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**Active Civic Participation
of Immigrants in Portugal**

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Project information

POLITIS is short for a research project with the full title: Building Europe with New Citizens? An Inquiry into the Civic Participation of Naturalised Citizens and Foreign Residents in 25 Countries. The European Commission funds the project that mainly seeks to improve our understanding of different factors that promote or inhibit active civic participation of immigrants. A unique project construction is developed that includes workshops with foreign-born students who are recruited as discussants and interviewers. National experts in all 25 EU countries have prepared country reports on the contextual conditions and state of research concerning civic participation of immigrants. These reports can be downloaded from

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Abstract

Portugal's historical past strongly influences the composition of the country's immigrant population. The main third-country foreign nationals in Portugal originate traditionally from Portuguese-speaking African countries (namely Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, and S. Tomé e Príncipe) and Brazil. In 2001, a newly created immigrant status entitled "permanence" authorization uncovered a quantitative and a qualitative change in the structure of immigrant population in Portugal. First, there was a quantitative jump from 223.602 foreigners in 2001 to 364.203 regularized foreigners in 2003. Secondly, there was a substantial qualitative shift in the composition of immigrants. The majority of the new immigrants began coming from Eastern European countries, such as Ukraine, Moldavia, Romania, and the Russian Federation. Thus, European countries outside the E.U. zone now rank second (after African countries) in their contribution of individuals to the stocks of immigrant population in Portugal.

The differences between the new and traditional immigration flows are visible in the geographical distribution of immigrants and in their insertion into the labour market. While the traditional flows would congregate around the metropolitan area of Lisbon and in the Algarve, the new migratory flows tend to be more geographically dispersed and present in less urbanized areas of Portugal. In terms of insertion in the labour market, although the construction sector is still the most important industry for immigrant labour, Eastern European workers may also be found in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

The institutional conditions that encourage immigrants' civic participation are divided at three different levels: the state, the local, and the civil society levels. At the state level, the High Commissioner for Migrations and Ethnic Minorities is the main organizational structure along with a set of interrelated initiatives operating under specific regulatory frameworks, which act as mediators between state officials and the Portuguese civil society, and more specifically, immigrant communities. At the local level, some municipalities created consultative councils and municipal departments aiming at encouraging the participation and representation of interests from immigrant groups and association in local policies. In the civil society sphere, the main actors in Portugal spurring immigrants civic participation are immigrant associations, mainstream associations directed toward immigration topics, and unions. The legal conditions framing immigrants' access to social housing, education, health, and social security in Portugal are also considered to be positive. Conditions restricting immigrants' civic participation are mainly normative and include the Portuguese nationality law, the regulations shaping the political participation of immigrants, namely in what concerns their right to vote, and employment regulations restricting immigrants' access to public administration positions.

Part II of the report focuses on the active civic participation of third country immigrants.

First, reasons for the lack of research on this issue in Portugal are explained. On the one hand, the recent immigration history and the more urgent needs regarding school and economic integration kept this issue out of the research spotlight. On the other hand, it was just in the beginning of the 1990s that immigrants took the very first steps toward collective mobilisation. Secondly, the literature review of Portuguese bibliography covers research on third country immigrants' associative movement, research on local authorities' policies and discussion about ethnic politics and political mobilisation of immigrants in Portugal.

As political mobilisation of these groups has been made mainly through ethnic and/or migrant organisations, a brief history of immigrants' associative movement is given. Immigrant associations develop multiple roles, covering the social, the cultural, the economic and the political domains. Political claiming for the regularisation of illegal immigrants has been a permanent and important field of intervention since the mid-1990s. Research results reveal the com-

plex relations between ethnic mobilisation and the set of legal and institutional frameworks developed by local and national governmental authorities targeted to the incorporation of minority groups. Case studies on the Oeiras district and on the Amadora district are then presented.

Conclusions underline that the most active immigrant groups are those from Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, since these groups have constituted a higher number of ethnic associations, give priority to political claiming and present a more politicised discourse.

Reflecting on the future of research on civic participation of third country immigrants in Portugal, the authors state that it would be interesting and relevant to compare the Portuguese situation with those of other European countries, with an older immigration history, and analyse how the Portuguese immigrants' associative movement will be affected by a changing legal framework and the emergence of new opportunities within the set of structures regarding the political participation of minority groups.

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Part I. Understanding the conditions for immigrant participation in Portugal

1.1. Key events and demographic developments in the migration history of Portugal

Emigration flows from Portugal can be traced back to the 15th century, although until the 19th century the Portuguese migratory flows were linked to the colonial and political interests of the Portuguese crown and consequently the migratory flows were primarily directed toward Portuguese territories abroad. From the 19th century onwards Portuguese migratory flows became a part of the international division of labour with Portuguese labour directed toward non-colonial regions and countries (Baganha and Góis 1999).

The Americas were the main destination of outflows during the 19th century. The main destination was Brazil, and to a lesser extent the United States, Argentina, Guyana, and Hawaii. This trend continued throughout the 20th century, until the end of the 1950s when the main destinations of Portuguese emigrants became central and northern European countries. During this period, France constituted the main country of destination, and to a smaller proportion Germany. Belgium, Switzerland, the Netherlands, U.K., Luxemburg, and Nordic countries are also important receiving countries (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). Similar to the North-American flows, intra-European flows are a type of emigration based on economic motivations since the emigrants are mainly originating from the poorest rural regions of Portugal (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995, Baganha and Góis 1999).

During the 1970s two major events modified the patterns of Portuguese migratory flows. First, the oil crisis of the mid-seventies put a cap on the number of immigrants central and northern European countries were willing to accept. Mechanisms restricting the entry of new immigrants were put in place, along with policies that encouraged the return of immigrants and their families to their countries of origin. As a result, Portuguese migratory outflows toward European countries slowed down and assumed a different shape, that of short-term temporary emigration and family reunification (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995, Baganha and Góis 1999). At the same time, Portuguese emigrants began to look for alternative host countries, and emigration flows continued to North-American destinations such as the U.S. and Canada (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). Furthermore, Portuguese emigrants more generally are returning to Portugal at an increasing rate. For instance, during the period between 1980-1985, it is estimated that there were 210.000 returns (Baganha and Góis 1999).

Presently, the main Portuguese emigrant communities abroad may be found in Brazil (1 million), France (798.837), South Africa (600.000), Canada (523.000), U.S.A. (500.000), and Venezuela (400.000) (data for 1994, in: Rocha-Trindade et al 1995: 167).

