CONSTRUCTING OTHERNESS:
NATIONHOOD AND IMMIGRATION POLITICS
IN PORTUGUESE POST-COLONIAL SOCIETY

by
Ana Paula Beja Horta
B.B.A., Simon Fraser University, 1983
M.A., Simon Fraser University, 1989

Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in the Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

© Ana Paula Beja Horta, 2000
SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
December, 2000

All rights reserved.
This work may not be reproduced in whole or part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.
The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author’s permission.

L’auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L’auteur conserve la propriété du droit d’auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.
ABSTRACT

This thesis sets out to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between the state and immigrant integration processes in post-colonial Portuguese society. More specifically, it seeks to show the role of state policies and discourses in shaping immigrants' political participation patterns.

Conventional sociological analyses have shown a marked tendency to address migration, citizenship and ethnicity paradigms from a macro-structural perspective. Stress on national political discourses and on nation-states' structural responses to immigrant populations, although insightful and fruitful, has precluded the analysis of immigration phenomena from the viewpoint of a micro-politics of local institutions and immigrants' everyday life strategies. This work constitutes an attempt to go beyond a macro-structural approach to immigration and to contribute to the development of a micro/macro framework to migrants' collective organizing and political mobilization. At a macro-level, the changing nature of state responses to the presence of migrant communities is examined against a background of shifting notions of nationhood and transnational processes. Of special interest is the examination of how state discourses and policies structure migrants' collective organizing practices. At a micro level, I draw both on the work of Bourdieu (1990) and on a postmodern framework to examine how dominant policies and representations of immigrants impact and shape migrants' identities.

Methodologically, this thesis is based on empirical research, specifically on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the migrant squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura, Amadora in the periphery of Lisbon, in the period between 1995-1996 and 1997-1999. Qualitative data was gathered also through participant observation and in-depth interviews with central state officials, politicians, leaders of immigrant associations, trade unions, religious institutions and other non-governmental organizations sympathetic to immigrants' issues.
The research shows that host-society institutional approaches to immigration are not only of crucial importance in configuring migrants' patterns of political participation, but also they shape immigrants' individual and collective identity and life chances. The institutional production of specific subjectivities (e.g., illegal, marginal, criminal) play a major role in structuring the ways immigrants perceive themselves and their social reality and act upon those perceptions. It is further argued that the institutional reproduction of situations of illegality has fostered the disempowerment of migrant populations living on the fringes of mainstream society.

In conclusion, it is argued that present-day immigration policies can hardly be dissociated from a politics of identity in which "postnational" and national models of citizenship are, ultimately, played out at the local-level of everyday life. Local institutional dynamics challenge us to widen our theoretical vistas of the nation-state and on migrants' integration processes. National and transnational migration policies would need to go beyond a rhetoric of equal opportunity and address the complex articulations between local power, societal change and migrants' new forms of political agency and cultural production.
DEDICATION

for my son João
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my supervisory committee who have been a constant source of support and intellectual stimulation. To Professor Heribert Adam I owe special thanks for his challenging comments and insights at the various stages of this work. His intellectual contribution helped to shape this work in invaluable ways. My deep gratitude also goes to Professor Marilyn Gates for her important critiques, constructive comments, unflagging editorial assistance and friendship throughout the years. I would also like to thank Professor Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade. As the director of the Centre of Studies for Migrations and Intercultural Relations, her support and her expert knowledge of Portuguese society and migration research were important in the successful completion of this work.

In Vancouver, I am deeply grateful to my friend and colleague Klara Hribkova for her moral support, pertinent and helpful comments on the different drafts of this manuscript. I am also particularly grateful to Gary Gates, Michael Kenny, Dany Lacombe, Alfredo Maia, Mário Cipriano, Maria do Carmo Gouveia, Maria Celeste Carvalho, Lucília Dionísio and many other friends for their intellectual sustenance and friendship.

In Lisbon, I owe special thanks to José Carlos Gomes da Silva for his support, drive and intellectually stimulating discussions. At the Centre of Studies for Migrations and Intercultural Relations at Open University I am particularly grateful to Lígia Évora Ferreira for her friendship, support and lively discussions from which I have benefited enormously. I am also deeply indebted to José Ribeiro without whom the film The House of Maria Fruta would not have been what it is. His encouragement and expertise challenged me to search for new ways of seeing and representing social reality.

I take this opportunity to thank Carolina Vilhena da Cunha for her generous library assistance and Helena Leão and the technicians at the Institute of Multimedia Communication for their valuable contribution in the editing of the film The House of Maria Fruta. Helena’s sense of humour, enthusiasm and commitment greatly helped in the thorny work of montage and editing.
I also would like to express my special thanks to Father Manuel Soares, José Leitão, Anabela Franqueira, Joaquim Raçoso, Carlos Trindade, Arnaldo de Andrade, Celeste Correia, Fernando Ka, Ermelindo Varela, João Miranda, Manuela Gonçalves, Helena Marques, Isabel Feio, Fernanda Mendes, Sandra Godinho, Isabel Ruas, Ana Godinho, Conceição Barroqueiro, Mário Andrade, Isabel Nascimento, Orlando Jorge, António José Oliveira and many other public officials, community activists and immigrant association leaders for sharing with me their views and insights. Also, I am particularly indebted to Manuela Esteves for her generosity and for providing me with most valuable information and crucial contacts.

In the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura avó Pim, Sr. Dinis and their family were a constant source of inspiration, wit and encouragement during fieldwork. Fatima, the first person I met in the neighbourhood, Doca, Lela and Joana, the street vendors with whom I sat for endless hours in lively conversations started me on a journey of inquiry and fascination. I am also grateful to Amadu Uri Baldé, Joca, Francisco Mendes, D. Antónia, Maria Patriarca, Tchicsy-E and Nuno Batalha and many others for sharing with me their life narratives, concerns and future prospects.

At the Residents’ Association I would like to thank Ilidio do Carmo, João Rocha and many association members for providing me with valuable information and life experiences. Also my thanks to the President and director of the Cultural Association “Moinho da Juventude”, namely Eduardo Pontes and Godlieve Meersschaert, for our numerous conversations and for the documentation provided. I must also express my gratitude to all of those involved in the project “O Pulo”, specifically to Rute Gomes for her generosity and insightful comments. Marilia Garcia and the project coordinators were particularly helpful in establishing contacts with all the remaining workers and families involved in the project.

To Maria Pires Lopes and her family I extend heartfelt appreciation for opening the doors of her dream house and for sharing that dream with me. Her hospitality, affection and constant challenge contributed in many ways to shape this work. Also, to all the residents of Cova da Moura I would like to express my gratitude. I hope this work will do justice to their kindness, trust and struggles for new world outlooks.
Preliminary versions of portions of this work have been presented in Conferences and Seminars at Universidade Aberta, Centre of Studies of Migrations and Intercultural Relations [Centro de Estudos das Migrações e das Relações Interculturais (CEMRI)], in Lisbon and Porto, in Cologne and in Vancouver. The discussions and comments made by scholars, students and participants in these events helped me to strengthen and clarify my arguments.

This work was generously supported by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, Program Praxis XXI. This fellowship provided me with time and with the opportunity for scholarship. Also the Centre of Studies for Migrations and Intercultural Relations at Universidade Aberta in Lisbon was of great assistance in the production and editing of the film *The House of Maria Fruta*.

I am grateful to Joan Wolfe, for being there when I needed her. Joan’s computer expertise and commitment to the copy-editing and formatting of this thesis was invaluable. Without her thoughtful approach throughout the process of setting this thesis into its present form, this volume would not have been completed on time.

Finally, I would like to show my gratitude to my relatives in Canada and in Portugal for their unconditional support and encouragement. To Estêvão Horta and João I owe special thanks for their forbearance towards my frequent absences and total involvement in this work and for their support and deep affection.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approval</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abstract</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedication</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table of Contents</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Tables</td>
<td>xii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of Maps</td>
<td>xiii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Nation-State and Immigration Politics .................................................. 3
Towards a Macro-Micro Framework to Immigration Politics .............................. 6
  Portuguese Nation-State Responses to Immigration .................................... 7
  Grassroots Collective Mobilization and Life Strategies ........................... 8
Methodological and Ethical Issues .................................................................. 11
Overview of the Thesis .................................................................................... 21
Chapter Notes .................................................................................................. 24

## CHAPTER II: THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Nation, Nationalism and the Immigrant Challenge ......................................... 26
  The Perennialist Paradigm ........................................................................... 29
  The Postmodern Turn: The Nation and Hybrid Identities ............................ 34
State Policy and Migrants’ Political Participation ......................................... 39
Theorizing Practice ......................................................................................... 42
Power, Identity and Strategy ........................................................................... 50
Chapter Notes .................................................................................................. 54
# CHAPTER III: NATIONHOOD AND MIGRATION POLITICS IN POST-COLONIAL PORTUGAL

Europe, Us and the Rest ................................................................. 58
Portugal as a Country of Emigration and of Immigration .................. 66
  Immigration Patterns ..................................................................... 68
Institutional Responses to Immigration:
  A Balancing Act Between Inclusion and Exclusion .................... 75
Chapter Notes .............................................................................. 94

# CHAPTER IV: IMMIGRATION AND LOCAL POLITICS IN THE CITY OF AMADORA

The Local as a Space of Mediation .................................................. 97
The Making of the City .................................................................... 105
The Immigrant Presence in Amadora ............................................ 108
Local State Immigrant Integration Policies ..................................... 111
  Housing Policy Strategies ............................................................. 111
  Programa Especial de Realojamento (PER; Special Program of Rehousing):
    Old Issues, New Strategies ......................................................... 113
Immigrants' Political Participation: The Road to a "Multicultural City" .......................................................... 118
  Local Mobilization and Immigrants' Associational Structure ........... 118
  The "Minorities Project" and the Production of New Social Categories 122
  Institutional Internationalization .................................................... 128
  New Discourses and Policies: "The Multicultural City in Abeyance" .................................................. 131
Chapter Notes .............................................................................. 142

# CHAPTER V: A COMMUNITY UNDER CONSTRUCTION

The Neighbourhood of Alto Da Cova Da Moura ................................ 146
  "In Those Days I was Only Afraid of Cobras" ................................ 150
  Cova da Moura as "The Promised Land" ....................................... 155
    Racializing Space: The African and the European Enclaves .......... 164
  A Crossroads to Everywhere ......................................................... 172
  From Illegal to Criminal: The Gettoization of Cova Da Moura .......... 182
Chapter Notes .............................................................................. 190
### CHAPTER VI: STATE INTEGRATION POLICIES, MIGRANTS' GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Grassroots Neighbourhood Organizations: Negotiating a Space for Politics</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Residents' Association of the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Cultural Association &quot;Moinho da Juventude&quot;:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Transnationalization of Local Organizing</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surveillance, Clientelism and Local Politics</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Illegal Other: Africans and Portuguese at Cova da Moura</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggling Against &quot;Illegality&quot;</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Governmentality&quot; Under Siege</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing Migrant Integration Programs at the Local-level:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institutional Power and Social Change</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Making of the Project “O Pulo”</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Implementation Process: Institutionalizing Identities</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter Notes ........................................................................................................... 243

### CHAPTER VII: IDENTITY, POWER AND SUBVERSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migration, Pride and Desire</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A House of Cement and Uncertainty: Accommodation and Resistance</td>
<td>261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The House of Maria Fruta: Images, Representation and the Political</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Visual Construction of Meaning</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Film as the Political</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter Notes ........................................................................................................... 290

### CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nationhood and Immigration Politics</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Immigration Politics: Illegality and Resistance</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Quest for Alternatives or What Are We Fighting for?</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter Notes ........................................................................................................... 307

References .................................................................................................................. 308

Bibliography ................................................................................................................. 328

Appendix A: The House of Maria Fruta Film Description ........................................ 335

Appendix B: Illustrative Photographs ........................................................................ 354
## LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Table 1</td>
<td>Legal Foreign Population in Portugal 1986-1998</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 2</td>
<td>Five Major Immigrant Groups in Portugal (1986-1998)</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 3</td>
<td>Evolution of Portuguese Immigration Policies and Migratory Inflows</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Table 4</td>
<td>Total Legal Immigration Inflows, 1988-1998</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 1: Municipality of Amadora</td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 2: Slum Neighbourhoods in the Municipality of Amadora</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 3: The Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, Municipality of Amadora</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 4: Settlement Patterns of the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura (1940s-1990s)</td>
<td>148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Map 5: “African” and “European” Residential Areas in the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura</td>
<td>166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I:
INTRODUCTION

We have a dream. We believe and work to build a Portugal where all national and foreign citizens may cooperate in solidarity to promote development. We know that cultural differences, ethnic and national origin may be a fact of human, cultural, social and economic enrichment and for that...we fight everyday. (High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, Portugal)\(^1\)

In the past two decades, Portugal has become a new country of destination for immigration flows from Africa and Eastern Europe. State responses to immigration have been multiple and often contradictory, ranging from \textit{laissez-faire} policy making in the 1980s to an interventionist approach in recent years. From the mid 1990s, up until the present, respect for immigrant cultural heritage and a quest for social equality and citizenship rights for all immigrant and ethnic populations residing in Portugal, have become central objectives of national immigration policy. The extension of rights and entitlements to migrants has been perceived as being of fundamental importance to the functioning of a democratic society. Access to social and welfare benefits, equality before the law, the criminalization of racist behaviour and the right to vote in local elections have been major legal achievements of Portuguese immigration policy in the late 1990s.

An increasing number of nationally and internationally funded programs, projects, workshops, seminars, conferences and general public debates have also been implemented to fight social exclusion and racism and to promote the full participation of immigrants in the Portuguese polity. The Catholic church, trade unions, non-governmental organizations, political parties (from the right to the left of the political spectrum) have, with different degrees of conviction, embraced an official political ideology endorsing a rights-oriented and integrationist approach to immigration.

In the High Commissioner's vision (1999), the construction of a truly democratic society is dependent on the full integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities (e.g., gypsies) in Portuguese society. The dream of social equality and dignity for all could be achieved only through \textquoteleft coherent
policies” and “inclusive measures.” Yet, despite an official policy of inclusion, social inequality, marginalization and racism have persisted and even in some cities have escalated in recent years.

In the late 1980s approximately eighty percent of the immigrant population from the PALOPS (African Countries having Portuguese as Official Language) and gypsies were trapped in slums, living in very precarious housing, holding marginal positions in the labour market with no possibilities for advancement (Bruto da Costa et al., 1991). A decade later, the “urban dispossessed” (Cross, 1992) continue to sink in the margins of cities and of the formal economy, deprived of the public goods and services of a modern democratic society.

Although there is a general public consensus that compared to other European countries, Portugal has remained to a larger extent immune to racist violence (Baganha, 1996; Rocha-Trindade, 1995), more recently, racist attitudes and social exclusion have gained greater visibility in the public sphere. Masked forms of racism and local state discriminatory discourses and practices have received widespread coverage in the mass media. These new developments have moved the public and political debate beyond a rhetoric of denial of racism to a more focused debate on key questions regarding the nature of policies and measures necessary to deal with migrant communities. The need to identify and to develop adequate measures against discrimination and social exclusion have made it quite clear that immigration phenomena could no longer be dealt in terms of ad hoc and piecemeal political initiatives and strategies. Instead, the public debate has stressed the need for effective policies in dealing with immigration issues while recognizing a commitment for equal opportunity and dignity. This ideological shift towards social justice and mutual respect has prompted a wide range of measures and legal reforms targeting the integration and political participation of immigrants in the nation’s polity.

To what extent have legal and political interventions been effective in promoting equal opportunity among migrant populations residing in Portugal? How do official discourses and practices configure immigrants’ political participation in mainstream society? How do these policies filter down to the local state level and to the micro-level of everyday experience? How do central and local-level policies affect migrants’ collective organizing and the ways in which they
experience the host country? Finally what type of strategies and political agency are produced at the grassroots level in response to state policies and dominant power relations?

This thesis is an inquiry into these questions which seeks to contribute to an understanding of the relationship between the state and immigrant integration processes in post-colonial Portuguese society. Rather than focus on a macro approach to state responses to immigration, this study provides both a macro and micro framework to immigration politics. Such an approach offers a means for understanding how institutional settings and policies configure immigrants' integration patterns, specifically political participation, by focussing on the strategic implications of such policies at the local and micro-level of everyday life. Above all, this work is about how institutional contexts structure migrants' grassroots organizing, while enforcing specific subjectivities whereby immigrants become the object of manipulation and social control. This means that the institutional structuring of migrants' political participation cannot be dissociated from key issues of identity and political strategy.

The Nation-State and Immigration Politics

The debate on the nation-state and nationalism has become a central concern of the social sciences (Appadurai, 1996). The resurgence of nationalisms, ethnic strife, global migratory processes and the political integration of migrant communities have constituted major challenges to contemporary sociological theorizing. The extant literature has stressed the articulation between nationalism and migratory processes, addressing crucial issues posed by new migratory movements and the permanence of ethnic communities in the European context (Wrench & Solomos, eds., 1993).

An ever-growing sociological literature on nation-state responses to migration has tended to focus on macro analyses of national politics, citizenship, inequality, racism, social policy and the integration of ethnic immigrant communities (see for instance: Brubaker, 1992, 1996; Castles, 1993; Hammar, 1985; Layton-Henry, 1992; Miles, 1993; Rex, 1996; Schierup & Alund, 1990; Soysal, 1994). With a few exceptions (Back, 1993; Connolly, 1998; Willis, 1977) there has been a lack of work that engages in the articulation between macro and micro perspectives in
addressing the state and immigrants' integration processes. According to Appadurai (1996), despite the increasing engagement of anthropologists in nation-states phenomena (Friedman, 1990; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992; Hannerz, 1993) there is not yet a "framework for relating the global, the national and the local" (1996:188). Consequently, Appadurai argues for the need to develop an approach which would be sensitive to the global, diasporic and deterritorialized contexts of present-day's production of "locality" (ibid:189).

Contemporary sociological research has also indicated a shift from a more theoretically oriented research to the nation state to the problematics of the local (e.g., city) within a national and global context (see for instance: Cross, 1992; Cross & Keith, 1992; Rogers, 1992). Furthermore, the present concerns with policymaking and policy initiatives to improve migrants' living conditions have called for a more empirically grounded sociology addressing the actual functioning of central and local state institutions in dealing with immigrant populations. In the words of John Rex (1996:472): "From the viewpoint of a more empirically based sociology, however, the question is that of looking at the actual institutions which national societies and their cities set up for handling their relations with immigrant and other minorities." In a similar vein, Ireland's study (1994) of immigration politics in Europe calls for an empirical approach to immigration politics. By focussing on a local-level comparison, Ireland provides a better understanding of the dynamics of institutional settings and immigrants' political participation in the European context. His empirical analysis brings to the fore the ways in which institutional factors have been determinant in shaping immigrants' collective forms of organizing among migrant populations. Furthermore, Ireland unveils another important dimension of immigrants' mobilization processes in the host polity. Contrary to the predominant notions that immigrants are passive recipients of immigration policies and official discourses, Ireland claims that immigrants, "...those allegedly, least autonomous and influential of Western European social actors, have taken an increasingly active and undeniably political role in the last two decades" (1994:28).

Similarly, Boussetta's (1997) comparative analyses of Moroccan political participation in Dutch and French cities provides an empirical account of the mechanisms of political
incorporation at a local-level. In his analysis, Bousetta illustrates the ways in which policies and institutional factors affect immigrants' organizational strategies. For instance, in France, Bousetta contends that the institutional context has prevented the mobilization of the community in terms of ethnic factors. A different situation is observed in the Netherlands where "policy frameworks made it more advantageous for Moroccan organizations to mobilize a Moroccan ethnic identity" (1997:229). Yet, despite these major differences, Bousetta claims that Moroccan communities in both French and Dutch cities have failed to significantly influence policymaking. Co-optation and economic dependency have been key factors in the depoliticization of ethnic migrant communities.

Unlike other European countries, Portugal is only now discovering the tensions, the conflicts and the ambiguities that have shaped the theoretical debate and the research agenda on immigration and state policy. In fact, it was only in the last two decades that a new lexicon, that of interculturalism, multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, ethnicity, immigration policies and integration, has permeated the official discourses as well as the sociological and anthropological debate in Portugal.

Present-day literature on immigration has reflected the novel character of these phenomena in Portugal. Despite the considerable lack of research on immigration issues, a growing body of literature has addressed a multiplicity of themes concerning the presence of immigrant communities in Portugal. Broadly speaking, some of these inquiries have stressed the quantitative and juridical aspects of immigration (Esteves, ed., 1991; Pires & Saint-Maurice, 1989; Saint-Maurice, 1997), others have focussed on integration patterns of immigrants in the labour market (Baganha, 1996, 1998; Freire, 1991), and still others have centred on a more theoretically oriented debate on ethnicity and state policy responses to the migratory phenomena in Portugal (Machado, 1992a, 1992b, 1994; Rocha-Trindade, 1993, 1995). Yet, overall the literature on immigration has stressed the historical mapping of migratory influxes and socio-demographic accounts of migrant ethnic communities residing in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Bruto da Costa et al., 1991; Malheiros, 1996; Pimenta, 1992).
Despite the insightfulness and valuable contributions of such research, a lack of work that engages in the analysis of state’s responses to migrant communities and the ways in which policies configure migrants’ collective organizing and life strategies has been particularly conspicuous in the Portuguese social science research agenda. This thesis represents, therefore, an attempt to fill this lacuna. It seeks to provide an examination of the state’s responses to immigration and how these policies are instrumental in shaping the social production of space, identity processes and collective organizing. Thus the goal of the analysis is not the examination of two separate domains, two areas of inquiry and thereby the juxtaposition of two objects of analysis. Rather, it seeks to grasp the dynamics of the relationship between institutional frameworks and the multiple forms of migrants’ accommodation and resistance it engenders. In other words, central to this work is an attempt to bring into focus the interplay between state policies and migrants’ everyday life strategies and collective identity. Special attention is paid to the ways in which migrants become acutely engaged in developing new life strategies, taking advantage of the contradictions and ambiguities of the system while subverting fixed regimes of social domination.

Towards a Macro-Micro Framework to Immigration Politics

In this work I am concerned with the articulation of a macro/micro perspective as a means to explore present-day complex phenomena of immigration politics. For that I pursue a dual analytical trajectory. First, I examine in detail state policies and discourses on immigration. I show how state responses to the presence of migrant communities in Portugal are deeply intertwined with a reconfiguration of nationhood within the transnational arena of European citizenship. Furthermore, it is argued that while national discourses and political strategies have been closely tied to EU immigration and integration policies, local state intervention has endorsed multiple and conflicting discourses and practices on immigration. These, as Chapters IV, V and VI show, have been determinant in shaping migrants’ collective mobilization. Second, I explore the relationship between institutional power and grassroots immigrant activism. Through an ethnographic account of immigrants’ collective organizing in the squatter settlement of Alto da
Cova da Moura, in the periphery of Lisbon, I examine how state policies filter down to the micro-level of everyday life and shape the incorporation of migrant communities in Portuguese mainstream society.

**Portuguese Nation-State Responses to Immigration**

Immigration to Portugal is a recent and evolving phenomenon. Prior to Portugal’s entrance in the EU in 1986, the representation of immigrant communities residing in Portugal in terms of a broader framework of immigration policies, naturalization and integration was largely absent from the social and political discourse. However, the continuing inflows of immigrants, the mobilization of immigrant associations lobbying for political recognition, and, most importantly, the entrance of Portugal in the EU have been determinant factors in the politicisation of immigration and ethnicity (Lopes, 1999; Machado, 1997).

Santos’s work (1994) suggests that the entry of Portugal in the EU has contributed to a reformulation of the representational grid through which Portuguese perceive themselves and Others. The presumption of being at the centre, on equal footing with other European countries has prompted a redefinition of who constitutes the Other. In the new parameters of belonging, the Other became paradoxically those with whom Portugal has maintained strong historical, cultural and linguistic ties, namely the populations of the ex-colonies. Thus, as Santos claims, at the very heart of Portuguese national identity is a social imaginary of an European cultural identity which imposes a future by alienating the past (1994:132-136).

The conceptualization of the nation and national self-understanding as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) has opened up new ways to account for the shifting dimensions of these phenomena. Drawing on a postmodern account of the nation, this thesis stresses the fluid and historically contingent nature of Portuguese nationhood and the ways in which it articulates with the discourses and policies on immigration.

In the chapters to follow, I examine state responses to migrant communities through a study of state institutional contexts. Contrary to conventional immigration literature, which sees cultural and ethnic identity as fundamental factors in determining immigrants’ political participation
(Rex & Tomlinson, 1979; Richmond, 1988), I privilege the role played by the institutional setting in configuring immigrants' patterns of political incorporation.

Soysal's work (1994) on citizenship and the diverse European nation-states' "regime of incorporation" of immigrant communities has stressed the key role played by the state in facilitating or inhibiting migrants' collective organizing and membership in host societies. Similarly, Ireland (1994) in his analysis of immigrant political mobilization patterns in Europe emphasizes the impact of institutional frameworks on immigrants' political agency. In his work, Ireland argues that an "institutional channelling" perspective on immigrants' political behaviour better accounts for the ways in which immigrants have acted and reacted to shifting state policies and discourses.

Drawing on these authors' insights, I want to unveil the mechanisms through which the state configures migrants' collective organizing and participation in Portuguese society. However, unlike Ireland and Soysal, I pay close attention to how state policies impact on migrants' everyday practices and grassroots collective organizing. I want to show how institutional discourses and practices impinge on immigrants' processes of identification and structure their political strategies. As Escobar and Alvarez has rightly pointed out regarding social movements in Latin America:

One must look at the micro level of everyday practices and their imbrication with larger processes of development, patriarchy, capital and the state. How these forces find their way into people's lives, their effects on people's identity and social relations and people's responses and "uses" of them have to be examined through a close engagement and reading of popular actions. (1992:82)

**Grassroots Collective Mobilization and Life Strategies**

In accounting for the interplay between state policies and immigrants' local organizing and life strategies, I propose an analytical framework which draws on the theoretical insights of Bourdieu's work (1990) and on a post-structuralist approach to the discursive nature of social reality and the power-laden processes of identity formation.

Bourdieu's concepts of *habitus, field and capital* provide a medium to transcend the conventional conceptual dichotomies between macro and micro levels of analysis. Bourdieu's theory of practice and its application to the study of migratory phenomena is of crucial importance
to unravel the complexities of social identity construction processes. First, field analysis encourages a close examination of the struggles produced in different social formations (national, local, interpersonal relations) over specific forms of capital. As Chapter II shows, it is within the field of national politics that discourses and immigrant policies are devised. These have been fundamental in structuring migrants' patterns of social, political and economic incorporation in Portuguese mainstream society. A second field relates to local state intervention (Chapter IV), Here I examine how national level policies are appropriated and reworked while new discourses and practices are produced. The tensions and the conflicts emerging between these two fields had a crucial impact on immigrants' organizational structure and political strategies. The third field is defined in terms of the neighbourhood. There, one can see how national and local state discourses impinge and structure grassroots-level collective organizing and migrants' life chances. As we will see, institutional frameworks were of major importance in shaping migrants' collective mobilization and participation patterns. In this field the unveiling of the struggles over different forms of capital (social, economic, political and symbolic) are articulated with local official strategies. Finally, a fourth field will address intergroup relations (Chapter VII) where dominant power relations constitute a site of struggle, accommodation and resistance.

The identification of various fields in the social formation enables one to contextualize migrants' collective identity processes within a wider context of social relations and structural conditions. The second issue that Bourdieu's work bring to the fore with great pertinence to this dissertation is the notion of *habitus*. The idea that individuals have a multiplicity of habitus depending on the number of fields in which they are involved is most useful to appreciate the complexities underlying the construction processes of social identity.

Post-structuralist approaches to the social and the subject have been particularly sensitive to the multiple, unstable and historically contingent nature of identity. Foucault's work (1980) on the interplay between power and knowledge has been instrumental in unravelling the processes through which subjects are constituted and social realities are imagined. To this extent subjectivities have to be understood not outside but within power relations. Although Foucault has not addressed in his work migrant ethnic minorities, these insights are of great
pertinence for the analysis of state responses to cultural diversity. For, as this thesis argues, policies and institutional discourses not only configure collective organization but also they produce specific subjectivities which become internalized and contested by immigrant populations. As my empirical research shows, immigrants' collective organizing has been, to a large extent, structured by dominant institutional power. Moreover, institutional social regulation can hardly be dissociated from the production and reproduction of specific subjectivities (e.g., immigrants, ethnic minorities, illegals, criminals, marginals). These become sites of struggle and of collective action for alternative social, political and cultural meanings.

The recent literature on social movements have stressed the multiplicity of social actors who seek autonomy in a highly fragmented social and political field. More importantly, it brings to fore the articulation of social movements in terms of collective identities and political strategy. The central argument is that social action involves the negotiation and the production of new meanings. In this sense, collective action not only involves political struggles over power but also a struggle over cultural identities (Escobar, 1995; Jelin, 1990). According to these authors, it is precisely at the level of everyday life that “today's forms of protest emerge and exert their action and influence” (Escobar & Alvarez, 1992:4). The data presented in this thesis provide further evidence that, given historically specific contexts, immigrants have responded to policy constraints by resorting to alternative forms of organization and political strategies. These have tended to shy away from conventional forms of politics in favour of collective or individual action developed at the level of everyday practices.

In sum, this thesis emerges at the juncture of various theoretical strands of present-day social research. It also relates to contemporary policy debates about the changing nature of European and Portuguese immigration politics. Contrary to conventional research on state responses to immigration and diversity, this work claims that one needs to move beyond the study of macro-level policies and structural dynamics of nation-states' membership rights and address how policies and discourses on otherness are realized at the micro-level of everyday life. Policy implementation and the ways in which migrants experience state policies is of utmost relevance to understand today's challenges of diversity and democracy. How do migrant
populations living in the margins articulate their demands within a democratic polity? To what extent is collective action an effective means for creating alternative democratic spaces for full participation in face of the state's manipulation and control of migrants' communities? Why does not the extension of citizenship rights to immigrant populations necessarily translate to a higher level of participation and influence in the host polity? The examination of immigrants' grassroots social and political dynamics provides important insights into the functioning of democratic institutions and how often they constitute themselves as vehicles for enhancing democracy as well as a medium through which disadvantaged groups become the object of categorization, marginalization and social control.

**Methodological and Ethical Issues**

This thesis is based on an in-depth study of the interplay between state policy and migrants' integration patterns in Portuguese society. More specifically, it focuses on how immigration policies operate locally, shaping migrants' collective organizing. Using the Municipality of Amadora and the migrant squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura as a case study I wish to identify and closely investigate the dynamics of local policies and the ways in which these are instrumental in promoting or preventing migrants' political integration and full participation in mainstream society.

The Municipality of Amadora was well suited for the work undertaken here for various reasons. After the municipality of Lisbon, Amadora is the city with the highest concentration of immigrant African population in the country (Lopes, 1999; Malheiros, 1997). Furthermore, in the late 1980s and in the 1990s the Municipality of Amadora championed a wide range of integration measures and set up a formal consultative body for its immigrant populations. Also, local efforts to mobilize the associational movement were extended to immigrant populations. Funding and organizational support for local migrant organizations as well as political patronage significantly affected migrants' organizational and political activity. Regarding the forms of migrants' political activity I draw and extend on Ireland's typology (1994) of immigrants' political action. In his work on immigration politics, Ireland puts forward three major types of political participation. The first is
"homeland oriented participation" in which political activity is directed towards the country of origin. In this case, consular services, trade union movements and political parties in the country of origin encourage specific forms of organization. The presence or absence of sending countries' lobbies for immigrants' welfare benefits and social and political rights in the host countries are perceived as important factors in influencing immigrants' political orientations. A second participatory form relates to "institutional participation." This refers to the establishment of institutional channels to deal with immigrant communities. Nation-states have over time promoted and in some instances restricted the development of channels for immigrants' participation in the host polity. These institutional structures might centre on "class and/or ethnic participation" opening-up avenues for integration through trade unions, political parties and other institutional bodies. The third form of participation concerns "confrontational" participation activities. These emerge outside the legal and institutional frameworks available. Usually these political activities involve public protest and illegal actions. Yet, according to Ireland, confrontational political participation cannot be reduced to autonomous acts of civil disobedience, for in specific contexts "indigenous institutions and social actors can mobilize immigrants to abandon institutional routes to political access and opt for confrontational forms" (1994:26). However, Ireland warns that "in-channels" of political participation vary according to national institutional settings. That is, what may constitute a "legal" political activity in one country, in other countries may constitute an "out-channel" (non-institutionalized) activity. In sum, the legal and political framework in host societies determines, ultimately, the salience of specific forms of political intervention.

To these forms of political participation, I would like to add one more in order to account for the empirical evidence presented in this thesis. This form is transnational participation in which political activity is directly tied to membership in international activities and networks. In the last two decades, a process of internationalization of migrants' collective organizing have been determinant in configuring migrants' political participation patterns. As Soysal (1994) claims "postnational" forms of membership have been most pervasive in reconfiguring migrants' political strategies. The research conducted in this work tends to support these findings. Immigrants'
associational movements have been increasingly linked to transnational forms of organization. Participation in international networks, institutions and program partnerships have not only enlarged migrants' space of membership but also has proved instrumental in the articulation of claims and political activities within a broader institutional framework which transcend local and national boundaries (Chapter IV). However, the transnationalization of political activity can hardly be reduced to migrants' collective organizing. The emergence of "postnational" forms of citizenship anchored on universalistic conceptions of rights and personhood have been crucial in shaping nation-states' policy guidelines and institutional measures towards immigrants.

More recently, the Portuguese policy discourse on migrant communities has reflected a "human rights approach" to immigration stressing equal opportunities and the individual fundamental rights to education, health, housing, the law and cultural and religious difference (see Chapter III). These new developments in membership politics have major consequences for policy formulation and immigrants' political options and strategies. As will be discussed in the following chapters immigrants' political activity cannot be reduced to one form of political participation. Instead, immigrants tend to devise a large number of strategies in pursuing their interests and claims.

This data was collected in the period between 1997-1999. I conducted thirty interviews with national and local state officials responsible for immigration issues, trade union leaders, community activists, national and local-level immigrant association leaders, religious and non-governmental representatives, politicians and social workers. I have attended numerous workshops, conferences and meetings organized by institutional agencies that cater to immigrants and by immigrant associations operating in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. I have also participated in various cultural and social activities promoted by national and local migrants' associations. Participation in these multiple events provided valuable information and insights into the dynamics of migrants' collective organizing and host institutions. Aside from the interviews and participant observation in these numerous engagements, data was also compiled from a wide range of sources available: government official documents, policy papers, bulletins, official and non-official statistical information (e.g., government institutions and local
associations), research reports, publications from trade unions, non-governmental associations, newspaper articles and from the Catholic Church [Obra Católica das Migrações (Catholic Department for Migrations)]. I have also made use of migrant associations' annual reports, brochures, statutes, research projects' guidelines and final reports and other documentation issued by these organizations.

The ethnographic research was conducted in the migrant squatter neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura in the Municipality of Amadora in the periods 1995-1996 and 1997-1999. This neighbourhood was chosen for several reasons. First, it is the most densely populated migrant enclave in Portugal. It is rather difficult to provide an accurate estimate of the total population residing presently in this neighbourhood. Local official sources estimate the total population to be approximately 6000 (Municipality of Amadora, 1995). Of these, roughly, 3200 are residents from the Capeverdean Islands, and the remaining are from the Portuguese ex-colonies of Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and S. Tomé e Principe. There is also a considerable number of Portuguese returnees from the former African colonies, internal migrants and ex-emigrants who had lived previously in European countries. Regarding illegal immigration, it is not possible to obtain even a reasonable estimate, however, according to information provided by residents numbers have increased substantially in the 1990s. Second, despite migrants' high mobility, the majority of the population has resided in the settlement for the last fifteen years (Municipality of Amadora, 1995). This seems to suggest a well-established community which has been directly affected by major social, political and ideological developments in Portuguese society. Third, due to the large size of the settlement, central and municipal policies have been sensitive to infrastructure and social problems facing migrant residents. The settlement has been targeted for a wide range of institutional measures from multicultural folkloric displays to anti-racist campaigns and integration programs. Some of these initiatives have been clouded by ambiguous policy strategies and conflict. Thus, the imbrication of institutional structures in the social reality of this community emerges as a central feature of migrants' lives in the settlement. Fourth, the establishment and development of local neighbourhood organizations, the Residents Association (Associação de Moradores do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura) and its satellite organization the
Sports and Leisure Club of Alto da Cova da Moura (Clube Desportivo e Recreativo do Alto da Cova da Moura) and the Cultural Association “Moinho da Juventude” (Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude) have been of crucial importance in structuring the spatial, social, cultural and political relations in the neighbourhood. The analysis of the interplay between these grassroots organizations and host polity institutions opens up new ways to envision how institutional settings conditions migrants’ collective organizing and shapes migrants’ life strategies and identity.

Rather than focus on national and municipal state responses to immigration (Ireland, 1994), I explore the interface between those who have the power to categorize and to enforce specific “truths” (Foucault, 1972) and those who became the object of such categorizations and knowledge. To this end, I am proposing the articulation between different “fields” (national and local) and the ways in which social meanings are negotiated and fought out at the micro-level of everyday practices.

When I started fieldwork in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura in March 1995, I was part of a research team from the CEMRI at the Open University in Lisbon. At the time, we were involved in a pioneer social research project which aimed at the production of audio-visual and written materials for a distance education course “Sociology of Migrations.” Eight video documentaries had already been produced on Migrations and the Portuguese diaspora and the last two addressed immigration issues in Portugal. A previous contact had been already established between the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude in the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura and the CEMRI in 1993 (Associação Cultural Moinho da Juventude). The folk group “Batuque” operating at the Association “Moinho da Juventude” had been contacted to perform at a cultural initiative promoted by the Centre “Sintonia Intercultural.” After my first visits to the neighbourhood I decided that Cova da Moura constituted a privileged place of observation given its migrant and ethnic heterogeneity and local activism. After a year of fieldwork I and a colleague, a visual anthropologist, produced two visual documentaries Os Netos da Avó Pim (“The Grandchildren of Grandma Pim”) and Entre Imagens (“Between Images”). The first film dealt with the life strategies of one of the oldest residents, Avó Pim and her family who had
settled in the neighbourhood in the 1970s. The film concerned the educational trajectories of her grandchildren in Portugal, the school responses to the new problematics of immigration and the ways in which the children appropriated and negotiated the space and the school norms. The second documentary *Entre Imagens* focussed on the local dynamics of one of the neighbourhood local organizations, the Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude." In this documentary special emphasis was given to the organization's structure and rationale and to the personal narratives of those directly involved in the association's activities.

During this first year in the field (1995-1996), I focussed on residents' life histories. Open-ended interviews were conducted with several pioneer families and also with newcomer residents. Also, data was collected on migrants' representations of state institutions and policies through oral narratives and numerous informal conversations. In my first contacts with the neighbourhood it became apparent that its residents were engaged in a complex network of multiple economic, social and cultural contexts which were not geographically confined but stretched over local, national and international boundaries. Multi-local attachments, boundary-crossing life strategies, hybrid cultural configurations and practices were most prominent among the neighbourhood residents. The complexity of migrants' practices and multiple spaces of identification brought to the fore crucial issues of culture and spatiality.

In contemporary anthropological debate, the inadequacy of essentialist notions of culture, space and people has prompted a redefinition of such fixed categorizations. The central argument is that essentialist concepts have tended to conflate culture with spatiality thereby providing accounts of migrant populations as spatially bounded and culturally unified communities (Caglar, 1997; Clifford, 1992; Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). As Caglar (1997) suggests migration studies need to move beyond a vision of cultural groups as territorialized and spatially defined communities. This thesis research design draws on these current debates and attempts to question taken-for-granted sociological and anthropological notions which conflate identity, and culture with a bounded community. However, such theoretical considerations do not imply working against a notion of "community." On the contrary, of particular importance is the investigation of the ways in which immigrants' place of settlement—the neighbourhood, the slum,
the ghetto—provide cognitive, social and identity maps within which political action is made possible. In the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, the politicization of space has assumed multiple contours and dimensions. For the majority of the residents, it has become an important parameter of their living experiences in the host society as well as the locus of identity formation and political agency.

In the first period of fieldwork, 1995-1996, people living in the neighbourhood asked me endless times what I was doing in the "bairro." When I told them that I was studying they felt discouraged and many retorted "That's not a reason. Studying is for people who have nothing better to do." Such replies openly questioned anthropological postmodern notions that power asymmetries can somehow be diluted by the construction of an open dialogue between the ethnographer and the Other (Tyler, 1986). But can they? The people with whom I worked did not think so. Despite all the mutual trust, friendship and intimacy that developed throughout the two different periods of fieldwork, for the residents "studying them" or the neighbourhood was not a legitimate position. They refuse to be "an object of study" even when that implies openness and collaboration, because they reject the power asymmetries that such positioning engenders. As De Certeau rightly points out "every position of knowledge that established as an object a category of people implies by definition a relationship of force and domination" (1997:198). To this extent, postmodern stress on dialogue and polyphony does not resolve the "subject/object" power-laden relationship. Rather it uncovers the contradictions inherent in ethnographic practices.

By questioning my position as a researcher, the people in the neighbourhood uncovered the power relations that are implicated in the construction of a category, an object of research, a "cultural translation." For them, the ethnographer, the researcher, cannot be apolitical. The "innocence" of an open dialogue is a situation that does not exist. People at Cova da Moura do not allow the researcher to float. On the contrary they inscribe him or her in a place where there is no room for a "neutral dialogue." For them, there is no such thing as an apolitical person, the ethnographer has to show what one can do to improve their living conditions.
My responses to these challenges were often ambiguous and conflicting. On the one hand, I was in the neighbourhood with a purpose, a research agenda which did not involve the advocacy of specific interests but rather the critical examination of closely defined social, cultural and political processes. On the other hand, witnessing exploitation, marginalization and often sub-human living conditions, I felt that non-commitment and aloofness on my part could not only compromise my research objectives but also, and most importantly, it raised questions about my own human condition. As Bourdieu has insightfully argued the "knowing subject" cannot be reduced to a "register device" (1977:164). Instead he suggests that:

...facts are made, fabricated, constructed...observations are not independent of theory...the ethnologist and its informants are collaborators in a work of interpretation, the informants proposing to the ethnologist, following an entirely special rhetoric of presentation, the "explanations" they invent as a function of their notion of their expectations and at the cost of a truly theoretical effort, one implying the assumption of a an extraordinary stance induced by the interrogatory situation itself. (1977:165)

The ethnographic material presented in this work results from a process of negotiation with the people with whom I worked. It is a work of interpretation mediated by a web of experiences, significations which we have spun and where "there is no absolute perspective, and no valid way to eliminate consciousness from our activities and those of others" (Rabinow, 1997:151). Ultimately, it is a project that carries the mark of its own construction, that is, of an interpretation which is historically contingent, emerging at the juncture of specific epistemological, ethical, material, social and political constraints.

In 1997 when I returned to the fieldwork after enrolling in the doctoral program at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Simon Fraser University I went to Maria's house and asked her to be my informant. I had met Maria in 1995 and I was particularly interested in her complex migratory experience in Portugal, the United States of America and in Germany. Maria was a Capeverdean woman, commuting between Germany and Portugal. In the early 1990s she decided to build the house of her dreams in Cova da Moura. Maria was a very intelligent, highly articulate woman with a vast network of contacts in the neighbourhood. Those contacts proved to be most useful to gain access to the Residents Commission leaders.
In this second period of fieldwork I focussed particularly on the dynamics of the two local associations in terms of their role in community-based activism and their relationship with state institutions. I was also interested in Maria’s life story and in the processes of construction of her house in the neighbourhood. The house constituted a microcosm transversed by a multiplicity of local and translocal, social, cultural, economic and political processes. The construction of Maria’s house afforded a privileged space from which it was possible to examine the nature of her relationship with the state and local organizations. It also allowed for the analysis of how residents negotiate and contest local power relations and produce new and alternative social meanings.

Also, from 1997 and 1999 I produced the film *The House of Maria Fruta* which tells the story of Maria’s “dream house.” The film evokes Maria’s life experiences in Germany, Portugal and Cape Verde, focussing on the processes of construction of her house and on the nature of her interaction with local organizations and state agencies. In this sense, the house becomes a powerful metaphor for the conflicts, ambivalences and the contradictions that shape her daily life. As will be discussed in Chapter VII, the film constituted not only a method of research but also an object of analysis, opening up new spaces of social inquiry.

The ethnographic research conducted in the two local organizations, the Residents’ Association and the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude focussed on these organizations discourses, practices and relations with neighbourhood residents and state institutions. At the Residents’ Association I conducted multiple open-ended interviews and informal conversations with the directors of the organization, and several resident families who have been directly and indirectly engaged in the organization. Data was also collected from the association archives, brochures, statutes and other documentation. I have also attended their cultural and social activities. Regarding the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude I conducted semi-structured and open-ended interviews with its directors and members of their staff. In 1998 I closely investigated the implementation of an integration program targeting 105 neighbourhood families and their pre-school children. The program’s main objectives were the prevention of school drop-outs and the creation of job opportunities for the neighbourhood unemployed women. From
September 1998 to March 1999 I interviewed all the directors, coordinators and workers involved in the project. Overall, a total of twenty in-depth interviews were conducted. Also, I interviewed approximately fifteen families involved in the project. During this period I attended professional training courses, staff meetings and social gatherings promoted by the project.

The combination of structured and informal interviews, participant observation and other secondary material provided me with an overall picture of how the organization responds to institutional discourses and practices and how, in turn, it configures, through its practices and rationality, local social relations and collective action. While most of those with whom I worked showed sensitivity and openness towards my research objectives, others became rather suspicious when, in accordance with Simon Fraser University’s research ethics policy, I introduced “informed consent forms” in the field. For some, the consent forms were meaningless for they trusted they and me knew that I would never betray that trust. Others simply refused to sign the forms and became very apprehensive as a consequence of such request. Some even withdrew and refused to be interviewed because they began to associate me with the secret police or with some law enforcement agency. Still others felt honoured with the request and clearly conveyed to me that all the information and my interpretation of the “factors” would have to be negotiated and somehow “approved” by them. Given this situation, I had several meetings with the directors of the two associations and with staff members of the Association of Moinho da Juventude to discuss my findings. Regarding the Moinho da Juventude organization, there was little consensus amongst the directors of the project “O Pulo” concerning the functioning of the program. Divergent perceptions and approaches to migrants’ integration were mainly responsible for unresolved tensions and ambiguities amongst those in charge of this project. My interpretation and discussion of this program reflects, therefore, the struggles and tensions which permeated its implementation.

Overall, the consent forms gave them a sense of power over me and more importantly it legitimated, to a certain extent, the exercise of control over my work. The introduction of consent forms had complex implications for the dynamics of fieldwork for it makes the fieldworker excessively vulnerable to manipulation and even ostracism. Ultimately, the ethical concerns
underwriting the formulation of such consent forms by the Simon Fraser University Research Ethics Review Committee has unwittingly produced a hierarchy of knowledge, a "truth" which shapes the conditions under which knowledge is produced while "making us believe that liberation is in the balance" (Foucault, 1990:159). This thesis is thus informed by these constraints, acknowledging the extent to which sociological and anthropological inquiry is as much about the politics of knowledge production as about furthering knowledge itself.

Overview of the Thesis

This thesis sets out to unpack the relationship between migrants' grassroot activism and institutional structures of power. Through both a macro and micro approach to immigration politics, I argue that state policies and institutional arrangements are not only key to immigrants' patterns of political participation, but also these structures are crucial in producing specific categorizations and subjectivities which shape collective identities and conditions immigrants' life chances.

In Chapter II I seek to contribute to the development of a dual analytical framework, providing the theoretical underpinnings of this research inquiry. In the first part of the chapter, a critical analysis of present-day sociological literature on the nation, nationalism and migration studies is presented. Also, special focus is given to the institutional determinants of migrants' political participation. In the second part I discuss Bourdieu's theory of practice and draw on a post-structuralist approach to the subject and power relations in order to account for the micro-politics of immigrants' collective mobilization and political participation patterns.

Chapter III is intended as an examination of Portuguese responses to immigration since 1974. It presents the major policy shifts in national policy and the ways these articulate with changing notions of national self-understanding. Particular attention is given to the dynamics of Portugal's integration in the European Union and the impact of European migration policies on Portuguese policymaking. Central to this chapter is the examination of national policy responses to the presence and establishment of migrant ethnic communities concerning their patterns of incorporation in mainstream society.
Chapter IV focuses on local state policies on immigration and migrants' political participation. The case study of the Municipality of Amadora where I have conducted fieldwork is presented as an illustration of how national policies are appropriated and reworked at a local-level. The examination of official discourses and practices shows how institutional power imposes specific subjectivities (e.g., illegals, marginals, victims) and social realities while it marginalizes others. This chapter provides a broader context for the ethnographic analysis undertaken in the following chapters.

Chapter V explores the social construction of the migrant squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura in the Municipality of Amadora. Ethnographic research focussed on how dominant discourses and practices shaped social relations and migrants' collective identity. By highlighting these processes, I also stress the role of local power asymmetries in configuring social practices and boundary maintenance processes in the neighbourhood. Also of particular importance is the racialized nature of dominant representations and the ways these are contested at a grassroots level.

Chapter VI is intended to show in detail the interplay between the neighbourhoods' migrant organizations and local state institutions. The case study of the two local organizations show the multiplicity of strategies and alliances made by each organization with various institutional sites (local, national and international). By directing attention to the local implementation of urban development policies, I stress the links between state policymaking, grassroots organizing and identity construction processes. With respect to the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude I focus on a case study of an integration program to better illustrate the ways in which transnational models of social intervention impact on local-level activism. This study also points out how the association's logic and rationalities engender specific social realities and shape collective forms of mobilization and political agency.

In Chapter VII I focus on the life narrative of a Capeverdean woman residing in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura. The chapter is intended to show how institutional power configures this woman's life strategies and sense of self-worth. By shedding light on concrete everyday practices, I stress the struggles over issues of representation, power and
agency. In a second part I address the processes of production of the film on Maria's life strategies *The House of Maria Fruta*. The film evokes a space of negotiation of social meanings and a metaphor of resistance and empowerment.

Finally, the concluding chapter draws out some of the major implications of Portuguese state responses to immigration in relation to both broader political processes and to local concrete forms of policymaking and identity politics.
Chapter Notes

1 This and all other translations from Portuguese are my own.
CHAPTER II:
THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study sets out to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between the state and immigrant political participation. Rather than focussing on a macro national political discourse alone, I wish to investigate how official discourses and practices on immigration manifest at the various levels of the social formation and come to shape migrants' collective organizing and political agency. What type of subjectivities do the official discourse on immigration enable? How is the discourse on immigration tied to the production of still other discourses, namely those of exclusion and integration? How do these discourses filter down to the local state level, and to the micro-level of everyday experience and how do they affect migrants' identity and collective organizing? What type of strategies and political agency are engendered at a grassroots level in response to state policies and dominant power relations? My inquiry into these questions seeks to provide an alternate approach to the study of nation-state, nationalism and migration.

The historical and theoretical examination of the phenomena of the nation, migration and ethnicity have tended to focus on macro-level analyses. Major studies have concentrated on issues of national politics, inequality and racial discrimination, social policy and integration of ethnic migrant communities (for an overview see Rex, 1996). My perspective differs from those studies on two accounts. First, I am concerned with the articulation of macro/micro perspectives as a means to explore present-day complex phenomena of immigration politics. At a macro level, state policies on immigration are examined within an overall framework of national identity discursive practices and transnational processes of membership. Furthermore, I will draw on the work of Ireland (1994), and Soysal (1994) on the institutional “channelling” to account for migrants’ collective participation patterns in the Portuguese polity. Here, contrary to the “race/ethnic paradigm” which stresses the determinancy of ethnic identity in immigrants’ political
participation in the host society, I emphasize the role of the institutional structures and discursive practices in shaping immigrant collective identities and political mobilization.

At a micro level, an ethnographic account of immigrant collective mobilization and grassroots activism contributes to an understanding of migrants' response to the contradictory nature of immigration state policies. I concentrate on an empirically based sociology of practice (Bourdieu, 1989) to explore the relationship between institutional power and grassroots immigrant activism. Since I wish to investigate the micro-politics of state policy and migrants’ collective organizing I will draw a poststructuralist approach to power and identity to explain how state policies filter down to the level of everyday life and configure migrants' political patterns of participation and life chances.

Nation, Nationalism and the Immigrant Challenge

In the last three decades, the response of Portuguese state institutions to the presence of migrant ethnic communities residing in Portugal can hardly be understood without focussing on the complex relationship between nationalism, ethnicity and identity-formation processes. These are the three main axes informing contemporary academic debate and research on modern nationalism and multicultural nation-states.

The literature on nationalism has been writing itself between an essentialist perspective grounded on ethnic belonging and a non-essentialist stance that problematizes the nation in terms of a cultural and ideological construction of modernity, an “imagined community”, an “invention” (Anderson, 1991[1983]; Gellner, 1983; Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983). Benedict Anderson's influential book *Imagined Communities* (1983) treats the nation as an imagined identity construction. Such theorization of the nation and national identity as being socially constructed has opened up new ways to envision the shifting and historically contingent nature of these phenomena.

Drawing on Anderson's analysis, postmodernist theorizing on the subject and the social has constituted a major challenge to the previously held notions of identity, ethnicity and the nation. Within the sociological literature on nationalism and ethnic relations this has meant a
progressive shift from a primordialist/instrumentalist polarized debate on ethnic belonging and nationhood to new conceptual formulations focussing on the plural, fluid and historically specific nature of nationhood and ethnicity (Bhabha, 1990; Hall, 1992, 1996; Rattansi & Westwood, 1994). Echoing and expanding on a postmodern approach to the discursive nature of the nation and social reality I will address the shifting and contradictory nature of Portuguese immigration policies produced at the national and local-levels of the social formation and the ways in which these policies shape immigrant collective identities.

At the turn of the millennium, the study of nationalism remains elusive. The field has been riven by a wide range of theoretical approaches and paradigms which have enlarged our understanding of ethnic and national phenomena. Yet, no general theory or a paradigmatic convergence has been developed to address the many and multiple challenges of present-day national and ethnic reality. Research and theoretical contributions to national phenomena have been centred around three major paradigms: perennialism, modernism and postmodernism. Before critically discussing these three major approaches, I would like to briefly outline the proceeding primordialist-instrumentalist debate for it has informed and shaped the current debates on nationalism and ethnicity.

Scholars like Geertz (1973) and Van den Berghe (1979) have held that nations and nationalism are grounded on “primordial” attributes such as language, religion, kinship and territory which generate strong sentiments of cultural belonging. For Geertz ethnicity and nationalism are rooted on the “primordiality” of “cultural givens” to which people are born. These primordial ties remain vital even in secular modern societies. In examining the emergence of new states in Africa and Asia, Geertz contends that “primordial ties” of language, custom, race and religion constituted the social and cultural cement that bound people together. These underlying cultural ties, he claims, are the source of tension and conflict in multi-ethnic states which try to impose a new social order grounded on civic ties. He further argues that the rise of modern states and of an unified political consciousness are rent by conflicting forces. For it stimulates primordial sentiments, “communality” and “racialism” among the different ethnic groups which compete amongst themselves for the new state order.
While Geertz's approach stresses the cultural dimension of primordial attachments, Van den Berghe provides a unique sociobiological approach to ethnicity and nationalism. Central to his argument is that ethnic groups and nations should be seen as extended forms of kin groups and that ethnic groups, nations and race are derived from the genetic reproductive drive of individuals. For Pierre Van den Berghe the nation "is an extension of kin selection" and so nations should be treated as descent groups. The crucial issue is to unravel the ways individuals attempt to maximize their genetic fitness through "nepotism", favouring kin over non-kin (Van den Berghe, 1978, 1979). For Van den Berghe ethnic groups are thus seen as in-breeding large groups which maintain clear delineated territorial boundaries with other ethnic groups. Furthermore, ethnic sentiments are to be understood as an extension of kin selection and nepotism.

Geertz and Van den Berghe’s arguments have come in for a good deal of criticism. The instrumentalist critique of primordialism rests on the argument that ethnic ties are not a “given” but instead they are socially constituted. Paul Brass (1991) in his critique of primordialist approaches has highlighted some of its major limitations. According to Brass, primordialists’ conceptions of ethnicity do not allow for the shifting nature of ethnic ties and solidarities. He sees religion, national and ethnic bonds as flexible and malleable, changing according to specific social, political and historical contexts. He further argues that ethnicity and nationality are not grounded on the immutability of primordial bonds, but rather they are sites and resources which can be mobilized by the elites in the pursuit of specific political and social goals. For Brass, there are various kinds of elites mobilizing popular masses through a selection of multiple symbols and traditions. Competition among different elites produces a politicized notion of culture that changes the self-definition of an ethnic group to a national group. Thus, cohesive nationalities result from elite mobilization of the masses through symbolic manipulation.

The primordialist and instrumentalist debate has been deeply implicated in structuring the perennialist and the modernist accounts of the nation and nationalism. The following is a brief discussion of these two major paradigms.
**The Perennialist Paradigm**

For the perennialists the nation is seen as resulting essentially from immemorial ethnic ties rather than from processes of modernization. In this view, ethnicity and nationalism are the same phenomena. Nations are updated versions of perennial ethnic communities or collective identities that have been long formed. As Fishman (1972) argues, ethnic communities undergo change yet their mutability can hardly challenge the deeply rooted traditions, history, customs and a sense of intimate belonging that is passed from generation to generation. A similar argument is taken by Connor (1994) who stresses the psychological, emotional dimension of ethnicity and the immemorial and ancestral essence of ethnic attachments. Regarding the rise of nations and nationalisms he argues that nations are recent phenomena and modernization a potent force in stimulating "ethno-nationalisms" across the globe. The issue then becomes how to reconcile a perennialist account of ethnic communities with a modernist historical perspective of the nation. Armstrong (1982) attempts to come to grips with this question by arguing that the "nation" is a modern form of perennial ethnic groups and collective identities. Drawing on Barth's analysis of group boundary maintenance, Armstrong sees the rise and demise of ethnic sentiments as being historically specific. In this vein, his notion of ethnicity and national identities is better understood within a "recurrent" framework rather than a continuous version of perennialism. He stresses that ethnic identity, despite its long-standing myths, symbols and customs, is not immutable but rather it emerges, changes, and dissolves throughout the times.

Overall, underlying the perennialist approach lies the questions of the "given" nature of the nation as opposed to a socially constructed identity; the antiquity of the nation as opposed to its modern emergence, and finally the cultural versus the political dimension of nationalism. These dichotomies have also informed the modernist account of the nation and of nationalism.

**The Modernist Paradigm**

The modernist model encompasses a wide range of approaches to the study of nationalism. Common to these approaches is the notion that nations and nationalisms emerge out of processes of modernization. Its major proponents, Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm (1990), agree that nationalism is a modern construction. Yet, their major arguments
differ regarding the emphasis they give to the determining factors in nation formation. For example, Gellner’s theory (1964, 1983) stresses that nations and nationalism are intrinsically linked to industrialism. In fact, nations are seen as been functional to modern industrial societies. Industrialization requires cultural standardization, homogeneity and individual mobility which are only possible by creating an uniform, competent body of citizens. In turn, this is only possible through large-scale public mass education controlled by the state. In a later version of his theory, Gellner (1983) elaborates further on the relationship between nationalism and industrialism. First, he explains the non-existence of nationalism in a pre-modern world. Secondly, he establishes the different phases of industrialization and suggests why ethnic secession emerges in the later phases; third, he presents a typology of nationalisms taking into account cultural diversity, education and power.

Gellner’s theory has been criticized on many counts.\(^3\) A major criticism centres on the question of causality. If nationalism was prompted by the specific processes of industrialization how, then, to account for those nationalist movements which have emerged before the arrival of industrialism. Here, Anderson (1996) criticizes Gellner on the count that he underestimates the cultural and the historical underpinnings of nationalism. The result is an inability to explain how and why nations and nationalisms have emerged in certain contexts and not in others.\(^4\)

Benedict Anderson’s (1991) seminal work *Imagined Communities* emphasizes the cultural and subjective dimension of nations and nationalisms. Anderson suggests that nations are cultural artefacts, “imagined communities” which emerged at the end of the eighteenth century. The imagined character of the nation has four major dimensions: 1) it is imagined in the sense that the members of the community will never know most of their fellow members but live as if they did; 2) the nation is imagined as limited even if its boundaries are flexible; 3) it is imagined as sovereign because in the Age of Enlightenment and revolutions nations sought to be sovereign; 4) it is imagined as a community because “regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as deep, horizontal comradeship” (*ibid*:67).
For Anderson, the nation as an imagined political community came into being as a result of print-capitalism. As he claims: "What in a positive sense made the new communities imaginable as a half-fortuitous, but explosive, interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communication (print) and the fatality of human linguistic diversity" (ibid:42-43). Capitalism was determinant in structuring print-languages within specific grammatical and syntactical limits and by so doing these print-languages encouraged the development and growth of national consciousness. This was attained by the creation of a standard language which conveyed a sense of national antiquity; by creating intermediate fields of communication between Latin and local vernaculars and finally by creating a hierarchy of languages inscribed in dominant relations of power. Furthermore, there are other cultural expressions of the nation that are as important as print to the formation of the nation and the spread of nationalism. These manifestations, be they song, dance, rituals, monuments, films, artwork or sport, are, unlike print, more accessible to the popular masses and become an integral part of the daily lives of the people.

Like Anderson, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) have stressed the cultural dimension of the nation and nationalism. For both authors the nation is a cultural artifact whose narrative and discourses need to be uncovered and deconstructed. Hobsbawm argues that nations and nationalism are best understood as national traditions which have been invented in response to rapid social change. His argument is that nations are grounded not so much on antiquity but "are historically novel and largely invented" (ibid:12).

In analysing specific case studies in colonial Africa, India, Scotland and Wales, Hobsbawm points out the modern and invented character of a wide range of ceremonies, and rituals by state elites. Official and local ceremonies, monuments, public architecture, etc., are perceived as being invented and inculcated in the population through mass communication. Like Gellner, Hobsbawm contends that nations are the product of nationalism. Yet, he further argues that nationalism's political aim is the formation of the nation-state. In his view there are two types of nationalism. The first is the European political nationalism of the 1900s, namely that of Germany, Italy and Hungary. The second type is the "ethno-linguistic" nationalism that prevailed
in Eastern Europe from 1970-1914 and which re-emerged in the 1980s. It is, this period from
1887-1914 that, according to Hobsbawm, constitutes the crucial phase of nationalism. Migration,
the rise of new social classes and the conflation of race, language and nationalism have been
instrumental to the rise of nation-states. In his opinion, nationalism today has lost its central role
in state formation and in state-bounded economies. With globalization and internationalization,
nationalism became redundant in the economic and political structuring and development of
present-day nation-states.

The social construction of the nation through processes of imagination or invention and
an emphasis on its discursive nature have been central tenets of modernist paradigms. Yet,
regarding Hobsbawm’s argument about “invented traditions”, Smith raises several questions.
First, he questions the meaning and the processes by which the nation is invented. No insights
are given into the nature of nationalist successes in mobilizing the masses. Second, by excluding
from his analysis of the nation the role of pre-existing ethnic ties he is left with a relationship
between capitalism and nationalism that can hardly explain the rise of ethnic nationalist
sentiments in small pre-capitalist countries. Smith suggests for the nation to be successful, the
invention and fabrication of a national consciousness "need to base themselves on relevant pre-
exiting social and cultural networks" (1998:130). For Smith who approaches nation and
nationalism from what he calls a "ethno-symbolic" framework (1998, Chapter 8), the nation is a
set of myths, symbols and cultural practices. The nation is thus equated to a ethno-cultural
community anchored on a common myth of origin, a shared history and a common destiny. For
Smith, having a common territory, a mass educational system, and a political and judicial code is
not sufficient to define a nation. Rather, the nation is rooted in an ethnic community—the ethnie.

The concept of ethnie, he argues, is central to understand how and why certain nations
were formed and how and why nationalisms assume such distinct forms and contents depending
on specific historical contexts. In discussing the formation of modern nations he distinguishes
two types of ethnies. The lateral or aristocratic ethnie is composed by the members of a
centralized aristocracy (e.g., England, Spain, France). Nationhood formation is largely based on
a civic and territorial nationalism. The second route to the nation is through a vertical ethnie
composed by an indigenous intelligentsia. This is the case of Eastern Europeans, and Middle and Far East nations as well as some African nations whose intelligentsia appropriated and reworked pre-existing myths, symbols and traditions to be found among the people. The result is the formation of a nation founded on ethnic conceptions and on the notion of a genuine and authentic nationalism. Besides these two processes of national formation Smith also points out a third one involving the settlement of diverse immigrant fragments of other ethnies in countries like Canada, The United States and Australia. The cultural diversity in these countries have shaped the political, cultural and linguistic character of national identity.5

Though he argues that nationhood also depends on a multiplicity of economic, historical and political factors, these, contrary to modernists’ arguments, cannot fully explain the rise of nations. According to Smith, modern nationalist leaders are “political archaeologists”... [furnishing] blueprints of the 'nation-to-be' by rediscovering an 'authentic' popular ethno-history and providing convincing narratives of historical continuity with a heroic and preferably glorious ethnic past” (1998:195). The passions that nations elicit are rooted in a common memory and identity which supranational entities such as the European Union lack. As he notes, the construction of an European identity is an abstraction that “competes on unequal terms with the tangibility and rootedness of each nation (ibid:195). This argument is applied to his analysis of cultural globalization, arguing that at the turn of the XX century the nation has no rival in mobilizing affections and loyalties.6

In addressing the tensions between modern states and nation formation, Van den Berghe has argued insightfully that present-day multinational states that claim to be nation-states tend to repress manifestations of ethnic dissidence. In his own words: “Far from being nation-building, modern states are nation-killing, either literally by physical extermination of ethnic dissidence or metaphorically through assimilation” (1990:9). The pervasiveness of a nationalist ideology in contemporary multinational states has underlined the assimilationist ethnic perspective of the ruling groups. In some instances, the perceived threat of ethnic sentiments and resistance to the "national" culture is met with state violence and repression.
Despite the wide range of theorizing in the field of ethnicity and nationalism, little consensus has been reached on the historical and sociological causality of the origins, the development and the effects of nations and nationalism. In this highly diversified theoretical field, postmodernists seek to stretch modernists' approaches to the analysis of a "postmodern condition" characterized by cultural and political fragmentation, hybridity and globalization.

**The Postmodern Turn: The Nation and Hybrid Identities**

Drawing on Anderson's analysis of the nation as a discursive practice, postmodernist scholars such as Homi Bhabha and Stuart Hall question the unitary and fixed character of the nation and of national identity. For Bhabha (1990) the nation is a "narrative strategy—an apparatus of power" (*ibid*:292). Through the deconstruction of narrative texts, Bhabha explores the ambivalences that have structured modern nations as cultural and political entities. The nation is perceived as being produced in the tension between a "pedagogic" authority that strives for continuity and a "performative" community constituted by numerous liminal cultures that transgress the dominant narrative of a "national community" (*ibid*:294). These cultures occupy a privileged position in Bhabha's narrative discussion of the nation. Cultural difference in the form of a "minority discourse" reveals the hybrid processes of identification. Drawing on a wide range of theoretical stances (Bakhtin, Derrida, Foucault, and psychoanalytical approaches), Bhabha proposes a theory of hybridity which attempts to overcome the binary dichotomies between oppressor/oppressed, dominant/dominated cultures depicted by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). Using Foucault's notion of power/knowledge, Said argues that the West has created the image of the Orient as the West opposite, the Other. In opposition to the West, the Other is thus depicted as inferior, primitive and unreasonable. In Said's argument, the construction of the Orient by the West is inscribed in a discourse of mutually exclusive categories and as such identities emerge in direct opposition of each other. Bhabha questions Said's construction of fixed categories. In *The Location of Culture* (1994), he contends that colonialism has undermined the boundaries between "us" and "them." Colonial authority never dominated completely other cultures because difference, ambivalence and resistance are introduced at the intersection of the
two cultures and languages. This is effected through “cultural translation” meaning that when one statement “travels” from one culture to another it is transformed into a new “statement.” In Bhabha’s words translation is “a way of imitating but in a mischievous, displacing sense—imitating an original in such a way that the priority of the original is not reinforced but by the very fact that it can be simulated, copied, transferred, transformed, made into a simulacrum” (1994:210). In this way, “translation” of dominant discourses by the dominated become forms of resistance, and disavowal of authority. The discourses of the dominated mimic, ironize and question the West’s legitimacy to interpret the world for the “Rest.” For Bhabha, translation produces an hybrid identity that transgresses imposed boundaries and negotiates meanings at the borderline of cultures. This is not to say that hybrid identities are to be perceived as simple processes of accumulation that fuse different cultural forms into a homogenous whole. On the contrary, for Bhabha hybrid identities “emphasize the incommensurable elements—the stubborn chunks—as the basis of cultural identifications” (1994:219). It is these chunks that are irreducible to fixed categorizations and thus create a “interstitial space in-between” that defies domination. According to Bhabha, it is the hybrid identities of migrants and minorities that allow them to resist subordination and envisage new perspectives and world views. As he puts it:

The theoretical recognition of the split-space of enunciation may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures but on the inscription and articulation of culture’s hybridity. To that end we should remember that it is the inter—the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space—that carries the burden of the meaning of culture.

It makes it possible to begin envisaging national, anti-national histories of people. As by exploring this third space we may elude the politics of polarity and engage the otherness as our selves. (1994:38)

The strategy of reversing domination by the establishment of a “third space” epitomized in the figure of the cultural hybrid rests at the core of his claims for a new identity politics. In Bhabha’s view, this politics is only possible when one acknowledges that hybridity stands for an identity that is constructed out of open processes of negotiation and resistance.

This notion of cultural hybridity as subversion has been the object of severe criticism. Freedman (1995) finds Bhabha’s notion of hybridity problematic on two accounts. First, he criticizes Bhabha on the grounds that his overly celebratory mood on hybridity blinds him to global
present-day processes of "ethnification", "indigenation" and "ghettoization" resulting from the weakening of modern nation-states. Second, he questions the potentiality of cultural hybrids to produce identities free of oppositions, for he see the construction of group identities as producing new boundaries of their work (ibid:82-88). This critique is shared by Sakamoto (1996) who argues that the construction of hybrid identities creates its own opposites. In his analysis of Japanese national identity construction, he contends that the production of a Japanese hybrid identity as a form of resistance to Western domination has created the image of "Asia" as being inferior to "hybrid Japan." Gayatri Spivak is also sceptical on the analytical power of hybridity to grasp the struggles and contradictions that still persist and require address namely imperialism, exploitation, oppression and capitalism. For her, hybridity theory is "so macrological that it cannot account for the micrological texture of power" (Spivak, 1993:74).

For Bhabha, it is in a space of tension and ambivalence that the nation emerges. As he argues "It is through this splitting that the conceptual ambivalence of modern societies become the site of writing the nation" (1990:297). One of the major implications of his formulation is that it renders any cultural homogeneous and hegemonic discourses on the nation untenable. Second, it brings cultural differences from a position of marginality into the dominant discourse and, by so doing, it directs our attention to the role of the Other, the outsider, the ethnic migrant in shaping the national identity of the receiving country. Third, it transforms the very articulation between centre and margins by inscribing liminal voices, the "minority discourse", in the nation space (Rattansi & Westwood, 1994).

Yet, Bhabha's decentred narrative of the nation has been contested on the basis that it fails to account for the social, political and economic processes that maintain dominant centre/margins relations. Furthermore, the reinscription of minorities in the mainstream in terms of discursive strategies undermines non-discursive practices and daily life experiences as a site of production of opposition and counter-hegemonic discourses (Pillai, 1996; Rattansi & Westwood, 1994) offers a different line of criticism by pointing out Bhabha's objectification of "minority discourse" and lack of theorization of the relationship between that discourse and minorities themselves.
A similar emphasis on cultural fragmentation, ethnicity and identity politics can be found in the work of Stuart Hall (1990). For him, the nation is a cultural narrative producing meanings which shape our sense of who we are and of others. The nation is made and re-made, told and re-told through national histories, symbols, rituals, images and cultural traditions. Like Homi Bhabha, Hall decentres the nation by focussing on the multiplicity of cultural identities which are inscribed in the nation. Drawing on the experiences of people of Afro-Caribbean and Asian background in Britain, Hall suggests that a major shift has taken place in Black cultural politics, “a change from a struggle over the relations of representation to the politics of representation itself” (1992:253). His argument is that shortly after immigration the term “black” was used as an essential category to describe processes of exclusion and marginalization among highly differentiated ethnic groups and communities. The “essential black subject” was thus used as a “counter-hegemonic” construction to contest white dominant practices of representation. This unified framework has now shifted to a new politics of representation which entails an “awareness of the black experience as a diaspora experience, and the consequences which this carries for the process of unsettling recombination, hybridization and ‘cut-and-mix’—in short, the processes of cultural diaspora-ization” (1990:235, italics in original).

