16-25) who lived together had more than two relationships and 82% do not intend to get married.

Among the second generation, marriage has become uncommon and lifelong relationships are rare in Cova da Moura. The relatively high numbers of divorces among Cape Verdeans in Portugal (cf. target families) coincides with the instability of the country’s economic situation. Consequently, women usually raise their children alone often without emotional and economic support from the father. As a result, bonds between mother and children are much stronger than between children and father.

VII.2.1     Francisca’s Case

This is certainly the case of Francisca: she is a good-looking, cheerful, single 32-year-expelled her from their house in Cova da Moura and she went to live with her cousins nearby. When she got pregnant she decided to leave school and work as a housekeeper: “At that time, it was just too much pressure and I decided not to go to school any more. I didn’t like it too much, anyway. My boyfriend didn’t want me to go to school also; that’s life …”.

After the birth of her daughter, her boyfriend was sentenced to prison for drug smuggling and risked being sent back to Angola (he was an undocumented Angolan). After his time in jail, he somehow managed to get to London where he has relatives. His daughter Paula accompanied him, with Francisca's agreement, to live with him and the relatives, as Francisca justified: “I wouldn’t have let Paula go, if I hadn’t known that she would be well treated. I

105 Moinho da Juventude, 2011.
still think it was the best thing to do, even if my mother was against it.” Indeed, Judite had offered to raise Paula, but respected Francisca’s decision. She still feels bad about it: “I would have liked to raise this child. I still regret it after ten years, but we will have her back one day”. Five years later she got pregnant again with a Cape Verdean boyfriend but the father never recognized the daughter Ana as his own, and this situation had to be resolved in court. Without money to raise her second daughter Ana, as again the father did not contribute, she returned to the house in Cova da Moura to live with her father Lourenço, who had already divorced Judite. Her mother was already living in Cacém. She was ‘forced’ to go back to Cova da Moura due to her desperate financial situation. The relationship with her father was very bad and sometimes even violent. She moved to a friend’s house and got pregnant with a Portuguese boyfriend. This relationship lasted two months and the father of her child Gabriel never recognized him as his son, and again this situation is still to be resolved in court. Once again, Gabriel’s father never contributed to his son’s expenses.

After Lourenço’s death, Francisca, for economic reasons returned to Cova da Moura where she lived with her children Ana and Gabriel, and her aunt Maria who was recovering from surgery. After the birth of the second child, Francisca received support from the Portuguese Welfare system\textsuperscript{106} and also from her family to cover monthly expenses. Both associations of Cova da Moura provided the necessary care for Francisca’s children. Her daughter Ana attended extra-curricular classes after primary school in Clube Desportivo da Cova da Moura, where she does her homework and has computing classes. Gabriel is in the nursery school in Moinho da Juventude. Francisca recognizes her family’s support, but her precarious economic situation does not allow her to move away from Cova da Moura:

> “I would not do it (her life) any other way. I love my children, I could not live without them and I have help from the whole family, especially from my mother and now from my aunt Maria. It doesn’t matter, if the fathers don’t help. I don’t need them to contribute, I can manage by myself. The state contributes for the kids and for me and that’s OK. Anyway, I couldn’t pay the expenses of the house, even if it only cost 50 €. The benefits I get and the salary I earn are no longer enough, so I had to move to Cova da Moura when my father died. If I could change, I would not be here, but I have no other possibility. Lately, we rearranged the house a bit, but we could not do much more ... The children are here at school and at Moinho (Association) and if I moved somewhere else, I could not pay”.

\textsuperscript{106} Rendimento Social de Reinserção/RSI (Social Integration Benefits), these benefits are meant for people who lack sufficient economic means to provide their essential needs and have minors who are economically dependent on them.
Francisca is a very lively woman who only seems to see the bright side of life. She performs the role of mother the only breadwinner, but attended only nine years of Basic School education, which implies hardly any job opportunities besides working as a servant or in a restaurant. The minimum wage (in 2012, 480€) usually paid for these occupations would not be enough for household expenses, including herself and her two children. In her statement, she pointed out three important aspects. Firstly, she would still have all of her children even knowing beforehand that she could not expect any support from the fathers: “my children are the most precious thing that happened in my life and men come and go”. Her lack of confidence in her partners, who did not assume responsibility for their children, did not deter her from becoming a mother.

Secondly, she states that family members (on her mother’s side) were more trustworthy than her partners. She could always rely on her family’s emotional and economic support.

Thirdly, since she got Portuguese nationality in 2010, the Portuguese state services replaced the father’s obligation to provide for a single unemployed mother with children. She receives benefits from the welfare system and her status as a Foreign National, allowed her to visit her daughter Paula, whom she had not seen for the past six years, in London.

As with Judite, Deolinda, Francisca and Marlene, many relationships between women and men in Cova da Moura are very transitory. None of these conjugal relations lasted longer than a few years, and sometimes only a few months, because of mutual accusations of mistreatment and infidelity. Childbirth was probably the strategy for securing support and to create a sense of obligation in their partners, which in the end was not successful. However, all these women continued to show strength by raising their children as single mothers, enjoying everyday life and hoping for a better future.

**VII.3 Maintenance of Transnational Networks**

Being a transnational migrant involves a reconfiguration of existing relationships with family and friends. In this section, I demonstrate the permanent investment in maintaining transnational contacts with parts of the family left behind and friends living in different corners of the world by phone, letters and more recently, by internet.
The experience of a transnational migrant is conceptualized through lasting contacts and frequent visits to their home country. The Sousa family is an example of this process. Judite used to go every year to Santo Antão to see her father and brothers and to personally oversee the progress in rebuilding her house in Berlin. To have one’s own house has strong economic, social and symbolic significance in Cape Verde (Akesson, 2009: 389). Months in advance, the visit is carefully prepared by Judite in Lisbon and by her brother Justino in Santo Antão: “It’s so expensive and I haven’t much time. There are always so many things to deal with back home (in Cape Verde). When I’m not there, my brother takes over, but I like to see how the work is done with my own eyes”. Judite instructed Justino and her father how to proceed with the construction of her house. Whenever she could afford it, she would send her brother a sum of money and detailed instructions about the next step in the building process, as she told me:

“If my brother and father had not supervised the construction of my house, it would have been impossible for me to do it. No one can make sure that the work is well done, if you are not present. It took me years of saving and it was built bit by bit, from time to time. My brother also helped at weekends and my father too. Even now that we are living there, as you see, it is far from finished. It is an important step for me, because I can soon fulfill my dream of having a small restaurant in the basement of the house. I can do my cooking and earn some money from it. This year (2010) I can celebrate Christmas here with many relatives, my sons, grand-children and cousins that come sometimes from very far to be with us.”

The brother supervised not only the construction but also paid the builders after the work was done. The details of the reconstruction of her house were discussed on the telephone. The contacts among the different elements of the network are maintained by Judite by indirect means of communication (phone calls, letters) and directly (visits): “I don’t know how to use a computer. That’s for the younger generation”. When Judite arrived in Santo Antão, usually some other relatives living abroad would be also present for a family gathering. These reunions between dispersed relatives are of great importance, because they become a celebration of family cohesion, as Judite told me:

“It’s a big party. We grill chicken and pork; make a big pan of cachupa in the garden of my father’s house. Whoever shows up brings something. In the end there is enough for almost the whole neighbourhood.”

The Sousas establish and maintain several familial, economic, social, and organizational ties that extend frontiers and interconnect the local and the global. This corresponds to what Glick-Schiller and her colleagues (1992) defined as transmigrant, “the contemporary migration flows, since migrants maintain various sets of relations with the society of origin, in addition to those kept with the destination society” Glick-Schiller, 1992: 645). Maintaining
such ties allows Judite to keep participating in family decisions, to build her own house and to set up a future business in Santo Antão.

**Second Generation Networks**

Members of the second generation also maintained close links with the scattered family, emotionally and sometimes financially. Many relatives are not located in their country of origin but dispersed in transnational space, including family members holding different nationalities. With international migration, as Sorensen and Olwig (2002) observed, “the family structure easily becomes exposed to traumas of deterritorialization as family members pool and negotiate their mutual understanding and aspirations in spatially fractured arrangements” (Sorensen and Olwig, 2002: 34), but it does not necessarily end up in separation, as the Ferreira family’s transnational experience illustrates.