The second major event that changed the patterns of Portuguese migratory flows was the 1974 “Revolution of Carnations”. This was a major political change that put an end to the existing authoritarian regime and paved the way for the establishment of a democratic political system in Portugal. This political event led to the de-colonization of the Portuguese colonies in Africa and East-Timor. As a consequence of the de-colonization process initiated in 1975, there was a major inflow of individuals from the former colonies into Portugal, with estimates varying between 500.000 to 800.000 individuals. The “retornados”¹ were mostly coming from Angola (66%) and Mozambique (33%), and only 6% came from the remaining former colonies (Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and S. Tome e Principe). Roughly 60% of this population was born in Portugal; the remaining population groups included descendents of European Portuguese either born in Portugal or Africa, and individuals of African ancestry born in Africa

¹ Individuals who returned to Portugal from the former African colonies.

(Pires et al 1987, Rocha-Trindade 1995). Thus, a significant part of the African foreign immigrants in Portugal includes those contingents of Portuguese nationals of African descent that were either residing in Portugal or that came to Portugal between 1975 and 1981 and that lost Portuguese nationality with the decolonisation. Although this is a problematic population that does not fully fit under the term immigrant or foreign (Baganha and Góis 1999) they are usually included by Portuguese scholars in the bulk of the foreigners residing in Portugal. One of the main reasons for lumping together such a diversity of social groups is the absence of statistics that allows research to single out this particular social group from the remaining foreigners.

In 1975 there were roughly 32.000 foreigners residing legally in Portugal, and by 1980 that value had increased to 58.091. Since the 1980s onwards, the number of foreigners increased steadily. In 1990 there were 107.767 foreigners and as of 2001, that number rose to 223.602. Presently, the main places of origin for immigrants with residence authorization in Portugal are African countries (especially Portuguese-speaking Africa²), European Union member countries, and central and South America countries (especially Brazil). As of 2001, the largest third-country immigrant groups (e.g. non-European Union countries) with residence authorization were Cape Verde (49.930 individuals), Brazil (23.439), Angola (22.630), Guinea Bissau (17.783), U.S.A. (8.027), São Tomé e Príncipe (6.304), and Mozambique (4.749) (SEF 2001). The composition of these immigrant groups is, as expected, strongly influenced by the Portuguese historical links to the former African colonies, as well as Brazil.

In 2001, a new immigrant status was created: the “permanence” authorization. This special status allowed for the regularization of immigrants on the basis of having a work contract (for a further discussion of the “permanence” authorization see Pires 2002, see also Rosa 2002). Table 1 presents data on the foreign-born population in Portugal on the basis of residence authorizations (RAs) and “permanence” authorizations (PAs). As can be observed in Table 1, “permanence” authorizations introduced a quantitative and a qualitative change in the documented immigrant population in Portugal. First, there is a quantitative jump from 223.602 foreigners in 2001 to 364.203 foreigners in 2003. Secondly, there is an important qualitative shift in the immigrant population with a greater proportion of immigrants coming from Eastern European countries. Thus, European countries outside the E.U. zone are now the second world region contributing with more immigrants, after African countries.

² Also denominated PALOP (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language)

Table 1. Stocks of foreign national population residing in Portugal (2003) and foreign-born Portuguese population residing in Portugal (2001), by region of nationality*.

Country of origin/birth	Foreign-national population residing in Portugal			Foreign-born Portuguese population residing in Portugal (2001)
	Residence authorizations (RA) (2003)	Permanence authorizations (PA) (2001-2003)	Total (RA + PA) (2003)	
EU countries	69.805	-----	69.805	82.608
Non-EU countries	180.607	183.596	364.203	265.028
<i>Africa</i>	118.632	29.751	148.383	226.106
<i>America</i>	42.598	38.961	81.559	18.872
<i>Asia</i>	11.571	13.719	25.290	10.123
<i>Europe (non-UE countries)</i>	7.248	101.021	108.269	9.672
<i>Oceania</i>	558	20	578	255
<i>Other (stateless and unknown)</i>	285	124	409	N/A
Total	250.697	183.596	434.293	347.636

* The total population residing in Portugal in 2001 was slightly over 10 millions (10.356.117)

Source: SEF (2003) and INE (2001).

Table 1 also presents data on the foreign-born Portuguese population residing in Portugal in 2001. In contrast to other countries, data on the foreign-born Portuguese population with residence in Portugal are not a reliable indicator for the rates of naturalized foreign population. In fact, these data reflect the specificities of the Portuguese case, in that it includes the cases of the Portuguese that were born in the former colonies and thus chose to return to Portugal after de-colonization (and retained their Portuguese nationality), and also the descendants of Portuguese emigrants born abroad that returned to Portugal. In fact, the Portuguese population born in Portuguese-speaking Africa (PALOP) represents the most important group of Portuguese foreign born, especially those from Angola (124.756) and Mozambique (68.826). Within the group of EU countries, France and Germany – the main destinations of Portuguese emigration in Europe – are also the main places of birth for the Portuguese foreign born, with 59.151 and 13.453 individuals, respectively. In the case of the American continent, Brazil (with 7441) and Venezuela (with 8889) are the most frequent countries of birth for the Portuguese foreign born (INE 2001).

Immigration policies in Portugal were fragmented and almost inexistent until 1992, when Portugal's adherence to the Schengen Agreements in 1991 forced the Portuguese government to reinforce a more structured immigration policy. Until then, the country's historical ties with Portuguese speaking African countries and Brazil, made Portugal a privileged port of entry and stay for immigrant populations from these countries. As a result of the Schengen Agreements and later the Amsterdam Treaty, the Portuguese government has had to tighten control over the entry, permanence, and exit of third country nationals in Portuguese territory. One of

the consequences of the new direction of immigration policy was the creation of social strains between Portugal and the PALOP's and Brazil's immigrant communities and governments. Portugal thus, found itself in the double bind of complying with European Union regulations while trying to preserve the strong ties that bind it to Portuguese-speaking countries. As a result, the Portuguese government tried to give a preferred treatment to third country nationals originating from Portuguese speaking countries in relation to other third country nationals. This special treatment is visible in the different time periods required by law to acquire permanent residence or naturalization for PALOP's nationals and Brazilians (see below), and also in the signature of special bilateral agreements with these countries, regarding visas, entry and permanence in Portugal (Leitão 1997).

The first regulative immigration measures addressed the presence of undocumented immigrants in Portugal, through the implementation of special regularization periods in 1992 and 1996 (see discussion of this topic below). Another regulatory package addressed the integration of immigrants in Portuguese society. First, a fragmented set of initiatives in the area of professional training and qualification and intercultural education paved the way to a more consistent policy³ for the integration of immigrants through the creation of structures such as the Coordinating Secretariat for Multicultural Education Programs in 1991, and the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities in 1996. Concurrently, the legal framework regulating the entry, permanence, and exit of immigrants in Portugal has gone through rapid and constant change with the creation of new regimes and laws (Santos 2004) that try to adjust the Portuguese law and the special conditions of Portuguese society to its European Union member role.