In Hall’s view the cultural crossing and mixing that such a process implies brings to the fore the problematic question of ethnicity. Ethnicity, Hall acknowledges has been entrenched in anti-racist discourses that have conflated the term with notions of racial supremacy:

We still have a great deal of work to do to decouple ethnicity, as it functions in the dominant discourse, from its equivalence with nationalism, imperialism, racism and the state which are the points of attachment around which a distinctive British or more accurately English ethnicity has been constructed. (1996:162)

For him the new politics of representation questions such appropriation and frees the concept from its ideological moorings on racism and nationalism. Hall’s contention is that ethnicity recognizes that our subjectivities are anchored on specific cultural and linguistic conditions and are historically contingent. As he suggests, “we are all ethnically located and our identities are crucial to our subjective sense of who we are” (1990:258). Yet, he claims that the inscription of ethnicity in a diasporic context transforms the alleged exclusiveness of ethnic
sentiments into inclusive processes of "double consciousness" and openness towards the other. Thus, the "new ethnicities" cannot be equated with the "old ethnicities" (e.g., Englishness) which "could only survive by marginalizing, dispossessing, displacing and forgetting other ethnicities" (ibid:258).

Underlying Hall's conception is the need to free ethnicity from the processes of exclusion that it presupposes while at the same time recognizing ethnicity as a powerful resource for political agency. A major implication of his "new ethnicities" paradigm is the reinscription, at least conceptually speaking, of ethnicity in the postmodern battleground of cultural politics. This is move which Rattansi and Westwood (1992) finds to be of crucial importance to open up new ways to envision "non-absolutist forms of cultural politics" between centre and margin and within the margin itself. This view is shared by other postcolonial writers who have argued that these new diasporic ethnicities constitute a major challenge to traditional notions of citizenship and national identities (Featherstone, Lash, & Roberston, 1995; Gilroy, 1987; Werbner & Modood, 1997).

Postmodern approaches sensitise us to the complex interplay between host society, national sentiments and migrant communities in producing contested notions of the nation. In other words, they highlight the ways in which the nation is crossed by a plurality of meanings and identities that challenge dominant homogeneous discourses of national identity. This line of argument is particularly relevant to address the ways in which ethnic immigrant communities residing in Portugal have challenged totalizing notions of the nation and national identity. The Portuguese nation, one of the oldest nation-states in Europe, has experienced stable territorial boundaries, cultural and religious homogeneity and political unity for over eight centuries. In the past three decades, major structural developments (e.g., integration in the European Union, decolonization and immigration) had a major impact in the Portuguese national tissue. The new influxes of migrants have changed not only the population structure of Portuguese society but also they have prompted the development of state policies to address and manage the new migratory phenomena. The ways in which national discourses have responded to the presence
of immigrant ethnic communities are crucial to understand present-day immigration phenomena in Portugal.

State Policy and Migrants' Political Participation

As was previously indicated, the objective of this study is to illuminate the relationship between the state and immigrants' collective organizing and political participation. In this respect, the work of Ireland (1994) and Soysal (1994) bring valuable insights into the discussion of immigration politics in contemporary Europe.

According to Ireland (1994) three major theoretical approaches have underlined the analysis of immigrants' political participation patterns. The first one, the "class theory" held that immigrants' organizing structure and forms of political participation are very much dependent on migrants' "common class interests" (ibid:6). The central argument is that capitalist economic forces have, through cheap immigrant labour, created ethnic/racial subproletariats. That is, the state and business class have used racial and ethnic markers to divide the working class between foreign and indigenous populations, thereby making it easier to manipulate a fragmented work force which, ultimately, bear the cost of industrial restructuring (Miles, 1982; Miles & Phizacklea, 1984) According to this perspective, it is through working-class movements and activism that solidarities are forged and political strategies are designed to overcome segregation and social exclusion of migrant populations. Moreover, for these authors, immigrant political participation patterns are seen as part of an overall working-class process of political agency based on common class interests.

The second perspective, "the ethnicity/race theory" is premised on the notion that immigrants' ethnic, racial and religious identity are of crucial importance to account for immigrants' collective organizing and political mobilization (Heisler & Heisler, 1990; Rex & Tomlinson, 1979; Touraine, 1984). By focusing on migrants' ethnic politics, this approach predicts that particular migrant groups, given their specific national, cultural and religious characteristics, will tend to display similar patterns of political mobilization in different host societies. Despite the centrality of this approach to migration studies, present-day research has
revealed emergent political mobilization differentials in migrant communities with the same background depending (Bousetta, 1997; Ireland, 1994; Soysal, 1994).

In order to account for immigrants' crossnational variation in political behaviour, Ireland (1994) borrowing an "institutional perspective" (Heisler, 1980; Ross, 1988; Verba et al., 1978) proposes an "institutional channelling theory" for immigration politics. Central to his argument is the notion that immigrants' political behaviour is very much dependent on the institutional frameworks of the host society's "political opportunity structure." By that he means the nature of "immigrants' legal situation; their social and political rights; host-society citizenship laws; naturalization procedures, and policies (and non-policies in such areas as education, housing, the labour-market and social assistance that shape conditions and immigrants' responses" (1994:10).

For Ireland of utmost importance is the questioning of taken-for-granted notions that immigrant communities tend to organize either along class or ethnic lines. As his work shows, migrants' political mobilization in terms of class or ethnicity is very much dependent on the institutional setting. In his comparative study of migrants' political participation in France and Switzerland, Ireland concludes that "the institutional frameworks within which the immigrants found themselves at both the national and local-levels conditioned their political activity more than their ethnic background or class status" (ibid:244). A similar argument is made by Adam in his analysis of state responses to immigration. He contends, "How ethnicity asserts itself—when it rises, declines or disappears—depends primarily on the policies of the dominant group" (1989:10). In his view, ethnic symbols might be strategically manipulated to further migrants' social and political resources.

Bousetta's work (1997) on Moroccan community political activism in two cities in France and the Netherlands tends to support these findings. According to Bousetta, Moroccans' organizational structure and political strategies differ considerably in the two national and local contexts. While in the Netherlands, policy frameworks have promoted political mobilization in terms of ethnic identity issues, in France institutional structures tend to constrain the manipulation of ethnicity as a resource for collective action. Similarly, Soysal (1994, 1998) in her analysis on immigration and citizenship suggests that host societies' institutional settings are of crucial
importance in accounting for migrants' organizing and political activism. That is, migrants' organizational forms, goals, political tactics, and strategies, as well as levels of integration and participation in the host society, reflect the nature of state immigration policies. For instance, Soysal’s analysis of the Turkish collective organization in Sweden, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, France and Britain is most revealing of the interplay between nation-states “incorporation regimes” and migrants' collective organization and participation. According to Soysal, in Sweden, and the Netherlands central state’s policies and discourses have promoted migrants' participation along ethnic or national lines. Official channels for migrants' collective participation have stressed the national and ethnic character of migrants' organizations.

In contrast, in Germany, Switzerland and Britain the lack of centralized institutional frameworks for migrants' integration have resulted in either fragmented or localized migrants' organizing patterns. Furthermore, in Switzerland and in Britain where the central state has not played a direct role in the integration of immigrants, "migrant organizations tend to focus on social and welfare services or local politics" (Soysal, 1994:110). In France, a stress on citizenship and nationality have configured immigration politics within broader political issues. Overall, migrant mobilization has centred on family reunification, legalization, and citizenship rights. Public protest and confrontational politics have characterized migrants’ organizational and political participation life. Regarding the French case, Soysal argues that “migrant organizations do not act as partners of the state; instead they challenge its categories” (ibid:106).

These authors' insights are of great pertinence to the central theme of this thesis. However, unlike Soysal, my analysis is not centred on “organizational structures” per se. Rather it focuses on collective action and on the ways in which state policy and discourses shape not only migrants' organizing but also impose particular subjectivities which condition migrants' sense of self worth and life chances.

Since I want to explore how discourses and practices of immigration come to impact and shape migrants’ identity, it is necessary to develop an overall approach that takes into account the ways in which migrants become actively engaged in developing new life strategies, taking advantage of the contradictions and ambiguities of the system while subverting fixed regimes of
social domination. It is thus in an attempt to strike a balance between macro discursive practices and micro processes developed at a grassroots level that I will draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu’s theory of practice (1990) is of utmost importance to transcend the sociological dichotomy between individual and society, and between macro and micro levels of analysis. Given the objective of analysis of the proposed research here, I find postmodern approaches to the nation and ethnicity most useful when combined with a theory of cultural practice which allows for the analysis of discursive and non-discursive practices at the level of everyday experience.

Theorizing Practice

Bourdieu’s analytical concepts of habitus, capital and field are most useful to study how discourses on immigration come to influence and shape migrants’ identity. The following is a discussion of Bourdieu’s theory of practice focussing on its contribution to the understanding of immigrant state policies and immigrants’ identity construction processes.

Bourdieu’s concept of habitus refers to the ways in which individuals internalize external structures through processes of early socialization, which then shape their perceptions, aspirations and practices. In Bourdieu’s words the habitus is a system of:

...durable transposable dispositions, structured structures, predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operation necessary in order to attain them. (1990:5)

Central to the concept of habitus is the notion that structures and practices are linked in a “system of circular relations” in which individuals internalize unconsciously their social class or status group life chances, the “structured structures” in the form of specific aspirations, expectations and perceptions which in turn are transformed into action, a practice of a “structuring structure” which tends to reproduce the status quo opportunity structure. It is through their lived experience that individuals and groups acquire a specific system of “dispositions” which leads them to think and to act in specific ways. Bourdieu’s analysis of unequal educational attainment provides a good example of how habitus operates. According to him, working-class youth have
very limited aspirations towards higher educational attainment because they have internalized and accepted the very limited opportunities offered to them by the school system. Also Willis' (1977) work on working class youth provides a good example of how habitus operates. For working-class youth the perceived futility of higher education could hardly be explained in terms of their cultural background. Instead, their habitus, their dispositions regarding higher education were grounded on their living experience as members of working-class families and communities which invest in manual work and in securing a job rather than on high educational attainment. In essence, the habitus acts at an unconscious level orienting action according to an evaluation of past experiences and chances of success. To this extent, individuals are perceived as actors being active in making choices, yet those choices are structurally constrained.

From the above discussion of the main dimensions of the concept of habitus, one can appreciate how institutional discourses on immigration in Portugal depicting immigrants as “foreigners”, “high risk people”, “blacks” or “Africans” are not mere simple categorizations. Rather, they are determinant in the construction of a social order structured along ethnic and racial lines which is appropriated and internalized by migrants themselves. For instance, in the migrant squatter neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura where the empirical research was conducted, African residents, unlike to their native Portuguese neighbours, tend to refrain from making demands and being critical of municipal authorities. This is mainly due to the fact that official discourses on immigrants have tended to conflate foreignness with deviancy, criminality and marginality, thus enforcing representations of alienation and disenfranchisement which has been internalized by migrants themselves. A widely voiced commentary among African residents in that neighbourhood is that “we cannot complain because this is their land. In their land they do what they want.” A striking feature of this discourse is that it is often produced by those African residents who have, in the meantime, acquired Portuguese nationality. Though citizenship has provided them with the legal means to full membership and participation in Portuguese society, the dominant power relations in which Africans are inscribed as a subordinate group have left deep-seated feelings of insecurity and political alienation constraining the exercise of their citizenship rights. Overall, the image of the migrant as a foreigner, the Other who does not
belong, is internalized by African residents, hampering political mobilization and thereby reinforcing their perceived alienness.

It seems important to stress here that though there are elements of a self-fulfilling prophecy in these practices developed by these migrants, it is also apparent that one could hardly reduce all individuals' actions to status quo maintenance. Not all individuals internalize passively specific discourses and practices. On the contrary, some of them resist openly dominant discourses while others maintain a more ambivalent position of accommodation and resistance depending on the situation. This points out to one of the major criticisms directed at Bourdieu's concept of habitus, that is, its resilience to change and to account for human agency (Calhoun et al., 1993; Jenkins, 1992; Swartz, 1997). A theoretical framework which privileges a conception of habitus grounded on rigid dispositions acquired through primarily socialization leaves little manoeuvre for theorizing social change. Furthermore, how can habitus account for the multiple and often ambiguous and contradictory nature of individuals' identity and for the ways in which individuals and groups become "habitualized" through on-going processes of socialization experiences (Swartz, 1997). Regarding this last criticism, Bourdieu argues that there is a continuous process of adaptation as the individual habitus encounters new structural constraints and opportunities. Yet, this process tends to sediment rather than alter substantially early "dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1990).

For a better understanding of the notion of habitus it is important to discuss his concept of capital and field. For Bourdieu, capital refers to a wide range of scarce resources, be they material, social, cultural or symbolic, which individuals or groups draw upon to enhance their position in the social structure (Bourdieu, 1989). These resources are equated with capital when they become the objects of struggle among individuals and groups. Bourdieu conceptualizes capital in four different dimensions: economic capital which refers to a loose version of the Marxist notion of capital as property and money; cultural capital which covers a wide range of resources from verbal skills to aesthetic preferences to scientific knowledge; social capital which consists of a web of acquaintances, and social networks and symbolic capital which relates to resources such as honour, prestige and status which is attained through the acquisition of one or
more of the above mentioned forms of capital and which is viewed as legitimate by others. In his work on education (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) Bourdieu sees these different forms of capital as being enmeshed in each other. Economic capital gives people the possibility of sending their children to school, which allows them to acquire cultural and social capital which, in turn, enables them to secure positions of power, prestige and status associated with symbolic capital. Though Bourdieu's theo

tizing is related to social class, it can also be applied to issues of race and ethnic diversity. In the neighbourhood under study, being a white Portuguese may be seen as symbolic capital. Local municipal authorities may be influenced, whether explicitly or implicitly, by racist beliefs and perceptions which tend to represent whites as more law-abiding and resourceful than blacks. Such perceptions are invested with symbolic capital which is translated in preferential social relations which give white Portuguese better and greater opportunities to access economic and political power. Also, the local residents' association directors may be seen as endowed with symbolic capital. The fact that they were, most of them, Portuguese whites, pioneers in the community and engaged in, neighbourhood affairs gave them access to economic resources in the form of bigger housing lots, larger houses and overall higher standards of living than the black African population. This type of economic capital is, in turn, associated with a wide range of social networks which extend beyond the social boundaries of the neighbourhood. The acquisition of these forms of capital are valued and converted into positions of prestige, power and influence. In the case of the residents' association, the dominant forms of capital revolve not only around the ability to gain the confidence and trust of the rest of the residents' in the neighbourhood but also in the capacity to gain access to local power (e.g., the municipal council and parish council). Also, gaining cultural, social and political power among local politicians and state bureaucrats becomes crucial to securing symbolic power in the neighbourhood itself. In this sense, social and cultural capital acquired in one context is converted into symbolic power in the form of obedience, deference and services in another setting. This leads directly to the concept of field and interfield relations.

Field (champ) is defined as a social space where struggles over specific types of capital take place. To this extent, fields are thus viewed as "fields of struggle" (Swartz, 1997:121), sites
of domination and resistance which individuals, organizations, groups or institutions compete for power. As Bourdieu writes, "Those who dominate in a given field are in a position to make it function to their advantage but they must always contend with the resistance, the claims, the contestation political or otherwise of the dominant" (Bourdieu, 1992:102). In his analysis, fields as a sociological construct are defined in three different but interrelated ways. First, fields are arenas in which social actors struggle over the definition of dominant forms of capital. What is to be valued and further legitimized is a source of contention among those who are included in any particular field, that is, intellectual, educational, national or political. Second, fields are structured in terms of dominant/dominated social positions grounded on an unequal distribution of capitals. Third, fields have specific rules which impose certain beliefs and practices on social agents. Though dominated actors may contest specific discourses and practices in the field, they are complicit in accepting and in investing in the field's rules and regulations. This is the case of many members of the neighbourhood association who may oppose certain organizational practices but hardly question the existence and legitimacy of this type of organization. Fourth, fields have "relative autonomy" from other external fields. This structuring feature of fields is well articulated in his literary field analysis (Bourdieu, 1983) and in his work on education (Bourdieu, 1986). In both these fields he sees a tendency for autonomy from political and economic powers. In the first case autonomy is apparent in the tendency for peer work assessment and reference; in the second case autonomy emerges as a result of recruitment and socialization practices which are internally controlled. His focus on internal analysis of fields leaves unexplored the dynamics of interfield relations. The conflicts and contradictions that may emerge between fields are of utmost importance to understand processes of social change.

Drawing on Bourdieu's field analysis this work will be divided into four major fields. There is the field of national politics in which national discourses on immigration and difference are produced. It is within this field that migrant subjectivities are constructed and immigrant policies are devised. There is the field of local state politics in which central government discourses on immigrants are appropriated and reworked while new representations and practices are produced. It is specifically at this local-level that the production of an image of the African
immigrant that articulates immigration with foreignness, criminality and deviancy is most pervasive. These discourses are of crucial importance in constituting immigrants as "high risk people" who require systematic bureaucratic management and surveillance. The continuities and ruptures observed between national and local discourses on migrants point out the need to engage in a field analysis that is not only centred on internal field dynamics but it is also attentive to how specific fields are interconnected which each other. The tensions and the contradictions emerging between fields can be most revealing of the processes of social change. The third field is defined in terms of the neighbourhood. Here one can see how national and local discourses on immigrants are appropriated, negotiated and contested at a grassroots level. It is in this field that two major local associations are located. They constitute in their own right two separate sub-fields which compete for symbolic capital. It is important to stress that symbolic power gained by both associations is not only obtained through struggles in the neighbourhood but it is also derived from their capacity to access cultural, social and political capital outside the community. In the case of the residents' association their close relationship with municipal and parish councils provides them with social and cultural resources which are converted into symbolic capital in the neighbourhood. As for the other association, the Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude" their linkages with international networks and with several central government agencies enable them to acquire a wide range of economic, social and cultural resources which gives them a dominant power position in the neighbourhood.

Furthermore, regarding both associations, in order for them to compete for resources outside the neighbourhood field, they also had to compete internally for symbolic power. For the accumulation of cultural and social resources within the neighbourhood allows them the necessary symbolic resources to gain further resources and power. Thus, different forms of capital can hardly be limited to specific fields. That is, capital gained in one field may not be entirely realized in that field but may, in fact, be used strategically in a different field. For example, the residents' association leaders organize on a regular basis initiatives that bring central and local government authorities and politicians to the neighbourhood. Though these initiatives are sold to residents as a forum for the discussion of major issues concerning the

47
neighbourhood (e.g., housing, education, security) it is apparent that these issues are rarely discussed in those meetings and social gatherings. Rather, the mobilization of the community is used as a means through which the association gains and consolidates its symbolic power, which is not so much intended to be played out at a neighbourhood level but rather at the level of local government institutions. The analysis of grassroots dynamics would be rather underdeveloped if one considers solely the internal field production and consumption of capital. Here, I believe that a broader conceptualization of capital in terms of its strategic dimensions, locus of circulation and its points of exertion may provide useful insights into the processes of interfield relations and boundary crossing.

Finally, I will address the field of intergroup relations. Here I will focus on the life experience of a Capeverdean woman and on the ways in which she articulates various fields and multiple habituses in her everyday life practices in the neighbourhood. Special attention is given to the ways in which social identity is constructed through processes of negotiation and resistance of dominant power relations.

From the above discussion there are three major issues that are worth stressing in understanding Bourdieu’s theory of cultural practice and its application to questions of difference, migration and social identity. First, the identification of various fields in the social formation (national, local, grassroots and intergroup relations) enables us to contextualize the social construction of identities within a broader framework of analysis. This critical matrix stresses the imbrication between structural processes and the individuals’ everyday practices. The interplay between the state, local organizations and the people provides a more complex and meaningful account of how national and local discourses on immigrants find their way into a person’s life, and shape their identity and social relations. Second, field analysis illuminates the ways in which power resources are defined and fought for in specific social arenas. Emphasis on unequal power relations and competition among individuals over valued resources encourages a closer examination of the sources of social conflict and relates them to broader structural conditions. Here, I believe that interfield analysis is pivotal to understanding how fields are connected into broader structural patterns. For that, one needs to expand Bourdieu’s dimension of field and
apply it to a wider social arena in which different institutions, social groups and individuals are enmeshed in a complex web of strategic relations. For instance, a conception of the state as being constituted by multiple and interconnected fields of power struggles (i.e., national, political and local) offers a way to envisage the continuities and discontinuities, the rules and mechanisms and the interests that shape and reshape interfield relations. Also, in this way the question of capital could be taken from a different angle, not so much in terms of an internal economy of capital, but rather as an *economy of strategic capital* in which capital produced in one field may be intended to be used in a different field. For example, community-based solidarities may be used to gain symbolic capital in a completely different locus from that in which it was acquired, that is, the national and local political arena. In a sense, I am interested in looking at the ways in which power resources circulate among fields, interpenetrate and shape and reshape social relations. The aim is thus to examine the cultural processes through which alliances and conflicts between fields emerge and the nature of the ways individuals and groups act strategically and politically to advance their personal and/or group interests. Simply stated, this line of inquiry is about field politics and its role in the construction of social subjectivities and meaning.

Third, the idea of an individual having multiple habituses depending on the specific fields in which he or she is involved is useful for it suggests dimensions of social identity that tend to be overlooked by monolithic and unitary notions of social identity. For instance, in the neighbourhood, being the owner of a large house may gain salience above all other forms of identification such as being a woman, a Capeverdean, an African, a Portuguese, a citizen or an illegal immigrant. Yet, in the field constituted by the local government being black may prevail over all other forms of identification as municipal authorities will tend to define racialized social relations. For example, in the parish council being black and a slum resident will prevail above other forms of identification. In these instances it becomes rather difficult for individuals to secure other forms of identification such as house ownership. The idea that people circulate among a multiplicity of fields each with their specific forms of power resources helps to appreciate the complexities underlying each person’s social identities. Moreover, the significance of certain forms of identification and the ways in which it becomes fixed in certain social arenas depends
upon the contextual nature of social processes and power relations. Here, Foucault's notion of power provides useful insights into the mechanisms through which subjectivities are constituted and enmeshed in power relations of domination and resistance.

**Power, Identity and Strategy**

For Foucault power realizes itself only through practice. In his own words, "Power is neither given or exchanged, nor recovered, but rather exercised and that it only exists in action" (1980:89). Power is a "relation of force", a strategic relation between social actors engaged in unequal power relations. It is diffuse, spreading throughout the social field and its analysis, Foucault argues, should not be anchored to a centre from which it emanates and permeates the micro-level of everyday life. On the contrary, he proposes an "ascending" analysis of power focussing on its history, trajectories, techniques and tactics which constitute individual subjectivities, produce truth and knowledge, normalize behaviours and colonize the body.

Foucault's micro-politics of domination is particularly interested in analysing power at its point of inception, in its real practices where "it installs itself and produces real effects" (1980:97). It is through the continuous process of domination and subjugation that subjects are constituted. For Foucault, there is no universal, transparent and fixed human nature existing outside power relations. Rather the individual subject is the very product of power. As he notes:

The individual is not to be conceived as a sort of elementary nucleus, a primitive atom, a multiple and inert material on which power comes to fasten or against which it happens to strike, and in so doing subdues or crushes individuals. In fact, it is already one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires come to be identified and constituted as individuals. The individual, that is, is not the vis-a-vis of power, it is, I believe, one of its prime effects. (1980:98)

The modern individual becomes a "constituent subject" shaped and formed through certain orders of discourse. Power is thus seen to be tied to a circular relationship, to an "economy of discourses of truth" (ibid:93). Power produces knowledge and knowledge produces power. Discourse is power to the extent that it produces social reality according to a set of norms of what is to be considered acceptable as right and wrong, true or false, rational or irrational. Yet, as Foucault claims, power creates its own resistance. Though "power is
everywhere" and permeates all areas of social reality, power does not exist without resistance. As he argues:

It seems to me that power is "always already there", that one is never outside it; that there are no ‘margins’ for those who break with the system to gambol in. But it does not entail the necessity of accepting an inescapable form of domination or an absolute privilege on the side of the law. To say that one can never be "outside" power does not mean that one is trapped and condemned to defeat no matter what. (1980:141-142)

The possibility to challenge power relations from within and to resist open up a space for social innovation and change. Resistance is not only a question of saying no but it is a struggle for the production of new discourses, new truths and social change.12

Yet, in his work Foucault refrains from addressing the problem of how oppositional political action and mobilization are achieved and how "counter-hegemonic" discourses might develop among whose who are dominated. As Said (1983) observes, Foucault's conceptualization of power "obliterates the role of classes, the role of economies, the role of insurgency and rebellion in the societies he describes" (ibid:244). For Said, Foucault's concept of resistance as being functionally dependent on power prevents him from engaging in an analysis of the dynamics of micro-struggles not so much from the point of view of power but rather from a resistance perspective. As he sees it, resistance is not a reaction to power which can never transcend it but a creative process of change capable of subverting power relations. Furthermore, Said argues that Foucault's theorizing on power fails to address the dynamics of emergent social movements, new political alliances and counter-hegemony.13

The analysis of the mechanisms of collective movements and political action have become central to present-day social and political theorizing. The work of Laclau and Mouffe offers most useful insights into the processes of collective identity production and political agency. Drawing on Foucault and Derrida, Laclau and Mouffe propose an anti-essentialist theoretical framework of the social and the subject. According to this framework the social agent is constructed by a plurality of "subject positions" (e.g., race, sex, class, ethnicity, nationality, etc.) which are open, unstable and historically contingent. As Mouffe claims "the identity of such a multiple and contradictory subject is, therefore, always contingent and precarious, temporarily fixed at the intersection of those subject positions and dependent on specific forms of
identification” (1993:177). The acknowledgment of different subject positions does not lead into a postmodern paradigm of dispersion and total separation which refuses to conceive identity in terms of the relational character of the fragments. On the contrary, Mouffe stresses that subject positions are temporarily fixed through a variety of articulatory practices. The articulation of a plurality of discourses and meanings makes the construction of a collective identity possible. As identity, social relations are always produced through asymmetrical power relations. Those who lack power are forced to establish alliances with others and to articulate their demands with those advanced by others. What becomes crucial, then, is to understand how those political alliances are formed and sustained. What are the issues around which people coalesce and what are the forms that collective mobilizations take? As some authors have pointed out the question is not so much to show the non-fixed nature of identity but rather to see "...on what basis, at different times and in different places, does the non-fixity becomes temporarily fixed in such a way that individuals and groups behave as a particular kind of agency, political and otherwise” (quoted in Gregory, 1998:40). This inquiry takes us right into the production and reproduction processes of collective action. The conceptualization of collective action as a process has been central to social movements theory (Castells, 1984; Melucci, 1981; Touraine, 1981). As Melucci argues:

Collective action is not a end but a strategic process of negotiation and contestation of meanings which assumes the form of networks submerged in everyday practices. Within these networks there is an experimentation with and direct practice of alternative frameworks of meaning, as a result of a personal commitment which is submerged and almost invisible. (Melucci, 1988:248)

In his view, present-day social movements emerge in networks of small groups which challenge through everyday practices dominant discourses, codes and meanings. These groups create new spaces for the production of meaning and identity.

The submerged politics of social action brings to the fore the links between strategy and identity formation. This is a most valuable insight into the nature of collective action. As my empirical research shows political action can hardly be dissociated from the production of specific identities. In certain contexts networks have been formed along ethnic lines whereas in other instances place of residence constituted the defining factor of a collective identity. The shifting nature of identity construction processes and the type of contradictory politics present in each
context depend on the nature of the political, social and cultural struggles. For example, in specific situations residents in the neighbourhood mobilized in terms of their status as residents to demand the construction of basic infrastructure (roads, electricity, sewage and water equipment). In this case, women, youth groups and a wide range of ethnic migrants and Portuguese constructed themselves in a new powerful identity category, that of the neighbourhood resident. In other contexts, former residents of ex-Portuguese colonies have mobilized themselves as “retornados” (returnees) as a way of addressing the political power and therefore capitalize on local power’s racialized attitudes to gain access to a multiplicity of economic, social and political resources. In other situations, ethnicity constituted the nodal point through which demands were made to the municipality and state institutions. In order to capture state funds and services the neighbourhood cultural association has played, strategically, the game of ethnicity, homogenizing the different ethnic migrants under the rubric of Africans. This category, which echoes the institutional discourse on immigration associated with other discourses on marginalization, has served as a decisive ground for collective action. Sometimes that action may take the form of mass rallies, while other times it assumes a more individual form articulating personal empowerment with a broader framework of collective political agency.

Collective identities emerging through the articulation of ethnicity, locality and marginalization, though fragile, transitory, and fragmented are powerful means to challenge dominant power relations. The multiplicity of identities, orientations and strategies formed through collective mobilization can hardly fit fixed categories of social classes. What we face is the strategic formation of community-based solidarities and ethnic mobilization expressed in the everyday politics of the centre and its margins.
Chapter Notes

1. Here a distinction needs to be made between Van den Berghe’s genetic primordialism (1979) and Geertz’s (1973) cultural primordialism. Contrary to Van den Berghe’s biological determinism, Geertz does not objectify primordial ties. For him, primordialism is not so much a matter of inheritance as it is a question of perception or belief in primordial bonds and in its power.


4. See Smith (1996). The debate between Smith and Gellner has been centred on the essence of political nationalisms. While Gellner suggests a rational, materialist and modern account of nationalism; Smith argues for an ethno-symbolic approach to nation formation.

5. Ethno-symbolism has been criticized on three main accounts: 1) Equating the nation with ethnie and vice versa is an empirical tautology. Nations transcend the ethnie, and nations are different from the ethnie; 2) It projects into past social groups present notions of the nation (Hastings, 1997); 3) Ethno-symbolism precludes the role of institutions in shaping modern nations (Breuilly, 1996). Smith counter argument is that Breuilly has a modern concept of institutions which prevents him from seeing the role of pre-modern institutions in ethnic identity formation. Yet, Smith concedes that Breuilly makes a strong point when he criticizes ethno-symbolism for its inability to provide the historical links between modern nations and the past ethnic communities which served as the basis for the formation of specific nations (Smith, 1995, 1998).


7. Though Bhabha refrains from specifying who these peoples are, one may assume that he is referring to postcolonial minorities from the former colonies residing in Western countries. See Rattansi and Westwood, (eds), 1994.

8. Shohat and Stam (1994) criticizes Hall’s approach to hybridity on the grounds that it fails to discriminate between its various dimensions. These range from “colonial imposition” to “obligatory assimilation, political cooptation and cultural mimicry” (ibid:43). She claims that hybridity is a “power-laden” term that should be understood in articulation with questions of “historical hegemonies.” Also, she is very critical of hybridity theory for it tends to depoliticize social relations by blurring the boundaries that make political action possible.

9. The issue of anchoring the subject for political purposes without necessarily essentializing it has been further explored by poststructuralist feminist theory. See Fraser (1989) for a challenging account of the politicization of “difference” within a non-essentialist paradigm. Also see Spivak’s (1987) notion of “strategic essentialism”.

10. For Foucault, modern power has no centre, no determining site. It is not anchored in class domination or in juridical sovereignty. He sees the economicist and juridical models as being flawed with fallacious assumptions. While Marxist economy is seen as reducing power to economic imperatives the sovereign juridical framework proposes a model of power which has ceased to exist. Power is no longer the property of the sovereign. It does not operate through force but through the production of hegemonic norms and technologies of domination and control. See Foucault (1995[1975]) and Foucault (1990).

11. In the genealogical studies of human sciences, Foucault argues that disciplines such as psychiatry, sociology and criminology which have emerged within relations of power, have, in turn, contributed to the acquisition of knowledge and thereby to new techniques of power.

See Best and Kellner (1991) for a challenging discussion of Foucault's theory of power. In their discussion, Foucault is criticized on three accounts: 1. the micropolitics of power as a mystifying and totalizing category occludes the role of macrostructures (e.g., the state and capital) in the production and reproduction of domination and subjugation; 2. the analysis of microstruggles fails to address the political dimension of social agency and thus collective action is left unexamined; 3. the theoretical-methodological framework is flawed with inconsistencies that emerge from the gap between his discourse on fragmentation of the social and his attempts to globalize power and domination which would require, ultimately a "global systemic analysis."

See Mouffe (1995).

CHAPTER III:
NATIONHOOD AND MIGRATION POLITICS
IN POST-COLONIAL PORTUGAL

No one has ever doubted that truth and politics are on rather bad terms with each other, and no one, as far as I know, has ever counted truthfulness among the political virtues. (Arendt, 1993:227).

The dismantling of the Portuguese colonial empire and fascist regime in April 1974 and the subsequent integration of Portugal in the European Union have prompted profound ideological and structural changes in Portuguese society. In 1994, eight years after Portugal's entry in the EU, Mário Soares, who was then the President of the Republic, commented: “Community membership has continued to be an invaluable contribution to bolster Portugal's position in the contemporary world, its measure of intervention in the world affairs thereby becoming, in proportion, superior to its dimension as a nation” (cited in Vasconcelos, 1996:270). For others, “Europe could have been the consolation for the loss of Africa” (Barreto, 1996:232), and while some consider that Portugal's accession to European Union has strengthened Portuguese pretensions to become one of the European countries. This has been translated in the production of a political discourse which creates the “illusion” that “to be with Europe is to be like Europe” (Santos, 1994:58).

The transition from an authoritarian regime which lasted almost fifty years brought to light the ambiguities, the disjunctions, the contradictions and the scars left by dictatorship. The challenges posed by the new democratic processes were enormous for a country soaked in what was called the revolutionary “excesses” of Communist and ultra left ideologies, high expectations and a deteriorated economy struggling under the firm grip of the IMF (International Monetary Fund). Furthermore, integration in Europe and the reimagining of the nation within the European political space have had crucial implications for the reconceptualization of nationhood, and for the ways in which the Portuguese state has responded to Otherness and immigration.
In the beginning of the new millennium Portugal is still very much a country of emigration. Almost five and a half million Portuguese reside abroad representing more than half of the total Portuguese resident population (Lopes, 1999). Yet, over the past three decades, Portugal has also become a country of immigration. After 1974, major political, economic, and social changes have been responsible for a major shift in Portuguese migration patterns. Emigration refraction, return migration, repatriation of Portuguese residing in the ex-colonies, new labour migrant flows, especially from Africa and refugee influxes from Eastern Europe have changed significantly the structural composition of the Portuguese population. At present, the immigrant population in Portugal represents approximately 2% of the total population. Although the weight of the foreign population has not reached the proportions observed in other European countries such as France (6.3%); Germany (7.3%); the United Kingdom (3.5%) or the Netherlands (4.8%), the settlement of migrant ethnic communities raises crucial challenging questions regarding national identity, citizenship rights and intercultural relations in Portugal (Machado, 1997).

The Portuguese state responses to immigration and the integration of migrant communities have been multiple and often contradictory. These have evolved from a laissez-faire policy in the 1980s to restrictionist and exclusionary policies in the early 1990s to a more incorporatist immigration policy in the late 1990s. The significance of these different institutional responses can only be fully understood within a broader framework of international interdependency. As it will be discussed in the next chapters, these shifts and changes in immigration policies have certainly become most important in shaping local policies and migrants' political participation patterns in the host society.²

The aim of this chapter is threefold. Firstly, it addresses the integration of Portugal in the European Union and its implications for the redefinition of nationhood and criteria of belonging. Secondly, it provides an overview of the major immigration patterns with special emphasis on the period between the 1980s and 1990s in which immigration flows reached their peak. Thirdly, and most importantly, it discusses the changing nature of central state policy responses to immigration. Here, the national political setting is examined against the backdrop of EU migratory policies. Also, I focus on the impact of state policies on migrants’ associational movement and on
the emergence of a new space of membership, CPLP [Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (The Community of Countries of Portuguese Language)] which proposes novel forms of citizenship and belonging. The analysis of the immigration phenomena in articulation with the changing institutional models provides an important conceptual framework for the discussion of local responses to immigration in the chapters to follow.

**Europe, Us and the Rest**

After the Revolution of 1974, political turmoil, economic stagnation and social instability plagued the country for more than a decade. In 1977, the first IMF austerity program was implemented in an effort to control the balance of payments, increase exports and to curtail inflation. In the next two years, the economic stabilization plan had a crucial impact in the Portuguese economy. Inflation fell considerably from 25% in 1977 to sixteen percent in 1979; export rates increased, unemployment fell and the equilibrium of balance of payments was reestablished (Brito, 1998). Yet, the new impetus of the Portuguese economy was short-lived. The new oil crisis of 1981, the low rates of industrial and agricultural productivity, high interest rates and the rise of the dollar aggravated an already fragile economy. In 1983, a new IMF economic stabilization plan was negotiated and implemented. Strict austerity measures were pursued in order to reduce the external deficit, curtail domestic expenditures and increase exports. The implementation of IMF impositions and the achievement of political stability were determinant for Portugal's accession to the European Community. As Brito argues:

> In the eyes of the international community, Portugal emerged as a “tidy and well-behaved” economy and as a nation that had rigorously fulfilled the measures imposed on it. Portugal seemed prepared at last to enter the European Union. (1998:111)

On January 1, 1986, after eight years of complex negotiations, Portugal (like Spain) became a full member of the European Union. The integration of Portugal in the Union had crucial economic, political, social and cultural consequences. The following discussion will highlight some of the most important structural and social changes observed in the last ten years and their implications for the analysis of the immigration phenomena in Portugal.
At an economic level, European structural funds have played a key role in the development of the country and in boosting the national economy.\(^3\) Between 1986 and 1988 Portugal received nearly 1.2 billion Ecus from the European Regional Development Fund, 90% of which were used for the improvement of infrastructures. The flow of structural funds increased substantially in the following new transfers, aimed at increasing public expenditure in priority areas such as human resources; economic infrastructures, regional and local development and productive investment, amounting to approximately 14% of the GDP. Public works and the construction of major infrastructure networks (highways, metropolitan, bridges) became one of the most privileged areas of intervention (Barreto, 1996; Magone, 1997).

Expansionist policies, massive foreign investment, the construction of infrastructures and the adjustment of national policies to European economic models were determinant for the economic boom enjoyed until the 1990s (Silva Lopes, 1996). Between 1986 and 1992, the GDP increased at an annual rate of 3.5% to 4.5% considerably higher than those registered for the other European countries (2.5%). Compared to the European average, Portugal was able to increase its per capita GDP from 52.5% of the European average to 56.3% percent (Magone, 1997). Also anti-inflationary policies and a new monetary policy adopted in 1990 were decisive to control inflation. While between 1977 and 1985 inflation rates were 20% per annum, reaching a peak in 1983 (over 30%) in 1993 inflation fell to 3.4% (Silva Lopes, 1996).

EU structural funds proved to be of crucial importance to minimize the huge gaps between Portugal and its European partners and to prepare the Portuguese economy for the Single European Market (SEM). The removing of all trading boundaries and the free movement of labour, capital and goods within the European space was perceived as a major step to increase European economic development and competitiveness vis-à-vis the American and the Asian markets (Barreto, 1996). Between 1975 and 1994 the Portuguese economy grew more rapidly than the European average. For instance, during this period, GDP growth rates for Portugal were estimated in 2.5% compared to 2.1% for the European average. Only Ireland’s economy grew more rapidly at 4.0% (Silva Lopes, 1996).
Yet, in 1991 Portugal was (and still is) the poorest country in Europe. According to the European Commission, it was estimated that the Portuguese economy would have to maintain a rate of 1.25% above the growth rates of the other European countries over a period of twenty-years in order to reach ninety per cent of the EU average (Magone, 1997).

When compared with the other European countries Portugal has the lowest average product per capita in the European Union. A similar pattern is observed regarding social expenditure indices. When equating the Portuguese average social expenditure per capita with the European average, Portugal has the lowest index of 38.2, well below Germany (116.2), Ireland (58.4) or Spain (64.0). This trend has been maintained up until the present-day (Carreira, 1996). In 1999 Portugal had the lowest minimum salary amongst the eight European countries which have minimum income legal regimes. Whereas the minimum income for Spain and Greece are respectively 410 US dollars and 400 US dollars for Portugal it totals 270 US dollars. The gap is particularly striking when compared with Great Britain 845 US dollars which had introduced recently this regime (Expresso, August 28, 1999).

For Santos (1990) the effects of the integration need to be understood against the backdrop of Portugal as a semiperipheral country in the world system. In his view, Portugal like Spain, Greece or Ireland is a country of intermediate development. In the specific case of Portugal, its semiperipheral situation has been anchored on five centuries of colonial role, in which Portugal functioned as an intermediate country between those at the centre and periphery ones. In his own words, “Portugal was the centre in relation to its colonies and the periphery in relation to England. In a less technical note one could day that for a very long time Portugal was simultaneously a colonizer and a colonized country” (1994:58).

After the loss of the empire, Portugal attempted to renegotiate its position in the world system and more specifically in the European space. Integration in the EU produced a discourse, which, for Santos, is grounded on an “imagination-of-centre.” Yet, according to him to be in Europe is not to be like Europe. The central argument is that the economic and social policies which have been adopted in the last ten years have potentially accentuated Portugal’s position of periphery. For instance, implementation of export policies centred on low wages, labour intensive
industries (e.g., textiles, shoemaking, garments, etc.) with a low technological base, which had been progressively devaluated in the international markets have contributed to a devaluation of the national productive system. Regarding industries employing economies of scale, and highly specialized technologies, these have not underwent major developments with Portugal’s entry in the EU. Overall the industrial sector has relied on cheap labour, low technological investments and on raw material exports. Between 1977 and 1993 national global productivity increased only 0.6%, one of the lowest in Europe (Silva Lopes, 1996). Also, the growth of subcontracting, informal labour and low levels of economic specialization has characterized a model of economic development privileging “quantity of work” rather than “quality of work” (Rodrigues, 1988; Santos, 1991).

Of no less importance has been a permanent gap between capitalist production and social reproduction of patterns of consumption. In terms of consumption, Santos argues that the levels of consumption in Portugal resemble those of European central countries. Yet, regarding productivity levels, these, as was discussed above, have remained below the European average. A major reason accounting for such a discrepancy between wages and incomes is, according to Santos the existence of a smallholding agriculture. The existence of a subsistence agriculture has served as a “compensatory mechanism” during harsh economic periods as well as a buffer for higher wages in the industrial sector. In conclusion, Santos’s argument is that the disjunction between production and consumption norms points out to the coexistence of different production modes “private capitalist production, state enterprises production, cooperative production, production for self-consumption, simple mercantile production” (1991:33). The integration of Portuguese in the European Union has not eradicated the coexistence of different modes of production, in fact, it might have accentuated these tendencies. According to Santos Silva (1994), the impact of integration on consumption patterns and new ways of living are unquestionable. Yet, the Portuguese economy still remains very much dependent on traditional low technological specialization.

Furthermore, recent processes of modernization have been circumscribed to specific areas and niches of the economy. Despite considerable investments in public infrastructures in
the financial and manufacturing sectors, regional asymmetries have not only persisted but have widened in the last twenty years. Presently, 80% of the population is concentrated in the coastal rim with the two metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto capturing 50% of the total population (Leite Viegas & Firmino da Costa, 1998). Between 1981 and 1991, the southern province of Alentejo lost 7% of its population and the northern and central regions 10%. The process of outmigration of the interior and urban concentration in the littoral have had a major economic impact. The metropolitan area of Lisbon and Vale do Tejo has become “the motor of the national economy capturing one third of the total structural funds” (Expresso, March 21, 1998). In the early 1990s the GDP per capita in this area reached 75% of the European average, whereas in Alentejo it declined from 50% to the European average in 1986 to 35% (Magone, 1997).

According to Santos Silva, the integration of Portugal in the European Union and the subsequent economic development have unwittingly exacerbated regional imbalances, privileging large urban centres while penalizing the hinterland which has not been able so far to overcome underdevelopment and poverty (1994:152-153).

At a political level, the impact of the integration has been no less considerable. After the political turmoil and social unrest characteristic of the revolutionary period of 1974, Portugal’s entry in the Union was largely perceived as a means to consolidate a still fragile democratic society. European Union democratic values and institutional practices constituted key references for a country searching for democratic stability.

One of the most important features of the political dimension of the Portuguese integration has been the centrality and autonomy gained by the state. For Santos (1993), the state’s autonomy has been most conspicuous in the last ten years. The need to adjust national policy to European directives and policies, harmonization and homogenization have conferred the state a central role in legitimising (or not) specific political decisions. Also, at an economic level, the state has fully controlled the management of the structural funds which, as Santos contends, “has done it in a highly particularistic way, divorced from any strategic conception of economic development and at the mercy of the pressure of organized interests and political clienteles” (1991:41). At a more symbolic level, the state’s dominant discourses on Portuguese accession to
the EU have centred on an imaginary of Portugal as an European central country. For Santos, such discourse tends to undermine any national developments which may conflict with European policies and directives. Furthermore, it tends to depoliticize national political processes by alleging the need to implement particular measures given specific European constraints.

In preparation for the Single European Market (SEM) introduced in January 1, 1993, Portugal was the country which had incorporated into its national legislation the highest number of European directives. By 1994, Portugal had incorporated 95% of the 282 European directives. Of all the remaining European countries only Denmark had scored higher (97.6%) than Portugal (Magone, 1997). Moreover, in 1992, the third revision of the Portuguese Constitution aimed at further adjusting national legislation to the demands of the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) ratified in the Parliament in the December 1992. The new revision greatly enhanced the role of the Assembly of the Republic in monitoring the evolution of the integration processes, namely the impact of structural and cohesion funds and policy strategies.

The 1992 Portuguese Presidency of the EU gave Portugal an unprecedented centrality in international political affairs. Although the agenda of the presidency was largely set up by the Commission of the European Union, the Portuguese presidency was an important turning point for the “Europeanization” of the Portuguese government (Magone, 1997). Participation in European institutions and the introduction of a Portuguese agenda in the Presidency of 1992 gave Portugal an active role in European international issues. One of the most important outcomes of the Portuguese presidency was the strengthening of the EU-Brazil and Latin America relationships (Vasconcelos, 1996).

Underlying these initiatives was a fundamental foreign policy strategy which sought to promote national interests within an European framework. Regarding Latin America, Portugal, like Spain, has championed a closer relationship between the EU and Latin America, believing that close cooperation and an overall openness to Latin America constitutes a comparative advantage which should not be overlooked. In regards to Africa, Vasconcelos (1996) argues that membership in the EU has not severed Portugal’s relations with its former colonies but, on the contrary, it has enhanced these relations. Like France and Britain, which have particularly valued
close ties with their former colonies, Portugal too has established privileged relations with African Lusophone countries (Angola, Cape Verde, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe) and with Brazil. Despite geographic discontinuity, the historical, cultural and linguistic affinities were perceived as the major determinants of the incorporation of highly diversified national realities within a single regional political community, that of the lusophone community. However, as we shall see next the nature of these relationships are far from linear and often implicate ambiguous and conflicting interests.

The shifts and changes in Portuguese policy-making point to a complex process of deterritorialization/reterritorialization and subsequent deterritorialization prompted by the demise of the empire and the integration of Portugal in the European Union (Santos, 1993). The notion that the national territory somehow extended itself into Africa and that the colonial empire was an integral part of one single and individual state “Um Estado uno e indivisível” crumbled in 1974 (Figueiredo, 1975). After decolonisation, Portugal had to come to grips with a nation reduced to its diminutive geographical dimension. However, the new process of “reterritorialization” was short-lived, for the integration in the EU prompted a new process of “deterritorialization.” In other words, concomitantly with the construction of a new imaginary national community was a process of transnationalization implicated in Portugal’s accession to the European Union. In Santos’ words, “In less than twenty-years, the transnationality of the colonial space is transferred to an European transnationality in which Portugal continues to occupy a relatively peripheral situation” (1994:136).

The reconfiguration of Portuguese nationhood within an European framework of belonging has raised problematic questions. In 1995, Jorge Sampaio, then one of the candidates to the Presidency of the Republic, acknowledged that “the challenges facing Europe were also the challenges facing Portugal” (Público, July 26, 1995:15). Yet, he warned that Portugal could not act as a passive co-signatory partner of the European Union. In his own words, “we should stop thinking of ourselves as the good students of Europe, an image of subordination and alienation. Instead, we should start to see ourselves as exigent partners in the European construction which has also been actively constructed by the Portuguese” (ibid:15).
Despite the efforts to produce a more active image and to increase Portugal's international profile, the perception of Portugal as one of the PIGS (Portugal, Italy, Greece and Spain) is still very much a reality. Also, regarding the Portuguese Presidency which started on January 1st, 2000, a long article in The Economist with the heading "Portugal—Agenda for Europe: The Fado Factor" (The Economist, January 15, 2000) is most revealing of a patronizing and condescending attitude towards Portugal. Despite the heavy agenda, the Portuguese presidency is portrayed as having, besides ministerial meetings in the Algarve and Mediterranean sun, little to contribute to some of the most pressing political and economic challenges facing the Union.

Yet, if Portugal is still very much perceived in terms of its favourable climate rather than in terms of its political and economic contribution to the Union, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion embedded in European policies have been determinant in shaping Portuguese policy responses to migration. Implicated in the construction of a European space is the production of boundaries between us, the Europeans and the other, the non-Europeans. At a policy level, in the early 1990s, the European states have made considerable efforts to harmonize asylum and immigration policy. The Schengen Agreement and the Dublin Convention (June, 1990) aimed at providing a common framework for immigration policies in European countries. Furthermore, the implementation on January 1st, 1993 of the Single European Act led to major transformations regarding labour circulation, settlement and work within the European space. In practice, the new rules had two major consequences, on the one hand, labour flows are free between European countries and also between the EU and EFTA countries. On the other hand, labour movements from non-European countries, specifically from periphery countries (e.g., Africa) are restricted. Immigration controls of extra-communitari have been enforced systematically during the 1990s. One of the major implications of this dialectics of inclusion/exclusion has been the implementation of strict controls of migratory flows from EU countries' ex-colonies (Miles & Thranhardt, 1995). In the specific case of Portugal (like Britain, France, Spain or the Netherlands) historical and cultural ties with former colonies have been significantly strained under the pressure to comply with European directives. Furthermore, the closure of the frontiers to non-European citizens conflict with immigration flows from the Portuguese ex-colonies, which are, in some cases (e.g.,
Capeverdean flows), part of chain migration patterns established during colonial times or during the transition period of decolonisation.

In the following sections I will examine in detail the changing nature of the immigration phenomena in Portugal and the evolving institutional responses to the presence and integration of migrant communities in the last two decades.

**Portugal as a Country of Emigration and of Immigration**

Portugal has been traditionally a country of emigration. It is estimated that between 1500-1750, 1,300,000 Portuguese left the country. During this period and up to the 1950s Brazil attracted the overwhelming majority of Portuguese flows (Rocha-Trindade, 1995; Serrão, 1977). After the Second World War, from mid-1960s to mid-1970s, approximately one and a half million Portuguese emigrated to Europe and to the American Continent. During this period, France alone absorbed nearly fifty percent of the total massive Portuguese out-flows (Baganha, 1998; Cassola Ribeiro, 1986). Economic backwardness, the outbreak in the 1960s of colonial wars in Guinea, Angola and Mozambique and slim future prospects constituted major push factors prompting the massive exodus of Portuguese. On the other hand, post-war European economic recovery and severe labour shortages created by wartime casualties were determinant pull factors configuring labour transfers from the European periphery countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain,) to the most industrialized European countries (e.g., Germany, France, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Great Britain). Furthermore, in the specific case of Portugal, emigration policies in the 1960s and early 1970s were grounded on the notion that outmigration provided an outlet for excess labour supply in labour supply in Portugal, and thereby would tend to attenuate the economic costs of unemployment and underemployment. On the other hand, emigrant remittances were crucial to minimize the national deficit and to subsidize the costs of colonial wars. In the early 1970s nearly half of the Portuguese national budget was spent in military expenditure (MacQueen, 1997). Also the remittances were (and still are) of utmost importance to improve the livelihood of those family members who remained in the country.
During the late 1960s and early 1970s in an attempt to monitor outmigration flows, and to ensure minimally the protection of Portuguese workers abroad, Portugal signed a number of bilateral agreements with European labour-importing countries (Rocha-Trindade, 1993). Labour migration quotas were established to better suit the manpower needs of Portuguese economy. However, these migratory measures proved to be highly ineffective in regulating massive emigration flows. Between 1961 and 1974 the annual average of departures totalled 122,000 emigrants, reaching a peak in 1970 with 183,000.\textsuperscript{7}

By the mid-1970s, emigration outflows came temporarily to a sudden halt. Economic recession, the oil crisis and subsequent restrictive immigration policies in European countries highly reduced Portuguese labour migratory flows. Furthermore, European receiving countries return policies (e.g., France and Germany) induced the return of legal immigrants. It is estimated that that between 1981 and 1985 approximately 500,000 Portuguese had returned to Portugal (Ferrão, 1996). Concomitant with these return flows were the new inflows of Portuguese citizens residing (and working) in the African ex-colonies "colonial emigrants" (ibid: 180) which nearly totalled 600,000. In a few years more than 1,000,000 Portuguese had returned to Portugal.

Yet, if emigration outflows had decreased significantly in the 1970s, in the next two decades the total number of departures grew considerably. Despite the increasing difficulty of quantifying labour movements within the European space, it is estimated that in the 1980s the average annual departures were approximately 20,000 up until 1985. In 1991, the total number of departures reached a peak of 46,000 (Baganha & Peixoto, 1994). Switzerland is presently the major country of destination of Portuguese migrant outflows absorbing nearly 40 percent of the total migratory movements. Germany and other European countries (e.g., Luxembourg and France) have also become preferred countries for Portuguese outflows in the 1990s.\textsuperscript{8}

Regarding the emigration movements with the European Union, recent flows to France and to some extent to Germany have taken the form of seasonal and "pendular movements" or family reunification (Rocha-Trindade, 1995) Contrary to other Southern European labour-exporting countries (Spain, Italy and Greece) which have, presently, substantially low levels of
outmigration, Portugal continues to be a country deeply structured by out-migration phenomena. Yet, in the last three decades Portugal has also become a country of immigration and a preferred destination for migration flows from the African ex-colonies.

**Immigration Patterns**

Like other Southern European countries (Greece, Italy and Spain) Portugal has become a country of destination of migrant flows from Africa, Europe and Asia (Actis, 1993; Lazardis, 1996; Rocha-Trindade, 1995; Vasta, 1993). While emigration has been a determinant structural factor in Portuguese society for centuries, immigration to Portugal is a recent and evolving phenomenon. In 1960, the total number of foreigners residing in the country was estimated in 29,579, representing 0.35% of the total population in Portugal (Esteves, ed., 1991). The overwhelming majority of these were Europeans (67%) followed by immigrants from Brazil (22%). Though the number of migrants from Africa was insignificant at the time, representing only 1.5% of the total foreign population, by mid-1960s a new migratory flow from Cape Verde was encouraged by the Portuguese state authorities to fill the labour gap created by Portuguese mass emigration and the colonial wars. The Capeverdean immigrants were recruited to work in menial jobs in the construction sector (e.g. in the metropolitan area of Lisbon) and in the tourism industry in the Algarve. These new migrants were the pioneers of a chain migratory movement from Cape Verde that has lasted up until the present-day (França, 1991; Saint-Maurice, 1997).

After 1974, the process of decolonization had a crucial impact in the nature and amplitude of the new migratory influxes to Portugal. One of the major effects was the massive repatriation of Portuguese residing in the ex-colonies, mainly from Angola and Mozambique which constituted 94% of the total number of registered repatriations 505,078 (INE, 1981). According to Pires (1987) these official figures have grossly underestimated the total flows of repatriations, which he estimated as 800,000. Secondly, in the aftermath of decolonization, civil wars and famine in Angola and Mozambique in the 1970s precipitated the exodus of large number of refugees, the majority of whom have settled in Portugal on a permanent basis. Still, for others, Portugal functioned as a migratory platform from which migrants re-emigrated to other
European countries and to the American continent. Although during this period migratory flows were also constituted by labour migrants, overall immigration to Portugal in the 1970s has been characterized essentially by a refugee migration from the Palops (Machado, 1997).  

Also during the 1970s return migration grew substantially. It is estimated that between 1975 and 1985 approximately 500,000 Portuguese had returned to Portugal (Ferrão, 1995). In the following decade there was a substantial decrease in the number of returnees. Still, between 1986 and 1991, the annual returns were as high as 36,000 (Lopes, 1999). Many of these Portuguese workers took advantage of return incentive programmes implemented by several receiving countries (e.g., France and Germany). During the last decade, the number of returns continued to decrease, however, it is expected that a trickle of returns will be maintained in the near future specially for the retired first generation of emigrants (Peixoto, 1993).  

From 1960 and 1981, the total foreign population residing in Portugal grew to 62,692 representing an increase of more than 200% (SEF, Annual Report, 1981). Whereas in the 1970s immigration was mainly a refugee phenomena in the 1980s and 1990s migratory inflows were essentially characterized by labour migration (Machado, 1997). During the 1980s the composition of the foreign population changed significantly. If in the 1960s and early 1970s Europeans constituted the most numerous group, in the following decades migrant influxes from the Palops became dominant, thereby inverting previous trends. In 1991, the total number of foreigners residing legally in Portugal was 113,978, of these approximately 40% (47,998) were from the Palops (SEF, 1991). In 1996, the total foreign population was 172,912 of these 81,174 (46.5%) were Africans and 46,798 (27.0%) were Europeans (Tables 1 and 2).  

Presently, there are 177,774 legal foreign residents in Portugal which constitutes approximately 2% of the total Portuguese population (SEF, 1998). According to Lopes (1999), when illegal immigration is taken into account the total foreign population may be as high as 200,000.  

As Tables 1 and 2 show, in 1998, African immigration represents nearly 50% of the total foreign population. Of these, Capeverdeans constitute approximately 50% (40,093) of the total African inflows, followed by Angolans (16,487) and immigrants from Guinea-Bissau (12, 894).
Less significant are immigration flows from Mozambique and S. Tomé e Príncipe representing approximately 5% of the total African immigrant population.

Table 1:
Legal Foreign Population in Portugal 1986-1998

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africans</td>
<td>37,829 (43.5%)</td>
<td>81,174 (46.5%)</td>
<td>+112.8%</td>
<td>82,467 (46.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asians</td>
<td>2,958 (3.4%)</td>
<td>5,534 (3.1%)</td>
<td>+136.3%</td>
<td>7,393 (4.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>24,040 (27.6%)</td>
<td>46,798 (27.0%)</td>
<td>+94.6%</td>
<td>52,109 (29.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Americans</td>
<td>9,047 (10.4%)</td>
<td>10,783 (6.2%)</td>
<td>+19.1%</td>
<td>10,148 (6.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Americans</td>
<td>12,629 (14.5%)</td>
<td>25,731 (14.8%)</td>
<td>104.1%</td>
<td>24,890 (14.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>479 (0.6%)</td>
<td>767 (0.5%)</td>
<td>+60.1%</td>
<td>1,261 (0.6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>86,982 (100%)</td>
<td>172,912 (100%)</td>
<td>+98.1%</td>
<td>177,774 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2:
Five Major Immigrant Groups in Portugal (1986-1998)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1º</td>
<td>Capeverdeans</td>
<td>26,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2º</td>
<td>Brazilians</td>
<td>7,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3º</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>6,958</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4º</td>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>6,326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5º</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>5,872</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Sources, Machado (1997); SEF, Annual Reports 1986-1996;

The European immigrants represents 29% of the total foreign population. The overwhelming majority came from EU countries, mainly from the United Kingdom (12,680) and Spain (10,191), Germany (8,345) and finally from France (5,804). Regarding transoceanic immigration, North and South America contribute 20% (35,038) of the total foreign population. Of
these, 19,860 are Brazilians migrants. A common language, cultural similarities, a privileged judicial statute (e.g., voting rights, citizenship) and perceived better opportunities constituted major "pull factors" attracting increasing numbers of Brazilian migrants to Portugal. Presently, this community is, after the Capeverdean, the second largest immigrant group residing in the country. Finally, immigration from Asia constitutes roughly 4% (7,393) of the total foreign population. The majority came from China (2,477), India (116) and from Pakistan (886). More recently, new influxes of migrant labourers from Eastern Europe and from the former Soviet Union have entered the country. A considerable number of these are illegal workers who have been pushed into international mafia networks of illegal immigration.

Although Portugal was one of the European countries less affected by refugee inflows from Eastern Europe and from Africa, from 1990 to 1997, 4,330 refugee applications were filed. Of these, only 206 applications were granted asylum status. The overwhelming majority (2,170) were considered unfound or bogus claims and, therefore, asylum status was refused SEF, 1993-1998). The majority of the asylum seekers came from Romania (82,366) followed by Angola (674), Zaire (491) and Liberia (125). Overall, in the last decade 90% of the total asylum applicants in Portugal came from Europe and Africa (Costa, 1996). In the last two years, the majority of refugee inflows came from Central Africa. The statistics for 1998 confirm this trend. Of the 118 applications submitted 22 are from Congo, 18 from Serra Leoa, 12 from Liberia and 12 from Nigeria (Lopes, 1999; SEF, 1998).

Immigration flows to Portugal have become increasingly diversified in the last decade. The heterogeneity of the foreign population can hardly be reduced to issues of place of origin or citizenship, but it is also inscribed in its settlement patterns and in its occupational and professional structure. Regarding the geographic distribution of immigrant communities in 1996 almost 67% of the total foreign population resided in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. Of these, 82.2% were migrants from the Palops, 48.4% from Europe, 47.3% from Brazil (Lopes, 1999; Malheiros, 1996). The African migrants have tended to concentrate mainly in the northern periphery of Lisbon, in spatially segregated neighbourhoods in the municipalities of Amadora, Loures, Oeiras and Cascais. According to Esteves (ed., 1991) and Perista and Pimenta (1993) in
the early 1990s approximately 10% of the foreign population lived in shanty dwellings. For those immigrants from the Palops this percentage increased to 17%. Of these 33% were Capeverdeans and only 6% were from Angola.

A major survey of disadvantaged migrant ethnic communities residing in slums in the periphery of Lisbon conducted in the late 1980s provides a useful broad profile of the position of migrants in Portuguese society (Bruto da Costa & Pimenta eds. 1991). According to these authors it was estimated that approximately 50,000 migrants were living in the 130 slum neighbourhoods scattered in the Greater Lisboan area. The findings suggest that between 73% and 92% of these migrants are in a situation a of total exclusion, living well below the poverty line without the minimum housing conditions, income and access to education, health, leisure, and so forth. Furthermore and despite the wide variability between the migrant ethnic communities, these people occupy a marginal position in the labour market trapped in very precarious backbreaking jobs. Many of these workers are also engaged in the informal sector of the economy and in some cases in a complex network of subcontracting in order to supplement their meagre monthly earnings. For Bruto da Costa & Pimenta eds. (1991) migrant populations are undeniably marked by marginalization and disadvantage. Moreover, they argue that the lack of state responses to migrants’ social exclusion and subordination has been particularly conspicuous for “no infrastructures to provide the minimum assistance and help were created nor any policies targeting the concrete integration have been implemented” (ibid: 319). For Baganha (1996), the high numbers of African migrants living in poor living conditions has more to do with their condition of poverty than with racial discrimination. In her own words, “What we see in Portugal is discrimination against poverty” (ibid: 42). The empirical evidence presented in this thesis suggests that although spatial and social segregation may not be explained entirely by racist attitudes, these, as Chapters V and VI show have played a important role in migrants’ spatial marginalization and social exclusion.

The overwhelming concentration of African migrants in the metropolitan area of Lisbon is directly tied to the availability of jobs in large urban centres. This explains the ways in which migrant niches tend to gravitate around urban areas where employment opportunities are higher
in industry as well as in the construction and tertiary sectors of the economy. However, not all foreign residents are labourer migrants. For instance, a high percentage of Europeans living in Portugal are retirees in search of temperate weather. In 1996, the southern region of Algarve attracted 25.5% of all European immigrants compared to only 7.4% of migrants from the Palops (Lopes, 1999:100).

In broad terms, the occupational structure of the immigrant population in Portugal may be divided into three major categories. The first category is composed by highly skilled professionals and technicians. Many of these are self-employed or occupy high professional status positions. Some are also employed as business managers or as investors of foreign capital coming mostly from Europe. Among this group, it is important to note the presence of a significant number of Brazilian professionals (e.g., dentists, physicians and scientists). The second category is constituted by skilled workers and small business entrepreneurs. This group includes migrants from Europe as well as from North and South America and from the Palops. There is also a significant proportion of migrants of East Indian descent who are concentrated in the trade and service sectors (Malheiros, 1996; Pires, 1993). The third category is formed by unskilled and semi-skilled migrant workers with low social and occupational mobility. The overwhelming majority of them work in the construction sector and in low skilled service occupations (e.g., household and janitorial services). This situation is typical of immigration flows from the Palops and from other African countries. This group also includes refugees and undocumented immigrants who tend to work illegally in temporary low-paying jobs (Lopes, 1999). It is important to introduce a caveat here. Regarding African immigration, Machado (1997) argues that commonly held representations of Africa immigrants as having low or no skills and low educational levels often misrepresent these immigrant populations. For instance, the levels of education of immigrants from Guinea-Bissau are, on average, higher than those registered in Guinea-Bissau and in Portugal. A significant proportion of these immigrants held scientific and high status occupations in Guinea-Bissau. Yet, upon arrival in Portugal these migrants have occupied the lower ranks of the occupational structure (e.g., construction work) with very slim opportunities for social mobility.
When compared with the occupational structure of the domestic population, research has shown that immigrants from the Palops are over-represented in blue-collar occupations and underrepresented in white-collar jobs. An inverse pattern is found among European and Brazilian migrants who overall are over-represented in high skilled and professional occupations at the top of the occupational structure (Baganha, 1996). Furthermore, findings also suggest that immigrant workers, specially from the Palops are over-represented in the informal sector of the economy (ibid:100-110). In the last decade massive investments in public works and infrastructures have increased substantially the demand for unskilled and semi-skilled construction labourers. African legal and illegal migrants have been sucked in by subcontracting companies in search of docile labour. In 1994, a long article in Visão (September 1, 1994) under the heading "Immigrants are Needed" brings to the fore the complex chain of migrant labour recruitment, illegality and exploitation. Despite some efforts to control immigration, this situation has been maintained throughout the 1990s with the complicity of state institutions. In conclusion, the double nature of the Portuguese migratory phenomena (emigration/immigration) has been explained in terms of Portugal's semiperipheral position in the world system (Pena Pires, 1988, 1990; Santos, 1994) For these authors, the coexistence of centre and periphery dimensions which are characteristic of intermediate developed societies has been translated into migration phenomena characterized by the coexistence of in and out flows. To this extent, Portugal is operating as a "revolving door" whereby it sends unskilled labour to Europe and receives, in turn, professionals. This migratory trend is reproduced regarding African inflows whereby Portugal receives unskilled labourers and sends highly skilled professionals.13

A major issue in the recent literature on the migratory phenomena in Portugal has centred on the nature of the relationship between emigration and immigration flows. For Malheiros (1996) present-day immigration flows do not constitute a substitute for Portuguese migration outflows. Rather, he argues that they are complements fulfilling specific labour niches which do not overlap. A different argument is made by Baganha and Peixoto (1994). For these authors, migrants' inflows are largely perceived as substitutes for a lack of national labour due to emigration to other European countries. According to Machado (1997), and I would tend to agree
with him, the lack of empirical research and reliable statistical information make it extremely hard to convey a clear picture of migrants' patterns of insertion in the labour market.

Common to these different approaches is the stress on Portugal's semiperipheral situation in the world system and its double condition as a sending country to central European countries, and a receiving country from Third World countries, more specifically from Africa. In the last two decades, the process of modernization in Portugal has been accompanied by a “recentering” of its position vis-à-vis the world system and in Ferrão 's words as an "unqualified periphery of a developed Europe and simultaneously a pole of attraction for the more marginalized peripheries" (1996:181). In the following section state responses to immigration will be fully discussed within the context of EU migration policies.

Institutional Responses to Immigration:

A Balancing Act Between Inclusion and Exclusion

European countries have shown considerable differences in their reaction to immigration. Castles (1995) suggests three types of ideal policy models. The “differential exclusion model” is associated with countries such as Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Its essential features include a “guestworker” system highly exclusionary in terms of citizenship, social and political rights. The “assimilationist model” is typified by countries such as France and to a large extent by the United Kingdom. In this model, immigrants are expected to become fully assimilated in the new society. Yet, Castles warns that there is a contradiction between “formal inclusion” and structural exclusion, meaning that in certain instances although immigrants may enjoy full citizenship rights, marginalization, social exclusion and racism have become pervasive among immigrant ethnic communities. The third model refers to the pluralist model of ethnic relations in the U.S.A., Canada and Australia. In these countries multiculturalism is the backbone of economic, political and social policies directed towards immigrant and ethnic communities. Although some countries fit better a specific model, that does not necessarily imply that the fit is perfect. On the contrary, each country may combine a variety of features from different models.14
Drawing on Castles' typology, I will discuss next Portuguese state responses to immigration. Table 3 characterizes the four major phases of Portuguese immigration policy highlighting the shifting pattern of incorporation of migrant ethnic communities in mainstream Portuguese society.

**Table 3: Evolution of Portuguese Immigration Policies and Migratory Inflows**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phases</th>
<th>Major Policy Components</th>
<th>Immigrant Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phase I</td>
<td>Recruitment of African manpower (Capeverdeans); immigration of substitution. Inflows of European professionals and entrepreneurs</td>
<td>Spaniards British, French, Germans, Brazilians and Capeverdeans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1973</td>
<td>Laissez-faire policies; return of Portuguese immigrants; repatriation of Portuguese residing in the ex-colonies; refugee migration (Palops); labour migration flows from the African ex-colonies</td>
<td>Africans from Portuguese ex-colonies (Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Guiné-Bissau); Brazilians; Europeans, North Americans. Also Eastern Europeans</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the 1960s the process of industrialization and the entry of Portugal in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) opened up the country to foreign investment. Furthermore, the development of the tourism industry and labour shortages due to emigration have prompted new influxes of foreigners to Portugal. Overall, the new inflows were characterized by a double
migratory movement from Europe and from Cape Verde. During this period, European foreign investors and professionals started to settle in Portugal, especially in the Algarve. It is estimated that in 1960, 60% of the total foreign population in Portugal were Europeans. Of these 40% came from Spain, 7% from Great Britain and 5% from Germany. The remaining foreign population came from the American continent and, of these 22%, were Brazilians (Esteves, ed., 1991).

Regarding migration flows from the Palops, it is particularly hard to assess the size given that during colonial times these migrations were perceived as “interregional flows” (Esteves, ed., 1991:20). In any case, these migrations were constituted mainly by African students who came to Portugal to attend university and post-graduate studies and by unskilled labourers mainly from Cape Verde who were recruited to work in the construction industry. These first groups were the pioneers of a chain migration which has lasted up until the present-day (Saint-Maurice, 1997). In 1960 it is estimated that the total African population amounted to 1.5% of the total foreign population residing in Portugal.

The second phase started in 1974 and lasted up until the end of the 1980s. During this period immigration issues had been kept out of the political agenda. In the 1980s when the rest of Europe was closing its borders, Portugal, like Spain and Italy, adopted a laissez-faire immigration policy (Kubat, 1993). One of the major implication of such a political strategy was according to Machado (1996) the depoliticization of immigration and ethnicity in Portugal. The lack of a labour migration policy and the absence of a debate on immigration issues tended to neutralize immigrants’ claims and interests.