**VII.3.1 Albertino’s Case**

Albertino is a good-humoured, 29-year-old man. He told me over and over how much he loved Cova da Moura, where he grew up and where he has his family and friends. When I got to know him, he had arrived from Geneva.

He completed the twelve years of secondary school and worked in various unskilled jobs in Portugal, but after the birth of his second child the money was not enough to cover all the expenses. For almost a year he had tried unsuccessfully to get a job in the Cova da Moura area. In 2009 he decided to move to Switzerland where his brother Felizmino had already lived for two years, working in a restaurant that belonged to a Cape Verdean from São Vicente.

When Albertino first arrived in Geneva he immediately got a job at the weekends in the same restaurant as his brother. After two weeks he got a second job as a mechanic through the cousin with whom he lived. His two sons live with their mothers in Cova da Moura, and therefore his life is divided between two countries, Switzerland (economically) and Portugal (emotionally):
“I had to go where there was a job. My girlfriend stayed in Cova da Moura. She doesn’t want to go. Anyway, I live with my cousins in a small room, and it would be difficult with two more kids… The rest of the time I work in two jobs. I come home (to Cova da Moura) often, every two months, because the low-cost tickets are so cheap… I pay 48 € to go from Geneva to Lisbon and back. I speak with Jocelina (his girlfriend) through Skype every day and I phone my parents once a week and to São Vicente once a month. This way, I can send enough money to her, the kids and sometimes to my parents.”

Comparable to the case of Albertino, in one way or another, most members of the target families miss their relatives and communicate with their brothers, sisters and parents in Cape Verde or in Europe, which makes them feel that they are still part of the family. The expression ‘ta dâ notí sia’ (to send news) was often used when they were telling me about a close relative who lived in another country. It appears that migration does not mean a break with the past at all, but rather the continuation of family life just in another place - one that incorporates and transcends dual national boundaries.

The sense of loyalty to their families and calling their home countries seems a basic need and structuring ritual in their lives. During recent years, use of the telephone\textsuperscript{107}, letters and more recently e-mails or Skype has greatly increased and stimulated interaction between immigrants and their relatives. These communication practices of a transnational character keep the family informed and united. It was interesting to learn who in the target families would use each of the various means of communication. For the first generation, the telephone is the most important means of communication. Phone calls make direct two-way communication possible, and especially, do not require an ability to write. Furthermore, in Cape Verde, as in many other developing countries, access to telephones has increased considerably during recent decades\textsuperscript{108}. I realized that the telephone was generally used to contact Cape Verde, while the internet was mainly used by the second generation to keep in contact with Cape Verde, Europe and the U.S. Deolinda, for example, keeps in touch with her daughters in Luxemburg (Luisa) and Boston (Dália) by internet, relying on the expertise of her daughters Carla and Cristina in Portugal: “I don’t know how to use the internet. But with my daughters’ help, I can see my other daughters and grandchildren on the screen … that’s modernity”. On the other hand, Luisa communicates by Skype with Dália almost on a daily basis to update transnational connections. Most Cape Verdians cannot afford to make

\textsuperscript{107} There are two calling shops, one in the main street and another one on the way into Cova da Moura and every time I passed by, they were crowded.

\textsuperscript{108} According to the World Bank (2008) there are more than 300 fixed line and mobile phone subscribers per 1,000 people.
international calls from their islands, which implies that the migrants are the ones who establish the contact. “If a call came from Cape Verde, it would be worrying”, Deolinda told me. As we have seen, contacts were usually established with relatives to let them know what developments and changes had occurred in Portugal and to get news about the lives of those who stayed on the islands. Maintaining a continuous flow of information and emotional links is also important for business reasons.

VII.4 Transnational Lives and Remittances

According to Grillo and Mazzucato (2008) there are three main areas in which kinship and family relations can be directly affected by transnational migration: the separation of family members, gender relations, and the role of non-kin relationships. In this section migrants’ priorities are reflected through the life histories of some members of the second generation of target families: maintaining ties with their home country, peers and families; strong feelings towards the family and the responsibilities attached to it.

In research on migration dealing with movements from South America to the US, the expression ‘transnational social fields’ is used as an analytical concept (cf. Glick Schiller et al., 1992, 1995, Mahler, 1998 and Levitt, 2001). These fields link sending countries such as Cape Verde to receiving countries such as Portugal, The Netherlands, US, France or others. They also create contacts between people in their home country and abroad.

High expectations from family members can play a decisive role in the Diaspora, and leaving one’s own kin could be part of the motivation when choosing to migrate. “If you come from a migrant family, immigration is not considered a bad thing. It is normal. We are here or somewhere else, but always together”, said Paulina, the niece of Josefina, some weeks before she left for The Netherlands.

Recently, studies have emerged in the field of transnational families and child well-being. Indeed, as Glick mentioned in her review of research on immigrant families, “[r]esearchers have become increasingly aware of the bi-national realms in which many immigrant families operate and the strategies they employ” (Glick, 2010: 507). The family understood the

109 These ‘fields’ were described by Levitt (2001), who explores how villagers from the Dominican Republic create a transnational community with former residents of that village who emigrated to Boston in the US. Between these two locations, an organized communal exchange takes place through many institutions: Catholic Church, Associations and even a political party.
migration of their female kin to ensure better opportunities for their children and as another strategy to fulfill the role as breadwinner that should, according to their notion, normally be fulfilled by the father of her children.

As a single mother, one of Paulina’s main motives for emigrating to The Netherlands was to assure a better education for her two sons. She left her two sons, one aged three and the other aged five, with her mother-in-law in Cova da Moura. Through a cousin, Paulina managed to get a job in an old people’s home in Rotterdam. She will live there, with food included, and has been promised a salary of 2400 € per month. Paulina intends to send 1600 € for the monthly expenses of her children and visit her sons twice a year in her holidays. At the same time, she wants to save as much as she can to go back to Cova da Moura as quickly as possible: “There was no other way out. My children need me, but I see them every day by Skype. You know how it is, I have to give them a good education and later they will be proud of me. Even if I have to work ten hours a day; it’s for them that I’m doing this.” For Paulina, being a ‘good mother’ means going abroad to earn and send back money to the family in Portugal, maintaining daily contact with her children and mother-in-law. Her main objective was to earn enough money to provide a better education for her sons, a precondition to get a good job and have an easier life in the future.

Child fostering provides strong and long-lasting transnational ties. Refusal by Paulina’s mother-in-law to provide a home for her grandsons would have been considered disloyal. In return, Paulina is supposed to send her mother enough money, otherwise she would be considered an irresponsible mother and discredited in the neighbourhood.

Deolinda’s daughters, Dália and Luisa, emigrated decades ago. Their decision to live permanently abroad did not cut the links with their kin in Portugal or Cape Verde. They experience a transnational family life, hold different nationalities, but maintain emotional as well as financial links with their kin in Portugal and Cape Verde. Dália, who acquired both Cape Verdean and American citizenship, and her husband, live in Boston, U.S. For them, distance and dispersal cannot destroy a sense of collective unity with family members in Portugal (her mother and sisters) and in Santiago (his mother and family). Dália helped Deolinda and her sisters in Portugal monetarily and Luís supported his father and brothers in Cape Verde. Luisa, who had Cape Verdean and Luxembourg citizenship and lives in France, remits from Luxembourg to Portugal. She is also willing to support her sister Carla by
housing her for three years, if she decides to do a course of professional studies in Luxembourg or in France.

Although born in Cova da Moura, both are emotionally attached to their Cape Verdarkian island. Dália contacted me by e-mail and reported that:

“Although living in Boston, I never lost contact with my mother in Portugal and my sisters. I am always aware of what happens in Portugal and in Cape Verde by television (RTP-international) and (RTP-Africa). I would like to visit my relatives, but with the children this costs too much money, the plane and all. But on Skype we spend hours on the net and it feels like I am there (in Cova da Moura). Of course, Cova da Moura is my favourite place. It’s where I was born, but here (in the US), I realized that we needed more than being in a isolated neighbourhood.”

Their current family relations appear as ‘harmonious’ as in a conventional ‘un-dislocated’ family. Nevertheless, they confirmed that the place in which they were born and grew up (Cova da Moura) does not provide economic stability and a good environment for family life. Therefore, returning is out of the question.