The Portuguese law currently distinguishes between several valid immigrant statuses. The residence authorization (RA) can be temporary (valid for a period of two years and renewable for successive periods of three years) or permanent⁴ (without limit of validity it is renewable every 5 years). Permanent-residence authorizations may only be acquired by foreigners who legally reside in Portugal for a minimum period of 5 consecutive years (for Portuguese speaking countries' nationals) or 8 consecutive years (for nationals of other countries)⁵. "Permanence" authorizations (PA) represent a special status created to address the existence of innumerable foreigners with an irregular situation in Portugal but who had either a work contract or a work contract proposal with a favourable assessment from the Ministry of Employment. This specific legal status is no longer available, although holders of PAs can still renew and exercise all the rights granted with this status. The Portuguese law recognizes the right to family reunification for RAs and PAs holders.

Additional immigrant visas recognized by law are the short-duration visa, residence visa, student visa, work visa, temporary stay-visa (Decreto-Lei 34/2003), and asylum (Law 15/98) (Silva 2004). However, the number of immigrants holding these types of visas is very low when compared to those with RAs and PAs. The current work visa acknowledges four different levels of qualification and lines of work: work visa I refers to sports and entertainment activities, work visa II is granted to highly qualified workers or scientific professions, work visa III is granted to independent professionals, and work visa IV is directed to low qualification workers.

³ Although many associative leaders and politicians claim that the policies addressing the integration of immigrants in Portugal are far from satisfactory.

⁴ Statistical sources do not offer data discriminated by temporary and permanent residence authorizations.

⁵ This regime does not apply to European Union nationals who have a special regime of residency cards.

Table 2 reflects the changes in the immigrant population after the introduction of the permanence authorization status. The traditional African immigrant groups are no longer the largest in Portugal. Ukraine is the main nationality with 65.214 individuals. Brazil has also benefited from the introduction of the PA status, maintaining its rank as the second largest immigrant community in Portugal. The former Portuguese colonies of Cape Verde, Angola, and Guinea Bissau are now followed by Moldavia and Romania as important immigrant communities in Portugal.

Table 2. Twelve major immigrant groups in Portugal by immigrant status in 2003 (residence authorization, “permanence” authorization, asylum seekers, and acquisition of nationality)

<i>Immigrant Groups</i>	RAs (stocks in 2003)	PAs (2001-2003)	<i>Total</i>	<i>Asylum seekers</i> ² (1999-2003)	Acquisition Nationality (1995-2000) ¹
Ukraine	519	64.695	65.214	15	N/A
Brazil	26.561	37.920	64.481	3	1.179
Cape Verde	53.858	8.558	62.416	—	687
Angola	25.681	8.533	34.214	114	349
Guinea Bissau	20.209	4.318	24.527	17	217
Moldavia	12.632	266	12.898	12	N/A
Romania	10.926	766	11.692	25	N/A
São Tomé e Príncipe	2.553	7.313	9.866	1	90
P. R. China	4.814	3.909	8.723	—	62
U.S.A.	8.004	62	8.066	—	649
Russian Federation	852	7047	7.899	48	N/A
Mozambique	4.946	461	5.407	—	178

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF 2003, 2002, 2001, 2000), except:

1 Data on acquisition of nationality covers the years from 1995 through 2000, and is based on SOPEMI (2001).

2 Data refers to asylum requirements and not to granted asylum status. Data covers the years of 1999 through 2003. Data is incomplete for the year 2003 since only major nationalities were presented. Source is SEF (2003).

The differences between the new and traditional immigration flows in Portugal are visible in the geographical distribution of the immigrants and in their insertion into the labour market. While the traditional flows would congregate around the metropolitan area of Lisbon and in the Algarve, the new migratory flows tend to be more geographically dispersed and present in less urbanized areas of Portugal. In terms of insertion in the labour market, although the con-

struction sector is still the most important industry for immigrant labour, Eastern European workers may also be found in the agriculture and manufacturing sectors.

It is difficult to offer an exact estimate on the number of illegal immigrants in Portugal. Malheiros and Baganha (2001) compute the amount of illegal immigrants during the first half of the 1990s in between 25,000 and 40,000. The term “illegal immigrant” - as defined by the Portuguese law - includes those citizens that enter and remain in national territory without legal documents or with false documents, and also those individuals that have entered national territory with legal documents but remain after the document’s validity has expired or stay after being expelled from the Portuguese territory (Malheiros and Baganha 2001). In fact, many of the immigrants that are undocumented entered Portugal with a legal short-term visa (such as tourism or business) and remained in Portugal after their visas expired. An important contributing factor to the existence of undocumented immigrants in Portugal is the strict requirements that immigrants have to comply with in order to obtain a residence authorization or extend their visa. This situation is visible in the significant number of applications that are denied residence and thus fall into illegal status (Rosa et al 2000).

In order to address the human and social problem of irregular immigration, the Portuguese state organized special periods of regularization of undocumented immigrants. The first regularization process took place during 1992 (from October 1992 until March 1993) and was extended to immigrants’ spouses and offspring under 14 years of age. Some of the prerequisites immigrants needed to comply with were the inexistence of a criminal record, and proof of sufficient income that would allow a minimum standard of living conditions (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). From the 39,166 immigrants that applied for a legal status only 16,000 were granted residence permits (Malheiros and Baganha 2001; Rosa, Seabra and Santos 2003). Some of the reasons cited for the discrepancy between the number of applications and granted permits are immigrants’ lack of information regarding the regularization process and the difficulty to comply with the legal requirements (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). Partly as a result of the number of regularization requests that were denied, a second special period of regularization took place in 1996. This time, from the 35,082 requests for regularization, 29,809 were granted (Rosa, Seabra and Santos 2003). Considering that these regularization processes constitute a valid indicator of the approximate number and characteristics of undocumented immigrants in Portugal it is worthwhile analysing the amounts of requests entered by nationalities. African Portuguese speaking countries appear as the main source of irregular immigrants: during the 1992 regularization period, 72,4% of the requests were done by PALOP’s nationals, while during the 1996 regularization period, they represented 66,7% of the requests (Malheiros and Baganha 2001). In fact, Angola nationals made 32% of the total applications in 1992, and 26,4% of the applications in 1996; Cape Verde had 17,3% of the requests in 1992 and 19,6% in 1996⁶; and Guinea Bissau presented 17,6% of the applications in 1992 and 15,1% in 1996. Brazilians were the fourth nationality in the number of requests with 13,7% of requests in 1992 and 6,6% in 1996. Although no longer available, the creation of the permanence authorization status in 2001 also absorbed many of the individuals (mostly Eastern Europeans) that were in an irregular situation but had a work contract and paid their contributions to the social security. In 2004, two other special regularization process took place, one aimed at the general immigrant population where roughly 40,000 applicants were registered and another targeting specifically nationals from Brazil. There are still no definitive data available.

