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Cape Verdean Associations in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon: their role in integration

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Abstract:

The aims of this article are twofold: first, to overview the Cape Verdean associations in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (MAL), and second, to analyse the views held by the associations in relation to the social, cultural, professional and residential integration of their community. Considering the fact that these institutions play an important role in assisting the members of the community, it is essential to characterise the associations, the activities that they carry out as well as the problems they often encounter. In addition to these objectives, this study gathers the views of the representatives of the associations in relation to the difficulties most often felt by the community when it comes to their integration, the role played by the associations in facilitating the integration process as well as their opinions in relation to public support systems and other mechanisms. Finally the paper makes suggestions that could contribute to bettering the conditions of the Cape Verdean community in the MAL.

Acknowledgements

1. Introduction: the phenomenon of immigrant associations

Migration brings changes at various levels. The intrinsic characteristics of migration along with the processes of integration influence not only the insertion of migrants into receiving societies, but also their descendents. The life trajectories of migrants may lead to life-style changes as well as identity and behaviour modifications. These alterations will vary depending on the migrants' adaptation experiences in the new physical, social and cultural space as well as the host society's receptivity to the newcomers (Saint-Maurice, 1997). Upon arrival in a 'new' country, the obstacles encountered during the process of integration will influence the way immigrants organise their actions (Jenkins, 1988). Informally created immigrant groups will often give way to formal structures that link individuals united by a common origin and cultural heritage. The outcome of creating these more formal structures will often be migrant associations.

According to Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas (2000: 11-12), associations provide a space for social organisation, socialisation, communication, solidarity, exchange of information, reinterpretation of traditions and mediation between the country of origin and the host nation. Generalising from these points, one can argue that associations try to answer to two types of fundamental needs felt by the immigrants. First, they try to consolidate and affirm the immigrants' cultural heritage, along with consolidating their feeling of belonging based on identity and affiliation; important variables in the migratory and integration process (Rex, 1994). Second, it is often the intent of associations to carry out objectives of a material order, including the need to integrate immigrants into the host society's social context as well as to participate civically and politically (Cheetham, 1988). The main functions of the associations, therefore, end up being either cultural or political, or of course both. In one way or another, the associations then proceed in a relatively constant manner, aiming their goals and objectives not only at solidarity, recreational or cultural activities, but also to protect and advance their rights, and to lobby policy-makers, political and economic power brokers as well as the legal system of the host society.

In characterising an ethnic and/or immigrant association one can then make the case that they can be described as a combination of an affective tie with that of a common interest (Bell, 1975; Jenkins, 1988). In other words, while it is common for immigrant associations to be founded in order to preserve the ethnic identity and culture of their members, inevitably these associations also end up playing a major role in assisting with the settlement processes of their members, and encouraging their active involvement in the host society. Immigrants come together and create formal associations in order to protect mutual interests, to mobilise support over issues of concern and to make representations to political authorities concerning their welfare. A distinction can thus be drawn between 'what an immigrant association is' and 'what it does' (Layton-Henry, 1990). In terms of what it is, an immigrant association can be defined as an organisation formed by individuals who consciously define themselves as members of a group based, for example, on such variables as country of origin, common cultural heritage, ethnicity, language, religion, consciousness of kind, etc., within a larger context. In terms of what it does, on the other hand, an immigrant association may exist for a wide variety of reasons: social, recreational, political, cultural, religious, professional, business, service or a combination of some or all of these.

After an embryonic phase, in which many of the associative activities are aimed at cultural preservation and transmission, the associations then begin to concern themselves with other community needs, which leads to structural changes in relation to goals and objectives (Layton-Henry, 1990; Rocha-Trindade, 1995; Albuquerque, et. al, 2000). As argued by Zig Layton-Henry (1990: 94-112), as migrant settlement takes place, immigrant associations are transformed from isolationist havens of ethnic cultures to active participants in the political processes of the host countries. The activities developed by the associations will begin to be driven towards the group's collective affirmation within the social context as well as active participation and representation within the socio-political structures of the receiving country. The once-predominant associative functions channelled towards the conservation of cultural identity and facing inward towards the community's exclusive interests, then give way to collective goals, aimed at increasing dialogue with the host society on issues primarily dealing with the community's integration. This increase in dialogue with the receiving society comes about in most part due to the discrimination and/or social marginalisation felt by the immigrant communities when it comes to accessing social services such as education, health, housing, welfare and employment. The associations end up assuming the role of mediator between the people they represent and the host society. Immigrant associativism thus appears as an instrumental

vehicle of immigrant expectations and demands in a host society.

It is also essential to be aware that besides the organisational transformations on the part of the associations, the host society's reception of these formal organisations is also a crucial variable when it comes to their insertion and acceptance by the general population (Soysal, 1994). It is worth noting that the manner in which the associations are accepted by the host society and its political structures will influence just how much political say the association is given as well as the organisational strategies the associations will employ. The organisational principles and the receiving country's policies of integration will end up determining the degree of involvement given to the associations and the organisational patterns they will end up adapting. The host society, or more specifically, its policies, will also hold influence on the way in which collective immigrant associations organise themselves, depending on the resources made available to the organisations. Available resources will vary depending on host-country policies and the available informal channels for participation and organisation, in the same manner in which certain policies and State institutions will encourage the promotion of collective identities and the creation of categorised organisations. Depending on the rights and privileges given, immigrant associations can then define their objectives, strategies and levels of operation. In this sense, it can be argued that expressions of collective identity and organisation become a part of the institutional frameworks of the host country's policies. The recognition by the State of a legitimate ethnic identity can provide monetary funds as well as participation mechanisms when it comes to immigrant-related issues in State politics. This, in turn, also signifies that, in one way or another, immigrant organisations are dependent on central powers; be it financially or politically.

The apparent paradox of associations committed to the defence of ethnic culture and identity, while at the same time contributing to the fight for equal rights, representation and integration in the host society means, therefore, that associations often find themselves in a 'middleman' position. The dichotomy between associations' functions as vehicles for identity affirmation as well as integration is thus worth highlighting. Consequently, associations frequently find themselves moving across receiving–sending country contexts throughout the integration process. The relationship between these contexts not only reflects distinct relations between resources and associations, it is also grounds for ongoing negotiation of rights and of identities. Thus, not only are resources

negotiated, but also multiple identities, since this is the way through which these immigrant associations acquire their spaces of power. Associations will often not end up belonging to this or that context as exclusive entities, but rather look for the opportunities to belong to both, often evaluating whatever suits the needs of the association, as well as community members, best.

For their members, associations become a rallying-point for collective action in the struggle for resources and power. They become true sources of vitality in the manner in which they play an important part in the lives of the people they represent, encouraging countless informal relationships and, at the same time, satisfying a great part of their social, cultural and often economic needs. Subsequently, this may also lead to immigrants having few contacts outside of the group context and ending up almost exclusively utilising the services provided by the associations, with the associations becoming their main link to the society at large.

Given the above arguments and considering the fact that immigrant associations often possess close relationships with the community members they represent, the importance of undertaking analytical studies in order to understand the role of immigrant associations when it comes to the integration and identity formation of immigrant individuals is thus justified[1]. For this study, Cape Verdean associations in the MAL, their characteristics and the reasons for their existence will be analysed. This will then be followed by an analysis linking the associations and the social, cultural, professional as well as residential integration of their community.

2. Study design

The goal of analysing Cape Verdean associations lies in the need to obtain critical visions of the subjects that frame the study on the part of the entities that are closest to the community and their problems. In order to obtain the information needed to execute the study, a strategy of in-depth, semi-structured interviews with leaders of

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[1] In this study a 'privileged' voice is given to association leaders. In doing so, it is also worth noting that one is running the risk of presenting a one-dimensional argument. Although questions of objectivity can arise in relation to inquiries pertaining to integration and the associations' roles, for example, the aim of the study is to express the views of the association leaders only. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that conflicting arguments to the ones gathered from the interviews do exist from numerous sources such as association members, immigrant social service workers, members of the host society, etc.

Cape Verdean associations or with leaders of associations that direct their work and activities towards the Cape Verdean community, was opted for. These interviews had some of the character of a normal informal conversation. However, the topics and questions were pre-selected and appeared in the interview in a structured order. In addition, the interviewee was asked to answer some closed questions, some of which were answered on a continuum scale. The interview questions served to, first, describe the associations; second, to get the opinions of the interviewees on the topics of integration and identity and how these pertain to their community; and thirdly, to get the views of the interviewees on specific social and community services in Portugal, some of which are aimed exclusively at immigrant populations, others of which are services available to all members of society. The field interviews were carried out between February and April of 2001 and had the following main objectives:

- to characterise the associations taking into consideration such variables as: when the association was founded, membership numbers, geographical area of action, population served, funding resources, organisational and legal status, aims, objectives and activities carried out, problems and obstacles encountered by the association and alliances and/or cooperative actions with other entities;

- to gather the opinions the association leaders hold in relation to the general integration processes of the Cape Verdean community in Portuguese society, not only the first generation but their descendents as well;

- to analyse the specific role the associations play in the integration of the Cape Verdean community;

- to register the opinions of the association leaders in relation to a number of existing social mechanisms in Portugal;

- to elicit suggestions on better modes of integration.