However, the increasing influxes of migrants and refugees from the ex-colonies were met with growing apprehension. In 1981 a more restrictive citizenship law (Law 37/8) was introduced. If the previous law was based on an equilibrium between jus soli and jus sanguinis, the new regulations largely privileged jus sanguinis. For Esteves (ed., 1991), this shift in the definition of citizenship was rooted on nationalist fears fuelled by increasing inflows of migrants as a consequence of decolonisation. But, if on the one hand, the new law restricted the access to citizenship to immigrants, on the other hand it facilitated the reacquisition or acquisition of nationality to Portuguese emigrants and their descendents living abroad. Also the introduction of
regulations allowing for dual citizenship also favoured Portuguese emigrants who had acquired a
different nationality and who had to forego Portuguese citizenship. This greater sensitivity
towards Portuguese emigrant communities underlined a major ideological shift in the conception
of Portuguese nationhood.

In the 1980s, the official representations of the nation became increasingly tied to a
conception of the nation as an imagined community of descent which transcended territorial
boundaries. Special rights, privileges and the creation of institutional channels for the full
participation of Portuguese emigrants and their descendants in Portuguese society attempted to
strengthened the economic, cultural and ethnic bonds between Portugal and its communities
abroad.¹⁵ The envisioning of Portugal as “a nation of communities” (Aguilar, 1999:19) reflected a
self-understanding of the nation in which Portuguese emigrants became a most important
constitutive element. But if the new national imaginary embraced the long forgotten and often
neglected “Portuguese of the Diaspora” the willingness to incorporate those citizens from the ex-
colonies with whom Portugal had established historical and cultural ties remained problematic.

The third period began in 1990 and lasted until 1994. During this period immigration
gained an unprecedented centrality in the Portuguese political agenda. The continuing influxes of
migrants, the mobilization of immigrant associations lobbying for political recognition, the
mobilization of civic organizations and international pressure to comply with the requisites
imposed by the Schengen Treaty have prompted Portuguese policymakers to address some of
the major issues and concerns regarding migrant populations living in Portugal. In 1992, the
government implemented a regularization period (October 1992 to March 1992) aimed at the
legalization of thousands of illegal immigrants residing in the country. A Coordinating Secretariat
of the Associations for Legalization (Secretariado Coordenador das Associações para a
Legalização, SCAL) constituted by immigrant organizations, trade unions and the Catholic
Organization for Migrations (Obra Católica das Migrações) was set up to coordinate and mobilize
immigrant associations for the legalization process. Up until today, this Secretariat has played a
key role as an advisory committee to the Ministry of the Interior and to policy makers on a wide
range of issues concerning immigrant populations residing in Portugal.
Regarding the legalization period, SCAL seriously challenged the effectiveness of this initiative. Complaints focused on the lack of adequate public information, inefficient infrastructure to process applications and, finally, the eligibility criteria was also highly contested. Although approximately 36,000 residence authorizations were granted in the legalization period, SCAL claimed that a considerable number of immigrants were left out of the legalization process and have remained in an illegal situation. One of the major reasons presented for the exclusion of thousands of immigrants in the regularization period of 1992 had to do with the nature of the eligibility criteria. The presentation of a work contract or letter of employment as a requisite for residence legalization greatly restricted the number of eligible candidates. Employees refrained from issuing such documentation fearing the denunciation of a situation of illegal employment.

After the regularization period and in order to further adjust Portuguese immigration legislation to the Single European Act and the Maastricht Treaty, implemented respectively on January 1, 1993 and November 1, 1993, the government introduced in 1993 new immigration and asylum legislation. Two major concerns presided over these policy instruments. First, there was an attempt to harmonize Portuguese policy to the European policy of “Fortress Europe” which stressed the need to control migration influxes from third countries (e.g., non-European countries). In the specific case of Portugal, it meant the need to curtail the entrance of foreigners especially those coming from the former Portuguese colonies. Second, the integration of migrant ethnic communities gained an unprecedented centrality in the European political agenda (Martiniello, 1994; Wihtol de Wenden, 1993).

The Bill 59/93 of March 3, 1993 introduced substantial changes to the previous bills regulating the entry, residence and expulsion of foreigners. For the first time, Portugal was officially defined as a “country of immigration.” Yet, the Bill did not devise an immigration policy as such. Instead a set of regulations were introduced to regulate the inflow and permanence of foreigners in the country. Tighter entry control measures were adopted making it especially hard for those coming from outside EU countries. Major provisions were also made for the expulsion of foreigners. While previously judicial authorities had full jurisdiction over the expulsion of foreigners, the new Bill assigned new responsibilities to the Ministry of the Interior for dealing
exclusively with illegal immigration expulsions. The criminalization of illegal immigration was one of the most controversial issues of the new legislation. Heavy sanctions were imposed on illegal immigrants and on those who were engaged in activities to facilitate, promote or benefit from illegal immigration.

Also, in response to changes in immigration and refugee policies introduced in other European countries a new asylum law (Law 70/93) was enacted. For instances, Italy had implemented new immigration and refugee legislation in 1990 (Rosoli, 1993) and both Germany and Greece introduced new immigration laws in 1991 (Lazaridis, 1996; Mehrlander, 1993b).

The new regulations regarding asylum and refugees were highly controversial. After an initial Presidential veto, minor changes were introduced regarding the election and decision-making powers of a newly appointed National High Commissioner for Refugees. One of the most controversial issues which remained unchanged concerned the elimination of previous provisions (Bill 38/80) establishing the admission of refugees on humanitarian grounds. In the new legislation only in exceptional cases would refugee claims grounded on humanitarian reasons be considered. Lately, an expedient bureaucratic procedure concerning bogus applications was introduced. This new procedure was highly criticized for it did not allow the applicants to plead their cases, nor did it give them the opportunity to contest administrative decisions. Applications were thus processed without due process (Costa, 1996).

The restrictionist and exclusionary approach was further extended to issues of citizenship. In 1994, a new law of nationality (Bill 25/94) further limited the right to citizenship of foreigners. Since 1981, the attribution of Portuguese citizenship became anchored on jus sanguinis. This system was to be reinforced in the new legislation making naturalization even harder to obtain (Esteves, ed., 1991). For instance, residence requisites for naturalization were extended from six to ten years for the non-Palops citizens and the acquisition of nationality through marriage ceased to be automatic. Instead, naturalization could only be granted after at least three years of marriage.

Public responses to these shifts in immigration policies was rather uneven. The new legislation on immigration, asylum and refugees and citizenship encountered major criticism from
opposition parties (Socialist and Communist Parties) from SCAL, immigrant organizations and solidarity associations. Isolationist attitudes, inflexibility and lack of solidarity were pointed out as major handicaps in dealing effectively with problems facing immigrants and refugees. The Catholic Church was particularly critical of the state’s approach to immigrant communities residing in Portugal, specially those from the Palops countries. In their opinion: “Portugal did not have a policy, a program, a receiving or an integration strategy... a serious omission which revealed a complete social, historical and cultural blindness” (Público, December 19, 1993).

Yet, public opinion had tended to support government actions. The result of a national poll conducted in 1993 (Painel Expresso/Euroexpansão, August, 1993) revealed that the great majority of the interviewees agreed with “restricting the admission of immigrant foreign workers.” Similar trends were observed regarding the entrance of political asylum seekers: 54% agreed with stricter entry controls and 33% disagreed. The only exception concerned the entry of refugees on humanitarian grounds: 57% agreed that borders should not be closed to those refugees.

The PSD’s (Partido Social Democrata; Social Democratic Party) government official discourse of fear, control and national security had paid off. Playing on insecurity feelings and nationalist sentiments had far-reaching effects for the legitimation of restrictionist and exclusionary policies. As in other European countries, the Portuguese political discourse on immigrants and refugees tended to be apocalyptic (Vasta, 1993; Wilpert, 1993). Immigrant populations and asylum seekers were usually represented as “hundreds of people knocking daily on our door” (Expresso, August 7, 1993), claiming the country’s resources and social benefits. According to the Minister of the Interior in charge at the time: “...there is a short distance between insecurity and racism and xenophobia. We will only receive people who can be integrated and no one else” (Jornal de Notícias, November 19, 1993).

During the early 1990s the official rhetoric on immigration was very much tied to issues of national security and of “integration”, which was little more than an euphemism for a notion of assimilation. Although the discourse on assimilation was rather diffuse, overall it emphasized
the idea that immigrants were expected to adapt and to reshape their ways of life to the Portuguese social and cultural reality.

However, the official discourse on immigration was highly contradictory for it targeted precisely those with whom Portugal had long established historical, social and cultural ties. Within the new framework of European membership, historical, cultural, and language commonality with the populations of the ex-colonies were to be overlooked in favour of an ideology which stressed difference, exclusion and alienness.

Furthermore, despite the governments' claims of keeping a firm grip on immigration migrant inflows, mainly from Africa, reached their peak in the years 1993-1994. As Table 4 shows that immigration growth rates in 1992 and 1995 were on average ten times higher than those registered in 1997 and 1998.

**Table 4:**

*Total Legal Immigration Inflows, 1988-1998*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Annual Growth Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>94,694</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>101,011</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>107,767</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>113,978</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>123,612</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>136,932</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>157,073</td>
<td>14.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>168,316</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>172,912</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>175,263</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>177,774</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although it is nearly impossible to fully account for illegal immigration during this period, the legalization period of 1996 reveal the presence of thousands of illegal immigrants many of whom had entered the country in the early 1990s. As Castles (1995) has argued, France and Southern European countries have, in the last decade, produced a discourse of close borders and strict control, yet their governments have tolerated or “even tacitly encouraged illegal labour immigration” (ibid:295). In his view, these policies “lead to differential exclusion by depriving entrants of nearly all basic rights” (ibid:295). The relevance of these claims for the Portuguese case are readily apparent. The need for “flexible” labour to work in major public works has led to the state’s condoning of illegal immigration and of the presence of migrants who were often “encaged” in construction sites, living in sub-human conditions during the term of their “contracts.”

However, in the early 1990s immigration issues became increasingly politicised. Several international and national factors have prompted the production of a new social debate on immigration. At an international level, the EU attempt to harmonize European Union countries’ immigration policies and the stress on the integration of immigrant population had major repercussions with respect to the formulation of migrant integration mechanisms in Portugal. At a national level, the consolidation of immigrant communities, the increasing politicization of immigrant associational movements, the emergence of mainstream pressure groups, the scientific community and non-governmental associations contributed to the incorporation of immigration in the Portuguese political agenda.

In 1991 the Ministry of Education became particularly sensitive to issues of multiculturalism and cultural difference. Multicultural programs were implemented by the newly constituted Secretariat for Multicultural Educational Programs (Secretariado Coordenador dos Programas de Educação Multicultural/ Entreculturas). In 1993 the Projecto de Educação Intercultural aimed at the valorization of cultural differences and the promotion of equal access to education amongst migrant children (Rocha-Trindade, 1995).

Furthermore, in 1993 the government approved an action program aimed at the creation of legal mechanisms to promote the social and professional integration of immigrants. In October of the same year, an Interdepartmental Commission for the Integration of Immigrants and Ethnic
Minorities was devised among various Ministries (Employment and Welfare, Education, Health, Public Services and the Ministry of the Interior). One of the main objectives of this Commission was the implementation of a wide range of measures to address xenophobic sentiments, discrimination and to promote professional training programmes amongst disadvantaged immigrant communities. At a local-level, the municipality of Lisbon created in 1993 the Municipal Council of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities (Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas). The Council operated as an advisory committee, constituted by City Hall officials and immigrant association representatives. Its main objectives were first to promote the political participation of immigrant communities in the decision-making process and second to promote the cultural values of immigrants and finally the promotion of an “intercultural dialogue” (Municipality of Amadora, 1998b).

The attempt to create institutional channels for the participation of migrant communities was followed by two other municipalities in the periphery of Lisbon. As it will be discussed fully in the next chapter the city of Amadora created in 1995 a consultative body (Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas) similar to the Lisbon’s advisory board. Also, the municipality of Loures set up a Cabinet for Religious and Socially Specific Issues (Gabinete para os Assuntos Religiosos e Sociais Específicos, GARSE). Although these two new institutional agencies varied in their organizational structure, both agencies dealt with similar problems affecting immigrant and ethnic (e.g., gypsies) populations: housing, education, job training, immigrant associations.

Concomitant with the creation of these new institutionalized forms for migrant political integration was the election of the first migrant African deputy to Parliament. In fact, the Socialist Party had already in the legislative elections in 1991 included in their candidate lists representatives of migrant communities residing in Portugal. This trend towards the socio-political integration of immigrant populations accelerated considerably after the Socialists came to power in 1995.

The fourth period of immigration policy begun in 1995 and lasted to the present-day. This period has been characterized by a shift from an overall assimilationist approach to immigration
to a more inclusionary system. Although immigration issues were not a top priority in the legislative elections of 1995, the Socialist Party promised a more liberal and "humane" treatment of immigrants including the extension of basic citizenship rights to these populations. Once, in power, Socialist Prime Minister António Guterres moved quickly to implement several of the electoral campaign promises made to immigrants. In 1996, a High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (Alto Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas, ACIME) was nominated under the direct dependency of the Prime Minister. The major objective of this new department is the "integration of immigrants, whose presence constitutes a factor of enrichment of the Portuguese society" (Decree-Law 3-A/96). Furthermore, the promotion of an interministerial dialogue to implement sectoral immigration policies (housing, education, and employment); the extension of social and political rights to immigrant and ethnic populations and the enactment of various measures to fight racism, discrimination and xenophobia constitute the major areas of intervention of the High Commission Office.19

In the last five years, the government has adopted a wide range of policies which strengthened immigrants' full participation in mainstream society. The following are just some of the most important legal changes introduced. One of the first measures introduced was the implementation of a second regularization period in 1996. Of the total 35,082 applications submitted, the overwhelming majority came from the Palops countries (Angola 9,255; Cape Verde 6,872; Guiné Bissau 5,308; and Brazil 2,330).20

Subsequently, the government has issued various diplomas extending citizenship rights to immigrants. Social assistance benefits (minimum income guarantees, welfare benefits and medical coverage) were extended to immigrant populations residing legally in the country. Also, the right to vote and to be elected in municipal elections (Bill 36/96) was granted to migrant communities. Based on reciprocal agreements, voting and eligibility rights were granted to European Union citizens as well as to Cape Verde, Brazil, Peru, and Uruguay nationals. Also voting rights were granted to citizens from Argentina, Norway and Israel (ACIME Bulletins, September to December, 1996).
Regarding labour legislation, Bill 199/97 extended labour rights to immigrants. The new legislation revoked the previous Bill 97/77 that imposed a quota of 90% Portuguese workers in companies with more than five workers. Also included was a provision for equal treatment between immigrant and Portuguese workers aimed at fighting discrimination in the workplace and social exclusion. The two major trade unions the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (Confederação Geral dos Trabalhadores Portugueses–Intersindical, CGTP-IN) and the General Union of workers (União Geral dos Trabalhadores, UGT) have been particularly sensitive to migrants' integration problems. Through their departments of migrations, unions have developed multiple strategies to promote the integration of immigrants. For Carlos Trindade, the director of the Department of Migrations of the CGTP-IN, the unionisation of immigrants (legal or illegal) is perceived as a "fundamental element of socialization and as such it is an important contribution to the integration of immigrants in the Portuguese society." Immigrants' direct involvement in the union is expected to strengthen migrants' opportunities to fully participate in Portuguese society.

Both trade union federations have played a crucial role in the politicisation of migrants' issues, namely discrimination, illegality and social exclusion.

Furthermore, new legislation was introduced in 1998 concerning the entry and settlement of foreigners in Portugal. The Decree-Law 244/98 established new regulations governing the admission and residence of foreigners. This legislation resulted from:

The urgent need to adjust present-day legislation to the norms and measures that have been adopted by international conventions of which Portugal is a signatory state, namely as a member of the European Union and a partner in the Schengen Treaty. (Decree-Law 244/98, p.5)

An emphasis on family reunification, the criminalization of illegal immigration and the new provision for voluntary return in case of expulsion were some of the special measures introduced by the new law. Yet, regarding the entrance of foreigners from "Third Countries", the new rules enforced a stricter control on these migrant flows.

According to Father Manuel Soares, Director of the Portuguese Catholic Organization for Migrations and the Coordenator of SCAI, for once the Minister of the Interior has encouraged the active participation of SCAI as well as of other organizations in the formulation of the new immigrant legislation. Less restrictive measures were proposed regarding family reunion.
requirements and residence permits prerequisites especially for those migrants from the Palops and from Brazil. Furthermore more flexible regulations were advised in regard to residence permit renewals and immigrant expulsion regulations (SCAL Report, 1998).

Although, according to SCAL the new legislation has shown a trend towards a more inclusive immigrant policy, overall exclusionary measures towards immigrants from “Third Countries” remained largely unchanged. In its final proposal presented to the Ministry of the Interior SCAL claims that:

The draft elaborated by MAI (Ministério da Administração Interna — Ministry of the Interior) maintains the “spirit” of the law 59/93 for it proposes legal measures coherent with the idea of “closing” the country to immigrants from the Third Countries namely lusophone countries which represent presently the main immigration influxes to Portugal. … SCAL opposes the general spirit of this project for it considers that Portugal can and it even should receive a considerable number of immigrants from the lusophone countries. (SCAL, Internal Report, 1998)

In response to these proposals minor changes were introduced, yet for SCAL these fell short of the genuine democratic approach to immigration policy. Also in 1998 new asylum legislation was introduced to adjust the Portuguese law to European asylum legislation. The new Bill (15/98) aimed at the implementation of measures intended to liberalize the previous asylum Bill 70/93. The major changes focussed on family reunion prerequisites, the provision of social assistance to refugee seekers and the introduction of three levels of legal protection, namely the granting of refugee statute for political reasons, residence permits for humanitarian reasons and finally a regime of temporary protection. In addition, refugee admission processes were modified and two new phases introduced as due process. The first one deals with the evaluation of admissibility conditions and the second one with its authenticity (ACIME Bulletin, nº 17, January, 1998).

The new shift to a more inclusionary policy created new channels for political opportunity for migrant communities. Besides the extension of voting rights to immigrants, the creation of new institutionalised forms of participation have been key policy strategies. For example, the Consultative Council for Immigration (Bill 39/98) operating under the auspices of the High Commissioner’s Office is constituted by state officials and trade union representatives as well as by individuals representing migrant organizations. This advisory council focuses specifically on
immigrant integration programs and on the implementation of anti-discriminatory policies (ACIME Bulletin n° 17, January, 1998). The immigrant associational movement has also experienced a major increment in the last decade. While during the 1970s and 1980s migrant associations concentrated on providing welfare, educational, cultural and recreational services, in the 1990s these organizations have become increasingly politicised and institutionalised. Large umbrella organizations and federations are non-existent and the majority of migrants' associations operate locally. There are presently 49 associations which are involved in social services and cultural activities. Among these, the Capeverdean associational movement particularly has been engaged in local and state policies. For instance, the Capeverdean Association, a pioneer migrant association, has played a decisive role in migrants' collective organizing. In face of the state's laissez faire and non-interventionist approach to the immigrant situation in Portugal, in the early 1990s, the Capeverdean association made considerable efforts to mobilize other immigrant associations existing in Portugal as well as international migrant organizations and European government authorities (Great Britain, France, Italy and Spain). French and British members of Parliament and the leader of the socialist party in Britain were invited to Portugal to participate in the immigration debates with the Portuguese government authorities. These debates had as a major objective to pressure Portuguese authorities to politically address immigrant problems, especially the existence of thousands of immigrants who lived in the country illegally, deprived of any rights and often the victims of overt forms of exploitation. The implementation of the regularization process was perceived as a major victory for the immigrant associational movement in Portugal.

More recently, issues of institutionalisation have permeated the debate on the migrant associational movement. The realization of the Forum of the Capeverdean Associational Movement in the Diaspora (Forum do Movimento Associativo Caboverdiano na Diáspora) on March 29, 1998, brought to the fore the major concerns and challenges facing migrants' organizing. The Forum constituted a site of debate for the formulation of major proposals for the Capeverdean Congress to take place in Mindelo, Cape Verde. One of the central issues discussed had to do with the need to establish a overarching federation for all the Capeverdean...
associations operating in Portugal. The main reason underlying such a proposal was the need for strengthening the position of the migrants' associational movement as a social partner with a voice concerning immigration and integration policies in Portugal. Another important concern related to the Capeverdean Congress (Congresso de Quadros Caboverdeanos) and its potential role as an umbrella organization for the Capeverdean associational movement in the diaspora. The central idea was that the Congress should establish itself as a non-governmental organization for cooperation and development (ONGD) within the European space with lobbying power and a greater capacity to influence European policies with Third Countries (Correia, 1998:10,12).

This trend towards the internationalisation of the migrant associational movement is not peculiar to the Capeverdean forms of organizing notwithstanding its pioneer and determinant role in migrants' organizing. A multiplicity of other migrants' organizations have increasingly tended to capitalize on international contacts and partnerships to widen their scope of intervention. Of particular interest has been the wide range of initiatives promoted by the Guinean Association (Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social, AGUINENSO) which has been successful in capitalizing on multiple contacts, and national and international networks. One of the organizations' major projects has been the construction of social housing for migrant populations. According to Fernando Ka, the director of the AGUINENSO:

Housing is one of the major problems facing Africans for it is very difficult for an African to rent an apartment in Lisbon. The housing problem, poverty is often tackled from a general perspective. However, one needs to be specific. There are disadvantaged groups and among these some are more disadvantaged than others. Treating everyone the same is not always an act of justice. And this reality is not discussed in Portugal.

Involvement in an European program to assist housing construction for ethnic minorities provided them with considerable funds to start the project. Also, state loans and local assistance from the municipality of Lisbon, which provided the land for the housing building were of crucial importance to the successful completion of the first phase of the project. In 1999, ten apartments were finished and immediately occupied by migrant families. Two more buildings are projected for the near future. Besides this project, the organization also operates in collaboration with the
Food Bank to assist 130 families on a regular basis. Juridical, health assistance and professional training are also privileged areas of intervention.

In addition, of no less importance have been the activities developed by SCAL as an advisory agency to government policy makers. It is important to note the role played by the Catholic Church Organization for Migrations (Obra Católica das Migrações) as the coordinator of the council and as a key social actor in the mobilization of local immigrant associations. The government’s recognition of the Church’s social and political action has been translated to close collaboration with the Ministry of the Interior and the ACIME. In the last three years, funds have been channelled to SCAL to finance a wide range of initiatives proposed by immigrant associations in various areas—education, housing, job training and social and humanitarian assistance.

During the last four years, other official initiatives have also been implemented to strengthen immigrants’ associations and immigrants’ integration in Portuguese society. Financial support has been channelled to a multiplicity of immigrant associations and other organizations involved with immigration issues such as trade unions, schools, non-governmental associations (e.g., SOS Racism) churches, and so forth. The majority of these funds are provided by the European Social and Cohesion Funds. For instance, in 1997 approximately five US dollars were channelled to various immigrant associations, trade unions and non-governmental organizations catering to ethnic migrant populations. The overwhelming majority of the funds aimed at the implementation of job and professional training programs. The majority of these initiatives targeted migrant youths and women (ACIME, Bulletin n° 12, 1997).

More recently a new law (Law 115/99) established a judicial regime for immigrant association. Underlying, the enactment of the law was the need to judicially define and regulate immigrant organizations within a legal and institutional regime (ACIME, Bulletin n° 36, August, 1999).

Concomitant with the institutionalization of the immigrant associational movement, was the creation of the Community of Countries of Portuguese Language (Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa, CPLP) in 1996. The constitution of this community also provided a new
political space for the debate of immigration issues, identity and citizenship rights. Its main objectives were the construction of a transnational lusophone identity and the creation of a "lusophone citizenship" grounded on extended citizenship rights for Portuguese speaking country nationals (Aguiar, 1998; Jesus, 1998; Leitão, 1998).

The unfolding of a lusophone space of membership appeals to an expanded notion of citizenship within a space of "interculturalism" which calls for the right to share a territory and also the obligation to live according to the culture of various groups and communities without subordinating their statutes to the majority" (Rocha-Trindade, 1998:12). Yet, for Lopes, in paraphrasing this community sedimented in terms of a common language is essentially "a new rhetorical expediency along the lines of luso-tropicalism or of a plausible area of institutional cooperation" (cited in Lopes, 1999:32).²⁷

According to Lopes the CPLP is an imaginary community which emerged as a response to the lost of the empire and to the integration of Portugal in the EU. For the High Commissioner, Jose Leitao the lusophone citizenship does not conflict with Portuguese obligations with the EU. On the contrary, it is perceived as being of utmost importance in a "world increasingly shaped by regional integration and economic social and cultural processes of globalization" (Leitão, 1998:59).

In the last decade, immigration and the position of migrant communities became increasingly politicised. More recently a shift from exclusionist to more inclusionist policies has characterized the socialist government responses to immigration. Integration programmes and multiple campaigns against racism and discrimination have gained unprecedented centrality in Portuguese social policies. The stress on citizenship rights, human rights and the adoption of multiple institutional measures towards the integration of migrant communities suggest a shift towards a greater emphasis on cultural diversity and plurality.

However, representatives of migrant associations have pointed out that the policy changes are more symbolic than structural. To Fernando Ka, the leader of the Guinean Association and a former member of Parliament, institutional practices and the new discourses on immigration fall short of a truly inclusionary approach to citizenship and immigration. In his own
words "The PS [Socialist Party (Partido Socialista)] opened the door to the Africans but it does not let them in the living-room. It still receives them in the hall."28 For him, the lack of participation of African migrants in the decision-making processes and in central and local state agencies reduce immigrant communities to a role of “consumer” of policies formulated by those in power. According to Ka, these practices are most revealing of “master/slave” ideology which still informs present-day “post-colonial” social relations. Moreover, in his opinion, the immigrant associational movement is presently too weak to act as a powerful social actor and to further migrants’ interests. Deficient infrastructures, lack of funds and lack of organizational effectiveness makes the movement too fragile and too vulnerable to state pressures. Similar opinions have been voiced by other migrant community leaders. For a Capeverdean community activist, the lack of mobilization of the immigrant community is due mainly to the fact that immigrant communities “have not so far freed themselves from the stigma of the colonized.” Furthermore, for him the immigrant associational movement is highly fragmented, personalized and vulnerable to political patronage and clientelism.29 As a result, the movement tend to be co-opted and its claims and interests neutralized.

The institutionalisation process of the migrant associational movement is largely perceived with mixed feelings. While, on the one hand, the formal recognition of immigrants’ organizing is acknowledged as a positive step towards the political incorporation of migrants, on the other hand, the lack of “truly” participatory arrangements in such formal institutional structures tends to alienate migrant groups.

In the opinion of some community leaders, although some positive changes have taken place in the last five years, the structural position of immigrants has remained basically unchanged. Youth unemployment, violence and delinquency have become increasingly associated with youth migrant groups. Racist attacks and the assassination of Alcindo Monteiro, a Capeverdean, holding Portuguese nationality, on June 11, 1995 by a group of skinheads in Bairro Alto, Lisbon and the murder of two other black persons in Lisbon on July 16, 1995 deeply questioned national conceptions of openness and tolerance towards cultural difference. More recently, suburban violence, gang activities in the periphery of Lisbon (e.g., Cascais, Amadora)
have been increasingly associated with African youths. If the Portuguese civic society and the political elite reacted very strongly against racist incidences, public demand for tighter policing of immigrant populations, fear and racism have increasingly structured popular representations of immigrant communities as a "problem" which requires constant surveillance and control.

In conclusion, in the last decade Portuguese immigration policymaking could be broadly characterized as an assimilationist regime in which pockets of differential exclusion have co-existed. Since 1995, a move towards a more inclusionary policy has characterized some of the new policy measures. These have been accompanied by a discourse which tends to demarginalize immigration while stressing the need for integration and the valorization of cultural difference. Presently, the situation is one of a mixture of assimilationist and more pluralist—oriented policies stretching the boundaries of nationhood in order to incorporate immigrant populations residing in Portugal. What are the implications of this new approach to immigration at a local-level? How are these policies filtered down to the micro-level of interaction? How are immigrant communities problematized by the local state institutions and, finally, to what extent do institutional practices configure not only patterns of participation and integration but also become instrumental in producing specific subjectivities and social reality. The next chapter will address these major questions by focussing on the relationship between local state policies and migrants' collective organizing in the Municipality of Amadora, in the periphery of Lisbon.
Chapter Notes

1 Included in Lopes's estimate (1999) are also those Portuguese descendants living abroad who have acquired Portuguese nationality. I would like to introduce a caveat here. Lopes' estimates are official statistics based on a citizenship criterion (e.g., Portuguese living abroad and holding Portuguese passports). As such, these figures do not give any indication of self identification (perceiving self as Portuguese) or group categorization (being regarded as Portuguese).

2 The notion of host society is used here as a general categorization. Yet in using it, I am fully aware of its controversial implications, that is, the implicit idea that migrants are guests, sojourners, or temporary workers. As it has been the case in several European countries (e.g., Germany, France, Switzerland), temporary workers have become permanent workers claiming full participation in the society's polity. However, more recently in Portugal and Spain, a new trend has emerged regarding state policy immigration. The temporary recruitment of immigrant labour is perceived as an effective measure to satisfy these countries manpower needs. To what extent the implementation of such policy will be a reality remains an open question.

3 European Structural Funds to Portugal were financed mainly by the European Fund for Regional Development (Fundo Europeu de Desenvolvimento Regional; FEDER); European Social Fund (Fundo Social Europeu, FSE); European Fund of Agricultural Orientation and Guarantee (Fundo Europeu de Orientação e de Garantia Agrícola; FEOGA) and the Specific Plan for the Development of the Portuguese Industry (Programa Específico de Desenvolvimento para a Indústria Portuguesa; PEDIP). See Barreto, 1996.

4 According to Eurostat estimates, in 1999, Portugal had one of the lowest unemployment rates in the Union, 4.3% compared to an European average of 9.6%. See INE, Eurostat Report, 1999.

5 For an analysis of Portuguese emigration to France see Bretell, 1986. According to figures provided by the Portuguese Secretary of State of Emigration, 1975, when illegal emigration is taken into account, the total number of Portuguese residing in France in 1975 was 1,524,413 (legal emigration 412,961; illegal emigration 558,882). After 1962 illegal outflows constituted more than half (61%) of the total Portuguese emigration legal flows (Rocha-Trindade, 1995:153).

6 After 1977 due to political and economic instability, the total volume of remittances dropped significantly. Yet in the 1980s remittances constituted the most important source of foreign currency (Rocha-Trindade, 1993). In 1994, total remittances amounted to 601.6 milhões de contos (approximately 5 billion dollars), approximately 4.1% of the GDP. For the same year, net European structural funds totaled 6.1% of the GDP (Rocha-Trindade, 1995).

7 See Arroteia, 1983; Baganha, 1998; Rocha-Trindade, 1995. According to these authors, Portuguese official statistics grossly underestimated the total number of departures.

8 According to Baganha and Peixoto (1994), the entry of Portugal in the EU does not constitute a determinant factor in shaping Portuguese emigration patterns. The case of emigration to Switzerland seems to support these authors' hypothesis. Still, the increasing emigration flows to Germany and other European countries seem to be tied to Portuguese membership in the Union.

9 PALOPS [Paises Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (African Countries having Portuguese as Official Language)].
By its nature it is extremely difficult to provide estimates of illegal immigration. According to the Ministry of the Interior there were, in 1993, approximately 70,000 illegal migrants residing in the county (SEF, 1993). However, immigrant associations, trade unions and welfare organizations claim the total figure to be close to 120,000. In the regularization period of 1992, a total of 36,166 residence permits were granted (SEF, 1992) and in 1996 more than 35,000 legalization claims were filed. Yet, it is estimated that approximately 20,000 migrants were still left out from the processes of legalization (Lopes, 1999; Machado, 1997).

Chinese immigration has increased 136% in the last decade, from a total of 2,958 in 1986 to 6,900 in 1996. A major reason underlying this increase is the administrative incorporation of Macao in the Popular Republic of China (Machado, 1997).

Personal interview with José Leitão, High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, January 15, 1999, Lisbon.

Cooperation bilateral agreements between Portugal and the African ex-colonies have prompted the movement of professionals and highly skilled technicians to Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique involved in temporary professional training programs. See Rocha-Trindade, 1995.

Castles (1995) argues that in the case of Germany there has been a shift from exclusionary policies to more assimilationist policies. Also in the United Kingdom the introduction of new integration policies resulted in a mixed model which combines assimilationist and pluralist policies. Also see Melotti (1997) for a discussion on immigration policies in Europe.


Personal interview with Father Manuel Soares, Director of SCAL, January 29, 1998, Lisbon.


Personal interview with Celeste Correia, Member of Parliament, Socialist Party, March 31, 1988, Lisbon.

Personal interview with José Leitão, High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, April 10, 1998, Lisbon.


Personal interview with Carlos Trindade, Director of the Department of Migrations CGTP-IN, March 15, 1999, Lisbon.


Personal interview with Father Manuel Soares, Coordinator of SCAL, July 7, 1999.

Personal interview with João Miranda, former Director of the Capeverdean Association, October 7, 1999, Lisbon.


Personal interview with Fernando Ka, Director of the Guinean Association, AGUINENSO, February 10, 1999, Lisbon.

For a critical discussion of Gilberto Freyre's theorizing on cultural hybridity and miscegenation, see Papastergiadis (1997) on Portuguese colonial ruling in the tropics see for instances Boxer (1988); Macedo (1989); Venâncio (1996).

Personal interview with Fernando Ka, President of the Guinean Association, February 10, 1999, Lisbon.

Personal interview with a Capeverdean migrant activist, March 10, 1999.
CHAPTER IV:

IMMIGRATION AND LOCAL POLITICS IN THE CITY OF

AMADORA

At the centre of this city and if to hold it in place there is not the centre of power, not a network of forces, but multiple networks of diverse elements—walls, space, institution, rules, discourse...a strategic distribution of different natures and levels. (Foucault, *Discipline and Punish*, 1995:307)

The implementation of migrant policies and the degree to which rights are exercised at a local-level have been a neglected issue in social science research. Instead, attention has tended to focus on macro analyses of the modern state and ethnic minorities, on the nature of national incorporation systems or on changing citizenship models (see for instance: Brubaker, 1992; Castles, 1995; Rex, 1996; Soysal, 1994). More recently, a call for a more empirically oriented sociology has been followed by a new interest in the analysis of local institutional responses to immigrant communities (Bousetta, 1997; Ireland, 1994). The city as a unit of analysis has brought to the fore the complex and paradoxical nature of the local as a highly hybrid space where national, international and global processes intertwine with locally produced cultural, social and political realities.

The Portuguese local state has not been immune to new developments in national social policy, institutional internationalization and globalization. These have had a direct impact on local state approaches to immigration and on the ways immigrants' experience the host polity. This chapter investigates the nature of local institutional responses to immigration which are to be understood against the background of recent developments in the national and international policy settings. The city of Amadora, where I have conducted ethnographic research, can be seen as a site within the broader field of institutional relations. The city provides the medium through which national policies and discourses on immigration articulate with local regimes of representation. The chapter begins by highlighting the major shifts in the Portuguese local administration structure in the last three decades. Building upon present-day literature on the
local state I discuss the relevance of those theoretical insights to account for the complex and contradictory nature of policy production and implementation. The second section presents an overview of the historical development of the city of Amadora, stressing its patterns of immigration and settlement from the 1970s onwards. The third section will explore how national integration policies have been appropriated and reworked at a local-level. It will focus specifically on the implementation of housing policies and on policy approaches to immigrants’ political incorporation. By focusing on local institutional practices and discourses, I hope to show how institutional power structures not only shape immigrants’ integration patterns but also how it imposes specific subjectivities while marginalizing others. Also, special attention will be paid to the emergence of deterritorialized processes of membership and the ways in which these increasingly have configured local policymaking and collective patterns of migrants’ organization. Finally, the last section will examine the recent shifts in local policies and discourses and their impact on migrants’ mobilizing strategies.

The Local as a Space of Mediation

Before 1974, a highly centralized and hierarchical administration system kept a firm grip on local autonomy and development. Patronage, political and financial control by central state agencies rendered municipal power too weak to challenge local administrative entrapment and dependency.

Central government’s stranglehold on municipal autonomy was especially conspicuous at political and economic levels. At a political level, Estado Novo’s electoral system of indirect representation of local state officials, introduced in the Administrative Code of 1940, not only reinforced central institutional dominance but also wove a close net of local political allegiances and clientelism.¹ At an economic level, municipal revenues obtained either through central state subsidies or through local taxation were, overall, too precarious to reverse economic stagnation and promote local development. This situation was further aggravated by the central government’s discretionary local investment and resource allocation policies. For instance, in 1960, contrary to all the other European countries, Portugal’s municipal expenditures represented
only 10.6% of the total public sector budget, an extremely low rate when compared to the level of expenditures extant at the time in Germany (57.9%), Netherlands (30.2%), Italy (26.4%) or France (22.7%) (Mozzicafreddo et al., 1991). This situation worsened substantially in the following decade. In 1974, while all European countries, with the exception of Ireland, increased considerably their local expenditures, the Portuguese local budget reached an exceedingly low rate of 8.5%. For the same year, the European country with the lowest local expenditure budget was Ireland with 20.7% and the highest was Switzerland with 69.4%. For the remaining European countries, the figures oscillated between 26.7% and 51.6% for the United Kingdom and Sweden respectively (Mozzicafreddo et al., 1989, 1991).

Overcentralization and disinvestment characterized Estado Novo's local administrative policies. However, central state's domination was not devoid of major contradictions. A disjunction between legalistic frameworks and local practice was a determinant factor in shaping local/centre relations. For instance, legally, the municipalities were responsible for the improvement of local standards of living and local governments were also expected to intervene actively in the development of the economic, social and cultural areas. Yet, in practice, local power fell in the hands of a small group of local "loyalists" who were directly linked to the central state political apparatus. These ensured the dominance of the centre over the local by enforcing central government policies while, at the same time, acting as brokers for the local economic and social elites (Makler, 1979; Ruivo, 1989).

According to Santos (1991) this wide discrepancy between the "law in the books" and the "law in action" may be explained in terms of a lack of state administrative capacity to thoroughly implement legislation at a capillary level. Thus, state agents have tended to operate as "microstates" either circumventing or implementing the law according to their own conceptions and personal interests. In the words of Santos, the Portuguese state has operated as "a parallel state: the formal state running parallel to an informal state, a centralized state covering the self-contradictory actions of diffuse microstates: the maximalist official state coexisting side by side with the minimalist, unofficial state" (1991:19). Such "privatization of the political power" encouraged the personalization of the local administration system. Local development and
resource allocation became very much dependent on local officials’ informal relations and on their own ability to mobilize resources to access public goods and services.

The dismantling of the Estado Novo in 1974 and the process of democratization of the Portuguese society led to a profound restructuring of the administrative apparatus. With the promulgation of the New Constitution of the Republic in 1976, decentralization of the administrative system and local government autonomy became major factors for the implementation of a new democratic society. In the new political system, the introduction of local elections has represented a fundamental step towards democratic accountability and local representativeness and legitimacy.

Since 1974, the local political system in Portugal has been the object of major legislative twists and turns regarding its administrative structure and policy formulation and implementation. Presently, the local government is constituted by three different administrative levels: the counties (freguesia), the municipalities (municípios) and the administrative regions (regiões administrativas). At the county level, the main administrative bodies are the county council (junta de freguesia) and the county assembly (assembleia de freguesia). The county assembly, which is elected by the local population is in turn responsible for the appointment of the members who constitute the county council. These are chosen among the county assembly elected representatives.

At a municipal level, the municipal assembly (assembleia municipal) and the municipal chambers (câmara municipal) are the main local government bodies. The municipal assembly is composed of the presidents of all the counties under the jurisdiction of the municipality and by an equal number of citizens who are elected by a municipal electorate college. The municipal chamber is the executive body of the municipality whose president (the mayor) is the head of the candidates’ list of the most voted political party in the local elections. The highest level of local government is the administrative region. So far these regions have not been established.²

More recently, the emergence of European policies directed towards regional development and the construction of “L’Europe des Regions”, has had a major impact on the national debate on regionalization. Local policymakers have responded enthusiastically to
European regional development programs as they sought to take advantage of the new transnational economic alternatives. By the mid-1990s, regionalization was perceived not only as a means to ease central government's grip on local finances, but also as a new model for local and national development. This renewed interest in the creation of administrative regions already entrenched in the Constitution of 1976 has gained an unprecedented centrality in the political agenda. For the socialists, regionalization became a major issue worth fighting for and constituted one of their top priorities in the legislative election campaign in 1995. Once in power, the socialist government pushed decisively for a project of regionalization whereby the country would be divided into eight major administrative regions. Yet, the political spectrum proved to be highly divided regarding the new proposals for regional and local autonomy. While the left campaigned for regionalization, the right-wing party CDS-PP's (Social Democratic Centre Party/People's Party, Centro Democrático Social–Partido Popular) opposition to administrative reform and regionalization was symbolically portrayed in the slogan “no to regionalization” written on a national flag ripped into eight parts (Expresso, August 9, 1997). The right’s major arguments against regionalization stressed the fragmentation of the Portuguese nation-state, the loss of national political power and the reinforcement of the bureaucratic apparatus at a regional level. This anxiety over regionalization was also shared by the social democrats who proposed the referendum in the first place. On October 8, 1998, the overwhelming majority of the Portuguese (60%) voted against the constitution of the administrative regions [Secretariado Técnico dos Assuntos para o Processo Eleitoral (STAPE), 1998]. For some opinion makers and politicians the results of the referendum reflected the people’s refusal to accept a political move towards decentralization. Such a refusal was seen as being tied to a lack of confidence in local power institutions for improving local standards of living. Also, local power abuse, injustices and “power thirst” by local government authorities were pointed out as major factors underlying the referendum’s defeat (Expresso, November 24, 1998). For others, the referendum’s outcome did not delegitimized the creation of regions. On the contrary, regional development was perceived as a major issue that needed to be fully addressed by the political system and the people in general. Independently of the creation of regions, formulation and implementation of a national
policy of territorial planning and development was urged as a means to minimize deep regional cleavages and asymmetries and to promote local and regional development (Expresso, November 24, 1998). Despite the referendum's results, decentralization and the creation of regions remain very much a problematic issue that is far from being settled.

Although the issue of regionalization has been a site of political struggle and legal contradictions, it has not been the only one. Legislative ambiguity has prevailed in several areas of the local administrative structure, either promoting or limiting decentralization depending on specific political, social and ideological contexts. In the last two decades, multiple legal instruments have been developed and implemented with major implications for local financial and political administration. Regarding the political system, legislation has tended to limit local representativeness by curtailing municipal assemblies' fiscal responsibilities as well as by making optional the constitution of a municipal advisory council (Conselho Municipal). However, regarding local power, a general trend towards decentralization and local government autonomy has underlined major legislative measures and policies. In 1977, the Decree/Law nº 79/77 defined the overall competencies of the municipalities in terms of four major areas, namely the administration of its own local properties, culture and public assistance and public services. The Decree-Law 199/84 widened these responsibilities adding new areas of intervention: health, education, culture, sports, environment, public protection and development. Yet, these new attributions have so far been defined only in generic legal terms and no further legal instruments were devised to effectively implement the new regulations (Mozzicaffredo et al., 1989).

At a financial level, decentralization has been equally contradictory. In 1979, the Law 1/79 established norms for local financial autonomy. Under the new law, local revenues were to be obtained by local taxation and central government transfers through a new institutional body the Fundo de Equilíbrio Financeiro (Fund for Financial Balancing). However, due to the lack of precise legislation regarding the areas of public investment, the law proved to be ineffective in practical terms. In 1982, a new legal framework was introduced to reinforce the trend towards local autonomy. The Plano Diretor Municipal (PDM; Municipal Development Plan) had as its major objectives the formulation of strategic plans concerning local socio-economic development,
urban planning, and the development of local infrastructures. Also, it served as an instrument for
the participation of the local populations in national urban and territorial planning. To this extent,
the PDM allowed the municipalities to define their own development strategies and thereby
strengthen local power and autonomy.

Between 1984 and 1987 additional legislation was introduced regarding local finances
(Decree-Law n° 98/94 and Decree-Law nº 1/87). The objectives underlying these two new laws
were the reduction of local dependency on public sector budget transfers and the promotion of
local revenues through municipal taxation and credit. As a result, central government transfers to
local governments as a percentage of the total state budget have declined substantially in the last
decades. For instances, in 1986 central state funds accounted for 72% of all local revenues
whereas in 1991 state funding represented only 30% of the municipal total budget (Magone,
1997; Ruivo, 1993). On the other hand local taxes, have declined steadily since 1974. In 1974,
local taxes accounted for 61% of the total local budget; between 1983 and 1986 these amounted
to only 20% of the total local funds. Given this situation, municipalities have tended to increase
their financial capacity through loans. These funds have been channelled towards investments in
basic infrastructure, social housing, sports and to industrial and economic projects. However,
strict budgetary regulations regarding local expenditures and long-term borrowing have prevented
local governments from playing a major role in local development. A national survey conducted
among local governments revealed that financial constraints were perceived by the mayors as the
most important handicap to local autonomy. A cumbersome state bureaucratic apparatus and a
lack of qualified human resources were also pointed out as major impediments for local planning
and development (Ruivo, 1993).

In the last decade, the channelling of European structural funds to municipalities has
been a crucial agent of social change. Local governments have taken advantage of the new
financial and economic opportunities offered by the European Union. Since Portugal’s entrance
in the EU in 1986, the European Regional Development Fund (FEDER) has financed 50% of the
total cost of local development plans. However, due to legislative reform of European Structural
Funds legislation only large local development projects became eligible for European funding. As
a consequence, structural funds have been mainly allocated to the better developed areas with greater technical and administrative capacity for implementing development programs (Magone, 1997). Despite, this skewedness of structural funds allocation, there remains little doubt that Community funds have been decisive in local economic development while strengthening local governments’ bargaining power and political manoeuvrability.

However, if European funding has contributed to the improvement of local living conditions, it is far from being the “magic formula” for local autonomy and development. Slim state transfers, an inadequate local taxation system, strict local financial legislation and legal ambiguities have had major implications for local policy-making. In 1992 only 6 out of a total of 305 municipalities had their Municipal Development Plans (PDM) approved and ratified. Some of the major reasons underlying municipalities’ apparent lack of commitment to the PDM have to do with a complex juridical and bureaucratic system that seriously limits local flexibility once the plans are approved. For municipalities, the plan serves more as a set general local development guidelines rather than as detailed concrete projects because once approved, local authorities would be obliged to comply with the Plan’s directives which would reduce substantially the level of political juggling and discretionary power of local government (Portas, 1995; Ruivo, 1993). Thus, the situation is a paradoxical one. On the one hand, there has been a certain degree of resistance by local authorities to commit to long-term development plans but, on the other hand, central authorities have been unable to legally enforce the elaboration and implementation of the PDMs. Ruivo’s work on local power provides useful insights into the often conflicting and contradictory nature of the Portuguese state administrative system. According to Ruivo (1993) the local as a site of mediation is structured along two major axes: informal relational power and political integration. Regarding the first dimension and drawing on Santos’ analyses (1989) of the state, Ruivo argues that the weak penetration of the state apparatuses in certain areas of the administrative structure and the pervasiveness of informal relations in local policymaking are major legacies of the Estado Novo’s political system. These have been responsible for the personalization and privatization of the present local political structure. In this context, local state authorities, as mediators between the central state and the local populations, act mainly as
"administrative activists" as they capitalize on a complex web of informal relations to gain access to central administration resources. Furthermore, given the rigidity of the bureaucratic machinery and legislative inadequacies, the reliance on informal social relations and expediency alliances have become instrumental in overcoming administrative structural deficiencies. To this extent, "informal relational power" may function as a form of social regulation that produces a certain degree of social equilibrium and integration.

In regards to local political integration, Ruivo's argument is that after 1974 political participation and mobilization has been mainly channelled to local political partisanship. The mobilization of the civil society centred on political parties has created new clienteles anchored on political partisanship. The "privatization of state power" has now assumed a "politicized" form as local political party structures. In this sense local government authorities are now perceived as "political entrepreneurs" mobilizing local constituencies and political resources within their own parties to widen their range of influence and political power with the central state. In Ruivo's opinion, this local administrative structure has three major implications. First, the pervasiveness of informal networks and patronage to access public resources may lead to a weakening of collective forms of political organization. Local agents tend to solve local administrative problems through their own informal connections and partisan networks rather than through the organization of official local interest groups. Secondly, the strength of informal relations in the political arena has also contributed to party clientelism and an excessive emphasis on voting rights as the only form of democratic participation. Finally, the systematic exercise of informal relations has legitimized an administrative system grounded in inequality and asymmetric power relations. As he contends, the use of relational capital by local authorities is above all "a strategy of the dominated" who attempt to appropriate and to manipulate state power which is still undermined by a deficit of democratic accountability.

The work of Ruivo provides valuable reference points for the analysis of local institutional responses to immigration. Drawing on his work, I will argue that, first, the conceptualization of the local as a space of mediation allows for a non-essentialist and dynamic analysis of local state power. The local as a unity of analysis is to be understood against a background of centre-local
interfield power relations. In this sense, the local gains its specificity always in relation to other locales and within a broader national structure. Second, the perception of the local as an active agent of social change with its localized functionings, strategies, mechanisms and "micropowers" gives us the possibility of examining the production of local specific forms of knowledge and subjectivities. Local governing institutions, practices and discourses are thus not the simple result of a transparent appropriation of central state laws and regulations, but rather are the outcome of ongoing complex processes of negotiation and contestation produced at the local-level. Third, the existence of a local administrative system which relies substantially on informal networks and on social and political capital for its own functioning has, as we shall see, major implications for the ways in which local institutions have responded to migrant ethnic communities.

The Making of the City

The city of Amadora, situated out in the periphery of Lisbon with a total population of approximately 250,000 (Municipality of Amadora, 1993a) has gained notoriety in past decades for its immigrant populations and cultural diversity. The city affords an example of how institutional discourses and policies shape and control immigrant political participation and integration into mainstream society (Map 1).

In the early XX century, Amadora was a rural hinterland area providing agricultural produce and water to the capital. The construction of a railway line linking Lisbon to Sintra which passed through Amadora and the construction of a military base in 1919 were responsible for rapid settlement in this area. New population niches emerged around the railway stations and in the area surrounding the military air base. After the 1930s, the overall process of industrialization brought radical changes to the economic structure and population composition of Amadora. The establishment of heavy industry and manufacturing (e.g., transport autoparts, machinery, chemical) in the 1950s and the 1960s transformed Amadora into one of the most industrialized communities in Lisbon's industrial belt. Population booms followed the arrival of heavy industry. Between 1950 and 1960, the total population grew from 18,530 to 43,355 and in the 1970s it had

Map 1:

Municipality of Amadora

From the 1970s onwards deindustrialization and a reduced capacity for economic restructuring have prompted major changes in the municipality's economic structure. The restructuring of heavy industry, low growth rates and the relocation of industry in other locations have been responsible for the major changes in the economic base of the municipality (Neves, 1996). Due to rising land costs in Amadora and an overall improvement of the infrastructure of Lisbon's metropolitan area, new industrial and investment projects have shifted to more distant suburbs. As a result, between 1983 and 1990 the total work force engaged in the industrial sector decreased by 18% (Neves, 1991, 1996). However, shrinkage in job opportunities in industry and manufacturing has been accompanied by a substantial expansion of the tertiary sector. The development of local infrastructure and services has generated new employment niches in the commercial areas, in construction and in the service industry. According to the Municipal Development Plan (PDM, 1993) 61.3% of the total labour force in the city is engaged in the service sector and 38.2% in the secondary sector. Contrary to other European cities (Cross, 1992; Kloosterman, 1994) Amadora’s economic restructuring and deindustrialization have not so far translated into high levels of unemployment. In 1991, the rate of unemployment for the municipality was 6.8% just below unemployment rates for the metropolitan area of Lisbon and slightly above the national rate 6.1% (INE, Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação, 1991).

The population structure of Amadora is highly diversified. According to Neves (1991) 40% of the total population were internal migrants, 44% resided in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and the remaining population were immigrants from the former Portuguese colonies. The proximity to the capital city, job opportunities and low housing costs have been the major pull factors responsible for the constant population inflows to the municipality.

The ethnic composition of Amadora's immigrant population reflects national immigration trends. The great majority are migrants from Cape Verde who have settled in Amadora since the 1960s. Initially recruited by Portuguese state authorities to fill in the labour gap due to Portuguese mass emigration and the colonial wars, these fluxes constituted the basis of a chain migration process which has lasted until the present (França, 1991; Saint-Maurice, 1997). After

The Immigrant Presence in Amadora

In 1981, the city of Amadora was second only to Lisbon in percentage of foreigners (11.5%) in the whole metropolitan area. Similar trends were observed regarding the African migrant population. It is estimated that in 1981, approximately 17% of the total African migrant population residing in the Lisbon’s region was concentrated in Amadora. Only Lisbon showed a higher concentration of African residents, 26.4% (Malheiros, 1996). Between 1981 and 1991, these trends were basically unchanged. Presently, it is estimated that African migrants represent approximately 10% (25,000) of the total resident population in Amadora. Of these, 57.4% are Capeverdean, 9% Angolans, 2.5% are migrants from Guine-Bissau, 6.7% from S. Tomé e Príncipe, 1.4% from Mozambique and 0.1% from Timor [Municipality of Amadora, Department of Education and Culture (Departamento de Educação e Cultura) 1993].

A majority of the immigrant population in Amadora lives in shantytowns scattered throughout the municipality. Presently, Amadora has a total of thirty-three slums with a total population of 21,362 (Map 2). According to a socio-demographic survey (Municipality of Amadora, Minorias Étnicas na Amadora, 1994) conducted amongst 22 of these shantytowns, 60.2% of the residents are of Capeverdean origin, 20.7% came from other Palops countries and the remaining are internal migrants, Portuguese returnees from the former colonies and members of other ethnic communities.

The overwhelming majority of shantytown dwellers has low levels of education. Fifty-nine percent have primary education, 32% had attended or completed high school and 8.5% were illiterate. Despite these low levels of education, educational attainment amongst immigrants is higher than for those registered for Amadora’s total population. For example, 78% of the immigrant population surveyed had either completed or continued their education in high school
compared to 51% for the municipality’s total population. The results also show lower illiteracy rates for the immigrant population: 8.5% compared to 9.9% for the whole municipality.

Map 2:

Slum Neighbourhoods in the Municipality of Amadora

Note. Source, Municipality of Amadora, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas (Divisão de Serviços de Habitação e Recuperação de Áreas Degradadas).
Regarding the socio-professional position of immigrant populations, the overwhelming majority are unskilled and semi-skilled waged labourers. Engaged in the construction industry are 47% and 25% hold unskilled jobs in the lower ranks of the service sector. Since the late 1980s, independent entrepreneurship has risen among immigrants. Many of these operate as subcontractors for large construction firms while others are concentrated in the service and janitorial occupations. Low capital investment, easy access to labour pools (legal and illegal), and relaxed work regulations concerning these occupational niches have encouraged immigrants to seek employment opportunities in the informal sector of the economy (temporary work, street vendors, domestic enterprises, personal service jobs, cleaners, gardeners and subcontracting construction firms). In 1994, unemployment rates among this immigrant population amounted to 3.2%, a considerably low rate when compared to those registered in the Municipality of Amadora (6.7%). However, according to the report this level of unemployment is not comparable to official unemployment rates for the latter are based on the total number of officially registered unemployed workers receiving social-security benefits. High incidence of occupation in the informal sector of the economy explains why immigrants seldom apply for unemployment subsidies. Thus, the unemployment rate reported refers only to whether or not those interviewed were holding a job when the survey was conducted (Municipality of Amadora, 1994a).

Housing shortages, poverty and discrimination have pushed immigrants into the slums. Many of these had no alternative but to “invade” unoccupied land and vacant lots where they built their own shacks without running water, electricity or sewage. Their survival was very much dependent on kin ties, and neighbourhood networks. Finding a job for a neighbour or relative, helping with the construction of a new dwelling or feeding a neighbour’s child were part of everyday life experiences in these slums. Mutual support and close ties engendered in the neighbourhoods constituted a safety-net for immigrants for whom the “goodies” of a precarious welfare state have proven to be too scarce and often too arbitrary. The lack of social housing opportunities and low standards of living has hampered immigrant’s mobility. Approximately 47% of the immigrant population has resided in the same neighbourhood for more than 10 years (Municipality of Amadora, Minorias Étnicas na Amadora, 1994b). Only 25% have lived in the
same settlement for less than six years. Thus, remaining in the squatter settlement has constituted a survival strategy that helped immigrants to cope with a wide range of social, educational, housing and employment problems. In 1994, it was estimated that 26.5% of the total dwellings in the 22 shanty neighbourhoods surveyed had no piped water, 18.4% no electricity and 15.5% no toilet (Municipality of Amadora, Minorias Étnicas na Amadora, 1994b). Lack of basic infrastructure such as garbage collection, sewage system, street lighting, street pavements, and security were (and still are) major problems facing immigrants' communities in Amadora.

Local State Immigrant Integration Policies

Housing Policy Strategies

The presence of migrant squatter neighbourhoods in Amadora has been a source of controversy and political indignation for the Communist city council. With a total area of only 24 square Km and a population density of 7,382 residents per square kilometre, the second highest in the whole country, housing has been a major problem facing the municipality. According to official statistics in 1991 there were a total of 71,171 housing dwellings in the municipality (Municipality of Amadora, 1993a). Of these, 12% were illegal and 6% were degraded dwellings. Overall, the housing deficit in Amadora was estimated at 11,000 dwellings. In 1993 the total population residing in degraded neighbourhoods was 21,362 (bairros degradados) and another 24,084 persons were living in illegal neighbourhoods (bairros clandestinos).

According to Silva and Correia (1988), population booms, highly centralized and inadequate national housing legislation, and deficient technical administrative structures have been major factors restricting local government's intervention in housing and urban planning. Overall, a laissez-faire attitude regarding housing policy has characterized local government policy strategies. Amadora was no exception. Up until the mid-1990s, no local housing policy worthy of the name was implemented by the city; instead, local housing policy strategies have been largely developed in response to crisis situations rather than as part of an overall coherent urban renewal program. While blaming the central government's lack of a national social housing
policy, local state authorities have been keen on stressing local state's initiatives on social housing as a means for improving the living conditions of slum dwellers, making it accessible to immigrant populations as well. It is important to mention that according to the law (Decree-law nº 797/76) immigrants are not eligible for social housing. However, local governments have tended to circumvent this legal disposition in local rehousing and slum clearance programs. The National Urban Renewal and Rehousing Program introduced in 1993 has further reinforced these practices. According to the Plan the criteria for accessibility to social housing are grounded on the living conditions of dwellers independently of their citizenship status.

Despite the local official rhetoric on urban renovation, up until 1995 only 206 social housing dwellings were built. Of these, 81 units were constructed by the people themselves (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, September, 1995). Also some basic infrastructure was built in some slum neighbourhoods and a temporary rehousing program was implemented in response to housing crisis situations (e.g., fire, demolitions, floods, etc.; Municipality of Oeiras, 1977). However, these local efforts proved to be largely insufficient to ameliorate the living conditions in shantytowns where filthy water and sewers flew freely under open skies.

Ironically, by the early 1990s municipal authorities became enthusiastically engaged in the representation of Amadora as a "healthy city", a "nuclear free zone." In 1992 the city was awarded the status of a "healthy" city by the World Health Organization (Organização Mundial da Saúde, OMS) under the auspices of a major international Project "Healthy Cities." For municipal officials, the city's participation in the Project "Healthy Cities" was perceived as a symbol of "Amadora's exemplary leadership and innovative capacity" (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletins, 1996). In 1996, a report on the "state of health" of the city assessed and diagnosed the municipality's living standards and environmental conditions. The study showed that regarding health, mobility and death rates the city scored better than the national average. However, the report also pointed out major local asymmetries and "problem-areas" amongst the unemployed youth and migrant ethnic communities. The existence of numerous migrant slums in the city was identified as a most serious social problem requiring urgent local state intervention. In response to this report, local municipal authorities emphasized their legal and economic dependency on
central state government as the major factor hampering local development of adequate housing
policies. They reiterated their commitment to promote “the social integration of immigrants while
preserving their ‘cultural identity specificities’” (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletins, 1996).

For local socialists, the lack of municipal intervention in the development and
implementation of an adequate housing policy was not so much the result of a deficit of local
power but had mainly to do with the Communist city council’s overall political strategy. For the
president of one parish council in the municipality, the existence of migrant slums in Amadora had
to be understood in terms of its political usefulness. In his opinion, the communist government
used the shantytowns as “capital of dissatisfaction which they (the Communist city council)
needed to contest the central government’s power.” He further argued that “there was never a
willingness on their (city council) part to improve the living conditions of those in the slums
because the communists needed the slums to show off the central government’s incapacity to
deal with major social problems.” This opinion has been widely shared by squatter dwellers and
some immigrant association leaders who have become highly critical of the lack of political
initiative regarding housing issues by local government. However, despite the public
acknowledgement of local government’s negligence of slum dwellers each of these
neighbourhoods has, in fact, constituted new sources of electoral support and party allegiance for
the municipal communist city council (GrandAmadora, July 7, 1995).

Programa Especial de Realojamento (PER; Special Program of Rehousing):
Old Issues, New Strategies

In 1995, the Municipality of Amadora was the last municipality to formally join a major
national urban renewal and rehousing program (PER, Programa Especial de Realojamento and
PER-Familias). The Program was designed to address the overall national housing and urban
crisis. Eradication of shantytowns, and rehousing and urban renewal programs became key
national policy instruments for improving low income and immigrant populations living conditions
in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. The new central government housing policy
proposed the “promotion of a decentralized housing model supported by state-subsidized
programs and protagonized by the municipalities and by local institutions, namely private institutions of social solidarity and housing co-operatives. This large-scale urban renewal program encouraged a close collaboration between central state agencies, local government institutions and non-government organizations of social solidarity. The program, the first of its kind to be implemented in Portugal, introduced three major innovative measures. Firstly, it expanded the state's funding for the acquisition of land and for the construction of the necessary infrastructures. Second, the program was to allow for the acquisition of dwellings for expediency purposes. Third, participation of non-government institutions of social solidarity was provided for the planning and implementation processes. A survey conducted in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto estimated that a total of 48,391 new dwellings would be required to rehouse 162,103 people living presently in shacks. Of these, 33,390 new dwellings were needed for the metropolitan area of Lisbon alone.10

Of the 28 municipalities involved in the PER, Amadora was the city requiring the second highest investment in new housing dwellings after Lisbon. A survey of the degraded housing stock in Amadora showed that 6,138 new housing units would be required to rehouse 21,362 people living in the shanty neighbourhoods. Included in this figure were 950 dwellings which the city council had already designated in negotiations with national government agencies in 1992 (IGAPHE, IINH, JAE).11 This previous agreement had to do with the need to clear property for the construction of Lisbon's inner highway system (CRIL).12

A total of 5,419 new housing units were to be built (or acquired) by the year 2009. Although heavily subsidized by different central state agencies, the municipality was to contribute 57% of the total investment. From the point of view of municipal authorities, the Plan's conditions and recommendations penalized Amadora because it ignored the specificities of the municipality, namely its overpopulation, scarcity of land and the extremely high rates of new social housing required to accommodate the ever increasing population living in the slums. As a result, the costs of the new urban renewal plan were far higher for Amadora than in other municipalities involved in the national housing program (Municipality of Amadora, 1995b).
In the local official discourse, the municipality and its residents were portrayed as victims of the central government's housing plan, which overtaxed Amadora's population as a whole. An article published in a major local newspaper well illustrates the thrust of local state narratives. Under the heading "PER will cost each resident in Amadora 135 contos" the article summarized the economics of the Plan and Amadora's situation of inequality vis-a-vis other municipalities. It concluded by stressing that each resident in Amadora would be paying the highest social-housing costs in the whole country (Noticias da Amadora, Suplemento no. 1238, July 20, 1995).

If there was an overall political issue around slum clearance, it was not whether the slum was the result of discrimination and racism; whether the new rehousing project would, in fact, improve the living conditions of those living presently in shantytowns; it was not even whether those populations should participate in the planning and implementation of new housing projects. Rather, the problem lay in the economics of poverty and exclusion. Those living in the slums were perceived as a mass of poor people, an "economic burden" that the whole population of Amadora had to pay for dearly. By centreing the debate on the central government's dominant relations, local authorities systematically have depoliticized crucial questions of local government intervention and marginalization. This is not to say that such an economist approach dominated all different levels of the local state apparatus. For some municipal officials, the council's official discourse and potential housing strategies were regarded with much suspicion and apprehension. High density social housing, the arbitrary dispersion of squatter settlement populations, and the lack of social, educational and sports infrastructures were strongly criticized by urban planners and municipal officials. In the words of a municipal urban planner, the eradication of the slum neighbourhoods and the construction of massive housing projects would lead to "the destruction of tightly knit neighbourhoods and to the construction of ghettos instead." Previous social housing projects in the municipality (e.g., Zambujal) tend to support this municipal planner's view. Zambujal, a central government housing project, accommodates 1200 families at present. It became a place where national and city officials shunted immigrants, internal poor migrants and gypsy families. After a few years, Zambujal deteriorated rapidly. Lack of recreational, health and social services further aggravated the residents' sense of isolation and marginalization. Petty
crime, violence and drug trafficking undermine the area so that it has become an example of a social housing project at its worst.\textsuperscript{14}

According to the initial PER Plan, 2,100 new housing dwellings were to be made available by 1999 and the remaining 2,319 units by 2009 (Municipality of Amadora, 1993c). Yet, up until 1999 only 289 new housing units were constructed for a total of 1,032 people rehoused (Municipality of Amadora, 1999a). Of these, 161 units were built under the auspices of PER - Familias (PER-Families). This program heavily subsidizes those families in need of rehousing who wish to buy a house either in the municipality or outside it. According to city officials, in its initial phase, slum clearance had had little to do with social justice or with the precariousness of housing and living conditions in the squatter neighbourhoods. Instead, the criteria for “bulldozing” was directly linked to the construction of major highways crossing the slum areas. In this sense, urban renewal was not so much a response to local poverty and social exclusion, but rather, the outcome of top-down national infrastructure development strategies.\textsuperscript{15} So far, no long-term housing plan has been developed. Instead ad hoc, short-term institutional measures have characterized local state intervention.

Presently, a major social housing project with a total of 700 units is under construction. It is expected that by the end of 1999, 192 new families will be rehoused. The project has been viewed with much suspicion by city planners, politicians and local populations. Some city officials believe the project is doomed to fail because of the poor-quality of construction and the lack of investment in social services and social and recreational facilities. The president of the parish where the new housing complex is being built, feels that the whole project should be reformulated. For him, the dispersal of families living in the slums is the only way to avoid “the creation of new ghettos” (\textit{Jornal da Região}, February 19, 1998). Similar opinions are held by the resident population of this neighbourhood, which has reacted very strongly against the construction of social housing in their community. Demands for the dispersal of immigrant populations living in squatter neighbourhoods have been voiced by different parish council authorities, and more recently, by the newly elected mayor.
In spite of official plans, no dispersal policy has been implemented. Some pseudo-dispersal measures have been cherished by the mayor, such as a return incentive program proposed under the auspices of the Rehousing Program Per-families. Under this plan, immigrants are encouraged to take advantage of subsidies for social housing if they return to their country of origin and build their own houses there. For the mayor, the implementation of this plan would satisfy both the needs of those African migrants who wished to return to the country of origin and it would also solve the housing problem of the municipality" (Jornal de Notícias, March 7, 1999). For some residents of the largest shanty neighbourhood in Amadora, the mayor's proposed return plan is nothing but “wishful thinking” as a pioneer immigrant put it “only very, very few will take advantage of this program; whether he likes it or not we are here to stay.”

So far no major participatory channels have been created for providing residents with a public space for mobilizing around housing issues, spatial segregation and social inequality. For local authorities, the immigrants' housing predicament has been an administrative problem to be eliminated through state intervention. This situation has been constructed out of a set of presuppositions regardless of the actual practices of slum residents who came to be perceived as the "clients", the “target groups” of such interventions and programs. In the official discourse, these beneficiaries are viewed as people with peculiar living habits which conflict with modern urban standards of living. The acquisition of social skills and modern ways of living become indispensable for an effective resettlement.\textsuperscript{16} The pathologizing of immigrant slum residents has been a source of controversy. For some local leaders, municipal authorities have grossly overlooked their needs, excluding residents from crucial decision which affect them directly. Enframed in an ideology of “lacks”, slum residents are envisaged as passive agents in need of an institutional and modernization fix.

More recently, a greater sensitivity towards issues of rehousing and immigrants' social integration processes has prompted a pioneer specific program for community intervention. This program has been developed by the Municipal Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas.\textsuperscript{17} It aims to monitor all the different phases of resettlement by a population residing in one of the municipality's slums. The program introduces several innovative measures to the extent
that it opens up spaces for the participation of the residents of that specific slum during the whole process of resettlement. The program is divided into three major areas: namely, information activities to be implemented before and after the rehousing process, training courses for resident children and youths and adults, and leisure activities. For municipal officers engaged in the implementation of the program, the promotion of local voluntary groups and neighbourhood-based networks, and their active participation in the planning and implementation processes, are crucial measures for the effective social integration of immigrants. It is still too early to assess the impact of this initiative, yet the development of such a program may indicate a shift to more inclusive integration policies.

In the next section I will explore the institutional responses to the associational life of migrant ethnic communities and the ways in which local institutions have structured the political incorporation of immigrants.

Immigrants' Political Participation:

The Road to a “Multicultural City”

Local Mobilization and Immigrants' Associational Structure

Up until 1978, Amadora was a parish, administratively dependent on the municipality of Oeiras. In 1979, it acquired its status as a municipality, and thus, became an independent administrative unit with its own legislative and executive bodies with jurisdiction over eleven parishes. From its early beginnings as a municipality, Amadora has been one of Greater Lisbon’s “Red Belt” communist cities.

After 1975, the PC (Communist Party) became entrenched in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and in the district of Setúbal. This highly industrialized area has provided the electoral support to the PC which continues to assume itself to be the “party of the working-class” (Loucã, 1985; Magone, 1997). After obtaining a majority-rule in Amadora in 1980, communists have led a coalition of socialist and liberal elements through the last municipal elections in 1997.
Popular mobilization and the promotion of a network of local associations became the pillars of successive communist governments, which worked to mobilize every possible constituency, including and immigrants. By the late 1980s a wide range of immigrant neighbourhood and class-based, solidarity associations, immigrant home-oriented groups (e.g., Timorese), and other local organizations found the support and acceptance from city council. Presently, there are 16 immigrant associations operating in Amadora. All of these organizations have been funded by local institutions, and, in the last decade, by central state agencies and transnational European networks.

The first immigrant organizations emerged in the 1970s and early 1980s and functioned as social service providers for those living in shantytowns. Some of these organizations were born out of informal slum residents’ groups centring their claims and activities on basic survival needs (e.g., pipe water, electricity, garbage collection, sewage, etc.) This is the case, among others, of the Association of Unidos de Cabo Verde, the first immigrant organization which emerged out of a residents’ council constituted in 1973 by members of five local squatter settlements. From 1983 onwards, Unidos de Cabo Verde has promoted a wide range of social services and cultural activities: literacy courses, social assistance, professional training, youth programs and various sponsored sports and cultural events have been privileged areas of local intervention. Similar activities have been implemented by other local immigrant associations operating in the municipality. Among these, the Cultural Association of Molinho da Juventude in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura (which will be examined in detail in subsequent chapters), has become an organization in the last decade with a vast network of local, national and international contacts. Due to the wide array of social, professional, educational, sports and cultural services provided, this association has been perceived by local authorities as the yardstick of immigrant collective organization in Amadora.18

Among immigrant associations, three neighbourhood-based organizations have been constituted by religious groups (Dominican Missionaries, Mennonites and the Catholic Church). Two of these associations cater to the resident population of two major shanty neighbourhoods in Amadora (Bairro 6 de Maio and Bairro de Santa Filomena). The Catholic church organization
operates in the social housing complex of Zambujal facilitating the social integration of gypsy families (Secretariado Diocesano da Obra Nacional para a Promoção e Pastoral dos Ciganos). Like the other neighbourhood associations, these organizations function as social service agencies that combine social services with cultural and recreational activities. A more politically oriented organization is the Timorese organization (Liga dos Amigos de Timor) which as been involved in political advocacy and in the mobilization and consciousness-raising of public opinion. The organization also provides social and cultural services. In 1998, while I was conducting my research, three new organizations were constituted. Unlike other migrant associations, these organizations do not cater to the needs of specific shanty-neighbourhood residents. Rather, they operate as information and social help organizations, advocating the rights and full integration of immigrants.