As the special regularization processes seem to demonstrate, illegal immigration in Portugal exhibits a shift from the traditional individual movements of people coming from the PA-

⁶ This increase corresponds to a real increase in absolute values from 6,778 requests in 1992 to 6,872 in 1996.

LOPs with established social networks in Portugal (from the 1970s throughout the 1990s), to the structured illegal trafficking networks controlled in the sending countries and composed mainly of Eastern European immigrants (from the 2000 onwards) (Malheiros and Baganha 2001).

1.2. Major immigration-related issues discussed in the Portuguese media

Immigration issues are not a constant topic of debate among the political forces in Portugal. Its discussion and debate in the political and public arena is intermittent and dependent upon certain events, such as political campaigns or specific incidents that attract media coverage and where immigrants play a central role, such as crimes suffered or committed by immigrants. Media coverage on immigrants can be divided into two categories: one type covers particular plots where immigrants have a central or secondary role but where the main theme is not immigration (i.e. a crime, an accident); and another category of media coverage where the main theme concerns immigration issues, such as education, adjustment to a new society, cultural differences, work. However, whenever immigration is a topic in the newspapers or television it is rarely presented as an informative piece on immigrants' living and working conditions as a social group, but rather as single stories or trajectories of specific individuals.

Two recent studies analysed the media coverage of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portugal. One of the studies covered the national and regional print media (newspapers and magazines) from January 2001 until March 2002 (Cádima and Figueiredo 2003). The second examined the national print media (6 daily newspapers and 2 weekly newspapers) and the four main Portuguese television channels (RTP1, RTP2, SIC, and TVI) from January 2003 until December 2003 (Cunha et al 2004).

According to the study conducted by Cádima and Figueiredo (2003), the topics most covered by the national print media were associated with "crime and offenses," followed in order of importance by themes related to the "reception of immigrants," "sociabilities," and "exploitation and mafia."⁷ The regional media ranks topics differently, giving more attention to issues related to the "reception of immigrants," followed by news involving the offer and attendance of "Portuguese language courses," "crime and offenses," "sociability," and "mafia and exploitation." Interestingly, among the themes least covered by both the national and regional press are topics related to the discussion of "living conditions and housing," "illegal networks, exploitation, and slavery," "measures supporting integration," and "access to health services," among others (ibid: 46). The immigrant and ethnic groups most frequently cited by the newspapers are the "Eastern Europeans," followed by the generic category "immigrants," and then finally sharing the same frequency appear immigrants from the "Portuguese speaking countries – PALOPs" and the "gypsies" (ibid: 40). The research offers information on which national/ethnic groups are most associated with which themes. "Eastern Europeans" are the group more frequently associated with the majority of themes. Such is the case of news related to the "reception of immigrants," "mafia, exploitation, and illegal traffic," "education (and Portuguese language courses)," "employment," "culture," "associative movement," "crimes and offences," "integration difficulties," "working accidents," and "difficulties accessing health services." Gypsies dominate news articles related to "Housing and relocation," "difficult to socialize," and "Housing, relocation, and poor living conditions." African immigrants – as a broad category – are the main characters of news pieces linked with "Racism and Xenophobia" (ibid: 47-48).

⁷ We are using identical descriptors to the ones used in the studies. The translation is our responsibility.

The study conducted in 2003 by Cunha et al. (2004) also found that the topic most frequently associated with immigrants and ethnic groups was “crime.” Nevertheless, the data suggest that there is an emergent interest in other themes related to the identity and culture of the foreigner (ibid: 93). On this regard, different media highlight different subjects: if tabloid newspapers cover “crime” as their favourite piece, non-tabloid newspapers choose “work” related news pieces. Comparing newspapers to television, both give prominence to “crime” segments, but television channels allocate a higher percentage of their time to “crime” related news (28,6% against 17,9%). In this study, the nationality most frequently mentioned in the news is Brazilian.

Another finding of interest is that immigrants and ethnic minorities have acquired more centrality and agency, since they are more often quoted or used as information sources by the media. However, according to the authors, this fact does not reflect an accurate depiction of the realities experienced by immigrants in Portugal by the media, since the news are constructed as “fait-divers”, or as personalized singular narratives (ibidem: 103).

1.3. Institutional setting framing immigrant participation in Portugal

In this section we identify those institutional conditions that encourage immigrants’ civic participation at three different levels: the state, the local, and the civil society level. At the state level, we focus on the main organizational state structure and a set of interrelated initiatives operating under specific regulatory frameworks, which act as mediators between state officials and the civil society, and more specifically, immigrant communities. At the local level, we highlight the creation of two different types of initiatives: consultative councils and municipal departments specialized in immigrant and minority issues. Lastly, in the civil society sphere, we focus on immigrant associations, non-immigrant associations, and unions as structures facilitating immigrant civil participation. The legal conditions framing immigrants’ access to social housing, education, health, and social security are also considered to be positive. Under restrictive conditions of immigrants’ civic participation we identify the Portuguese nationality law and the regulations shaping the political participation of immigrants, namely in what concerns their right to vote, and employment.

1.3.1. Encouraging conditions

State-based organizations

In 1991 the Coordinating Secretariat for Programs of Multicultural Education (Secretariado Coordenador dos Programas de Educação Multicultural) was created within the Ministry of Education. At a time when state policies catering to the integration of immigrants were incipient, this was one of the first steps towards the development of a structured policy for the integration of immigrants. The Secretariat’s main mission was to assure an equal opportunity of access and educational success for students with various ethnic backgrounds, and the development of an intercultural education at the elementary level⁸ (Santos 2004, Albuquerque et al 2002). In 2001, this organization was replaced by the Secretariat Entreculturas (Secretariado Entreculturas) which ensured a continuity of the organization’s mission and activities. One of the Secretariat’s main activities comprises the analysis and mapping of the multicultural reality of Portuguese schools at the elementary and secondary levels, mainly through the maintenance of the “Entreculturas Dataset”. This dataset keeps record of the ethnic-cultural background and educational achievement of students at the elementary and secondary level of education. Another activity includes the development of research and social intervention in

⁸ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

schools. One of the projects implemented under this activity was the “Project of Intercultural Education” which involved 52 schools and offered a long-term training in intercultural education to roughly 200 teachers. A third main activity involves collaborating in the edition and diffusion of publications and guidelines on intercultural education, through the dissemination of “good practices,” theoretical texts, and pedagogical/ course materials⁹.