In order to obtain the necessary information and to achieve the objectives set out, 31 associations located in the MAL were pre-selected. The sources used to compile the list of associations were: Albuquerque, et al. (2000), Gomes (1999), and lists and contacts held by some of the associations. Of these 31 associations, 27 were then interviewed. A list of these associations interviewed, as well as the four with which contact was not possible, can be found in *Appendix 1.*

In addition, the MAL was chosen as the geographical area of study due to the fact that the great majority of Cape Verdeans residing in Portugal live here[2]. As a reflection of this phenomenon, it is of no surprise that we also find the majority of the associations located in this same geographical space.

3. Cape Verdean associations in the MAL

Cape Verdean associations in the MAL do not consist of a series of homogeneous organisations, but instead we are confronted with socially, economically as well as politically stratified organisations (Carita, 1994). On one side, there exist a group of 'elite' associations constituted by a 'subgroup' of individuals already established and well integrated into Portuguese society. On the other hand, there also exists an opposing stratum consisting of associations which focus their activities on bettering the conditions of immigrants especially members of the community with low levels of education and professional qualifications who often find themselves socially, culturally and economically marginalised from the rest of society. These latter associations can usually be found in the peripheral shanty housing neighbourhoods or in re-housing project neighbourhoods close to the people they represent. For this study no a priori distinction was made, with both types of association being taken into consideration.

3.1 A typology of the associations

In order to be able to characterise the associations surveyed, it was essential to consider a variety of questions, both formal and also informal. Thus the goal of presenting a typology lies in getting to know the inner workings of these associations, with the hope of being able to answer such questions as: since when do these associations exist, why do they exist, where do they exist, who do they exist for, among others.

First off, in relation to their presence in the MAL, it is worthy of note that these associations are all relatively young. Of the 27 associations

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[2] The Portuguese National Statistics Institute (INE) census data for the year 2001 shows that nearly 90% of the Cape Verdian population legally residing in Portugal lived in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. The MAL is made up of the following 20 municipalities: Amadora, Azambuja, Cascais, Lisbon, Loures, Mafra, Odivelas, Oeiras, Sintra and Vila Franca de Xira on the North bank of the Tagus River, and Alcochete, Almada, Barreiro, Moita, Montijo, Palmela, Seixal, Sesimbra and Setubal on the South bank. A second tier of government within the municipalities is the parish (*freguesia*).

interviewed, 19 were founded in the 1990's, 7 during the 1980's and only 1 in the 1970's. The *Associação Caboverdeana* stands out as the oldest Cape Verdian association, having been founded in 1970 under the name *Casa de Cabo Verde* (House of Cape Verde). Later it changed its name to *Associação Caboverdiana e Guineenses* (Cape Verdean and Guinean Association), after having amalgamated with the association *Grupo de Acção Democrática de Caboverdianos e Guineenses* (Capeverdean and Guinean Democratic Action Group) in 1976; finally it became *Associação Caboverdeana* in 1981. The associative phenomenon didn't reach its peak only in the 1990's, due to the numerical growth of the Cape Verdean community and also due to the absence of integration policies which led many new associations to be formed with the intention of intervening politically and demanding certain community rights (Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas, 2000: 42-45)[3].

In relation to the legal status of the associations, in most cases, we are here in the presence of non-profit organisations independent of any political or religious affiliations. Of the 27 associations interviewed, 25 fall under this description, with two having having been established by the Catholic Church of Portugal[4]. Ten of the associations also function as Particular Institutions of Social Solidarity (IPSS)[5], therefore functioning as state service providers, while three also carry out the role of health and humanitarian services[6], one operates as a foundation[7], and one

federation oversees the cooperative actions of Cape Verdean associations[8].

Concerning the location of the associations in the MAL, the majority are situated in the peripheral neighbourhoods of the Portuguese capital (Malheiros, 2000; Esteves and Caldeira, 2001). This implies that the majority of the associations are neighbourhood associations (15 of the 27 work specifically with the residents of a specific neighbourhood)[9]. Considering the fact that the municipalities of Amadora, Oeiras and Lisbon are the three most populated in the MAL when it comes to the distribution of the Cape Verdean population, it is of no surprise to find the majority of the associations in these same municipalities. Taking into account the associations pre-selected for this study, we can then see that three-quarters are located in the aforementioned geographical areas (10 associations located in Amadora, 7 in Lisbon and 6 in Oeiras). *Figure 1 in Annex 1* illustrates this spatial distribution.

Concerning the premises where the associations are found, the most common are spaces given to the associations by the municipalities or the parishes. Fifteen of the headquarters were acquired this way. Other forms of acquisition include property bought with funds belonging to the association (6 cases) and property privately donated by association members (2 cases). There are also 4 cases of associations without fixed headquarters either because they are waiting on a municipal or parish space or because the association does not have the financial resources to buy or rent premises. In this case, meetings and other functions usually take place in the private residence of one of the leaders.

The problems felt by some of the associations in respect to the acquisition of their own space are primarily linked to the financial shortages experienced by the associations. These financial hardships also affect the realisation of other projects and objectives the associations wish to carry out, meaning that the associations are often dependent on public subsidies. In most cases, the

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[3] It was with the first regularisation process in 1992, and more so with the second process in 1996, that immigrant associations started to increasingly gain importance as potential partners in state affairs relating to immigrant issues, with the State's creation of the Co-ordinating Secretariat of the Associations for Regularisation. During this process, the main role of the associations was to convey information towards their immigrant communities and encourage their regularisation (Marques and Santos, 2001). A third process also took place 2001.

[4] Centro Social do Bairro de 6 de Maio and Centro Social e Paroquial Cristo Rei de Algés.

[5] Associação dos Amigos da Encosta Nascente, Associação Caboverdeana do Seixal, Associação Caboverdeana de Setúbal, Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude, AJPAS – Associação de Jovens Promotores da Amadora Saudável, AMUCA – Associação Mãos Unidas Casa da Alegria, Associação Solidariedade Caboverdeana dos Amigos da Margem Sul do Tejo, Associação Unidos de Cabo Verde and ASALA – Associação de Imigrantes de Solidariedade Social Loures/Amadora.

[6] AJPAS – Associação de Jovens Promotores da Amadora Saudável, Organização Médica Caboverdeana

and SANITAE – Associação para Informação e Defesa da Saúde dos Africanos Imigrados em Portugal.

[7] Fundação Eugénio Tavares

[8] Federação de Associações Caboverdeanas em Portugal

[9] Inside the neighbourhood associations, it is worth distinguishing between the Cape Verdean associations, that cater exclusively to the Cape Verdean community residing in a given neighbourhood, and those associations that cater to individuals residing in a given multi-ethnic neighbourhood, the majority whose inhabitants are Cape Verdeans.

only regular source of income is the membership fees paid by members, but these fees are often of merely symbolic value, and, moreover, not all members pay their fees. Besides membership fees, there are other forms of financing that are primarily of a periodic nature. These include: i.) subsidies provided by public institutions such as the municipalities and, to a lesser extent, the parishes; ii.) subsidies from the Social Security Regional Centres for associations carrying out activities of a social nature; iii.) subsidies from various ministries (Ministry of Science and Technology, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, etc.); iv.) project financing from the European Social Fund; v.) funding for solidarity initiatives from NGO's and other organisations (i.e. Food Bank Against Hunger, National Commission on the Fight Against AIDS); vi.) High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and, lastly; vii) incomes from cultural initiatives (i.e. ethnic parties or gastronomical events) and activities of a profit-making nature (i.e. clubhouse bar or restaurant).

On the topic of the populations served, the geographical areas of action and associations' aims and objectives, one can observe that there is a correlation between these three points. Associations with strong neighbourhood links, for example, will direct their activities towards providing assistance to the neighbourhood residents. The neighbourhood thus becomes the geographical area of action. On the other hand, associations without strong territorial connections have more specific and heterogeneous objectives, directing their activities at a specific sector of the population such as individuals with problems of health and old age (9 of the associations), immigrant newcomers (6), immigrant descendents (7), professionals (3), students (1), or the population in Cape Verde (5). The case of there being heterogeneity in the populations served, also implies that the geographical areas of action will end up being more diversified, with activities being carried out, for instance, at multiple municipal levels, on a national basis or even for specific areas in Cape Verde.

Regarding the objectives of the associations, these will also vary depending on who they are aimed at as well as the territorial level of action. The aims and objectives set out by the associations assume several forms, the majority of which are of a social, cultural or solidarity nature, with the main overall intent being that of helping individuals integrate into Portuguese society. All the associations have, in one form or another, the goal of looking out for the best interests of the group. The associations that campaign for better residential conditions and social housing, for example, work as pressure groups at both the national and municipal levels while maintaining a close relationship with the neighbourhood residents in order to be able to provide them with necessary support. Other associations have as their main objectives the promotion of specific initiatives, such as health-related issues, professional training and employment, the integration of the second-generation and youth-related issues, as well as the socio-economic development of Cape Verde. Lastly, there are associations with broader objectives, that do not necessarily represent specific populations within the community, but instead the community as a whole. These associations seek to contribute to the Cape Verdean associative movement in Portugal by promoting Cape Verdean culture and by creating the sense of belonging to both Portugal and Cape Verde.