Although some of these migrants’ organizations were constituted along ethnic lines, the overwhelming majority have not asserted themselves as the formal representatives of particular ethnic communities. From the interviews conducted among association leaders, it became apparent that the immigrant presence in Amadora was structured not so much according to a clear cut ethnic divide, but, rather in terms of broader and more inclusive categories such as that of immigrants. As one of the executive officer of the Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude" explained, "ethnic origins are important but the real issues are the slums, poverty, exclusion. We cater to all the youth who live in the slums independently of their ethnic background. The problems facing a Capeverdean who lives in a shack are not very different from those of an Angolan or a Mozambican living in the slum." A similar opinion has been voiced by other immigrant association leaders.

By the late 1980s, public workshops, meetings, and roundtables were examining the problems facing the immigrant communities living in Amadora. City officials were slowly but surely bringing immigration and ethnicity to the local political centre-stage. Financial support, professional training, infrastructure assistance (e.g., building organizations’ headquarters, allocation of meeting places) were provided by the city council to these organizations as a means of encouraging immigrant mobilization and participation. In 1989, the first major immigrant
A cultural event concerning Capeverdean culture and traditions (Encontro da Cultura Caboverdeana) took place in Amadora. A special issue of the Municipal Bulletin gave exclusive coverage to Capeverdean immigrant associations. Personal testimonies of Capeverdean community leaders praised the "cooperation" and the efforts made by the municipality to promote organizational structure for the Capeverdean immigrants. In addition, the Bulletin stressed the numerous initiatives implemented by the municipality to improve the living conditions of immigrants. While blaming the central government for failing to address the housing, educational and training needs of immigrants, local municipal officials were eager to point out the number of water fountains, literacy courses, the construction of sports facilities, and basic infrastructure provided to thousands of Capeverdeans living in the slums (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, July 14, 1989).

In the official discourse, the representation of migrant communities in Amadora was enframed within broader ethnic or racial categories (e.g. Africans, Blacks) or reduced to a single subjectivity, that of the Capeverdean immigrant. This was depicted:

A marginalized individual who lives in niches isolated from the white population where he continues to lead, as much as possible, the same type of life he had in his land....From Capeverde he brought his past, a cultural tradition which he does not refuse and which he perpetuates amongst his children and grandchildren, through the music, dance and language, the crioulo. (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, July, 1989)

Furthermore, this "marginalized" being lives in slums in precarious living conditions, which can only be ameliorated by the efforts of local state intervention. A whole "violence of representation", to use Teresa de Laurentis words (1987) is encoded in the production of this Capeverdean subject, the immigrant in Amadora, a violence which marks off boundaries of subjectivity on the basis of preconceived notions of otherness. The Capeverdean, as the symbol of the immigrant in Amadora, is a priori illiterate, hungry, exotic, powerless and in need of the state's assistance. However, local state willingness to "help" was not unconditional. Patronage and clientelism undermined local relations as municipal officials harnessed the support and political allegiance of migrant community leaders. As a result, some immigrant associations and prominent members of the community had a direct pipeline to City Hall, whereas others lacked any real influence in the communist municipality. Such practices contrasted sharply with an
official discourse which stressed openness and immigrants' associational life as a means to full participation in mainstream society (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletins, 1989). Still, Madera's commitment to immigrant issues was not reduced to rhetoric alone. On the contrary, during the 1990s immigration and ethnicity became embedded in the local institutional apparatus and discourse which attempted to create new spaces for migrants' political participation in local society.

The “Minorities Project” and the Production of New Social Categories

By the early 1990s immigrants' participation in Amadora city affairs gained an unprecedented centrality in the local political agenda. A small technical group coordinated by an anthropologist was constituted within the municipal Department of Education and Culture (Departamento de Educação e Cultura, DEC) with the task of formulating local immigrant integration strategies. As a result, in 1993, this group created the Project of the Ethnic Minorities of the Municipality of Amadora (Projecto das Minorias Étnicas do Município da Amadora). Three major factors prompted the formulation of this project. First, between 1990-1993 new institutional mechanisms were devised at a national level to address immigration issues. A trend towards the integration of migrants in mainstream society encouraged local policymakers to search for new channels for the political participation of immigrants. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the city of Lisbon had a pioneering role in the establishment of an official advisory committee for ethnic minorities and immigrant communities. This committee constituted an attempt to formulate and propose strategic guidelines for the integration of immigrant populations in local society. Second, as part of an overall interventionist approach to local associational life, Amadora's municipal authorities strove to promote and strengthen immigrants' organizational structure and their participation in the political decision-making process. In these respects, the "Minorities Project", as it became known, signalled local government's commitment to the political mobilization of immigrant organizations under the communist banner. Third, an increase in racist incidents in Amadora and nationwide coupled with the aggravation of immigrants' living conditions in the slums, brought immigration issues into the center-stage political arena. For local bureaucracy, racial and ethnic tensions became major problems that could hardly be ignored.
Furthermore, the consolidation of migrant squatter settlements in the city attested to the permanent character of immigrant communities which, more and more, were unwilling to tolerate disenfranchisement and social marginalization.

The Project had two major objectives: the development, planning and implementation of a wide range of activities and programs to prevent and fight "poverty, insecurity, racism and xenophobia"; and to promote the social integration of migrant disadvantaged groups. The early reports assessed and diagnosed immigrants' living conditions in Amadora in the areas of housing, work and education and proposed guidelines for future action. Regarding housing conditions, the absence of a national social housing policy and the existence of legal instruments which exclude immigrants from the social housing market were seen as having been responsible for the mushrooming of shanty neighbourhoods in the city. Furthermore, the precariousness of living conditions in the slums was identified as a major factor contributing to the "ghetoization" and "marginalization" of the immigrant population.

Four major proposals were offered, namely: the reformulation of housing legislation; the restructuring of rehousing programs in order to avoid the formation of ghettos due to high concentration of ethnic minorities; the construction of social and sports infrastructures in the new rehousing projects and the implementation of programs to assist owners' construction projects; the constitution of housing cooperatives; and the promotion of social housing accessibility to immigrants.

Concerning the labour situation of immigrants, the report proposed the revocation of discriminatory work legislation. The promotion of equal opportunities and accessibility to professional training courses were seen as key measures to fight the discrimination of immigrant populations in the workplace. With respects to education, high levels of immigrant student drop-outs and low education attainment amongst immigrant children are perceived as major impediments to their social integration. The valorisation of immigrants' cultures within the school context and the reformulation of the curricula, special instruction in the Portuguese language, and a greater openness towards immigrant students' families were the major policy measures proposed to facilitate the pupils' integration in the school system. Finally, regarding social
security benefits, the report revealed situations of discrimination especially among illegal immigrant workers. It was pointed out that in many instances workers who had made their social contributions, were denied social and medical benefits once unemployed. No specific proposals were formulated in this area.

Although the initial reports lacked clear and concise strategies, programs or activities addressing disadvantaged immigrant communities, the “Minorities Project” was crucial for the production of a new social category, that of ethnic minorities. As we have seen, up until 1993 the official discourse on immigrants was rather ambiguous. Broad, diffuse or more specific labels enframed immigrants in multiple interchangeable categories—Blacks, Africans, Capeverdeans or immigrants. With the formulation of the new Project a novel order of knowledge and discourse about immigrant communities residing in Amadora was introduced and developed. According to the Project’s report:

The overwhelming majority of the immigrant population can be considered as “ethnic minorities” which have as common denominator the fact that they are marginalized social groups in relation to the mainstream society given their extremely precarious socio-economic living conditions. “minorities” signify a subaltern group, dominated, poor, the object of discriminatory attitudes, segregation and persecution by the majority group who holds the power....

A ethnic minority is characterized by lack of power to decide its own future; distinct form an ethnic group, a minority does not determine the nature of its relations with the majority nor the nature of its identity—this is externally determined by the majority.21

These passages are especially important in that they reflect the ways in which the experts and the institutions constructed “the problem” and thereby institutionalized and integrated migrants into its apparatus. As Foucault observed, one should not consider:

...the modern state as an entity which has developed above individuals, ignoring what they are and even their very existence, but on the contrary as a very sophisticated structure, in which individuals can be integrated, under one condition: that this individuality would be shaped in a new form, and submitted to a set of very specific patterns. (1982:214)

In the local process of categorization, the diversity of immigrants’ life experiences, world outlooks and social agency are reduced to an institutional category, a “target group” defined according to a simplistic and highly problematic sociological construct. Under the guise of a sensitive approach to difference and power asymmetries, the project itself is caught up in a
process of domination. It imposes a social category which flattens out the complex issues of cultural differences, identity, agency and power. In fact, it caged what it purported to free. Furthermore, the lack of a reflexive attitude on the part of the institutional apparatus engaged in the production of immigrants as “minorities” renders transparent the official processes of representation and unequal power relations. Yet, there is hardly anything transparent about this new local politics of representation. On the contrary, the representation of immigrants within a framework of “ethnic minorization” brings to the fore the nature of the relationship of power between those who have the power to label and those who are labelled. As Escobar (1995) demonstrates in the context of the bureaucratization of knowledge concerning the Third World, institutional labelling is inscribed in specific relationships of power, shaping the ways people think and act towards those who are the object of such categorizations. Furthermore, labelling as an institutional practice has little to do with peoples’ concrete experiences but, rather, it is the result of specific historical and institutional contexts. Labels, he argues “are invented and maintained by institutions in an ongoing basis, as part of an apparently rational process that is essentially political” (1995:110).

The new local politics of representation of immigrants in Amadora had major implications for the development of new policy strategies and programs to address the needs and claims of the “ethnic minorities.” In 1994, Amadora officials organized a major national conference on racism and xenophobia (Jornadas de Reflexão sobre o Racismo e Xenofobia). The conference was widely attended by members of Parliament, UN representatives, politicians, trade unionists, church organizations, teachers, social workers, journalists and social scientists. The thrust of the conference was the discussion of three major issues: 1) racism and xenophobia in a local and national contexts; 2) the role of the media, the school and immigrant associations in policymaking; 3) processes of exclusion and inclusion within an “intercultural” framework. For municipal authorities, the conference was a symbol of Amadora’s political openness towards its immigrant populations. The city was envisaged as “a multicultural city” and a “privileged space” from which it was possible to envision a new social order. The conference was extremely important in creating a public space for the discussion of a broad range of issues concerning
immigration as well as for its final recommendations. Two major recommendations were proposed, namely the creation of a permanent municipal coordinating commission to address the problems facing ethnic minorities, the Coordinating Secretariat for Ethnic Minorities of the Municipality of Amadora (Secretariado Coordenador para as Minorias Étnicas do Município da Amadora), and the establishment of a municipal advisory council for immigrant communities and ethnic minorities, similar to the one operating in Lisbon.

The first municipal agency was set up in July, 1994. It was constituted by municipal officials and the representatives of fifteen immigrant associations operating in Amadora. The main objectives of this Secretariat were the articulation of the demands of ethnic cultural associations and interests within an institutional framework. More specifically, it aimed at encouraging "inter-associativism" and "interculturalism" amongst these communities making them the protagonists of social integration strategies. According to the Secretariat, these actions were to be implemented without "paternalisms or protectionisms" (Municipality of Amadora, 1995a).

Some of the initiatives proposed centred on the creation of immigrant women's enterprises; job-training courses, post-curriculum activities for children and youth and information services for immigrants in general and migrant women in particular. Municipal officials from different departments (housing, education and health) and the representatives of immigrant associations were encouraged to participate actively in the planning of annual activities (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, August 1994).

The proposed Advisory Council also was established in 1994. The Amadora Municipal Council for Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants (Conselho Municipal das Minorias Étnicas e de Imigrantes do Município da Amadora) had four major objectives: to promote the participation of immigrant and ethnic communities in policymaking, to encourage close cooperation between local associations and the city council regarding social and cultural policies that affect these populations, to valorize cultural diversity, and to plan and implement joint social and cultural initiatives between immigrant associations and the city government (Municipality of Amadora, Conselho Municipal das Minorias Étnicas e de Imigrantes, 1995). Inspired by Lisbon's council, local authorities followed the classificatory scheme of cultural differences thereby making a
distinction between ethnic minorities and immigrant populations. The Council was constituted by a representative of local and national immigrant associations, a representative of an anti-racist (Frente anti-racista) organization, two parish council presidents and the city mayor. This new institutional framework opened up new formal channels for immigrant collective organization and participation in the decision-making process.

By mid-1990s the city of Amadora was stepping up the rhythm of immigrants' new participatory dynamics. A wide range of initiatives gave immigrant communities unprecedented visibility in the public sphere. Symbolic celebrations, such as "the Day of Africa", the commemoration of immigrant homeland national days, social and cultural gatherings and festivals, were enthusiastically promoted by the city council. The official protocols between Amadora and Tarrafal (Cape Verde) an initiative which begun in 1989 was gaining new impetus. "Cooperation" became the magic word for a multiplicity of activities to be implemented in Cape Verde as well as in Amadora. Professional and educational training in Tarrafal were perceived as priority areas of intervention (Municipal Bulletin, September, 1995). Also solidarity gatherings with the Timorese people were organized in collaboration with the Timorese association (Liga dos Amigos de Timor) operating in the municipality. The initiative was seen as an important means to raise public awareness and support for the "Timorese cause" (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, November, 1993).

The consolidation of the immigrants' organizational structure was further reinforced in 1996. A new policy instrument was developed to address the needs of local associations. The Program to Assist the Associational Movement of the Municipality of Amadora (Programa de Apoio ao Movimento Associativo do Municipio da Amadora) underwrites the regular funding of the 230 organizations operating in Amadora. Of these, 15 were immigrant associations. Financial, material and technical resources were to be channelled to local associations on an annual basis. Central to this new policy was the idea that "living in a city implies a relationship of almost complicity between the citizen and the urban space, between the city council and the collectivities and associations" (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletin, June, 1996). Increasing funds were channelled to these numerous organizations. In 1996, 66,588 mil contos (approximately
$450,000 CDN), were allocated to 58 associations whereas in 1997 the total subsidies granted almost doubled to 124 mil contos (approximately $1,000,000 CDN) covering a total of 113 organizations (Municipality of Amadora, Bulletins, 1997). The institutionalization of local autonomous associations while opening up new forms for local political participation, also reflected local government’s attempt to control and co-opt all forms of collective action in the municipality. No umbrella organizations were ever promoted. Instead, a multiplicity of organizations were encouraged, as well as individual direct contacts with the municipal council members. Concomitantly, the local government as well as the associational movement, were also developing new organizational strategies which transcended the local and national levels. Access to international resources and networks provided novel frameworks for migrants’ organizing and local state intervention.

**Institutional Internationalization**

In the 1990s, immigrant associations in Amadora, and the city council itself, became increasingly linked to wider institutional structures. European Community harmonization policies on migrant flows, social policies and citizenship rights had a crucial impact in the constitution of a wide range of transnational organizations and networks. These new structures constituted themselves as a common ground for the discussion and implementation of European-wide programs of action.

By the mid-1990s, Amadora’s local government was accessing some of these major European networks and programs such as Urban, Integrar and Elaine. Urban and Integrar are European-funded programs developed and financed under the auspices of FEDER and FSE. These programs aimed to promote local development and to improve the overall living standards of socially disadvantaged groups. Regarding the urban project, urban renewal professional training and socio-cultural development and sports activities were privileged areas of intervention. Under this program, the municipality has invested considerably in the acquisition of land and facilities to establish an “Intercultural School” stressing multicultural curricula, a “Forum for the Communities”, and a space for local small sized enterprises. The Elaine network is a European municipal initiative aiming at the exchange of local experiences concerning immigrant association
life and social integration in 19 European cities. In 1997, the network convened in Amadora to discuss the role of migrant associations in local government policy making. The meeting did not prove to be instrumental in the development of new strategies or programmes of action for Amadora. Rather, it was important because it asserted a new space for the articulation of immigrants’ interests, claims and needs for local state intervention. More recently, the municipality also became involved in an international program network “Employment for Social Integration” funded by the European Social Fund (FSE). The program is being coordinated by the Portuguese Ministry for Labour and Solidarity under the auspices of the program “Integra.” The network is constituted by six European countries and its major objectives are the construction of a common platform to address the economic and social needs of disadvantaged groups and to develop and implement programs to fight unemployment.

In the Portuguese case, the Municipality of Amadora developed and implemented the program “A Rede Adiante” (Network Forward). The thrust of the program is to assist and to promote the development of the local associational movement. Its major aims are to strengthen the autonomy and the technical capacity of local associations; to promote cooperation among associations at a local, regional and international level; to promote inter-associational relations in the areas of information, technical know-how and exchange of experiences, and to promote work opportunities within the associational field. The program targets the 200 local associations, including six immigrant organizations. Also, recent programs such as “European Initiative for Democracy and Human Rights” subsidized by the European Commission have been promoted at the local-level. It aims at the promotion and the protection of civil and political rights, equality of opportunity, training and consciousness-raising in the area of human rights. Overall, city participation in these European programs became crucial to access new resources and in acquiring social capital, providing municipal authorities more political leverage with the central government.

However, local state agencies were not alone in lobbying international organizations for funding and new transnational partnerships. The associational movement in Amadora, including immigrant organizations, has been increasingly successful in developing new areas of
Participation in international networks, programs and forums (e.g. the Council of Associations of Immigrants in Europe, CAI-EUROPE) provided these organizations with a wide range of new financial, technical and educational resources. These became instrumental in increasing the organization's capacity to access a wider and more diversified public. Also of utmost importance were the ways in which incorporation into transnational networks reconfigured immigrants' space of membership and belonging. Immigrants' issues were now being recast and articulated within a broader institutional framework which transcended national and local structures. For one of the executive officers of the Luso-African Cultural Association Morna a close collaboration and involvement in European networks and programs is crucial for the development of immigrant associational life. In his opinion:

Partnerships in European programs are the way to go. The associations in Amadora are too localized and worried about everyday life survival. One needs to be confronted with other ways of thinking and doing things. Through the partnerships one learns from the experience of others and, also, it makes us work harder in our program management. One can learn with the experiences of voluntary associations in, for example, Rotterdam and see how they have tackled different issues like housing, education and racism. Sometimes the problems are not at all that different.

Similar opinions have been expressed by other migrant association leaders who perceive their involvement with European migrant associations as an important means to increase their economic, social and political capital. These new organizing strategies have not only widened migrant associations' scope of action but also they are instrumental in redefining local collective identities within a broader framework of membership. As Soysal (1994) makes clear in her study of postwar citizenship in Europe, the internationalization of migrants' organizing has been responsible for a redefinition of migrants' membership and for new pluralist models of identity.

In the case of Amadora, the negotiation of various forms of belonging, local, national, European and also in terms of immigrants' country of origin have informed migrants' organizing strategies. Multiple spaces of belonging, anchored on cultural specificities, but also on national and international memberships increasingly have configure migrants' identities and demands. Although migrant associations in Amadora are still very much concerned with immediate survival needs such as housing, work and education, there has been a clear trend towards issues of equal rights, legalization and social equality. For more recently formed organizations, these
issues became priority areas of intervention. Cooperation with the country of origin’s government institutions (i.e., Cape Verde), and local, national and international memberships have provided these associations with broader resources and a plurality of identity models. As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the articulation of these multiple forms of belonging at the local-level become determinant in shaping particular individual and collective forms of agency.

**New Discourses and Policies: “The Multicultural City in Abeyance”**

By the late 1990s communists’ local mobilization of migrant associational activities proved to be inadequate to promote the local social integration of migrants in a city plagued by major structural problems. A squalid social reality was flying in the face of an ideological and institutional project that aimed at transforming “Amadora into a city of inclusion” (Municipality of Amadora, 1994b). Despite the symbolic moves, the sharing of experiences, the debates, the numerous plans and programs intended to foster equality of opportunities for all, the “Minorities Project” remained consciously or unconsciously, a mere ideological artefact, which overlooked deep structural inequalities. The consolidation of squatter neighbourhoods, which the media eagerly equated with “ghettos” or with the “Bronx”, violence, marginalization and youth delinquency were major problems facing immigrant population in Amadora. Despite some local measures, the construction of basic infrastructure in the slums was often too arbitrary and conspicuously insufficient to satisfy the needs of the populations living in the shantytowns. Also, at an institutional level the creation of formal immigrant participatory channels failed on various accounts. First, the personalization of an institutional structure which relied on specific municipal officials who were not only eager to advance their own professional career interests but also whose close connections to the communist party apparatus constituted a source of continuous tensions and conflicts. Second, according to municipal officials lack of interest on the part of some immigrant organizations especially those that did not have their headquarters in Amadora jeopardized the municipal council’s work. Yet, for immigrant associations, the problems facing the council’s operationalization were far more complex and subtle. For some immigrant associations’ leaders, the council was mainly designed to co-opt leaderships and control
immigrants’ associational life. For others, there was a wide gap between the ideological principles underlying the establishment of the council and everyday practices. Since its creation, the council only convened three times and, although major issues such as housing, employment and education were often discussed and new strategies were proposed, policymaking was still very much in the hands of the politicians and city officials. The work of the council was mainly reduced to ad hoc initiatives (i.e., city sponsored festivals, and immigrant associations’ intervention in the extraordinary regularization period in 1996). As one leader of a migrant association explained to me:

The council never had the political power to influence local policymaking. Associations were treated like pawns by city authorities. For example, some local associations were not included in the Council whereas others which had nothing to do with migrant problems in Amadora were included. It was all a sham, that’s what it was!28

By the late 1990s, the council’s ability to influence local decision-making was seriously challenged by immigrant associations and community leaders. They needed more and wanted more from a city council which had promised them for 18 years solidarity, equality and social justice.

The Communist rule in Amadora came to an end when the socialists won for the first time the municipal elections in December, 1997.29 In the same year, the socialist government had championed a national law extending voting and eligibility rights to immigrants. During the election campaign, the political parties in Amadora were keen on mobilizing the new immigrant constituencies. For the communists, the PCP (Portuguese Communist Party) was not only the “party of the workers but also the party of the immigrant communities.”30 The creation of institutional channels for immigrant participation and the strengthening of immigrants’ associational movements were pointed out as major accomplishments of the Communist rule in Amadora. The socialist and the social democrats were not as blatant in their assertions, but were as eager as the communists to capture an estimated 15,000 new potential immigrant votes. All parties included immigrants in their candidate lists in an attempt to mobilize the new immigrant constituencies (Noticias da Amadora, nº 1262, July 25, 1996). For the first time a Capeverdean migrant, who was included in the communist party candidate list, was elected to the Municipal...
Assembly. Immigrants’ electoral participation is hard to assess for parishes fail to disclose the number of immigrants who made use of their voting rights. However, according to parish figures, the number of immigrants who registered for the municipal election was far below expectations. For example, only 2,295 Capeverdean immigrants have registered.31

The election of a socialist mayor to City Hall brought with it a new discourse on immigration. In the municipal election campaign Joaquim Raposo vowed to built new and more efficient transit infrastructures and to tighten security and surveillance measures in the city. The objective was to set up police stations in every parish of the municipality. For him, the slums were largely responsible for criminality and violence in Amadora (Noticias da Amadora, May 24, 1997). This discourse was produced as a direct response to a widespread anxiety about troubling developments amongst second generation immigrant in the 1990s. Marginalization, petty crime and gang activities were increasingly being associated with second generation immigrants living in the city. In 1997, the weekly newspaper Expresso published a six-page long article (September 13, 1997) featuring headlines such as “The police can no longer control suburban gangs”; “Clashes are inevitable” or “Greater Lisbon is surrounded by ghettos” with a subheading reading “A ring of gunpowder surrounds Lisbon—there are neighbourhoods where the police do not go in and the “gangs” make the law. The situation is out of control.” The neighbourhoods referred to were all situated in the Municipality of Amadora. The following week, another release made the news, “Bronx in Damaia: suburban gangs again attack the police” (Expresso, September 29, 1997). Both articles speak of the “criminal activity of groups and “organized gangs”; of the intractability of the crisis; the rise of racism, violence and criminality and of the need to control the situation through heavy policing and more effective local state policies.

The media representation of “black youths” as “criminal gangs living in ghettos” reflected a linear association between race, crime, poverty and space. This had major implications for the construction of a public image which conflated immigration with criminality. Such representations found echo in the political discourse of the newly elected socialist municipal officials. For the newly elected mayor “insecurity” was one of the “most urgent questions” that required prompt attention from city council. For him:
The white and black community live with their backs against each other. The first blacks who came to Amadora and who are in the neighbourhoods, what we call the first generation, had their cultural roots and respected their elders...and they were mainly workers who came to work, they had their jobs, their work, they would go to work in the morning and came back at night. The second generation lost these characteristics and they do not even have any cultural roots. They lost the respect for their elders and that provokes fear in the African community itself. The blacks themselves are afraid of blacks. The blacks themselves feel insecure and that breeds suspicion and fear in the white community because in these neighbourhoods the organized gangs are black gangs.\textsuperscript{32}

This gloomy discourse legitimated a tougher grip on immigration in general and on disaffected immigrant youth in particular. Tighter control, new police stations, a “school-factory”, providing professional training and vocational courses to keep immigrant youths “occupied”, and a municipal agency to deal exclusively with immigration issues were the major policy strategies envisaged to cope with “the immigrant problem of insecurity.”

For the mayor, these new social problems afflicting Amadora were directly related to broader immigration policies which have tended to overlook local realities. As he explained:

I do not know if there is an immigration policy in Portugal. Portugal has to have a policy which should not make them blind to illegal immigration when they need manpower. No one saw anyone coming in so no one did come in. Then after the work is done we got all the problems....Independently of a policy of free circulation of workers of Portuguese speaking countries, there has to be some constraints otherwise this will be hell every single year. Furthermore, I’m rather concerned about Amadora after the construction work for Expo’98 is done. All the blacks who work for Expo live in Amadora. The majority of them will be unemployed when Expo is over. Where are they going to go? The tendency is to come to Amadora. We are going to have conflicts.\textsuperscript{33}

For Joaquim Raposo, the role of the local state as a mediator of the relationship between central government immigrant policies and local constituencies has become increasingly under pressure in the last years. According to him, the exacerbation of racial tensions coupled with a continuous pressure and demands from his constituencies for tighter security measures could hardly be ignored. In his opinion, immigrant associations should, in collaboration with local authorities, intervene in fighting insecurity and social problems. In his words: “I have already challenged some African associations that they should be the ones to introduce the issue of insecurity and to discuss what means are necessary, what type of actions should be developed so that they can show to the community that they also have those worries.”\textsuperscript{34}
Here the assumption is that immigrant associations should internalise the "insecurity problem" as their own and become, to put it bluntly, the policemen of their own people in their houses, building blocks, and neighbourhoods or in the streets. It further presupposes that immigrant associations perceive the "insecurity problem" as an immigrant problem. The production of this new discourse is problematic on two accounts: First, by reducing immigration to criminality it depoliticizes marginalization and social exclusion; second, it imposes a new set of representations based on a simplistic and deeply racialized notion of immigration and cultural differences. For a member of an immigrant association, the new discourses are rather dangerous for they make the crimes of whites invisible. For others, more policing is not going to solve the problem because the problem "has to do with lack of opportunities for the immigrant youths."^{35}

After two years of socialist mandate the first police station was inaugurated with official pomp in one of the most populated slum areas in Amadora. Regional and national newspapers gave full coverage to the event depicting it as a major accomplishment for the local government and for the populations residing in those areas. During the ceremony the municipality awarded the new police stations two new vehicles, courtesy of FIAT and SONAE (one of the Portuguese largest economic and financial conglomerates). These were to be used in the patrolling of schools in Amadora under the auspices of the program "Safe School", Escola Segura (Público, August 28, 1999). For the president of the parish council with jurisdiction over these slum areas, the population living in the slums' neighbouring areas "needed the police stations for a long time because this area is particularly difficult" (Diário de Noticias, August 28, 1999). Yet, other voices were heard in the event, those of the slum populations who denounced police violence in the slums. For them the policemen enter in the slums as "gang busters shooting at everything and everyone" (GrandAmadora, September 2, 1999).

Given an overall national trend to a more inclusionary migrant policy, the pervasiveness of exclusionary measures at a local-level is most revealing of the contradictions and tensions that permeate the relationship between local and central state policies. As was discussed in the previous chapter, from 1995 onwards a wide range of national policies were created to promote immigrants' integration in mainstream society. The extension of social and voting rights to
immigrants was perceived as a fundamental measure to encourage the full participation of immigrants in the Portuguese society. However, at a local-level, the enfranchisement of immigrants has not had a significant impact on their integration into all aspects of community life. Local social tensions and a wide gap between “the law in the books” and “the law in action” have been determinant in hampering immigrants’ full participation in local society. An ideology of fear and insecurity has penetrated the various levels of local government. The dispersal of the slum populations and tight policing characterized the discourse of other parish council officials. In one of the parishes which has jurisdiction over the largest squatter settlement in Amadora, the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, municipal officials tend to reproduce to a large extent the dominant local official discourse. For these municipal authorities, the neighbourhood is represented in an idiom of violence and corruption. Policing and overzealous bureaucratic procedures have been used as a means to “manage” the immigrant population living in the slum. The comments of a parish council official well exemplify the lack of implementation and the ways in which the law becomes an object of local manipulation.

Presently the law requires only two witnesses to issue a residence certificate, but, unfortunately, in that zone [slum] there are professional witnesses. We cannot prove it because everyone lies...so we started to filter them out...officially we cannot do it...but we check their living and working conditions before we issue the certificates required for them to be legalized.36

The reasoning underlying these practices is simple. High rates of legalization equals increased immigrant inflows of “needy” people to the parish which, in turn, will aggravate the “insecurity problem.” Yet, in the opinion of this council official, immigrants are also victims of unscrupulous immigrant subcontractors who exploit them. Sometimes these immigrants seek the assistance of the parish for counselling services and law enforcement with respect to their employers’ refusal to pay the wages in arrears. This “benevolent” institutional gaze is also extended to impoverished immigrant women who are left alone with their children and who seek the parish’s social services assistance. According to parish officials, in some cases parish intervention goes even beyond what is established in the legislation in order to “reach and assist” those who are not eligible for social and welfare benefits.
In this ambiguous terrain where the contours of legality and illegality are fuzzy, immigrants’ formal rights become inconsequential for those who exercise the law according to their own conceptions and interests. A complex web of domination, “insidious leniencies” and subjection entrap immigrants in a space of subordination, denying them the possibility to articulate their own interests and demands. What is at stake here is not only a form of domination but also, Foucault puts it, of “subjection.” This constitutes a form of power which “applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorize the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him” (Foucault, 1982:212). It is through this mechanism of power that one is not only subjugated by others, but also he or she is made a subject by making him or her internalize and assume a particular subjectivity. The words of a Capeverdean youth who lives in one of the slum of Amadora is most revealing of this double-edged process of “subjection.” Here she talks about her experience with the parish council:

My father is an exemplary citizen. He always tells me, “My daughter, you have to vote because if you do not vote, the parish council won’t issue you any documents.” One has to be registered and one has to vote. . . . The other day my sister went to the parish to ask them to issue a document I needed to apply for a fellowship. They thought it was for her and they told her that they would not issue it because she was not registered. The law does not force you to vote but I always vote, referendum about this and that, elections, whatever they want. . . .

The lived experience of this immigrant family reveals a world outlook, a habitus, which speaks of their subjugation to the municipal authorities but also of the internalization of an imposed subjectivity. The official representations about those living in the slum engender a sense of powerlessness and marginalization which shapes the individual’s own identity and the nature of his or her social relations.

At a collective level, the new discourses and practices on immigration have had major implications for immigrant political participation in Amadora. For instance, the activities of the Municipal Council of Ethnic Minorities and Immigrants were suspended since socialists won the municipal elections in 1997 on the account that a new and more innovative policy was to be developed in order to make it more efficient. In the early 1999s a new technical group was constituted to reformulate the Council’s statutes which are still in the process of being approved.
by the Municipal Assembly. Although the objectives of the Council remained basically the same, new regulations were introduced regarding its representational structure. Presently, all 16 immigrant associations and solidarity groups operating in the city are represented on the Council. In addition, new institutional agencies were also included in the Council’s representative body, namely the police, state welfare institutions (Santa Casa da Misericórdia) and the Institute for Child Assistance (Instituto de Apoio à Criança). According to the municipal coordinating group, the program of activities of the new council entails a permanent negotiation amongst all those who are represented in the council. This would allow immigrant associations to fully participate in the planning and implementation processes. For the near future, the major activities proposed centre on the organization of public debates on xenophobia and racism and on a wider participation of immigrant organizations in municipal projects to promote integration. To what extent the new proposals will be able to go beyond a mere cosmetic move and provide a strategy in which immigrants have an active voice in policymaking remains for the time being a problematic and open question. The creation of a municipal cabinet to deal exclusively with immigration issues has been postponed to the present day. The depoliticization of immigration has met with little resistance from immigrant associations. In fact, the new discourses and municipal policies have brought to the fore the fragility of the immigrant associational movement. Dependency on public funding, partisanship and clientelistic relations with local government and deficient organizational structures have undermined significantly immigrant political mobilization. Resistance to dominant official policies has not so far led to collective organized action. Instead, resistance has been fragmentary, emerging on an individualized and informal basis.

Immigrant associations have responded differently to these new official discourses and policy strategies depending on their ideological outlooks and organizational structures. While some associations have found it more difficult to make a stand given their complicities and dependency on municipal funding, others have been able to bypass local politics to a certain extent. For these latter organizations, involvement in national and transnational networks has given them more leverage with local power. However, the acquisition of “transnational symbolic capital” does not imply a total absence from local politics. In a field in which informal networks
become a dominant form of capital, immigrant associations in Amadora tend to maximize their social capital, drawing upon all the resources available to them. Informal contacts, short-term alliances with municipal authorities and participation in local government sponsored programs are major strategies used by immigrant associations to capitalize on public funds and to increase their capacity to influence local policymaking.

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that immigrant processes of social and political integration have been largely influenced by the institutional framework in which these organizations operate. As Ireland (1994) has argued in his comparative analysis of immigrant participatory patterns in France and Switzerland, "institutional channelling" rather than class or ethnicity or race has been the crucial element in structuring immigrants' organizational structure and political mobilization. Soysal makes a similar assertion when she argues that "host societies shape the collective organization of migrants by providing (or not) certain resources for and models of organizing" (1994:86). She further argues that migrant organizations define their goals and strategies and functions in response to host society institutions and policies. The relevance of such arguments are apparent for this analysis. However, from the above discussion, institutional modes of incorporation not only are determinant in shaping migrants' organizational structure but also their influence reaches further into migrants' individual and collective sense of identity. It is through the institutional apparatus that particular subjectivities are constituted while others are disavowed. Institutions in Amadora have mapped immigrants into specific matrices of social control, normalizing behaviours according to preconceived and often arbitrary notions of cultural difference and agency. In this sense, institutional responses to immigration cannot be dissociated from the production of specific individualities and social realities which are imposed on those who become the object of such classificatory schema. It has been against these hegemonic institutional truths that immigrants and immigrant associations have measured themselves, have internalized imposed subjectivities and have struggled for new spaces in which self-representation might be possible.

In conclusion, this chapter has focussed on how national policies concerning the social and political integration of immigrants have shaped local field relations. In capturing the
dynamics of policymaking and implementation and its impact on migrants' integration patterns, I draw attention to three major processes. First, policy "travels" in multiple levels and contexts which are not necessarily continuous. As was highlighted, local immigration policies may refract broader policymaking trends, however, they are also the result of ongoing complex social, political and economic processes locally defined and produced. For instance, as we have seen, a more inclusive policy towards immigrants has not translated to substantially higher levels of incorporation at the local-level. The empirical findings suggest that if, on the one hand, local institutions may be important means by which rights are extended to immigrants, on the other hand, local government agencies also become the locus of control and manipulation of immigrant communities. That is, the implementation of national policy instruments at a local-level become inscribed in local economies of power produced in different institutional sites (city council, parish council, municipal institutions). This power is exercised via a multiplicity of techniques (accommodation, subjection, domination, clientelism and bureaucratic control) which do not operate in isolation, but intertwine, influence each other and come to shape immigrants' lives.

Second, as was suggested, institutional frameworks not only configure immigrants' organizational structure and their patterns of incorporation in mainstream society, but also they become deeply implicated in a process of "subject-constitution." To this extent, institutional structuring of immigrant participatory patterns can hardly be dissociated from a micro-politics of power and identity formation. Given specific historical and ideological contexts, institutions not only label and categorize immigrants according to which rights can be granted (or denied) but also they impose subjectivities which shape peoples' social identities enabling certain cultural models while disabling others. Third, new transnational participatory patterns have increasingly informed migrants' organizational structure at the local-level. Participation in multiple levels and contexts have enlarged the political cartography of migrant groups and organizations. Border crossings and a plurality of translocal spaces of membership have provided local migrant associations with new resources and different forms of empowerment. These have been used strategically by migrant associations to claim a place of their own at a local, national and transnational level.
The ethnographic chapters to follow are intended to show how state policies affect immigrant processes of integration and collective organizing at a grassroots level. Chapter V will examine the formation and development of the largest immigrant slum in the municipality of Amadora, the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura. The case study of this squatter settlement is presented as an illustration of the ways in which dominant representations and state policies shape immigrants' life strategies and their own sense of identity. The neighbourhood provides the analytic framework for a detailed analysis of the interplay between state policies and immigrant patterns of incorporation. By directing attention to the ways in which institutional approaches to integration impinge on migrants' living experiences and to the nature of collective and individual responses to such political strategies, Chapters V and VI seek to contribute to the development of a framework which articulates macro-institutional structures with a micro-politics of power and identity formation.
Chapter Notes

1 For instance, according to the Administration Code of 1940 the mayor and his deputies were elected by central government authorities. These were usually chosen among the local “notables” with close connections to the state government elite. The aldermen were, in turn, elected by the Municipal Council constituted by a corporatist representation of different social interest groups at the local-level. Also, at the level of the county, an officer with policing functions (regeredor) was appointed by the city mayor to exercise close control on the county’s president and other local officials activities. A permanent machinery of surveillance instituted in the 1940s informed local -national relations up until the Revolution in 1974 (Mozzicaffredo et al., 1991).

2 Here I am referring to the creation of administrative regions in continental Portugal. In the overall Portuguese administrative structure two autonomous regions have been established for the archipelagos of Madeira and the Azores. Administratively, they have their own institutions, financial autonomy and legislative and executive bodies which operate in accordance with the Portuguese Constitution of the Republic.

3 According to the legislation, all candidates for local government positions have to be affiliated to a political party. According to some authors, this imposition has severely limited local political participation. See Mozzicaffredo et al., 1991.

4 According to municipal officials of the Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, City Hall of Amadora, the total population living in degraded housing dwellings far exceeds the official estimates. For instance, a survey conducted under the auspices of PER - Special Rehousing Program in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura identified only 39 shacks with a total population of 172 persons. Yet, a survey conducted in the squatter settlement showed that out of a total of 836 dwellings 10% (83) were shacks and 43% were precarious dwellings. (Municipal Report, Cova da Moura, 1987). All these dwellings and their residents were left unaccounted for by the Municipal Report of 1993.


6 See INE XI e XIII Recenseamento Geral da População, 1981, 1991. According to official statistics provided by the Department of Urban Administration, Municipality of Amadora, the population density of Amadora far exceeds national estimates. In 1991, population density rates for Amadora were estimated to be 7,641. In 1997, this figure increased to 7,945, making Amadora the municipality with the highest population density in the whole country (Municipality of Amadora, DAU, 1997).

7 According to official typology a degraded neighbourhood results from the “squatter” occupation of the land. Housing conditions are in general very precarious without possibility for renewal. An illegal neighbourhood implies the illegal division of lots in which houses with average-quality construction were built. Often the lots are legalized and included in urban renewal projects (Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora).

8 Personal interview with a Parish Council President, Municipality of Amadora, January 20, 1999, Buraca, Amadora.
See Municipality of Amadora, 1993b:2; also see Decree-Law 162/93 and Decree-Law 163/93, May 7, 1993.

See Municipality of Amadora, 1993b.

Instituto de Gestão e Alienação do Patrimônio Habitacional do Estado (IGAPHE; Institute of Management and Alienation of State Housing Patrimony); Instituto Nacional de Habitação (INH); Nacional Institute of Housing; Junta Autónoma das Estradas (JAE), Autonomous Council of the Roads.

See PER-Fundamentos para a Subscrição do Acordo de Adesão, MUNICIPALITY OF AMADORA, July 1, 1995a.

Personal interview with municipal officials, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora, March, 1998, Amadora.


Personal interview with municipal officials of the Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora. Also see Municipal Bulletin, June, 1996, Areas, Municipality of Amadora. Also see Municipal Bulletin, June, 1996.

Personal interview with the Mayor of Amadora, March, 1998, Amadora.

The program addresses the population of the shanty neighbourhood of Azinhaga dos Besouros. The total population to be rehoused is estimated in 1806 persons. Personal interview with a municipal official of the Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora.

Personal interview with the coordenators of the Municipal Council for Ethnic Minorities and immigrants, Municipality of Amadora.


Personal interview with Marina Antunes, Coordinator of the Project of Ethnic Minorities of the Municipality of Amadora, December, 1995.


Rath (1991:1993) in his analysis of the dominant ideological representations of migrants in the Netherlands identifies a process of "ethnic minorization." According to him migrant workers are problematized as "ethnic minorities" on the basis of their degree of conformity with the Dutch middle class living standards. The non-conformity with the Dutch ways of living is perceived as undesired and thus migrants due to their socio and cultural specificities are "defined as people that conform inadequately to the Dutch way of life" (1993:222). Here, I use the term to identify a process of institutional categorization whereby immigrants are typified as ethnic minorities on the basis of their socio-cultural differences but also, and more importantly, on their situation of social exclusion and marginalization vis-a-vis the mainstream society.

According to the national official classificatory schema clear distinction is made between ethnic minorities and immigrants. The former category is used to designate the gypsy population living in Portugal. Personal interview with the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.

FEDER (European Regional Development Fund) and FSE (European Social Fund). The operational Program Integrar is part of the Second Community Support Framework for Portugal and has been coordinated nationally by the Portuguese Ministry for Labour and Solidarity.
The other European countries involved in this program are France, Spain, Belgium, Great Britain and Italy. Under the auspices of this network each country has developed its own program. Most of the programs deal with professional training targeting the youth, unemployed or underqualified workers. Information provided by the Department of Education and Culture, Municipality of Amadora.

Personal interview with one of the executive officers of the Luso-African Association—Moma, July, 1999, Amadora.

Personal interview with Fernanda Mendes, Coordenator of the Municipal Council of Ethnic Minorities and of Immigrants, March, 1999.

Personal interview with a migrant association leader, April, 1998, Amadora.

Results from the last municipal elections show that the socialist party won with 28,055 (33.8%) and the Communists became the first opposition party capturing 24,016 (28.9%) of the votes (STAPE, 1998).

Personal interview with a municipal official, June 1998, Amadora.

Information was provided by the eleven parish councils of Amadora. No studies have been conducted regarding the turn out of immigrants in municipal election in Amadora, nor on their party preferences.

Personal interview with Joaquim Raposo, Mayor of Amadora, March, 1998.

Personal interview with Joaquim Raposo, Mayor of Amadora, March, 1998.

Personal interview with Joaquim Raposo, Mayor of Amadora, March, 1998.


Personal interview with a parish council municipal official, January, 1999, Amadora.


Personal interview with municipal officials, Municipality of Amadora, Department of Ethnic Minorities and Immigrant Communities, July, 1999, Amadora.
CHAPTER V: A COMMUNITY UNDER CONSTRUCTION

[A] spatial order organizes an ensemble of possibilities and interdictions. (De Certeau, 1984:98)

Present-day anthropological and sociological debates over the analytical status of categories such as “nation”, “culture” and “community” have centred on a critique of the processes of essentialization and reification which have underlined the construction of such units of analysis. These categories are seen as having grossly overlooked the multiple and complex nature of social relations rendering invisible whole orders of difference.¹

In an attempt to come to terms with homogenization and reductionist approaches to the nation, culture and community, a new “anthropology of locality” has been identified. For Cohen (1986) the processes of modernization and nation-states’ formation have been mainly responsible for a dilution of “structural boundaries.” Yet, according to him local difference has not disappeared but has been reworked into a symbolic dimension for:

Members of a community can make virtually anything grist to the symbolic mill of cultural distance, whether it be the effects upon it of some centrally formulated government policy or matters of dialect, dress, drinking, marrying or dying. The symbolic nature of the opposition means that people can ‘think themselves into difference.’² (1986:17)

In a different vein and drawing on a non-essentialist approach, Rose (1997) reworks the notion of community within a “spatial-cultural discourse.” Here, community is reimagined within a matrix of space and power. As she argues, community “must be mapped in a spatiality which can acknowledge partial and changing membership; contingent insiderness; uncertainty, loss and absence” (1997:14). For authors such as Bhabha (1994) and Hall (1995), previously held notions of spatial, and cultural boundedness of the “nation” and of the “community” are to be subverted and reworked within a perspective that favours fragmentation, heterogeneity and hybridity to totality, homogeneity and essentialism. In addressing the question of community, locality and place, Appadurai (1996) dispensed with the notion of community altogether and introduced the idea of neighbourhood, which, in his view, better accounts for the fluid, heterogeneous and
transnational processes of present-day community formation, while retaining images of sociability, reproducibility and situatedness.

What I want to draw from these arguments is that neighbourhoods as “situated communities” can hardly be envisaged in terms of a single unified field of meanings. Instead, local communities are crossed by a multiplicity of national and transnational developments, interpretations, possibilities and constraints—a “power-laden field of social relations whose meanings, structures and frontiers are continually produced, contested and reworked in relation to a complex range of sociopolitical attachments and antagonisms” (Gregory, 1998:11). It is within this perspective that this chapter will examine the production and reproduction of the migrant neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, Amadora. Its major thrust is to provide the context for the analysis of the relationship between state policies and immigrant patterns of integration and collective organizing at the local-level. In mapping out the origins and the historical development of the settlement, the discussion will focus on the role of dominant discourses and practices in structuring local social relations and migrants’ collective identity. Also, special attention will be paid to the nature of structural factors and local power relations and the ways in which these have shaped ethnic boundary processes in this migrant enclave. It is also important to mention that what follows is not an attempt to present a thoroughly comprehensive account of life in the settlement. My primary concern is to identify those discursive practices that best convey the multiplicity of cultural, social and political processes implicated in the formation of this community as a space of accommodation and resistance.

The Neighbourhood of Alto Da Cova Da Moura

The migrant squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura is situated on a small volcanic plateau in the periphery of Lisbon covering a total area of 16.3 square hectares with good south exposure and steep cliffs on the northern and eastern sides. The settlement is located approximately 15km from downtown Lisbon with easy access to public transportation (railways and buses) and to main highways and freeways crisscrossing its outskirts. Administratively, the
settlement is located in the Municipality of Amadora and is under the jurisdiction of two parish councils, Buraca and Damaia (Maps 3 and 4).

Map 3:

The Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, Municipality of Amadora

Note. Source, Municipality of Amadora, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas (Divisão de Serviços de Habitação e Recuperação de Áreas Degradadas).
Map 4:

Settlement Patterns of the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura (1940s-1990s)

Note. Source, Municipality of Amadora, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas (Divisão de Serviços de Habitação e Recuperação de Áreas Degradadas).
According to official legislation, this neighbourhood has been classified as being “doubly illegal” (Municipality of Amadora, 1983). First, it resulted from the “invasion” of privately and state owned lands and secondly, the built environment is also illegal given that no licenses or building permits were ever issued. Of the 16.3 square hectares, 11.1 square hectares are privately owned by a Portuguese family who flew to Brazil after the coup in 1974 and the remaining land is the property of the Portuguese State. In legal terms, this neighbourhood does not fit either one of the two major categories of “urban illegality”, namely “illegal neighbourhood” resulting from the construction in lots legally acquired by the home owners and “shanty neighbourhoods” resulting from the occupation of publicly owned property (Bill 804/76 and Bill 275/76).

The settlement of the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura may be divided into four distinct phases. The first dates from the early 1940s to 1974 and corresponds to the beginning of the settlement of the neighbourhood. The second phase covers the period from 1974 and 1977. It was the beginning of a new period of settlement characterized by major influxes of immigrants and Portuguese repatriates from the ex-colonies. It was highlighted by new processes of housing construction and urbanization of the neighbourhood. The third period, which lasted from 1977 to 1989 coincided with immigrant population booms leading to the consolidation of the neighbourhood. Also, this period was characterized by the creation of based-based organizations. Finally, the last period extends from 1989 to the present. It is highlighted by new influxes of undocumented migrants, and the emergence of dominant official representations of the based as an “inner-city problem.” Underlying this periodization is an attempt to articulate the historical and social production and reproduction of this particular squatter settlement with broader, economic, social and political transformations in Portuguese society.

The first period of the settlement dates from the 1940s and lasted until 1974. According to some older residents in the neighbourhood the first shacks were built in the 1940s.³ Pioneer residents settled in two opposite locations. One group concentrated in a farm named “Quinta do Outeiro” in the southern side of the neighbourhood. This group was constituted mainly by farm workers who remained on the property and built their own shacks after agricultural production came to a halt in the late 1950s. The second group settled in the northern part of the
neighbourhood in a quarry which had been closed down for many years. In the 1960s these lands were also being used by residents of other surrounding neighbourhoods, in the majority internal rural migrants, who started to subdivide the land into small orchard plots.

This first phase of settlement corresponds to two major distinct epochs in national urban policy. One was characterized by strict control and surveillance of illegal land occupation and building construction which lasted until 1970. A second period from 1970 to 1974 was shaped by Premier Marcelo Caetano’s attempt at political liberalization which was translated into a more permissive attitude towards illegal occupation of property (Mozzicafreddo et al., 1985). Lack of detailed information on the evolution of the neighbourhood during this period makes it rather difficult to account for the ways in which those policy shifts affected Alto da Cova da Moura’s settlement patterns. However, it is known that by 1974 the settlement was constituted by three distinct areas with a total population of 360 people (Municipality of Oeiras, 1977). The first area was farm land, a second niche was formed by small wooden shacks surrounded by orchards and a third area was constituted by a conglomerate of wooden shacks built mainly by rural migrants in search of better life opportunities in the city.

“ln Those Days I was Only Afraid of Cobras”

The second phase of settlement started in 1974 and lasted until 1977. Major structural political and social transformations prompted by the revolution of 1974 had a crucial impact on Portuguese society. Political liberalization, social turmoil, and housing shortages contributed to the proliferation and consolidation of illegal neighbourhoods all over the country, with special incidence in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. A national survey conducted in 1977 revealed that there were a total of 83,000 illegal housing units in the whole country. Of these, 77% were located in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Nunes da Silva and Dias Correia, 1988) This situation was further aggravated by the massive repatriation of Portuguese residing in the ex-colonies, new influxes of refugees fleeing civil war and hunger in Angola and Mozambique and new African labour migration flows to Portugal (Pires & Saint-Maurice, 1989).
By the early 1970s there were already living in the neighbourhood several Capeverdean families who had appropriated some of the land for themselves, their extended families and friends. This is the case of Dona Antonia, a sturdy middle-aged Capeverdean woman from S. Antão who built the first brick house in the neighbourhood in 1975. I asked her to tell me her memories of the early days in the neighbourhood. Dona Antonia remembers:

Ah...in those days I was only afraid of cobras and now I’m afraid of people. I came to the neighborhood in 1975. Before I was living in Cascais, where my first daughter was born and then I went to work in Lisbon as a live-in maid in the house of a Portuguese who made my life a perfect hell. Then Rui who is a Capeverdean and who was already living in the neighborhood gave us a lot for us to build a shack. So we came. There was no Residents’ Association at that time. Rocha and Illidio came after us. There were very few people in the neighbourhood. Rui who is Capeverdean and his father Maninho lived here, Pinto who is a Portuguese from Castelo Branco [a district city in central Portugal] also lived here and Martins who is also Portuguese who had lived in Mozambique before coming to Portugal was also here. So Rui gave the lot. My husband got a good lot and invited our friends and family who were living in Fontainhas (an illegal neighborhood in the municipality of Lisbon) to join us. Through my husband a lot of people came to this neighborhood. We started to build...it was really hard. We had no water, no electricity, nothing. There were two fountains in the whole area and we used to spend the nights filling buckets with water. Also, to construct the house sometimes other people would go to places where they had demolish houses and buildings and they would pick up the leftovers, bricks, woods, and other building materials to build their own house. Nobody gave anything nor did we steal anything. Hard work, that’s all. My husband is a construction worker. He has been in France for a long time doing hard work there. That’s how we were able to build a bigger house.4

Dona Antonia’s life narrative is analogous to the migratory experiences of other early settlers. Many of the newcomers had been residing in Portugal in small rundown hotels in Lisbon or in peripheral towns for some time before settling in the neighborhood. For these, Cova da Moura offered an opportunity for homeownership, geographic proximity to work and city living and some social mobility. Family and neighborhood networks proved to be crucial in the first period of adaptation to the new country. Access to housing opportunities, jobs, schools and public services in general was provided, in most cases, not by institutional channels but rather through extended family ties and by a complex network of contacts spreading throughout Portugal and to other European countries, namely, Spain, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, as well as the United States of America. A continuous flow of information between those living in the neighbourhood and their relatives, friends or co-villagers living in other European countries provided the neighbourhood residents with a wide space of membership and identity. Frequent
trips abroad, often to visit and sometimes to work in temporary jobs in the informal sector of European economies, the acquisition of new consumption habits, new codes, expectations and future prospects have contributed to the development of border-crossing, hybrid life strategies which span a complex global cartography of cultures.

For a substantial number of these immigrants, Portugal was not the first country of emigration but their second, and, sometimes, third host country. Many of the Capeverdean pioneers in Cova da Moura have lived in the former Portuguese colony of S. Tomé e Príncipe as indentured labourers. There they worked in the coffee and cacao plantations on a 3- or 4-year work contracts. Some stayed just for one contract term, others for many years and still others died there. As many residents have pointed out to me "S. Tomé is the land of punishment" (terra de castigo). Exploitation, brutality and hunger in S. Tomé have left deeply ingrained marks on these immigrants' self-identity and in their representations of migration and work. Furthermore, their experiences in S. Tomé e Príncipe have shaped their perceptions of migration in Portugal. Hardships and daily life struggles in Portugal are continuously mediated by their harsh lived experiences in S. Tomé e Príncipe. As many comment, "Anything is better than S. Tomé."

Francisco is a dark skinned, middle-aged Capeverdean man with a big hat and a wide smile who worked with his father in the plantations of S. Tomé e Príncipe for eighteen years. As he puts it, "I went hungry for 18 years. The only thing I thought was that in the cemetery there are neither rich or poor. Nor black or white. At least there we are all equal." Francisco came to Portugal in 1971 and got a job as garbage collector in the municipal janitorial services of Almada. He has kept that job for the last 28 years, always on a contract basis. In 1976 he came to the neighborhood with his wife and five children. A nephew and his family joined him later and for many years they all lived in Francisco's house. This is how he remembers his house construction process:

I bought 400 bricks and four bags of cement. I figured that would be enough for a first phase. I contacted some colleagues and family to help me out and so we did it. People started to arrive on a Saturday at 8, 9 and 10 a.m. We did the foundations and we built the outside walls and we made four divisions inside, a kitchen and a bathroom. I gave them food and beverages and we did it all over the weekend. There were a lot of people doing exactly the same as we did. One
has to get a place to live. At that time there were no houses to rent and the rents were so expensive that we could not afford them.\(^5\)

It was only after 1975 that the newcomers started to build brick houses or to transform wooden shacks into brick lodgings. Due to policing and surveillance by local authorities who had demolished new constructions, the new residents would tend to build overnight or over the weekend. This new process of spatial occupation and construction is illustrated in the municipal report of Oeiras: “This type of construction expands on both sides of the wooden shacks and grows at such a speed that in January of this year in a single afternoon, seven trucks loaded with building materials arrived and over the weekend new houses were built” (Municipality of Amadora, 1983:10).

Also a newcomer to the neighbourhood was Avó Pim and her clan who moved to Cova da Moura in 1976. Sr. Dinis, her husband was a soldier in Cape Verde during the Second World War. He started as a soldier and after several promotions he became a machine gunner. This is a fact that he talks about with great pride: “I was so proud to be a machine gun shooter. We were mobilized to go to Timor but then the day before our departure they told us that the war was over. This was 1946....I guess the war had finished before but the news only got to Cape Verde a year later or so.” After the war he married Avó Pim, a rural worker and street vendor from Santiago, and in 1966 they went to S. Tomé e Príncipe to the Sundi Coco plantation as labourers in a four-year work contract. In 1971 Sr. Dinis went to Portugal leaving his family behind in the plantation. He worked on several dams in Portugal and in Spain as an unskilled labourer and in 1973 Avó Pim and their children joined him in Spain and later moved to a slum, Fontainhas, close to Cova da Moura. Living conditions in Fontainhas were particularly harsh. He remembers a particular incident that made him decide to move out of that neighborhood:

I remember that at a time people were setting the shacks on fire. Because of that two Capeverdean boys died. One was eight and the other one was five. We don’t know who committed the crime. There were no police around. Then we all got together and we patrolled the neighborhood night and day. Some men found two whites with cans of gasoline. They were pouring gasoline over the shacks. They got them and beat them badly.\(^6\)

Avó Pim’s house is located at the neighbourhood’s southwest entrance at the corner of two main streets. Like the other residents already living in Cova da Moura they had no running
water, no sewage, no electricity and nowhere else to go. As time went by the children got jobs in the construction industry and in janitorial services and Avó Pim became a street vendor in the neighborhood. Fátima, who is also a street vendor, remembers Avó Pim with her grandson on her back going from house to house selling fruit and vegetables.

Avó Pim is a tall, handsome 76 year old woman with seven children and as she told me with "too many" grandchildren and great-grandchildren. According to her, she stopped counting them when two of her grandsons died. These days Avó Pim has a small shop in the ground floor of her house where she sells beverages, candy, grogue, and potato chips. Outside the shop, on the left side she has a small fruit stand where she sells fruits, vegetables, potatoes, Capeverdean imported beans, biscuits and tobacco. She sits all day long outside her shop, observing the comings and goings of the residents. On the right side of the shop there is a cement bench where Sr. Dinis, their family and the neighborhood residents sit, eat oranges and talk. She used to be a midwife and a healer. People in Cova da Moura say that "she knows the power of herbs, teas and oils." Many people come to her for advice, to be blessed and purified. Her oldest son Joca tells me that his mother is "a wise woman who can see ahead of her time." I tend to agree with him. Avó Pim was one of the first women I met in the neighborhood. She was sitting outside her shop sniffing tobacco (rapé). From the beginning she was curious about my doings in the neighborhood. At the time she thought I was a journalist in search of the exotic to sell on prime-time TV. I told her that I was part of a research team and that we intended to make a film documentary about Cova da Moura. I also told her that I was looking for a space in which we could discuss our views on the neighbourhood—a space of negotiation of meanings. Her Portuguese was not very good and my Creole was also very basic. Yet I understood from the beginning that she was a powerful woman in the neighborhood. I also knew that in order to gain access to other families I had to gain her confidence and trust first. I used to sit beside her. She would give me an orange or a banana and ask me about my new acquaintances in the neighborhood. I would report to her my comings and goings, the successes and the hardships. She used to tell me "Courage, you have to be a woman of faith...." I wanted to hear her stories, but she was determined to tell them in bits and pieces, through hints and innuendoes which I tried
to unravel and later confronted her with my “discoveries.” She laughed hard at my efforts but she also took me into her world. One day, I asked her about her first years in the neighborhood. She replied: “We lived with the cockroaches and cobras in those days. We had no other choice. Still I knew that many people would come and with them many problems. You know a migrant has many lives.”

By 1977 a total of 230 lots had already been occupied and 13 lots were still empty. The total building stock was constituted by 213 constructions, of these 103 were shacks, 90 brick houses and 24 were shacks used for multiple purposes (barns, garages and storage). The majority of the population was working in low-paid jobs in the construction industry and in janitorial services with an average monthly income of 10 U.S. dollars per capita (Municipality of Amadora, 1983). It was also during this period that Portuguese residents in the ex-colonies started to arrive in the neighborhood. They tended to occupy or to buy the best and bigger lots in the northern part of the neighborhood or along the main street (Rua Principal) that crosses the neighborhood from north to south. Also, during this period a considerable number of Portuguese emigrants who had taken advantage of return migration incentives promoted by several European countries settled in the neighborhood. These tended to occupy lots close to those held by the Portuguese returnees from the ex-colonies.

**Cova da Moura as “The Promised Land”**

The third period of settlement begun in 1977 and lasted until 1989. Between 1977 and 1987 the population of Cova da Moura boomed from 600 to 5,000 residents. Massive influxes of Capeverdean migrants and Portuguese “returnees” settled in the neighborhood occupying the lots still available for home construction. Given the high demand for land the price of the lots increased substantially over the years, from 500 escudos, (approximately four dollars) in 1977 to hundred of dollars in the early 1980s (Municipality of Amadora, 1983).

One of the first Portuguese residents from the ex-colonies was Ilidio do Carmo who became a prominent figure in the neighborhood. He lived for ten years in Luanda, Angola where
he worked as a machine operator and had a shipping business on the side before decolonization.

As he recalls:

My wife was a teacher in Luanda, we had bought a small apartment which we were still paying for and I also owned a truck. When life was getting a little bit better I had to abandon everything. The revolution of 1974 changed our lives completely. I left the apartment, I left everything behind. I got here with nothing, just me, my wife and two small children. My wife went to the northern part of Portugal to her parents’ house and I came to Lisbon to discover a new way to make a living, a new path and that new path brought me here to Cova da Moura. I had nowhere to go, Cova da Moura was a Promised Land. I was living in a small hotel in Lisbon with other Portuguese returnees and someone told us that there was land available here to build a house. So I came with others and I set a lot aside for myself. There was much controversy with the lot I chose because people before me had tried to build their houses in this lot and the police and the municipal authorities always came to demolished it. No one wanted this lot so I kept it. The other Portuguese who came with me either bought or occupied other lots and started construction right away. I took longer because in the meantime I went to the United States and to Paris to check living opportunities there. I had a sister living in the United States of America and she wanted me to stay with her but I had this lot in mind. So I came back. Maybe if I had stayed in the United States I could have led a good life there. But I came here and I started to build a small brick house, opened a small grocery and coffee shop and made my living working 17 hours a day for years and years. Now everybody says that my house is the largest in the neighborhood but I have worked very hard for it.¹⁰

Like Ilidio, many other Portuguese returnees had arrived in the neighbourhood looking for an opportunity to re-start their lives after decolonization. Like him, these newcomers have developed right from the beginning a clear personal and political strategy. On a personal basis, they have secured land for themselves, built their own houses, and many of them took advantage of the social and economic opportunities offered in the neighborhood. Some became small business owners catering mainly to local residents, others, due to the size of their houses, rented their space to neighborhood small entrepreneurs becoming landlords and business brokers. Politically, the group appropriated their status as “retornado” and used it strategically to further their demands and interests. Despite the diversity of their economic, social and cultural trajectories, being a “returnee” became a symbol produced out of a sense of commonality grounded on a set of shared experiences of dispossession and marginalization. Fellow-citizens’ hostilities and stereotypical attitudes towards these newly arrived repatriates have been a source of tension and conflict. The struggle for alternative representational forms is expressed by a returnee as follows:
When I arrived with my family I felt that our fellow countrymen were very suspicious of us. Some people even criticized the meager support given by the state upon our arrival. People thought that we were taking the bread from their mouths....You know it's tough to come back. We are victims of decolonization not oppression. But the thing is that we have an open spirit, we are entrepreneurs and we are not afraid to struggle, to make a living no matter what. Portuguese who always lived here do not understand nor do they appreciate this.11

By articulating citizenship rights with a discourse of victimization, these residents have carved a space of representation in which they become active subjects and not merely objects of discursive practices which positioned them at the margins. The identity politics and strategies developed by the group were twofold. First, demands for recognition and full citizenship rights were expressed in a systematic lobbying of local and central government authorities. Second, perceived mainstream stereotypical representations of illegal squatter settlement were resisted in favour of alternative positive images.

Neighborhood mobilization, tacit alliances with local authorities and political partisanship were some of the major strategies developed to improve the group's living conditions and to decouple spatial segregation from marginality and disenfranchisement.12 Strategic and tactical mobilization was not restricted to the white Portuguese population residing in the neighborhood. A small group of Capeverdeans and Angolans constituted by former colonial administration clerks, accountants, bureaucrats and also entrepreneurs tended to align themselves with the Portuguese returnees in their struggles for recognition and legitimacy. João Rocha is a Capeverdean man who lived in S. Tomé e Principe for 22 years. Initially, he went to S. Tomé as an indentured labourer and later became a successful businessman on the Island. After the coup in 1974, social unrest in the Islands and the people’s invasion of his shop made him reassess his livelihood in S. Tomé. In his own words: “When I saw all those people dancing on my shop's floor which was full of sugar...they had thrown 15 huge bags of sugar on the floor....I realized that I had to leave the island.” Given the inability to transfer his savings outside the country he soon became an emigration broker. He would pay the air tickets for all those families who wished to emigrate to Portugal but who did not have the economic means to do so. Between late 1976 and early 1977, João Rocha was responsible for the emigration of 980 families from S. Tomé to Portugal. Of these only 30% had paid him back their air tickets and other money also lent to
them. He acknowledged from the beginning that it was a "high-risk business" but, as he notes, "In times like those 30% is better than nothing." In 1977, he emigrated to Portugal and went to live with some friends in a neighborhood close to Cova da Moura. He recalls his first times in the settlement:

I arrived on March 28, 1978 at Cova da Moura. I came with my compadre and I met a co-villager and good friend of mine who was already living in the neighborhood. At that time, there were very few shacks. People had their shacks and their small orchards around it. They convinced me that I should buy a house. There was a man who had this piece of land who was willing to sell it. I told them that he could not sell it because the land was not his. But he told me that he could sell me the use of the land for 40 contos (approximately 350 dollars). At that time that was a lot of money but I had the money so I bought it. I got some workers to build the house foundations and bought several trucks full of building materials. My house is one of those houses in the neighborhood which is well built. I was a businessman and I didn't know anything about construction but the difficulties and the necessity teaches one to do anything. I was the engineer and the architect. Like the rest of the people in the neighborhood I have been building my house throughout the years. It still is under construction. One builds one floor then stops until one gets the money for the next floor and one goes on like that for years and years. One does it step by step. It takes forever to finish and some people will never finish it. In 1978 I met Sr. Ilidio. He was also struggling like the rest of us. He built a small brick house and in the living room he opened a small grocery store. He also worked very hard and today he has the biggest house in the neighborhood. His house was built with much sacrifice like ours. I struggled very much with him and other men to get water, electricity, sewage and for the machines to open up the streets. It was a big fight....it still is today.  

João Rocha's house-building process is typical of construction in the neighborhood among those with higher standards of living. The houses, which are initially single-family houses, (and some of them remain so), undergo a constant process of construction. In an initial phase, the ground floor is built to accommodate the family. A second phase involves the construction of the first floor which provides extra space to be occupied either by family members or rental to other migrants in search of accommodation. Savings accumulated by rented earnings and salaries are then usually invested in the construction of a second floor and sometimes an attic. Due to scarcity of capital, the interior liveable space of the house constitutes a priority in the building process. In 1983, 91.5% of the total building stock (836 housing units) were still under construction; a situation that has to a certain extent remained unchanged up until the present (Municipality of Amadora, 1983).
Home ownership for the residents of this squatter settlement seems to be associated with the acquisition of both economic and symbolic capital. Economically, home ownership for the majority of the population is viewed as a valuable resource not only in terms of its use value but also as capital. For some, rental revenues have constituted the sole source of family income, while, for others, it is an important complement to the household's monthly earnings. With the massive influxes of migrants in the 1980s, rental speculation boomed in the neighborhood and single-family houses were quickly transformed into rooming houses and multiple-family dwellings. The price of rented rooms increased substantially in the 1980s and in some cases the rents in the neighborhood were higher than the rental rates outside the settlement. High demand for housing, social exclusion and the inability of undocumented migrants to find accommodation in the formal housing market are some of the major factors explaining rental speculation in Cova da Moura (Municipality of Amadora, 1983, 1987).

Added to its use and revenue value, the house is also perceived by the residents as an asset for their children. As a resident told me, "The only thing I wish for is that they legalize the neighborhood and the houses in it. I hope my house will be legalized so that my children will not have to struggle for a roof as I did." Given the housing difficulties faced by these populations and their low social mobility, the house becomes the symbol of a degree, at least, of upward mobility and economic stability, which can be transferred to future generations. Furthermore, homeownership is also articulated with the acquisition of symbolic capital. Being the owner of a "well-built", large house has been the source of prestige and social recognition in the neighborhood. Residents attribute great value not only to their efforts as the architects and engineers of their self-built dwellings, but also to those of their neighbours. The overall architecture of the house, choice of exterior paint colours, textures, the types of verandas and shades used, the use of wall tiles to decorate the exterior walls, or the size of the doors and windows are all subjected to close scrutiny and the critical (and often envious) eye of the neighbours. Overall, the size of the house, and the quality of building materials are the material expression of a whole range of different forms of capital which are required to build a "good house." These include economic, cultural and social capital, which allows for the mobilization of a
wide range of social and material resources (for example, construction workers, building materials, retail businesses, construction sub-contractors, neighborhood bonds, family networks, municipal officials, etc.). These resources become the locus of power struggles in the settlement and those who are able to attain high levels of the different forms of capital rise to a new position in the social space. The house, much more than work, becomes the yardstick by which upward social mobility is measured. Thus, the house is invested with a multiplicity of meanings which articulate the various dimensions of social life, work, family and social relations, ritual practices and everyday life experiences. As Guerra puts it, "For the owners, the clandestine house presents itself as the threshold of possible aspirations given the difficulties for social mobility in other levels of the social life" (1998:121). For the homeowners in Cova da Moura, the house does not so much represent the boundary limits of their social aspirations and expectations but, rather, the house is the medium through which social boundaries are expanded and social prestige is acquired and accumulated.

By 1983, Cova da Moura was an extremely ethnically heterogeneous neighborhood. Capeverdean migrants constituted 55% of the total population of Cova da Moura, 8% came from Angola, 5% were Portuguese from the metropolitan area of Lisbon and the remaining 32% were rural internal migrants from North and Central Portugal. Due to chain migration patterns especially among the Capeverdean population, there was a disproportionate number of single male migrants who settled in the neighborhood who were later joined by their close families and extended family members (brothers, cousins, in-laws and parents). Also contributing to the high percentage of single male migrants is the fact that settlement in Cova da Moura was the first stage of a migratory trajectory to other European countries. Some of these migrants re-emigrated to the Netherlands or to Germany where they settled with their families on a temporary or permanent basis. After 1986, Portugal's entrance in the European Union also facilitated the constant labour flows of African migrant workers holding Portuguese passports. In most cases, they would work as contract labourers in European countries while their families remained in Portugal.
Among the African population, the great majority (54.6%) worked in the construction and industry sector as unskilled and as semi-skilled labourers. The remainder worked in low-paid jobs in the service industry. Most of the women worked as janitorial workers and homemakers at the bottom end of service industries with neither job security nor social benefits. As for the white Portuguese population living in Cova da Moura, many have found jobs in semi-skilled and skilled occupations as nurses, low rank civil servants, factory labourers or even as police officers or taxi-drivers. Family monthly income was low. Fifty percent of the population had a total monthly income ranging from 15,000 escudos to 25,000 escudos and 29% made between 25,000 to 500,000 escudos. Only 3.7% of the households had total incomes superior to 50,000 escudos (Municipality of Amadora, 1983). Overall, the neighborhood population and specifically African migrants were concentrated in the most poorly paid, precarious and most insecure sections of the occupational structure. A most crucial element is the fact that many of these labourers did not hold permanent jobs, but rather worked on a temporary contract basis throughout the years, which made them vulnerable to labour-market shifts and economic re-structuring. Job mobility was conspicuously high among migrant labourers. Some residents in the neighborhood have worked in various construction sites all over the country.