The following description captures some of the patterns of remittances, reflecting the structure of the kinship. In Maria’s case, remittances were directly sent to those who ‘deserved’ and ‘needed’ them. She has been married to Renato for decades in Santo Antão. As previously reported, she came to Portugal for medical reasons, staying for one and a half years. Before she left the island she took care of her old father. Her sister and cousin replaced Maria in this duty, but she felt the obligation to send back money every month, because she could not be there to look after him. She felt guilty about not being there in case he needed something: “Every day my sister takes care of my father and my niece prepares his food. As I cannot be there, I send money almost every month to help with the expenses.” However, Maria does not seem to feel obliged to provide extra money for her husband who takes care of their children (five children and another one adopted from a neighbour110). She is convinced that since she was ill they will be able to look after themselves:

“I have to get better from my illness. My children know how to take care of themselves, now. The older ones take care of the younger ones and my husband looks after them, he can manage. I am more worried about my father. He is now an old man.

110 ‘Pais de criação’ raise someone else’s child (usually from very poor families) without getting any monetary support and without being considered legally adoptive parents. It is a rather widespread practice in Santo Antão.
As Maria’s family substituted her in her ‘duty’ to take care of her father, she feels obliged to send part of her income to him. The 40 € previously mentioned comes from her monthly pension of 240 € paid by the Segurança Social (Portuguese Welfare). As confirmed in Maria and Judite’s statements, these remittances had a positive impact on the father’s economic and social situation: “It’s not much but gives relief and helps a lot with all the expenses”. He can pay her niece that looks after him and does not have to do odd jobs on the side (‘biscates’). Maria claimed that the reason for not sending money to her husband is her lack of trust. She assumes he will not spend the money on necessary expenses for the household, but primarily on personal consumption, such as grogue (national drink) and beer. She mentioned that “if he sees money, he disappears for the next days, but the children still need to have someone at home with them”. It seems obvious to Maria that her husband is unfit to administer any money she might send. After she had returned to Santo Antão, I visited Maria in her house. Renato was also present and as the conversation flowed, he showed his disappointment about Maria’s lack of financial support for him: “She forgot about me, she sent me ‘nada’ (nothing)”. The word ‘nada’ could imply that she does not live up to his expectations. Maria immediately replied: “You know why I didn’t”. In 2010 she had obtained medical authorization from the Lisbon hospital to return to Santo Antão, as she was considered cured.

The regularity with which remittances are sent to relatives from the host country shows the importance and the high degree of reliability of this mutual help system and the density of social networks. Carling (2004), estimates that in Santo Antão the proportion of households receiving remittances is between one third and two thirds. They have become an institutionalized part of their livelihoods. In the three families, sending monthly remittances, mainly to their elderly or ill parents in Cape Verde, improved their living standards. The remittances sent by international migrants are perceived to enhance the development prospects of low and middle-income economies, maintain their macroeconomic stability, mitigate the impact of exogenous shocks and reduce poverty. According to research on Santo Antão carried out by Akesson (2009) “nearly everyone has a close relative abroad, and the majority of households had received money from a migrant at least once in the previous 12 months” (2009: 382).
Cape Verde is one of the top recipients of remittances, receiving high inflows compared to other small island economies that depend heavily on this form of financial support, for example, the Dominican Republic. In a comparative study about Mexico and the Dominican Republic, Massey and Sana (2005) discuss the connection between variations in family composition and the receiving of remittances. The outcome shows that in Mexico remittances are more directed to the migrant’s nuclear family, while the Dominicans regularly send small amounts of remittances to different households that need this support for their survival – a situation similar to that of Santo Antão.

However, it is difficult to estimate the value of the migrants’ remittances; it is considered to be very significant and even constitutes, as in the case of Cape Verde, an important part of the gross national product of the migrants’ countries of origin. In Figure IV, the biggest share of remittances to Cape Verde comes from Portugal (30.4%), despite the country’s recession.

![Figure 19: Remittances to Cape Verde by Country of Origin (2007)](Central Bank of Cape Verde, 2008)
Although, remittance inflows reached 122 million euros in 2008, they appear to have declined to 114 million euros in 2009 and to 111 million euros in 2010 because of the effect of the global financial crisis on Cape Verdean migrants’ employment and income (World Bank report, 2011). The World Bank report (2011), regarding remittances, mentions that around two thirds of Cape Verdean families receive money from abroad—the highest proportions coming (in order of percentage) from Portugal, France, the United States, and The Netherlands. Although remittances have been declining as a share of total foreign financing - from 46 percent in 1995 to 19 percent in 2007 (IMF 2008)\textsuperscript{111}, they still play an important role in the financial balance of Cape Verde.

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{111} In 1980 those transfers represented 86% of the GNP; in 2000 they only represented 25% as mentioned by Reis (2002: 3) in ‘Ilhas de Lusofonia’ in the VII Congress Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais.}
VIII. Stage IV – Responses to Government Decisions Affecting the Future of Cova da Moura

VIII.1 The Influence of the Redevelopment Project on the Target Families in Cova da Moura

This section describes how the residents negotiated implementation of the Redevelopment Project and indicates how this may have changed the life of the second generation of the target families.

Cova da Moura is an area with one of the most negative images in the greater Lisbon area and even in the whole of Portugal. But it has special characteristics: it is not a totally illegal neighbourhood (the owners of the houses and shops pay tax to the Municipality of Amadora); it is not a council estate and it is not a slum. For these reasons, Cova da Moura was not selected for all the programmes\textsuperscript{112} implemented by the former Governments, aiming to clear the greater Lisbon area of shacks and implying subsequent relocation of their inhabitants (cf. Fontainhas, 1\textsuperscript{a} de Maio).

The Cova da Moura Redevelopment Project was a new programme that started in 2007 and involved seven Ministries, Welfare, Municipalities, Associations (Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura, Moinho da Juventude, Associations of Residents representing the Neighbourhood Commission) and the Church of Damaia. Its intervention plan had three objectives: 1) legalization of the neighbourhood: a) purchase of the land; b) construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure and public spaces, houses, commercial spaces, social and educational facilities. 2) a safe neighbourhood: a) re-creation of the image ‘Nova Cova da Moura’ b) fighting drug trafficking, social reinsertion of ex-convicts, prevention of domestic violence and legalization of undocumented foreign citizens. 3) an active neighbourhood: a) prevention of disease, b) support for employment and enhancement of human capital. Another

\textsuperscript{112} The first housing programme that was projected URBAN, Special Programme of Rehousing (Programa Especial de Realojamento), PER (1993) aimed to finished with all the shacks in the Lisbon area by the year 2000 (exceptionally in Amadora district by 2009 due to the great quantity of slums that existed), (Decree-Law 163/93 of 7 May 1973)
section of the project provided for the creation or development of central places and public squares. Improving the status of the Praça do Moinho (Windmill Square) was an important part of the neighbourhood’s improvement policy. This emblematic square is an area where many streets converge, with several cafés and an old run-down windmill – hence its name. It is crowded day and night, mostly with men of African origin and of all age-groups. They gather to socialize, discussing everything from football to politics. The symbolism of this place was emphasized by an old resident who had arrived in the 1960s from the Island of Santiago:

“It’s the place to ‘hang out’, where the old folks meet and now the young ones, too. The mill served as protection from the rain and from the cold Portuguese winter nights, and to hide from the police. Here we were, on the top of a hill, and it was possible to see what was going on in the entire neighbourhood…this was before these constructions. Although the windmill is just a ruin, it’s still our monument.”

The ‘Moinho’ was considered a symbol of the neighbourhood by its residents. As the previous interview shows, it had also a practical use. Due to the lack of public and cultural facilities in Cova da Moura, the proposal to implement a museum inside the mill was accepted by all parties involved in the negotiations.

From the beginning of the Redevelopment Project there was disagreement. For example, the residents tried to organize groups to be heard and to have a vote in the decision-making process. In official meetings, two forms of action were presented: complete demolition of the houses (the land in Cova da Moura is valuable) and subsequent relocation of the residents to improved accommodation, namely council flats in the same municipality\textsuperscript{113}. This possibility was immediately rejected by the majority of residents. Eduardo Pontes, one of the founders of the Moinho da Juventude Association, participated in these meetings where loud voices of disagreement were heard. This is how he remembered one occasion:

“I was at the meeting and immediately against this proposal; after I objected, many others did the same. We knew what they wanted. It is valuable land, near Lisbon, a good location with good transport facilities. What they (some members of the projects) wanted to build here was a private condominium. But we would not let them”.

