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Cape Verdeans in Cova da Moura, Portugal, an ethno-historical account of their destinies and legacies

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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 Migration¹, 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.

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 built 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 culture⁵ 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 Ruffié* (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

⁶ Census 2011, Instituto Nacional de Estatística / National Institute of Statistics (2012).

for more than 30 years in Portugal. The neighbourhood of Fontainhas, north-west of Lisbon⁷, 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'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.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

⁷ Film director Pedro Costa has produced a rather poetical trilogy about this neighbourhood: *Ossos* (1997), *Vanda's Room* (2000) and *Juventude em Marcha* (2006).

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), *Dark Ghetto, Dilemmas of Social Power*, New York: Harper and Row.).

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 fact is often 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:

“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

¹⁰ Resolution of the 'Conselho de Ministros' nº 143/2005, dated 7 September 2005, establishing the Protocolo de Parceria (Protocol of Partnership) between the entities (Ministries of: Justice, Welfare, Education, Foreign Affairs, Health, Work, Interior and various local associations and residents) involved in execution of the Project of Redevelopment 2007-2011 for Cova da Moura, in the district of Amadora.

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 opens 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.