A similar situation is lived by the women who were often employed by "bankrupt" service and manufacturing companies which cannot afford on-going labour wages and social security packages. For these companies cheap, docile migrant labour became exceptionally attractive.

For many migrant women, a common labour trajectory involved three different phases: house servants, unskilled labourers and self-employment. That is, their working experience was characterized by a circular labour trajectory from informal labour to waged workers to self-employment in the informal sector of the economy. With respect to the first phase, these were jobs that were found either upon arrival or were already arranged while the women were still in Capeverde. Maria's life narrative well illustrates these different employment strategies. As she recalls:

I came to Portugal in 1973. A cousin of mine who was already here found me a job as a live-in maid in a Portuguese house. I lived there for a while but I hated it. I felt like a prisoner. I only got one day off on Sundays. In the first year I was earning 700$00 Escudos per month (less than 7 dollars). I cried all year, I
wanted to go back to my country. But I worked there for three years. Then in 1975 I went to work also as a maid in another house. It was better but then my boss remarried and I didn't get along with his new wife. I run away one day and came to Cova da Moura. Then I got a job at the parish council as a municipal gardener. It was better but still I was ashamed. In Cape Verde I had never done these type of jobs. I remember I would hide myself so that my friends and neighbors would not see me cleaning the gardens. Then I thought about opening a restaurant in the neighborhood. So I did it and now I work hard but I'm doing fine.16

Like Maria, other women also found in the neighborhood opportunities for self-employment and a way out of economic deprivation as exploitation. Other women tended to shift between self-employment and wage labour depending on the circumstances. Fatima is one of them—a Capeverdean woman from the Island of Fogo. Her husband had been living in Portugal for 12 years before she joined him in Cova da Moura in 1982. They bought a small house (20 square meters) with two rooms and no washroom. When she arrived she became a street vendor. She would go to the docks and buy fish to sell in the streets. Life was not easy, “In those days the police were always after me, after us, the street vendors. We had to hide from them and run like gypsies with our bags full of fish.”17 When she became pregnant with her first son she got a job as a maid in Amadora. There she took care of the house and fed 12 cats:

It was hard there and I didn't eat well either. I went to this hill nearby, a open-air garbage dump to collect paper. Then I would sell it to this man for 7$00 Escudos per kilo. There were blacks and whites, all poor people collecting paper. I got fed up with so much paper. It was a dirty job. I went to the parish council looking for a job. They gave me this job as a gardener in a seven month contract. It was a hard and heavy job. Still I was interested in it. After seven months they wanted to renew my contract but for that I had to have the fourth grade and Portuguese nationality. I had neither. I went to work for another parish council and worked again as a gardener for another seven months. But I started to think that I had no social benefits. no security. nothing. I gave up and started to be a street vendor again. Now I have been selling fruit in the neighborhood for the last thirteen years. It's better like that. I'm right in front of my house. My kids come from school I'm here to be with them and give them lunch. Beside I do not spend money in transportation and lunches.18

For Fatima, as for many other women, the neighborhood offered multiple working opportunities that were strategically explored. The organization and structure of women's work in the neighborhood has had major implications for local social relations. First, women tend to invest a great deal of their time and efforts in maintaining good neighbours' social relations. Second, although envy and jealousy permeate neighborhood relations, cooperation, respectability and mutual support are highly valued by women who are more confined to the neighborhood then
men. Here the criteria for belonging was not determined by ethnic origin but by a set of specific local behaviours. As Fatima told me:

Here in the neighborhood some people like me others don’t. The important thing is that if we are here is because we are needy people. I do not cause any harm to anyone. I try to be polite and treat everyone with respect. That’s one thing that I really like about Avo Pim. She helps everyone, Capeverdeans and all the others and she does not get into fights. On the contrary, she makes sure that people get along with each other.19

By the mid-1980s Cova da Moura became the largest migrant enclave in Portugal. If political transformation, social exclusion and lack of economic opportunities have pushed migrant workers into residential segregation, these immigrants, like their Portuguese neighbours in the settlement, pursued the pleasures of communal bonding and social networking, grappled with political and social issues of their country of origin and worked diligently to improve their life chances in the new setting.

Cova da Moura was not, simply, a dormitory for a disenfranchised migrant labour force. Rather, the production of this neighborhood entailed a process of transformation of a place into a space as “the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities” (de Certeau, 1984:117) that extended beyond the geographic boundaries. In fact, the production and reproduction of Cova da Moura defied systematically the imposed spatial-temporal boundaries of marginality and illegality. Extended family and social networks with other migrant settlements and with the countries of origin, working opportunities at a national and international level, membership in a wide array of national associations (e.g., sports, leisure) and institutions (trade unions, churches) contributed to the production of a world view and self-identity that transgressed the apparently isolated and bounded “illegal” community of Cova da Moura.

Internally, processes of institutional completeness have configured everyday social practices. The community was not a “dead place” but alive with an increasing number of commercial and business endeavours, and local associations. Barbershops, coffee shops, restaurants, garages, boutiques, video and camera shops, repair shops, shoemakers, tailors, travel and real estate agencies, funeral homes, supermarkets, and hair saloons are just a few of a wide variety of small businesses operating in the neighborhood. These businesses catered not
only to the population of Cova da Moura but also to those who reside outside the neighborhood. For example, many of the people interviewed told me that it was not unusual to see people bringing their cars to be repaired or even to see police officers with their old motorcycles bargaining with garage repair owners for a good deal. Besides these businesses, many migrant women were also engaged in commercial activities to supplement household income. These ranged from corn grinding and traditional pastry baking to selling fruits and vegetables in the street or babysitting services. Some of these women combined waged work with these activities to gain some extra expendable money.

From the late 1970s to mid 1980s the residents of Cova da Moura began to organize local neighborhood-based organizations that would mobilize the community and provide a wide range of services. In 1978, a group constituted by Portuguese returnees, Capeverdean and Angolan residents founded the Residents' Commission of the Neighborhood of Alto da Cova da Moura (Comissão de Moradores do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura). Three years later, the same group also founded the Sports and Leisure Club of Alto da Cova da Moura (Club Desportivo e Recreativo do Alto da Cova da Moura). Also founded in 1984 was the Cultural Association of Moinho da Juventude that catered to the needs of local youth and neighborhood women. As we shall see in the following chapter these organizations were most important for mobilization of the community and for the creation of new social and political spaces where social meanings were negotiated and contested.

Racializing Space: The African and the European Enclaves

According to the Municipal Survey/Report of Cova da Moura, Relatorio da Cova da Moura (Municipality of Amadora, 1983) the neighborhood was spatially divided in two distinct areas: the African area, “Quarteirao Africano”, and the European area, “Quarteirao Europeu” (Map 5).

The European area was mainly constituted by Portuguese returnees, internal migrants and by an African, mainly Capeverdean, petty-bourgeoisie. The report claimed that in this area “the cultural traits have prompted orthogonal patterns of spatial occupation similar to those of a bloc where houses are aligned along the streets through which vehicles circulate” (ibid:78).
These patterns contrast to the African residential niche. In this area, single family homes were converted into rooming houses and multiple family dwellings. In most cases, new precarious extensions were added to the initial house closing streets and pathways. The appropriation of public space was realized not only through physical occupation of all available space but also through the transference of private activities to the public space. According to the report, the material and social appropriation of space has led to "an over-appropriation and over-abuse of space...the street becomes diluted and functions as an extension of the home’s private space...multiple domestic activities [cooking, washing, playing and talking] are transferred to the exterior" (ibid:78). This spatial categorization has been echoed in later municipal reports and mass media coverage which articulate overcrowding, unsanitary living conditions and home decay with racial and cultural traits.

Similar approaches characterized municipal reports elaborated in 1987 and 1988 which conflated cultural distinctiveness with precarious living conditions and public disorder. The European blocks were seen as being structured in accordance with urban planning regulations, with lower occupancy and better-built houses. The "African blocks" on the other hand were perceived as being disorganized, overcrowded with a significant number of shacks invading the public space. In both these reports Cova da Moura was depicted as a neighborhood structurally divided between "Europeans" and "Africans", order and chaos, rehabilitation and demolition (See Map 5).

In her ethnographic work on Cova da Moura, Antunes (1993), who was also a municipal official, elaborates on the factors underlying the spatial organization of the neighborhood. Regarding the "African area" she argues that:

Close participant observation allows us to detect exterior signs of a cultural continuum with the place of origin. In his [sic] settlement process the Capeverdean immigrant has left a visible imprint of his presence in the reconfiguration of the national territory through habitat models of his country of origin, in spite of the multiple constraints exercised by the surrounding highly urbanized environment. (1993:11)

This is well illustrated, she claims, by the type of home construction emerging in the African area and by the "symbolic privatization of the public space." I find Antunes' cultural determinism problematic on two accounts. First, like the official reports mentioned above, it offers
Map 5:

“African” and “European” Residential Areas in the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura

Note. Source, Municipality of Amadora, 1983.

No insights into the nature of survival strategies that individuals and groups pursue to satisfy their economic needs and social goals in the new setting. The representation of the “African habitat” in
terms of cultural continuum provides no model of change, of how people survive and adapt, how, for instances, they become culturally "urbanites" and how their aspirations, expectations and goals change over time. Secondly, by focusing on cultural traits alone, no framework of a wider society is presented which would account for the ways in which slum production is a product of major structural factors (economic, political and social).

If one was to compare Cova da Moura's African niche with the Portuguese biddonvilles built in the periphery of Paris in the 1960s and 1970s or with Brazilian favelas in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro or with the gecekondu in Turkey or even with North African biddonvilles, one is confronted with striking similarities and with a logic of spatial occupation that runs through cultural specificities. Here, I am not arguing for a "culture of poverty" a la Oscar Lewis (1961). As Worsley (1984) rightly argues the heterogeneity of the poor challenges any attempts at classification and homogenization. Yet, he contends that underdevelopment, rapid urban growth, and large-scale migration produced the "urban poor"—poverty-stricken people who are systematically pushed into the economic and social ravines of the modern world. These concentrate in shantytowns in Africa, in Asia, in Europe, improvising a living in wretched dwellings which are the extreme material expression of poverty, exploitation and segregation. Some of these processes have shaped settlement patterns in Cova da Moura which can hardly be accounted for by official narratives grounded on cultural determinants alone.

Urban concentration of migrant workers in European cities has been explained in terms of three major factors (Cross, 1987). The first relates to the ways in which migrants tend to settle in the poorest areas of the inner cities or in neglected suburban fringes. Economic deprivation is viewed as a major factor pushing migrants to deteriorated residential areas. The second dimension, exclusion, has to do with institutional channelling of migrants into specific residential areas be it through housing regulation, relocation plans or mortgage incentives. These processes tend to limit migrant workers' mobility and, thereby, exclude them from other possible alternatives. The last element relates to a process of migrant retention in specific residential niches. Poor living conditions, job insecurity, and slim future prospects have been responsible for the enclosure of migrants in neighborhood niches with few opportunities for upward mobility. As
Cross argues though migrant concentrations are viewed as resulting from cultural traditions and preferential community bonding, the evidence shows that upward mobility is very much related to out-migration from the inner city areas. Some of these spatial segregation processes are analogous to those underlying Cova da Moura's development. However, it is important to point out that in this particular case the concentration of migrants in the periphery has been both not so much the result of specific housing policies but precisely because of their absence.

During the 1980s no housing policies were directed to migrant or national populations and very few renewal plans were produced to address urban degradation and shantytowns. Housing shortages, poor economic conditions and discrimination were the major driving forces pushing migrants into overcrowded slum areas in the periphery of Lisbon, and Cova da Moura was no exception. Although Portuguese repatriates also were faced with scarce housing opportunities, the returnees, unlike African migrant workers, enjoyed higher standards of living and a wider range of social and political opportunities which were not available to their African neighbours. Higher economic resources among the repatriates have been translated into a substantial investment in housing improvements. Large houses, well-built and often nicely finished are a common sight in the “European area.” For African residents, economic deprivation and social and racial exclusion were major factors affecting their settling patterns. As a Capeverdean resident pointed out:

In those days there were no houses available and those that were available were not for us. We would call up landlords and as soon as they realized we were African they told us right away that the apartment had been rented or the rental rates they asked for were so high that it was impossible for us to pay…. 

Similar processes of discrimination have been reported all over Europe. For instance, in West Germany Castles (1994) argues that the concentration of minorities in inner city areas results from a “double process of discrimination” (ibid:119). On the one hand, foreigners are excluded from better quality housing by landlords who refuse to rent to migrants, on the other hand landlords in poor-quality housing areas exploit foreigners’ status fragility and, consequently, tend to demand excessively high rents. Also, in Britain and in France overcrowding and urban degradation have been seen as being forced on immigrants due to racial discrimination (Ireland, 1994; Moore, 1994). Similar patterns were reported in the Netherlands where housing allocation
discriminated against foreign workers and their families. Major changes in housing policy have attempted to reverse these trends. However, the adoption of a “dispersal policy” by several Dutch municipalities as a means to curb ghetto formation has raised serious questions regarding the anti-discriminatory and integrative nature of such political options (Nidi Report 37, 1994).

Regarding processes of retention, that is, the observed tendency for migrants to remain locked in inner city and peripheral areas, it becomes apparent that economic upward mobility amongst residents in Cova da Moura has been crucial to out-migration. While for many homeowners in the neighborhood, low economic conditions constitute a major hindrance to moving out of the settlement, for others economic betterment has, in recent years, implied out-migration and settlement in legal residential areas in small towns in the periphery of Lisbon.

From the above discussion, one may conclude that the formation of squatter migrant neighbourhoods and in this particular case, Cova da Moura, can hardly be accounted for by cultural determinants alone. There is little doubt that people in the neighborhood react differently to pressures exercised by structural factors (housing, employment, education) depending on the nature of the social and cultural resources available to them. However, residents’ actions, survival strategies, choices, ambitions and future prospects need to be explained within a framework which combines structural constraints with a more micro-oriented approach to social interaction.

Furthermore, migrant ethnic enclaves are not monolithic, in fact, they are inscribed in relationships between global, national and local realities. Writing on how neighbourhoods emerge in a globalized world Appadurai states: “The way in which neighbourhoods are produced and reproduced requires a continuous construction, both practical and discursive, of an ethnoscape (necessarily non-local) against which local practices and projects are imagined to take place” (1996:184). It is precisely the relational character of neighbourhoods and the ways in which structural factors conflate with local practices that is at stake here. Regarding the neighborhood of Cova da Moura, the empirical evidence suggests that if structural factors have been responsible for spatial, social and economic segregation, power asymmetries produced at the local-level also were crucial for the production and reproduction of two spatially distinct
residential enclaves. Massive influxes of African migrants to Cova da Moura exerted an extraordinary pressure on the neighbourhood's built environment. The need to accommodate the maximum number of people in a limited space led to overcrowding, rental speculation and housing degradation. Furthermore, the discretionary power of the local residents' association in the division and measurement of building lots and approval of home construction projects to be submitted to the municipality was right from the beginning, a source of conflict and tensions amongst the population. As a pioneer resident explained:

You see, if you aren't friends with them [the residents' association] you are in trouble. They do as they wish. You wonder why some houses are unfinished and others were demolished? It is their doing. They inform the city about A and B about not about C and D who are all doing exactly the same thing. Why is the European area so much better with paved streets and everything? It is not by chance, you know.22

Still others would claim that. "We all worked hard for paved streets. We gave them our money and labour. They got the pavement, we got the stones and the mud."23

The inscription of unequal power relations in space and architecture underwrites the production of Cova da Moura. As Cornell West argues, the question "...is not of whether and why buildings should be made. Rather, it has to do with how authority warrants or does not warrant the way in which buildings are made" (1993:45). How "authority" produced the built environment and street planning in Cova da Moura was not only an administrative issue but was, above all, a political one. From its early beginnings, the residents' organization's founding members were caught in a maze of complex power relations that stretched way beyond the neighborhood field. On the one hand, they did not feel legitimate, nor did they have the power to stop continuous influxes of migrants to the neighborhood. After all, no one could claim special status or property rights in Cova da Moura. Yet, they recognized that overcrowding and precarious dwellings would compromise the eventual legalization of the neighborhood and, therefore, their own interests. On the other hand, by "officially" sanctioning the activities of the residents' organization, local municipal authorities legitimated its power to manage the neighborhood, meaning "urban planning"; surveillance, supervision, intimidation and control over new inflows, and dwelling construction. As we shall see in the following chapter the power politics and the struggles which
developed around the residents' association's ambiguous positioning have been determinant in structuring the neighbourhood's spatial patterns and social relations.

The constitution of the neighborhood as being spatially split along ethnic lines has been an essential feature of journalistic coverage on Cova da Moura. The community has been represented by a dual spatiality, which opposes the "world of the blacks" to the "world of the whites." The following items exemplify this ideological representation:

Cape Verde in Buraca...in the world of the whites what one sees best are the exterior signs of petty-bourgeoisie normality, houses built by their own owners with inscribed signs saying house of Reis Ramos, a grocery shop Rosa Lima, a club with a "restricted admission" sign and one or another mini-market. The world of the blacks is marked by conviviality in the streets or in the pubs – there it is the coffee shop di Carlos – fruit and vegetables sold in small places, children playing in dirt streets and the idleness of those who do not have much to expect from life. (Diário Popular, April 11, 1988)

Youth of Cova da Moura—Cape Verde far away. Contrary to the "European zone" which was built according to a rectangular alignment, in the rest of the neighborhood the streets have an irregular alignment, proliferating cul-de-sacs, alleyways and courtyards with an undisciplined design that makes the heads of the people responsible for urban rehabilitation turn around. (Expresso, April 13, 1991)

The two articles follow an identical mapping of social difference. The "white European zone" is seen as the representative of law and order, normality and entrepreneurial spirit. Opposed to this world, is the representation of a black "world" associated with social disorder, idleness, lack of enterprise and initiative. Furthermore, the first article conveys an image of apathy among the Capeverdean community. From the article the reader tends to gain the impression that many Capeverdeans are just idle, sitting helplessly around with no aspirations of incentives to make a better living. From my field observations and from residents' statements, it is apparent that even those who are temporarily out of the formal economy are often engaged in a multiplicity of activities in the neighborhood. They may work as repairmen, cooks, waiters, tailors, construction workers, and so forth.

Also common to the media coverage of Cova da Moura is the emphasis on cultural difference. Although more than one third of the population is white Portuguese these are systematically under-represented by the media. For journalists and cameramen, these are only visible to the extent that they serve as the model against which the rest of the population is
compared, assessed and evaluated. Like official discourses, images are usually built on the transparent association between Portuguese and normality and African with otherness, the culturally exotic, marginal and disempowered. As we shall see, in the 1990s dominant official discourses, public opinion and media representations on the neighbourhood became increasingly centred on the articulation between crime, delinquency and race.

A Crossroads to Everywhere

The fourth period of settlement begun in 1989 and lasted up until the present day. The following are some of the impressions I recorded in my diary after my first visit to the neighborhood on February 15, 1995:

If you came to film and interview me you are out of luck. Today, I'm not up to it. What is your business here anyway?

No, no. I'm no journalist. I'm studying and I came here to know more about Capeverdeans and Cova da Moura.

Okay then. Do you want to buy some fruit?

Okay. Give one kilo of oranges, I kilo of apples and one lettuce. I guess you know a lot of people here. Can we talk some other time?

Well, this is the first time someone asked me if I wanted to talk before they go on questioning about this and that. Maybe some other day. Drop by. What's your name?

Paula and yours?

Fatima. Here's your fruit. It's 750 escudos.

Fatima is a stocky Capeverdean woman in her early forties dressed in a colourful skirt with a scarf on her head. She is sitting in an improvised chair leaning against a wall with her fruits and vegetable boxes all around her. Beside her there are two other street vendors who are also Capeverdean. They are about her age and dress similarly. Like Fatima they also have their produce in wooden boxes which are neatly arranged around each one of them. They laughed, spoke crioulo, ate oranges and looked at me with suspicious eyes. On the opposite side of the open courtyard, an elegant old Capeverdean woman was sitting quietly staring at us. Like the others, she also had her vegetables around her. She was leaning against the exterior wall of a corner house with a small shop in the ground floor. On the other side, there was a cement bench glued to the wall where an old man was sitting with two other small children. It must be her
husband or a relative. I felt ill at ease. I had to cross the courtyard but suddenly I realized that I didn’t know how to walk. I stayed put beside Fatima hoping to gain some strength to walk the short distance that separated me from that older Capeverdean woman. When I felt I could do it I found myself walking away from the vendors climbing a steep paved street in search of the local cultural association.

Cova da Moura looks like a huge brick mushroom rising in the middle of the parish of Buraca. Yet, when one looks carefully there are two distinct areas. Closer to the main outside road the houses are big, well-built with small yards. Some of the housing lots are divided by brick or iron fences. Some of the houses have decorating tiles with images of Our Lady of Fatima and other saints. Others have the name of the owners inscribed in the exterior walls. The streets are paved yet there are no sidewalks or trees. As one walks up the neighborhood main street towards the south one is struck by the narrow dirt streets, a labyrinth of houses crawling on top of each other. Some are big others are very small, many of them are left unfinished and most of them are still under construction. The area was engulfed by the sound of hammers, the smell of cement, bricks and rubbish. There is rubbish everywhere. The garbage bins are very few and completely full. Yet, women sweep the space outside their houses and pour water on the dirt streets. There are many children in the settlement, they play on the ground some have built some “tents” outside their door where they hide their broken toys. Women grind corn in the streets, still others sell clothes and still others walk smartly dressed in their way to the hairdresser or to the City Hall. Except for those working in house construction there are very few men around. People tell me they are out working and will be back around 8 p.m. There are many coffee shops, and small businesses selling everything from coffees to trips to Cape Verde.

Ethnically, Cova da Moura is highly mixed—white Portuguese, Capeverdeans, Angolans people from Guinea-Bissau, S. Tomé e Principe and I even hear someone speaking in French. I guess they must be from Zaire or Senegal. Still I have a hard time distinguish the Africans amongst themselves. No one said anything unpleasant to me. They were not indifferent to my presence in the neighborhood. On the contrary they were most willing to know why I was there,
Somehow I got the feeling that they thought I was some sort of a journalist or a undercover cop. Overall, they seemed a little bit too suspicious to be moved by my eagerness to be friendly.

During my first trips to the neighborhood, I puzzled over some of the answers residents were giving me. According to some residents everyone got along with their neighbourhoods independently of their ethnic origin. Still others went as far as to assure me that in the neighbourhood “everyone was the same.” Yet, as I gained their trust and confidence the discourses on interpersonal relations and membership bonds changed substantially. Ethnic tensions, envy, and animosities began to emerge in the discourses of many residents, sometimes in a more explicit form, other times by innuendo. Residents confided as did this Capeverdean woman that “Cova da Moura has many stories.” In other words, what accounts for the visible differences between the ethnically mixed populations are not transparent or easily grasped. Rather, the “stories” hide behind a frozen smile that tells you that underneath the vocabulary of equality and good neighbourliness lie other realities. Spatially, this reality bursts into particular forms – the slum and its alleyways, the houses with no windows, the dirt narrow streets facing the large houses with flowery yards, garages and the paved roads. A Capeverdean young man once told me that there are two neighbourhoods in Cova da Moura and that the boundary between the “white area” and the “African area” is an abandoned windmill. What other symbolic markers divide these two areas? What is the nature of social relations in this neighborhood? How is membership attained? What processes of inclusion and exclusion are engendered in this community? Wallman’s work (1979, 1986) on ethnic boundary processes may be useful in understanding how social boundaries are produced in Cova da Moura. In Wallman’s model of boundary processes, two similarly low income, multi-ethnic areas of the same inner city were contrasted in terms of structure and organization. The Bow in the East End of London is closed, homogeneous and ethnicity is used and maximized to access a wide range of resources. By contrast, the Battersea area is characterized by an open/heterogeneous/localist system. In this setting, local attachments rather than ethnic origin are the lead principles. Furthermore, in the Bow area ethnic boundaries tend to be more resilient to changing economic and social
opportunities than in the Battersea area. In the latter case boundary maintenance is more flexible and the capacity for adaptation is higher than in a closed system.

The relevance of this model to this analysis of Cova da Moura emerges mainly from its lack of fitness and consistency with the two systems proposed. How does Cova da Moura fit the Battersea/Bow model? How do structural factors affect ethnic relations in the neighborhood? The following is a brief discussion of the impact of major structural points of the neighbourhood’s social environment in the 1990s. Population, ethnic clustering, income, employment opportunities, housing options and local membership, political options, and travelling patterns will be examined.

Regarding the population structure, there are no up-to-date statistics available for the total population residing in Cova da Moura. The last survey conducted in 1987 estimated that the total population residing in the neighborhood was approximately 5000 people. Yet, local associations contend that this is a gross underestimate and claim that by the mid-1990s the figure is closer to 6,000. Other residents believe that a figure as high as 10,000 is a more accurate estimate of the total population. In fact, no one knows exactly how many people reside in Cova da Moura. Overnight construction, multiple occupancy, the presence of an increasing number of undocumented migrants and high geographical mobility among the residents are major factors accounting for the difficulty in obtaining reliable population estimates. According to local organizations continuous influxes of migrants have arrived in the neighbourhood during this fast decade. These have settled either on a permanent or temporary basis in Cova da Moura. Though the overwhelming majority of the population is Capeverdean, new migrant flows from Mozambique, Zaire, Senegal, Guinea-Bissau and Angola, and more recently from Eastern Europe (e.g., Romanians, Russians) have accentuated the ethnic heterogeneity of the population. Regarding residential concentration patterns, the population has tended to cluster along ethnic lines. As we have seen, in the poorest area 90% of the population is from African descent and in the better area 50% of the population are Portuguese nationals (internal migrants and repatriates) and the remaining 50% are Africans or of African descent. 25 Regarding income levels, these tend to overlap with the spatial divide. Those in the “European area” tend to enjoy higher standards of
living and higher income levels when compared to those living in the "African area." Employment opportunities are varied with a wide range of options inside and outside the neighborhood. Small employers, domestic enterprises, and subcontractor firms in the neighborhood provide residents with multiple job options. Outside the neighbourhood, residents are concentrated in numerous construction firms and in the janitorial services industry. An overwhelming majority of men and women travel to work. However, there are also a significant number of women who have found jobs in the neighborhood in a wide range of activities.

Housing opportunities are slim and vary according to the residential area. In the "European area" single-family houses (although many of these also rent available space) are the norm, whereas in the African area overcrowding, multiple family occupancy and a high incidence of rented dwellings predominate. There is no publicly owned housing stock. Regarding jobs and housing, ethnic ties as well as neighbourhood bonds are crucial for accessing these local resources. Concerning political options, the majority of the migrant population were disenfranchised until 1997 when voting rights were extended to Capeverdean and Brazilian nationals. Before 1997, only Portuguese nationals residing in the neighborhood had voting rights. Based on residents' statements and fieldwork observations, overall these tended to vote for those in power. Membership in the community is easily achieved. However, access to local organizations becomes more difficult depending on one's ethnic origin.

According to the Battersea and Bow model, Cova da Moura should be relatively closed and homogeneous to the extent that there is an overlap in terms of housing options, ethnic clustering, income levels, and political traditions. Yet, closer analyses of the social processes in the neighborhood reveal that the way in which livelihood is organized defies a "closed system boundary maintenance." If one looks in terms of "sub-systems" the significance of ethnicity and localism may be useful to explain different life strategies. As we shall see, in certain contexts, ethnicity gains salience whereas, in others, localism emerges as the major structuring factor and still in other contexts both dimensions are equally important.

In the 1990s membership in local organizations is relatively open. Any homeowner may become a member of the three local associations operating in the neighborhood. With respect to
the social club of Cova da Moura, also called by the African population "the White's Club" membership used to be restricted to white residents. However, more recently any local resident can become a member irrespective of their ethnic origins. Localism seems to be the major criterion for membership. Yet, the boundaries harden considerably when it comes to board positions where membership is not readily achieved. Exclusionary practices are denounced by many African residents who often have pointed out to me that "the club doesn't want us there" or "they think that we do not make good directors." Although the directors deny any discriminatory attitudes on their part towards "black" residents, some white members have expressed openly their feelings and their refusal to vote for African directors. According to these residents, the participation of Africans in the Board of Directors "would destroy the Club because they do not know how to behave. They have no education...they are not used to these things...they have a different culture."

In this sense, membership is not attained by being a local resident but through ethnic origin. Implicated in the production of difference is a double process of inclusion and exclusion. If, on the one hand, there is a notion of in-group identification grounded on the perception of immutable characteristics of origin, on the other hand there is also a process of exclusion of those who are perceived as being different and inferior. The imposition of categorical identity markers like race or cultural traits hardens the ethnic boundaries and severely limits the potential use of ethnicity as a social resource for those who have been the object of such categorizations. Here, the formation of ethnic boundaries is not so much a question of ascription from either side of the boundary (Wallman, 1986) but rather results from a double-edged process of in-group identification and out-group categorization.

If, in the above-mentioned context, ethnic belonging may override local neighborhood ties, in other instances identification with the local is a determinant feature of social interaction. A strong bond to the neighborhood is most evident among women residents. Many of the women interviewed tend to engage in commercial activities in the neighborhood to supplement the family income. Scattered throughout the neighborhood along the zigzagging streets and alleyways it is not unusual to find women vendors selling fruit, vegetables, corn, beans, clothes, traditional
homemade pastry from Cape Verde or lingerie imported from Brazil, crafts from Guinea Bissau or fabrics from S. Tomé Principe. Although some of these women may hold jobs outside the neighborhood, it is apparent that their livelihood is tightly linked to the neighborhood. For them, making a living in Cova da Moura means “to have good relationships with everyone”\textsuperscript{28} or as a woman put it “If we are here it is because we need each other... one has to be good neighbors. I greet everyone and I help as much as I can.”\textsuperscript{29} Mutual support and non-conflictual neighborhood relations are highly valued amongst residents. Those who tend to behave differently often are the object of severe criticism and even rejection. Yet, the social investment on local ties is not without tensions.

According to the oldest families in the neighborhood the constant influxes of migrants in the 1990s have tended to weaken neighborhood bonds. When compared to the early times in the settlement—“those times when we all knew each other”—or even with life in Cape Verde, neighborhood relations in Cova da Moura have been subjected to a wide array of demographic, economic and social pressures. The commentary of a Capeverdean pioneer woman well illustrates the changing social patterns implicated in the process of deterritorialization and settlement in the neighborhood:

In Cape Verde was very different from here. I grew up with my neighbours. We all lived close together for a long time. When I went out I could leave my children with my neighbours. Even if they were left alone I knew my neighbours would take care of them. And I also knew that the children would be afraid to misbehave because the neighbour would be watching them. Here, in the beginning everyone knew each other. But now it is very different. I know some of my neighbours from Cap Verde but there are many who I have never seen them before. People come and go. And even those from Cape Verde have their own lives now. Everybody works. No one has the time to take care of other people’s children.\textsuperscript{30}

In the new urban setting neighborhood ties forged in a rural area are weakened by the exigencies of new working patterns and of urban life in general. Also new solidarities are formed with new neighbours, new friendships are made and social networks become more fragmented. Furthermore, the constantly changing demographics of the neighborhood and ethnic heterogeneity tend to hamper strong local bonding which is sometimes translated by the residents into a sense of alienation and estrangement.
In the 1990s improved living conditions have also accentuated economic competition and jealousy in the neighborhood. There are several factors that may account for neighborhood rivalries. First, the majority of the residents emigrated for economic reasons. Better living conditions and economic success becomes a yardstick by which people tend to measure everyone else. Second, the majority of the migrant men are engaged in the construction industry and women in janitorial and service industries, therefore, any differences in economic success are easily compared by the investments made in the house, the quality of clothes worn, the number of cars purchased, the number of trips abroad and so on. Thirdly, since a great number of workers work in the informal sector in the construction industry in which instability and volatility is well known, they often find themselves competing with each other for the more reliable and honest subcontractor operating in the neighborhood.

Despite these tensions and changing social patterns, for the great majority of the residents the strengthening of neighborhood ties is still highly valued. For many living in the settlement provides a sense of belonging, support and identity rarely, achieved in mainstream Portuguese society. As an Angolan migrant put it “the reality of emigration is what we find here in Cova da Moura. One has to be glad and has to preserve the little we have found.”

In regards to the occupational “sub-system” it becomes apparent that some occupations and activities are grounded in ethnic and family networks. Labour contracts to work in other European countries or temporary jobs, usually in the construction and services industry often are made available through family and ethnic ties. Yet, it is rather common for residents to exchange important resources and information independently of their ethnic origins. The structure of the informal economy seems to account for strong forms of localism and ethnic ascription. By the 1990s the informal economy in the neighborhood boomed. Sub-contractors in the construction industry became a major source of employment in Cova da Moura. By 1998, there were approximately 50 informal subcontracting businesses employing from 10 to 50 workers. Joca, Avo Pim’s oldest son, is one of the most successful subcontractors operating in the neighborhood. Joca was ten years old when he went to S. Tomé e Principe with his parents to work in the plantations. He lived there for six years and then emigrated to Portugal with his
parents. He worked for fifteen years as a bricklayer in a construction and building company. In 1988 when this company closed down he decided to go to France to check our living opportunities there. He stayed for two years with some Capeverdean friends who were living in Nice. During this time he worked illegality in the construction industry. In 1990 he decided to return to Cova da Moura and to become a subcontractor. As he explains:

I had a lot of experience in the construction industry and I thought that I might as well work for myself. There was a lot of demand for sub-contractors. Everyone was turning into a subcontractor overnight. I mean these people living here for 10 or 15 years were construction labourers and now got an opportunity to work for themselves. Besides, there are always new people arriving in Cova da Moura and in Portugal. In the beginning it was just me and my brother doing the work but then we got more and more work and we started to employ more and more workers. We became the supervisors. Nowadays I have 50 people working for me. We have worked for the biggest construction companies. We even worked at the Expo' 98 site.33

When I asked him about the reasons of his success and good reputation in the neighborhood he explained:

It became clear to me that the big national construction companies prefer whites...no one wants to talk about racism but it exists...If they see that I have white workers they open up their arms. So I make sure that 30% of my workers are white and the rest are black of course. It works rather well. If they want a mixture I'll give it to them. People trust me because I pay my employees at the end of the month. Many subcontractors just don't pay at all. It's a big problem. A few years ago one subcontractor was killed here in the neighborhood. You know one cannot go around showing off his Mercedes and not pay the workers.34

Regarding labour recruitment strategies, Joca relies on both ethnic ascription and localist strategies. Networks of family and friends are maximized as much as neighborhood contacts, which sometimes spread to other neighbourhoods in the vicinity of Cova da Moura. Thus, when it comes to accessing resources, ethnicity and localism both count. In terms of job opportunities and work structure the either/or Battersea/Bow model becomes problematic. Employers and workers capitalize on every contact, and take advantage of every opportunity in order to make a living. Limiting their options to an ethnicity or localist boundary style would greatly reduce their life chances in this context. Joca is not the only one operating in loosely bounded social networks. Other subcontractors interviewed also stressed the pertinence of a wide range of contacts in order to “survive.” Some have also pointed out the need to reduce competition among the subcontracting firms through job specialization. As a subcontractor put it, “Here you find
subcontractors specializing in different trades, painters, carpenters, bricklayers, plumbers, electricians, general construction labourers, anything. One prefers family and friends but one may employ anyone at all.35

Although there is no boundary consistency, the structure and work options available in an informal economy seem to be crucial in shaping ethnic relations in a multi-ethnic and heterogeneous environment. To this extent and at a sub-system level (e.g., work) the specific features existing in Cova da Moura are consonant with Wallman's stress on the structure and organization of work in affecting the permeability of ethnic boundaries. Yet, in her model, Wallman refrains from addressing the question of power imbalances and the ways in which processes of categorization become implicated in boundary formation. According to Jenkins (1986) this constitutes one of the major weaknesses of the ethnicity paradigm. His argument is that by not distinguishing between ethnic and racial categorizations, Wallman tends to overlook the importance of categorizations in structuring group identity and social relations. In his view, a distinction ought to be made between "group identification" and "categorization." Whereas the first occurs within boundaries and is concerned with in-group identification the other occurs across and outside boundaries. As Jenkins argues, processes of categorization are embedded in power relations and "relate to the ability of one group successfully to impose its categories of ascription upon another set of people and to the resources which the categorized collectivity can draw upon to resist, if need be, that imposition." (ibid:177).

Joca's narrative of border crossing, more specifically the inclusion of "whites" on work activities well illustrates how a racialized labour market configures work options and ethnic boundary processes. Ironically, racialist attitudes and group categorizations have led him to make boundaries strategically more permeable. In this context, the incorporation of white labourers cannot be explained as a result of an "open/heterogeneous/localist system", but rather as the skillful manipulation of dominant forms of categorization and discrimination.

To sum up, when compared with the Battersea/Bow model, Cova da Moura differs in that:

1. The boundary principles do not coincide with either a localist or an "ethnic" urban system. In some sub-systems, namely income, housing opportunities and ethnic niching, Cova
da Moura may come closer to an ethnic Bow model. However, regarding the structure and organization of work Cova da Moura also presents some features of a localist Battersea type. The salience of ethnic networks and neighborhood ties point out the shifting and contextual nature of ethnic boundaries and the dynamic aspects of ethnic manifestations.

2. The clear dichotomy between an open/heterogeneous/localist model (Bow type) and a closed/homogeneous/ethnic model (Battersea type) fails to account for the complex interplay between ethnicity and localism in Cova da Moura. If, in certain contexts, ethnic attachments override localism and vice versa, in others people tend to maximize all resources available to them be they ethnic or local. Given the structure of the informal economy, living in a local or ethnic “closed circuit” would reduce substantially the life chances of residents. Thus, ethnic and local contexts are optimized, national and international networks are strengthened; resources are drawn from a multitude of sources and boundaries may be strategically stretched to maximize economic and social opportunities.

3. Ethnic boundary formation is tightly linked to a double process of ethnic ascription and group categorization. In this respect, inter-ethnic social behaviour has to be understood in terms of power relations. The imposition of cultural and phenotype identity markers on a group of people brings to the fore relations of domination which are implicated in boundary processes. For instance, the criteria for membership in a local organization was very much dependent on people’s ethnic origins. In this sense, boundary construction resulted from a process of ethnic and racial categorization, becoming a site of struggle between those who had the power to impose ascription and those who are the subjects of such imposition.

From Illegal to Criminal: The Gettoization of Cova Da Moura

By the 1990s media coverage of migrant squatter settlements in the Greater Lisbon area increasingly became anchored in a semantic field of foreignness, deviance and exclusion. For instance, Expresso, the weekly newspaper with the largest circulation in Portugal published a long article with the headline “Black days in white areas” focussing on police violence in the “Capeverdean belt.”36 The article features a large picture of a group of black youths standing
idling on the streets of the slum of Fontainhas, with a subheading reading "Neighborhood of Fontainhas: Youths feel exclusion in a way never experienced by their parents" (Expresso, February 18, 1995:11). Another small picture shows the back of an African woman traditionally dressed carrying a large bundle of cardboard paper on her head. The subheading reads “The working population is mistaken for drug dealers” (ibid:11). In these photographs, images of ethnic difference, disadvantage and black youth idleness are highlighted. The article begins by presenting black youths' perceptions of media coverage. A young person is quoted as saying, “The journalists put only crap in the newspapers” (ibid:11). According to the columnist the young feel that they are violated because the press only talks about them in terms of “violence, criminality and racial clashes so the whole neighborhood pays because of a few.” Implicit in the way this message is conveyed is a sense of doubt and distance on the part of the journalist, a "subtle form of denial" of what has been said. The article, then, centres on two major representation axes. One deals with violence in which a multitude of confrontations between the police and black youths are reported, featuring police brutality, collective youth humiliation and racist attitudes. The other axis deals with the coverage of drug trafficking, violence and delinquency in those neighbourhoods. If black youths are depicted in some instances as victims of social exclusion, they are also portrayed as hopeless people rampaging through the streets of Lisbon high on anger and violence. Some of these groups are portrayed as “gangs” who “want to destroy what they cannot have, to their cry they add destruction, theft and violence.” (ibid:11).

Two years early the newspaper Público produced major issues highlighting the "problem of the second generation" of African migrants (Público, April 4, 1993; June 6, 1993; November 8, 1993; November 13, 1993). Marginalization, disenfranchisement and potential social disorder were amalgamated rather concisely in the last issue under the heading "Danger in the near Future." In this long article black youths and gypsies living in migrant slums in the periphery of Lisbon were portrayed, on the one hand, as victims of exclusion and racism, and, on the other hand, and in a more implicit manner, as a potential threat to social order. Linkages to delinquency and drug abuse were often extrapolated from interviews conducted in those neighbourhoods. One of the interviewees was a Capeverdean youth who reports personal
incidents of racism. At the end of the interview he says, "this is getting bad." About this the columnist writes" implicit in this is also the acknowledgment that there are more and more people out of family control, with ties to the world of delinquency and drug addiction" (Público, November 13, 1993).

In the same year and after serious race riots south of Lisbon, the newspaper Público reported on a public opinion survey conducted in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (November 15, 1993). The results revealed that 46.7% of the population felt that African immigration should be stopped. Regarding the relationship between race and violence, 41.7% of those surveyed thought that blacks are the ones who create problems and 43.9% felt that blacks are as responsible as whites for disturbances.

For some public opinion makers, the media has been responsible for stereotypical representations of migrant populations and of migrant youth who are generally portrayed as "drug addicts, black, closed in 'ghettos' with no social living conditions" (Público, September 5, 1993). These representations are seen as structuring public opinion and creating hostility among the population. For a prominent member of the Capeverdean Association "the tensions are rising" however he warns of the dangers in falling into the trap of "associating criminality with ethnic minorities" (Público September 5, 1993). Yet, the warning did not find echo in the media. In 1997, major articles depicted migrant neighbourhoods of Amadora as "ghettos" and "islands" of violence and crime (Expresso, September 9, 1997; September 20, 1997). More recently, Expresso (February 2, 1999) published a first-page story with the header "Generals clean arms to defend the neighborhood." This is followed by a full-page article with the headline "Far from Paradise" featuring a photograph of a group of black youths walking at night in the middle of the street. The article reported on the series of assaults and disturbances caused by re-housed "black" youths to a middle-high class white neighborhood. The residents are former high-ranking Army officials who threatened to organize themselves into militias to protect themselves against the new residents. Público (January 17, 1999) also reported on these incidents focussing on the criminal actions of armed youths residing in a social housing complex and on the struggles of the policy and of law-abiding citizens to contain social disorder. Although no reference is made to the
ethnic origin of these youths, this item was published a day after Expresso's coverage which explicitly identified them as "black youths." Similar journalistic constructions have emerged in other European countries. According to Hargreaves “a major effect of media coverage has been the ethnicization and criminalization of both French banlieue and the British inner-city” (1996:617).

Media representations of migrant settlements as ghettos and "black youths" as criminal gangs had major implications for the construction of a public image which conflates immigration with marginality. The media representations of Cova da Moura specifically tend to reinforce these overall images of migrant populations. The neighborhood is also portrayed as a “ghetto which does not relate to the rest of Buraca (Público, May 19, 1991) or " as a degraded zone with serious social problems" (Jornal da Região, February 19, 1998) or even in a more “positive” note “ as one of the best organized ghettos in Amadora" (Público, May 18, 1992).

The social construction of the migrant “black ghetto” as opposed to "mainstream" society has permeated dominant official discourses on Cova da Moura. In 1997, I interviewed a police officer at one of the police stations of Amadora. The following are his representations of Cova da Moura and his advice to me:

I think that it is not safe for you to go alone to the core of the neighborhood. You should be accompanied by two undercover cops day and night...if you do your research from the other side of the Av. da República,37 otherwise it is too dangerous. They will steal what you have, your bag, watch, rings...and your car they will throw stones at if for sure. We do not go in there because the gangs in the neighborhood throw stones at us constantly. The problem is not the old people who work and who are quiet but the youth between 14 and 20 years old....Go to the police station of Reboleira they will get you the two cops to be with you. There are associations in the neighborhood they control a little bit. They give them some courses to keep them busy...but it is too hard. Sometimes they behave like savages. I mean they do not steal from those who live in the neighborhood because there is nothing to steal but when they see a normal person like you it is as good as a prey for them.38

In this ideological construction, the neighborhood is reduced to a tragic and treacherous place, inhabited mainly by people with “animalistic” characteristics who “prey” on “normal” people and law-abiding citizens. In a similar context, Hall has argued that such stereotyped and totalizing forms of representation entail a categorical split between “us”, the representatives of
normality, law and order and “them”, the criminals who question “our” identity and threaten “our” own existence.

The construction of the other in an idiom that articulates race with violence is not limited to official dominant discourses. In 1998, the population of a nearby neighborhood reacted strongly to the potential construction of social housing in their neighborhood to lodge families from Cova da Moura. Fear of violence and delinquency led many residents to sell their houses and to move out of the area (Jornal da Região, February 2, 1998). These concerns have been shared by residents living just outside the neighborhood who have often commented on Cova da Moura in the following terms "the neighborhood is a real “ghetto” like those in America” or “the situation there is so bad that even the police is afraid of them."39

As Laclau argues, “The construction of social identity is an act of power” (cited in Hall, 1996:5). It is precisely against these hegemonic identity categories that the residents of Cova da Moura have struggled to produce alternative forms of representation. For them, Cova da Moura is “imagined” within a matrix of multiple meanings, networks and spatialities. In the words of a resident, “They say Cova da Moura went to the dogs. I say Cova da Moura is a place when one works, falls in love, marries, has babies and cries over his dead. Why don't they put that in the news?”40 The construction of a counter-hegemonic discourse is also well-illustrated by a pioneer resident when he argues against popular racist representations of the slum. “They say we are marginals. I think the marginality is in their heads. Here I live better than many people who live outside...there in the apartment blocks. There is a lot of unhappy people there....”41

The reimagining of the neighborhood has to be understood against the backdrop of both media and official discourses on Cova da Moura. If, on the one hand, an idealized representation is constructed to resist marginalization, on the other hand residents are acutely aware of a complex set of social problems facing the neighborhood. Theft, drug trafficking and pimping became a form of making a living for a small number of residents. In some instances, these activities involved acts of violence and street disturbances. Such occurrences were interpreted differently by the residents. For some, these were the result of “problem families” – single-parent families that have lost control over their own children. For others, the explanation centred on
poverty and the need to make fast, easy money " to be someone important and not just a poor nigger." Yet, the view widely held among those interviewed was that Cova da Moura has become increasingly a "dumping place" for all kinds of criminals who come from outside the neighborhood. Some take refuge in Cova da Moura while others "just drop by to hassle the youth and to give Cova da Moura a bad reputation." As a youth commented:

> There are some businesses going on here. Well there are businesses going on everywhere. The other night some guys from outside came here and started to kick ass. Big confusion. I even heard some shots. I guess no one got killed. After a while, they left. There is no point calling the police because they won't come. They only come when there are no problems...then they come. They close all the exits in the neighborhood and with machine guns in their hands they go after the young people pushing everyone against the wall....They think they are Rambos.

Police intervention in the neighborhood has been the centre of much contestation. Residents criticize their lack of intervention when needed and their abusive practices. As for police claims that they do enter in the neighborhood, residents point out that the neighbourhood is filled with undercover cops and even a policeman who got promoted to chief police officer lived in the settlement for many years.

For residents, conflicts and petty crime inform their living experiences in Cova da Moura, however, they refuse to reduce their livelihoods in the neighborhood to "ghetto" life. The spatial enclosure implicit in such a representation is denied in favour of a discourse that recasts their identities and interests in translocal terms. National and transnational networks have become increasingly implicated in local survival life strategies. For the majority of the residents, their web of networks spreads far and wide. With family members and friends living all over the world, many residents travel frequently to other European countries, Africa and to the United States of America to visit or to seek better living opportunities. Some have worked abroad on a temporary basis while others still live and work outside Portugal, yet many of these have kept their initial houses in Cova da Moura. The diasporic experience of these residents has shaped their worldviews and sense of identity. New habits, social practices and skills acquired outside the neighborhood inform their daily experiences. Systematic comparison are made between their life chances in the neighborhood and in Portugal with those experienced or perceived abroad. As a Portuguese emigrant woman commented, "In France the state helped us and I also have
relatives in the United States and in there it is even better. They give you other opportunities that they do not give you here." Another Angolan woman put it in these words "If I had lived here all my life I would have had my eyes closed. But I have been around. I have seen many things and I know that life does not have to be like this. We have rights and we deserve better."

Identities produced on the margins are thus mapped in a multiplex of spatialities that transcend the imposed geographies of domination and exclusion. For the residents, the neighborhood is not a "ghetto where marginals are caged in." Rather it is imagined as an open space crossed by many narratives and subjectivities. The struggle against the public image of Cova da Moura as a "ghetto" is well illustrated in this resident's words, "People say that this is a ghetto and that no one comes in not even the police. That's a lie. People living outside come here everyday to get their cars repaired or their shoes done, or to sell fish or clothes. Even policemen get their bikes repaired here. What about the thousands of workers who live here and go to work every morning to build bridges and highways?"

Implicit in this message is the struggle to inscribe the margins in the centre and thereby to overcome the ideological opposition between margins and centre. By so doing, residents attempt to open-up the field of signification and representation. This counter-politics of marginalization brings into play new narratives of daily experiences, which can hardly be envisaged as the result of a bounded marginalized life. Ultimately, the production of a novel form of intelligibility defies dominant discourses on Cova da Moura's residents as the convenient marginals easily locatable in the margins of an invented centre.

We have seen in this chapter how state policies and discourses come to structure the squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura. Special attention was paid to three major issues that bear direct relevance on the chapters to follow. First, I have highlighted the ways in which dominant discourses and practices have affected the formation and development of the neighborhood.

Lack of social housing policies, discriminatory measures, migrant disenfranchisement and poverty were major factors underwriting slum formation and consolidation. Second, the chapter has stressed the importance of local power asymmetries in configuring social practices.
and ethnic boundary maintenance processes in the neighborhood. It is argued that boundary formation and social interaction patterns are deeply embedded in processes of categorization and in the ability of one group to impose specific identity markers on other groups. As Cohen rightly argued "boundaries are legitimated not legitimate" (1994:200). Thus, in this case, boundaries are erected or diluted depending on key neighborhood social actors who have the power to control the malleability of boundary formation and maintenance. Third, I have drawn attention to the racialized nature of dominant representations (state and mass media) of the settlement and to the ways these have fixed local identity in an ideological grid which articulates cultural difference with marginalization and deviance. The imposition of particular subjectivities has met multiple forms of resistance and contestation by the neighborhood residents. Drawing on rich diasporic life experiences, migrants have struggled for alternative social identities and constructed new and more positive ways to represent themselves and the community. The following chapter discusses the implications of state policies for immigrants' patterns of integration. More specifically, it examines how government policies and discourses affect migrants' grassroots organizations and how these respond to and take advantage (or not) of the contradictions, gaps and ambivalences of dominant institutional structures and policies.
Chapter Notes

1 See Clifford and Marcus, 1986; Marcus and Fischer, 1986; Fox, 1991.

2 See Knight (1994) for a critique of Cohen's (1986) "anthropology of locality." Knight argues that Cohen in his attempt to oppose notions of national homogenization through an ethnographic account of locality has failed to articulate intranational phenomena (i.e., markets, migration and state policies) with local social processes. In so doing, Knight argues that Cohen has ultimately fallen into the trap of ethnographic boundary reification which he attempted to explode in the first place.

3 The Municipal Report on Alto da Cova da Moura (1983) contends that the settlement of those lands started only in the 1960s. No further information is provided on the early stages of settlement of this neighbourhood.


5 Personal interview with Francisco, June, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.


7 Grogue is a very strong cane liquor produced in Cape Verde. In the neighbourhood restaurants one may find different kinds of grogue imported from Cape Verde.

8 Personal interview with Avo Pim, April 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

9 According to information provided by the Residents' Association, this figure grossly underestimates the total population of the neighbourhood. Given that houses were (and still are) constructed overnight and given the constant new flows of migrants coming in (many of whom are undocumented migrants) it is close to impossible to know exactly how many people reside in the neighbourhood.


12 Regarding the impact of repatriation of approximately half a million Portuguese residents in the ex-colonies, Pena Pires (1989) argues that their integration in the Portuguese mainstream society was a success in spite of the political and social turmoil and the economic crisis that engulfed the country after the Revolution of 1974. Though he fails to provide any clues as to the nature, the scope and amplitude of such integration, he claims that the colonial experience has expanded this group's cultural capital and contributed to their social and economic upward mobility. The acquisition of new skills and of various forms of capital is seen as being determinant to the successful adaptation and integration of the repatriates. Drawing on my fieldwork data, the integration processes of these ex-colonies residents can hardly be seen as unproblematic. In fact, it points out the need to question taken-for-granted notions of integration and to conduct further empirical research on the social, economic and political trajectories of these postcolonial migratory flows.


14 Personal Interview with a resident of the neighbourhood, June 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

15 The last official figures of the population of Cova da Moura date from 1983. Subsequent reports elaborated in 1987 and 1988 have used the estimates provided by the municipal Report of 1983.


17 Personal interview with Fátima, April, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

18 Personal interview with Fatima, April, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.
Personal interview with Fatima, April, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.


Personal interview with a Capeverdean resident, April, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a neighbourhood resident, September, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interviews with neighbourhood, September, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Structure refers to the social, economic and ideological options available in each setting (for example industry structure, employment opportunities, housing options, membership in local area, etc). Organization refers to the nature of choices taken in each setting given specific structural contexts (e.g., ethnic attachments or local ties).

Information provided by the local Residents' Association, January, 1999, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a neighbourhood resident, September, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.


Personal interview with a neighbourhood resident, April 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.


According to Baganha (1996) in 1991, 45% of the total labour force engaged in the construction industry were informal workers. She contends that the entrance of Portugal in the EU in 1986 has been responsible for major changes in the Portuguese employment structure. First, new opportunities for subcontracting labour in the European space have prompted major out-flows of Portuguese construction laborers to work in other European countries. Second, a substantial part of the European structural funds allocated to Portugal has been directed to public works and to the construction of basic infrastructure. As a result, demand for labour in the construction industry has rise substantially in the last decade. Many multinational and national corporations and businesses have resorted to informal subcontractors who tended to employ incoming migrant labourers from the ex-colonies, many of whom are undocumented workers. The data collected in Cova da Moura tend to reinforce these findings. However, it is important to note that a considerable number of laborers working for local subcontractors may be undocumented, many are also legal residents in Portugal and still others hold Portuguese nationality.


"The Capeverdean belt" is a journalistic construction which refers to the migrant slum neighbourhoods in the municipality of Amadora, more specifically in the parishes of Damaia, Buraca and Venda Nova. Although Cova da Moura is also considered as part of this "belt", the article does not refer to it. The neighbourhoods mentioned were Estrela d'Africa, 6 de Maio and Fontainhas.
Avenida da Republica is the main street that circles the neighbourhood on the outside. It is perceived as the boundary between Cova da Moura and the rest of the parish. Usually taxi drivers refuse to enter into the neighbourhood, Avenida da Republica is the drop-off place for those who want to go to Cova da Moura.

During all my stays in the neighbourhood I was never assaulted, nor anything was ever stolen from me or from my car. In fact I was helped several times when I had a few problems with my car. The same cannot be said regarding my personal safety outside the neighbourhood. In "mainstream" Lisbon my purse was stolen and my car was broken in twice. My car radio was stolen, the windows were broken and even my Canadian license plates were both stolen. As for the advice on getting "bodyguards" their presence would obviously spoil my ethnographic inquiry. Besides I question my ability to trust people who have such clear ideas about "normality" and "deviance."

Personal informal conversations with residents of Buraca, February, 1998, Buraca.

Personal interview with Jose Dias, August 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.


Personal interview with neighbourhood residents, October, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a rapper. This man was once stopped by the police and taken to the police station because he was driving a brand new bike. Only after his parents presented the bill was he released. Shortly after this interview he went to Paris in search of a better life. Last time I had news from him he was working as a construction worker in the suburbs of Paris, March, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.


CHAPTER VI:

STATE INTEGRATION POLICIES, MIGRANTS' GRASSROOTS ORGANIZING AND THE STRUGGLE FOR RECOGNITION

It's all half truths. The City Hall, the parish council and the neighbourhood associations, they have all glass ceilings. (a resident of the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura)

On Sunday, April 11, 1999, the radio programme RDP-Africa chose the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura to produce a special report on “The Prevention of High-Risk Behaviours.” The programme was organized in collaboration with the local cultural association “Moinho da Juventude.” Central and local state authorities, local immigrant association leaders, community workers and politicians convened in an open space outside the association to discuss deviance in the neighbourhood. The guests set in a roughly arranged semi-circle under parasols, which provided little solace for those who sat for three hours under a blazing sun. The directors of the Association did not join the other guests in the semi-circle. Instead, they chose to follow the proceedings from outside, often giving instructions to the Association workers who had been appointed to formally represent the organization. Also in attendance were several municipal officials and the Association’s Capeverdean women’s musical group (Finka-Pé) who were scheduled to perform in the event. Apart from some residents who were lining up to have x-rays taken in a mobile unit parked in the street in front of the association, the population living in the neighbourhood kept aloof from the event.

The program director started his opening presentation by specifying the objectives of the programme and what was meant by “high-risk behaviours” namely alcoholism, delinquency, family and judicial problems amongst the youth living in the neighbourhood. The main aim of the programme was to discuss the responses of state agencies and non-governmental organizations to socially deviant behaviours in the neighbourhood. The representatives of the different institutions and organizations (i.e., the President of the Parish Council, Police Chief Commander, Moinho da Juventude workers, social workers, etc.) were asked to comment on the nature of
different integration programs, their implementation and outcomes. The representatives of the association were very forceful in reporting their activities while denouncing situations of racism in surrounding schools. To this, the Parish Council President replied by denying the existence of discrimination and racist attitudes in the parish. The President’s remarks provoked a wave of protests by the association workers who insisted on the racist character of local institutions such as the schools and daycare centres in the parish. The radio programme director addressed the founding director of the Association and asked her to comment on the discussions had so far. To this she replied:

Well I was happy to hear that the Parish Council is going to have professional training programmes. They are going to start now but we have been giving professional training courses since 1984. And we had very little support from the parish and from the City Hall. One thing that I want to say is regarding the sports ring which is such an important thing and it has been left abandoned....The parish said that they couldn’t take care of it because it was the City Hall’s responsibility and they were from different colours [political parties]. Now they are all from the same colour and they haven’t done anything about it. Kids like to play football. We have four teams, and one team of basketball. They do not have any place to play. We have to pay everything. A most important thing that we do is the valorization of the capacities of the people of this neighbourhood. Our group Finka-Pé has performed at Expo and here in the parish they do not recognize its value. This hurts us very much....So I would like to finish by saying that the issue of the sports ring is a shame and that the Ministries do not have the money to pay the social and cultural mediators...they never know when they will get paid. The political parties could do something about it so please do it because a lot of people who are here now we only see them here when the radio or the television come otherwise they hardly care.¹

The Parish Council President was visibly outraged with these comments and replied with great indignation:

I think that Ms. Lieve got used to the idea that the parish is the scapegoat for all the inconveniences which surrounds her. But she knows better than that. And she also knows, and that she refrained from mentioning, that the association has partnerships with the Parish Council and that she cannot have a privileged position and added special rights. All the local associations have to pay a token fee to use the sports centre. It is not only the Association Moinho da Juventude who pays. Everyone pays....Furthermore the association is funded by City Hall and if you remember you have received this year over twenty thousand dollars. Regarding the sports ring, the Mayor of Amadora has already developed an overall urban plan for the neighbourhood.²

Meanwhile, a radio journalist who was interviewing residents in the streets asked a resident to comment on the services provided by the local associations and the parish council. This is his testimony:
The Parish Council of Buraca gives no help. Two years ago we asked their permission to pave the streets...a lot of people gave their money to buy the materials but the parish told us that they would not help us. The local associations...we are waiting for them, for their opinion. We pay every month to have the streets paved and we have paid them for many years but we do not see anything.³

In the northern side of the neighbourhood, the Sports and Leisure Club of Cova da Moura and the Association Moinho da Juventude organized a major event to commemorate the nineteenth anniversary of the Club. The lunch was widely publicized in the neighbourhood and the Mayor of Amadora and other government authorities including those present in the radio programme were invited to the celebrations. For local residents who wished to attend, lunch tickets were being sold for twenty dollars per person. A total of 350 people packed the club’s hall to listen to the municipality’s plans for the neighbourhood.

On my way to the club a resident intercepted me and a friend and told us in great rage:

The program was a mess. They should have interviewed the people and the families who live in the neighbourhood not the politicians. We are the ones who should have been sitting there....Some people showed up in the beginning of the programme but they didn’t let them talk so they left. It’s always the same thing. It’s all half truths. The City Hall, the parish council and the neighbourhood associations they all have glass ceilings.⁴

The discussions on this radio programme and the different positions taken by state authorities, neighbourhood organizations and the residents capture the complex interplay between local government and the neighbourhood social environment. The event not only highlights the ambiguities, fissures and contradictions present in local organizing but also underscores residents’ resistances to multiple sites of domination and hegemonic power. This chapter seeks to explore the dynamics of these relationships by focussing on the state’s role in regulating migrants’ local mobilization and integration processes. The case study of the two local associations operating in the neighbourhood is presented as an illustration of the functioning of state institutional mechanisms in shaping migrants’ collective organization and participation in the host society. The first section examines the formation and development of the neighbourhood local associations, stressing their organizational structure, objectives, interests and activities. Attention is directed to the multiple arrangements and alliances made by each organization with various institutional sites (local, national and international). The second section analyses in detail
how urban development policies have been implemented and contested at the grassroots level. In stressing the relationship between the neighbourhood residents' association and local state authorities, I attempt to show the interplay between local state policymaking, grassroots organizing and identity construction processes. The third section focuses on the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude's transnational organizational strategies and their impact on the development and implementation of integration programs. The case study of a specific integration program is used as an illustration of the ways in which local social reality is organized in response to the association's institutional logic and rationality. Finally, in the conclusion I draw out the larger theoretical implications of the ethnographic material presented in the chapter.

**Grassroots Neighbourhood Organizations:**

**Negotiating a Space for Politics**

**The Residents' Association of the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura**

In 1978 Ilidio do Carmo and João Rocha with thirteen other residents formed the Residents' Neighbourhood Commission (Comissão de Moradores do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura). The group was constituted by newly arrived Portuguese returnees, Capeverdeans and Angolan migrants, some of whom had worked for the Portuguese colonial administration. On November 12, 1978 the first board of directors was elected under the supervision of the Parish Council of Amadora.

The Commission's initial main demands were twofold: the construction of basic infrastructure in the neighbourhood (water, electricity, sewage, street pavements and garbage collection), and a halt to building demolitions. These demands were formulated in response to the living conditions faced by the group members upon their arrival in the neighbourhood. By 1978 the municipality of Oeiras which had jurisdiction over Cova da Moura had already issued 29 electricity permits, yet, the majority of the households had no electricity, piped water or sewage. In fact, a year before, the municipality had prohibited the construction of new houses in the neighbourhood while enforcing the demolition of numerous new dwellings. This ordinance had to
do with a local government attempt to implement an urban renewal plan in the settlement. However, due to bureaucratic bottlenecks, tensions and conflicts between municipal authorities, central government agencies and landowners no agreement was ever reached on a potential urbanization and rehousing scheme for Cova da Moura (Municipality of Amadora, 1983). Given this situation, the neighbourhood's newly elected residents' commission met with the mayor of Oeiras to express their concerns and needs. This is how the president of the commission remembers their first meeting:

We got together and we went to see the mayor of Oeiras, Dr. Andrade Neves. We got into an agreement with him. He told us, "OK, anything that happens in the neighbourhood you call me and please do allocate space for the streets. From that moment on, the demolitions stopped and if there were any it was because we asked the municipality to do so. You know some people didn't want to comply with the rules."

In response to the group's pressure and due to a lack of municipal power to implement a local urban rehabilitation plan, the municipality legitimated the residents' organization and tacitly empowered them as the planners, the architects, the engineers and the policemen of the settlement. Local state legitimation of the residents' commission had major implications for the structuring of spatial, social and political relations in the neighbourhood. Right from the beginning the commission was responsible for the management of the property and for the construction processes in the settlement. Unoccupied lots were allocated by the commission according to criteria established by the organization which kept an enrolment list of those in need of a piece of land to build their own houses. One might say that in this initial phase "urban planning" was all in the hands of the Commission. As one of the leaders explained:

We were the ones who measured the lots so that people could build their own houses. We allocated the space for the streets. Each street was seven meters wide. The municipality provided us the machinery and the materials and we provided the manpower. Mr. Domingos and myself supervised the work and as they opened up the streets we named them. This street is named Rua S. Tomé e Príncipe because I lived there and my neighbour was also from S. Tomé. Then other streets, Rua dos Reis was named so because there was an old man who lived there who was called Reis. Then Rua de Cabo Verde because there were only Capeverdeans living there and so forth.

In 1979, the water and sewage systems were installed in some areas of the neighbourhood and two main streets were then paved (Rua Principal and Rua do Vale). The Commission was directly involved with municipal authorities throughout the whole process of
"urbanization." While lobbying directly local state agents for better services, the residents' commission was also engaged in the mobilization of local labour and in the promotion of fundraising campaigns to subsidize construction costs. According to Ilidio do Carmo, who has played a decisive role in the establishment and development of the Commission throughout the years, the main thrust of the organization was to control the building environment in Cova da Moura so that the future legalization of the settlement would not in any way be compromised.
This strategy has underlined the overall actions and interventions of the association throughout the years. In Ilidio's own words:

> What the Commission tried to do was to organize the settlement in such a way that we would not end up with a pile of houses on top of each other, and therefore, with no possibility to be legalized. Without streets, open spaces, schools it would be next to impossible to legalize this space. So we tried as much as we could to prevent streets from being closed, we allocated a space for a school to be built and a space for a sports club.7

It became apparent that residence in a ethnically integrated neighbourhood afforded new opportunities for African migrants over life in an ethnically segregated squatter settlement. The presence of Portuguese nationals in Cova da Moura was instrumental in accessing more and better services. Yet, these services were not evenly distributed and tended to favour the residential niche with the highest concentration of Portuguese returnees and an African petty-bourgeoisie. For instance, most of the streets in the "African residential area" were (and still are) unpaved. Also, it was not until the mid-1980s that the sewage system was installed in this area. For that, a committee constituted by residents and some members of the residents' organization was formed to raise funds amongst the population to build the sewage system. The construction materials and machinery were provided by the Parish Council of Buraca (Voz do Bairro, February/March/April, 1984).

In 1980 the residents' commission founded a social and sports club (Clube Desportivo e Recreativo do Alto da Cova da Moura). The club's main objective was the creation of a space for social and cultural activities for those living in the settlement. In the 1980s, the club became part of a broader-based political strategy which sought to produce new representations of the settlement as a socially and politically engaged constituency. The school was built in the late 1980s in the space previously allocated by the Commission. However, the residents' commission
domination of power relations was not unchallenged. The comments of one of its founding members well illustrates the power struggles that structured social relations in the neighbourhood:

It was really bad. A war. We started to open up the streets with seven meters. The week after it was reduced to four meters. Today there are streets only with two meters. They hassled us, they called us thieves, they even stoned us. They were so stubborn. There are places with no streets because people would subdivide their lots to give it to a relative or "compadre" or they would build right on the space allocated for the street. There were too many homeless migrants... For example the space where we have presently the school and the club... to prevent people from building in that space it was a war as bad as the war in Angola. They built houses in those spaces so we called the municipality to demolish them. They threatened us, they wanted to kill us. We had to call the municipality many times. It was very difficult to defend those two vacant lots.6

For the founding members of the residents' commission, the neighbourhood was envisaged through multiple meanings of space and of its dwellers' identities. The settlement was a symbol of hope for those who faced displacement and dispossession and who portrayed themselves as the "so-called returnees, Europeans and Africans, Portuguese who came from the ex-colonies, who were forced to leave all they had behind and who returned to the motherland eager to settle down and to start a new life... who wanted to make this neighbourhood into a new Promised Land."9

This ideological message writes itself in the articulation of different "subject positions" (Mouffe, 1993)—that of the citizen, the victim of decolonization and that of the social agent. It is in this nexus of multiple subjectivities that the leaders of the organization have built a collective identity which, as we shall see, has been used strategically to advance their personal and collective interests.

However, the settlement was not only a place of salvation and of redemption. It was also a site of struggle. As the above testimony illustrates, the formation of the settlement was far from being a peaceful process. Space became a dominant form of capital over which the residents fought. In identifying the spaces of struggle—urban planning, the school, the club, the streets, and so forth—the directors of the commission were also constructing a consciousness of "us" in opposition to "them." Here, the "other" became a marked category standing for an image which conflated disorder, lawlessness with immigration. This category was set up against images of order and authority and righteousness. In the initial phase of settlement, the power struggles
which informed the neighbourhood social relations were thus locked into binary identities which opposed the residents' commission to all the other migrants who attempted to defy the organizations' authority.

The representations of the commission as a vehicle for law enforcement in the neighbourhood were widely acknowledged outside Cova da Moura. The directors of the commission showed a keen interest in mobilizing and lobbying local state authorities as well as regional and national media. Mass-mediated discourses praising the activities of the commission were not uncommon. In the early 1980s the organization was portrayed as a major guardian of law and order and its directors as "responsible dwellers" fighting against those who attempted to transgress the law (Portugal Hoje, January 26, 1982). The production of a group's collective identity grounded on an ideology of legality and responsibility provided the organization with a privileged and legitimate space from which their leaders would place their demands on the neighbourhood residents and on the local political structure alike.

This situation was further reinforced when, in 1991, the commission acquired the judicial status of a non-profit organization with officially recognized statutes (D.R. III, Série nº 157, July 11, 1991). A flag and a crest also were designed for the new association. The crest is divided into two parts, one black and one white with a rectangle at the centre, depicting a conglomerate of houses with four stars in each corner symbolizing the "neighbourhood in action." In the black strip, there are two white trees and in the white strip, two black trees as a symbol of "multiracial relations" for which the Association stands. At the bottom to the crest there is a graphic image of a windmill which stands at the dividing line between the black and white strips. The image depicts the existing abandoned windmill which is the only vestige of Cova da Moura before its occupation. Standing at the edge, in between the white and black communities, the image of the windmill seems to suggest a space of commonality derived from a status that is common to all residents—the illegal occupation and settlement of private and state-owned lands. A most striking feature of this crest, and, this is the main reason why I made it an issue for discussion here, is the way in which it symbolically invokes the nature of the discourses and representations produced by the residents' commission. Notwithstanding the nuanced symbolic representation of
“multiracial conviviality”, the neighbourhood is enframed in an ideology of racial binarisms which opposes the “white community” to the “black one.” A second noteworthy feature is the totalizing nature of the association as the sole representative of the different communities residing in the neighbourhood. For the association directors, the crest symbolizes the crystalization of Cova da Moura’s residents’ interests which “can only be channelled” through the organization’s activities.

The hegemonic representation of the association as the true representative of the neighbourhood’s multiple interests and demands underlined the elaboration of its statutes. According to these, the association has two major objectives: First to promote a close collaboration with state authorities (local and national) aiming at the urban renewal of the neighbourhood (legalization and/or rehabilitation of all the building constructions extant in Cova da Moura); second, to manage all the equipment of public utilities in the neighbourhood and to raise the necessary funds for the renewal of the neighbourhood. These objectives were officially recognized by local state authorities. In fact, the municipality of Amadora and the Parish Council of Buraca were involved, right from the beginning, in the elaboration of the residents’ association statutes. Various meetings were held between the directors of the organization and local state authorities to discuss the association’s potential areas of intervention and the nature of its judicial status. The official constitution of the association was perceived to be of utmost importance for its assertion as the sole representative of the neighbourhood residents’ interests, legitimating its autonomy to intervene locally in collaboration with the local state.