Another possibility implied maintaining the neighbourhood on a legal basis for its residents and renovating the private houses, including rehabilitation of the public space. This concept

\textsuperscript{113} In Fontainhas in Amadora, the inhabitants were forced to leave the neighbourhood, which was destroyed on Government orders. The residents were reallocated to council houses in the area.
prohibited any type of new construction in the quarter\textsuperscript{114}. It was this second option that received more votes from the residents and it was also the one that interested Josefina:

“I and the majority of the people who live here don’t want to move to these new buildings. We made many sacrifices to have the houses as we like them, and I know everyone around here, and I work here, and it’s here where I made my life. That’s where I will die.”

Josefina’s emphatic statement and strong opinions are corroborated and shared by everyone I talk to about this subject. After many debates, the second proposal was accepted by all parties involved. However, the controversy continues in the media about how this project, which should already be completed, has developed and if it should go on.

In 2007, the Socialist government had publicly announced\textsuperscript{115} ‘100 million euros for Cova da Moura with the promise of a safe, ecologically and economically attractive neighbourhood’. The article continued with the proclamation of a ‘New Cova da Moura with a future for the children and the certainty that the construction would start by 2009’.

In 2008, the Residents’ Commission expressed the worries of the inhabitants, using the media to communicate publicly their doubts and mistrust. Various newspapers\textsuperscript{116} reported the lack of dialogue with residents and the delay in presenting the results of the study carried out by Laboratório Nacional de Engenharia Civil, LNEC (National Laboratory of Civil Engineering). The political parties on the left\textsuperscript{117} (Coligação Democrática Unitária, CDU and Bloco de Esquerda, BE) also criticized the ‘undefined project’ and the lack of information issued by the Socialist government (PS) about their Rehabilitation Project. In 2010, they denounced the delay of the work in the neighbourhood that should have started months earlier. In 2012 there is still no apparent development in the process concerning legal ownership of the land and the possible date for either renovation or demolition of the houses. The only information transmitted to the residents by the responsible committee is: “at the moment the negotiations are in a stand by, we have to wait…”.

\textsuperscript{115} Destak, 11 September 2007, p. 2.
\textsuperscript{117} Metro, 26 May 2008, p. 4.
Second Generation

Most residents, including the members of the second generation of the target families hoped that their situation would improve in the near future with home ownership and better infrastructures inside the neighbourhood, as Albertino stated:

“What I really hope will happen in Cova da Moura is the legalization of the neighbourhood. My parents knew from the beginning that they had bought an illegal house, but they struggled a lot and paid all these years to the state, so we (himself and his brother Felizmino) should be entitled to it. I want to come back and live here with my kids, in my own house.”

For Albertino, his parents' hardship and difficulties in buying and remodelling their habitation, and paying taxes to the Municipality should be reason enough to own it. Certainly, the house has gained material and also high emotional value. It becomes a symbol of upward mobility and economic stability that can be passed on to future generations.

Others, such as Francisca, see in this Project an opportunity to move somewhere else. She dreams of selling her parents’ house as soon as it is legalized, after having the necessary repairs done. With the money of the sale, she would change from Cova da Moura to a neighbourhood with a ‘better reputation’ and possibly open a small café, as she says:

“I really would like to go somewhere else, I don’t mind where, but I want to start from zero. For the time being, I have no other place to go ... Here, I have a small house, a school for the children, the Moinho (da Juventude) but no future for me. I don’t have many friends here. When I have the house legalized, I will sell it and start all over again and, who knows, maybe fulfill the dream of my lifetime (own a small café).”

For Francisca, a legalized house in Cova da Moura represents a possibility for future business and an opportunity to start a new life in a different place.

Her cousin Guiducha has a similar approach. She, her husband and her son were living in her parents’ house in Cova da Moura. A conflict between Guiducha and her father made them leave the house. They could not find a flat through official agencies, because her husband is an undocumented Cape Verdean citizen. With only her husband’s salary, they moved to a rented room in the neighbourhood, where the three of them lived. She expects that they will be entitled to a council flat outside Cova da Moura after the Project’s implementation:

“I could not stay with my father any longer. I am looking for a cleaning job or just some hours of work in a café around here, because we cannot live the three of us on 500 € a month. But until now nothing has come up. The room is too tiny for the three
of us, but I hope with the Project, we can move to a new house not far from here. I have no space for anything, not even for my clothes and my few things. But I cannot really leave, because my mother lives here and helps me a lot with the kid and I know everyone here.”

In 2011, this Project, aiming to create better conditions and forms of integration for poor families who live in shanty neighbourhoods, was suspended, due to the lack of financial support from the government. But the residents are suspicious and doubt this official version, as Antónia confided in me:

“Deep inside, I knew that these negotiations would lead nowhere. There is a Portuguese saying which puts things in the right light: ‘when there is plenty, the poor mistrust’. And that’s exactly what it was. Here (in Portugal) no one gives anything to others, if he can’t benefit from it somehow. That’s why we keep the cents and the others (the decision makers) keep the millions, and nothing is really done.”

Originally, three neighbourhoods had been taken into consideration for these measures: Cova da Moura, Lagarteiro (Porto) and Vale da Amoreira (Setúbal). The Redevelopment Project intended to intervene in different areas: legalization of properties (plots and houses already built) for the residents, rehabilitation of infrastructures, private houses, public spaces and social facilities. However, the time limit (2011) for implementation of the project is long past. The first phase of the project was accomplished with evaluation of the proprieties and registration of the inhabitants per household in 2009. Furthermore, negotiations with the landowner were suspended, as disagreements about the value of the property continue. The differing ideas of the involved parties concerning value and compensation have not yet been reconciled.

As explained above, future ownership of their houses depends on the government resolution concerning the Redevelopment Project for the area. Apparently, there is an estimated possible delay of five years until the Project’s conclusion. In the meantime, all necessary restoration and remodelling of the houses in Cova da Moura are prohibited until new inspections assess the state of each property. For the time being, Cova da Moura will inevitably remain an ‘illegal’ squat in the greater Lisbon area.
IX. Discussion and Concluding Remarks

This section summarizes my empirical findings in an attempt to answer the research questions posed; it links the findings to significant theories and presents the researcher’s reflections that underlie this study. This study has portrayed the lives of three Cape Verdean immigrant families and their extended families over three generations through ethno-historical stages and has identified the social, cultural, educational and political factors that challenge them in Cova da Moura, a neighbourhood near Lisbon, Portugal. Consequently, it focuses on the changes and transformations these families are currently undergoing and describes the arrangements they make to stay or leave their community and how their lives are sustained in Cova da Moura.

The findings of my study can be summarized under each of the four research questions which addressed the ethno-historical evolution of these three target families over a thirty year period from their pre-migration to migration, adaptation, settlement and accommodation stages in Cova da Moura. These are listed as they appeared in the Introduction section:

1. How have the people of Cova da Moura, who are mainly Cape Verdeans, and often in irregular situations, constructed their livelihoods over thirty years during the continuous process of their community’s reconstruction through diverse Government policies and practices?

2. How have they adapted socially, culturally and what coping strategies have been developed by these families in this time frame, together with their relatives, neighbours and other inhabitants of Cova da Moura?

3. What role does transnationalism play in terms of their households and activities?

4. How have the Portuguese government and the local administration responded over the years to the settlement of immigrants on privately owned land and what have been the residents’ responses over time?

To answer these questions, the context of Cova de Moura is revisited, identifying significant factors which have influenced the lives of these Cape Verdean families. Following such
contextualization, I link the research questions to the theories I used and how they help explain their situation. Finally, I reflect on the findings from my ethnographic perspective and share some of my own thoughts on the future of these families.

IX.1 Cova da Moura Revisited

Cova de Moura is a very poor, slum-like immigrant neighbourhood near Lisbon, Portugal, to which working-class Cape Verdean and immigrants of other nationalities have gravitated. The poor quality of houses and bad living conditions caused the city council to intervene and embark on a large-scale revitalization program (Redevelopment Program) which started in 2007. The promises to improve the residents’ living conditions, by rehabilitating the area and attracting visitors to this multicultural neighbourhood have yet not been accomplished.