Some organizations and initiatives created by the Portuguese state have been crucial for the creation of conditions for the civic participation of immigrants in Portugal. One of the most important (if not the most important) state-based organization is the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (Alto Comissário para a Imigração e Minorias Étnicas - ACIME) founded first in 1996 (Decree-Law no.3-A/96), and restructured in 2003 in order to extend its initial roles. ACIME is an interdepartmental structure which offers a supportive and consultative role for the Portuguese government on immigration and ethnic minorities matters (Decree-Law 251/2002). While ACIME became the political mediator between the government and the immigrant associations, immigrant associations became the mediator between public administration offices and the diverse immigrant groups (Albuquerque et al 2000).

The organization’s mission is to promote the integration of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portuguese society, assure the participation and collaboration of the different representatives of immigrants’ interests (such as immigrant associations, social partners, and institutions of social solidarity) in the policies promoting social integration and eradicating social exclusion, and also to oversee the application of legal tools aimed at preventing discrimination based on race, nationality, or ethnic origin. Additional tasks held by ACIME include, among others, the development of research on integration of immigrant and ethnic minorities, the collaboration with the different public offices involved in the control and surveillance of flows of foreigners in Portugal¹⁰ (Santos 2004). In order to achieve these aims ACIME is equipped with specific competences, such as the right to apply penalties to any violation of the specific law that bans discriminations based on race, nationality or ethnic ascendancy, and has also the competency to grant legal recognition to immigrant associations. ACIME is also entitled to be formally notified by the Service of Foreigners and Borders (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras – SEF) of any significant decision regarding the status of particular immigrants, namely in what regards a denial, non-renewal of residence permit, or expulsion from national territory¹¹.

ACIME’s initiatives are distributed along six activity lines: 1) the National Plan for Immigration; 2) the national information network for immigrant populations; 3) the national support system for immigrants; 4) the Immigration Observatory; 5) institutional audits; 6) and continuing the work started by previous initiatives from ACIME. The national information network comprises the dissemination of publications, maintenance of a website and an SOS Immigrant telephone line. This network also distributes multimedia stations available in associations, and parishes in order to be used by immigrants, and a Cyberbus equipped with computers and other informational material, which travels to areas that have a high density of immigrant dwellers. ACIME also organizes meetings and conferences, supports radio and television programs, and posts advertisement in media as part of its information strategy¹² (Santos 2004).

⁹ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

¹⁰ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

¹¹ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

¹² ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

The national support system for immigrants comprises a set of different micro structures designed to provide localized support to immigrant populations. Such micro structures include an Information Center in Lisbon (in operation since 1999), the National Support Centers for Immigrants (Centros Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante – CNAI) located in Lisbon and Porto since 2004 and characterized by an integrated offer of services to immigrants from ACIME, the Service for Foreigners and Borders, Social Security, Work, Education, Health, and NGOs. Additionally these centers offer translation services for the Creole, English, and Russian languages. Similar structures exist also at a regional level (Centros Regionais de Apoio ao Imigrante – CRAI) and at a local level (Centros Locais de Apoio ao Imigrante – CLAI). The regional offices are located in the city councils of capital cities of each Portuguese district, and the local offices (in operation since 2003) exist in smaller urban and rural areas, hosted by city councils, parishes, or NGOs offices. As of October 2004, there were 20 CLAIS scattered across the country. Regional and local offices offer a less diversified range of services to immigrants. Within the national support system structure, ACIME also hosts a Cabinet specialized in assessing the equivalence of educational and professional credits and degrees from foreign educational institutions, and another Cabinet offering technical support to the development of initiatives and grants by immigrant associations. In this area, ACIME offers a program of financial support to immigrant associations' activities. ACIME also maintains a Temporary Shelter for immigrants going through extreme humanitarian situations¹³.

The Immigration Observatory functions as a space dedicated to research on immigration and ethnic minority issues in Portugal in order to sustain informed integration policies. It works in a network format partnering research with Universities, Research Centers, and Businesses. Additionally, ACIME nests several Working Groups in partnership with other state bodies and NGOs, such as the Inter-governmental Working Group, the Working Group on Cultural Mediators, and the Working Group for the Equality and Insertion of Gypsies.

Two semi-autonomous structures were created within ACIME: COCAI and CICDR. The Consultive Council for Immigration Issues (Conselho Consultivo para os Assuntos da Imigração – COCAI) was created in 1998 to assure the joint participation of immigrant associations, social partners, government representatives, and social solidarity institutions in the conception of policies targeting immigrants' rights and the improvement of their life conditions (Santos 2004). The Council counts on the participation, among others, of a representative of each of the Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities (Brazil, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola, and São Tomé e Príncipe); a representative of each of the

three largest non Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities¹⁴, two representatives of institution working with immigrants, various governmental bodies, unions, and business organizations. The Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (Comissão para a Igualdade e contra a Discriminação Racial – CICDR) was especially created to accompany the application of the Law no. 134/99, which bans discrimination based on race, nationality, or ethnic descent. This Commission, once again, has a diversified participation of representatives of the state and civil society, of which we emphasize immigrant associations, anti-racist associations, and human rights associations¹⁵.

¹³ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

¹⁴ The three largest non Portuguese-speaking immigrant communities presently considered by COCAI are the Chinese, Eastern European, and Romanian communities (ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10). The eastern European nationalities more represented in Portugal, besides Romania, are Ukraine, Moldavia, and Russia, respectively (see Table 2).

¹⁵ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

In conclusion, ACIME is an overarching institution in the immigration policy arena in Portugal. A panoply of programs, working groups, and other semi-autonomous organizations stem from and depend on ACIME. Until now the role played by ACIME has been praised both by government officials and immigrant representatives alike. However, the dependence of the majority of state initiatives and programs from a single institution may eventually pose a risk to the entire system in case the centralizing institution suffers from blockages or inefficiencies. The progressive organizational autonomy of these commissions and working groups may be a requirement toward a decentralization of state initiatives.

Local structures

In Portugal, local structures such as municipalities and parishes have administrative and financial responsibility over their communities and administer a set of local services and collective interests, such as elementary schools and social housing. They also have the power to constitute associations and federations with certain attributions and competences aimed at overseeing common interests. There has been some initiatives created at a local level aiming at the integration and higher involvement of immigrants in local structures and in the life of the municipality. Here we are referring to the four municipal structures that aimed specifically at immigrant associations and migrant groups. The Municipal Council of Immigrant Communities and Ethnic Minorities (Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Imigrantes e Minorias Étnicas) created in 1993 by the City Council of Lisbon; and the Municipal Council for Ethnic and Immigrant Communities (Conselho Municipal das Comunidades Étnicas e Imigrantes) created in 1995 by the City Council of Amadora, are consultative bodies that count with the presence of community and immigrant associations leaders. Their aim is to involve the most representative immigrant groups in local policies, related to the social integration of immigrants, defense of immigrants' rights, and racism and xenophobia prevention (CML 1993, Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). More recently both councils have been less active.