When asked about the activities carried out, the association representatives were given a list of 20 pre-selected activities to choose from. Amongst the choices on the list of activities, the interviewees were then asked to highlight the activities carried out by their respective association. Space was also left for any additional activities not listed which the interviewee may have wished to discuss (*Table 1*).

In observing the results, we first single out activities related to cultural preservation, lectures and seminars, the promotion of Cape Verdean artists, the formation of music and dance groups[10] and events promoting Cape Verdean gastronomy. In reality it can then be seen that, in one form or other, most of the associations carry out initiatives based on promoting Cape Verdean culture.

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[10] The association *Moinho da Juventude* has set up the traditional Cape Verdean dance and music groups *Grupo de Batuque Finka-Pé* and *Grupo Kolá Son Jon*; the association *AJPAS* has created the dance group *Riba d'hora*, the theatre group *Bom qui Bale* and rap music group *Illegal Rappers*; while the association *Unidos de Cabo Verde* has established the dance group *Estrelas da Paz*.

Table 1: Activities carried out by the associations:

Activities	Total n.	%
1.) Attending to the needs of the community	20	74%
2.) Distribution of food and/or medicine	15	56%
3.) Neighbourhood maintenance and clean-up activities	6	22%
4.) Mediator in residential issues	20	74%
5.) Day-care services	8	30%
6.) Pre-schooling and after school activities	9	33%
7.) Youth free-time activities	15	56%
8.) Portuguese language classes	9	33%
9.) Creole language classes	4	15%
10.) Professional/technical courses	16	59%
11.) Traditional music or dance groups	19	70%
12.) Celebrate and organise festive events and/or cultural celebrations	22	81%
13.) Carry out gastronomy events	15	56%
14.) Organise and/or participate in seminars, conferences, commissions, panels or events that promote the community or community members (i.e. Cape Verdian artists)	21	78%
15.) Sports events or teams	17	63%
16.) Judicial services	12	44%
17.) Campaigns to inform members of regularisation processes and rights	16	59%
18.) Documentation support and assistance with bureaucratic issues	15	56%
19.) Transnational exchange activities or collaborative activities with country of origin and/or other communities in the groups' diaspora	22	81%
20.) Aid projects in country of origin	20	74%
Other activities not pre-selected		
Organised outings for association members	5	19%
Documentation and information centre	4	15%
Provide drug and alcohol support	3	11%
Provide support for senior citizens	3	11%
Provide support for adolescent single family households	3	11%
Provide psychological support	3	11%
Provide religious support	2	7%

Source: Based on interviews with Cape Verdean association leaders, 2001

Activities relating to residential and housing matters and the initiatives taken by the associations in respect to the community's integration into the host society are a second set of actions. Concerning the activities aimed specifically at neighbourhood residents, activities such as attending to residential needs and community issues as well as nutritional and health concerns are a priority for many of the associations. Integration-related activities, such us legalisation processes and document renewal as well as providing judicial support are services that have been gaining more importance due to the legalisation processes in Portugal and the growing number of undocumented Cape Verdeans wanting to gain legal status.

The third set of activities centres around issues relating to second-generation Cape Verdeans and education. We here refer to associations which have day-care centres, provide pre-school and after-school support, and leisure activities, professional and technical courses, as well as sporting and cultural activities. Lastly, although not necessarily aimed at second-generation Cape Verdeans, are the Portuguese courses for adults provided by the associations.

Close ties, not only with Cape Verde, but also with other Cape Verdean communities are also of

importance. These ties with other members of the Cape Verdean diaspora are maintained mainly through cultural exchanges and specific projects, such as for instance aid to Cape Verde. In relation to cultural exchanges, these consist primarily of youth exchanges, cultural or sport groups, or through exchanges of information. Aid projects, on the other hand, imply the distribution of food, clothing, medicine and technical supplies. It is also worth mentioning that some associations have signed protocols with specific regions or municipalities in Cape Verde, with the aim of helping the development of that specific geographical area[11].

In analysing the work done by the associations and with the aim of bridging the current section of this paper with the one that follows, I conclude with a comment from an interviewee concerning the 'good-will' and the 'impediments' that often stand in the way of the Cape Verdean associations in wanting to carry out their aims:

> "Not all goals and objectives see 'the light of day' which is too bad. We try to do things for the good of all - for the Cape Verdeans and for the Portuguese, for Cape Verde and for Portugal - but rarely do things run smoothly. There is always something that holds us back; something that doesn't allow us to reach the goals that we had initially set out".[12]

3.2 Problems faced by the associations

When analysing problems felt by the associations, the question 'what type of problems does the association face from political, economic, organisational, social and cultural perspectives?' was asked. In answering this question, it is first and foremost important to point out that in the answers given, problems often concerning one area also reflected upon problems felt in others. For instance, the lack of money is an economic problem that can also be reflected in the cultural realm if no funds are available to carry out cultural activities.

In respect to political perspectives, as one association spokesperson stated: "*Associations are based on political problems*". Many of the main concerns associations deal with are thus of a political order. For instance, a great deal of issues the associations deal with must first go through the political powers, be it the national government on issues concerning legal matters, or the Town Halls over such issues as space and funding. The associations thus express their hardships in relation to difficulties created by the political powers, especially when it comes to their lack of responsibility and credibility. As one interviewee expressed: "*Many promises are made to resolve issues, but just as many are forgotten*". Internal problems within the associations are also highly politicised affairs. It is common, for example, to see individuals with leadership roles within the associations lobbying for personal objectives instead of the good of the community. All these issues demand dialogue and political intervention, both internally and externally.

Another group of problems the associations come across deals with economic-related issues. The reality is that a great majority of the associations 'live off' the subsidies received from the government or the local municipality in order to carry out projects. Much financing is received on project-by-project bases which often impede planning for medium or long-term actions. Not all projects the associations wish to carry out get financial backing and when they do not, they often end up getting abandoned. The association leaders thus express how there are no secure economic conditions to support their initiatives, which is one of the reasons why associations often cease to exist. According to one declaration given: "*A lot of times the money comes from the leaders' pocket, motivated by the good-will of wanting to help the community*".

Connected to the weak financial resources are the limited human resources available. The reality is that few associations have the financial resources to maintain employees. Of those that can, salaries paid are often not reasonable salaries but almost symbolic. In the case of those associations that can afford to have paid staff, one leader pointed out, "*...many of the employees end up finding other better paid work so it becomes impossible to maintain the same work team where everyone knows and have followed the 'dossiers' and this hinders a proper technical intervention*". Most of the associations, therefore, are dependent on the voluntary work of association members, something that also becomes an issue, due to the people's lack of ability or willingness to participate. Consequently, "*without voluntary work nothing gets done. There are always those people that criticise what the associations are doing (...) but you never see them ask 'what can I do to help'?*".

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[11] The associations *Amigos do Fogo* and *Associação de Solidariedade dos Filhos e Amigos do Concelho de São Miguel* stand out as organisations established to help with development projects and to collect food, clothing and medical supplies to send to Cape Verde, the first to the Cape Verdian island of Fogo, and the second to the municipality of São Miguel.

[12] In this paper, quotes with no author name are quotes from the interviews with the association leaders. The quotes have been translated from Portuguese (the language used in all 27 interviews) into English by the author.

Concerning problems of a social order, it is important to first point out that the majority of the interviewees wished to make it clear that the social problems felt by the associations are not those directly suffered by the associations in themselves, but instead by the people the associations represent, a sentiment that is made clear in the following quote:

> "Everyone requests the help of the association, be it because they don't have the proper documents, or because they're in danger of being repatriated, or because they have problems with the Town or Parish Hall, or because they don't know how to fill out forms because they can't understand the language, or because they have problems at work or with their health - in the end these social problems that the people suffer become the social problems of the association".

On the other hand, there are also those associations that complain about the social exclusion of the association: in general the majority of the associations are seldom asked to participate in political decision-making processes on issues involving their community. The following statement helps explain this marginalisation:

> "The associations don't have much visibility because we are minority associations, representatives of people from another country, of another colour, with very few economic resources. In addition, Portuguese society does not accept the associations because there exists a stereotype that these are associations of delinquents".