Currently, the neighbourhood is in a worse shape, although it has not grown in the number of residents or new constructions over the past five years. The improvements in garbage collection, recycling and lighting promised by Amadora City Council still remain to be fulfilled. Instead, residents have solved these problems by creating their own adjustment strategies and making do with less. Furthermore, restrictions in connection with the Redevelopment Program have prevented Cova da Moura residents from improving or renovating their houses and from finishing buildings in construction. Residents remain in limbo, insecure about their future not knowing whether they will ever own the land where their homes were built, but in the hope that this may happen, they continue to pay taxes to the City Council of Amadora.

When I began my study five years ago, Cova da Moura represented an enclave that was distant and isolated and had a bad reputation. Having entered the field and using an ethno-historical approach to collect data about the neighbourhood residents, it became clear that more threaded ethnographies of communities need to be made in order to study longitudinally what adjustments are made by families over three generations. However, through interviews with the family members, contact with the residents and participation in cultural and social events during my frequent visits to the neighbourhood, I became aware of many of their daily interactions and unique networks which served to mitigate the negativity with which they have been viewed.
Now in retrospect, with my fieldwork completed, I realize there have been several changes in the lives of the residents in general and of the target family members in particular. These have to do with acquired legality, rising poverty, needs of the elderly, diminished criminality, transnational communication and growth of associations.

Over the past five years, many residents including members of the target families have become legally documented, which implies attainment of rights meaning access to free education, health care and mobility. However, in the current economic crisis those rights are being seriously diminished and poverty is on the rise in the rest of Portugal.

Elderly dwellers have increased in the neighbourhood and as these first generation immigrants hardly received labour contracts, they report that they are not eligible for social support. With the rising costs of health care, particularly in these difficult economic times, many residents do not have sufficient economic resources to help their aging parents and kin. Such a situation becomes a difficult social issue, because not to support family members is highly shameful and strongly reproached by the community. Despite this moral imperative, the interviewed social workers reported the requests for financial and social aid from both old and young are at an all time high.

Even though, petty crime and drug trafficking goes on, Cova da Moura is still not a dangerous area. Residents live with a sense of solidarity since they interact daily on a social basis, integrating neighbours, visiting each other and relying on each other.

Remittances of money and other inter-generational commitments towards close relatives who remained in Cape Verde also suffer from the difficult economic situation in Portugal. The amounts remitted are small but do affect the receivers’ standard of living. However, their transnational contacts and visits are a continuous practice maintained via phone, internet or Skype.

In terms of the residents’ organizations, the Clube Social e Desportivo da Cova da Moura and Moinho da Juventude continue to be the key associations for the community. They still offer legal services and cultural, economic and social help, particularly to vulnerable families. While both run after school activities, Moinho da Juventude provides dinner for children

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whose parents arrive late from work and in many cases have two jobs to make ends meet. This association also employs residents to work for the community and offers vocational training courses (some of them in collaboration with the EU such as the project DiverCidade, 2006). If selected, the participating residents are afterwards employed by the association or by partner organizations, such as Buraca Community Council, the City Council of Amadora, or the educational centre of Padre António Oliveira in Caxias.

These initiatives make Cova da Moura a unique example of a poor neighbourhood with strong local organizations aiming to empower the community by channelling their participation into productive work.

**IX.2 Revisiting Research Questions**

Question 1 on the settlement of the three Cape Verdean families, shows that they found an unprepared State unable to incorporate them or provide needed services. The Portuguese government developed few institutional measures to facilitate integration of newcomers and support their settlement. As Lourenço Sousa expressed, “Emigration is always difficult and uncertain”.

In Cova da Moura the first generation established links with other immigrants who had already settled in the neighbourhood without difficulty. This social network provided immediate support upon arrival and was the basis of extensive mutual-help ties which ensured these members a sufficient pool of family and friends on whom they could rely. In this sense, the wide extent and range of Cape Verdean kinship and neighbourly networks introduced an element of stability into situations which had been marked by precariousness and hardship.

This support materialized into housing the family members until they had their own place to stay. However, continuing economic hardship, together with undocumented migrants’ inability to find accommodation in the formal housing market, forced these immigrants to search for available plots in Cova da Moura in order to build their shack. The Ferreira family could afford to ‘buy’ an illegal house and the Costa family rented the ground floor of a house in the neighbourhood. Others, such as the Sousas, built their homes with their own hands yet feared demolition by the municipal authorities. Without financial resources, they depended on
kin and neighbours who joined forces in a *djunta mo* which means ‘working together’. Their homes were built within a few weeks like many others in Cova da Moura.

Aggravating their feeling of insecurity was their ‘illegal’ status. The restrictions of the Portuguese nationality law (Law 308-A/75 of 24 June) made it impossible for the Cape Verdean families to obtain Portuguese nationality. Some, unable to obtain a Residence Permit, faced uncertainty, with fears of repatriation, being exploited at work, suffering from bad working conditions and receiving no welfare benefits. Only after the amendments (237-A/2006 of 14 December)119 were made in 2006 did the majority of the target family members, second and third generation, opt for Portuguese nationality while others kept Cape Verdean nationality. For many immigrants, the social rights acquired with the regularization of their status came late, and the elderly or undocumented were still not entitled to a pension or, as in the case of Judite, to other social benefits.

In Portuguese society, African males are associated with construction work and women with domestic work. The ‘new immigrants’ were caught between their undocumented status and employment without contracts making acceptance of a subordinate role inevitable, which in turn rendered them powerless, in many cases emasculated, while confronting unscrupulous employers and an impermeable state bureaucracy. In fact, the economic precariousness they experienced after their arrival and settlement was repeated later by the adults of the second generation because of new employment laws, short-term working contracts and no unemployment subsidies, thereby showing hardly any or no evidence of far-reaching social mobility in terms of occupation.

Living on the margins of society has turned these residents into easy targets for exploitation which is borne out by the fact that while the second generation had more educational opportunities, they remain in relatively low status and low-paid jobs.

In terms of educational advancement, the first generation had low educational attainment while living in Cape Verde. Schooling was mostly limited to primary school. Two female

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119 The 2006 Law establishes the right to Portuguese nationality for those born in Portugal to parents who are non-nationals, do not have legal immigration status and were also born in Portugal. Children of foreigners born in Portugal, even if they are undocumented, can naturalize as long as they have habitually resided in Portugal for the previous ten years.
members improved their qualifications through professional courses after twenty years in Portugal. In one case this decision brought a change for a better and a more satisfying job.

The second generation improved their educational attainment by completing on average at least nine years of schooling, but none enrolled in post secondary education. However, this upgrading of the second generation has not resulted in economic benefits \(^{120}\). Some continued to experience badly paid jobs while others decided to emigrate to other European countries seeking better employment conditions.

The third generation now attending nursery school and primary school has yet to show whether they can complete their primary and secondary education.

As far as health is concerned, immigrants’ access to healthcare is foreseen and safeguarded by law. For the first generation, the use of healthcare services seldom exceeded emergency care due to linguistic barriers and the difficulties in obtaining information about the SNS (National Health System). On the other hand, members of the second and third generation use the SNS services on a regular basis.

From these three families’ life narratives, their stories reflect the acceptance of subordinate roles out of necessity (work relationship, interaction with the mainstream) and subverted by multiple forms of resistance, for example, demanding personal rights in their roles within families, and being motivated to seek work. All the females in these three families represent examples of courage and hope, facing segregation, lack of work or poor working conditions, domestic violence and little financial support from the fathers to raise their children. They have the strength to continue their lives under these circumstances and, within their limitations, keep finding appropriate solutions for their families without losing their dignity.

However, their resistance indicates a development towards collective action. Several of the target family members were not just passive elements of society, as these narratives have shown. Instead, by joining forces they believed change could be achieved and this was demonstrated by their struggle to get access to water and electricity in the neighbourhood, which constituted a collective mobilization leading to political action with a positive outcome. This activism continues with demands for legalization of their houses, permanent residency and neighbourhood safety.

\(^{120}\) The second generation faces financial difficulties with high unemployment rates of 17,4%, and of those applying for their first job in March 2013, 44% remained unemployment (INE, 2013).
The second question on adaptation and coping strategies is answered with the already pre-established idea of these families’ adaptation to the host country when they arrived, driven by economic motivations and in the course of which they underwent painful separation from close relatives and friends who remained in Cape Verde.