Two other local structures are municipal departments that address specifically and directly matters concerning ethnic and immigrant groups. Such departments are the Cabinet for Religious and Social Issues (Gabinete para Assuntos Religiosos e Sociais Específicos – GARSE), created in 1993 in the City Council of Loures, and the Cabinet for the Support of Immigrants and Ethnic Minorities, formed in 2002 in the City Council of Santarém. This type of structures offers technical and logistic support to immigrant initiatives, especially associations, and facilitates communication between immigrant communities and local offices, among others (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995, Albuquerque 2002, Albuquerque et al 2002).

Civil society structures

Immigrant associations

A crucial piece of legislation for immigrant associations was Law no. 115/99, which approves the legal regime regulating immigrant associations. Until then, immigrant associations were not regulated by a special status, and were formed as non-profit cultural associations or private institutions of social solidarity. The approval of the legal regime of immigrant associations in 1999 paved the way for a higher visibility of these associations as political partners and legitimate representatives of the interests of immigrant groups in the public arena. Immigrant associations are thus important partners in the shaping of public policies concerning immigration (Albuquerque et al 2000, Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). Since the 1950s when the first immigrant association was established, the movement has witnessed a slow and stable increase in the number of associations, with the 1990s and 2000 registering the highest num-

ber of new establishments: the number of immigrant associations amounted to 184 in 2002 (Albuquerque 2002)¹⁶.

The Law no. 115/99 defines immigrant associations as those organizations that have as objective the defense of immigrants' and their descendents' rights and interests. The law stipulates the "recognition of representativeness" for immigrant associations, and the right to receive technical and financial support from the state, among others. The recognition of representativeness is a process further regulated in the Decree-Law no. 75/2000, and overseen by ACIME, under the advisement of COCAI. When an association is recognized by ACIME as a legitimate representative of the immigrant group, that association is entitled to participate 1) in the definition of the immigration policy, 2) in the regulatory processes concerning migration, 3) in the consultative councils and organizations, and 3) to have access to broadcasting time in the public television and radio, among others. ACIME has recognized 75 immigrant associations until December 2004. However, if the associations are not recognized by ACIME they still have the right to access information and documents that allow to follow up with immigration regulatory processes, to intervene near public authorities as representatives of immigrant rights, to participate in the definition and execution of local migration policies, and to benefit from technical and financial support from the state¹⁷ (Law no.115/99 and Decree-Law no. 75/2000).

The existence of interorganizational platforms in the immigrant associative movement is a signal of a higher level of organization and structuration, facilitating the associations' role as political interlocutors and representatives of the immigrant groups via-a-vis the political powers. The first example of an interorganizational structure took shape during the first special period of regularization of immigrants (1992) in the form of the Coordinating Secretariat for Legalization Actions (Secretariado Coordenador das Acções de Legalização – SCAL). This umbrella organization held the role of mediator among the associative movement and the government during the special regularization period. It comprised several migrant associations and was coordinated by the *Obra Católica para as Migrações*, a Portuguese non-profit aiming at migrant populations. In fact, SCAL represented the first step toward the structuration of immigrant associations as an associative movement (Albuquerque et al, 2000, Albuquerque 2002).

Other examples have since surfaced. For example, the Federation of Associations from Cabo Verde in Portugal (*Federação das Associações Caboverdianas em Portugal*) formed in 1992 to unite the innumerable associations from Cabo Verde existing in Portugal, and to counterbalance their geographical dispersion (Albuquerque et al 2000). Apart from umbrella organizations created on the basis of a shared ethnicity, there are also examples of interorganizational structures based on pluri-ethnic associations, such as the Coordinating Secretariat of Immigrant Associations (*Secretariado Coordenador das Associações de Imigrantes – SCAI*) which congregates roughly a dozen immigrant associations representing immigrants from Brazil, Angola, China, Eastern Europe, Cabo Verde, S. Tomé e Príncipe, Mozambique, and Guinea Bissau.

Non-immigrant associations and NGOs

In a 2002 survey organized by SOS Racismo, there were 52 third sector associations catering to immigration issues formed by non-immigrant members. An important part of this sector is

¹⁶ The data concerning immigrant associations is not exhaustive, but reflects the most complete survey made up to date. See also Correia (1997).

¹⁷ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10

comprised of organizations linked to the Catholic Church, such as the Obra Católica Portuguesa para as Migrações, the Serviço Diocesano das Migrações, and the Centro Padre Alves Correia (Albuquerque 2002). However, as a consequence of the rising diversification of ethnic groups in Portugal, religious third sector organizations are also becoming diversified with the presence of churches from the Orthodox, Hindu, Ishmaelite, and Muslim religions. Other important components of the non-immigrant organizational sector are the anti-racist organizations, human rights activists, and educational and cultural associations (Albuquerque 2002). Similar to what is happening in the field of immigrant associations, the presence of umbrella organizations is increasing. Such is the case of Forum of Catholic Organizations for Immigration (Forum de Organizações Católicas para a Imigração – FORCIM), which has a Catholic-based membership, and the Anti-racist Network (Rede Anti-Racista – RAR) which encompasses both immigrant-based organizations and non-immigrant structures.

Unions

Unions have traditionally been involved with immigration issues in Portugal. The main unions, CGTP-IN and UGT, have developed special departments dealing with immigration issues, and also several initiatives catering at immigrant populations. The activities developed by these Unions include information sessions during the special regularization periods, development of professional training programs for immigrant populations and their descendents, and also legal counselling offered to migrant workers, since most of the immigrants are not unionised and therefore less knowledgeable of their rights as workers (Albuquerque et al 2000).

Laws regulating immigrants' civic rights to social housing, health services, social security, and education

Existing regulatory norms do not restrict immigrants' rights to access social housing, public health services, social security, and education. In fact, the law is explicit on this matter, even illegal immigrants are entitled to receive health services, and the children of illegal immigrants are entitled to education¹⁸(Marques and Rosa 2003).