Lastly, problems of a cultural order are of particular importance to the associations, primarily when it comes to opportunities (or lack of) to promote Cape Verdean culture in Portugal and the lack of collaboration on the part of the political powers in relation to cultural events and projects. One leader explains that "*… to carry out a cultural project, we have to present a proposal (to the Town or Parish Hall) and wait for an answer. With the long waits that we have become accustomed to, our cultural initiatives go nowhere*". Another problem of a cultural nature the associations are confronted with lies in the attempt to pass on cultural traditions to second generation Cape Verdeans. "*Certain cultural elements are being lost and the associations need the means and the collaboration of community members to preserve them and to pass them on*", stated one interviewee. Another concern is that the host society does not always accept or even respect the cultural aspects that the associations try to transmit. The discrimination against Cape Verdean culture is thus something that troubles

the associations. "*There is a certain fear of what is strange and there is always that small minority that thinks; 'That doesn't affect me'. For us here at the association, that's actually an incentive to continue*".

3.3 External relationships and partnerships

Of all the entities with which the associations maintain close contact, the closest relations exist between the associations and the political powers, be they national or local. The first contacts between the associations and the Portuguese government came about with the first regularisation of illegal immigrants in 1991, but it was not until the second regularisation of 1996 that immigrant associations started to increasingly gain importance as potential partners in state affairs relating to immigrant issues, with the creation of the Co-ordinating Secretariat of Associations for Regularisation. The main role of the associations, during this process, was to channel information towards their communities and support and encourage their regularisation. According to Machado (1993), these were the first steps taken by immigrants and ethnic minorities towards politicising ethnicity, by undertaking collective action in order to achieve certain rights and attain new resources.

Since then, the associations have maintained strong relationships with the central powers, mainly through the various organisms of the State, especially the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME)[13] and various government ministries (i.e. Ministry of Education, Ministry of Work, Ministry of Health, etc.). In relation to the many projects shared between the associations and national government entities, we here highlight three long-running cooperative actions:

1.) the associations collaborate with the Employment and Professional Training Institute (IFPT) on implementing and carrying out the programmes: Youth Integration into Active Life Units and Local Job Initiatives;

2.) the Ministry of Science and Technology, and the General Board of Labour and Professional Training have agreed to a number of professional training and job creation protocols with Cape Verdian associations; and

3.) Protocols within the domains of education and health have also been agreed to in collaboration

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[13] The ACIME was set up by the national government in January, 1996 with the aim of contributing to the co-ordination of the various integration policies – a process that involves NGOs, immigrant associations, the municipalities and several government bodies.

with the Lisbon and Tagus Valley Regional Health Administration and with the Lisbon Sub-Region Health Department.

The municipal governments constitute an entity with which most of the associations maintain close relationships, especially when it comes to acquiring financial and material support, as well as developing projects, as has been touched upon in the previous section of this paper[14]. At the same time, it can be argued that a mutual dependency exists between the associations and the municipalities, as explained the following comment:

> "… we (the associations) are the experts when it comes to the immigrant scene and the community. The Town and Parish Halls need us and our activities because we can keep the youth 'off the streets', we are better suited to educating out youth, we're very important when it comes to combating delinquency and crime; and that is beneficial for the entire community".

We here highlight the collaboration between the local powers and the associations in the Intercultural Youth Mediator training programme. With the completion of the programme, trained mediators have as their main functions the capacities to diagnose neighbourhood problems, provide help in schooling matters, assist in the creation of socio-cultural projects, sports events and other free-time activities under the EU funded program URBAN[15], as well as power of intervention in re-housing issues under the Special Re-housing Programmes (PER) and PER Families[16].

Beyond the relationships and projects shared with the political powers at the various levels, it is also important to discuss the close relationships the associations maintain amongst themselves, that tend to materialise in the following forms (Gomes, 1999: 193): i.) the associations that are located in the same geographical areas (i.e. the same neighbourhood) tend to develop projects together and will often come together to present mutual concerns to the political powers; ii.) the associations that have same objectives and goals or similar organisational dynamics will come together to organise events and activities; and iii.) the *Federação de Associações Caboverdeanas em Portugal* has as its main function the coordination of all Cape Verdean associations. Periodical meetings are thus held with the intention of coordinating associations' various activities and to coordinate institutional strategies.

Various cooperative actions also take place between associations and NGOs. We here draw attention to partnerships between the associations and SOS Racism, Anti-Racism Front and the association *Olho Vivo* (Live Eye) with the aim of denouncing acts of racism and discrimination and also to inform the immigrants on their rights; and with the international NGOs Citizens Without Borders, OIKOS and the Red Cross, with the intention of aiding immigrants in Portugal as well as people in Cape Verde. Other cooperative projects with NGOs include: collaboration with the Child Support Institute with the aim of combating delinquency and providing assistance to single parents; with the Association *Abraço* (Hug), working on preventing and combating the spread of sexually transmitted diseases; and lastly the protocol signed by the International Migration Organisation, the Portuguese State and the associations, aimed at providing financial support for any migrant who may voluntarily wish to return to Cape Verde.

In addition to the above relationships, it is also worth mentioning briefly, the sporadic interactions between the associations and the Cape Verdean Embassy, neighbourhood schools, labour unions, the Portuguese Public Security Police (PSP), as well as religious institutions.

First, the relationship between the associations and the Cape Verdean Embassy, comes mainly in the form of invitations for Embassy members to participate in official inaugurations, ceremonies, festive occasions and other activities; and also for the associations to participate in Embassy-related activities. Relations with the Cape Verdean Embassy are particularly strong when the associations deal with issues concerning projects that they are undertaking in Cape Verde.

Concerning relationships between the associations and the schools, information concerning neighbourhood children that also participate in after-school free-time activities organised by the association is often exchanged. In addition,

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[14] The three following MAL municipalities, for example, have created municipal councils to deal with immigrant and minority related issues: the Immigrants' and Ethnic Minorities' Municipal Council in the Municipality of Lisbon; the Ethnic and Immigrant Communities' Municipal Council in the Municipality of Amadora; and GARSE – Specific Religious and Social Matters Office in the Municipality of Loures.

[15] The URBAN Programme has as its main goals the development of community-based initiatives and the socio-economic integration of immigrants, namely in the fields of education, professional training and job creation (Gomes, 1999).

[16] The Special Re-housing Programme (PER) and PER Families implemented by the State government under the Decree Law 163/93 of 7th of May and Law 34/96 of 29th of August, are aimed at re-housing all individuals living in shantytown dwellings in the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Oporto.

schools often work hand-and-hand with neighbourhood associations in order to create activities for community children. The associations also function as mediators in the hope of improving teacher/student relationships, often inviting teachers to come to the neighbourhood "*so they can see the reality these students are faced with everyday*", as one spokesperson stated. It is also worth noting that some existing neighbourhood associations (for example, *Moinho da Juventude*, *Unidos de Cabo Verde*) possess mediators who work as a link between the families and school and, at the same time, help students integrate into the school system. Lastly, the Co-ordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programmes[17], in conjunction with local associations develop multicultural education projects based on social and cultural commonalities shared by the ethnic communities attending a specific school.

Labour unions have also adapted their activities in order to represent specific labour situations (such as denouncing labour exploration and the recognition of immigrant labour rights), not only of the Cape Verdean community, but of immigrant communities in general. The associations and labour unions (consisting of the General Confederation of Portuguese Labourers and the General Union of Workers) have collaborated on information campaigns on foreign workers' rights, as well as in the regularisation of the immigrants, which marked the first partnership experience among both organisational forms (Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas: 2000: 44).

As for the relationship between the PSP and the associations, it is worth pointing out that many of the associations feel that the relationship that exists is not very positive, especially concerning the relationship between youths and the policing authorities. As mentioned by one interviewee: "*There is a lack of sensibility on the part of most of the police agents concerning the community. …a different form of preparation and training on their part would facilitate the relationship between us and them*". Besides the weak relationships that exist, two important initiatives between the associations and the policing authorities stand out: i.) some associations have been invited to participate in the multicultural teaching component of future PSP officers at the Police

Academy; ii.) neighbourhood-based associations occasionally organise football games between members of the police and the neighbourhood youth with the goal of trying to create closer ties between the two.

Lastly, we note the various projects, aimed at bettering community integration, shared among the associations and the National Catholic Board for Migration. It is important to note that two of the associations (*Centro Social do Bairro de 6 de Maio* e o *Centro Social e Paroquial Cristo Rei de Algés*) are linked to the Catholic Church.

4. The integration of the Cape Verdean community

Before discussing in detail questions concerning the integration of the Cape Verdean community in the MAL, it is essential to first observe that, in the same way in which the Cape Verdean associations are divided and stratified, the Cape Verdean community, in general, also finds itself segmented. On one hand, there is a minority group that possesses a high social status - mainly consisting of technical and administrative professionals that have had an easier time integrating into Portuguese society, due to their favourable socio-economic situation and because of their longer presence in Portugal (most of the individuals belonging to this group were already in Portugal prior to 1974). On the other hand, there exist the immigrants with low educational and professional status, who migrated to Portugal after 1975, who represent the majority and who experience great difficulties in integrating and are most commonly marginalised socially, culturally and economically (Amaro, 1985; France, 1992; Saint-Maurice, 1997). As argued by Gomes (1999: 197), although it is easy to identify these two different sectors within the Cape Verdean community, the tendency is always to see the predominant sector, the more numerous group, and assume that all community members fall within those characteristics. Making note of this point, my analysis will here focus mainly on the second group that experiences greater integration difficulties.