To arrive in a host country implies adaptation. It means getting used to new neighbours, a new home, a new neighbourhood and a new job, a different language, aiming to obtain a better life individually, and for the family migration was considered an investment in a future the target families did not have in Cape Verde. In Judite’s case, her return to Santo Antão and adaptation to the Berlin community after thirty-three years in Portugal meant a successful return to her roots. The tensions she expected with her family and friends did not arise, and in fact coming back was accepted as loyalty to her homeland. For Deolinda and her daughters, the adaptation to a new neighbourhood and a new school was not satisfying. She misses the solidarity of her kin in Cova da Moura where she still works and where she still feels at home. Her daughters return to Cova da Moura to visit relatives, yet keeping a distance from their former neighbours means they prefer to stay in the new neighbourhood without much socializing.

In the host country individual and collective coping strategies were developed, whether personal, family or involving a wider network. Family members reported that their options and decisions were conditioned by changing laws and administrative procedures, such as the restrictions in acquiring Portuguese citizenship.

This relates to the discussion presented in chapter VII where the target family relations are based on mutual attachment, regular social contacts and a reciprocal flow of material and non-material benefits (cf. Sorensen, 2004: 111). In both generations the word família was often mentioned: “The doors are always open for the family” was an assumption underlining not only the sharing of happy moments and the discussion of problems but also the lending of money for journeys, housing for newcomers and joint work projects, such as building and repairing their houses. This mutual support and solidarity are the basic coping strategies to overcome the lack of financial resources which is extended to neighbours who helped family members in their adaptation process on arrival in Cova da Moura.

For the first generation, mutual support and non-conflictive neighbourhood relations are strong values which continue to this day. Yet social investment in local ties is not without tensions. On the one hand, the neighbourhood ties are strengthened in all of the three families,
providing a sense of belonging, support and identity. On the other hand, especially in the second generation, there is a noticeable weakening of these ties caused by new working patterns and a different way of life. The great extent of assistance provided by neighbours is not needed as it was three decades ago. When the first generation arrived in Portugal, none of the associations existed. As residents grow older and are unable to perform the same tasks as before (cooking meals for the children or taking care of them), they do not have access to family networks as before. School and associations have replaced some of the services and functions once provided by families, such as free meals for students whose parents have low incomes and organizing after-school activities.

The associative movement began in Cova da Moura in the 1970s. The first, the Associação de Residentes (Residents’ Association), was founded in 1978. This Association claimed rights in Cova da Moura and formed pressure groups to improve neighbourhood infrastructures such as water, electricity, sewage, paved streets and garbage collection – which were gained in 1979. It was followed by the Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura (1981) and Moinho da Juventude (1984). They provide a space for socialization, social organization, reinterpretation of traditions and mediation between the country of origin and the host nation (Sardinha, 2002: 3). Both associations, which are part of the Redevelopment Project are, today developing activities related to housing. They offer integration-related activities as well as judicial support and legal advice, highly appreciated services due to the great number of undocumented residents. More recently they have begun providing food and clothing to the most vulnerable families.

The efforts of the associative movement in Cova da Moura had a positive outcome for all members of the target families. The collaboration of the Association Clube Desportivo e Social da Cova da Moura with state authorities resulted in the construction of the Primary School of Cova da Moura in the late 1980s on an allocated plot of the Association. The Moinho da Juventude’s workforce consists mainly of the inhabitants of Cova da Moura, including members of the target families (Deolinda, Josefina and Daniel). To keep in touch with culture and news updates from the islands they provide Cape Verdean books and newspapers.

Close ties with the Cape Verdean Diaspora in other places are maintained mainly through cultural exchanges. Furthermore, on an educational level the Association offers a nursery school and professional courses for teenagers and adults to improve their skills. This initiative
had repercussions in the development of individual coping strategies and provided professional training for two first generation members, Deolinda and Josefina.

The third question on transnationalism is answered by using the concept of transnationalism from below, which is at the community level from Smith and Guarnizo (1998) and Portes et al. (1999). These target families and particularly the first generation not only have extended networks and use ICT, but are also engaged in sending remittances, and in transnational entrepreneurship.

These families have relatives in countries such as the US, Luxembourg and Switzerland. The findings show that the existence of this scattered network provides a multiplicity of contacts among the different elements of the network, maintained both directly (visits, gatherings) and by indirect communication (phone-calls, e-mails). Compared to previous periods of emigration these contacts are technologically faster and more easily maintained through mobile phones, the internet and Skype. For example, this enabled Paulina to leave her children with her mother-in-law in Cova da Moura while working in Rotterdam. It also allowed family members to take care of an ill relative, to organize family gatherings, make decisions and build houses in the country of settlement and in the country of origin.

Yet the physical movement of people across state borders is limited because of the undocumented status of several females in the target families. This challenges their role as transnational mothers. Unable to visit family in Cape Verde or to bring children to visit, this means they have to deal with unexpectedly long separations from their family members and with feelings of tension and guilt.

Remittances from the first generation females to their relatives in Cape Verde offer economic relief to the receivers. In the absence of a social welfare system in Cape Verde, the family has to take responsibility for the economic survival of their kin. Furthermore, their remittances also respond to traditional expectations concerning the fulfilment of family and social commitments. Such assistance implies a variety of obligations for those who stayed in the home country in that they are obliged to supervise the building process of a house or the management of economic interests (investments in Cape Verde) and provide financial support.

The fourth question, which deals with the Redevelopment Project, is answered by revisiting the historical, legal and political context of the residents of Cova de Moura.
The political negotiations with the City Council of Amadora need to be understood in light of the legal negotiations. So far, these negotiations have not solved the problem of legalized ownership of the dwellings and the land they are built on.

The first generation of the target families had expectations of ‘real’ ownership of their houses and that this legacy would pass to their children and grandchildren. Most members of the second generation disbelieve or mistrust the alleged intentions of the government to ‘give’ the land to the residents whose parents built their houses under hardship and sacrifice more than thirty years ago.

The majority of the representatives of the local associations as well as other observers following the process tend to believe that the Redevelopment Program aimed to upgrade the area according to the inhabitants’ needs and preferences.

The question of the land and construction / urban issues was regarded as the most delicate and challenging, but this remains unsolved. However, the long history of negotiating land ownership has made the local residents painfully aware of the incompatible and different interests concerning the future use and ownership of the area. Speculators have economic interests in the land where the neighborhood is situated, whereas the inhabitants are hoping to stay and become the owners of their homes and the land in order to develop the area into a more attractive community for all.

There are conflicting interests concerning land-ownership and decisions of what to rehabilitate, demolish and rebuild. Furthermore, the rehabilitation and demolition/rebuilding process will imply temporary relocation of residents. However, an understanding exists that only those willing should be re-housed outside the area. When the process entails deciding which house and area can be rehabilitated and which cannot, the representatives must deal with different interests which often result in conflict. Many residents will certainly find it hard to accept that their homes do not measure up to the standards of the engineers who evaluate home construction. For those who invested much of their money and work in self-built homes, rehabilitation will eventually compensate them for their investment in the building process. Demolition, on the other hand, means not only
destroying the house, but also the affective value attached to it. Whether there will be any kind of compensation for their private investment is not yet clear.

The Municipality representatives were of the opinion that inhabitants who did not have houses suitable for improvement could not become owners of the land they do not possess. The same applies to business-people, whose small cafés, restaurants, hairdressers, groceries, etc. have been located in the neighbourhood.

Until 2013 and compared to the initial time schedule, progress of the Redevelopment Program has been delayed. There has been a relatively long interval of 12 to 18 months between formal agreement of the action plan and the first steps of implementation. Two years after the previously established date for completion there are still no solutions in sight and the residents are losing hope. In this limbo of legislative and financial uncertainties and without permission to improve their homes, insecurity grows. The entities responsible have not proceeded with the negotiations and the families keep hoping for a favourable outcome of this project.

IX.3 Theoretical Linkages to the Ethno Historical Account

Understanding the relationship of the major theoretical approaches mentioned depends on various particular societal factors of the country of origin and the host country, as well as on individual traits and motives of the target family members distinguished in three generations and includes both the first and second generation. Without doubt the previously discussed concepts of ‘Culture of Poverty’, ‘Underclass’, Segmented Assimilation, Transnationalism and Lusotropicalism are highly relevant, because they can be linked to the findings and can serve to explain the complexities found therein.