1.3.2. Restrictive conditions

Portuguese nationality law

The norms regulating access to nationality for foreigners and their descendents are at the core of immigrants' capacity and incentive for civic participation in the receiving society. The nationality law has been extensively and frequently adjusted in the past twenty years in order to reflect the new migratory realities experienced by Portugal¹⁹. But the changes also reflect increasingly more restrictive conditions to access Portuguese nationality (Rocha-Trindade et al 1995). Foreign citizens may acquire Portuguese nationality by way of marriage to a Portuguese citizen, by adoption (this is, a child adopted by a Portuguese citizen is entitled to Portuguese nationality), and through naturalization. In the case of naturalization there are a set of requirements that need to be fulfilled such as: 1) to be of age, 2) to reside in Portuguese territory for at least 6 years with a residence permit (for individuals originating from other Portuguese speaking countries), or 10 years (for other third countries' nationals), 3) to be knowledgeable of the Portuguese language, 4) to have an effective attachment to the Portuguese

¹⁸ ACIME, www.acime.gov.pt/, date of visit: 2004-12-10.

¹⁹ Law no.37/81 and Law no. 25/94 (the current nationality law), and also Decreto-Lei 322-A/2001, Decreto-Lei 194/2003, and Lei Organica no. 1/2004 (Silva 2004).

community, 5) to be competent, and 6) to have autonomous means of subsistence. Some factors may prevent individuals from acquiring Portuguese nationality, for instance, committing a crime punishable with a maximum sentence of more than 3 years of imprisonment, or not having established evidence of attachment to the Portuguese community, or having served in the military force or public administration of another country (Silva 2004).

In the case of children born in Portuguese territory to foreign parents the law establishes that children may acquire citizenship if their parents have a valid residence authorization and reside in the territory for at least 6 years (in the case of nationals of Portuguese speaking countries) or 10 years (for other third-country nationals). Although this norm is based in the *jus soli* principle it offers a very restrictive interpretation of such principle (Silva 2004). In fact, the right to acquire citizenship for children born in Portuguese territory to foreign parents is restricted in three important ways: first, the parents need to have a legalized immigrant status second, the parents have to have reside in Portugal for a relatively prolonged period and third, the acquisition of citizenship is not mechanic, it requires instead a declaration of will from the child or their legal representatives. The third requirement actually prevents many descendants from acquiring nationality given that many parents fail to present such a statement at the time of birth. Another factor that restricts the acquisition of nationality by immigrants is the fact that the legal term “valid residence authorization” has suffered five substantive modifications during the period of 1994 until 2003, which contributes to a less transparent interpretation of the nationality law (Silva 2004).

Laws regulating immigrants' civic rights to political participation and employment

Third country immigrants acquired the right to vote and become elected for local elections in 1996 (Law no. 50/96). However the law imposes some restrictions, since on the one hand, reciprocity between states must be observed and thus only some nationalities are entitled to political participation (namely, Argentina, Brazil²⁰, Cabo Verde, Chile, Estónia, Israel, Norway, Peru, Uruguai, Venezuela)²¹. On the other hand, only legal residents that reside in the country for a minimum period of two years (if they are nationals of Portuguese speaking countries) or a period of three years (for other nationals) may exert their right to vote. In what concerns the capacity to run for local elections the conditions are identical, except in what regards the minimum periods of residence which are raised to four years and five years, for nationals of Portuguese speaking countries, and other nationals, respectively (Costa 2000, Mendes and Miguéis 1997, ACIME/STAPE N.D.).

Moreover, the number of foreigners who are actually registered to vote is extremely low. According to data from the National Census Commission (Comissão Nacional de Recenseamento), as of December 2003, the number of third-country foreigners registered to vote, was 17.922, which was distributed among the following nationalities: Cape Verde (15.635), Brazil (1.974), Venezuela (168), Argentina (61), Peru (28), Norway (25), Uruguay (16), Chile (12), and Israel (3)²². As shown by the data, the most important immigrant community in terms of their political participation is the Cape Verde community, the oldest and one of the largest groups in Portugal with strong investments in the associative movement.

Another area where immigrants' civic rights are restricted is employment. Here, immigrants are prevented from accessing state employment or joining public administration careers

²⁰ Exception is made to those nationals from Brazil who have the special status of equality of political rights. Holders of this status may vote for other elections besides local elections. Not all Brazilians are entitled to this status.

²¹ Nationals from Argentina, Israel and Norway are entitled only to vote in local elections, and are excluded from their right to run as candidates (Costa 2000).

²² STAPE, <http://www.stape.pt/recensel/quadro14.htm>, date of visit: 2004-12-11.

(Marques and Rosa 2003). The exclusion is made when the job implies political functions and not only technical ones (Torres 2001).

Part II. Active civic participation of third country immigrants in Portugal

As presented before, Portugal has only a recent history of immigration. As the first important inflow of labour immigration occurred just in the beginning of the 1990s, it is just at that period that research institutions and academics began to turn their attention to the new phenomena. Until then, Portugal had been defined as an emigration country, which is why Portuguese emigration and Portuguese communities' abroad had been the dominant research and political issues.

The major questions posed to Portuguese society and faced by the newcomers were the integration of pupils with foreign background into schools, labour relations, and immigration policy. These were also the issues focused on the academic literature.

The recent character of immigration and the stronger focus on issues regarding school and economic integration set the scenery to explain the lack of research in active civic participation of third country immigrants in Portugal. Only since the late 1990s has it been possible to identify some researchers who have started to publish academic literature on civic participation on a more regular basis (Albuquerque et al 2000, Albuquerque 2000, 2002, Marques et al 2003, 2000, 1999, 1998).

The issue covered more intensely is immigrants' associative movement and as a result relations between immigrant associations and local authorities are stressed and often discussed. While analysing political rights or associative leaders' strategies regarding local authorities these papers often deal with immigrants' membership in political parties, but without conducting any specific research to understand how and why immigrants engage in the political activity²³.

The same scenery presented earlier allows us to understand the absence of Portugal in international research on the issue. We were unable to find studies on Portugal in a comparative perspective led by other European countries' institutions, nor in the regional context of southern countries²⁴.

In addition, when we look at the more general research on civic participation, we were not able to find comparisons between the participation of the Portuguese and that of citizens with a foreign background. Research carried out in recent years has produced regular results about attitudes towards and membership in political parties of the Portuguese population (Cabral 1997, 2000, Viegas 2000, Freire 2001). However, immigrants are not included as a specific group in these studies and research projects. Participation is also more often viewed and analysed within the general discussion on citizenship rights and their connection to the welfare state and the evolution of Portuguese democracy (Santos 1994, Mozzicafreddo 2000). Another field of research regards the third sector and civil society's organisations, but again immigrant's associations are not covered by researchers who carry out these studies or when they are mentioned it is in very restricted terms. For example, in 2002 a guide of non-governmental organisations was published (intended as a characterisation of the third sector in Portugal), which identified just four immigrant associations (Ribeiro 2002).

²³ For instance, Costa (2000) analyses the restrictions regarding the vote of the Portuguese living abroad and the foreigners in Portuguese elections, but does not focus on the electoral behaviour of immigrants.