In the last four years the association has been deeply involved in lobbying state authorities to improve basic infrastructures in the neighbourhood. Lists of needs have been elaborated on a regular basis and presented to the City Council and to the Parish Council of Buraca. Although “good relations” with local power have been stressed as a major objective of the association, tensions and antagonisms have permeated this relationship. Recent urban renewal proposals advanced by the local state officials have been perceived as conflicting with the association’s interests. According to the present legislation on the reconversion of illegal urban areas (Law 91/95 Áreas Urbanas de Génesis Ilegal), the residents’ association could lead the process of urban renewal in the neighbourhood. While state officials pressured the
association to assume such a role, the directors of the organization rejected forcefully such proposals. For one of the directors, such proposals did not constitute “a viable solution.” For him, “the municipality has to lead the whole renewal process in collaboration with the association, not the other way around.” In his opinion, if the association played that role “it would be extremely difficult to reconcile all the residents’ interests. If something went wrong.... I would fear for my own life.”13

In turn, the association’s strategy has focussed on the local mobilization of residents and the organization of public gatherings in close collaboration with Amadora’s city council. Presently, the association has a total membership of 524 heads of household, which, according to the board of directors, represents nearly half of the total population residing in the neighbourhood. For the association, its large membership is of crucial importance for the organization activities. As one director put it:

An organization has the power to influence state authorities if it has a large membership which can vote. We have that power here and given that the people do not have many people to believe in and given that our intervention has not been discredited so far people will tend to believe a little bit in what we tell them. It’s on that strength that we have relied to get something for this neighbourhood.14

It is apparent from this testimony that the residents’ association leaders are acutely aware of the organization’s limitations and strengths. Even though they may assert themselves as full representatives of the residents’ interests, they also recognize that representation can never be fully achieved and that the association is always a space where power is negotiated and, ultimately, contested. Furthermore, the mobilization of the neighbourhood’s constituencies has constituted a major source of social and political capital, providing the association with a wider margin of manoeuvre to influence local state authorities. Although this may imply, in some instances, unilateral political commitments, it has not prevented the association from negotiating with multiple interlocutors. In fact, underscoring the association strategies is the idea that “good relations” with state authorities is a priority independent of their party preferences. What is at stake here is not so much a question of political ideology but rather the construction of political alliances for pragmatic reasons and expediency. As we shall see next a rather different strategy
has been pursued by the other local organization, the cultural association of "Moinho da Juventude."

The Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude":

The Transnationalization of Local Organizing

The Cultural Association "Moinho da Juventude" was established in 1984 by a small group of residents led by Eduardo Pontes, an Azorean, and his wife Lieve, a Belgian psychologist who settled in the neighbourhood in 1982. In its official documents, the organization presents itself as being "born out of informal community work with children, women and from local mobilization struggles for basic infrastructures" (Association Moinho da Juventude Brochure, 1995:1). The formation and development of the organization can be divided into three different phases. The initial phase was a period of gestation of the organization regarding its objectives and social intervention activities. As the President pointed out to me:

In the beginning we were not clear about the objectives of the association. We were just a small group of people and we thought about setting up a small library for children in the neighbourhood. Then we got the idea of getting a space for children after school hours to keep them occupied while the parents were at work. That's how the whole thing started.15

In the second phase, the initial group expanded their scope of activities and begun to mobilize the community to advance the residents' interests. Demands centred on the construction of basic infrastructure such as sewage and piped water systems. It was also a period which coincided with a process of institutionalization of the organization. In June 9, 1987 the association was officially registered, adopting the bylaws of a non-profit organization and in 1989 it was judicially recognized as a Private Institution of Social Solidarity (Instituição Privada de Solidariedade Social, IPSS). The third phase is characterized by a process of professionalization of its multiple cultural, social, educational and professional activities. A complex network of contacts at local, national and international levels have proven to be of crucial importance for the development and financing of the association's activities.
For Lieve, the association's early stages were not peaceful. Rather, they were marked by multiple tensions and conflicts involving both the Residents' Commission and local state authorities. This is how she recalls the organization's beginnings:

The Parish Council had given us that shack on Rua de S. Tomé e Principe for us to set up a small library for the children. Then the Social Security Centre gave us the house beside it. We were the ones who installed the electricity and water and we painted it all to make it a pleasant place. Then an alderman came and told us that we had to give away part of the facilities to the Residents commission and we would keep the other part that was given by the Social Security Centre. The Parish Council gave the residents commission all the support and they got the place. We had already literacy courses. In the beginning we were not an association but rather an informal group of people who were fighting for basic infrastructures and who tried to get some services out of the municipality. In order to install the sewage and water systems, the municipality asked us to survey the people residing in the southern part of the neighbourhood to know about the residents' willingness to contribute money-wise and labour force. In a weekend we organized everything. On Monday, we presented the results of the survey to the municipality. For several months City Hall didn't say a thing. We kept on calling them. We soon realized that they didn't care a thing about the survey and then they told us that they didn't need any money nor labour force. In the beginning we had, a library and a tailor's course and extra-curricula activities for the kids. We tried to work all that out in such a small place while the residents commission had no activities whatsoever. They were closed for many years.¹⁶

The association's newsletter of June-July, 1988, published part of the correspondence with the Parish Council, stressing the "unjust character" of their ordinance to "expel" the association from those premises (Associacao Cultural Moinho da Juventude, June, 1988, and July, 1998). Also mentioned were the association's plans to renovate and expand the place. The project had been submitted and approved by the Municipal Cabinet operating in the neighbourhood at the time. Confronted with the Parish Council's decision, the association embarked immediately on a fundraising campaign to purchase a new space in the settlement. Association members and local residents were encouraged to give financial and labour contributions. Also funding from international sources (e.g., Belgium) and support from international social solidarity groups were widely publicized. Local municipal authorities also were lobbied for funds and in 1989 the new premises were purchased and renovated.

Lieve's narrative has been contested by the residents' commission up until the present-day. According to them, the cultural association had appropriated a space which was not theirs in the first place. The testimony of a residents' commission founding member is most revealing of the tensions that permeated the relations between the two local organizations:
The premises were built when I was the President of the Commission. They were built to help a woman who was thrown out of her house with her children because her husband sold the house and fled. I had very good contacts with the parish council of Amadora, and I got them to build a small place for her. Also the place was built in such a way that part of it was for the residents' commission office. Then Mr. Pontes ran for the residents' commission board. There was only one candidates' list and he won. At the time the cultural association Moinho da Juventude didn't exist yet. After one mandate, he decided not to run again. He dissolved the commission and founded the cultural association right there in the premises of the residents' commission. Meanwhile, the woman who was living in the house left and they occupied the whole house. After some time, the people realized that there was no residents' commission but instead a different organization was taking its place. People started to get annoyed with that and started to mobilize and went to the Parish Council claiming the space. There was a big fight and finally the cultural association gave us a small room and kept the largest part for themselves. Today they are still there. They have an empire and still they do not give us back the space that is ours.17

Of interest here is the symbolic investment of space and the manner in which these reveal the structural dynamics of each organization. It is apparent from the above testimonies that each organization's strategy and tactics of community organizing differed substantially. Right from its beginnings the cultural association engaged deliberately in a politics of representation that attempted to develop an alternative base of political power within the neighbourhood. The directors of "Moinho da Juventude" strongly criticized the complicity between the residents' commission and the local authorities. In their opinion, the commission's activities failed to address the real needs of the neighbourhood residents, especially its youth. Keeping aloof from local politics was perceived as a means to increase their political leverage and autonomy.18 Instead, national and international contacts, partnerships and alliances were privileged strategies allowing for new forms of collective action, and social intervention.

In 1989, the association opted to organize formally, adopting bylaws stating goals, areas of functioning and its organizational structure. Presently, the association is constituted by a General Assembly, and Administrative Board and a Fiscal Board. In terms of membership, these are divided into two groups: the "effective and the contributing members" (Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude Statutes, 1987). The first group refers to those members who reside in the neighbourhood and who pay annual fees and who may participate in the association activities. The latter group designates those members who do not reside in the neighbourhood and who are not obliged to pay annual fees but who may contribute financially or otherwise to the association.
In 1997, the association had a total membership of 170, of these 108 were “contributing members” residing outside the neighbourhood and 62 were resident members. Regarding the latter group, it is interesting to note that the registration lists shows a steady decrease in membership from a total of 336 members in 1989 to the above-mentioned 62 members in 1998.

The work of those in the Administrative Boards is voluntary. Given the multiplicity of activities, the association has increased substantially its waged workers. A total staff of approximately fifty workers constituted by social workers, psychologists, educators, community workers, secretaries, cultural and sports mediators, cooks, cleaners and youth and helpers are employed on a full-time or part-time basis.

The association produces annual reports and activities programs which are published and distributed amongst the local and national state agencies and international institutions, libraries and other community organizations. Also, from its early beginnings, the association has published, on a regular basis, a newsletter featuring articles on the association’s activities, projects, accomplishments and personal testimonies of its participants. The organization has worked hard on its image, showing great sensitivity to institutional and mass-mediated discourses. This consciousness about image is manifested in its publications as well as in its openness towards media coverage of activities. In local and national media, “Moinho da Juventude” is often depicted as an efficient, well-organized and resourceful agency. For example, in a newspaper article featuring the social problems facing the neighbourhood, the association is portrayed as an “oasis of dynamism”, providing new alternatives to those living in the margins (Publico, May 18, 1992). From the interviews conducted amongst local and state authorities, the association is often represented as an “exemplary” organization, setting a model for grassroots collective organizing and social change.

In the 1990s “Moinho da Juventude” presented itself as a “community project” with two major objectives, the valorization of cultural difference and the social integration of ethnic migrant communities in mainstream Portuguese society (Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude, Annual Report, 1994). According to its statutes (Art.2) the main objectives of the association are “social and community development, aiming at the social integration of children, youth and adults
with an area of intervention spanning the whole Municipality of Amadora" (Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude Statutes, 1989:1). Its activities centre on three major areas: social, cultural and economic. Regarding the first two areas, the association has developed multiple activities such as an information centre for the residents to provide counselling services on housing, employment, social security and social services issues, literacy courses, a library and a small bookshop selling mainly books and newspapers from Cape Verde. At a cultural level, there are various groups engaged in a wide number of activities. These range from rap groups to a traditional Capeverdean musical women's group "Batuque Finta Pé" to a group which organized the Capeverdean festivities of St. John the Baptist "Cola San Jon."

Regarding its youth populations, the association has organized several programs including a daycare centre, tutoring services, after school activities and summer camps. Also, a youth centre and sports groups (football and basketball teams and athletics) have mobilized increasing numbers of young residents. By the mid-1990s, a youth group was also established as a forum for the discussion of issues such as racism, drug abuse, alcoholism and violence. This group also organizes computer courses and cultural exchange programs with other European and African countries.

At an economic level, professional training has become a privileged and key area of intervention. Numerous programs have been developed targeting women and youth populations residing in the neighbourhood. The overwhelming majority of these programs (e.g., Now, Horizon, Youthstart and Integrar) have been subsidized by the European Social Fund and by national institutions. These programs aim at the professional training of disadvantaged populations, often targeting women and youths, in various areas, such as, the formation of social mediators, the acquisition of educational, social and professional skills and professional training of monitors for Multicultural Centres. Also, in 1992 the association promoted house-making and seamstress courses for migrant neighbourhood women. Four of the women enrolled in the program set up a small seamstress enterprise (Dalc–Confecções) which catered to the needs of the association and of the neighbourhood residents. Other similar informal enterprises have been promoted by the association providing domestic services (Cozilimpa) or a more recently
constituted cooking enterprise "Doces e Salgados." The aim of these small firms is the creation of job opportunities for unemployed women through self-employment. Yet, these initiatives have not been as successful as initially expected. Dependency on association funds and lack of professional and marketing skills have greatly hampered the development and consolidation of these small ventures.

With respect to youth professional training, the association has increasingly invested in the training of social mediators. From 1995 to 1998 a total of 11 youths were trained and in 1998, a new professional category, cultural mediator, was legally established (Decree nº 304/98, Diário da República–II Série). Also the vocational training offered by the Association to these youths was officially recognized by the Ministry of Education. Six out of the eleven mediators were granted the equivalent of grade nine (Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude, Annual Activities Report, 1997). The majority of the cultural mediators and community workers remain in the association. Yet, some have found employment outside it namely in the neighbourhood school, in other schools outside Cova da Moura or even in other local neighbourhood associations.19

Presently, a total of approximately 450 persons plus 105 families are directly involved in the association's activities and projects. With a total annual budget close to one million dollars, the cultural association "Moinho da Juventude" is the largest migrant organization operating in the Municipality of Amadora. Accessing international networks and European funded projects have been one of the main priorities of the association. As one of the directors put it:

Contrary to other organizations we were right from the beginning very successful in getting projects financed by the Social European Fund. The other associations had tried but there was so much bureaucracy, so many application forms to fill in, so much work that they would give up. In the beginning we were the only ones who had these projects because we were able to work our way through the bureaucracy, we started the projects and we finished them with great success.20

For this director, the association's participation in European Programs was also crucial to gain access to local and national funds. According to her, regional state institutions (e.g., social security and employment centres) increasingly have supported the association when "they realized that we do things well not only at a bureaucratic level but also in terms of project results, community involvement practices and so forth...so they realized that we were not in the charity business."21
The association's reputation as an efficient institution has brought in new sources of funding from a multiplicity of Portuguese state institutions (to mention a few the Regional Centre of Social Security; the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity; the Ministry of Education; the Portuguese Institute of Youth; the Institute of Employment and Professional Training; the Municipality of Amadora, the Parish Council of Buraca etc.). While some of these institutions subsidized the organization on an annual basis, integration projects are usually funded on a short-term basis (from one to two years). In some cases, projects are refinanced upon the presentation of a new candidacy. This financial structure has major implications for the organization's functioning. Heavy reliance on European funds makes the association substantially vulnerable to European budgetary oscillations compromising the continuation of specific projects due to lack of funding. Also, in terms of the nature of activities to be implemented, these become deeply dependent on European directives and strategies concerning the integration of migrants. Given this situation, the association has refrained from establishing long-term strategies. Instead, they have opted for short-term planning in which the identified needs of the local population are continuously negotiated with the structural constraints (financial and administrative) facing the association in given periods of time. As one of its directors put it:

We see what it is possible. We are very pragmatic for we see what the possibilities we have out there and we see what the needs are. For this is the main issue to know the needs and capacities of the population what they have and what it is that we can bring fro the outside.\textsuperscript{22}

Participation in international networks and transnational partnerships in numerous projects have been crucial not only for expanding the range and scope of the association's activities but also provided new approaches to social action. The import of specific methodologies has been a constant feature of the association practices. Community projects developed in other European cities and neighbourhoods (e.g., Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium) have been often appropriated and reworked by the association. These experiences have furnished new frameworks for envisaging the everyday practices of those residing in the neighbourhood as well as providing new forms for collective organizing and community intervention. Furthermore, it has prompted the recasting of local collective identities within a translocal notion of identity and membership. This is well illustrated in the social development
agents' report which gives a major emphasis to the participation of the association in wider European social networks while praising the "European multicultural" character of those new forums. The sharing of experiences and ideologies, the adoption of international work methods and community intervention actions have been highly valued by the association leadership. By linking themselves to wider "spaces for and of politics" (cited in Soysal, 1998:315) the association has increasingly inscribed local claims and demands in a broader framework of human rights and international approaches to migrants' integration and social activism. The next section is devoted to the analysis of the interplay between the residents' commission and the local state. It will focus especially on the ways in which dominant discourses impose particular subjectivities and how these are contested and resisted at the local-level. Attention will also be directed to the mutually conditioning character of state policy and grassroots mobilization, drawing out the implications for what it tells us about membership rights and migrants' participation in the national collectivity.

Surveillance, Clientelism and Local Politics

The Illegal Other: Africans and Portuguese at Cova da Moura

The first official survey conducted in Cova da Moura by local state officials was in 1983. In it the neighbourhood is described as a sui generis example of illegal occupation of land in the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Municipality of Amadora, 1983). According to the survey, and contrary to the other twenty-four slum neighbourhoods existing in the municipality, Cova da Moura was established through a process of "invasion" of private and state-owned lands. In addition to this illegal occupation, all its building stock also is illegal. The process of land appropriation in Cova da Moura is equated to the formation of shantytowns in Latin America (e.g., Brazil). Like the Brazilian "favelas", Cova da Moura is seen as originating from the invasion of land by an increasing number of migrant families that had appropriated the land for themselves and divided and subdivided the remaining lots amongst friends, relatives and other migrants.

It is within this framework of "illegality" that the settlement has been represented as an administrative and judicial problem for city planners and municipal authorities. Judicially, the
"double illegal character" of the neighbourhood posed a major problem to the potential process of urban legalization, given that the legislation extant at the time was not applicable to those situations of invasion of private property. Administratively, for local state authorities Cova da Moura was primarily a housing problem characterized by urban chaos, precarious dwellings and inadequate basic infrastructures (water, electricity, garbage collection and sewage). The reports elaborated by the municipality itself or under its auspices were most revealing of a perception of the neighbourhood in terms of spatial segregation and poverty—a problem of "governmentality." That is, the local government acknowledged right from the early stages of the settlement the need to intervene and to improve the living conditions of these populations. Yet, the recommendations formulated in the municipal survey well illustrate the lack of economic, political and judicial power of city council to "govern" this squatter settlement. For the city planners:

The lack of technical and administrative means, the existence of a piecemeal legislation and the absence of alternatives are responsible for the creation of further needs whose fulfilment transcends the capacity and the scope of the municipality. These had led the neighbourhood to a extremely worrisome situation, sometimes even frightening.... (Municipality of Amadora, 1983:98)

Subsequent official surveys conducted in 1987 and 1988 tended to corroborate this view, urging the elaboration of an overall urban renewal and rehabilitation project for the settlement. In these reports, the official discourses on the illegal status of its residents were not produced along ethnic or racial lines. Rather, the different ethnic migrant populations were represented as a homogeneous population living in the cracks and fringes of legality.

The report elaborated in 1988, in particular focussed on the attitudes of the residents towards what was defined as "their situation of illegality." According to this report, the majority of the population interviewed "were conscious" of their illegality and were also willing to "cooperate" in the resolution of the problem. Willingness to cooperate with city council authorities and to invest in a potential urban renewal project were seen as important resources for the implementation of urban rehabilitation measures. However, for those who were not fully aware of the depth and scope of their illegality, the report recommended that the municipality should make them "aware" of their illegal status. Here, the appeal for the inscription of a "consciousness of illegality" in the hearts of the residents epitomizes the official production of the residents of Cova
da Moura as "illegal subjects" Municipal efforts to make residents internalize a sense of illegality encouraged them to "assimilate the transgression of the laws" (Foucault, 1995) reducing their subjectivities to a judicial problem. These discourses have been determinant in structuring collective identities and the daily experiences of those living in the settlement. For many of the African migrants residing in the neighbourhood, the dominant ideology of illegality has reached deep into their sense of self worth and world outlooks. As one resident commented:

They all say we are illegals. I know the land we are on is not ours. It is owned by someone else, but like the rest of the people we also need a place to live. Besides, they let us build the houses. We fought very hard to build a house and they can demolish when they want. All my money is in this house.... What can I do? This is not our land.... They do as they please.27

This quote alludes to the way in which discourses on illegality configure residents' identity and shape their perceptions of social exclusion and marginalization vis-a-vis the host society. Feelings of insecurity, vulnerability and helplessness are often voiced by the residents, whose lived experiences in the neighbourhood encourage a habitus that speaks of the need to accept a subjectivity that fixes them in a matrix of illegality and lawlessness.

Yet, for many African residents the narratives of illegality are not evenly "distributed" amongst all of those who reside in the neighbourhood. "European" residents, given their citizenship status and economic power are perceived as enjoying a privileged position that empowers them to formulate oppositional meanings, identities and interests. As a resident explained, "They are not really like us. They know a lot of people and in one way or the other they get things done. Besides they have more money and better contacts than we do."28 For many residents, the perceived social and economic capital of "Europeans" accounts for the ways in which they were able to organize locally and to lobby with state authorities for more and better resources and services.

*Struggling Against "Illegality"

Right from its early beginnings the founding members of the neighbourhood residents' commission challenged the disabling features of an identity politics that fixed residents in hegemonic representations of illegality. For them, the neighbourhood could hardly be envisaged
in terms of a "judicial and administrative problem." Instead, the settlement and development of Cova da Moura was framed in terms of a social problem, which required state intervention. By appealing to their status as returnees and as victims of decolonization and displacement, the group succeeded in creating an ideological divide between themselves and the African migrant residents. These images were appropriated and reproduced by the official discourses and the media. The struggles to disrupt official representations which reduced all neighbourhood residents to illegal, lawless and marginal beings are well illustrated in an item published under the heading "War against transgressors to discipline construction—an illegal neighbourhood searches for legality" (*Portugal Hoje*, January 26, 1982:3). In this article, Cova da Moura is depicted as a "model illegal neighbourhood" which "has assumed their illegal origins" and struggles for legalization. Central to these struggles is the residents' organization efforts "to free the neighbourhood from the illegal stigma and to create the conditions for urban renewal" (*ibid*:4). The article further reveals the tensions and the conflicts between the residents' organization and the municipal authorities regarding the construction of basic infrastructure. Also, the absence of an urban policy and strict control by local authorities are seen by the residents' commission as major handicaps to the potential legalization of the settlement. For the residents' association the stigma of illegality could be overcome only through discipline and tight law enforcement. Yet, according to the item the law was "silent" and the local authorities were "passive and made no attempts to "discourage the abuse and anarchy that certain citizens have provoked through unplanned building construction" (*ibid*:3). Similarly, in two other articles featuring headlines such as "President of Parish Council of Buraca is blamed for encouraging clandestine construction" reported the accusations made by the residents' commission president regarding the Parish Council and the Communist City Council's lack of commitment to legalizing the neighbourhood and to demolishing "wild constructions" in the settlement. Furthermore, the article reports a specific incident that has prompted the harsh criticism by state authorities towards the residents' commission. The story concerns a neighbourhood resident who has, according, to the commission built three houses in the neighbourhood and sold them afterwards. Meanwhile the resident had attempted to obtain an authorization from the commission to renovate a recently
acquired house. In response to her request, the commission obtained a considerable number of signatures to expel her from the neighbourhood. The resident sought Parish Council support and was received by the President of the Parish Council. This is his testimony: "I told her that no one can expel no one from anywhere. Before the 25 of April [note significance of date] people were exiled to Tarrafal and other places. Today, fortunately that is not possible. I explained that to the resident's commission and I believe they understood." Furthermore, the President of the Parish Council stressed that he never had authorized any constructions in the area and that the position of the parish is that "the residents' commission should be the ones to divide the space in the settlement as they think fit" (Voz da Amadora, March 19, 1982; March 27, 1982).

I would like to draw attention to three major features in these reports which seem particularly important for understanding the relationship between the residents' commission and the state. First, these reports reproduce, to a large extent, the discourses of the commission's leaders on the neighbourhood as being split between the "Europeans", who were portrayed as law-abiding and hard-working people and the rest of the population—the Africans as the "transgressors", lawless and trouble-making people. Secondly, in these accounts state officials and local institutions are perceived as being unresponsive to the efforts of the commission to legalize the neighbourhood and to control the "invasion" of the settlement and urban chaos. Third, the reports clearly emphasize the residents' commission's "legitimate" power to "govern" the neighbourhood under the complicit eyes of local state officials who have informally recognized the residents' commission interventions in the neighbourhood. However, the relationship between the local power and the residents' commission is highly ambivalent for if in specific instances the Parish Council may support the commission's actions in other situations it cunningly disavows the commission's power and authority.

The nature of the struggles depicted in the press are important, for the media has functioned as a space in which the residents' commission has aired their grievances, local state policies (or their absence) were contested and where local tensions were negotiated. Throughout the years the members of the residents' commission were very keen to access the local and national mass media. For them, the media was perceived as an instrument for the symbolic
representation of the commission's struggles with local state government as well as a powerful space for claims-making.

However, for the commission's directors the mass media was not the only mechanism to further their demands. Political partisanship was perceived as the most important vehicle to access a multiplicity of resources which would not otherwise be available. In fact, the leaders of the organization had a clear understanding of local state's functioning and of the importance of party clientelism in structuring local power relations (Ruivo, 1990). In response to these structural constraints, the commission developed a set of strategies and tactics intended to capitalize on the opportunities provided by the local environment. The political trajectory of the most prominent leader of the association attests to the increasing importance of political allegiance in order to acquire crucial forms of social and political capital. According to him, his affiliation in the socialist party was a "pay-off" to the Mayor of Oeiras who recognized the residents' commission interests, legitimizing its informal power. In his own words:

In the late 1970s, the socialist party proposed a new administrative project for Amadora. At the time, Amadora was only a parish under the jurisdiction of Oeiras. The PS [Socialist Party] proposed that Amadora should become a municipality. Given my connections with the Mayor of Oeiras who was a socialist and given the great support he gave us, I decided to affiliate myself in the socialist party. I never had any political aspirations but I had to show my gratitude to the person who helped us. So it was by obligation and also of interest to the neighbourhood and for myself to become a socialist.²⁹

This leader held several positions in the Parish Council of Buraca as a treasurer and as the person responsible for the Housing and Urban Development Department and as a parish council secretary. He was also a member of the Municipal Assembly of Amadora and responsible for the socialist party cell in Buraca. Political campaigning in the neighbourhood, the organization of local visits of central and local politicians to the settlement and social gatherings were some of the activities he promoted systematically in Cova da Moura. However, his political activities were not without contestation. The media followed him with especial interest and accused him of speculation, fraud and illegalities. In one of our meetings, he proudly showed me the newspaper articles depicting him as a "local authority" involved in illicit activities such as the construction of a large illegal house in an illegal settlement (Noticias da Amadora, January 12, 1984). He laughed hard at these reports and commented, "People like to talk and they give me
their attention. In Cova da Moura I'm not anybody and they know that. And they also know that I'm very committed to furthering the interests of the people residing in the neighbourhood.30

It became clear from our conversations that there was no clear divide between his role as a state official, as a member of the residents' commission, as a slum dweller and as a citizen. All these different positions became blurred in his everyday practices. As he pointed out:

I spend so much time working for this neighbourhood, at the parish council, at City Hall trying to get better conditions not only for myself but also for everyone else. To make them see us with different eyes not only as illegals. People know that if they come to me I'll do my best to help them. People know that.31

The existence of blurred boundaries between the state and civil society have been considered as resulting from the weak penetration of the state administrative structure in Portuguese society (Santos, 1991; Ruivo, 1989). Furthermore, given the importance of informal relations in the functioning of the administrative structure, clear theoretical categorizations of the state as opposed to civil society can hardly explain how state officials like the one presented above “travel” in different social fields which become enmeshed in everyday practices. The articulation between different positions, as state official and a slum resident, defies any attempts to establish rigid categories rooted on notions of illegality/legality or margins/centre. In his ethnographic study of lower-level state bureaucracy in India, Gupta (1995) shows the inadequacy of Eurocentric notions of the state and civil society to account for the ways in which state boundaries become fluid and are negotiated through daily experiences. As we shall see next, the interplay between local-level state agencies and the neighbourhood residents demonstrates how state boundaries and policies are continuously negotiated, given specific historical, cultural and political contexts.

"Governmentality" Under Siege

In the early 1980s, the Municipality of Amadora decided to set up a local state cabinet in the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura. Massive influxes of migrants, poor living conditions and urban degradation were major factors prompting the establishment of this government agency. Initially, the cabinet was intended to survey the resident population and to stop building construction in the neighbourhood. An urban renewal project was elaborated at the
time, yet no further measures or strategies were implemented. In subsequent years, the cabinet opened and closed several times and in 1987 it was reopened with a small group of technicians constituted by an architect, an engineer, a designer, a social worker and building inspectors. This group comprised the cabinet until 1992.

From the interviews conducted amongst several elements of this group, it became apparent that no clear objectives nor strategies were ever established by the municipality regarding the cabinet’s role in the settlement. According to one of the members of the staff, the overall rationale behind its constitution was the attempt to curtail building construction as well as to function as a gatekeeper between the neighbourhood and the municipal services. Concerning the first objective, the cabinet’s intervention prove to be highly ineffective in controlling the construction processes for several reasons. First, the speed of building in the neighbourhood coupled with a lack of municipal resources to demolish or to enforce specific building construction regulations undermined any attempt at urban planning. Second, the lack of an overall local housing strategy and the persistence of a piecemeal approach to local urban and social issues heightened the incapacity of the administrative structure to pursue a coherent course of action. Social and urban questions were dealt with on an individual basis, which often constituted a source of conflict between the residents and the local state agents. Given the enormous pressure to build, building permit criteria were systematically contested by those who saw their requests being denied vis-a-vis others who where able to obtain the necessary official authorizations for house construction. Finally, the authority of the municipal staff working in the neighbourhood was seriously undermined by politicians on city council. The testimony of a municipal urban planner illustrates the nature of the struggles between local government authorities and state technicians:

We were never able to stop the construction process in the neighbourhood due to the nature of municipal policies. First of all they always argued that housing was the responsibility of the central government so they never invested really on local housing projects. Then the “policies” were constantly changing. Some years they would tell us not to issue any building authorizations. So we would say no, no, no…. Then in the fourth year just before elections we would receive orders to issue all the permits requested. So now we had to say yes, yes, yes. Then people begun to realize that during election campaigns they would get their projects approved so they waited until then before submitting their plans. What could we do? Nothing. Besides, there were no alternatives, no solutions, no
social housing, no housing co-operatives....There were no programs to help migrants build their own houses. Migrants were arriving every day, they needed a place to stay and the municipality had nothing to offer them. If there were situations of great tension, overcrowding and so on and so forth it was because in the majority of these cases people did what they had to do. That's it. This is what happened and this is what is still happening today.32

For another member of the cabinet, working in Cova da Moura was viewed “almost as a punishment.” In her words, “Cova da Moura was like exile. We were pawns pretending that we had some authority. The whole thing was absurd yet I stayed there for nearly five years.”33

What emerges from these comments is a conception of the state riven with struggles and internal conflicts. The “condensation” (Hall, 1996) of contradictions in this local state agency is striking. It became an arena where a number of different strategies and conflicting interests were inscribed and played out.

The work of the local state agents elucidates the ways in which formal and informal processes, legal and illegal practices structured state intervention in the neighbourhood. For instance, the functions of the architect centred mainly on the approval of proposed plans for house construction, reconstruction and renovation. Furthermore, she would submit these projects for approval to the alderman responsible for the housing department. Once approved, the architect would contact inspection officials and inform them that a certain number of authorizations were granted and that these “cases” should be “overlooked” in their routine inspections. The authorizations signed by the alderman were never forwarded to the residents and no records were ever kept by the inspection officials. Legally, the municipality was infringing the law since the neighbourhood property did not belong to it and therefore no construction authorizations could be issued. Yet, these practices were condoned by state authorities who exercised their power not so much through a clearly delineated policy but rather through its absence.

Regarding the second objective of the cabinet, namely its gate-keeping functions, these were partly successful at least for a great number of residents. However, according to state officials, the neighbourhood residents’ commission overrode continuously the authority they enjoyed in the neighbourhood. Clientelist relations with politicians and inspection officials undermined the cabinet’s decisions. Direct personal access to specific aldermen and to the
municipality's mayor legitimized the commission's intervention in the neighbourhood. Although the commission leaders refrained from pressuring the cabinet's staff directly, often enough these were pressured by the inspection officials to renegotiate building authorizations. In 1992, due to continuous pressure, frustration and lack of future directives the cabinet was closed down and its staff was transferred to other state agencies. For the residents' association the cabinet never worked because "They didn't know what they were doing there and there were no policy strategies."

In 1993, the municipality joined the national urban renewal Plan (PER—Programa Específico de Realojamiento) and the entire housing stock of the settlement was surveyed. The inclusion of the neighbourhood in the PER implied the future demolition of all houses and the rehousing of its residents. Yet, as we can see from Map 6 a considerable number of houses were left out of the survey. The majority of these houses were concentrated in the "European area."

This rather incomplete housing stock survey raised several questions in the municipality's Housing Department regarding the nature of the policy strategy targeting Cova da Moura. Such suspicions were proven correct for while all the other degraded neighbourhoods were included in the overall local rehousing plan, Cova da Moura was the only settlement which was left out of the Plan. According to a municipal official, the process was a very secretive and most ambiguous one. As she put it:

The decision not to include Cova da Moura in the PER was not an administrative decision but rather a political one. The decision was issued directly from the Mayor's Cabinet during the local elections campaign. It just stated that Cova da Moura was not to be included in the Plan. There were no justifications given, nothing. You know there are people in that neighbourhood with a lot of political and economic power who were not interested in the inclusion of Cova da Moura in the PER....
Map 6:

Housing Survey of the Neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura (1993)

Note. Source. Municipality of Amadora, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas (Divisão de Serviços de Habitação e Recuperação de Áreas Degradadas), Housing Survey, 1993.
This decision had major implications for all those residing in the neighbourhood. For the African migrant populations and for some very poor Portuguese nationals residing in overcrowded and very precarious conditions it meant exclusion from social housing programs and improved living conditions. For other residents, it implied the maintenance of the status quo which provided them with a wider margin of manoeuvre in future negotiations. The residents' association kept silent on this issue. Instead they focussed their efforts on lobbying local state authorities to devise an overall special urban renewal plan for the neighbourhood. In 1997, during the municipal elections, the association became directly involved in socialist party campaigning, mobilizing all neighbourhood constituencies. For the president of the association, the decision to support socialist candidates rested on their disenchantment with the previous communist mandates. In his own words:

The CDU [communist coalition] didn’t throw us out, but they also didn’t solve the problem. They played with our insecurities so one tended to support those in power and the CDU was the party in power. Now we got tired of it all and decided to support the PS [Socialist Party]. We have some friends there and personal contacts with them, still politics is a very treacherous thing.37

The victory secured by the socialist party ended eighteen years of uninterrupted communist ruling and provided the residents' association with renewed hope for the future legalization of the neighbourhood. Electoral campaign promises were made to the association leaders, which increased their opportunities to act as privileged mediators and collaborators with local state authorities. After the elections, the association organized a full-fledged campaign in an attempt to influence local policymaking. Local and central state government authorities were invited to the association's social gatherings, personal and official contacts with state authorities were intensified and the mass media was often invited to cover the association's public events. Amongst these activities, the association organized in 1998 a major neighbourhood rally. Neighbourhood residents provided 1,400 signatures, and another 300 were gathered outside the neighbourhood including ten Parish Council Presidents, aldermen, politicians and local businessmen. The list was handed to the Mayor of Amadora and a short presentation was publicly delivered in one of the Municipal Assembly sessions in the presence of approximately 200 neighbourhood residents. The document presented stressed the need for an urban renewal
plan and the legalization of the neighbourhood, better infrastructure, tighter security measures and strict control on building construction. This initiative was widely reported in local and national newspapers. For example, the local and national press had headlines such as “The residents of Cova da Moura clamour for solutions (Notícias da Amadora, July 2, 1998); “Cova da Moura—Residents want the legalization of the neighbourhood” or “Cova da Moura demands better living conditions” (Correio da Manhã, June 26, 1998) or “Cova da Moura claims urban renewal” (Público, July 2, 1998).

Two major features emerged from these reports. First, the residents’ association claims are clearly conflated with Cova da Moura residents’ interests. In this sense, the association is portrayed as the single legitimate representative of the neighbourhood. Secondly, the urban problems facing the settlement are framed within a perspective which largely reproduces the association president’s views. No references are ever made to the exclusion of the neighbourhood from the Special Rehousing Plan (PER) or to its official categorization as a degraded neighbourhood. Instead, the neighbourhood is depicted as a settlement in need of legalization and rehabilitation, which would imply the implementation of multiple strategies ensuring the maintenance of the better-planned areas. These representations have been appropriated and reproduced by local state authorities and by the Mayor of Amadora himself. I interviewed him in March 1998, following his victory in the election for the presidency of the municipality. These are his views and policy strategies concerning the neighbourhood:

There are three major components in that neighbourhood. The first is constituted by the people who were at the genesis of that settlement—the returnees who are moral people who have an entrepreneurial spirit and who fight to improve their living conditions. Then we have the Africans, the first generation who are working people and who have a good relationship with the whites. They even participate in the same associations and then there is a third group of Africans, the last newcomers who are not integrated in any of these other two communities. They are the trouble makers. To deal with Cova da Moura, the municipality has to acquire the land, then one has to survey the whole area and then one has to elaborate an urban plan to define what it is possible to rehabilitate and what has to be demolished.... The houses in good conditions will remain, the others will be demolished and social housing complexes would have to be built.38

Regarding the presence of Portuguese returnees in the neighbourhood he further pointed out:
The presence of whites in the neighbourhood was determinant in preventing the total degradation of the area. They were also the ones responsible for the constitution of local organizations like the club and the residents' association... I know they are willing to collaborate with us... Their major concerns are that if their house were demolished they would have to start a new life for the third time.... The issue is what stays and what will be demolished....

The Mayor's views reflect the residents' association representations of the neighbourhood. Prioritizing the question of citizenship rights and victimization allowed the leaders of the organization to create a privileged space from which they could advance their own interests and demands. Such positioning has been explicit and implicitly legitimised by the local state authorities who feel a moral obligation to the Portuguese returnees. A second important issue that looms large in the mayor's testimony is the clear fragmentation of the neighbourhood residents into distinct categories and social identities according to which rights and services will be granted or denied. These categorizations clearly assume a hierarchical construction of social reality with the Portuguese citizens at the top and the latter African newcomers at the bottom. What is at stake here is the production of hegemonic subjectivities which have no relation to the social realities in the neighbourhood but which are the product of particular historical, cultural and ideological contexts. This situated conceptual arbitrariness is far from being innocent. On the contrary, it reinforces a binary logic which opposes whites to blacks, Portuguese to African, in a matrix which positions whites at the centre, as a model against which African are represented.

More recently, the mayor had the opportunity to reiterate his views on the neighbourhood. On February 22, 1998, at the 19th Anniversary of the Sports and Leisure Club of Cova da Moura, he stressed once again the need for more policing services and vowed to re-open the Municipal cabinet in Cova da Moura. The Club's hall was packed with approximately 250 guests sitting in tables of ten people each. Lunch was served by smiling waiters dressed in white with black neckties, swinging their bodies and plates through an overheated and overcrowded hall. On the stage, a long table was set up for the state authorities and other dignitaries. The overwhelming majority of the guests were Portuguese returnees, neighbourhood businessmen and an African petty-bourgeoisie. Journalists and professional photographers were also in sight. The pictures taken were to be posted on the outside walls of the Club for people to see and buy. Above our heads, bright goldish fabric panels engulfed us in a fake golden glow. The people sitting at my
table listened attentively to the mayor's speech and commented afterwards, "It's always the same thing, promises and more promises. In the end they will do as they please." For others, it was just another opportunity for social conviviality with no practical consequences and politically redundant. In fact, what was at stake there was not so much the public discussion of issues concerning the future renewal of the neighbourhood, but rather the symbolic assertion of the residents' association power both within and outside the neighbourhood. For Cova da Moura residents, it conveyed the scope of the organization's influence to draw a significant number of politicians and top-rank local state authorities to its social gatherings. For the local government, the initiative proved the organizations' mobilizing capacity within the neighbourhood, constituting themselves as the key association in the settlement with the necessary economic, social and political capital to monopolize local leadership.

However, many residents (the majority) did not attend the celebrations, either because they found it too expensive, approximately twenty dollars, or too unimportant or because they were too critical of the way the event was organized. For these the "dice are fixed" as one resident commented to me.40

So far, no policies have been formulated and implemented in the neighbourhood. Meantime, many residents have decided either to build upper floors and attics in their houses, paint their houses, or have built new roofs and house annexes. Furthermore, while I was writing this work there were rumours circulating in the neighbourhood that the cabinet will be reopened soon and that eleven streets will be paved. These news have been largely interpreted by the residents as the official "sanctioning" of the neighbourhood's legalization process. No one knows or seem to know which streets will be paved, however without much hesitation some residents guessed "Where else? In the part that will never ever be demolished."

It may be useful to draw out the implications of the ethnographic data presented in this section regarding the effects of institutional frameworks on migrants' grassroot organizing and integration processes. First, as we have seen, the dynamics of local state politics have conditioned to a large extent the nature of the residents' association strategies and organizational tactics. Relations of clientelism and political patronage have been used as a mechanism of social
regulation and cooptation of local organizing and political activism in the neighbourhood. Second, and directly related to the first issue, the exercise of power by state institutions has met multiple forms of resistance at the local-level. In their struggle against hegemonic forms of representation (e.g., illegals, marginals, lawless) the residents’ organization has produced alternative social meanings and identities. In so doing, new “frontiers of identity” (Cohen, 1994) have been erected through a double process of in-group ascription and out-group categorization. However, these boundaries are not fixed or immutable.

Given these specific contexts, ethnicity and national identity constitute crucial boundary-markers which are strategically manipulated to advance a specific group’s interests (e.g., Portuguese returnees, internal migrants). In other contexts, the residents’ association leaders have redefined their identity not in terms of their citizenship status but rather in relation to their specific positioning on the fringes of mainstream Portuguese society. In these situations, the strategic construction of an image of “Europeans” as “migrants”, “dispossessed and marginalized” has engendered a sense of commonality. This politics of representation has fostered allegiance and local mobilization, enabling Portuguese from the former colonies and an African petty bourgeoisie to acquire the symbolic capital necessary to further their own interests. It is important to introduce a caveat here. Despite the indeterminacy of the “European” group's boundaries, this group has been remarkably fluid regarding the migrant African petty-bourgeoisie residing in the neighbourhood. These have been perceived as members of the “European” group not only by the Portuguese returnees but also by local authorities. Like the Portuguese residents, this group of African migrants are often portrayed as law abiding, hard-working and resourceful people struggling for a better life in the host society. My point here is to convey the discriminatory malleability of the “European” group boundaries which have been drawn in multidimensional, hierarchical and often ambiguous local social map.

The last significant point has to do with the ways the which residents' association has influenced local policymaking. By appealing to national membership rights, the organization’s leaders have shaped institutional forms of inclusion and exclusion grounded on a national order of citizenship. For example, the exclusion of the neighbourhood from the Special Renewal Plan
(PER) has privileged a small group of residents while excluding all the remaining residents from accessing better housing and living conditions. In this context, the ability to influence local policies is largely contingent on national belonging and citizenship rights. This warrants a reconsideration of the alleged pervasive character of transnational forms of citizenship in shaping migrants' membership and participation in the host polities. The following section will explore the transnational forms of organizing and its impact on the neighbourhood's social reality.

Managing Migrant Integration Programs at the Local-level:
Institutional Power and Social Change

In Portugal, migrant ethnic communities are not officially or judicially recognized as specific categories or collective groups. Instead, a more individual-oriented approach has been adopted in dealing with migrants' integration in the host society. Although programs have been devised to address the needs of migrant groups, policy instruments targeting disadvantaged populations are often directed towards migrant populations.41

Programs designed to promote the integration of underprivileged groups are highly centralized by the Portuguese central state and heavily subsidized by the European Community Structural Funds. In more recent years, the main policy instruments aim at providing immigrants with professional and vocational skills. At the local-level, as we have seen in Chapter IV, the city council of Amadora has financed, on a regular basis, migrant organizations and supported their social and cultural initiatives.

In the last decade, the Cultural Association “Moinho da Juventude” has taken advantage of numerous national and international programs aimed at the integration of Cova da Moura's migrant populations. A multiplicity of training and vocational courses has been implemented by the organization constituting presently a priority area of intervention. Under the auspices of the Operational Sub-Programme Integrar, Line of Action 2 and 4, the association has promoted vocational training programs directed at the socio-economic integration of migrant women and youths. Regarding the line of Action 2 professional training in carpentry targeting “high risk” youths was implemented in the neighbourhood. A total of ten youths participated in the program,
which had also a social component including social and educational courses to improve the group social skills. In regards to the line of Action 4 the association’s program “Serviços de Proximidade - Economia de Bairro) was also fully subsidized for two years. Like other programs formulated by the association, this initiative adopted social intervention methodologies used in other European countries such as “Planning for Real and Dip (Planned Goal Oriented Intervention). The project Serviços de Proximidade” has been implemented in other European countries (e.g., The Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium and France) and it aims at the creation of jobs for people with low schooling levels. Training courses were provided by international partners already acquainted with these models.

In Cova da Moura, the project was especially directed towards unemployed migrant women. Professional training and the adoption of the new methodologies aimed at the acquisition of new skills while encouraging the women’s involvement in the neighbourhood. In 1997 a task group was constituted to implement the Planning for Real model in the neighbourhood. A survey of the population was conducted in order to assess its resources and capacities. Meetings were also held with several residents to define priority areas of intervention. The residents surveyed were divided into sub-groups according to the nature of the identified needs. These ranged from setting up bus routes servicing the neighbourhood to a crossing on the outside street which circles the settlement, garbage bins and even the construction of a market in Cova da Moura. A list of identified needs was sent to local authorities and a meeting was held with the parish council of Buraca. At the end of the course, a neighbourhood clean-up campaign mobilized the women’s group and a brochure was distributed to the residents focussing on the residents’ potential contributions, state contributions and neighbourhood needs.

City council responses to this initiative were reduced to the painting of a new crossing in the main street and the eventual furnishing of more garbage bins. At a parish level, the council reacted strongly against the “imperative” character of the association’s demands. According to a parish official “the demands of the organization were unreasonable. They came here and they want things done immediately. They simply refuse to negotiate.” The tendency of the association to refuse the mediation of political actors and the non-negotiable nature of its
demands closely resembles the nature of new social movements (Melucci, 1981). As Melucci has persuasively argued a major feature of the new collective modes of action is not so much the conquest of a space of power within the state apparatus but rather the satisfaction of collective demands. For Melucci, the refusal to negotiate with the institutional and political systems constitutes a source of strength for the movements which tend to focus on group identity and on the direct participation of its members. By so doing, the movements refrain from engaging in a politics of indirect representation as has been the case of class-based collective organizing.

In the case of the “Moinho da Juventude”, the nature of collective action is rather ambiguous. If, on the one hand, they display some features of the new social movements, namely their refusal of political and state mediation of their claims, on the other hand their dependency on state subsidies makes them accomplices of a system against which they tend to define themselves. Consequently, the attempt to create and control “a field of autonomy” vis-a-vis the state is often compromised. This does not necessarily imply the jeopardy of the organization’s ideological stance that continuously asserts itself as “a community project” exempt from political or religious pressures, nor does it prevent them from pressuring state officials to expedite their own demands. The main issue is the way in which the association’s strategies and tactics are constructed in a tension between a struggle for autonomy and the complex dynamics of local politics. The pressure to make political alliances, and to endorse local political leaders has been particularly conspicuous during election periods. As the president of the association pointed out, “In the last municipal elections the socialist party really pressured us to endorse its candidate lists. But we are not interested in their game.” From the interviews conducted among the members of the association, it became clear that its participation in international programs and forums increased substantially the organization’s economic, social and political capital. These resources have been of crucial importance in achieving a wider degree of political manoeuvrability and autonomy. However, if the association has resisted political patronage and clientelism, it has also shown willingness to lobby state officials in order to advance its own interests. Negotiation with directors of public agencies has often proved effective for accessing new funds and resources. In turn, the success of the association’s practices and programs also
has been strategically used by state institutions and state officials for professional and career advancement. To this extent, the association’s strategies are enmeshed in an often paradoxical and complex matrix of local state connivances, an effort to resist political partisanship, and transnational spaces of membership.\textsuperscript{45}

Another important issue concerning the association’s practices is its mechanisms of institutionalization and the consequent implications for collective organizing. In the last decade, Moinho da Juventude has made significant investments in consciousness-raising and local mobilization. However, community mobilization has emerged not so much in response to neighbourhood popular collective actions, but rather it has been encouraged within a framework of officially funded projects. As we have seen, these projects target specific groups who are often subsidized for the duration of the programs. It has been within the scope of such programs that multiple community activities are promoted and collective action encouraged. The association as a provider of services has thus centred its activities on particular target groups or “clients.” It has been in a given institutional, ideological and discursive social field that local social actors (for example migrant women, children or youth) are mobilized, and individual and collective activities are developed and evaluated. So far, no popular or active participation has been promoted amongst those who are not enrolled in specific projects or activities. As an association worker put it “the history of this association is the history of its projects.”\textsuperscript{46} To what extent does the association create new spaces for the expression of neighbourhood collective desires? How effective have the association’s projects been in providing new opportunities for migrants’ integration in mainstream society?

These are complex questions for which there are no ready-made answers. When I approached the association, it seemed of crucial importance to investigate the social and political dynamics of the association, its projects and the ways in which these impinged on people’s everyday lives. For that, I intended to focus on integration programs targeting the professional training of women. However, when I discussed my intentions with the founding director of the association, she discouraged me from such a pursuit on the grounds that there were some management difficulties with the women’s project. I was then advised to focus my research on a
new project, "O Pulo", aiming at 105 families residing in the neighbourhood and which was in its initial stage of implementation.

The case study of the project "O Pulo" illuminates how local reality becomes organized and perceived in articulation with the organization's discourses and practices. Also, it constitutes an entry point to envision the nature of institutional processes which underline the development and implementation of integration programs at a neighbourhood level. In-depth interviews were conducted among all the 20 participants in the project during the period October 1998-March 1999. I have also attended professional training courses, staff meetings and social gatherings promoted by the program. Also a total of 20 families were interviewed regarding the project and its potential benefits.

**The Making of the Project “O Pulo”**

In the early 1990s, the Association Moinho da Juventude became acquainted with the Project “Opstapje” which was being implemented by the Averroes Foundation in the Netherlands, an agency specializing in early childhood development and the family which is also one of UNESCO's co-operating Centres of Early Childhood and Family Education. After negotiations with Averroes, the association was allowed to introduced and implement the “Opstapje” program in the neighbourhood under the nomination of “O Pulo.” The project is a two-year programme with four major objectives: 1) the transmission of basic concepts to migrant children aged between two and four years of age as a means to prevent school drop out and educational underachievement; 2) to promote the active involvement of parents on their children’s education; 3) to strengthen social interaction between the child, the family and the community; 4) to create of employment opportunities. Overall, a total of 21 new job positions were to be created by the project.

The project was submitted to various state agencies for financing, but it was not until 1997 that was approved and subsidized by the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security under the auspices of the Programme “Ser Criança” (To be a Child). This is a national project aiming at the social integration of “high-risk children and youth." According to the association's founding
director, bureaucratic bottlenecks, and lack of sensitivity by state agencies toward the "innovative character" of the project constituted major drawbacks to the programme's implementation. The Dutch experience was often cited as a model against which the Portuguese state practices were assessed and evaluated. The transnational character of the association's strategies has been a major feature of its work throughout the years. Although they operate locally, the association has drawn extensively on international projects and models of social intervention to anchor its social practices and activities. In this sense, organizational tactics tend to defy local and nationally circumscribed policies and institutional settings as the key privileged spaces for membership and individual and group rights. Similar trends were found by Soysal's (1994) study of Muslim immigrant communities' mobilization patterns in the European context. Drawing on empirical research conducted among Turkish guestworkers, Soysal argues that the assertion of Islamic organizing in Europe has become more and more framed within a postnational model of citizenship "anchored in deterritorialized notions of person's rights" (1994:3). Similarly, Appadurai (1996) has argued forcefully that a "postnational global order" has become increasingly responsible for the erosion of the nation-state as the sole legitimate basis for allegiance and identity. For both authors, alternative and multi-referential forms of citizenship and claims-making constitute a major challenge to nationally bound projects of civic participation and identity formation.

The Association Moinho da Juventude is a particularly salient site in which to consider the new transnational global politics. While it retains an image of a community-based organization, the association has drawn on a complex web of national and international public spaces, which has had major implications for its functioning and membership claims. The continuous flow of information between the association and its European partners has been most important for the local implementation of projects and the programme "O Pulo" was no exception. In 1977, A Dutch person responsible for the project "Opstapje" in the Netherlands came to the neighbourhood to provide training courses for those who would be directly involved in the program. Also, the pedagogical curriculum and other materials, implementation methodologies and the program's administrative planning guidelines were all translated into Portuguese.
Following the planning procedures established in the Dutch project, the project targeted four major groups: technical staff constituted by a psychologist, a child educator and a social worker; five coordinators, 15 “mothers of neighbourhood”; and finally the neighbourhood families. The coordinators and the “mothers of the neighbourhood” were recruited among those who were already engaged in the association’s activities or, in some cases, were chosen through family and friendship networks. All the potential participants were interviewed according to pre-established guidelines designed to assess their motivation, attitudes towards the community and problem-solving capacities and their educational level. Regarding the recruitment of the families, the program targeted 105 families with children ranging from two to four years old. Families, regardless of their ethnic origin were directly contacted by all the participants and by July, 1997, there were 67 families already involved in the program.

The project’s organization was highly structured with the two people responsible for the project at the top of the hierarchy. Task activities were divided between these two staff members. The educator’s work stressed the pedagogical component of the project (pedagogical materials) while the psychologist’s activities centred on the social dynamics of the project (child, families and the community). Below them, the five coordinators were responsible for the mothers of the neighbourhood to whom they provided support, counselling and supervision. Weekly meetings were held between the coordinators and the mothers of neighbourhood and between the coordinators and those in charge of the project. These meetings had, as major objectives, the assessment of weekly activities, counselling, problem-solving, planning of training courses and social activities with the families.

**The Implementation Process: Institutionalizing Identities**

The programme “O Pulo” had a total duration of two years. In the first year, its major objectives were the professional training of its participants and the transmission of knowledge and learning skills to the children. Also, families were made aware of the benefits of pre-schooling and day-care centres for the social and educational development of their children. In the second
year, besides professional training, the project stressed the strengthening of the relationship between child and the family and the creation of neighbourhood family networks.  

According to the project's model, the initial professional training courses stressed the creation of two major categories—those of the coordinators and of the "mothers of the neighbourhood." A highly structured job description laid down in great detail the responsibilities and work tasks of each group. Concomitantly, training courses also placed a major emphasis on the participants' internalization of each job positions, which included a thorough knowledge of task activities, work evaluation methods and reporting procedures. The creation of these categories imposed a set of rules, obligations and work routines which were closely supervised and evaluated. The work of "mothers of the neighbourhood" consisted of one-hour working visits to the families where they worked directly with the child and with the person responsible. The "mothers of the neighbourhood" were also responsible for the completion of detailed weekly forms reporting on each family visits. A description of the weekly activities, an assessment of the child progress, family patterns of participation and a self-evaluation form was submitted to the coordinators who, in turn, were also responsible for the elaboration of their own reports. These were the object of evaluation by the two individuals responsible for the project. The systematic production of evaluation reports, planning procedures, research and pedagogical materials were perceived as being crucial to the proper functioning of the project.

According to one of the people in charge, such practices were a most important instrument for the successful implementation of the project. In fact, the programme could only proceed by constituting its target groups as "objects of knowledge." It must know all the agents directly involved in the project, it must know their actions, attitudes, capacities, and needs, it must know how they respond to the programs' strategies and tactics and know how the agents and families self-represent themselves. Hence, the acquisition of specific working habits, attitudes and know-how became inextricably linked to the production of knowledge as well as to a set of disciplinary tactics. Participants were expected not only to perform according to specific rules and regulations but also they were expected to identify themselves with the job categories defined a priori in the project. What were the effects of these new identity categorizations for the
women participants? What were their responses to the “moulding” processes imposed by the programme? To what extent did families appropriate and reproduce the new subjectivities?

From the interviews conducted amongst 14 “mothers of the neighbourhood” it became apparent that the normalizing processes embodied in the project were the object of multiple forms of resistance and contestation. These centred mainly on two major components: the production of knowledge and on the processes of appropriation of the new roles. Regarding the first issue, the need to produce a considerable amount of information, which was further subjected to a close scrutiny by the coordinators and, ultimately, by those responsible for the project was highly disputed by the group on two accounts. First, due to low schooling levels of some participants, the systematic completion of evaluation forms and the elaboration of reports made them vulnerable and dependent on the coordinators’ monitoring in order to adequately fulfil this job requisite. For some, the reports were basically an instrument of control and a disciplinary devise. In the words of one participant:

The thing I like the least about this project are the reports. Completing almost 64 forms per month is hard work, very hard. They say they want to know how we are progressing but I also think that the reports are used to know if we really go to the families, what do we do there and how long we stay.49

This was a widely shared criticism among the participants who, on the one hand, appreciated the potential usefulness of the reports, but on the other hand these became the symbol of their subordination vis-a-vis the coordinators and the individuals responsible. Yet, this perception was not limited to the “mothers of the neighbourhood”. Similar opinions were expressed by the coordinators themselves, who often complained about the elaboration of reports and other documentation. According to one coordinator, “The time spent on writing up all the information is far greater than the time spent on doing the job itself.”50 However, they also recognized that the real burden fell upon the “mothers of the neighbourhood”. Major difficulties were identified in those instances in which these workers had to collect information on the families. A common attitude among the women was a refusal to survey the families. For the “mother of the neighbourhood” this constituted a violation of the families’ privacy. Some of the women stressed their lack of legitimacy “to go into a family’s house and ask them all kind of questions.” Such views contrasted significantly with the opinion of those in charge of the project
who felt that these workers had the "legitimacy to collect the necessary information. The confrontation between these different points of view derived mainly from disparate ways of conceptualizing the role of the workers in the neighbourhood. That is, for the "mothers of the neighbourhood" their work could hardly be dissociated from their field of social relations. For these people, a balance between relations of proximity and distance were most important for "good neighbourhood relations." The violation of such an equilibrium was perceived as having a direct impact on the ways these women were to be viewed in the neighbourhood. The following testimonies attest to the conflicting nature between their new job positions and the nature of these women's social interactions. As one woman commented, "Asking the families questions about their life, I mean schooling, money, and so on is very difficult for me. You know we are neighbours and I didn't want them to think I'm being nosy. People don't like that..." or as another woman put it, "The families are nice, but who am I to go and ask all these questions. I'm not a stranger, I'm a neighbour." For the project's leaders, these women's attitudes were somewhat unintelligible for they tended to perceive them as "workers providing a service for the community." As such, they had the legitimacy to perform their job and the job's requisites which, in this case, involved the collection of information on the household. The dissociation between a bureaucratic rationale and the specific lived experiences of the participants brought to the fore the ways in which institutional projects produce social realities (Escobar, 1995). The discourses on the project's work and on the neighbourhood were not so much an account of the neighbourhood's social and cultural reality, but rather they were tied to a set of institutional strategies. This discrepancy between the two forms of problematization permeated the whole project it often was a source of tension as well of negotiation amongst all those involved in the programme.

Regarding the second area of contestation, the major issue revolved around the fashioning of the new identity "the "mother of the neighbourhood"." For these women, the involvement in the project was highly valued for according to them it provided them with professional training and contributed to their personal development.
Furthermore, for the majority of them it constituted a source of supplementary income (approximately $200 US), while providing them with a new status in the neighbourhood. In the words of a worker, "It is very gratifying to walk around in the neighbourhood and have the children come to us to greet us. They say we are the teacher from "Pulo." However, despite the new acquired symbolic capital, the role of “mother of neighbourhood” was a site of conflicting interests. According to one of the project’s leaders, “It took these women more than a year to assert themselves as “mothers of neighbourhood.” They just would not see themselves as such nor did they represent themselves in that way. Yet, they are the most important people in the whole project, Without them there is no project."

For the “mothers of the neighbourhood”, the label was problematic for it put them in a “position of superiority” vis-a-vis the families and the children’s mothers. For them, the framework of representation engendered by the project could jeopardize their social relations in Cova da Moura. Neighbourhood bonds consist of a careful balance of power relations which the introduction of the figure of “mother of neighbourhood” would tend to disrupt and, thus, work against the grain of social equilibrium.

The opinions expressed by the families tend to corroborate these workers’ attitudes and views. When I asked the families to comment upon “the mothers of the neighbourhood”, a most common response was, “What mothers? We are the mothers....yes, there is a woman, a teacher who comes to my house and who does a good job with the child. I can see some progress.” Still others conveyed some reservations about the whole project. For some, the workers should have been recruited from outside the neighbourhood and they should have had a different “title.” As one mother stated, “You see we are all neighbours here, we all live here then you have one of your neighbours coming to your house teaching you how to handle your child....Well, I’m sure you wouldn’t like that....Then the questions about this and that. I’m sure they gossip about the families.” The workers were keenly aware of the families’ reactions and made considerable efforts to overlook the labels which conflicted with their social practices and interests. However, they found themselves in a paradoxical situation. For, on the one hand they were expected to assimilate a new identity, to become an institutional product, as part of their new job and
professional training, on the other hand they made considerable efforts to deflect potential tensions associated with a perceived higher status conferred by their new jobs. A clear demarcation from the imposed categorizations was one strategy often employed by these women. This dissociation translated itself in the “alleged” refusal by the workers to present themselves as “mothers of the neighbourhood.” Another strategy involved a struggle to find the adequate balance between levels of social proximity and distance. For the women, the sharing of the families environment and, in some cases, the witnessing of family conflicts made it particularly difficult to draw the boundaries of their intervention. For the project's leaders, the making of “auxiliary technicians” (para-técnicos) implied a “distancing” from family tensions and problems. In some cases such “distancing” was difficult to accomplish and the workers often found themselves involved in the affairs of the particular family. In other instances, they would stay longer than the planned scheduled weekly visit or they would organize extra activities which were included in the project's implementation plan.

Overall, the bond between the “mother of the neighbourhood” and the child became increasingly strong as the project progressed. This constituted a source of concern for the individuals in charge of the project for, in their opinion, the workers' practices revealed an inadequate internalization of their role which could jeopardize the project's objectives. These issues were openly discussed among the participants and constituted a central theme in some of the project's training courses. The “disciplining” of the “mothers of the neighbourhood” was perceived as crucial for the implementation of the project. Furthermore, one of the objectives of the programme was the potential training of the families (mothers/fathers) so that they too could also become "mothers of the neighbourhood." The success of the project and the constitution of other "mothers of neighbourhood" became deeply dependent on the workers' capacity to perform according to the pre-established model. In the first year of the programme the stress had been on the transmission of basic concepts to the child and the valorization of playing activities as a means to acquire and develop new skills. Also, families were made aware of the need to enrol their children in day-care centre activities. According to the participants these objectives were fully attained.
By the second and last year of the programme (1998-1999) a total of 97 families became involved in the project. The main objective for the second year of activities was the strengthening of the relationship between child and mother and a focus on the mobilization of the families and the development of a greater consciousness of community issues.\textsuperscript{57} This area became highly problematic for several reasons. No clear strategies were devised to encourage higher levels of family participation. Although there was a noticeable increase of the family's involvement in meetings, social gatherings and workshops, these activities were too few and far between.\textsuperscript{58} According to one of those in charge, a greater participation of the families in the planning implementation processes would have been crucial for effective mobilization of the families. In her opinion, the families were treated very much as passive recipients of a programme which was designed and implemented in accordance with particular institutional guidelines. Furthermore, the management of local mobilization was made more difficult given the lack of a tradition of neighbourhood activism and the existence of a public forum in which the residents would openly express their needs, interests and demands. Instead, neighbourhood collective action emerged only within the institutional constraints of the association.

This provided the structural and ideological frameworks in which hegemonic cultural meanings were produced, imposed, negotiated and contested. A similar argument is made by Ribeiro (1998) in his analysis of the processes of reproduction of the Capeverdean ritual Cola San Jon in Cova da Moura. In his work, Ribeiro draws attention to the ways in which the association has appropriated this cultural and ritual practice and shaped it according to its institutional logic and rationale.

In the case of the integration programme "O Pulo" the lack of investment in the creation of neighbourhood networks coupled with the difficulty of mobilizing neighbourhood families constituted major drawbacks to a significant participation of the families in community-based activities. For some families, the project was perceived as "a service provided by the association to the children" and nothing more. Although this "service" was highly valued by the families, they often expressed mixed feelings regarding the whole project. A mother who was once involved in
a culinary project in the association commented on her experience with the association and on the lack of an inclusive strategy by the association in these terms:

I was enrolled in a culinary programme but I was not very pleased with it. When I tried to tell them how we cook traditional Capeverdean dishes they didn’t hear us. They know it all. So I got annoyed with the whole thing and I got out of there. Now they have this new project. I think it is a good thing and the children learn something with it. The problem is that it is only two years and then it’s over. So far there has not been many activities for the mothers. One thing here, one thing there. I only go to the association when they organize something. And my friends do the same thing. Only people involved in their programs go there....

The non-existence of open channels for residents' participation and exclusionary attitudes are some of the major criticisms voiced by the neighbourhood families. From the ethnographic work conducted in the association, it became apparent that the association's practices and discourses were often challenged by residents whose processes of identification with the organization were fragile, fragmented and often ambiguous. For some, the structural rigidity of the organization and the existence of relations of clientelism are viewed as major hindrances to neighbourhood collective action. For others involved in the association's activities criticisms are usually tempered with praise, reproducing to a large extent the organizations' s official discourses. For still others the association is viewed as a service provider which they use and take advantage of as beneficiaries. The institutional management of programs such as the one discussed above raises several important question regarding the functioning and implementation of programmes aiming at the integration of migrants in the host society. As this section highlighted, the institutional apparatus has substantially drawn on translocal models of membership and participation, linking local social reality with transnational forms of organization and social intervention. The association practices have been embedded in an institutional imaginary of the neighbourhood which the organization claims to represent and act upon. Yet, this process of representation or “speaking for the other” is not neutral but, instead, is inscribed in specific relations of power, which produce a particular social order. As was discussed, the implementation of professional training programs often is paradoxical. On the one hand, the programs may facilitate the integration of migrants in the labour market, on the other hand, they constitute a site of conflicting cultural and social meanings. The need for a culturally sensitive policy and the constitution of the neighbourhood residents as the authors of their own collective
action seem to be of utmost importance in creating a space where the totalitarian character of representational regimes of "otherness" may be transgressed and neutralized.

In this chapter I have focussed on the relationship between the state and local migrant collective organizing. This analysis raises a number of complex issues which I have attempted to explore and which are central to the understanding of migrants' integration patterns.

The first issue concerns the mutually conditioned processes of interaction between local state institutions and migrant collective organizing. The residents' commission practices attest to the ways in which local organizing has been successful in influencing local-level policymaking. Rather than centring on the institutional determinants of migrants' participation patterns, one needs to consider the micro-politics of everyday practices with respect to the conditions under which policies are negotiated (or not) in response to specific migrants' claims-making. Bringing the analysis of state migration policies together with the examination of grassroots collective organizing helps us to recognize the complex configurations of power, the interdependencies, ambiguities and connivances that go into the relationship between local organizations and state policies.

The second major problem addressed in this chapter has to do with the translocality of migrants' collective organizations. The analysis of the Cultural Association Moinho da Juventude brings to the fore the importance of transnational networks, the importation of international models of social intervention and the constitution of multiple sites of membership that play a major role in structuring this organizations' discourses and practices. The analysis of the association's projects and their implementation allows us to see how transnational and border-crossing forms of organizing become inscribed at the local-level, shaping current practices of collective mobilization and social change.

The third significant point advanced in this chapter concerns the tension between "postnational" and "national" forms of membership. The analysis of the relationship between the two local neighbourhood organizations and state institutions constitute an entry point to the study of complex processes of inclusion and exclusion. Migrants' integration into Portuguese society has reflected a broadening of rights granted on the basis of a more global notion of membership.
As we have seen in chapter III, recently, immigration policies have reflected a broadening of rights granted on the basis of a more global notion of membership rights. Moinho da Juventude's practices and programs attest to new inclusionary policies grounded on transnational ideals of tolerance and multiculturalism and on an internationalization of migrants' organizing models. However, as the empirical data reveals national citizenship is still very much a fundamental condition for membership in the national collectivity. The residents' association processes of negotiation, accommodation and contestation with the state help us to see how, in given specific historical conditions, national cultural belonging as well as discretionary and clientelistic practices legitimize the granting of rights and protection to some while others are excluded from the national polity. Hence, current claims of "postnational citizenship models" as major determinants of present-day membership in contemporary nation-states need to be re-examined. More empirically based analysis of policy implementation seems crucial to understand how recent global trends in citizenship rights articulate with nationally bounded notions of citizenship and how these two models of membership coexist and impinge, often in paradoxical ways, on migrants' participation in host societies.

The final question has to do with political action and the struggles against dominant power relations. In the context of neighbourhood organizing, political struggle is also a "cultural struggle" (Gupta, 1995). Central to the relations between local organizations and the state is the production of specific subjectivities and cultural realities. The ethnographic data has shown how political action intertwines with the production of specific individual and collective identities. For instance, the residents' association resistance to hegemonic discourses on illegality engendered the production of alternative strategic subjectivities anchored on conceptions of lawfulness, national belonging and victimization. The new collective identities enabled people to act collectively as political subjects struggling for recognition. As was argued in this chapter, local organizations produce a multiplicity of subjectivities, which often are the product of an institutional logic and functioning which has little to do with the social and cultural reality of the neighbourhood. If such processes of "subjection" (Butler, 1995) are often the object of appropriation by residents they are also the object of "fragmented resistances" (Chatterjee, 1993).
In seizing the contradictions and fissures of local hegemonic discourses, residents produce and practice alternative frameworks of meaning allowing for novel regimes of representation. The following chapter constitutes an attempt to account for these alternative stories by focussing on the life story of a Capeverdean woman resident in Alto da Cova da Moura and on her interactions with local organizations and state authorities. This case study is presented as an illustration of how those who lack social, legal and political power are able to challenge imposed fixed categorizations and carve new spaces of possibility and cultural innovation.
**Chapter Notes**

17. Personal interview with Ilídio do Carmo, founding member and President of the Residents’ Association, February, 1998.

243
Here I draw on Foucault’s later notion of governmentality not as a “disciplinary power” but rather as a form of power aiming at the welfare of the population, the improvement of its conditions, the increase of its wealth, longevity, health, etc. See Foucault, 1991.

See, Municipality of Amadora, 1988:15.


Personal interview with a resident of the neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura, September, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Interview with a resident of the neighbourhood, October, 1995, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Ilídio do Carmo, President of the Residents’ Association, August 6, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Ilídio do Carmo, President of the Residents’ Association, August 6, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Ilídio do Carmo, President of the Residents’ Association, August 6, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Ilídio do Carmo, President of the Residents’ Association, August 6, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a municipal official, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora, March, 1998, Amadora

Personal interview with a municipal official, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora, April, 1998, Amadora.

Personal interviews with a municipal official, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora, April, 1998, Amadora.

Personal interview with the President of the Residents’ Association, August, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a municipal official, Department of Housing and Renewal of Degraded Areas, Municipality of Amadora, March, 1998, Amadora


Personal interview with Joaquim Raposo, Mayor of Amadora, April 4, 1998, Amadora.


Personal interview with the a neighbourhood resident, February 22, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.


Personal interview with a parish council official of Buraca, January, 1998, Buraca.


See Cardoso, 1992. Regarding the Brazilian context, Cardoso gives an example of how the success of popular organizations is closely tied to the nature of alliances with the state and the political systems. In her view, it is through negotiation among the different social actors that grassroots popular movements develop their own image, constitute themselves as significant interlocutors and advance their own interests.


See Cultural Association “Moinho da Juventude.” 1998c

Personal interview with one of the project’s responsible, December, 1998, Alto da Cova da Moura.

CHAPTER VII:
IDENTITY, POWER AND SUBVERSION

The storyteller is the figure in which the righteous man encounters himself.
(Walter Benjamin, 1968:109)

After being in Cova da Moura for several months I met Maria. At that time, a colleague
and I were involved in the production of two visual documentaries. One summer afternoon, while
we were talking with the street-vendors, Maria came to buy fruit and vegetables. She was a
woman in her early forties with sharp eyes and a pleasant smile. She listened to our
conversation attentively and in the end asked if we were Portuguese. We replied affirmatively
and asked why she wanted to know. To this she asked whether I had lived abroad for some time.
I answered yes and said “why?” She replied “well you seem different from the other Portuguese
who come to this neighbourhood.”¹ She told us that she was living in Germany but was also
building a house in this neighbourhood. She seemed puzzled about us and eager to meet again.
Maria gave us the address of her house inviting us to visit, which we did at a later time.

Maria’s house was a large two-storey house still under construction located on an
unpaved street in the southern part of the neighbourhood. Contrary to all the other houses in her
street and to most houses in the neighbourhood, Maria’s place had a fenced front yard of
considerable size with a large fig tree, roses and other flowers.