When thousands of Cape Verdean families emigrated in irregular ways and settled in an ‘illegal’ neighbourhood without any sort of infrastructure, the general image transmitted to the public was that ‘black people’ could live in poverty, because they were used to doing the same in Africa (Machado, 2004). But neighbourhood poverty can have cultural consequences for both individuals and neighbourhoods as a whole.

These first generation migrants who pioneered their way into an idealized land for the sake of their family were also seduced by the potential gains expected to be made in Portugal. Their idealized image of the host country was mainly transmitted through their own connections with migrants who shared information and displayed wealth upon return to Cape Verde.
Poverty continued to dominate their lives in Portugal after working hard for low wages for more than thirty years, being marginalized and isolated physically by the fence constructed around Cova da Moura and socially for not relating with the mainstream. This precariousness in economic and social fields accompanied their lives.

The discussion about the nature of poverty today is as important as it was in the 1960s. In Europe, this debate is closely associated with social exclusion\textsuperscript{121}. Similar to Lewis’ accounts of fifty years ago, impoverished people live in inadequate, poor neighbourhoods, have limited access to resources and opportunities and restrain their participation in social and cultural life. Segregation leaves them marginalized, powerless and discriminated. Regarding their migratory plans, evident poverty was the most relevant factor in their decision to leave.

Oscar Lewis’ ‘culture of poverty’ concept (1969) clearly applies to the circumstances and conditions of the target families’ lives trajectories in both generations. The families in this study formed a rather homogeneous group. Although they came from different Cape Verdean islands, they had similar backgrounds, the same levels of literacy and education, the same family structures, socio-economic status and the same level of ‘poverty’.

In Portugal these families continue to experience poverty as they did in their Cape Verdean islands. More specifically, these families remained in poverty not merely as a result of their economic condition (unsteady low-paid jobs or no retirement pension, segregated neighbourhood, precarious housing) but also because of cultural values and behaviours (an orientation towards present and instant gratification, a tendency to value family ties) they took from their way of life in their islands, which made the escape from poverty difficult even in the host country. Economically, their main objective when emigrating was not accomplished. They could not move upwards but rather stagnated in terms of economic mobility.

Living in this segregated neighbourhood characterized by a lack of living wage employment and resources (such as health and limited employment services) means an increased concentration of poverty that accompanies racial and ethnic segregation together with the lack of political power experienced in both generations. Neighbourhood poverty triggers

\textsuperscript{121} In 2011, 23 % or 26 million EU citizens were at risk of poverty (Eurostat, 2012). In Portugal the rate was higher than the average in the Europe of 27 countries, as 1,8 million or 24,4 % of the population were considered poor or at risk of social exclusion. In 2012 poverty in Portugal increased to 25,3 % (INE, 2013); the rate among the active employed population is 10,3 % and 300 thousand depend on solidarity institutions to survive (Relatório Social Watch Portugal, 2013).
socialization mechanisms which provide fewer role models for the second generation who are subject to discouraging treatment by teachers and other institutional actors. Furthermore, neighbourhood poverty restricts contact with middle-class people, limits the amount of information available about acquiring a job and the number of resources available to access one.

Members of the second generation still face a similar scenario, implying a perpetuation of poverty (unsteady jobs, various sexual partners, early pregnancies). They search for meaning in various aspects of their lives, which includes childbearing, because having a child is a source of self-esteem, recognition and respect in the neighbourhood. Some remain unmarried to preserve their autonomy but have several partners who should guarantee financial support. These cultural orientations intersect with the structural factors discussed by Wilson (1987), such as social isolation, to explain the high rate of extra-marital births among poor families.

This generation, now mostly adults in their thirties, holds slightly better jobs, not in terms of wage gains, but less stigmatized work, although with the same precariousness as that of their predecessors. Their achievement has not produced perceptible economic effects in terms of job offers and social stability – as a result, migration has become an option for some.

This group remains low-skilled with a high job turnover and alternating periods of work with periods of unemployment and restricted access to welfare. With few skills, they find themselves near the bottom of society’s socio-economic hierarchy, and often, to avoid poverty, a common objective is to eventually work in another European country. Those who already left Portugal (Albertino, Luisa, Debora and Martin) managed to succeed financially, but do not have the specific skills that would enable them to obtain higher positions. Yet, unlike their parents they are not part of an ‘underclass’122. Obviously, they were affected by de-industrialisation but benefited from economic opportunities and developed strategies to escape poverty, such as moving out of a segregated neighbourhood.

Apart from each family member’s personal economic status, the influence of their poor, multi-ethnic and segregated neighbourhood reduces the opportunities for upward mobility. As soon as they gave their address in job applications, most of the target family members of the

122 The ‘underclass’ concept complements Oscar Lewis’ ‘culture of poverty’ thesis. The primary issue the ‘underclass’ discusses is “joblessness reinforced by an increasing social isolation in an impoverished neighborhood” (Wilson, 1993: 20).
second generation did not get hired. Situations like these led to attitudes of (self-)isolation, which encourages social exclusion (cf. Malheiros, 2002).

Their isolation from the middle class makes it difficult to engage in practices likely to lead to higher educational attainment. The ‘segmented assimilation’ concept of Portes and Zhou (1993) focuses on the current processes of socio-economic mobility among the second generation of immigrants, and on the role that is attributed to socio-cultural aspects. Accordingly, structural barriers, such as poor education, cut off access to employment and other opportunities, being obstacles particularly for the most disadvantaged members of immigrant groups. Such impediments lead to stagnant or downward mobility. However, some immigrant children find pathways to mainstream status, while others like the second generation members find such pathways blocked, often as a consequence of racialization (Portes, Fernández-Kelly, and Haller, 2005).

Obviously, their identities, aspirations and academic performance are affected by this, but there are further constraints like living in socio-economically disadvantaged families with low-paid jobs that lower the rate of mobility.

Comparing the occupational attainment of the first generation with the second generation members, I detected stagnation of the second generation, as they do not occupy very different or much better working positions than their predecessors. They held precarious low-paid jobs resulting from their low school achievement (early drop-out or leaving during or after high school). These findings correspond to the predictions of ‘segmented assimilation’ in that they assimilate downwards.

I find that the paths of mobility across generations proposed by Portes and Férnandez-Kelly (2008: 14) while useful do not entirely explain what I have found in my ethno-historical account of the target families. Analysing my findings, namely that the first generation had low human capital with no specialized skills, low status jobs, low educational attainment and difficulties with the Portuguese language, and applying the different assimilation paths (consonant, selective and dissonant acculturation), I come to the following conclusion: the second generation growing up in these highly disadvantageous conditions still managed to avoid deviant street life and continued their educational attainment using a fluent bilingualism. These family members are surpassing their predecessors educationally. The majority completed compulsory education (nine years of schooling) and two completed
secondary education (twelve years). However, one decade after leaving school, none of the second generation improved their qualifications with further education. Compared with the Ferreira family (a nuclear family) the structure of the two single-parent families has proved not to be significant in determining second generation outcomes. All are able to use resources and networks in their ethnic community and retain strong ties to their parents’ culture.

The analysis presented above leads to the conclusion that the second generation is positioned in selective acculturation. However, they did not achieve a high educational level, growing up in a segregated area and experiencing racial exclusion. They only acculturate partially and are consequently confined to dissonant acculturation.

This statement contradicts what scholars such as Warner and Srole (1945), Gordon (1964) and Gans (1992) emphasize. They suggest that “no significant downward assimilation exists among today’s second generation and that whatever incidents of such trend exist tend to be random individual anomalies not a social phenomenon” (cf. Portes and Fernandez-Kelly, 2008: 13).

Not only the target families’ second generation but also many descendents of other immigrant groups have assimilated downwards in Portugal. This downward assimilation is more likely to happen in a poor neighbourhood with a high ethnic concentration and presents a methodological challenge for the analyses carried out in this study. Deolinda, for example, was aware of the dangers downward assimilation brings and developed a strategy to minimize it by moving to another neighbourhood. This move allowed her children to have a better education in a different school.