4.1 Integration difficulties

In this section, the Cape Verdean association leaders were asked to comment on the following questions:

- What are the difficulties encountered by members of the community in relation to their social, cultural, professional and residential integration?

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[17] The Co-ordinating Secretariat of Multicultural Education Programme (Entreculturas) was created to pursue activities (such as the promotion of equality of opportunities and the development of multicultural education at the primary education level) under the authority of the Ministry of Education. The programme develops multicultural education projects in 49 Portuguese schools (Gomes, 1999: 214).

- What are the main difficulties encountered by the second- and third-generation community members in relation to their integration?

Generally speaking, the difficulties felt by the majority of the community have to do with their socio-economic position, characterised by poverty, and which, in turn, is marked by the low education and professional qualifications, precarious insertion into the job market and lack of proper housing (Amaro, 1985; France, 1992; Saint-Maurice, 1997; Gomes, 1999). In communication with one association leader, this self-reinforcing phenomenon was explained in the following way:

"It's a vicious cycle; the Cape Verdeans have no economic resources. They live in shacks, and due to that situation, they are tossed aside by the rest of society. They are discriminated against and when you're discriminated against, you can't get a better job and when you can't get a better job, you can't better your economic situation … and the cycle continues".

The social problems, according to the association leaders, are primarily due to the lack of an appropriate policy on integration.

"The biggest problem is that the Cape Verdeans were never welcomed into the heart of Portuguese society, but were instead placed at the periphery in all aspects of the life. Portugal has never prepared itself for us immigrants. We've suffered because of that, but the lack of an immigrant integration policy means that Portugal suffers as well".

The associations are also of the opinion that social problems are due to the illegal situation many Cape Verdeans find themselves in. Being undocumented does not permit access to many of the support services such as, for example, social security, the national health system, employment and training and other citizenship rights.

Concerning difficulties felt by the Cape Verdean community when it comes to cultural integration, as expressed by a number of association leaders, the cultural differences between the Portuguese and the Cape Verdeans are not that pronounced, although there are always differences that are not always respected. "*What is most essential are the cultural resources that the Cape Verdeans bring with them when they come to Portugal*", states one interviewee, "*items that are not always valued or respected after they arrive. When things are like this, cultural integration will not happen…*". The associations also highlight the way in which cultural integration should be achieved, with many stating that they are in favour of cultural pluralism, in which both Cape Verdean as well as Portuguese culture are equally celebrated and respected, as apposed to acculturation or assimilation, in which Cape Verdean culture would be abandoned in favour of Portuguese culture. The following statement attests to this opinion:

"Cultural integration is something that happens slowly. Of course when we arrive there is that initial culture shock, but with the passing of time, we begin to acquire certain Portuguese cultural traits. But as we do, it is also important not to forget that cultural integration is not the acceptance of everything that is Portuguese and the complete renunciation of what is Cape Verdean. Cultural integration means preserving one's own culture, respecting the culture of the country that welcomed us, and also that the immigrants' culture by respected by the host society".

In addition, the association leaders and representatives also insisted on pointing out that Portuguese society actually knows Cape Verdean culture quite well and that Portugal has shown its appreciation for Cape Verdean culture, attested by the popularity of Cape Verdean music (such as the music of such artists as Cesária Évora and Tito Paris), as well as Cape Verdean food (e.g. the traditional Cape Verdean dish *cachupa*) (Esteves and Caldeira, 2001).

Professional integration difficulties felt by the community are primarily related to the illegal situation which a significant amount of the immigrants find themselves in. Due to their clandestine situation, the immigrants end up working without contracts and are hence prone to being exploited by their employers. One interviewee laments these concerns and the treatment of immigrants in the following manner:

"*(…)* when a country needs labour for the jobs members of the host society don't want to do, which is the case of Portugal, it is easier to insert workers into that labour market. When those workers are no longer needed, the predominant attitude of the host society ends up by being 'they (immigrants) are here to steal work from those who are here'. In the end, immigrants are nothing more then disposable labour, that is why some employees don't want documented workers".

The low levels of education also constitute an obstacle when it comes to integrating into the Portuguese labour market, but as explained by another leader:

"There is a lack qualified individuals in our community, but there is also a lack of opportunities for professional training. This does not stop Cape Verdeans from working though.

Where there's an opportunity 'to earn some cash', Cape Verdeans are there".

The integration of the Cape Verdeans into the housing market is an issue that is also of great concern to the associations. It becomes evident that the situation in which many Cape Verdeans find themselves (living primarily in clandestine shantytown housing), is due to the economic difficulties faced by community members. "*Those who don't have any qualifications can't get good jobs. Those who don't have good jobs have low-paying jobs. Those with low-paying jobs, with no rights, with no way of acquiring a loan, can't acquire a proper house and therefore, continue to live in a shack*", is how one leader describes the situation. The lack of collaboration on the part of the local powers when trying to improve neighbourhood conditions or dealing with re-housing issues is also of great concern to the associations, although, contrary to those concerns, all of the associations located in the municipality of Oeiras highlight the good work done by the City Hall in relation to the re-housing situation[18]. In other municipalities, on the other hand, the associations feel that the political powers do not take into consideration the needs of the people living in the housing projects, with re-housing projects often becoming ghettos. Lastly in relation to the housing issue, it is important to mention that the attitude of Portuguese society does not always allow for proper integration of immigrants into the housing sector. This is due to the fact that when a new re-housing scheme is planned to go into a specific neighbourhood where the majority of the population is Portuguese, the residents of that neighbourhood do not welcome members of the Cape Verdean community because, as one association leader put it: "*…there is always that stereotype that 'the people who come from the shacks' are thieves and drug traffickers who will only bring problems to our neighbourhood*".

Questions relating to the Cape Verdean youth community are of great concern to the associations as well, especially when it comes to conflicting identity issues facing this sector of the community. One of the interviewees expressed the confusion that frequently exists when it comes to immigrant descendents' identity formation in the following manner:

"Portuguese society doesn't see them (youth) as Portuguese because of skin colour. The mentality that exists is: 'they are black therefore

they are African'. On the other hand, the young generation doesn't know Cape Verde and they don't identify with their parents' version of being Cape Verdean. As a result of that, they end up not knowing who they are and how to define themselves, and because of that, they start searching for an identity and end up finding it in other forms of being African, primarily in Afro-Americanism".

The youth community is thus a "*grey community' that wanders around lost*", states another interviewee. But beyond these declarations, it is important to point out that the associations are of the opinion that the host society also plays a crucial part in defining this community. In relation to this issue, another association leader points out: "*In terms of where they're from, these young individuals are Portuguese, but when it comes to nationality, they're Cape Verdeans. … It's true, they are born here, they live here, but they are not entitled before the law to too many rights because they are not seen as being Portuguese*". On the other hand, another interviewee blames the school system for this community's lack of integration, explaining that:

"The school curriculum doesn't take into consideration the African communities. The education system is at fault for a lot of the academic failure within our community because it refuses to capture the attention of this population. Besides that, inside of the classroom, the Cape Verdean student is stereotyped as a student that will, sooner or later, be sitting at the back of class not interested in what's being taught, and will eventually drop out of school altogether. These young people are thus not respected".

These forms of rejection lead to this community growing up with a sense of revolt 'brewing' within them that will then be exteriorised in the form of scholastic failure and unemployment, as well as through more artistic forms of expression such as graffiti and rap music. "*It leads this community to carrying out certain acts that on one hand, should be condemned when it involves the destruction of property, but on the other, it should also be understood, because it is a form of calling out for attention over the revolt that they feel*".

The associations also point out that the family and living situations in which many of these youth find themselves in have some influence on their future, as expressed by an association leader:

"It is important not to forget that most of their fathers work long hours on the construction site, while their mothers, a lot of times, will do several jobs as domestic workers. Portugal is not like Cape Verde in that one can leave the

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[18] The municipality of Oeiras was the first in the MAL to eradicate all the shantytown neighbourhoods. Concerning immigrants' participation in this municipality, see Marques, et al. (1999).

children with another relative. From a very early age, children are left home alone or abandoned on the street while their parents are at work. It is common, for example, for the oldest, who might be no more than 9 or 10 years of age, to be to taking care of the other siblings. As a consequence of the parents not being around, this leads to the children not studying and not doing their homework. Many end up by following in the steps of their parents, but the reality is that many also don't want to work hard like their parents do, and, in the end, it's the bad influences in the neighbourhood that lead this young population into the world of criminality; this is always much easier than going to work on the construction site".

Considering the above arguments, it can then be said that the situation in which many Cape Verdean youngsters find themselves in is due to a variety of reasons, from the lack of acceptance by the host society to their disjointed family life. This often implies that they will often end up inheriting their parent's socio-economic position or, in other words, they end up inheriting their culture of poverty. With this, we will here consider one last opinion concerning this community:

"It is important not to forget, that Cape Verdean youth don't have the right studying conditions in the shacks. He or she is not a student with an individual bedroom and with a computer. Anything that he or she may want to be in life has to be attained through his or her own will and determination".