It was a particularly hot summer day. She invited us in and we sat in her cool living room
on the ground floor, drinking water and talking for a long time. She was curious particularly about
our activities in the neighbourhood. We explained to her that we were researchers at the Centre
for Migration and Intercultural Relations at the Open University in Lisbon and that we were
engaged in the production of visual material for a distance education course, the Sociology of
Migration. We explained that my colleague was doing ethnographic research concerning the
production of the Capeverdean Feast of Cola San Jon in the neighbourhood, while I was
researching the local dynamics and interactions with the local state of two neighbourhood
associations (The Residents’ Association and the Cultural Association “Moinho da Juventude”).

246
She seemed to be satisfied with the information we provided and started to talk about herself.
She was a Capeverdean, born on the Island of Fogo, and had a complex migratory experience in Portugal, the United States of America and Germany. Maria showed us pictures of herself as a young woman in Cape Verde, as a sausage factory worker in Boston, as a mother and housewife in Germany and as a migrant living in a shack in Portugal. She talked about her oldest son who was killed in the United States, expressing the agony and pain that have haunted her since his death.

Maria showed the house with great pride and joy and told us of her desire to build two more floors. She wanted a large house of her own. She wanted “to go as high as the sky.” As she put it:

This house will be like a satellite capturing signals from all over the world. I put all I had into this house, all the money, all my dreams. I like my house in Germany but I do not feel for that house what I feel for this one. If they demolish it nothing will give consolation. No other house will substitute for this one because when I was building it I was doing it alone. This house is all courage, thought and self love. This is a dream which was fulfilled. I like it. I fought for it, it is all my doing and it is just like I imagined it to be in Cape Verde. The world is big and the foot is small... but even so if one cares one walks the distance....If one day the municipality decides to demolish it they better kill me first....Well if I lose this house there is always a story which will remain....But nothing is for sure now and I think it is time to fight for Cape Verde. I want to build a house there...

A luta continua! (the fight goes on).

I liked her dream and the way she told her stories. Here, you have an intelligent, highly articulate and outspoken woman with a rich experience of emigration who has decided to build a large house in a squatter settlement where housing construction is “officially prohibited.” Maria was also a member of both local organisations and the construction of her house gave her access to influential people in the neighbourhood. She had many contacts and networks in Cova da Moura and she seemed willing to share some of them with me. I thought she would be an excellent informant and I was fascinated with her life story, a story full of twists and turns spreading out over a cartography of “margins” and “centres.”

After our first visit, I met her only sporadically, for she spent most of her time in Germany, and I began commuting between Lisbon and Vancouver (in 1996, I enrolled in the doctoral program at Simon Fraser University). In 1997, I went back to her house and asked if she wanted to tell me her story. She replied “Before you chose me I had already chosen you. I will tell
you... It's a long story... It will take a lifetime to tell." I had only twenty-four months, at the most, for hear her story. How could I do justice to this woman? I knew my task was so immense that I could wish only to convey perhaps a "feeling"—a fleeting moment of the life trajectory of this woman; she trusted me to reveal her story to both those who know her and to those who will never make her acquaintance. If I were to tell her story, how would I approach it? What would be the content and form of such narration? What narratives would I privilege and which ones would I forego? How would a linear textual narrative convey the simultaneity and imbrication of different contexts and locales in structuring her world outlooks, identity and life strategies? These questions pointed in many directions, yet underlying these inquiries was a broader and more crucial question, that of representation.

The so-called crisis of representation in anthropology, and more specifically in ethnography, has arisen precisely from the uncertainty about the "adequate means of describing social reality" (Marcus & Fischer, 1986:81). In previous decades, realist ethnographic conventions have been under attack from a wide range of phenomenological, semiotic, hermeneutic, psychological, postmodern and feminist perspectives. Postmodern ethnography has offered a major challenge to the taken-for-granted hegemonic authority of the ethnographer, proposing new devices and modes of exploring cultural differences. At the core of postmodern ethnographic experimentation is the notion that cultural accounts are historically determined, "fictional" constructs that are constituted not outside but within power relations (Asad, 1973; Clifford, 1986; Fox, 1991; Clifford & Marcus, 1986). To this extent, the acknowledgement of the relational character of ethnographic work has prompted a re-examination of the very processes of representation, and textualizing practices. How is ethnographic representation constructed and to what extent is it possible to overcome totalistic representations of the Other? How can one construct discourses free of the ideological pitfalls of realist ethnographic practices? These are some of the major epistemological questions that have permeated the postmodern debate on ethnography (Okely, 1992; Rosaldo, 1986).

Common to most postmodern approaches is the emphasis on the discursive nature of ethnographic contexts. In his work, Tyler (1986) has stressed that postmodern ethnographies
should explore the dialogical character of fieldwork. Such ethnographic experimentation should strive to create a dialogue grounded on the “cooperative” and the “collaborative” nature of any ethnographic project. In Tyler's words postmodern ethnography “rejects the ideology of the 'observer-observed.' There being nothing observed and no one who is the observer. Instead, there is the mutual dialogical production of a discourse, a story of sorts” (Tyler, 1986:26). This is a story, a discourse that emerges out of a process of negotiation and which, ultimately, subverts monophonic representational signification and authorial authority. Thus, the postmodern ethnographic story is not conceived as an end product but rather as an interpretative mediation of meanings that should remain open for contestation (Clifford, 1986; Marcus 1998; Tyler, 1986).

Those who do life histories as a subgenre of ethnographic writing have not been oblivious to the contemporary anthropological struggle with paradigmatic authority and cultural representation. A postmodern critique of life histories has called for an interpretation of the specific contexts in which the subject creates meaning; at the same time, it insists on a critical analysis of textual strategies and self-reflexivity. A common problem with life history narratives, Clifford (1986) argues, is the tendency to typify the informants' stories and to make sweeping generalisations based on a person's life history. This, he remarks, is one of the shortcomings of Marjorie Shostak's work (1981) "Nisa: The life and words of a !Kung Woman.” In her analysis, Shostak attempts to come to grips with the problems of producing a mediated account of a multiplicity of voices—the ethnographer's voice, the "native's point of view" and the dialogical story of the relationship between the ethnographer and the "native." Such accounts bring to light the struggle among these different registers in cross-cultural translations. However, according to Clifford (1986) and Behar (1991), Shostak's authoritative ethnographic voice undermines the inventiveness of such narrative. Despite the attempts at the construction of a polyphonic text, Shostak, ultimately, emerges as the great master of the narrative, cutting and editing bits and pieces of Nisa's story to make it fit into a Western grid of intelligibility.

Recent approaches to life history have centred on the need to reconceptualize subjectivity and anthropological representation in terms of more sensitive dialogical accounts of cultural otherness. Ruth Behar's life history of a Mexican marketing woman (1990) constitutes an
attempt to overcome conventional life history narratives, which in her view have emphasised authoritative accounts of the Other, typification, and monolithic production of social forms and meaning. In her analysis, she calls for a new approach to life history narratives that envisage social actors as the central protagonists of their own lives “Life history” in Behar’s words:

...should allow one to see how an actor makes culturally meaningful history, how history is produced in action. A life history narrative should allow one to see the subjective mapping of experience, the working out of a culture and a social system that is often obscured in a typified account. (1990:225)

Behar’s “actor-centred” analysis proposes a novel approach to writing life history on two accounts. First, it unsettles authorship by engaging in the production of a narrative as a “double telling” in which the informant and the ethnographer engage “side by side” in the construction of a story. Here, the ethnographer assumes the role of a storyteller whose task is, as Benjamin puts it “to fashion the raw material of experience, his own and that of others, in a solid, useful and unique way” (1968:109). In this sense, the ethnographer-as-storyteller is also a “craftsman” whose work unfolds from the telling of a story produced out of the recounting of the Other’s experience as much as from his or her own. Second, it undermines typification by refusing to inscribe the “actor” in a matrix of pre-established sociological and anthropological categorisations. Instead, the “actor” is perceived not as a medium through which one can envisage the larger social whole, but, on the contrary, as a historically contingent subject who is engaged in the making of his or her own historicity. For Chandra Mohanty (1994), it is of utmost importance to move beyond an ideological framework tending to produce universal representations of Third World women. For Mohanty, Western feminist discourses have been deeply implicated in the production of an ideological construct of the “Third World Women” as a homogeneous “powerless group often located as implicit victims of a particular cultural and socioeconomic system” (1994:200). Mohanty argues that what emerges from these analyses is the production of a category of Third World women as “religious (read ‘not progressive’), family-oriented (read ‘traditional’), legal minors (read ‘they-are-still-not-conscious-of-their-rights’), illiterate (read ignorant’), domestic (read ‘backward’) and sometimes revolutionary (read ‘their-country-is-in-a-state-of-war; they must fight!’) (1994:214).
Such categorization is opposite to Western women "as secular, liberated and having control over their own lives" (1994:215). These images, she contends, set "in motion a colonialist discourse which exercises a very specific power in defining, coding and maintaining existing first/third world connections" (1994:214). Similarly, Lazreg (1988) argues that the prevailing feminist discourses on women from the Middle East and North Africa have been instrumental in the construction of hegemonic categories such as "Islamic women", "Arab women" or "Middle East women" (1988:87). Within these discursive regimes, Algerian women have been subsumed under these all-encompassing categories which erase diversity, historical contingency and change. In Lazreg's opinion, the result of such "abstracted empiricism" has serious implications for Algerian academic feminists. As she remarks:

How then can an Algerian woman write about women in Algeria when her space has already been defined, her history dissolved, her subjects objectified, her language chosen for her? How can she speak without saying the same things? (1988:95)

Similarly, Friedman's (1995) critique of feminist discourse on race and ethnicity identifies the emergence of new feminist paradigms. For Friedman, the new approach attempts to go beyond previous binary narratives of "us" and "them"; or "white" and "black." At the centre of novel "cultural narratives of relational positionality" is a conceptualisation of identity as multiple, fluid and contingent.4 By privileging hybrid notions of subjectivity and identity-construction processes, she argues that the new scripts afford a theorisation of the multidirectional and contradictory forms of power and syncretic identity politics. Such politics, Friedman points out "can acknowledge the differences and locate the connections in a complexly constituted global multiculturalism that avoids ethnocentrism of any kind" (1995:40).

In this chapter, I seek to use these theoretical insights to provide an account of Maria's life experiences. The thrust of the chapter is not only the analysis of how structural and institutional constraints shape her sense of identity and configure integration patterns, but also on Maria's subjective construction of social meaning and on her understanding of particular social and cultural realities. The first part of the chapter traces the migratory trajectories of Maria, exploring the ways in which migratory experience shape her sense of being and life strategies. Here I draw attention to her diasporic experience and to the new hybrid forms of enunciation
mediated by memory, desire and novel life experiences. The second part focuses on the processes of building Maria’s “dream house” in the squatter settlement of Cova da Moura. The house is envisaged as a microcosm from which a multiplicity of social, economic, political and cultural phenomena emerges. While some of these dynamics result from local practices, others reveal broader social processes impinging on the local. Special emphasis is given to Maria’s relationship with neighbourhood organisations and with the local state institutional apparatus. By centring the analysis on Maria’s encounters with local institutions, I hope to show what it means to be “illegal” and “subordinated.” That is, my concern here is not so much to unpack an economy of institutional power and subjection and thereby the discursive and non-discursive production of specific categories, but rather to probe its effects as they are perceived and given meaning by the individual subject. By shedding light on Maria’s life strategies, I hope to convey the experiencing of institutionalized forms of social control and the ways in which these become the object of self-reflection, accommodation and resistance. The later part attempts to articulate issues of representation, agency and power. The analysis of the processes of production of the film, *The House of Maria Fruta*, is intended to show how the film constitutes a space for the negotiation of meanings and for empowerment. The film provides an alternative space of representation and contestation, an aesthetics of subversion aimed at outwitting subordination and marginalization. Methodologically, the film enables the problematization of ethnographic methods in accounting for the deterritorialized nature of identity processes. I further argue that the film was not only a medium for representation, but constituted also, in itself, an object of analysis of social and cultural relations.

Central to this chapter is my attempt to avoid typifying Maria’s life experiences and drawing dubious generalisations based on a specific case. It seems to me that the richness of Maria’s life-history narrative resides as much on its particularity as on its ability to evoke other residents’ life experiences and strategies. Such perspective is shared by Maria herself who often expressed to me how her dealings with the local associations and with the municipality were not substantially different from the experience of many neighbouring residents. However, she said the major difference between her and the others was that she “was not afraid to talk, to tell a
story." On the contrary, Maria wanted to tell her story for, according to her, "there were things to be said because the game was not over yet...." In fact, she not only wanted her story to be written down, but also to be put into images—she wanted it filmed. This was more important for her even than the written word, for "it could be shown in Cape Verde, in the United States, in Portugal...people can see me and hear what I have to say...." For Maria, the images were more "useful" because many of her relatives could not read or write, and even for those who were literate, could not read English.

The challenge was enormous and my tenuous expertise in filmmaking somewhat overshadowed the excitement of doing such a project. Still, Maria's view could not be ignored and as she told me "it is in the doing that one learns." So be it. We embarked in a journey with no maps, unsure of our destination, but still eager to share our perpiexities and concerns, our past experiences and future prospects, in a quest for ourselves and for each other. A story was to be told—in fact, many stories—from afar and from here and now, all braided into a thick revelation of our own experiences.

**Migration, Pride and Desire**

From our early conversations, it became apparent that Maria's narrative did not follow any chronological order or spatial logic. The past enmeshed with the present, the country of origin with the countries of emigration, the deceased were made so alive that sometimes one could almost feel the warmth of their breath. Other times, those alive and close to her became weightless, opaque, virtueless. Through sheer force of memory, imagination and recreation, Maria constructed a vast territory of narration and her house was its centre. It is from the widow of her house, overlooking the neighbourhood, the vast vistas, the city, the castle and the sea, that Maria stood as if occupying an Archimedes point from which the world could be envisaged. Yet, contrary to an Archimedean point outside the earth, Maria's "point"—her house—was right on earth, where she narrates herself and her life and unravels the world around her.

When I asked if her story started in Cape Verde, she replied without hesitation "My story begins from four different points and this house is at the centre." By these four different
dimensions, she meant her living experiences in Cape Verde, in Portugal, in the United States of America and in Germany. These are the strands with which she weaves her life story, the tools of her craftsmanship, which become articulated through architectural poetics. It is, thus, around these two poles—migration and the construction of her house in the squatter settlement of Cova da Moura—that Maria's story revolves. In her narrative, migration is not an end in itself, but rather, gains meaning in relation to her house. A house, which in Maria's words "is all pride...a pride long acquired in Cape Verde." The house is a material expression of her willingness to insert herself into the world, in an evolving relationship between the past, the present and the future, and the ultimate form of reconciliation with this totality.

In the beginning, Maria hardly mentioned Cape Verde. She only alluded to it when she commented on how the house she is building in Cova da Moura had a long history starting in Cape Verde. I was puzzled by this desire, nurtured by circumstances during those many years that Maria refrained from disclosing. As our relationship developed, Maria felt more at ease in talking about Cape Verde. When I encouraged her to talk about her life as a young woman in Cape Verde, she would drift to a reverie about her playful days in Mindelo (Island of São Vicente) when she wore crisp white dresses to go dancing by the seaside. She knew how to choose her dresses and her friends. She was dazed by youth and happiness. In other instances, Maria would talk about her work in Mindelo as a seamstress or as a housemaid. Or how she was well-treated by a Portuguese man who, before leaving the island, gave her valuable construction materials (and how she gave her mother some of these materials and sold the rest making a considerable gain at the time). His kindness has impressed her up until the present-day. She still remembers his name and features, but no longer knows his whereabouts.

In other instances, Maria would give bits and pieces of information about her childhood in the Island of Fogo. She was born in a small hinterland place, Campana de Baixo, on this island. She had five sisters and one brother and they all lived with her mother in a small house. The father was a well-known landowner who was married to another woman with whom he had seven children. Maria remembers how as a child, she enjoyed playing with the animals and eating fruit. She would steal mangoes from her stepmother's trees, eating some and bringing the rest home.
Her mother called her Fruta (Fruit), she told me, closing her eyes while mimicking her mother’s calling “Fruta...” The nickname has stayed with her until today. Several times I have heard her relatives or co-villagers in Cova da Moura call her Fruta or Maria Fruta.

On other occasions, Maria would talk about her childhood and early youth. She worked in the fields helping her mother but did not enjoy this very much. She preferred to be a street-vendor, selling fruit, fish and baked goods to people living in more remote areas in the hinterland with no access to the seaside. In her words “we needed that money badly because my father didn’t help us at all.” In her early accounts, Maria hardly mentioned her father or the nature of their relationship. Maria’s recalling of her living experiences in Cape Verde were highly-fragmented sketches, evocations of moments, impressions, sensations, and glimpses of a story slowly unfolding before me.

One summer afternoon while we were sitting under the fig tree in her front yard discussing Maria’s future projects, I asked why she was so proud of her house in Cova da Moura. She kept silent for a while and then replied:

This house is part of a pride, a pride which I acquired long time ago and which has stayed with me for all these years.... There in Cape Verde in my parents’ house, when I was pregnant with my son, my first son, my father wasn’t pleased because I was going to have a baby with this boy and we weren’t married. The problem was that we were both poor and my father didn’t see any advantage in it. And then he didn’t want me in my mother’s house. My poor mother, how she was dominated by him! She was one of those women who hasn’t got much spirit or pride and doesn’t assert herself. She had to do what my father wanted. So I could stay neither at my mother’s place nor at my aunt’s. I had to run away when my father came to visit. He had a lot of land but he didn’t want to give me any. Then I had to build a shack on a very steep hill where I could live and where my son could be born. But I was born with a very active spirit, full of hope for the future. So I told my mother ‘I’m not going to live in any shack, nor am I going to let you build one for me because I still have hope that I will have a house bigger than yours and my father’s house.’

Maria was visibly moved by her own narrative. Patriarchal oppression left a deep imprint in her sense of self, shaping her views on womanhood, marriage and gender relations. The image of a submissive wife evoked by her mother caused great distress and anger. For Maria, her mother “was a prisoner of love for the father.” Someone who “sacrificed everything and everyone for him.” Maria, on the contrary, would always be “a woman of faith” in herself. She praised her own freedom, willpower and strength to make it on her own. It is against the
background of patriarchal domination that she enunciates herself as an independent, self-sufficient woman. Marriage was perceived as a bondage, which she intended to escape.

After her first born, she had two more children who were born from different fathers. She was not interested in marriage. As she stated she “wanted to be free to leave when she felt necessary and start a new life, a better life.”

After 1974, Maria’s siblings emigrated one after the other to Portugal, to the Netherlands and later to the United States of America. Only one sister stayed in Cape Verde. In 1981, Maria, who was pregnant with her third child, decided to join one of her sisters who was already living in a squatter neighbourhood in the Municipality of Amadora. Maria left her two children with her mother and came to Portugal in search of a better life. For her, emigration was “like a ship in high seas... the journey is always uncertain and often dangerous.”

Maria’s early experiences of migration were hardly pleasant. She worked as an intern housemaid and as a maid in several places in Lisbon. According to her the Portuguese for whom she worked showed no respect for her, made her work day and night and often starved her. In her opinion Portugal was “as bad as my stepmother.” Certainly she was expecting more and she was eager to fight for a better life, yet as time went by, her expectations remained unfulfilled.

In 1982, Maria’s sister moved to Cova da Moura; Maria and her newborn moved with her. Precarious living conditions, family tensions and conflicts made Maria’s life particularly difficult. She had no privacy, little money and nowhere else to go. While still living in her sister’s house, Maria met Cristiano, a Capeverdean school teacher from the Island of Santiago who wanted to marry her. She liked Cristiano very much but she had no intention of marrying him. As she put it “I told him right away what my situation was. I had three children and I was living with my sister. I liked him very much but I was not interested in marriage.” They decided to live together and moved to a shack that belonged to a relative of Cristiano situated in a slum close to Cova da Moura. It was in this house that her fourth child was born.

During this period Maria held multiple odd jobs, as a clothing-factory worker, as a housekeeper, as an antique salesperson and as a seamstress all the while taking care of her children. She felt this house was too small and had inadequate living facilities. Through her and
Cristiano’s networks in Cova da Moura, they “bought” a small plot in the neighbourhood. During weekends they would go to Cova da Moura to build their own house. Maria recalls how they and her relatives built that house:

We could only work during the weekends because Cristiano was working in Sines during the whole week and he only came home on the weekends. We would spend the whole Saturday and Sunday in Cova da Moura. Everybody helped us. The men and myself worked in the construction and I also cooked for them. I enjoyed very much those days.13

This was the first house she owned and although the place was small it was with great pride that she showed it to me. As she commented “It was small but it was mine. Here I could do as I pleased. It was mine.” It was clear that the house warranted her independence as well as serving as a symbol of her upward mobility. For the first time in her life she had a house of her own. She felt that she could assert herself and defy all those who had mistreated her. She worked for the house as much as Cristiano, and now she provided a shelter for herself and children.

In the late 1980s, Cristiano—a skilled labourer who specialised in insulation systems—was offered a contract to work in Germany. The wages were substantially higher than those paid in Portugal and the prospects for better living opportunities made him decide to take the job. Maria stayed with her children in Cova da Moura. Not for long, however, because she decided to try her luck in the United States of America. Her sister who had lived in Cova da Moura had re-emigrated to the States and was then living in a suburb of Boston. Also, Maria’s son was living there with his father in Florida, and Maria had not seen her first child for several years. Furthermore, her oldest daughter was living in the United States and Maria wanted to see them badly. As a Portuguese citizen, she obtained a tourist visa and went to the United States where she stayed for fourteen months. During this time she stayed with her sister and worked illegally in a sausage factory in Boston.

For her, the status of “illegal” was not problematic. As she put it “They needed me that’s why they gave me the job. I, myself, needed the money...so work is work. They treated me well and I worked hard. That’s what that job was all about.”14 As in Portugal, Maria was exploiting gaps in the system, taking advantage of opportunities when they came her way and creating new
ones for herself. Moreover, she refused to internalise a sense of illegality or marginality. For she did not see herself in relation to a “legal centre” or to an “illegal margin.” Her sense of self, of identity was not framed within these two social axes, but rather, gained meaning in relation to a different point of reference. This was a positioning which refused to accept the fringes, the outer edge of the mainstream as a space through which she could become defined and locatable. Her point of reference was a rather unique one. She stood in relation to her family, to her children and to her willingness for an improved livelihood. For Maria, working illegally in the United States was not perceived as being radically different from building an “illegal house” in an “illegal neighbourhood.” As she put it:

One has to do what one has to do. Now, one does one thing; tomorrow, one may do something different. One has to see....I try to see, and one thing I know, no one makes my bags for me, I make my own bags....

Throughout the years she always tried to maintain a critical edge, questioning the “space” that others had allocated for her. She struggled, questioned and did not surrender to such impositions, showing the same courage as when she defied her father and family ostracism. Her life, as she likes to put it, “is a struggle, a battle that I fight everyday day...so far I’m winning.” Yet, sometimes, she lost. While in the United States, Maria attempted to get custody of her son; however, her efforts were of no avail. The boy’s father refused to let him go, on the grounds that Maria did not have a place for him. Her house was too small and she already had three children living with her. She came back with some savings in her pocket and a broken heart. Three years later she went back to the United States to attend her son’s funeral—he had been killed under rather obscure circumstances. Even now Maria does not know the details of her son’s murder or who killed him.

As soon as she arrived in Cova da Moura, Maria sold the house she and Cristiano had built and bought a bigger lot with the intention of building her “dream house.” Although land in Cova da Moura could not officially be sold given that the land was illegally occupied, an informal real estate market always had been the reality. Prices were set according to the estimated value of houses or shacks existing on the lots. For instance, Maria’s first house was sold for approximately five thousand contos (approximately $40,000 Canadian dollars) to two different
neighbours—one the ground floor, and the other the upper floor. The new lot was occupied by a former maid of the legal landowner. The landowner had allowed his maid to build her own shack on this land 42 years ago and live there until she died. The land was not hers, but she could use it as she felt fit. Maria came to know from friends that the old woman wanted to move out of Cova da Moura and that she was willing to "sell" the lot. Maria "bought" it for three thousand contos (approximately $25,000 Canadian dollars) and registered the purchase of a shack in the Finance Department. As for the land there was nothing she could do about it. The land was privately owned and throughout the years, no agreement was ever reached between landowners, the municipality and the settlers, which implied that Maria, like the rest of the residents, had no property rights over the lots they occupied. Even so, she was willing to invest all her savings in the construction of a house.

After the purchase, Maria joined Cristiano in Germany. The whole family moved to a small village, Dorf, 13 km from Wiesloch, and then moved again to Baiertal close to Heidelberg. Baiertal is a small village with approximately four thousand people. In the 1990s, new influxes from the former Soviet Union and from other Eastern European countries and from Turkey have accentuated the ethnic heterogeneity of the population. Maria and her family lived in a small social housing complex built after the Second World War to accommodate Eastern European refugees.

In 1998, when I stayed with her in Baiertal to film her and her family, Maria discussed at length her experience in Germany and how she perceived the nature of her livelihood there. From her comments, Baiertal, and Germany in general, are informed by her migratory experiences in the United States, and above all, by those in Portugal. Maria "got to know Germany through Portugal." In our walks in Baiertal, or in our day-trips to Heidelberg, Maria could not stop herself from comparing the German streets, gardens and houses with those in Portugal. She praised the orderliness and the cleanliness of the German habitat. She often pointed out to me the comfort of the houses—"beautiful washrooms and kitchens," and how she got so many ideas here in Germany that she used in the construction of her house in Cova da Moura. For Maria living in Germany was "easier" than living in Portugal. In her words:
Here people treat you well. One has more benefits. If you do not have a house they will get one for you. When one goes to hospital, they treat you like people....Here everything is right; no one runs away, no one says no, no one says you haven’t got the right. In Portugal some people make big distinctions...you are treated very differently. I’m better treated here than in Portugal. There...I’m a Portuguese citizen and they often send me to Cape Verde. Here I just have a residence permit and no one ever told me ‘look, black, go back to your country’.

Although her children have expressed to me how they often become the targets of racist and discriminatory attitudes in school, Maria’s idyllic gaze on Germany permeated her whole attitude about everyday experiences in the country. For Maria, access to housing, social benefits, health care and education were of crucial importance. According to her, “Germany has taught me my rights, I learned that life can be more than what they make of it in Portugal.”

Maria’s migratory experience has been a determinant in influencing her way of thinking, her attitudes, and the ways she sees herself and others. As she mentioned “I pick and choose things and ways to go about life the way I saw it in Germany and in the United States and I used them when they seem useful.” Certainly, her diasporic experiences have transformed her social practices and life strategies, shaping her own identity. Stuart Hall (1990) has argued that a diasporic identity:

...lives with and through, not despite, difference, by hybridity. Diasporic identities are those which are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. (1990:235)

This syncretism of cultural forms, as we will discuss next, has been determinant in configuring her world outlooks and survival strategies. Also, the negotiation of multiple symbolic frameworks has been particularly pervasive in Maria’s relationship with space. The architectural features of Capeverdean houses in the city of São Filipe on the Island of Fogo, the use of Portuguese tiles on walls, and the interior division of the German house providing privacy, were all brought together, articulated and incorporated in Maria’s dream house in Cova da Moura. Encoded in the architectural design of the house is Maria’s biography, a multi-layered life experience where change, desire, loss and hope become crystallised in an aesthetic practice and form. The evocative power of her house makes it “a means of articulating time and space, of modulating reality, of engendering dreams.”
A House of Cement and Uncertainty: Accommodation and Resistance

In 1991 while living in Germany, Maria was eager to start the construction of her house in Cova da Moura. She invested all the family's savings in the initial phase of construction. She wanted to build a "solid" house that could "be of some use for the children." She contacted friends and relatives and mobilised her community ties and acquaintances in the neighbourhood. A builder from her own island who resided in the neighbourhood and local workers were recruited for the construction of her house. Maria was the sole architect of her new house and she knew exactly how the ground floor should look. As she stated, "The ground floor is exactly like my father's house in Cape Verde. The only difference is that mine is bigger than his." After 25 years, she still had some scores to settle with the past and for her "building the ground floor of my house exactly like my father's was a great relief... it made me feel much better, free. Now I could go on up, and up..."  

And she did. Once the ground floor was finished Maria rented it to migrants in search of a place to stay and went back to Germany. Maria's intentions were clear. She would build as much as possible or as she put it "as much as they let me." For that she needed money to cover the construction costs and multiple networks. Although the rent money helped cover some costs, she decided to start her own "business." Given her experience as an antique salesperson, Maria started to buy second-hand furniture, some antique pieces, second-hand building materials, clothes, china, etc, in Germany. By taking advantage of the legislation on the free movement of people and goods within the European space, and given that she was a resident of Portugal, Maria was able to start her "export business." The goods were sent to Cova da Moura in large containers on a regular basis. Maria kept the best pieces for herself and the rest was sold to neighbours and friends, enjoying the selling very much. Given her extensive network in the neighbourhood, the demand for her goods from Germany rose throughout the years. For Maria, this constituted a supplemental source of income vitally needed to continue the construction process.

In 1993, when Maria was pregnant with her twin children, she reconsidered her attitude towards marriage and married Cristiano. According to her, she had lived with Cristiano for many
years and had no questions regarding her love for him. Besides, her new marital status was very important for the regularisation of her resident status in Germany. After the twins were born, Maria returned to Portugal with the objective of building the first floor (a second storey to the house). Two years had gone by since the initial construction and she was eager to re-start her project. Upon arrival, she contracted with fourteen workers to build the concrete platform necessary for the first floor. She rented all the necessary equipment, negotiated the costs of construction materials and labour, and made new contacts inside and outside the neighbourhood with builders, who for the most part worked in the informal economy.

After the concrete platform was built, Maria hired several construction workers to build the first floor. This floor was completely independent from the ground floor. This design would be maintained in all the other floors. Access to it was only possible from an outside lateral staircase. Also, the first floor had a different plan from the ground floor. A large living room, a kitchen, a washroom, three bedrooms and a bedroom suite were built in accordance with Maria's plan. For the corridor walls, she bought white and blue tiles, which were set from the bottom to the mid-part of the walls. Maria had seen some houses in Portugal with those tiles and she fancied them for her own house. According to her, the bedroom suite with a washroom was an idea she got from the houses she had seen in Germany. Also she was keen in having a large veranda like the houses of the well-to-do in S. Filipe, Cape Verde.

During this second period of construction, Maria was confronted with tight social-control practices engendered in the neighbourhood. This is how she perceived those encounters:

It was when started to build the first floor that the revolution started. A neighbour of mine came to me and ask me to give him work. I had seen his house and I didn’t like what I had seen. If he didn’t know how to build a good house for himself he also didn’t know how to build mine. I told him that I was not interested. He was furious so he went to the house of one of the Residents' Association leaders and asked him to come and see my house. A neighbour who lived right in front of me warned me that the man had gone to see one of the Residents' Association leaders. I was so worried but I told him “It’s Ok, no problem.” Then a black car came by with a man in his forties. I came down, he greeted me very nicely and I did the same. He went away. I didn’t know who the person was. Only later someone told me that he was the President of the Parish Council. Well, nothing happened then. It was just a warning!... (laughs).22

Maria knew from hearsay and from her own experience that the support of the Residents' Association was of crucial importance for the success of her project. She also knew that she
needed to “discuss my project with key people in the Residents’ Association, otherwise the building inspector would put a halt to the construction and that would be the end of the house.”

She played the game as best she could, following instructions given to her by influential members from the Residents’ Association. There were inspection officials to be bribed, and she would have to comply with the requests being made to her. Maria’s dream was dependent upon her ability to be accommodating to a system of blunt exploitation, placing her in a situation of subordination and disenfranchisement. In her own words:

I gave him the money requested but still he told me right away that there were no guarantees...someone could come up and issue an ordinance for demolition....I was paying someone who had given me neither merchandise nor services....He couldn’t give me warranties either and still he kept complaining about the bribe. He wanted more and then others came after him who also wanted something....I was giving away a lot of money. In fact, the money I gave them in bribes was almost enough to build another floor....At that point I had to do it. I had no other choice.

Maria’s encounters with the local state were mediated by a bribe system, which provided her with an image of the state as being “completely corrupted.” For her the state was not there to protect her, but rather to exploit. The state was an accomplice to a situation of “illegal” building by manipulating the residents’ insecurities and vulnerability. The situation was rather paradoxical. On the one hand, the state officials acted “in principle” according to the law which prohibited construction, while on the other hand they used the “illegal” situation of the residents to their personal advantage while imposing a situation of illegality, and thereby condoning it.

Furthermore, the practices of municipal officials were highly discriminatory and also influenced by the Residents’ Association. As I have discussed in Chapter VI, this local organization’s practices were determinant for structuring the building and social environment in Cova da Moura. For Maria, both the association and the local state always had two different approaches regarding the neighbourhood residents—one for blacks and one for whites. Contrary to official representation of the neighbourhood, which conflated the “chaos” of the black residential niche with cultural specificities, Maria’s contention was that the observed differences between the white’s and black’s niches were the utmost manifestation of discrimination and exploitation. As she commented to me:
The houses of the whites have all the facilities. Big houses built in no hurry...now you look at the black's houses. They give no opportunities to the blacks, or better, to most of the blacks. They build during the night in the moonlight, with great affliction, they do not even choose the space....They do as they are told "set the bricks during the night, open a window and paint it next day." How can that have any organisation?...It's impossible. Now, the houses of the whites are very different. They do not have to use the moonlight. Oh no....There are whites here who have houses and who never live in them. I know several people like that and the municipality doesn't touch them. They can stay forever. If the blacks had opportunities they would build nice houses like the rest...we also like to live well.25

When I confronted Maria with the municipal reports on Cova da Moura and its building environment, Maria contested the official representations and commented "They say what suits them best....They may defend the whites, the returnees and some of their friends, but reality is a very different story."26

Maria wanted to show me this other reality. She insisted on walking through the neighbourhood with me, which I gladly agreed to do. As we headed our way towards the north side of the neighbourhood where the majority of the Portuguese returnees reside, Maria started to comment on how the roads were wide and paved and on the size of the houses. She drew my attention to specific houses commenting:

Look at these houses. These houses were not built during the night. Look how well built they are and the lots, these are large lots not like those in the southern part of the neighbourhood.27

Her appreciation of this residential niche emerged against the background of the "African area." Maria did not consider them in isolation, but instead perceived both areas as being intrinsically related. The following comments well illustrate the ways she conceives the complex spatial and social relations in Cova da Moura:

Look here, it is not by chance that this house is as big as it is....The owners knew their way around very well. Not only did they know those in the municipality but they also got people in the neighbourhood to work for them in exchange for a little piece of land. They gave what was not theirs to give. Still they thought they had rights. What I see is that the whites got what they have because they thought they had rights over it whereas the blacks, the little they have is because they conquered it inch by inch.28

For Maria, the situation was extremely unjust because "neither whites nor blacks have any rights over this land. It doesn't look like it but we are all illegals here." Maria's reading of the neighbourhood was framed by her perception of social injustice and exploitation practices, which
configured social relations in Cova da Moura. For her, the built environment and the striking spatial difference extant between the two residential areas above all were the manifestation of social inequality and domination.

As we left the northern area and zigzagged our way south, she kept on pointing out the dirty alleyways, the shacks with no windows, the garbage, the fetid smell of rotten water running down the dusty roads. She called my attention to a small house with a ground floor with two brick walls on top. Maria insisted that I should meet the owners of this house. An old Capeverdean woman came to the door greeting Maria with a warm smile. Maria told her that we were there to see her house and to hear her story. The house was rotting with humidity, water dripping down the walls as if the house had no roof. There were plastic buckets all over the place to catch the water and the furniture was being eaten by the mould. An old couple had lived in this house for many years; both of them had major surgery and the man had been sick for a long time. Five years ago they decided to build an upper floor because the house was too small and they needed more space for their grandchildren. As the woman explained:

As you see our house is very small, it has no facilities so we started to build an upper floor. Nothing big as you can see with your own eyes. Besides, we had so little money. That was the problem I didn't have the money to bribe them. One day, the inspector came and told us that we had to demolish what we had built. We couldn't go on.... Now you see this misery. They do not even let us touch the roof. The whole house is crumbling down.29

Maria tried to give her some consolation but to no avail, for the woman given up hope. We left the house in silence and walked down towards Maria's house. In front of her house there is a small coffee shop and restaurant owned by Sr. Augusto, a Capeverdean from the Island of Santo Antão. We often ate and drank coffee sitting outside facing Maria's house. She looked at her house for a long time and then muttered "ground floor, first floor, second floor, an attic and a nice, big, brand-new roof... seventeen rooms, three kitchens, five washrooms...."

Finally, she said to me "Did you see what is happening to that poor woman? She has no rights; she has only the right to drown in humidity." For Maria, rights in the neighbourhood were directly linked, not only to issues of "ethnicity" and "race," but also to economic power and class. The ability to influence decision-making processes at neighbourhood and local state levels was very much dependent on both the social and the economic capital one commanded. As Maria
put it: "If one is black and poor, one is done for, if you are black and have some money, maybe, just maybe, you’ll be able to get what you need." 30

In Maria’s case, living in Germany provided her with a social and economic safety net, and with the necessary capital to invest in the construction of the house. Yet, having the economic means alone was not enough, for she was under surveillance by her own neighbours who closely watched her moves. As she recalls:

When I finished the first floor and while I was building the cement platform necessary for the construction of the second floor my neighbour, who is a most influential person in this neighbourhood, came to me and said “Oh Dona Maria what on earth are you doing? You seem to be going a little bit too far. If it goes on like this I’ll have to do something about it. It really is too much.” It was just because my works were more advanced than his. And he saw that my works were going very quickly. There in the middle of all that trouble, and because he was someone who could do whatever he wanted, then I got really worried, and because of that my first floor balcony is 20 centimetres smaller than the other one... my house... not just my house... anyone who builds a house in this neighbourhood, has to pay much more than anyone who did it ten or fifteen years ago. It costs more because here you have to buy bricks, and cement and sand and the place to build, and you have to buy people’s silence and tolerance. It was really hard... building my house was really hard. 31

In Maria’s narrative, accommodation to a social order has not exhausted her sense of empowerment. In fact, if, on the one hand, she was strategically willing to subject herself to social regulation, on the other hand, she continuously defied “the principle of regulation, according to which a subject is formulated and produced” (Butler, 1995:241). It is precisely the regulatory apparatus, and its logic, that was at stake here. The imposition of a social order and norms grounded on the arbitrary appropriation of rights by a segment of the population, was, for Maria, not only a personal problem, but also a collective issue that ought to be challenged and resisted.

On many occasions Maria expressed openly to her friends and acquaintances her views on local discrimination and on the need to bring those issues to a public space of discussion. Maria often followed with great interest the journalistic coverage on the neighbourhood. For her, the media could provide an important vehicle to bring the “hidden heart” of Cova da Moura to light only “if they were willing to hear the right people.” Yet, the overall attitude of most residents, and Maria was no exception, has been one of resentment intertwined with a perceived need to collaborate and accommodate to local institutional power. So far, resistance has not emerged in
the form of organised collective action, but rather, it has manifested itself by the daily production of covert strategies of resistance. These may range from gossip, corporal threats, petty thievery and vandalism. For instance, while I was conducting fieldwork, the Residents' Association decided to erect a small wall to close a narrow passage, which was used as a shortcut between two major streets. According to the members of the organisation, people were being assaulted and robbed in this crossing. They felt that the only way to avoid further violence was to close the passage. During the night the wall was destroyed, and no one will say who was responsible. After this incident, the association decided to keep the passage open to avoid further conflicts.

This ethnographic vignette illustrates the ways residents have resorted to covert means of resistance—to “everyday resistance” as John Scott (1985) put it, as a form of contestation and agency. Although these “symbolic challenges” do not pose any serious threat to institutional domination and inequality, their very existence constitutes “a method of unmasking the dominant codes, a different way of perceiving and naming the world” (Melucci, 1988:248).

For Maria, the capacity to resist became directly linked with her specific field of opportunities and constraints. In fact, one could say that her willingness to resist grew with her house. After the first floor was done Maria went back again to Germany and returned a year later. By then, all the rooms in the house were rented. The house was becoming a valuable source of income for her and for her family. She had enough capital to invest in the house. Also, through her networks in the neighbourhood, Maria became actively engaged in the recruiting of local labourers to work in Cristiano's own insulation company in Germany. These were mostly unskilled and semiskilled labourers working through temporary labour contracts. The new trend towards temporary and sojourning forms of labour recruiting, the rise of the informal economy (Castles, 1993; Cross, 1992), and relaxed legislation on labour flows within the European space (Baganha, 1996; Rocha-Trindade, 1995) created new opportunities for international “flexible” flows of migrant labour. Maria and Cristiano were shrewdly taking advantage of the new processes of globalisation of labour movements. Changed global structural conditions opened-up new possibilities for improving her livelihood and that of her family.
In 1995, Maria started the third phase of construction. Her plan was to build the second floor, an attic (which was in fact a third floor), and the roof. She was determined to do it all at once. For that she contacted with a builder from outside the neighbourhood and workers from Cova da Moura. As she explained:

While I was doing the ground floor, family and neighbours were most willing to help me. Now they think I'm rich so they have disappeared. But it's Ok. I'll build a big house so that all my children will always have a place to stay. I hope.

The threat of demolition hung over Maria's plans and stuck to her like a shadow. The future was uncertain and she realised its enormous fragility and how her dream could easily be stolen from her. Yet she was determined to invest all she had in it. She insisted on building it with iron and cement.

This time Maria was not willing to negotiate with local and state authorities. In her opinion, she had already paid too much to too many people. Moreover, her living conditions had improved substantially in the last five years. Emigration to Germany provided her with new economic opportunities and some financial stability, making her less dependent on the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura for survival. She felt she could afford a certain degree of contestation and subversion.

Maria followed her construction schedule as she had planned it. However, she knew that her house was becoming one of the biggest houses in the neighbourhood. Moreover, she was not building it at night but in the daylight for all to see and for once, she refused to be an accomplice in a bribery system that oppressed her. Yet, as she put it, "the poor, the illegals are not supposed to be bold. The local bosses get nervous when they see too much courage in you." In fact, she was correct in her assessment for, one day, when she least expected it, she found an inspector and two helpers in her attic taking pictures of her house and filling out a notification for demolition. In her own words:

I went to him and asked him why was he in my house with two other people taking pictures without my permission. He replied "D. Maria this is not a house, this is a building. You need an elevator to go from the ground floor to the top floor. Can't you see this is the biggest house in Cova da Moura. And you built it very solidly. This cannot be..." I told him "well if you close your eyes to some people's houses well, yes this house is the biggest one...but you know that it is not true. So he told me that the house had to be demolished and that I had to sign some papers. I had to demolish it in eight days. His name is X but I call him
"Innocent" because that's what he is. Here in Portugal you can't even get someone to pull off an aching tooth in eight days never mind a house like mine...as if my house was a tooth....

After this visit Maria received a summons from City Hall. On September 17, 1997, she called me early in the morning and asked me to go with her. The room was rather spacious with five municipal employees sitting fastidiously at their desks shuffling papers around. They looked at us without enthusiasm and kept working while listening attentively to the proceedings. The municipal official who was in her house asked us to sit down and handed Maria the notification for demolition for her to read and sign. Maria read it with very little interest and asked him with contempt "So do tell me how long have you been in Cova da Moura?" To this the official replied "For two months and I already have forty-two notifications for demolition." Maria replied with unconcealed sarcasm "If you keep on working as hard as that you will be the Mayor in no time." The official was visibly annoyed with the way she scorned him and said to her with an authoritarian tone "You are building an illegal house, you are an illegal, sign the notification." She replied "No, you are wrong. I'm a Portuguese citizen. I'm no illegal and by the way, do tell how are you going to demolish it?" The official could hardly contain his anger "No, no we do not have the equipment to do it, you have to do it yourself and also pay a considerable fine." Maria started to laugh and signed the notification. She seemed amused with the whole affair, taking great pleasure in teasing and outwitting the state inspector. The official took the paper out of her hands and commented to all those present "I need two witnesses to sign this notification." His colleagues looked down and ignored him. At this point he was getting rather nervous and impatient, and kept insisting on getting the signatures. Finally one of the officials volunteered and signed the paper. Still, there was one signature missing and since no one else in the room was willing to sign it, the municipal official told her that he would get the other signature at a later date.

After we left City Hall, I commented to Maria how I was puzzled with the reaction of the other municipal officials. To that she replied "Do you know why they didn't want to sign the notification?...because most of them have received bribes from me." Although she had signed the notification, Maria did not seem the least bit worried. She reckoned that the municipality did not have the means to enforce the law, she herself would do nothing about it, and besides, she
had other more important and pressing issues to attend to. Maria's twin daughters had had an accident and one of them had been in hospital for three weeks. Her leg was operated on and she was not getting any better. Maria decided that it was time to go back to Germany. As soon as she arrived in Baiertal, the child was immediately hospitalised in Heidelberg. After a month in hospital, the child could walk again and had fully recuperated from the new surgical intervention.

A year later in 1998, Maria came to Portugal during the summer vacation. When she arrived she found a letter from the municipality regarding the demolition notification. She went to City Hall to find herself in the midst of a huge rally. Municipal employees were on strike and the City Hall was closed down. Maria did not go back again, and no further notifications had been received to the present day.

Maria's encounter with the state as described above sheds some light on the complex nature of the relationship between the state disciplinary apparatus and the people. At the core of this relation is the imbrication of power with the production of specific identities. For Maria the intrusion of municipal officials in her house was perceived as a violation of her privacy and of her rights as a Portuguese citizen. Yet, for local state authorities, Maria was subjectivized as a migrant engaged in the illegal construction of a house in an illegal neighbourhood. As such, she could not lay claim to any entitlement. The reduction of her identity to illegality exhausted other possible fields of signification. The projection of Maria as an illegal subject alienated "the plurality of orientations" (Mouffe, 1993), implicating in her a sense of self and identity (for example, as a mother, a woman, a Capeverdean, a Portuguese citizen, an emigrant in Germany, etc.). It is precisely the hegemonic, institutionalised process of subjection that is at stake here. In her transactions with the municipal inspector, Maria's evoking of her Portuguese citizenship constituted an attempt to subvert the totalizing effects of an imposed identity. As she commented to me after the meeting at City Hall:

I told him that I was a Portuguese citizen so that he could get into his mind that I'm not illegal and also (that) I wanted to remind him that they treat Portuguese living in the neighbourhood very differently from the way they treat Africans. They judge people by the colour of their faces, and still all the houses are illegal. [36]
By appealing to her Portuguese nationality, Maria created alternative forms of representation, while acknowledging the depth and scope of institutional discrimination. Ultimately, she manipulated her status as a Portuguese national in order to assert herself as a social actor. In her words “They ought to know that I’m also a Portuguese and that I know their businesses very well.” Underlying her struggles with the municipal inspector were the rejection of a state-produced individuality, and the questioning of state discriminatory practices, which had obviously failed to recognise her rights. However, Maria’s contesting of state identity politics does not occlude the ways in which she herself has internalised the local production of an “illegal subjectivity.” As the ethnographic material has shown, Maria’s daily encounters with state officials together with the “neighbourhood prominent figures” have been deeply implicated in the local reproduction of an ideology of illegality and denote the extent to which she has assimilated a “positioning” of subordination and disenfranchisement. In the early stages of construction, she negotiated with the Residents’ Association, seeking their approval and sanctioning. Also, she became implicated in a system of bribery, making herself an accomplice of institutional corruption. Ultimately she submitted to the norms and regulations by which she was socially constituted. It is in this matrix of accommodation and resistance that dominant forms, codes, and symbols are internalised and resisted. At the centre of her resistance is the need to unmask dominant relations while opening up the possibility for agency. Maria’s narratives are part of this cultural and identity struggle, which seeks new forms of self-representation. As Foucault insightfully put it:

Maybe the target nowadays is not to discover what we are but to refuse what we are...the conclusion would be that the political, ethical, social philosophical problem of our days is not to try to liberate us both from the state and the type of individualisation which is linked to the state. We have to promote new forms of subjectivity through the refusal of this kind of individuality which has impose on us for several centuries. (Foucault, 1982:212)

Maria’s daily experiences were imbued in processes of cultural and social resignation, which attempted to disrupt dominant discourses and practices. Through her neighbourhood networks and contacts, Maria engaged in “submerged” forms of resistance, which continuously questioned institutionalised “knowledges” and power relations (Melucci, 1989). For her, turning
her story into a film, which could be seen by her friends, neighbours and relatives, constituted a crucial form of contestation and reconciliation.

The House of Maria Fruta: Images, Representation and the Political

Marcus’ and Fisher’s book, Anthropology as Cultural Critique (1986), devotes only a paragraph to the use of visual media in ethnographic representation. For MacDougall (1997), the perplexities and ambiguities that have permeated the relationship between anthropology and the visual do not reveal “a lack of interest in the visual; its problem has always been what to do with it” (1997:276). Despite the tension which has prevailed in the usage of the visual in the production of anthropological knowledge, pioneer ethnographic accounts have from their early beginnings used visual material (illustrations, drawings, photographs, films) as a medium of cultural description.

In the late nineteenth century, photography gained a centre-stage position in anthropological research. Photographic methods were used in anthropometry, in the cataloguing of peoples, and in the illustration of “dying cultures” as a result of contact with other civilisations (Edwards, 1990; Pinney, 1990; Spencer, 1992). These early recording techniques exemplified an evolutionary approach to culture as well as a fascination with the richness and complexity of cultural difference (Morphy, 1988).

In a post-evolutionary era, the use of photography and film suffered a major decline in anthropological research. A shift from evolutionary ethnographies to an emphasis on structural-functionalism (focussing on social organisation and genealogies, an attempt to avoid travel exoticism, and the stress on fieldwork, and on the personal experience of anthropologists with the object of research), were major factors accounting for the decline of the visual in anthropology. An exception to the conspicuous neglect of film and photography in anthropological research in the 1930s was Mead and Bateson's project. In The Balinese Character (1942), Mead and Bateson used film and photography to explore certain aspects of the Balinese culture. For these authors only through photography could specific cultural behaviours be sensed and communicated cross-culturally. For MacDougall (1997), there was a fundamental difference
between Mead's and Bateson's approach to photography. Mead's positivistic conception of photography led her to use the medium as a means to record data for future analysis or to support her interpretations. For Bateson, on the other hand, film and photography was rather perceived as a means of anthropological enquiry and discourse.

Like Mead, Collier and Collier (1986:64) advocated that "photography fixes the image for analysis and reappraisal." That is, photographs can be used as primary data to study and analyse social and cultural patterns. However, the debate has centred on the contention that photographs can be used not only as primary recording devices" (Jacknis, 1988:165), but also, as anthropological documents—as "representations that require critical reading and interpretation" (Scherer, 1990:143). The tension between these two different conceptions regarding the contributions of the visual to anthropology and the adoption of a more conventional positivistic approach, failed to achieve a significant shift from "visual anthropology as a mode of representation by the anthropologist, towards visual anthropology as a study of people's own visual worlds, including the role of representation within cultural process" (Banks & Morphy, 1997).

For anthropologists at large, as George Marcus (1990:2) has pointed out, "ethnographic films have been primarily supplemental and naturalistic." They have functioned as case studies to be assimilated by a classificatory ethnographic knowledge. As a result, Marcus argues that ethnographic films have not been perceived as constituting objects of knowledge capable of producing alternative forms of representation. However, more recently, the so-called crisis of representation in anthropology has prompted a critical stance of theoretical frameworks, working paradigms, and a revision of conventional forms of enquiry. The stress on new forms of cultural representations and on ethnographic experimentation, have constituted a break with existing realist anthropological methods and practices, while favouring the dialogical, collaborative and "evocative" dimensions of ethnographic writing (Clifford, 1986; Tyler, 1986). Thus, it is within the field of a postmodern experimental ethnography that visual forms are becoming increasingly more attractive for the expansion of anthropological research, opening-up new possibilities of representation. For Marcus (1990), global processes of deterritorialization, and the simultaneity
of multiple cultural realities in shaping present-day cultural identities, are better achieved through the use of cinematic montage. Marcus' conceptualisation of montage privileges its more dynamic forms (simultaneity, multi-perspectivism and discontinuity) attempting to transcend conventional connotations with the technical process of juxtaposition of images and film editing. For Marcus, cinematic simultaneity (the depiction of separate places within the same time frame), multi-perspectivism (the depiction of multiple readings of the same event) and narrative discontinuity, are equated with experimental ethnographic modes of polyphony, fragmentation and reflexivity (1990:46). Yet, in his opinion, the "multi-local determination of identity" and the role of complex migratory networks in structuring one's social reality, can best be represented through a cinematic approach to cultural description. The use of cinematic montage technique, Marcus contends, allows for a more effective way to subvert the production of linear, coherent and totalizing ethnographic accounts seeking to represent otherness.39

In a similar way, Nichols (1994) also has pointed out the recent production of films that disrupt realist conventions of ethnographic representation. According to him, films as I'm British But or Handsworth Songs make use of cinematic montage in ways proposed by Marcus. However, as Nichols argues, these films go beyond the ethnographic field referred by Marcus, for they propose innovative forms of cross-cultural representation challenging the dichotomy between "we" and "them." For Nichols, these works have a "use-value for those of whom they speak." The Other is no longer an object of study, but rather the "founding voices—the pioneers, provocateurs and facts—of a discourse of their own making" (1994:80). As the actors of their own representation, these voices propose new perspectives and novel ways of "seeing" and representing otherness.40

Amongst others, the work of Trinh-Minh-ha has revealed a particular engagement with an anthropological discourse stressing the changing, fragmentary and indeterminacy of social meanings. Underlying her work is an attempt to challenge Eurocentric Western representations of the Other, and the ways in which they are perceived and appropriated by the anthropological discourse. Repetition of images and phrases is one of the strategies Trinh-Minh-ha uses to unsettle the fixity of meaning characteristic of conventional cinematic narratives. Another
dimension of her work is the lack of contextualization. The juxtaposition of images and sentences in which no single set of meanings or interpretation is privileged encourages the viewer to deconstruct the ideological construction of representations (Crawford, 1997).41

Central to her project is the rethinking of a whole ideology of anthropological signification, which is enshrined in taken-for-granted ideals of transparency and realist depictions of cultures. In addressing those who are systematically spoken for, the objects of anthropological knowledge, the marginal voices, Trinh-Minh-ha (1993) remarks that the major challenge is to speak with or speak alongside the Other. It is this “mutual dialogical production of a discourse” that Tyler (1986) considers of utmost importance to break with “totalistic representational signification.” The anthropological text as well as the film is envisioned as a negotiated text of sorts in which the subject and object become accomplices in the production of meaning and representation.

The debate on contemporary forms of anthropological representation applies with great pertinence to the production of The House of Maria Fruta. How would I assert a dialogical dimension in Maria’s film? What new possibilities and constraints would a cinematic approach afford for the telling of Maria’s story? What trajectories, voices, and subjects would be implicated in the making of the film? And finally, for whom and for what purpose was the film made?

The Visual Construction of Meaning

The making of the film The House of Maria Fruta brought to the fore crucial issues regarding the anthropological representation of the Other. First, it called attention to the ways in which a filmic narrative would be able to better represent the deterritorialized nature of her cultural identity by capturing in a novel form the imbrication of different spaces and times in configuring her daily practices. From her narratives about her life experiences in Germany, in the United States of America and in Cape Verde, it became apparent that the simultaneity of different worlds was deeply implicated in her attitudes, practices and life experiences. The diversity of her experiences across nations and maintenance of a constant flow of information together with reproduction of social networks amongst these countries evoked a wide cartography of identity-construction processes. The use of a “cinematic imagination” (Marcus, 1990) constituted a

275
valuable means to analyse diasporic identities by better conveying the simultaneity of multileveled experiences in structuring one’s identity and survival strategies. The montage of multiple sequences in Cova da Moura, in Baiertal and Fogo aimed to express the cultural inter-exchange between three different worlds, apparently independent from each other, but which are inextricably intertwined in structuring Maria’s life experiences and world outlooks. However, the cinematic approach to Maria’s life story can hardly be envisaged just as a medium of representation. Rather, through the process of filmmaking, I became increasingly aware of how the film itself became an object of analysis. The capacity of the film to be more than a translation of anthropological concepts became particularly conspicuous when I was filming Maria’s family in Baiertal, Germany. Angelo, who was the quietest of the five children, showed great interest in accompanying me during the filming sessions in Baiertal. While filming Angelo in the streets of Baiertal, he repeatedly stressed racist attitudes of his peers and their family’s towards him. He was the only black child in school, and in fact, in all of Baiertal, and he was often the target of ostracism and violent verbal attacks by his colleagues. After the filming, I showed Maria the rushes and she became noticeably upset with Angelo’s testimony. These were her comments “He never, never, told me what he had just told you. I didn’t know that these things were happening to him.” In my presence, Maria asked him if what he had just told me was true. He nodded affirmatively. His sister Sonia who is also attending the same school confirmed Angelo’s testimony.

This incident made me realise the extent to which the production of the film was not only a methodological device for cross-cultural representation, but also could be a site from which it would be possible to explore the complex issues of identity and representation. As MacDougall puts it:

Visual anthropology is not only about the visual per se but about a range of culturally inflected relationships enmeshed and encoded in the visual. Just as anthropology can read some of these in the visual, so too it can use the visual to construct works that give a richer sense of how culture permeates and patterns social experience. (1997:288)
Like Angelo, Maria’s appropriation of the film as a space for self-revelation and negotiation of meanings illuminates the ways in which the film may constitute a vantage point from which it is possible to unravel social relations and identity processes.

Second, the film brought to light the very issue of identity and self-representation. How would Maria construct herself for a medium different from that of a written narrative? What would be the issues that she would choose to talk about? What would she omit, or hide from the camera’s eye? What stories and for whom? In other words what type of identity politics would the introduction of the camera elicit?

From our conversations, I came to realise that Maria had a very clear idea of what to say and show. From the very beginning, she became deeply engaged in the making of the film. She would tell me who was to be included and excluded from the film. Also she suggested what to shoot and what should be omitted. She censored her narratives them before she delivered them. She was acutely aware of the audience of her film and despite her courage in telling her story she did not want to be betrayed by it. Maria was especially cautious regarding her testimonies on the neighbourhood, as well as on local state policies. Yet, she felt the urgency to reveal the nature of those social relations, leaving always a space for the viewers to further interpret what was said and unsaid. As Maria once commented: “Through this film, my story and this house will travel to many different places and it will be seen by many different people, so I have to get the story straight.” She was fascinated with the capacity of the film to make things “travel.” She was no less conscious of the dangers involved in such “travelling,” because once the film was finished, it would evade her. She knew that her assertions would be confronted by multiple interpretations and conflicting readings, and, ultimately, would escape her control. The acknowledgement that she could not exert total control over the film made her particularly sensitive to the dynamics of self-representation and self-revelation. Yet, Maria’s concerns were also mine. I acknowledged that the film always would exceed both of us because neither one of us could exert full control over it. As MacDougall contends (in paraphrasing Barthes), “a film or a photograph is both coded and analogical, and... it can never be wholly the maker’s fabrication” (1998:158).
The third major issue brought up in the making of the film hinges on issues of reflexivity and positionality. The underlying assumptions of *The House of Maria Fruta* stressed the polyphonic and negotiated character of a cross-cultural encounter between a Capeverdean and a Portuguese woman. To this extent, the film attempted to reflect these voices and their place of enunciation. It is through this "intertextuality" (MacDougall, 1998) that the film evokes the double telling of Maria's story. This involves a narrative structured by an attempt to problematize a visual form of representation and the role of the researcher and filmmaker in the production of a visual discourse on a cross-cultural encounter.

The reflexive moves embedded in the film were, thus, twofold. First, it addresses the need to assert the "artificiality" of the film and to invite the viewers to perceive it as a visual artefact historically contingent. In other words, what was at stake here was the unpacking of the mediated nature of visual representation. In Walter Benjamin's words:

For contemporary man the representation of reality by the film is incomparably more significant than that of the painter, since it offers, precisely because of the thoroughgoing permeation of reality by mechanical equipment an aspect of reality which is free of all equipment. (1988:234)

It is in an attempt to break with the insidiousness of this apparent transparency and unmediated access to reality my interactions with Maria and our self-reflexive references concerning the production of the film, its aims and scope, become explicitly inscribed in the visual narrative. In so doing, we became increasingly aware that we were interpreting reality, re-creating it, making it anew. As Sontag observed regarding photographic images:

Photographs are a way of imprisoning reality, understood as recalcitrant, inaccessible; of making it stand still. Or they enlarge a reality that is felt to be shrunk, hollowed out, perishable, remote. One can't possess reality, one can possess (and be possessed by) images. (1999:95)

The second dimension of reflexivity in the film hinges on issues of positionality. The deliberate revealing of the social and technical production of knowledge inscribed in a reflexive mode (Nichols, 1991) places not only the filmmaker in relation to the audience but also in relation to more overarching issues of representation. As MacDougall suggested "reflexivity in fact involves putting representation into perspective as we practice it" (1998:87, italics in the original). What is at stake here is the visual and social process of construction of meaning. In his work
MacDougall rejects a form of reflexivity that stands outside the structure of the work itself. Such external reflexivity is epitomised by the author's acknowledgement of his or her responsibility for the film, and bias, while providing information thought relevant for the understanding of the visual work. For him "external reflexivity" constitutes a positivistic and realist approach in disguise. The framing of the work in terms of a "metacommunication" which is produced in the name of a more scientifically accurate interpretation of the reality, perpetuates, in his opinion, the dichotomy between subject and object and a hegemonic representation of the writer or filmmaker as a "transparent" being. By privileging the voice of the filmmaker (despite his or her self-reflexive assumed bias), this reflexive mode forecloses the "implication of the author in the work."

Furthermore, he argues that visual anthropology should take reflexivity further and disrupt the duality between observer and observed. In arguing for a "deep" reflexivity, MacDougall privileges the interconnectedness between the author and the ways in which this relationship evolves, its turns and twists and how it progressively shapes the work itself. A call for a more nuanced form of reflexivity entails the engagement of the filmmaker, the subject and the audience in more subtle ways. In his words "If I am self-reflexive, that self-reflexivity must be about the relationship between us, not a way of speaking behind my hand to some foreign audience (1998:51).

In *The House of Maria Fruta* I have engaged to a certain extent with these two different modes of reflexivity. The desire to break with the ethnographic conventions of objectivity and neutrality encouraged a reflexive move in which my positionality (white and Portuguese) is thematized in the film itself. Hiding this dimension would run the risk of producing a narrative grounded on an apparently unmarked, disembodied and transparent gaze. My intrusion in the film is, thus, not innocent, for I wanted to show the viewers that they are not watching a realist anthropological account of a migrant's life strategies, but a film documentary shaped and formed by a specific relationship and positioning.

When I asked Maria why she allowed me to film her, she told me that I was a "different Portuguese" almost a "Creole" like herself. She attributed my "creolization" to my emigrant experience abroad. Yet, what does it mean to her to be a Portuguese? As trust and confidence grew between us I came to realise that our relationship was situated within her representations of
five hundred years of Portuguese colonial rule. Although she tended not to make sweeping generalisations, for Maria "The Portuguese, when they show up, are always for their own interest—to get something, to take something away from you." If history divided us, it was no less true that our evolving friendship tempered these two antagonistic worlds in which we moved. The film's narrative reveals these two conflicting and ambivalent trajectories. In one trajectory Maria denounces, accuses, exposes Portuguese racist attitudes and practices and explains how she even subverts them. Here, she tends to totalize and homogenise the other— the Portuguese. In these instances, I am framed as a Portuguese, as a symbol of colonialism and whiteness, the outsider against whom she defines and vindicates herself.

In a second trajectory she detotinalizes this representation through the production of new discourses which reveal a particular sensitivity to difference and diversity. It is a trajectory in which she rethinkes herself through the story she tells me, she reinvents herself through the images I make of her. She believes that when all the work is over and done and with, there will remain a space of friendship to which we can always return to.

However, the issues of positionality were not restricted to my interaction with Maria. My "Portugueseness" had also to be addressed in regards to my relationship with the neighbourhood residents. In the second part of the film I asked her to reflect on the implications of my positioning in the making of the film. This discussion was prompted by the difficulties we had encountered in shooting in the neighbourhood. Friends and acquaintances with whom I had established a relationship of trust reacted very strongly when we attempted to film them. Such reactions brought to the fore issues of identity, rapport and the shifting nature of relationships established during the fieldwork. While I was filming Maria in the streets of Cova da Moura we met two women who were grinding corn on the street. I have known these women for three years. I know their families and some of their stories. They grind their corn with a pestle in the street to sell to their neighbourhoods and for their own use. I have seen them grinding corn many, many times and they have even showed me how to do it. However, I did not have the camera with me on any of these occasions. When they saw me with the camera, one of the women fled and the other stayed but was rather apprehensive about the whole situation. Maria was fully aware of what was
going on and tried to convince them that they should not be afraid of the camera filming them at work. The introduction of the camera shifted the representational space that these women occupied. They were no longer on a face-to-face relationship with me, for the camera made them think of themselves as public figures in a public space in which they are marked for their blackness and poverty.

Television and journalistic coverage has been particularly insidious in the construction of an image of this (and other) neighbourhoods as the “ghetto”, the “slum”, a “drug dealers paradise”, etcetera. This is an ideology that sells to mainstream Portuguese society discrimination and prejudice at a low price. Yet, for those living in the neighbourhood, stigmatisation and racist practices come at an exceedingly high price. A sentiment of self-refusal becomes imbricated with forms of contestation and resistance of hegemonic representations. Filming became a contested ground for “the deeply ideological nature of imagery determines, not only how other people think about us, but how we think about ourselves” (quoted in bell hooks, 1992:3).

The conflict over filming brought to the fore the importance of images in defining and producing specific processes of identification. For me, this incident drew my attention to the ways in which hegemonic mass-mediated representations impinge on the residents’ self-representation and sense of self-worth. The introduction of the camera in the fieldwork allowed for the disclosure of a new reality which already existed but whose implications were largely unnoticeable in the beginning of fieldwork.

The importance of journalistic coverage in structuring the ways residents envisage themselves and others gained special salience in the context of filming, generating novel ways to problematize the ethnographic process. A key to this is the acknowledgement that the fieldwork was far from being an unmediated space of inquiry. Rather, the ethnographic research emerged out of a complex process of negotiation with other forms of representation (in this specific case, mass media coverage and institutional structures). Although these multiple structures of representation are independent and work parallel to the ethnographic inquiry, they often intersect in the space of the fieldwork (Marcus, 1997). Thus, the inclusion of the conflict over filming in the
neighbourhood in the opening sequences of the film attempted to convey the extent to which
identity is constituted "not outside but within representation" (Hall, 1992) calling attention to the
ways official discourses structure what we see, how we see it and how we see ourselves.
Furthermore, it tried to show how the fieldwork is a mediated space in which ethnographic inquiry
is not produced in isolation, but rather, the ethnographer often finds himself or herself competing
and negotiating with parallel modes of representation. The reflexive nature of the work regarding
my positionality is thus made explicit and negotiated with Maria in the first and in the second parts
of the film.

Yet, the reflexive approach in the film was also embedded in the relationship between
Maria and I, assuming in some instances a more subtle form revealed by the wink of an eye, a
word, or a more explicit form when she addresses directly the camera and talks about our shared
experiences. However, the encoding of my position is particularly conspicuous in the final part of
the film. Here, the work, the film and our relationship constitute the objects of reflection. For her,
the sharing of daily experiences in Portugal and in Germany, our commitment to this work, and
the ways our relation had evolved over the last three years, are as important as the film itself. As
she observed:

It has been really interesting and not just the work. There is something really
interesting in this work because it's a three-year project which deals with the day-
to-day aspects of our lives together, our hard work and especially with me and
my responsibilities with my children and family, but I made a promise to stay with
it up to the end. But having lived with you alongside me for three years is
something which I've given a lot to, and I've taken it very seriously because it's
been a long-term thing.45

Maria wanted the film, and found it important for her, but she hardly separated the final
product from our evolving relationship. Although, she was not present at the editing table, the
rushes and all edited draft copies were screened for her to comment upon. She also kept of a
copy of all the rushes. Finally when the final copy was screened I asked her to comment upon
the film. To that she replied:

You took what best suited you for your work and I also like what I see but the film
is not only these forty-minutes...the important thing is all that was filmed...the
twenty-two hours...and our encounter in the last three years.46
For Maria the film was a process, a journey that could hardly be reduced to forty minutes of images and dialogue. In a way, the film was nothing more than an evocation, which could hardly do justice to the fullness of an encounter, of a life story. All that was left out was as important as what was shown for the film was linked into a relationship visually unattainable but which determined its very making. The House of Maria Fruta reaches back to a whole life experience which is hidden beneath its images and which is made visible through a variety of retellings. It makes visible what is invisible, it might make close what is remote. It prescribes an angle of vision that scratches the surface of a life story, of an encounter in which contingency and incommensurability are denounced by a fleeting glance or by the complicity of a smile. Like Barthes's punctum (1981), Maria's memories, desires and irony take the viewer beyond what is visible to reveal multiple fields of signification which are not actually visible (Edwards, 1997).

If the film was an evocation of the unseen and untold, it was no less the product of institutionalised forms of knowledge. Cinematic techniques and rationale, as well as institutional constraints and anthropological research practices, have been determinant in shaping this work. The construction of a cinematic narrative imposed specific procedures of filming and editing which led to emphasising particular footage while omitting other. The tension between what can be used and what cannot is often great at the editing table. The need to choose between frames, sacrificing footage in the process of constructing meaning, is an inevitable part of montage. Film dictates the condensation of meaning through the effacing of all frames, which are perceived to be redundant in the information they convey. In so doing it alienates the historically specific textures of the rushes, opening up a discrepancy between experience and its visual form of representation. The edited version of the film is thus the modified outcome of a film contained in the rushes in which many of the nuances, tensions, ironies and humour were left out and irremediably cut.

However, the production of the film was not restricted to technological imperatives and narrative strategies. Institutional constraints regarding the length of the film and ethical issues were of no less importance. Regarding the latter, the bureaucrats of institutional ethics research codes have made us acutely aware of what to film and what to omit as well as of the
potential problematic of "leak outs" due to the adoption of a particular editing strategy. The "ethical contracts" made with all those involved in the film shaped the way these subjects were approached and depicted. Furthermore, I was especially sensitive about Maria's testimonies on neighbourhood relations, for overt, comments undoubtedly could expose her to conflicts and ostracism by neighbours and acquaintances.

Finally, new paradigms of discourse, dialogue and polyphony have been perceived as a means to de-centre authorship and ethnographic authority (Clifford, 1982). However, he adverted that the final text or, in the same way, the final film, is still in the hands of the ethnographer and of the filmmaker. Even regarding more radical forms of polyphony, Clifford argues that, ultimately, it is the ethnographer who decides which dialogues, interviews and confrontations are to be included in the final text. Some of these issues have also been posed in relation to filmmaking for it is through the filmmaker that other voices are heard and subjects made visible (MacDougall, 1998).

Maria was well aware of these processes when she commented that in doing the film "I took what it suited me best for my work." Yet, it is no less true that the film is explicitly and implicitly informed by a double telling, a negotiated story of Maria's life experiences. Furthermore, the film once finished, acquired meanings that transcended my (and her) conception of it. From the multiple screenings of The House of Maria Fruta in Lisbon, Porto, Vancouver and Cape Verde it became apparent that for these very distinct audiences, Maria's story was a source of fascination and sometimes wonder. The multiple comments on the film tended to focus on her story, her life experiences. In some instances the audience comments took the form of inquiries about the potential meanings of Maria's innuendoes or about her present-day doings. In most of these screenings no comments were ever made about the nature of my involvement in the film and the extent to which such intrusions controlled the field of signification. In her last trip to Cape Verde, Maria took the film with her and showed it to her relatives. I asked her about their reactions to the film. To that she replied:

They told me that I had such a big house...they were impressed with it and they also thought I was a very important person...because of the things I said and also because I became a movie star...(laughs).
As this quote suggests, of particular importance were the ways in which the film constituted a form of empowerment and a medium Maria used to voice opinions and engage actively in the production of alternative meanings and representations.