I also find that the conclusions of Portes and Rumbaut (2001), who report that dissonant acculturation leads to a breakdown of communication and generational conflicts, may not be the case for these Cape Verdean families. My results show the opposite: the second generation interacts without relevant conflicts with the previous generation; both generations keep supporting each other. Assimilation outcomes depend on ethnicity, socio-economic status and family cohesion. Assimilating only partly into Portuguese culture and preserving their parents’ culture did not have the negative consequences expected for the second generation members. They presented an educational upgrade compared with their predecessors. In the near future two members of the second generation (Cristina and Luisa)
will enrol in a university course in France, if they get the scholarships expected due to their
good grades. They practise transnationalism not only at the family level, as her sister will host
them, but also at an institutional level, using the increasing transnational tendencies in
European higher education.

The ties and interaction of the members of three target families of both generations are not
restricted to the host country, but extend to Cape Verde or other countries where relatives live
(transnationalism / cf. Boyd, 1989; Vertovec, 2001). These transnational practices, referring
to relations and ties established across borders, are an essential part of their life in Portugal.
The decision to emigrate, relying on the help of their kin, creates obligations towards them,
fulfilled, for example, by remittances to provide for old parents or ill relatives, or for other
family members, as in Maria’s case or in Paulina’s case. Caregivers are important for
children's well-being in transnational families. In Paulina’s case, the caregivers are relatives
whom she cannot visit regularly, due to the geographical distance and travel costs.
Furthermore, she is expected to provide financial support for her family.

The second and third generations of the target families have always been involved in
transnational activities even as undocumented citizens. In her role as a ‘transnational mother’
Francisca, undocumented in Portugal for more than two decades, could not visit her daughter
for six years and had to endure this separation of unexpected length with feelings of tension
and guilt.

Discrimination and precariousness in social and economic domains were the most frequently
mentioned complaints in interviews with members of the target families from both
generations and in my conversations with other residents of Cova da Moura. The distance
kept between the natives and the ‘black’ immigrants constituted a form of conduct that had
dire consequences in the daily life of the members of the families, more specifically in
Deolinda’s case.

Although immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries can formally claim the
equal rights proclaimed by the Portuguese Constitution of 1976, in practice few were treated
the same way as natives, because they belong to a different race.
The widespread belief in the union between races confirmed by the lusotropicalist myth\(^\text{123}\) of racial-cultural intimacy, which continues to be idealized and politically instrumentalised, does not correspond to reality. In many Portuguese minds, this discourse created a rather positive self-image which was ultimately counter-productive for a necessary critical approach to their colonial past. The idea that Portuguese colonialism was ‘not so bad’ also determined their attitude towards African immigrants even after the Revolution of 1974.

Lusotropicalism determined and still determines not only the self-image of much of the host country’s population and consequently influences their way of receiving immigrants from Portugal’s ex-colonies at several levels. It also marks the minds and perception of the Cape Verdean immigrants, with pre-established values, status and hierarchical orders even among different national and ethnic groups of the former colonies.

**IX.4 Concluding Remarks:**

This thesis has shown that the lives of these Cape Verdeans are fraught with precariousness in many respects. What can be learned from this ethno-historical account is that migration at family level comes with a great deal of pre- and post-migration complexity, accentuated by settlement on illegal ground, creating a suspended state of existence which inevitably marks the Cape Verdeans as a group and as a target of racism.

Portuguese society needs the Cape Verdean workforce and it allows their settlement adjacent to Lisbon as a way to access manual labour. However, Lisbon’s city dwellers keep Cape Verdeans at arm’s length, situated in Cova da Moura, isolated, marginalized, but effectively significant for their participation in the workforce.

For the target families, Cova da Moura represents a home, a place of fraternity and a place to return to, even after leaving the neighbourhood. Judite always visits the area when she comes to Portugal and so do the second generation members, either to use the facilities provided, or just to meet friends.

\(^{123}\) Freyre claims that the Portuguese colonizers could preserve “... qualidades essenciaes de cordialidade e de sympathia [...] nas suas relações com as gentes consideradas inferiores” (essential qualities of cordiality and sympathy in their relations with people considered inferior” (Freyre, 1940:42).
Whether the neighbourhood will survive is a key aspect of the networking and social ties Cape Verdeans develop, both within the community and also on the outside with those responsible for the Redevelopment Project and other influential groups. For the time being, they are here to stay, having moved upwards both physically in their buildings and by using the social and economic opportunities presented to them mostly by their networks. Furthermore, they have created their own unique community.

While the first generation in my study showed resilience in confronting their own illegality in obtaining their homes and their legal status, the research confirms that it is not without tremendous labour and intense hardships that they succeeded in retaining the land, their homes and the rebuilding of their community.

As for the second generation, access to schooling has opened doors, yet the study indicates that for the adult members such schooling does not translate into more favourable jobs than those of their parents. In fact, there is a degree of stagnation except for two members of the three families, and interestingly, both women.

The third generation now attending school will show whether the education, exposure to Lisbon life and the educational models of their parents move them into a more favourable position of upward mobility. If anything, segmented assimilation appears to be a strong mode of incorporation towards downward rather than upwards mobility.

Different forms of racism targeted all the members of the families through both generations. Situations ranging from open to institutional forms of discrimination were often reported to me but these experiences are transversal to many immigrants in Portugal. The Racial Equality Body in Portugal, in line with the Directive for Equality of the European Union Council was only brought into effect in 2004 and forbids discrimination at a workplace, in education, social welfare and health, as well as in access to and provision of goods and services, including housing. None of the family members openly complained about discrimination, as they were unaware of the existence of legal mechanisms to punish these acts by law.

While writing this dissertation, I realized how public and government interest in cultural and social projects have begun to diminish and obtaining financial support for initiatives

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124 The Racial Equality Body is an organization that registers and alerts to claims of racial discrimination.  
125 However, the complaints presented to the High Commission (ACIDI) or the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR) by the injured parties or associations go through a complex and slow procedure.
concerning social integration has become more difficult. This downgrading of the social and political relevance coincides with cuts in social benefits for the members of the target families’ second generation. However, in the present economic crisis, most of the Portuguese population, especially those on a low income, are suffering greatly from austerity measures.

The lives of these three families followed different patterns. First generation: after working hard abroad the Sousas could accumulate the necessary funds for constructing a house in Cova da Moura and one in Santo Antão. Despite the hardship of their lives, Judite does not regard economic success as her most relevant achievement; her idea of self-fulfilment implies the return to Santo Antão and an active life in her old age surrounded by her kin.

The Costas still reside in Amadora, but work and socialize in Cova da Moura. Going back to Santiago is not an option; their closest relatives live in Cova da Moura, in Europe or in the US, and Portugal is their meeting point.

The Ferreira family is the only one remaining in Cova da Moura. They decided to stay for two main reasons: they like the neighbourhood and the neighbours and Josefina continues to work there. The Ferreira family has no close relatives left in São Vicente, although Josefina visits Cape Verde every two years to fight ‘sodad’ (homesickness).

In the second generation five members emigrated to European countries in search for jobs they could not find in Portugal. Those who stayed endure short term work contracts, hoping these will be renewed. Some chose to move away from Cova da Moura, but continue to socialize in the neighbourhood.

All family members are still waiting for the solution indicated by the Redevelopment Project. It may never happen, but they know that they can always count on their kin in good and bad times. Nevertheless, several members of the three families continue their lives in Portugal, while having their islands on their minds.

The sentences in Crioulo which introduce the Cape Verdean novel ‘Chiquinho’ illustrate their love for their homeland and the pain of separation: “Corpo, qu’e nego, sat a bai,

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126 Baltasar Lopes da Silva was a Cape Verdean poet and novelist who described in his book *Chiquinho* (1947) the people, their customs and the landscape of the islands.
Coracom, qu’e forro, sat ta fica (the body which is a slave, departs; the heart, which is free, remains).

This corresponds with the painting on a wall in Rua 8 de Dezembro / Cova da Moura. In this case the proverbial sentence is written in Portuguese, which is rather uncommon in the graffiti of the neighbourhood. It illustrates that for the inhabitants, Cape Verde may be out of reach, but not out of touch. However, the last part (perto do coração / close to the heart) has faded a symbol of assimilation of the third generation?

Figure 20: Cabo-Verde Longe da Vista – Perto do Coração / Out of Sight – Close to the Heart (Photo: Elsa Casimiro, 2012)
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213