4.2 The role of the associations in the community's integration

In attempting to find out the importance of the associations as a community service provider, the question: 'How would you describe the importance of the associations in relation to the social, cultural, economic and housing dimensions of community integration?', was asked. In analysing this question, it is first and foremost important to note that all of the association leaders interviewed consider the respective functions of their associations as essential and of great importance when it comes to the integration of the community.

In relation to social integration, the associations become a reference point for those individuals who leave Cape Verde and arrive in Portugal without any knowledge of the social service mechanisms. The associations are sources of 'solidarity' for newcomers, providing them with a location where they can network and at the same time maintain links with the 'home country'. In the opinion of one association leader: "*The associations are centres of communication, of*

integration, of familiarity and, for some, 'a second home', especially for those who find themselves in Portugal without any family". The associations are aware of the difficulties experienced by the community and feel that their role as community representatives in issues important to the people is essential. As one of the interviewees reveals:

"... to intervene in government bureaucracies is essential, mainly when it comes to the initiatives carried out by the municipalities to improve people's living conditions. This is why the associations are important".

The associations, through their activities, feel that they also play a key role in providing recreational alternatives for community youth, with the goal of keeping them 'off the streets' and providing them with healthy activities that also promote self-esteem. The associations also work to transmit that integration is a 'give and take situation' and that it is important to live in a harmonious manner. At the same time, they also exist to provide visibility to cases of discrimination against the community.

In relation to the community's cultural integration, the associations highlight their capacity to organise cultural events, bringing a bit of Cape Verde to those who are interested. The associations also provide a space where members can share memories and where they can discuss issues relating to life in Portugal and in Cape Verde. It can then be said that the associations are cultural intermediaries, bringing the host society and the 'home-land' together. It is also worthy of note that, for the associations, it is most important to frame community members within the culture that they identify with, be it Portuguese, Cape Verdean or Afro-American culture. In relation to this point, one interviewee states: "*The cultural initiatives of the associations are fundamental when it comes to the immigrant trying to find himself and others that share the same culture*".

Concerning the professional integration of Cape Verdeans, as has already been noted, the associations offer courses and professional training, they inform immigrants of their rights and duties and function as networks of information. In addition, the associations wish to highlight that they play an important role in disclosing cases of labour exploitation and protecting workers' rights. In relation to Cape Verdean descendents, the associations try to offer conditions and activities that allow them to reach life objectives and publicise stories of professional success in order to provide role-models for young Cape Verdeans.

The associations also play an important role when it comes to the community's residential integration, with primary emphasis being given to their role as communication links between the residents and the political powers. Also, concerning the re-housing processes, the associations notify the residents of the PER and PER Families projects, giving out information and supporting residents with any concerns they may have. In addition, the associations try to educate the people in relation to neighbourhood maintenance as well as organising neighbourhood clean-up duties.

In spite of the importance that is attributed to the associations by their own spokespersons, some concerns are detected concerning the lack of common purpose and actions of the associations. It is necessary to develop common strategies in order to achieve greater synergy of results. In fact, as Gomes (1999: 195) points out, Cape Verdean associations in Portugal lack structures that join them, in spite of there being a non-politically recognised federation (*Federação de Associações Caboverdeanas em Portugal*). In relation to this matter, one leader explains that,

> "… it is important to take advantage of the experiences of the other associations to improve all our initiatives and it's important that we work together. The more associations exist, the better. The more associations, the higher our voices will reach".

4.3 Public entities and integration mechanisms

The goal of this section is to analysis opinions in relation to public services aimed at improving the integration of immigrants in Portugal. In order to gather opinions on this topic, the following two questions were asked:
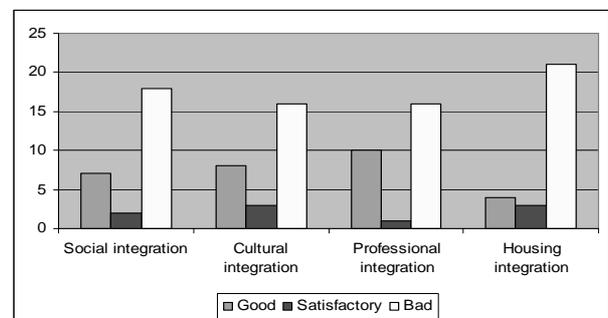
● What is your opinion in relation to the practices implemented by the political powers (taking into consideration the State, the municipalities and the parishes) concerning the social, cultural, economic and housing integration? Answers were given on a scale of 1.) Good 2.) Satisfactory 3.) Bad. Respondents were then asked to elaborate on their answers.

● What is your opinion in relation to the following integration mechanisms: Regularisation processes and the Immigration Law[19], Social Insertion

Income Programme (former Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme)[20], PER and PER Families Projects, the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) and the Advisory Council for Immigrant Affairs (COCAI)[21]? Answers were given this time on a scale of 1.) not efficient 2.) moderately inefficient 3.) moderately efficient 4.) very efficient. Respondents were once again asked to elaborate on their answers.

In relation to the associations' levels of satisfaction when it come to the practices implemented by political entities, in relation to all four variables analysed (social, cultural, economic and housing), the associations possess on balance negative views (see *Figure 2*).

Figure 2: Satisfaction levels with the practices implemented by the political powers in relation to the integration of the Cape Verdean community (n=27)

Source: Interviews with Cape Verdean association leaders, 2001

When it comes to social integration, 18 of the 27 association interviewees were not satisfied with the practices implemented by the public entities. Although the issues that concern the associations

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[19] Article 55 of the Portuguese Immigration Law (Decree-Law 244/98 of August 8th, revised by Decree-Law 4/2001 of January 10th) institutes the permanence permit for foreigners present in Portugal who do not possess legal documents but are in possession of a valid labour contract. This permit enables its bearer to legally remain in the country for one year and is renewable annually up to a five year period. Once the

permit reaches its five year limit, the bearer can then acquire a permit of residence which also allows for family reunification (Fonseca, et al., 2002).

[20] The Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme (Law 19A/96) is a policy instrument whose goal is to fight poverty and social exclusion. The policy instrument included both a monetary benefit (the minimum income proper) and required that the beneficiary take part in social programs aimed at enhancing his or her social resources. With the change of government in Portugal in April of 2002, the name changed to Social Income of Insertion. At the time the interviews with the association leaders were done, the original name still remained (Fonseca, et al., 2002).

[21] Established in 1998 (Decree-Law 39/98), the COCAI began its activities in March, 1999. The Council is chaired by the ACIME and includes representatives from recognised immigrants' associations, NGOs, business associations, major trade unions, as well as the Sate Secretary for the Portuguese Communities (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) (Fonseca, et al., 2002).

are numerous, two particular issues need highlighting - the lack of information on immigrant rights and regularisation matters, and the lack of an integration policy favouring a multicultural society. The associations feel that these two issues are pivotal and that immigrants will never be seen as equals until policies are clearly defined and respected. In relation to the community's cultural integration, 16 associations expressed their dissatisfaction with the political powers, explaining that there is a lack collaboration, particularly on the part of the municipalities, when it comes to carrying out cultural events. Concerning the professional integration of Cape Verdeans, 16 associations also agreed that the powers-that-be do not do enough. These associations are of the opinion that the political powers in Portugal are not diligent when it comes to creating better professional training courses and also protecting the rights of workers, especially the undocumented. Finally, 21 associations said that they are dissatisfied with the political authorities and their dealings with housing matters. The associations primarily criticise the slowness of the re-housing process and also the lack of consultation on the part of the municipalities when it comes to the needs of the residents.

In relation to the five mechanisms chosen for analysis, although they are of great importance to immigrant communities, it should be mentioned that two of these mechanism are not directed at immigrants exclusively, but for all members of Portuguese society. These mechanisms are the Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme (Social Insertion Income Programme) and the PER and PER Families Projects. *Table 2* sets out the pattern of answers across the five dimensions.

Table 2: Mechanisms of integration and their perceptions by representatives of the Cape Verdean associations (n=27)

	Not effic.	Mod. ineffic.	Mod. effic.	Very effic.	No answer
● Immigration Law and regularisation processes	0	12	13	2	0
● Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme	0	12	9	6	0
● PER and PER Families Projects	0	10	11	6	0
● High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities	1	4	16	6	0
● Consultative Council for Immigrant Affairs	1	10	9	1	6

Source: Interviews with Cape Verdean association leaders, 2001

In analysing the regularisation processes, the majority of the associations are split between the answers "moderately inefficient" and "moderately efficient" with only two associations answering "very efficient". In quoting an association leader on this question: "*When you legalise an immigrant, you are making him/her visible; someone who can contribute to the society*". However, in spite of the fact that a number of the associations consider the processes to be useful, it is the elaboration of the law, in itself, that is criticised. For instance, some associations claim that it should not be necessary to wait five years to obtain a 'permanence permit', stating that the Immigration Law should favour 'residence' instead of the 'permanence', claiming that the annual renewal of authorisation is not practical. Another common complaint is that the procedures for obtaining the necessary documents are too bureaucratic. The fact that an undocumented individual requires a work contract in order to obtain legal documents is another factor that divides the associations. While some feel that the regularisation processes are good control measures when it comes to worker-employer relations, others hold the opinion that the fact that a work contract is required will keep many individuals from becoming documented because their employers will not provide them with an employment contract, and thus they have no other alternative.