The Film as the Political

In the film’s final dialogue, when I asked Maria what would be left after the film was completed, she replied:

What will remain is my life and my story which I’m part of and will go on, and the story will remain and will be a lesson to my children. I hope they will like it and especially the person who made me start on this journey, though I don’t think he’ll be very pleased because he is really behind all of this but I think, at least for the time he has left to him, he will learn a lot from it, and that person is my father.49

As Walter Benjamin pointed out “in every case the storyteller is a man who has counsel for his readers” (1988:86). Maria too, as a storyteller, has counsel to give to her children, to her father, and, ultimately, to her neighbours. Through her narrative she gets deeply involved with the memories of her past and how it has been marked by patriarchal domination and a profound sense of injustice. She embraces those memories, interprets them, and through them, she gains a sense of her own historicity. Yet, the story does not delve into the past to resuscitate it. On the contrary, she reaches for the past in an attempt to come to terms with it, to possess it, and to wrest from it the experience of a whole lifetime, hers and of others. Maria drills the past, not to destroy it, but to search for its own uniqueness and specificity—a pride acquired long ago which throws light on the present. In this unveiling of the past, she does not aim at a simple revelation, but instead acts upon it, contests it and resolves it, making her past, ultimately, correct. In her own words:

I chose to tell the story because in my past life lots of things happened which I didn’t agree with, even in my family, there was a kind of discrimination. And I’m the type of person who doesn’t like those things. I thought about it...so I wanted to reveal it and show it...to show as an example to others.50

She discovered new ways of dealing with the past using film. The film became a vehicle through which the story would be told, recorded, shown and “travelled” beyond her reach. The story became transmissible independently of her presence. The film assures the reproducibility
and continuity of her story, embodying a memory, an experience and a moral for the future. For her children, it is a story that they can inherit, retell and confront anew through sheer visualisation.

But the film was not only a means to act upon the past. It was also a medium to settle the scores with the present. *The House of Maria Fruta* afforded new ways for representation and agency. If, in her everyday practices the contestation of dominant power and social control are often symbolically masked (through relations of cordiality, hospitality, complacency, and, thereby displaying an habitus of subordination), in the film, she subverts, to a large extent, that role. In this sense the film embodies new forms of resistance. Maria reveals the power asymmetries and the bold and more subtle forms of violence which shape her life experiences in the neighbourhood. The filmic narrative, thus constitutes a space of empowerment allowing for the construction of novel forms of representation and subjectivity. As Stuart Hall puts it:

> We have been trying to theorise identity as constructed not outside but within representation; and hence cinema not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects and thereby enable us to discover places from which to speak. (1990:236)

The film as a space of enunciation is also a space of politicisation and agency. Maria’s gaze captures critically the inconsistencies, the conflicts and the unresolved tensions of local social relations. The inscription of discourses that she often produced at a private level, in the realm of the visual and in the public sphere, she created a space for assertion and open confrontation. This counter-discourse invites the audience to see the margins as a site of cultural struggle and subversion (Spivak, 1990). In denouncing structures of domination, Maria addresses not only those engendered in the neighbourhood, but also those imposed by local state institutions. In fact, in her view the two do not operate independently but feed on each other. For her, the local enforcement of specific forms of social regulation and control derived from wider institutional contexts, transcend the neighbourhood itself. This power has eschewed the formulation of a coherent political strategy for the integration of migrants in favour of a piecemeal, incoherent measures and manipulation. As Maria pointed out:

> This is only a game...the problem is that no one really knows the rules... they change as they go along....City Hall has promised many things....I have heard
these promises for seventeen years, we have lived with this discourse for all those years and will keep on living with it until the end.\textsuperscript{51}

She knows that "this discourse" has shifted strategically throughout the years. If in some instances, state discourses and practices have fixed the neighbourhood migrants as underprivileged, victims, marginalized social actors, at other times they were depicted as marginals, criminals and opportunists. Cova da Moura residents who have lived with and through these ideological constructs are fully aware of the dimensions of such symbolic violence and of its practical consequences.

Maria conceived the film as an opportunity to disrupt dominant discursive fields and to question the very processes of domination that mediate and shape one's identity and social practices. Furthermore, \textit{The House of Maria Fruta} is also a space for irony and mockery of local institutional practices. Despite all the difficulties she faced in the construction of her house, the house was instrumental in the acquisition of a new social status and symbolic capital. As Maria observed:

\begin{quote}
Now for the last year they've been telling me everything they do in the neighbourhood association. Everything new has been passed on to me, anything that happens I know but before this house they would pass by me and wouldn't see me but now I'm very transparent.\textsuperscript{52}
\end{quote}

Maria's transparency alludes to processes of "border-crossing" in which she came to be defined as part of a social group from which she was previously excluded. In this sense, to put it simply, she became "one of them" and, as such, "transparent" to resolve the metaphor, unproblematic, sharing the same interests and claims of those who had subjected her. Maria's self-reflexive mood calls attention to the complex social and power dynamics, but it goes further than that: it makes visible particular practices in order to critically expose its ambiguities and incongruencies. It is an \textit{oppositional gaze} which outwits and mocks domination and subjection (hooks, 1992).

In conclusion, the chapter has examined the processes of negotiation and contestation of dominant institutional discourses and practices at a micro level. By focussing on the life history of a Capeverdean woman residing in the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura, the discussion has attempted to explore the tension between institutional practices (at a neighbourhood and local
state level) and everyday life experiences. In centring the analysis on Maria's life narratives, I sought to address institutional phenomena and migrant integration processes “from the bottom up instead than from the top down” (Hall, 1997). Her stories, experiences and knowledge allow investigation of the effects of institutional power on her daily practices, life strategies and world outlooks. Here, the thrust of the discussion was not, as in previous chapters, investigation of the conditions under which institutional discursive practices produce specific subjects, categories and knowledges (Foucault, 1980). Instead, the analytical focus shifted to the subject herself, placing her at the centre of a narrative, enabling an examination of the interdependency between power and resistance.

The ethnographic data presented pointed to the multiple forms of institutional power in controlling and regulating social practices in the neighbourhood. Yet, this power has not been deployed through an efficient disciplinary apparatus, but on the contrary, through equivocal and highly ambiguous networks and interdependencies. It is through this structured ambivalence that mechanisms of control and domination have proven to be most successful.

However, this power is not unchallenged. Drawing on a multiplicity of local and translocal networks, Maria devised a wide range of strategies, allowing her to negotiate and contest hegemonic discourses and practices. The production of a counter-history enabled the transgression of an ideological grid in which she, like most of her neighbours, were framed, providing no space for self-assertion.

Through the film, she addresses the conditions of dominance, transforming the film into a site where resistance to patriarchal and institutional forms of domination are articulated without succumbing to a topos of victimisation. The driving force behind this form of resistance seems to be informed not so much by a lamentation of past and present injustices, but rather by an awareness which seeks change and a new reimagining of subjectivity and social reality. Yet, Maria's struggles are hardly explicit, and often imply "submerged" forms of resistance, because she also acknowledges being caught in a matrix of multiple insidious powers and assignations. It is, thus, through the cracks and fringes of such positioning that she places herself in an equally
ambivalent relation to institutional structures so as to challenge dominant structures without simply reproducing them.
Chapter Notes

9. Capeverdean emigration to the United States of America has a long tradition dating from the eighteenth century. See Halter, 1993. Presently, the United States is the country with the largest Capeverdean community abroad (250,000), followed by Portugal (50,000), Angola (35,000), Senegal (35,000) and the Netherlands (10,000). See Saint-Maurice, 1997. These estimates were based on information provided by Capverdean authorities. The estimated number of Capeverdeans residing legally in Portugal presently is 40,093, SEF, Annual Report, 1998.
10. Here I draw on Walter Benjamin’s writings on urban experience (1927). According to Benjamin, the experience of a city entails a process of negotiation with the experiences lived in other cities. In his words “more quickly than Moscow itself, one gets to know Berlin through Moscow” (1927:167). This mediated knowledge of a city is not only geographical but also historical. The experience of a city is thus informed by a spatial and temporal grid of experiences of other cities or of the same city in other historical contexts. For a challenging discussion of Benjamin’s philosophical conceptualisation of experience, see; Buck-Morss 1989; Caygill, 1998.
16. See also Cohen (1995) for an insightful conceptual discussion of diasporas. Cohen addresses the changing nature of diasporas throughout the ages focusing on the impact of present-day processes of globalization on diasporic experiences. He concludes by arguing that “globalization has enhanced the practical economic and affective roles of diasporas, showing them to be particularly adaptive forms of social organization.” This he sees as posing major challenges to nation-state loyalty as diasporas themselves become important alternative forms of membership.
18. Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, April 22, 1998, Baiertal, Germany.


Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with a neighbourhood resident, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.

Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, October 7, 1997, Alto da Cova da Moura.


Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, September 17, 1997, Amadora.


For a thorough discussion on the debate on photography and anthropological research see for instance Edwards, 1997; Jacknis, 1990; and Pinney, 1990; Scherer, 1990;.

In the utilization of cinematic techniques in anthropological inquiry, Marcus stresses that at issue is a “question of representation rather than method” (1990:53). Furthermore, he argues that problems of anthropological representation can hardly be understood outside the production of a theoretical and methodological discourse.

See Shohat and Stam’s (1997) discussion of “Third World Cinema” approaches to the production of counter-narratives to colonialism and neocolonialism.

For a challenging discussion of Trinh-Minh-ha’s work see Moore, 1994; Nichols, 1994; Shohat & Stam, 1994.

Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, April 22, 1998, Baiertal, Germany.


Personal interview with Maria Pires Lopes, April 23, 1998, Baiertal, Germany.


In Lisbon the film was shown twice in the Seminar of Visual Anthropology for students enrolled in the Master's Program in Intercultural Relations, Research Centre on Migrations and Intercultural Relations, Open University in Lisbon. In Porto the film was also shown twice for students of the Master's Program in African Studies, University of Porto and at a seminar organized in Porto by the Visual Anthropology Laboratory of the Research Centre for Migrations and Intercultural Relations, Open University. In Vancouver, the film was shown at the Seminar in Qualitative Research Methods in Sociology and Anthropology, organized by Professor Marilyn Gates, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University (June 9, 1999). In Cape Verde Maria showed the film to her family living in Cape Verde. Her father has not seen the film as yet.

CHAPTER VIII:
CONCLUSION

In contemporary European societies, migration, citizenship and identity have become key issues of political and academic debates. Recent sociological studies have been particularly sensitive to the relationship between institutional frameworks and the integration patterns of migrant ethnic minorities in host societies. Yet, research has tended to ignore the micro-politics of immigrants' political integration processes in favour of a broader structural approach to immigration and the nation-state.

This study constituted an attempt to go beyond a macro analysis to migration by focussing on the actual empirical processes concerning migratory policies in post-colonial Portuguese society. In it, I have tried to show how institutional structures not only play a major role in configuring migrants' integration patterns. But also I have attempted to illuminate the ways in which institutional discourses and practices are deeply implicated in the production of specific forms of representation and subjectivities. As the empirical data has shown, the institutional production of particular subjectivities (e.g., illegal, criminal, marginal) has constituted a most insidious form of social regulation and control of immigrant communities.

Present-day immigration and integration policies, therefore, cannot be dissociated from a politics of identity through which processes of inclusion and exclusion become very much dependent on historically contingent notions of nationhood and otherness.

**Nationhood and Immigration Politics**

The loss of the empire, the construction of a democratic society and the integration of Portugal in the EU have constituted major challenges for the re-imagining of the Portuguese nation and national identity. Moreover, the new influxes of migrants from the ex-colonies, labour immigration, refugees and asylum seeker flows have transformed Portugal into a new country of immigration. The processes of deterritorialization engendered by decolonization and the
subsequent transnationalization of the nation state due to membership in the European Union were of crucial importance in reconfiguring the Portuguese position in the world system and the notion of nationhood. During Estado Novo, membership in the European Union meant decolonization and democratisation. This largely contradicted the interests of a regime anchored on an Atlantic option meaning the maintenance of the Empire, privileged relations with Brazil and the participation in NATO (Vasconcelos, 1996). After decolonization and during the pre-EU membership period, both right and left-wing parties objected to Portugal’s accession to the EU, on the grounds that it implied a loss of sovereignty and alienation from the “lusophone world.” Yet, overall, Portugal’s entry to the Union was supported by the political elite and public opinion in general (Barreto, 1995). For some, the integration in the Union prompted the redefinition of the nation in terms of Europe, functioning as a buffer for the demise of the Empire and for the loss of a sense of historicity derived from the ideological construction of Portugal as an “universalist” and “multiracial and pluricontinental” nation with a “divine mission” (Barreto, 1996). For Barreto, “Europe helped the Portuguese to understand the inevitable: that they could survive without the Empire” (ibid:232). But Portugal’s membership in the EU did not constitute just a panacea for decolonization. As some authors have argued the process of political and social democratization in Portugal is closely tied to the “Europeanization” of the country (Magone, 1997; Pinto, 1998). Democratic principles, ideals, the liberalization of political structures and the implementation of EU programmes fostering a greater social and political accountability, have, to a certain extent undermined patronage, clientelism and a rigid and highly inefficient bureaucratic system.

Furthermore, the integration into Europe also has had major implications in the criteria of belonging. As Chapter III has shown, accession to the Union provided a new space of identity construction and a symbolic referent in relation to which new boundaries were erected, while others were substantially dissolved. For instance, for the Portuguese emigrant communities residing in Europe (approximately 1.4 million; Lopes, 1999), Portugal’s membership meant, at least in theory, a shift from outsiders to insiders to whom the boundaries of the new “imagined European community” were now being extended. Yet, the construction of the European space also implied processes of exclusion. Restrictive measures regarding the entry of citizens of
"Third Countries" were translated in the adoption of closed borders immigration policies for those who could present a threat to "European interests." For Portugal, European immigration policy harmonization implied the imposition of strict measures regarding the entry of citizens from the ex-colonies. In the new context, those who were considered full members and an "integral part" of the Portuguese nation were now, ironically, the "Other" whose historical and cultural ties with Portugal were denied in the name of European convergence, harmonization and cultural unity.

Yet, despite the attempt towards "convergence" European countries' responses to immigration and integration have been highly disparate. For instance, in the case of France, present-day debates on immigration deal especially with issues of integration and the collective claims of second-generations (Melotti, 1997; Withol de Wenden, 1993). However, according to the official discourse on national assimilation, immigrants are expected to fully assimilate to French society, endorsing French national identity and culture in detriment of their own cultural heritage. A rather different situation is lived in Germany. Despite the millions of immigrants residing in the country, the official discourse has so far refused to define Germany as a country of immigration (Habermas, 1994; Mehrlander, 1993a). The existence of a restrictive citizenship law of *jus sanguinis* has been most revealing of Germany's self-understanding of nationhood in political and ethnocultural terms (Brubaker, 1992). However more recently, the introduction of new naturalization legislation has signalled a substantial shift from the ethnocultural model of nationhood. Major changes in naturalization requirements and the adoption of a "conditional form of *jus solis*" for immigrant children born in Germany are perceived as a definite move towards the liberalization of citizenship law (Koopmans, 1999:644). At the local-level, institutional structures have shown greater sensitivity towards migrants' civic incorporation and a "multiculturalist" discourse has been produced regarding migrants' patterns of participation in the German polity (Soysal, 1994). In Britain "racial equality" and the stress on a "multi-ethnic" community have permeated the official discourses on immigration. The thrust of the official polity is the integration of ethnic communities into the British society. A comprehensive body of legislation aiming at providing equal opportunities for all ethnic populations and anti-discrimination laws have underlined British official responses to difference (Cohen, 1994). With a citizenship law of *jus*
recent restrictions were brought into the law making it more difficult for those born on British soil to access British citizenship (Bryant, 1997).

In the Portuguese case, immigration is a new and rapidly changing phenomena. As it was discussed in Chapter III. Portuguese institutional responses to immigration have been multiple and often contradictory. While, in the 1980s, a laissez-faire policy prevailed regarding the entrance of immigrants, in the early 1990s a more restrictive and exclusionary policy was implemented. The need to comply with an overall European policy of closed borders, and the domestic reliance on immigrant labour to ensure the construction of major infrastructure and public works brought about a highly paradoxical situation. That is, despite the official rhetoric of closed borders, the state became the major employer of an illegal, disenfranchised and exploited immigrant workforce.

After 1994, with the victory of the Socialist Party, the appointment of a High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and the enactment of a wide range of anti-discriminatory legislation and integration measures constituted a major shift in Portuguese immigration policy. The official discourse on immigration reflected these changes. The valorization of immigrants' cultural heritage and the need to extend citizenship rights to immigrants by making appeals to issues of human rights have characterized present-day immigration policy discussions.

At a central level, a more inclusive approach to immigration has opened up new channels for the political integration of migrant communities, while ensuring the extension of social benefits to immigrants. The implementation of new legislation and the adoption of new policies are fundamental for immigrants' civic incorporation. Yet, this study has shown that the legal enfranchisement does not constitute a warranty for a fuller participation in Portuguese society. In fact, local institutions' conflicting interests proved to be instrumental in the manipulation and control of immigrant populations.
Local Immigration Politics: Illegality and Resistance

The privileging of the local as an unit of analysis has often been a neglected aspect of sociological research on state responses to immigration. Yet, as the findings presented in the preceding chapters suggest, the conceptualisation of the local as a field of strategic relations enables one to understand the working of institutional frameworks and the ways these impinge on migrants’ collective organizing and life chances. At the local-level, state responses to the presence of immigrant populations emerge out of a complex process of negotiation between central state policies and locally determined institutional practices. As we have seen in Chapter IV, Amadora’s policies and discourses towards migrants are most revealing of the ways in which central state policies have been appropriated, reproduced and reworked, given specific historical contexts.

The politicization of immigration in the early 1990s has had major repercussions at the local-level. New political channels for immigrants’ participation and new integration measures were introduced, reflecting a greater sensitivity by policymakers and state institutions towards immigration issues. However, these measures proved inadequate for dealing with immigrant populations whose integration in mainstream Portuguese society remained more symbolic than structural. The existence of a ever-increasing number of migrant slums, social exclusion and disenfranchisement attested to the persistence of deep social and economic inequalities. If for eighteen years, the communist-led coalition government in Amadora was successful in co-opting local migrant associations, it proved itself rather inefficient in addressing the crucial problems of housing, education, and employment facing immigrant populations. A social policy grounded almost exclusively on symbolic manipulation might have oiled the system, but it could hardly succeed without a more pragmatic policy towards equality and social justice.

In 1997, the socialist party victory in the municipal elections heightened Amadora’s immigrants’ expectations. Campaign promises concerning crucial issues of rehousing and urban rehabilitation were made to local migrants’ association leaders. Also, a wide range of activities and programs targeting migrant youths, professional training, education, social services and employment opportunities constituted central campaign pledges made to immigrants.
Concomitant with these new intentions, the socialists were also keen on vowing to reduce the insecurity of the local population and of foreigners in general residing in Amadora.

Once in power, the socialist government discourses and practices largely have reduced immigration to a “problem of insecurity.” The criminalization of immigration has been most insidious in the production of negative representations of immigrants and in reinforcing racial stereotypes. Furthermore, the few existing institutional channels opened for immigrants’ political participation were closed and immigrant clienteles promoted by the previous local communist governments were delegitimized while new ones were encouraged.

The adoption of a noticeably tougher line highly conflicted with central state government’s stress on more inclusive rights of citizenship to immigrants as a way of fighting xenophobia and racism. Amadora’s local institutional discourse stressed the racial dichotomy between white and black populations, providing a representation of immigrant populations in terms of “good” and “bad” immigrants. The latter include the so-called “second and third generations” often portrayed as rootless, violent and hopeless migrants, resisting institutional “normalization” and incapable of articulating their own interests.

However, the tightening control on immigration did not exhaust the field of signification and the possibilities for political activity of migrant associations. Transnational participatory channels have been instrumental in widening the space of membership and identification. These new areas of intervention provided migrant organizations with new resources, models of action, social expertise and novel outlooks which have functioned as buffers for local exclusionary policies and discourses. Yet, the transnationalization of migrants’ organizing and its implication for the strengthening of migrants’ organizational structure can hardly be overestimated. For, despite present-day contentions regarding the demise of the nation-state (Appadurai, 1996), it is very much through the national and local state institutional frameworks that subjectivities are produced and imposed and a social regulation of belongingness is exercised. Of crucial importance has been the examination of how state policies affect immigrants’ patterns of incorporation at a grassroots level, more specifically how do these policies shape immigrants’ collective organizing and life chances? The ethnographic research conducted in the migrant
squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura illuminates the ways in which the institutional settings condition and structures migrants’ everyday lives. As chapter V and VI suggest institutional frameworks not only configure migrants’ forms of integration and political participation, they also produce specific subjectivities and cultural realities. It is argued that policy strategies can hardly be dissociated from processes of subjectification. For, what is embedded in the production of political strategies is the construction of specific meanings and “subjects” which are inscribed in historically specific power relations. As Escobar has argued: “Questions of strategy and questions of identity are inextricably linked” (1992:82). The interplay between strategy and identity is most conspicuous in the construction of an “ideology of illegality” which has functioned as a form of social regulation and control of immigrant populations.

For residents, local state imposition of such representations had far-reaching implications. It has reached deep into their sense of self, shaping their perception of themselves and of others. Moreover, it creates a matrix of intelligibility, an identity map which fixes immigrants in unidimensional axes of illegality and lawlessness. The conventional representation of immigrant illegality as a “problem” exogenous to the nation-state and which the host society is forced to deal with in order to ensure its sovereignty, citizenship rights or national security cannot be taken for granted. As the findings suggest, the reproduction of a situation of illegality in accessing basic resources (e.g., housing and social services) was as much a “politics of identity” as well as a “politics of interest” (Brubaker, 1992). For, what is at stake, is neither who is what or who gets what, but rather who gets what is dependent on who is what. And who is what is ultimately a social construction emerging out of hegemonic regimes of representation.

For Alto da Cova da Moura residents, the internalization of “illegality” has encouraged the production of symbolic, economic and social realities, which speak of the need to accept subordination. In a sense, such habitus has had, as a major unintended consequence, the reproduction of dominant power relations and hegemonic representations. However, one could not speak of the residents’ situation as one of complete entrapment. As Chapters V, VI and VII suggest, either collectively or individually, slum residents have been engaged in multiple struggles against the state. For instance, the neighbourhood residents’ association’s forms of
resistance have engendered alternative subjectivities appealing to representations of residents as law-abiding, hard-working and respectful people. In so doing, the leaders of the organization have manipulated boundary-formation processes in the neighbourhood. If, in some contexts, a situation of illegality constituted the common denominator for collective local mobilization and political action, in other contexts a binary logic which racializes and hierarchizes the neighbourhood residents has been enforced. As a result, residents have been portrayed as either "good" residents, often equated with Portuguese migrants and an African petty bourgeoisie living in the neighbourhood, or as "bad" residents referring to other African residents, more specifically the second and third generation of migrants. These images have been appropriated and manipulated by state authorities in their responses to immigrants' claims and political activity. Such identity politics illustrate the ways in which power relationships between local state institutions and migrant collective organizing have been informed, to a certain degree, by mutually conditioned processes of interaction. This does not imply necessarily that the power struggle is symmetrical, for the state largely controls the field of signification. Yet, the social and symbolic dynamics involved in such interactions bring to the fore the processes of accommodation and resistance which structure the encounter between the state and migrants' collective organizations.

As Chapter VII has shown, central and locally dominant relations have produced the social map in which migrants insert themselves. The life narrative of Maria evokes a story which emerges out at the intersection of multiple forms of accommodation and resistance. The acceptance of a subordinate role, the complicity with a system which renders her powerless is only an aspect, albeit a most fundamental one, of what it means to make a living in the slum. For, the social and cultural reality of those living in the margins cannot be reduced to domination, exploitation and marginalization. Despite the totalitarian representations of otherness, migrants have often refused the ideological cages that hegemonic power has built for them. Resistance in the neighbourhood has assumed multiple forms from confrontational behaviours, verbal violence, irony or gossip. In very few occasions has resistance been transformed into collective, organized action. Even in these instance, resistance has been translated into peaceful open manifestations.
of protest at the doors of City Hall. As of this writing, a major mobilization took place in Amadora
to protest against city council's decision to close down two African discohèques in the city.
Under the banner "Rapos [the mayor of Amadora] is scum", rappers, local residents and the
representative of SOS racism protested openly against local state policies and racist attitudes.
This, like other previously held public manifestations has, in general, been expressed in
spontaneous collective action, seeking the immediate satisfaction of specific needs and desires.
Overall, local collective mobilization has been highly fragmented, fragile and erratic. However, it
points to a crucial element in the power relations between the state and immigrant populations,
that, contrary to dominant representations, immigrants are not passive actors with their souls
soaked in apathy and self-pity. On the contrary, migrants' everyday practices constitute the
ultimate expression of their historical agency and their willingness to believe in the possibility of
change. It is through resistance, as incipient and ephemeral as it might be, that new social
meanings and political agency become articulated enabling one to discover new places from
which to speak. Thus, the local as "an extremely contradictory state" (Hall, 1997:186) is also the
place for cultural innovation, for empowerment and struggle. As Spivak insightfully put it, the
margins "... is the place of the argument, the place for the critical moment, the place of interests
for assertions rather than a shifting of the centre" (1990:197). As Maria's life narrative evokes,
the margin is a place of "colonization" but also of liberation, where the subaltern have learned to
reclaim for themselves new forms of representation and identity.

The Quest for Alternatives or What Are We Fighting for?

State responses to immigration tell as much about the ways in which the host society
sees ethnic migrant communities as the ways in which it perceives and defines itself. State
discourses and practices towards immigration reflect ultimately the ideological, the economic and
political systems of the receiving country (Ireland, 1994; Soysal, 1994).

This study has demonstrated that immigration policies in Portugal have been tied closely
to profound structural changes observed in Portuguese society. That is, the dynamics of
exclusion and inclusion of immigrant populations in mainstream society are contingent on the
ideological, political and economic constraints facing the nation-state in historically specific periods. Despite the recency of the immigration phenomena in Portugal, the major shifts observed in the last three decades illuminate the ways in which the integration of Portugal in the EU and the subsequent redefinition of the nation-state within the new ideological parameters of Europeanness have affected directly the state's responses to immigration and Otherness.

More recently, the shift towards a more inclusionary immigration policy has been followed by a discourse on citizenship rights and interculturalism. The integration of immigrant communities and the recognition of cultural difference have prompted policymakers to address issues of citizenship and membership rights. A trend towards the extension of citizenship rights to immigrants has underlined the enactment of multiple legislative measures. This more integrationist approach has been sanctioned largely by a discourse anchored on the tension between national citizenship rights and universal human rights. This is well-illustrated by the position held by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities when he argues that "foreigners who reside illegally in the country may be expelled but during their stay in Portugal they have all the rights concerning their dignity as human beings." Access to education, to the judicial and health system, and social protection are some of the rights which should assist these undocumented immigrants. An emphasis on universal human rights has reconfigured the ways in which immigrants are perceived as individuals defined not in relation to their citizenship status but in terms of an universalistic conception of humanness. Soysal (1994), in stressing the shifting nature of citizenship in a postwar era, contends that: "As a world-level index of legitimate action, human rights discourse provides a hegemonic language for formulating claims to rights above and beyond national belonging" (1994:165). She carries her argument further by claiming that: "The nation-state becomes an implementer of a multitude of, at times, conflicting, functions and responsibilities derived from world level discourses rather than from its territorialized identity" (ibid:165).

Ireland (1994) also has pointed out how immigrant populations have constituted a major challenge for previously held notions of citizenship and democracy. At stake are precisely the dynamics of boundary formation and maintenance—who are to be considered the "insiders" and
the outsiders." With respect to France, Ireland contends that, despite the overall assimilationist model of citizenship, France is slowly adapting its institutional setting to immigrants' claims, broadening the social and political channels for immigrants' participation. In Switzerland, an ideology of citizenship based on jus sanguinis has been instrumental in the exclusion of immigrants from full integration in the Swiss society. The hierarchization of foreign workers has been a highly contested issue in the Swiss context. The need to adjust Swiss institutional frameworks to the European Community policies might erode the present system, which, as Ireland contends, might have serious implications in term of social control mechanisms. A rise in xenophobic sentiments and a potentially confrontational reaction from long-settled foreign communities could be likely consequences.

As for Germany, the notion of the nation defined in ethnocultural terms and, therefore, the existence of a citizenship law based on jus sanguinis has shaped the German state responses to immigration. In 1990, more liberal naturalization policies were enacted, yet this does not necessary mean that an assimilationist, or integrationist model constitutes a real option in Germany. For, as Brubaker contends:

The automatic transformation of immigrants into citizens remains unthinkable in Germany. And liberalized naturalization rules alone will do little to further the civic incorporation of immigrants. (1992:185)

The reason for this as Brubaker argues, is that citizenship entails not only a legal status, but also it is deeply associated with a cultural and social transformation of an immigrant into a member of the ethnocultural nation.

In the Portuguese case, despite the official discourses on a broader notion of citizenship encompassing the universalization of rights, citizenship laws have tended to restrict access to national membership. Furthermore, as the findings have shown, local institutional responses to immigration have been remarkably contradictory. If, on the one hand, local voting rights and other civic rights have signalled a formal recognition of migrants' demands, guaranteeing a wider participation of migrant populations in Portuguese polity, on the hand, immigrants have been the object of manipulation and control by local state authorities. By fixing immigrants in a matrix of illegality and marginalization and, thereby, imposing specific life-scripts for immigrants, the local
state has undermined national discourses centred on equal rights and equal dignity. As was discussed, hegemonic official discourses on Amadora regarding immigrant populations have focussed on the need to keep a firm grip on immigrants, specifically on the second and third generations. A rhetoric of multiculturalism has been replaced by dominant narratives and tactics of coercion and political neutralization. The ideal of tolerance, equality and human dignity become inconsequential in a city where the discretionary power of state officials, bureaucrats and politicians remains largely uncontested.

More recently, at a national level a diffuse discourse on interculturality has called for the harmonious coexistence of cultures and for the recognition of cultural differences. By stressing the dual dimension of the migratory phenomena in Portugal as a sending/receiving country, policymakers and social scientists have argued that Portugal has an ethical-political responsibility to extend to immigrants the “same rights and benefits which, in the past, it claimed and negotiated with the host countries for its own migrants” (Rocha-Trindade, 1993: 174). Such an ideological stance would necessarily imply the recognition of immigrants as full members of the Portuguese nation. There seems little doubt that this is not the case. Although recent political and institutional responses have stressed the acceptance of cultural difference, as Taylor has argued in a different context: “We are very far away from that ultimate horizon for which the relative worth of different cultures might be evident” (1994: 73).

At this writing, the debate on immigration has brought into the open that the path towards equal justice and equal dignity is a long and tortuous one. Recent mass media coverage of Eastern mafias involved in the traffic of immigrants to Portugal and the subsequent advertising on the internet of Portugal as a “paradise for illegal immigration” (Público, June 14, 2000) legitimated a harder line on immigration. Furthermore, social tensions, gang activities and the need for migrant labour to ensure the construction of major public works and infrastructure in the next five years have prompted the re-evaluation of legislative measures towards the entrance and permanence of immigrants in the country. New legislation stressing the introduction of working visas as a means to fight illegal immigration has dominated the political and public debate. The “working visa” would be granted annually upon the presentation of a work contract up to the limit
of five years. After this period, migrants are expected to return to their home country. SCAL, left-wing parties, migrant associations and trade unions have reacted strongly against such a proposal (Diário de Notícias, July 20, 2000). The major criticisms centre on the implications of such legislation for migrant representations as "disposable merchandise" (Público, July 26, 2000) with no social or political rights while in the country. With the support of the right-wing party (CDS-PP) the Assembly of the Republic gave legislative approval to the government to change the regime of entrance and permanence of foreigners in the country. The new legislation to be enacted will have major consequences for migrant populations residing in Portugal. If, as has been discussed, no civic rights are extended to these migrants in terms of their access to housing, health and the judicial system, these migrants will be pushed inevitably into slum areas, living as "merchandise" to be used for a time-limit of five years.

Portugal like other European countries is presently at a crossroads. Managing the tension between European directives for restrictive immigration measures, economic demands for cheap and "flexible labour" and growing social tensions, racism and universal rights have been a difficult balancing act, for this attempted to reconcile what it is ultimately irreconcilable. Moreover, the presence of immigrant communities has constituted a major challenge to nationhood, citizenship and democracy. The multiple discourses on interculturalism, integration, assimilation and equal rights have reflected a somewhat ambiguous position regarding present-day policy management of cultural difference. As the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities has warned:

The society must choose if it prefers to construct a new collective national identity, opening to the cultural contributions of the immigrants, or if it prefers to keep a more closed identity, coexisting with the different immigrant communities. This is a serious option that conditions integration measures and the whole concept of integration.²

Whatever the option might be, it seems that the inscription of immigrants at the core of such choices should be beyond questioning. For, failing to do so, means keeping national identity and unity at the cost of exclusion and non-recognition of minority cultures. The recent proposals to change immigration legislation may constitute a major ideological shift in Portuguese public institutional practices. The construction of new migratory categories such as that of
"temporary worker", the southern Portuguese version of "gastarbeiers", does not seem to signal a more open and democratic advance. On the contrary, it may, in fact, reinforce an exclusivist notion of the national community.

As this study has shown, the construction of new categories cannot be seen only in terms of functionality but also must be regarded as symbolic forms of control and social regulation which shape migrants’ self-understanding and life chances. Thus, policies and institutional changes are required to ensure that democracy is not just a slogan or the privilege of few, but it must push beyond a rhetoric of integration and forcefully formulate policy strategies which address immigrants not as prisoners of the margins, or as "disposable goods", but as equal partners in a democracy-in-the-making. It is essential to recognize that policy options have serious repercussions at the local-level and that immigration politics should not be reduced to structural analysis alone, but should also imply an appreciation of the strategic implications of state policymaking at the micro-level of everyday life. Immigrants’ ability to question imposed categories and subjectivities and their capacity to resist, albeit with fragility, brings with it the possibility of changing, of invention of new realities and of new self-understandings. Above all, it is a quest for a dialogue, which challenges us to construct novel narratives and new practices grounded in the intricate textures of everyday life and shifting power politics.
Chapter Notes

REFERENCES


Bryant, Christopher. 1997. "Citizenship, national identity and the accommodation of difference: reflections on the German, French, Dutch and British cases" in New Community 23(2) 157-172.


Municipality of Amadora. 1993b. *Acordo Geral de Adesão entre o Instituto de Gestão e Alienação do Patrimônio Habitacional do Estado, o Instituto Nacional de Habitação e o Município da Amadora*.

Municipality of Amadora. 1993c. *Acordo Geral de Adesão para a Erradicação das Barracas no Município da Amadora*.


Municipality of Amadora. 1994a. "*Africanos no Concelho da Amadora*".


Municipality of Amadora. 1994c. *O Programa Especial de Realojamento e o Acordo de Colaboração*.


Municipality of Amadora. 1995b. "*PER – Fundamentos para a Subscrição do Acordo de Adesão*".


324


325


**Newspapers**

  Correio da Manhã
  Diário de Noticias
  Expresso
  GrandAmadora
  Jornal de Noticias
  Jornal da Região
  Notícias da Amadora
  Portugal Hoje
  Público
  Visão
  Voz da Amadora
  Voz do Bairro
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Appendix A:

The House of Maria Fruta

Film Description

Section 1

This initial section presents the central problematic of the film which proposes a dialogical and reflexive approach to the life experience of a Capeverdean woman, Maria Fruta, who after a complex migratory experience in Portugal, the United States of America and in Germany decides to build her dream house in the segregated neighbourhood of Alto da Cova da Moura. The film explores the contradictory and multiple nature of diasporic identities linking issues of post-colonial identity and migration with processes of self-empowerment and cultural innovation produced in spaces of liminality.

This section is divided into two parts. The first part introduces Maria Fruta and her neighbours. It explores the local tensions over issues of dominant representations, identity and subordination. In the second part of this first section, Maria presents the main theme of the film which is centred on the narrative story-telling of Maria’s diasporic experience and on the construction processes of her house in the squatter settlement of Alto da Cova da Moura. In this part, the visual collage of alternate sequences filmed in the neighbourhood and in Baiertal, Germany aimed at conveying the imbrication of two different worlds in shaping Maria’s life experiences. Such a strategy allows for an alternative form of representation of multiple trajectories and shifting cultural boundaries. Also in this part, the film-maker’s reflexive intrusion in the film is thematized and it operates as a means to overcome the “apparent” disembodied gaze of the camera.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 1 1.34.10</td>
<td>Maria is grinding corn in the street with Joana. She confronts a neighbour who is off camera and who refused to be filmed.</td>
<td>Voices and laughs. <strong>Maria</strong>: Listen, we must live our own lives, not other people’s. You are not stealing or robbing. This is really interesting because you’re fighting for your own independence aren’t you? <strong>Woman</strong> voice-off: But I don’t want to be filmed. <strong>Maria</strong>: You might not like it. It is OK. But that’s all it is. There’s no need to worry about other people laughing at you. You have to be responsible for what you do. Then, if you do something right, you are not robbing, you’re not taking things from and forms of others, no one’s giving anything to you. It is interesting. You are fighting for your life.</td>
<td>The production of images as a critical practice of representation. The relationship between images and identity construction processes. The conflict over filming in the neighbourhood brought to the fore issues of dominant representations of those living in the margins and the internalisation of such images by these people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 2</td>
<td>Young girls sitting in the stairs. Joana’s daughter is sorting out the corn. They face the camera and smile.</td>
<td>The sound of traffic in the street ...</td>
<td>Maria creates a space of agency and resistance. She challenges the images these women have internalised from mass media reporting and produces a new gaze which values traditional cultural activities and practices. Maria’s assertion of her cultural identity constitutes an attempt to overcome subordination while providing a different narrative on cultural heritage, representation and identity processes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr 3</td>
<td>The pestle with the corn. Maria and Joana talk with each other while grinding the corn.</td>
<td>Maria: I’m Capeverdean. These days I don’t pound maize because I sold it, but I’ll never forget it. Do you understand? I’ll never forget it. Joana: But you don’t pound the maize now. Maria: Yes. I don’t pound it but that does not mean I’ve forgotten and I don’t look down on those who do it because this was the first food I ate. So for me it is very special. I’ve got no problem with television. I even enjoy it. I think it is really fun because people who pound the maize aren’t stealing, aren’t lacking in respect, aren’t exaggerating. It is a tradition of their country which they carry with them wherever they go.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.33.18</td>
<td>Maria and Joana grinding. The film’s title</td>
<td>The House of Maria Fruta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 4</td>
<td>Sr. Augusto and Sr. João Rocha playing the traditional Capeverdean game “urlu” outside Sr. Augusto’s coffee shop.</td>
<td>They talk about the game and laugh...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 5</td>
<td>Maria in Sr. Augusto’s coffee shop commenting on a newspaper reporting of an alleged break-in in Maria’s street. Vanda reads the newspaper clip.</td>
<td>Maria: So what is it about here in Cova da Moura. It’s all talk. It’s all to bring a bad reputation to Cova da Moura. Who’s got anything here? Incalculable value? What things? Only bricks. It’s true. Only things made of brick. This is all to paint up Cova da Moura. Who’s got anything here?</td>
<td>The pervasiveness of mass mediated accounts in everyday life in Cova da Moura is well acknowledged by the residents. Negative and stereotypical images are systematically popularised by the media. In these sequences Maria and her neighbours deconstruct such reportings, challenging the veracity of media coverage.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 6</td>
<td>Newspaper clip: “In Cova da Moura, in the Rua de São Tomé e Príncipe, in Alto da Cova da Moura a number of items of undetermined value have</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 7 4.19.14</td>
<td>Sr. Augusto sits with his neighbours. He picks up the newspaper and starts to read aloud the reporting. Maria and a neighbour make comments as he reads on.</td>
<td>Maria, Vanda and Neighbour: It was today. Maria: This must have happened last night because it went right into the papers. Sr. Augusto: (reading) &quot;A number of items of undetermined value have been stolen. The thieves had to break down the door to get inside the house.&quot; This was an incident....But what happened?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 8 4.30.13</td>
<td>Maria comments on the newspaper reporting of the robbery.</td>
<td>Maria: Our street runs from there all the way down to here... but here people didn't hear a thing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 9 5.5.19</td>
<td>Men playing cards in Sr. Augusto's coffee shop. Sr. João Rocha provides Maria and the neighbours with further information on the bairro's street planning, showing-off his thorough knowledge of the bairro.</td>
<td>Sr. João Rocha: Salvador's street goes right up to Rua do Alercim. No. That's not true. Remember, there is a street sign... on that little house there on Rua da Ilha Brava, isn't there?</td>
<td>In this sequence Sr. João Rocha provides a clear picture of the bairro's urban planning. He was one of the &quot;planners&quot; and &quot;architects&quot; of the neighbourhood and a prominent figure in Cova da Moura.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 10 5.16.14</td>
<td>Maria in the living room of her house in Baiertal, Germany viewing the footage done in Cova da Moura. Maria faces directly the camera and responds to my questions.</td>
<td>AP voice-off: Maria, do you think that the difficulty that we had in filming in Alto da Cova da Moura is because I'm white and not Capeverdean? Maria: No. That's not really the reason. Some people just have an inferiority complex. I think that a person, whoever they are, shouldn't have an inferiority complex because they're just putting themselves down. People must be true to themselves. They should like themselves as they are.</td>
<td>The inscription of the filmmaker/researcher in the film. The implication of the researcher in the film brings to the fore in an explicit form issues of positionality and reflexivity. Such move aims at challenging the &quot;ethnographic unmarked gaze&quot;. The cultural location of the filmmaker is explored in this dialogue with Maria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 11 6.04.30</td>
<td>Mix Portugal/Germany</td>
<td>Maria: We shouldn't see all whites in the same way. People mustn't judge things, putting everything in the same place, making everything the same: things can't be like that. Because I think, since you have been Maria proposes a de-totalized notion of the Other (the whites). The representation of the Other (the whites, the researcher) is mediated by Maria's representations of mass-mediated accounts of those who live in the</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 12 6.50.15</td>
<td>Angelo and Sandra in the living room watching the images made in Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>Maria voice-off: And after all a reporter is different from someone who is working in a project or studying.</td>
<td>Following sequences proposed as a trajectory of multiple spaces and life strategies which mutually condition life experience and world outlooks. A cinematic discourse of deterritorialization tends to overcome the pitfalls of a linear ethnographic strategy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 13 6.54.02</td>
<td>Maria and Sonia watching the images of the house being built in Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>Maria: Look now, one, two, that one up there you do not know. Sónia: Up where? Maria: In the attic. It's the highest part of the wall, the other part's lower, can't you see?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 14 7.08.01</td>
<td>Maria in her house in Cova da Moura cooking dinner. It is her 44th birthday and she is celebrating with friends. Mix Germany/Portugal.</td>
<td>Maria: Today's the first-time in this house to celebrate my 44th birthday, that I've made dinner for my friends who've come to spend a moment with me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 15 7.31.15</td>
<td>Neighbour peeling eggs for dinner.</td>
<td>Noises in the kitchen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 16 7.32.23</td>
<td>Maria and a neighbour cooking dinner. Maria says in German the content of a birthday postcard sent to her by her husband.</td>
<td>Maria: This is what the postcard says: &quot;Senhora Lopes I love you. We sleep. In Germany alone in bed, I think tomorrow I'm going to write a postcard to my wife. Thank you very much. I love you Lopes. Horrenberger 161, Baiertal, Germany&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 17 8.19.20</td>
<td>Maria with Sonia and the children watching the images.</td>
<td>Birthday song in Portuguese. Laughs, clapping.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this part, the film focussed on Maria’s livelihood in Germany. Maria’s narrative does not emerge in isolation, but it is produced through systematic comparisons with her emigration experience in Portugal. Her narrative is confronted with those of her children and her husband who provide disparate readings of their life experience in Germany. In so doing, the cinematic narrative constructs multiple spaces of meaning and perspectives. The decentering of the camera provides valuable insights into the lives of the family members while exploring the ways racism, social exclusion and alienation are differently experienced by Maria’s family and herself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 18 8.49.09</td>
<td>Maria expresses her fascination with the making of a film about herself and her house and with the ways in which images break spatial boundaries</td>
<td>Maria: Yes, seeing the house like that make me really happy. It made me realize you don’t have to be there to see it. It is something that’s breaking down boundaries. For example, this house could be seen here or in the United States. It could be seen in Canada and all over the place. And now the house isn’t just where the building is. It’s all over the place. AP: And how is it breaking down boundaries? Maria: It is breaking them down through a piece of work that this house is also part of. Through this film and also through the desire of the person who recognizes or wants to share this pleasure with me.</td>
<td>The film emerges as an instrument which subverts the boundaries imposed by migration. It becomes a trajectory of desire through which Maria re-invents her sense of self and her own history.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Section 2

In this part, the film focussed on Maria’s livelihood in Germany. Maria’s narrative does not emerge in isolation, but it is produced through systematic comparisons with her emigration experience in Portugal. Her narrative is confronted with those of her children and her husband who provide disparate readings of their life experience in Germany. In so doing, the cinematic narrative constructs multiple spaces of meaning and perspectives. The decentering of the camera provides valuable insights into the lives of the family members while exploring the ways racism, social exclusion and alienation are differently experienced by Maria’s family and herself.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 19 10.26.12</td>
<td>Sign of the town of Baiertal, Germany.</td>
<td>The sounds of the street.</td>
<td>The film also probes issues of multivocality capturing the multiple and dissonant life experiences. Maria’s perception of her migratory experience in Germany is always mediated by her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 20 10.03.22</td>
<td>Maria in the backyard of her neighbour’s house, talking, drinking coffee and enjoying herself.</td>
<td>Small talk between Maria and her neighbours.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 21 11.03.22</td>
<td>Maria’s young daughter playing with a friend in the playground.</td>
<td>Maria voice-off: They have their friends, they go to school and are less of a worry to me and then in Germany I had more support from when I arrived here and I achieved something in life</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 22</td>
<td>Maria in the kitchen cooking lunch for us all. Sonia is nibbling while her mother cooks and talks.</td>
<td>Maria: When I came here I had lots of support and me and my husband both worked. I was ill here in hospital, I was very well-treated, not like in Portugal which is almost as if it was my country. There people have no consideration for others, they don’t help each other. And here people say Germans are racists but I feel much more at ease wherever I go. And I get better service and feel much better treated than in Portugal because in Portugal people behave very strangely. It shouldn’t be like this but unfortunately this is how they see people because in Portugal those who have... Sónia: They see people like that here too. Maria: You have to say that because you’re here. You arrived here... you were seven, now you’re thirteen, so you’ve been here for six years. When you were able to divide things up, to know how things work, you weren’t there, you were here. Living experience in Portugal. Also in her discourse she deracializes social relations in Germany while she tends to focus on racist attitudes and behaviours experienced in Portugal. Sonia, on the other hand, challenges her mother’s perceptions of social reality in Germany.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 23</td>
<td>Traditional Portuguese dessert “arroz doce” (sweet rice)</td>
<td>Maria: Some people do behave in a normal way but others... Maria’s detotalizing vision on the Portuguese is once again reinforced.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 24</td>
<td>Maria is seasoning the roast for dinner. She talks about her living experience in Germany and in Portugal. In the last part of her talk she addresses directly the camera and talks about our adventure (hers and mine) with her old car when we went shopping in Baiertal.</td>
<td>...make big distinctions even when a person asks a question or even when someone asks for help, you are treated very differently. They can see you approaching them or they can see that you are in trouble but they ignore you as if they couldn’t see you, Constant comparisons are made between the social realities of both countries. Racist incidents are narrated. Maria recognizes the ways in which she is “interpelled” and tells how she refuses the subjectivity which is imposed on her.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Fr. 25    | Bruno (Maria's oldest son) showing off his motor-bicycle while talking about his troubles in school.                     | **Bruno**: Why did I quit school?  
The teacher wasn’t very good, other kids were bullying me a lot, that’s why.  
**AP**: What kind of bullying?  
**Bruno**: Insulting me, beating me up, everything. I was writing and a kid came and hit me hard. When you’re sitting down they pull the stool away and you end up on the floor. And then when you get up you hit them. There’s nothing else to do. You have to do it....  
If here in Germany (noise of traffic) if here in Germany another kid knows that you don’t hit back then you are a looser. You’re out of luck. You always have to hit back, always. Here if they hit you, you have to hit back... well that’s the only way you can become friends later.  
**AP**: And what are you going to do now?  
**Bruno**: I’m going to work ... I’m going to work...  
**AP**: what kind of work?  
**Bruno**: As a mechanic. I work in a farm with hay, with cows and then next year I’m going to school... school again in Heidelberg. | Bruno’s narrative provides an alternative gaze on social reality in Germany. Issues of violence, aggression, conflict and the inefficacy of the educational system are addressed.  
Bruno knows that the tensions and contradictions of the system have pushed him into the margins.  
Ultimately, he knows that his future and survival is dependent on a system which excluded him. |
<p>| Fr. 26    | Maria and her children riding the bus in their way to Heidelberg.        | Noise, sound of traffic...                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 16.04.08  |                                                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Fr. 27    | Taking the train to Heidelberg. Bruno at the station watching the train.                                                         | Sound of the train.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 28 16.19.22</td>
<td>The family arriving at the train station in Heidelberg.</td>
<td>Traffic noise, the sound of people rushing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr.29. 16.27.13</td>
<td>At the park in Heidelberg, the twin sisters climb the statues under Maria's watchful eyes. Bruno watches his sisters, seduces the camera...</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong> voice-off: You see this air of silence...this air of peace...look at the countryside...this beautiful world well cared for, so appealing...</td>
<td>Maria's discourse establishes a relationship between the scenery, and the cultural experience of that scenery. The valorization of the habitat emerges as a Metaphor for her perceptions and attitudes about Germany.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 30 16.40.21</td>
<td>Image of the statue, the mask. The twins climbing the mask.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 31 16.50.17</td>
<td>Bruno holding against the mask. The twins play...</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong> voice-off: Look how many people there are here but it seems as if there's no one. Everything so organized...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 32 17.04.23</td>
<td>Maria with her children by the river. At the distance is Heidelberg. It is a hot spring day which brings the promise of long sunny days to come. Maria indulges herself in that warmth and contemplates the scenic views.</td>
<td>...so peaceful, such a beautiful world...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 33 17.18.13</td>
<td>Maria with the twins playing with the ducks.</td>
<td>...the greenness of nature. These natural things... (silence).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 34 17.27.13</td>
<td>The twins play in the lawn close to the river.</td>
<td>It makes you want to live and to appreciate all of this... (silence) Everything’s right, no one runs away, no one says no, no one says you haven’t got the right. You see all these things and it is very interesting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 35 17.50.02</td>
<td>The sign of Horrenberger Street in Baiertal, the street where Maria lives.</td>
<td>Voices, traffic noise...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 36 17.54.24</td>
<td>Angelo crossing the street and going into a grocery shop.</td>
<td>Traffic noise...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 37 18.12.04</td>
<td>Shop's window. Angelo is inside negotiating with the shop's keeper the possibility of filming inside the grocery shop.</td>
<td>Voices, the sound of traffic, birds singing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr.38 18.20.05</td>
<td>Angelo is doing his shopping.</td>
<td>Dialogue between Angelo and the shop keeper.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 39</td>
<td>Angelo is sitting on the steps</td>
<td><strong>Angelo</strong>: Because here men In contrast to his mother's</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.36.23</td>
<td>of a Catholic Church in Baiertal. He talks about his living experience in Germany, racism and social exclusion.</td>
<td>and women say that they don't like blacks in their country and that I should get out and when we come we just bring trouble to their country. And lots of boys said that their mothers had told them that I must get out of their houses too and also that I couldn't go to their houses and at school hardly any of the boys are my friends only a couple of the girls are otherwise none.</td>
<td>Idyllic gaze on Germany. Angelo confronts the camera with his daily experiences. In his discourse he points out the different dimensions of a livelihood marked by exclusion and racism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 40 19.20.09</td>
<td>Angelo at the church.</td>
<td>Angelo: I like being black because my family's black and I'm the family of black people.</td>
<td>Angelo appropriates terms in which he is being subjectivized and subverts them. Through the camera, the personal becomes the political—a politics of belonging. For Angelo the family constitutes a group of belonging and reference in which he finds refuge in a world marked by racism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 41 19.30.02</td>
<td>Angelo sits on the stairway outside the school. He reflects on his cultural identity.</td>
<td>Angelo: I'm completely mixed and I like this because this way I can say anything and talk with anyone who isn't from Germany or from Portugal And I like it that my family's mixed and I myself like being mixed.</td>
<td>In Angelo's discourse, cultural hybridity is also highly valued. Transcultural practices are perceived as being positive, pointing out to the complexities of culture, language and diasporic identities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 42 19.55.15</td>
<td>In Angelo's school in Baiertal.</td>
<td>Angelo voice-off: My father said that I had talent and that I was the best in my class. I painted better than anyone in my class.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 43 20.05.24</td>
<td>The front entrance of the school.</td>
<td>And I also wanted to because I saw houses, lovely houses and houses that weren't nice and I said that when I grow up I'm going to make houses bigger than the school and then I said that when I grow up I'm going to be an architect....</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 45 20.49.07</td>
<td>At home, in the living room where one of the twins play with the tulips while the other watches the brother drawing his &quot;dream house&quot;.</td>
<td>One day I'm going to make a house as big as the school and I'm going to live there just with my family, with my mother and my father and the rest of them.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 46 20.42.10</td>
<td>Cristiano (Angelo’s father) asks Angelo to explain the drawing he had just made.</td>
<td><strong>Cristiano</strong>: Angelo, say how you’re going to arrange the house. What’s it going to be like?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 47 20.49.07</td>
<td>Angelo explains his drawing allocating different parts of the house to the different members of the family. His family listens attentively.</td>
<td><strong>Angelo</strong>: Bruno and his family can live here too. <strong>Cristiano</strong>: Where? Angelo: Here on the first floor. And here Sandra’s family. This is for gran and granddad or for mum and dad. Here’s Sandra. Here’s Angela. Here’s mum and dad or gran and granddad too and here’s my family and here’s the television room. Here’s the door. Here’s the girls’ bathroom and here’s the boys’ bathroom. And then on the back is the corridor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 48 21.41.05</td>
<td>Cristiano talks about school conditions in Baiertal, migrations and racism. Maria listens carefully to her husband and then expresses her own opinions.</td>
<td><strong>Cristiano</strong>: Here there are lots of different races. Nearly half aren’t really Germans in the school here in Baiertal but there are problems calling the blacks names... but that’s how it is here in Germany.</td>
<td>Cristiano confronts Maria’s views on Germany acknowledging the existence of racial problems in the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 49 22.09.12</td>
<td>Maria replies to Cristiano comparing racist behaviours and attitudes in Germany and in Portugal.</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong>: Yes, but in Portugal it shows more because you’ve now been here for ten years and no German has ever said just for the sake of it “Go back to your own country, black”. <strong>Cristiano</strong>: No. Here I’m in contact with Germans and they phone me for the firm and call me to go all over the place. I have lunch or dinner with them and I’ve never had the slightest problem with them.</td>
<td>Maria confronts Cristiano’s opinions and once again denounces racist attitudes in Portugal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 50 22.37.17</td>
<td>Maria engages with the camera in a discourse of complicity when talking about her house under construction in Cova da Moura.</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong>: For me the center is Portugal (smiles).</td>
<td>In this sequence, the dialogical nature of fieldwork and the complicity between the filmmaker is explicitly revealed by the way Maria implicates the filmmaker in her story.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 3

In this section, Maria narrates her early stages of settlement in Alto da Cova da Moura and the construction processes involved in the building of her first house in the neighbourhood. Special emphasis is given to family ties and friendship networks in structuring her social and spatial environment. In Maria’s narrative, the willingness to own her own house emerges out of the tension between her desire to satisfy the needs of her family and her need to assert herself. The symbolic creation of space becomes an act of power in which space and architecture cannot be dissociated from specific cultural practices.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 51 22.46.14</td>
<td>Maria at Cova da Moura. She walks home, checks the mailbox and goes in.</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong> voice-off: I’ve got a house there that my husband and I built. Because of the house I go to Portugal every two or three months...it means I have to spend more time in Portugal.</td>
<td>In the following sequences Maria narrates her settlement history and migration trajectory to Portugal. Issues of chain migration, and family networks come to the fore as crucial forms of integration in the new milieu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 52 23.22.07</td>
<td>Neighbourhood of Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>Maria voice-off: When I arrived from Cape Verde I lived with my sister for a year in Serra da Luz.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 53 23.32.09</td>
<td>Neighbourhood of Cova da Moura featuring Maria’s house in the background.</td>
<td>She bought a house here in Cova da Moura then I came with her.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 54 23.37.06</td>
<td>Maria’s house still under construction.</td>
<td>I lived with her here in this neighbourhood for a year and then.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 55 22.44.15</td>
<td>Neighbourhood children playing in front of Sr. Augusto’s coffee shop, on the other side of the street in front of Maria’s house.</td>
<td>And then I started going out with my husband and we moved to Amadora.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 56 23.51.13</td>
<td>Maria with the twins talking with a neighbour.</td>
<td>We had a shack there and we lived in that shack and then we started looking for a bit of land to build our own. And then it so happened that he had a friend here.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 57 24.08.19</td>
<td>One of the paved streets of the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>Who worked with him and he said that there was a bit of land for sale.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 58 24.13.12</td>
<td>Maria shows her first house in Cova da Moura. She explains the construction process of this house while conveying the pride and joy of owning her own house.</td>
<td><strong>Maria</strong>: I bought this bit of land for 65 thousand escudos. I was living in Amadora and every weekend I came with my husband and we built this house. This is the first house that I built. For some time I lived in this happy little Maria’s story evokes issues of home ownership and architecture as cultural practices. The manipulation of space and the invention of a dwelling place is informed by social, economic and cultural determinants. The house is not only a place to</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 4

This section is divided into two major parts. The first part explores the origins of Maria’s dream house, which is anchored on a “pride long acquired” in Cape Verde when her father expelled her from her mother’s house. The footage done in Cape Verde explores a spatial and temporal continuum between the country of origin and Maria’s migratory experience. This situatedness of memory purports to set Maria’s narrative within a historically contingent framework. Her narrative has a past that is re-lived through the screening of the images of her place of birth and her mother’s house and testimony. Maria’s voice-over evokes multiple temporalities but also a trajectory of displacement and desire.

In the second part, the camera centres on the house itself and on its interior. Maria’s narration focuses on the different phases of construction and life strategies and on the symbolic representation of the house as a means to come to terms with patriarchal domination and dispossession. Yet, the house has not only a past, it also has become a means for Maria’s insertion into the world. Maria’s house evokes her struggle for a better future for herself and for her children. Special emphasis is given to the relationship between Maria, her neighbours, local neighbourhood organizations and state institutional power. Maria’s narrative reveals the nature of dominant power relations and the ways these become inscribed in the house’s construction processes. The house becomes a space of politicisation, a metaphor for resistance and empowerment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 59 25.32.05</td>
<td>Worker in Maria’s &quot;dream house&quot; carrying pails of cement to finish the attic.</td>
<td>Maria voice-off: I’m very happy with this house because this house is now part of my life. It’s part of a deep pride which I’ve had for a long time.</td>
<td>Maria’s dream house becomes a means to settle scores with her past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 60 25.46.11</td>
<td>Maria proudly walks in one of the verandas of her house. After a life time of struggle she finally</td>
<td>which is still with me…..</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 61 25.54.19</td>
<td>Maria's house with the fig tree in full bloom.</td>
<td>Located in Cape Verde in my parents' house...</td>
<td>Images of Cape Verde and Maria's mother's story convey the permeability of different worlds and the ways in which these worlds inform diasporic life experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 62 26.04.01</td>
<td>Campana de Baixo, Island of Fogo, Cape Verde where Maria was born. Friends and neighbours with Maria's photographs Mix Portugal/Cape Verde.</td>
<td>Guenny: Where do they live? Neighbour: This girl's mother lives up there. Right now the father lives a bit farther away... Guenny: Is it a long journey? Neighbour: Well, yes. It is quite far. It's beyond that yellow house.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 63 26.17.70</td>
<td>Campana de Baixo, countryside, arid...</td>
<td>Maria voice-off: When I was pregnant with my son... my first son...</td>
<td>Patriarchal dominance and injustice are challenged by Maria's ability to resist and by her willingness to be an independent woman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 64 26.21.02</td>
<td>Guenny and neighbour walking to the house of Maria's mother.</td>
<td>...my father wasn't pleased because I was going to have a baby...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 65 26.28.22</td>
<td>Walking to the house of Maria's mother.</td>
<td>...with this boy and we weren't married and he didn't see any advantage in it. And then he didn't want me in my mother's house. My poor mother how she was dominated by him, she was one of those women who... hasn't got much spirit.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 66 26.52.08</td>
<td>Arriving at the house of Maria's mother after a long and hard walk...</td>
<td>My mother didn't assert herself. So now I had to build a shack on a very steep site where I could live and where my son could be born but as I was born with a very active spirit, full of hope.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 67 27.14.12</td>
<td>Guenny gives Maria's mother the pictures taken at Alt da Cova da Moura on Maria's birthday and the pictures of Maria's twins children who her mother had not met yet.</td>
<td>because at the time I was a child, I was twenty and felt full of hope for the future.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 68 27.29.01</td>
<td>Maria's mother looking at Maria's pictures while sending a message to Maria.</td>
<td>Maria's mother: It's not only her...it's Cristiano, they're all my friends...I can't forget them... Guenny: What did you want to be said to Fruta?</td>
<td>Maria's mother message to Maria evokes the migratory experience of another member of the family who is residing in Holland. She is proud of her walking stick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 69</td>
<td>Going back to S. Filipe after visiting Maria's mother.</td>
<td>Maria's mother: Tell Fruta that I'm here. That I have pains in my body... my stick came all the way from Holland....</td>
<td>which has crossed many borders and which may ultimately be the symbolic expression of the multiple attempts to transcend the distance imposed by migration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.56.12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 70</td>
<td>Maria's mother waving goodbye.</td>
<td>Maria: I was really proud to build a bigger house, better built and with everything. At least if he doesn't know, he's bound to hear.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.10.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 71</td>
<td>Panoramic view of Campana de Baixo, the steep hills, the houses scattered, the blue sea...</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.14.01</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 72</td>
<td>Maria in the ground floor of her house in Cova da Moura. She explains the reasons for choosing a particular floor plan and hints at the difficulties encountered while building the house.</td>
<td>Maria: The ground floor is laid out just like my father's house in Cape Verde. I began to build this house in 1991. The construction has been going on for seven years. Because to build a house of this size...</td>
<td>Maria's new house reaches back to the past. She inscribes in the architecture of the house her own specific history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.21.19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 73</td>
<td>View of the unfinished outside stairways which connect the different floors.</td>
<td>Maria voice off: In this neighbourhood takes great courage and you have to be very lively...</td>
<td>In her narrative, Maria also evokes the tensions and conflicts involved in the construction processes of the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.52.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 74</td>
<td>Maria in the corridor of the first floor.</td>
<td>and active to plan and build a house the size of mine.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.52.20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 75</td>
<td>The twins playing, laughing and singing in their bedroom.</td>
<td>I built the first floor thinking of my children later. It is no good for them now. It's used for holidays because they're living and studying in Germany. So it's good for when they come here on holiday but I planned this first floor, the second floor and then the attic for them later.</td>
<td>The house is not only a means to rescue the past but it is also a life strategy for the future, for Maria and her children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.59.04</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 76</td>
<td>Maria in the balcony talking about the tensions with the neighbours concerning the construction of her house...</td>
<td>Maria: When I made the concrete floor at the time I was making the wall of the balcony and doing the floor, my neighbour passed and said to me &quot;Oh Dona Maria what on earth are you doing? You seem to be going a bit too far. If it goes...</td>
<td>Local relations of power and dominance are explicitly addressed in this part of Maria's narrative. In this context, the house also becomes a symbol of domination as Maria has to adjust to the multiple...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.23.17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 79 31.33.06</td>
<td>Panoramic view of the hall of the Sports and Leisure Club of Cova da Moura where the Club's 18th anniversary celebrations took place.</td>
<td>Mayor voice-off No. It's a problem for the community in general, a problem that we all have to work on together. Maria voice-off: All of us here have taken note of what security issues. The dominant representations of the neighbourhood are reduced to questions of criminality and marginality. For the residents' Association the celebration of the 18th anniversary and the presence of the municipal authorities in the event did not constitute an opportunity to air local grievances, but in fact it operated as a means to consolidate the organization's power in the neighbourhood.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 78 31.33.06</td>
<td>The Mayor of the City of Amadora at the 18th Anniversary of the Sports and Leisure Club of Alto da Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>Mayor: We all know that these difficulties exist but the great majority of residents of this neighbourhood are good, hard-working people and are worried about security. In relation to security, the government and the Amadora Council both have a different way of seeing the future and we realize that the problem of security has to be addressed by both the government and the local council. On my part, I have no intention of pushing the responsibilities of security onto the government.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 77 30.14.12</td>
<td>Maria at the balcony of her house looking outside. In her discourse she evokes the distress and the difficulties she had to face in order to build her dream house.</td>
<td>Maria: My house... not just my house... anyone who builds a house in this neighbourhood has to pay much more than someone who did it ten or fifteen years ago. It costs more because here you have to buy people's silence and tolerance. It was really hard... Building my house was really hard... (long silence) Maria denounces situations of corruption, coercion and injustice. These claims of disempowerment and disenfranchisement are overlooked by municipal authorities who respond with a dissonant discourse framed in terms of security issues.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>On like this I'll have to do something about it. It really is too much&quot; It was just because my works were more advanced that his. And he saw that my works were going very quickly. Then in the middle of all that trouble and because he was someone who could do whatever he wanted then I got really worried and because of that my first floor is twenty centimetres smaller than the one below. Pressures imposed on her by her neighbours and by the municipality.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Images 1 Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Frames | Images | Discourses and Sounds | Major Topics
--- | --- | --- | ---
Fr. 80 31.41.08 | Club's anniversary cake. | he's said. |  
Fr. 81 31.49.00 | Official authorities talking among themselves. | And this promise could be a good thing... |  
Fr. 82 31.53.20 | The Club's hall. The President of the Club in first plan making last minute arrangements. | We live in hope.... |  
Fr. 83 32.00.19 | Maria in her living-room talking about her relations with the residents' neighbourhood Association. | Maria voice off: I have heard this speech for seventeen years and we'll have to put up with it to the bitter end. | In this sequence Maria discusses issues of social mobility and empowerment. The house as symbolic capital. She uses irony to contest local practices and social control. The house provided her with the power to cross boundaries and to become "one of them", "transparent". That is, to resolve the metaphor unproblematic.  
Fr. 84 32.38.09 | Maria with her cousin in the street. They look at Maria's house and comment about her future plans... The house... | Maria: Now for the last year they've been telling me everything they do in the neighbourhood Association. Everything new has been passed on to me, anything that happens I know, but before this house they would pass by me and wouldn't see me but now I'm very transparent. (smiles) | Maria's dialogue with her cousin highlights the fragility and uncertainty of life in the margins.  

Section 5

The final part of the film proposes a reflection on the process of making the film and on the negotiated nature of the encounter between Maria and myself. The dynamics of such encounter are contrasted with other forms of representation, namely that of journalistic coverages. The reflexive account of the ethnographic work illuminates the "intertextual" nature of fieldwork and filmmaking—a trajectory produced through self-revelation, complicity and disclosure where multiple voices become inscribed in a multilayered act of storytelling. For me, it was a journey of discovery and reciprocity through which the fragments of the past and present were gathered and invoked through images and dialogue. It recasted the I and the Other not on a surface of mirrors, but it crafted a novel space in which the construction of meaning remained a relational, ambiguous and an open question. For Maria, the film might have been a means of reconciliation with the past and the present, a fleeting encounter with herself and the possibility of a friendship.

Frames | Images | Discourses and Sounds | Major Topics
--- | --- | --- | ---
Fr. 85 33.11.15 | A view of the roofs of Cova da Moura through a window of Maria's house. | AP voice off: One day you said that this work was very different from the work of a journalist? Maria voice off: This is very | In the final part issues of ethnographic representation, positionality and reflexivity are explicitly addressed.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frames</th>
<th>Images</th>
<th>Discourses and Sounds</th>
<th>Major Topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 86 33.33.09</td>
<td>TV set on Maria's living room. News reporting on violence and theft in a slum close to Cova da Moura.</td>
<td>different because a journalist comes here when called to get these horrible images to show</td>
<td>Ethnographic representation becomes mediated by other discourses (mass media, local authorities).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 87 34.14.19</td>
<td>Partial view of the neighbourhood. It's Autumn, it rains, a curtain of clouds engulfs the &quot;bairro&quot;. Inside a story is being told...</td>
<td>Maria voice off: I mean to make demonstration and it's not positive, no I think it is completely negative. They don't come looking for the positive things, they don't see them and they don't know them. News reporting &quot;The local population claimed that the assaults and acts of vandalism were daily occurrences close to the 6 de Maio neighbourhood.... &quot;With a countdown of 24 hours to the Galician elections we will take you to the last minute campaign trail and see who the latest favourites are.&quot;</td>
<td>The political dimension of ethnographic work. To Maria it is not only important to explain social reality, it is crucial to change it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 88 35.12.00</td>
<td>Maria on the telephone with Cristiano who is in Baierta.</td>
<td>Maria voice off: I choose you because in my past life lots of things happened which I didn't agree with, even in my family there was a kind of discrimination. And I'm the type of person who doesn't like these things. I thought about it, and there's always been a kind of discrimination in my life and so I wanted to reveal it...</td>
<td>Maria reinvents herself as a story teller. Her story is to be told and a moral is to be rescued from it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 89</td>
<td>In the kitchen Maria is cooking jegacida, a traditional Capeverdean dish from the Island of Fogo.</td>
<td>and show it and then it would be a written record to show as an example to others.</td>
<td>In this part, the dialogical and “intertextual” approach to fieldwork and to the film is explicitly discussed. The film emerges as a product of a negotiated “text” between the researcher and Maria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.39.23</td>
<td></td>
<td>AP voice off: And how has it been, this journey of ours? Maria voice off: It’s been really interesting and not just the work. There is something really interesting in this work because it’s a three year project which deals with the day-to-day aspects of our lives together, our hard work and especially with me and my responsibilities, with my children and my family but I made a promise to stay with it right up to the end.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 90</td>
<td>The jegacida is almost cooked, the smoke, the maize, and beneath it the meat is simmering.</td>
<td>But having lived with you alongside me for three years is something which I’ve given a lot to, and I’ve taken it very seriously because it’s been a long-term thing.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.32.07</td>
<td>Maria and I at the table ready to eat jegacida.</td>
<td>The film as a means to come to grips with the past, as a trajectory of desire, sorrow and hope.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 91</td>
<td>Maria at the kitchen window, drinking, singing a “morna”, longing... Outside, the bairro, the rain, the “terra longe”...</td>
<td>AP voice off: What will be left when the film is finished? Maria voice off: What will remain is my life and my story which I’m part of and will go on, and the story will remain, and will be a lesson to my children. I hope they will like it and especially the person who made me start on this journey, though I don’t think he’ll be very pleased because he’s really behind all of this, but I think, at least for the time he has left to him, he will learn a lot from it and that person is my Father.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.55.00</td>
<td>Maria sees the footage done early in the day and confronts herself with the images of her singing and longing at the kitchen's window.</td>
<td>Maria’s morna “Mar e morada di saudade”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 93</td>
<td></td>
<td>Supervisory Committee.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.31.15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fr. 94</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frames</td>
<td>Images</td>
<td>Discourses and Sounds</td>
<td>Major Topics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.33.00</td>
<td>Acknowledgments and Technical Supervision.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B:
Illustrative Photographs

1. Street vendors in the neighborhood of Alto da Cova da Moura

2. Fatima, a Capeverdean street vendor, the first woman I met in the neighborhood.
3. An unpaved street in the neighborhood.

4. The Festivities of Cola San Jon (Saint John the Baptist) in the neighborhood: June 24, 1995.

6. A seamstress' informal business shop.

8. The Residents' Association of the Neighborhood of Alto da Cova da Moura.

10. Municipal authorities, politicians, leaders of immigrant organizations and workers of the association Moinho da Juventude gather to discuss deviant behaviors in the neighborhood; Radio Program, RDP Africa. April 11, 1999.

12. Maria in the verandah of her house looking outside.
13. Maria in Baiertal, Germany talking with her daughter Sonia.

14. Maria's mother looking at Maria's photographs; Campana de Baixo, Island of Fogo, Cape Verde (translation: "...I can not forget them.").