Most of the association leaders have a positive opinion of the Guaranteed Minimum Income scheme, as is illustrated in *Table 2*: 15 answered, either "moderately efficient" or "very efficient", while 12 answered "moderately inefficient". Those leaders who shed positive light on this integration mechanism believe that this instrument is very useful in the battle against poverty and in giving people a chance to move out of such a situation. In addition, the leaders explain that Cape Verdians are very proud individuals, many of whom prefer to work their away out of their poverty. A typical quote: "*Cape Verdeans like to live off what they can achieve for themselves and most don't want to be in a position of having to appeal to such a resource. In fact, I very much doubt that most Cape Verdeans even know of its existence*". According to spokespersons' opinions, one can then argue that an effective campaign has not been carried out to notify this community of this instrument. Lastly, many of the association leaders also pointed out that if an immigrant is undocumented, he or she can not appeal to this service, which means the service is useless for a lot of Cape Verdean immigrants.

In spite of being dissatisfied with the political powers in the way they handle the PER and PER Families projects, the association leaders do

recognise the value of these two initiatives: 17 of the interviewees are of the opinion that these two instruments are either "very efficient" or "moderately efficient". A generalised opinion is that these projects provide reasonably decent housing for those who have no other options. "*Something is being done in bettering our living conditions and that's what's important*", stated one interviewee, "*…and even if things aren't always done correctly, it still demonstrates that there is some concern and that the politicians want to improve the lives of community members*". Still, in spite of comments showing satisfaction with these mechanisms, it is the management of the programmes that is highly criticised, with the main critique being the lack of community consultation:

> "The infrastructures and project designs are not appropriate for the Cape Verdean community. Cape Verdeans are not used to living on the fifth floor of an apartment building without space to 'mash corn'[22], for example. They put up these cement blocks without spaces for the children to play, without green spaces - this is no way to re-house. … but do they ask us about any of these concerns? The answer is no".

Adding on to this argument, a second leader states the following:

> "They take people from their shacks, from a tight-knit neighbourhood where friendships have been created, where neighbours already know each other, where men meet at the local cafe to play card games and women know they can always count on their next door neighbour to lend them a cup of sugar; and distribute them throughout the municipality kilometres away from the networks that have been created. The people in charge don't take this into consideration".

A third comment argues that there are other interests behind the re-housing projects:

> "*The shanty neighbourhoods were all illegally constructed, some on private land and some on government land that had no use 20 years ago. Now, due to urban growth, the land where these shanty neighbourhoods are located can bring a lot of revenue to the municipalities. So the idea is to get the people off that land, but then comes the question: where do we put them? The solution is the re-housing projects*".

Lastly, one of the leaders voiced the opinion that re-housing is not always something community

members wish for: "*The shack is paid off already which means money can be invested elsewhere such as sending it back to Cape Verde to build a house there. Re-housing means making payments, and no matter how low they may be, they are still payments*". Considering these various points, one can then conclude that residential integration into the re-housing projects is not always desired by community members.

In relation to the fourth integration mechanism, the value given to the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities is worth highlighting, with 22 of the answers being either "very efficient" or "moderately efficient", as illustrated in *Table 2*. The majority of the interviewees point out that the relations between the associations and the ACIME office are very good and that this organ has added new dynamics to associations/State government relations with recognised associations now being given plenty of support[23]. The ACIME is seen a body capable of dialoguing with the associations, an instrument immigrant institutions can utilise to make their concerns reach the political power arenas where decisions are made. With the ACIME office, explains one leader: "*…there is open, on-going dialogue related to immigration and immigrant issues and the ACIME actually takes time to listen to us*". Another leader explains the importance of the ACIME in the following manner: "*The ACIME opens doors to a whole new world. The State is aware that immigration is not going to stop anytime soon and they are also aware that many immigrants will stay. The High Commissioner position is going to gain a lot of importance in the years to come*". Although the majority of opinions relating to the ACIME are of a positive nature, one criticism that stands out is the lack of intervention when it comes to the regularisation process. The lack of a stand on this issue leads one association leader to claim that: "*…the ACIME is not in favour of what the immigrants need, but instead the office stands for the politics of the party that is in power*".

Contrary to the generally positive view of the ACIME, the Consultative Council for Immigrant Affairs divides the association leaders down the middle in relation to the opinions given as illustrated in *Table 2*. It is also important to note

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[22] Cape Verdeans 'mash corn' to make '*mandioca*', a flour-like substance that is a traditional staple in the Cape Verdean diet.

[23] In order to be recognised by the ACIME (Law 115/99 of August 3rd), associations should fulfil the following requirements: have elected social bodies, published statutes, registration in the National Registry of Collective Bodies and having the promotion of immigrants' rights as their main goal. This allows the associations to benefit from financial and technical support by the State and to be consulted on immigration-related issues (Fonseca et al., 2002).

that 6 of the 27 interviewees did not know of the COCAI's existence. This can be explained by the fact that some of the associations have never dealt or been asked to deal with the COCAI, and therefore do not know of its existence; or because the State government, which set up and runs the COCAI, has not done a sufficient job of letting the associations know that this organism exists. In relation to the COCAI as a mechanism for integration, in the words of one interviewee:

"The utility of the Consultative Council for Immigrant Affairs is almost zero because, basically, the meetings are sporadic and when they do happen, a lot of people who should be there don't show up. In addition, the representatives (that are part of the Advisory Council) don't have the proper conditions to study the problems nor to solve them and often show up not knowing what topics are going to be 'on the table'. Finally when it's time to get down to work, rarely does everybody agree and in the end, nothing is agreed on".

Lastly, another association leader stated that: "... the Consultative Council is an important mechanism for it gives immigrant communities another voice. The problem is that what is said and recommended is rarely put into practice". This statement is best suited to summing up the sentiments expressed by a number of the association leaders in relation to this organ.

4.4 Recommendations for a better integration

The goal of this section is to present recommendations and measures that, according to the association leaders, should be implemented in order to better the social, cultural, professional and housing integration of the Cape Verdean community. The association leaders were asked to express their opinions in relation to this matter. The following thus provides, in a series of short points, the suggestions most frequently mentioned according to each integration variable (social, cultural, professional and housing):

First, in relation to better the social integration of the Cape Verdean community, the following recommendations were made:

- Create specific programmes aimed at improving the immigrants' standard of living. These schemes should include improving literacy, education, employment, re-housing, health, etc.;

- Create more facilities and spaces (for example: day-care and pre-schooling centres, sport and other leisure-time activities and facilities) to give community youth alternatives in order to occupy them with healthy activities;

- Create local support units or centres, consisting of properly trained people who can assist individuals with their integration difficulties;

- Carry out campaigns to educate host-society members on the social differences between them and the immigrant communities, in order to achieve mutual respect and understanding between all communities;

- Carry out campaigns to educate newly-arrived immigrants about the host society's social behaviours in order to reduce the initial cultural shock often felt;

- Open, continual regularisation instead of the sporadic regularisation schemes;

- Change the Immigration Law (from the annually renewed permanence to longer-term residence permits), and reduce the bureaucracy related with the documentation processes;

- Greater accessibility to family reunification in order to create family stability;

- Increased commitment to combating social, racial and cultural discrimination from all parts (including Portuguese society and the State as well as the minorities and the associations that represent them).

In respect to the cultural variable, the association leaders highlight the following points as worthy of contemplation:

- Improve cultural mediation between the immigrants and the host society in order to facilitate cultural integration on both sides and to allow the immigrants the rights to satisfy their cultural needs. Improve training of cultural mediators to better carry out these roles;

- Invest in the appreciation of immigrant cultures which can be done by utilising using such means as the media, publicity schemes, etc., so that there will be greater cultural exchanges and acceptance;

- Greater inclusion of immigrant and ethnic minority contributions in Portuguese cultural programmes;

- Create special events at the national level so that people can be given opportunities to acquire an appreciation for and participate in other cultures;

- Larger investments in multicultural events in order to be able to enrich Portuguese society as a whole.

Concerning professional integration, the interviewees felt that the following measures should be taken into consideration:

- More professional training, both in quality and quantity, in order to give immigrants more qualifications so that they can compete for higher-level, qualified employment;

- Create laws that will protect and dignify immigrant workers, namely those who work as unqualified labourers, both documented or undocumented, who are also susceptible to exploitation, so that they that can contribute to Portuguese society and have equal rights to any other worker;

- Within the scope of a multicultural education, create an alternative school curriculum for African youth that will hopefully provide a greater incentive to African descendents in order for them not to drop out of school;

- Increase and revise the existing relationships with labour unions in order for these organisations to be able to work together with immigrant associations and communities, to gain more strength in combating employment inequalities and discrimination.

Finally, in order to improve residential integration, the association leaders add the following recommendations:

- More information, participation and collaboration from all parts (governments, associations, citizens, etc.) as far as the re-housing projects are concerned;

- Credit concessions equal to those given to native residents when it comes to acquiring a house;

- Improve the living conditions in the shanty neighbourhoods and carry out a proper inventory of all the homes in a neighbourhood and the conditions of dwellings before any re-housing or decision to re-house is carried out;

- Improve the social, cultural and architectural conditions (including recreational spaces and meeting places) of the re-housing projects, so that the people can enjoy and identify with the residential space they live in;

- Create or reinforce residents' associations in order to stimulate local dwellers' public participation;

- Develop a policy plan that will discourage residential segregation, in the hopes of putting an end to ghettoisation;

- Train and prepare individuals for living in the re-housing projects (including living habits, hygiene, social behaviour, etc.);

- Prepare, educate and inform residents of neighbouring neighbourhoods as well as the future residents of the re-housing projects about each other, so that there will not be any stereotyping or hostility, but, instead, openness and understanding.

Along with the above suggestions, it should also be pointed out that according to the interviewees, the associations need to be provided with better working conditions if the process of integration is to be more effective. Increased collaboration as well as financial and technical support from the various political levels are thus a necessity if the associations are to develop their work and carry out appropriate interventions with the populations they represent. In addition, it is also worth highlighting the importance given to the relationships that exist between the associations and the all other entities that, in one way or another, play a role in the immigrant landscape. The leaders, in this case, stress that these relations should be even more cohesive at all levels, from the central Portuguese and Cape Verdean government powers, to the local municipal powers, to the NGO's and other associations, etc., making immigrant interests and integration issues a focal point of co-operation.

Also worth highlighting is the fact that the associations feel that proper attention has not been given to immigrant problems and issues and to the role associations can play in immigrant and integration policy development. It is important to keep in mind that, in recent years, immigration in Portugal has intensified in quantitative terms and, if something is not done to better the conditions that lead to higher standards of integration, the current situation will most likely worsen in qualitative terms. The associations can here be important in creating and collaborating in initiatives and projects that will better the situations of, not only Cape Verdeans, but ethnic minorities in general, so they can be entitled, just as any other citizen, to equal rights and social benefits.

5. Conclusion

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the social, cultural, political as well as residential integration of the Cape Verdean community has largely been influenced by the institutional framework of the host society in which the organisations that represent them operate. The presence of Cape Verdeans in the MAL is not a new issue with the presence of this community in Portugal dating back to the early 1970's. The fact the Portuguese State ignored this community, just like it did with all African immigrants who migrated to Portugal after

decolonisation, having only concerned themselves with foreign populations at the start of the 1990's, the Cape Verdean community was left to its own devices in trying to map out its belonging within Portuguese society.

As the Cape Verdean population in the MAL grew in the last quarter of the 20th century, so did the community's integration difficulties. A number of associations sprung up with the intention of bettering the living conditions of the community, although their reasons for existing vary. Thus, the associations Cape Verdeans created to in order to preserve cultural patterns, in order to represent them and to battle for resources, have been limited in their mobilisation attempts, primarily due to economic and organisational reasons. As argued by Soysal (1994: 86) "host societies shape the collective organization of migrants by providing (or not) certain resources for and models of organizing".

Institutional modes of incorporation not only are determinant in shaping the Cape Verdean community's organisational structure, but also their influence reaches further into migrants' individual and collective forms of integration considering the role these institutions play. One can then argue that the relevance of Soysal's arguments is thus apparent in relation to this analysis. In order to maximise the resource acquisition, the associations will then move across receiving–sending country contexts. The relationship between these contexts not only reflects distinct relations between resources and associations, it is also grounds for ongoing negotiation of rights as well as identities. So it is not only resources that are negotiated but also multiple identities, since this is the way through which immigrant associations acquire their places of power (Mapril and Araújo, 2002).

Although some immigrant associations might present clear strategies of settlement through their activities and contacts with the host society, they seldom lose what brings them together in the first place, which is their affective ties – the fact they share the same country of origin, a common cultural heritage, language, religion, consciousness of kind, etc. Thus what emerges from here is a "third space" (Bhabha, 1994); a space of hyphenated identities and practices where the belonging, resources and rights from different national contexts are constantly negotiated. In the end it can then be argued that these associations, just like the individuals and the community they represent, are neither Cape Verdean associations nor Cape Verdean individuals, but instead they are Portuguese-hyphen-Cape Verdean associations and

individuals, for they end up amalgamating what they consider to be the best of both worlds.

Gomes (1999: 222) describes the Cape Verdean community as one trapped by "unavoidable poverty". As has been discussed in this paper, the majority of Cape Verdeans living in the MAL find themselves at the lower end of the social mobility scale due to their socio-economic positioning which is marked by low levels of education, an unskilled status in the job market and lack of proper housing. In addition, integration difficulties are due to the irregular status which many Cape Verdeans find themselves in, which will frequently not permit them to benefit from certain Portuguese social support services in addition to also being prone to labour exploitation. Second-generation Cape Verdeans are another concern, with this population frequently inheriting their parents' patterns of poverty due to the lack of opportunities given to them to improve their lives.

A positive integration for this community does not depend exclusively on the Cape Verdean population, but also on Portuguese society, and primarily the Portuguese State. A mutual collaboration (between Cape Verdeans and Portuguese) is, thus, a crucial dimension to the integration question. The ideal scenario would be characterised by the maintenance of Cape Verdean culture and identity through community and associative actions, while, at the same time, being given the same citizenship and participation rights as those given to the host society.

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Appendix 1: List of Associations Interviewed:

- *Associação dos Amigos da Encosta Nascente* – Friends of the East Slope Association

- *Associação Amigos do Fogo (AMIFOGO)* – Friends of Fogo Associations

- *Associação dos Antigos Alunos do Ensino Secundário de Cabo Verde* – Association of the Former Students of the Cape Verdean Secondary School Associations

- *Associação Caboverdeana* – Cape Verdean Association

- *Associação Cabo Verde Na Coraçon* – Cape Verde '*Na Coraçon*' Association

- *Associação Caboverdeana do Seixal* – Cape Verdean Association of Seixal

- *Associação Caboverdeana de Setúbal* – Cape Verdean Association of Setubal

- *Associação Cultural Luso-Africana MORNA* – Luso-African Cultural Association *MORNA*

- *Associação Cultural e Desportiva da Pedreira dos Húngaros* – Pedreira dos Hungaros Cultural and Sports Association

- *Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude* – Youth Mill Cultural Association

- *Associação de Jovens Promotores da Amadora Saudável (AJPAS)* – Youth Promotores for a Healthy Amadora Association

- *Associação Mãos Unidas Casa da Alegria (AMUCA)* – United Hands House of Happiness Association

- *Associação de Moradores de Outurela/Portela* – Outerela/Portela Residencial Association

- *Associação de Solidariedade Social Assomada* – 'Assomada' Social Solidarity Association

- *Associação Solidariedade Caboverdeana dos Amigos da Margem Sul do Tejo* – Cape Verdean Solidarity Association of the Friends of the Tagus South Bank

- *Associação de Solidariedade dos Filhos e Amigos do Concelho de São Miguel* – Sons and Friends of the Municipality of São Miguel Solidarity Association

- *Associação Unidos de Cabo Verde* – United Cape Verdeans Association

- *Associação de Solidariedade Social Loures/Amadora (ASALA)* – Loures/Amadora Social Solidarity Association

- *Centro Social do Bairro de 6 de Maio* – 6th of May Neighbourhood Social Centre

- *Centro Social e Paroquial Cristo Rei de Algés* – Christ King of Alges Paroquial and Social Centre

- *Espaço da Comunidade Caboverdeana – Concelho de Oeiras (EEC-CO)* – Cape Verdean Community Space – Municipality of Oeiras

- *Federação de Associações Caboverdeanas em Portugal* – Federation of Cape Verdean Associations in Portugal

- *Fundação Eugénio Tavares (FET)* – Eugénio Tavares Foundation

- *Organização Médica Caboverdiana (OMEC)* – Cape Verdean Medical Organisation

- *Organização Quadros Técnicos Caboverdianos (OTEC)* – Cape Verdean Tecnical Workers Organisation

- *Associação para Informação e Defesa da Saúde dos Africanos Imigrados em Portugal (SANITAE)* – Information and Health Awareness Association for African Immigrants in Portugal

- *União Estudantes Caboverdeanos de Lisboa (UECL)* – Cape Verdean Students Union of Lisbon

Associations not interviewed:

- *Associação Africana do Barreiro* – African Association of Barreiro

- *Associação Cabojovem* – Caboyouth Association

- *Associação de Moradores e Proprietários do Bairro do Zambujal* – Zambujal Neighbourhood Residence and Proprietors Association

- *Associação Unidade Cultural da Quinta do Mocho* – Quinta do Mocho Cultural Unity Association

Annex 1