²⁴ Exception made to CERFE (1997) which made a first effort to identify best practices on social and economical integration of immigrants in Portugal, being a few of these practices led by immigrant associations.

In sum, immigrants' civic participation is not an issue within the general framework of Portuguese research institutions, except for those that are specifically oriented to the study of migrations and intercultural relations. Immigrants' civic participation was indeed an emerging field of academic research in the 1990s. The most dominant research issue has been immigrant's associative movement, as immigrants in Portugal are more active in migrant lobby organisations and ethnic associations, while in other fields such as trade unions and political parties they are almost absent. Research on local authorities' policies and political and ethnic mobilisation has also been drawn in connection to the associative participation of immigrants. The next section is organised around these issues.

2.1. Research on third country immigrants' associative movement

In this section we will present publications on the issue of immigrants' associative movement. We chose to highlight the specific contributions of each of them, independently of these documents being published as journal articles, books, or scientific reports (e.g. Andrade 1997, Câmara Municipal da Amadora 1997, Correia 1997, European Centre for Work and Society 1997, Nunes and Gouveia 1996). We must also refer to the fact that much of the research developed by SociNova is not published and the documents quoted for the purpose of this report are in the form of working papers or conference papers (Marques et al 2003, 2000, 1999, 1998).

2.1.1. Historical evolution of third country immigrants' associations in Portugal

In this section we will present the publication that draws, in more complete terms, the history of the associative movement of immigrants in Portugal (Albuquerque, Ferreira and Viegas 2000). When using the category "immigrant's associative movement", the authors are referring to associations created either by third country nationals living in Portugal, their descendants (either having or not Portuguese nationality) or by Portuguese nationals of immigrant origin; they do not include the category "retornados"²⁵. Although it presents a broad view of the associative movement, particular attention is given to African Portuguese-speaking countries²⁶ and Brazilian associations.

This work describes the evolution of the immigrant associative movement since the mid-1970s until 2000 and analyses the social and political context that determined its evolution. It also points out the interaction between social and political actors, thereby useful for understanding the ongoing dynamics of the immigrants' political mobilisation in Portuguese society. The book includes two theoretical sections about the concepts of culture and identity and the roles played by immigrants' associations. For the purpose of this report, we will briefly summarize the third chapter, as it is grounded in empirical work in order to describe and analyse the evolution of immigrants' associative movement in Portuguese society (ibid: 35-74).

Bearing in mind the strong influence of the institutional framework and the overall social and political context on the process of ethnic mobilisation and/or political participation of minority groups, three different stages or moments are pointed out:

during the period between the mid-1970s until the late-1980s, the few associations created meanwhile invested mainly in activities designed for emergency social intervention;

²⁵ See also part I, sections 1.1. and 1.3.2..

²⁶ Also denominated PALOP (African Countries with Portuguese as Official Language, which are Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe).

during the first half of the 1990s, there was a boom of associations; their priorities were the reinforcement of their competencies as promoters of social, economic and political integration of the communities they represented; the first steps on political lobbying were given;

since the second half of the 1990s, associations reached a stage of maturity and professionalism, having succeeded in gaining the recognition as social and political actors and partners by host society's institutions (ibid: 36-37)²⁷.

In the first period – 1975-1989 – Portuguese society became aware of immigration due to the independence processes that pushed many ex-colonies' citizens to leave their countries and try a better life in Portugal. However, no integration policies were developed by the state, which led to the residential concentration of immigrants in specific urban areas around Lisbon metropolitan area. Tight social networks were a resource to overcome the difficulties faced by the newcomers and compensate the lack of governmental policies.

In such a context, associations created at that time focused on tackling the specific and urgent problems of the newcomers by helping immigrants with housing, work, social security, health care and legal issues. Along with the emergency intervention targeted to everyday problems, associations were a privileged place to overcome the nostalgia and solitude of starting a new life in an unknown society, investing in the organisation of cultural and leisure events.

Portuguese society's awakening for immigration issues occurred in the 1990s, as referred to in a previous section. Migration inflows grew rapidly, having reached the peak around 1991-1992, at the same time when the European Union discussed a common policy to control the frontiers and fight illegal immigration. The phenomena of inflows with its origin in Portuguese-speaking African countries was interpreted with alarm by political authorities and justified a set of repressive measures and the reinforcement of police control in the residential quarters mainly inhabited by immigrants. The political discourse stressed that Portugal was not able to absorb so many immigrants given its economic weakness.

The restrictive immigration policies and the economic recession, as well as the gap between immigrants' expectations and the hostile reception of Portuguese society, were crucial conditions for the progressive reinforcement of the immigrant associative movement. In the first half of the 1990s, associations have turned to political lobbying in order to enlarge the citizenship rights of migrant communities. They started to openly confront the state by claiming the regularisation of illegal immigrants, since irregular status was the first step of the complex exclusion cycle. The radicalisation of the associative discourse, by accusing the government of institutional racism, and the investment on political claiming was the counter-attack against a more and more restrictive immigration policy, which did not foster measures to tackle the roots of discrimination.

Although immigrant associations did not rely on the state, they could benefit from financial support through the European programs directly targeted to combat poverty and discrimination of minority groups. The financial opportunities allowed the development of a diversity of projects mainly focused in education and training activities and made possible a medium-term planning, which implied leaving behind the restricted emergency activities. While developing broader and more complex projects, associations were able to employ better qualified human resources, improve their strategies and enlarge their scope of intervention, in a word, immigrant associations, as well as their staff, were gaining and reinforcing competencies. In so doing, associations were strengthening their role as agents of social, economic and political integration of the groups they represent.

²⁷ We remind the reader that this research was published in 2000, and consequently the period since then until the present time is not covered by the research.

The positive impact of the associative intervention fuelled the mobilisation of the groups themselves, in a dialectic process in which immigrants' communities respected associations more and more and were motivated to organise around associations as well as to empower the ones that already existed. While in 1990 there were only 10 African associations, in 1996 they were almost 80, including the first youth associations (Correia 1997).

The second half of the 1990s witnessed a twist in the overall scenario. The new elected government in 1995 set the guidelines of an emerging integration policy. It created the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, the very first governmental structure responsible for implementing legal, educational and other social measures to promote a progressive participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Portuguese society. The High Commissioner was the official mediator between the state and immigrant associations and it opened formal communication channels between the different organisations.

In this period, European Union social policies reinforced the budgets regarding actions to fight social exclusion and promote social cohesion that elected ethnic minorities as a priority target group. Partnership building was a key factor in European policies, which determined that local actors, such as immigrant associations, were often requested to actively participate in those programs. A variety of institutions – from central and local government structures to non-governmental organisations and trade unions – looked for immigrant associations to build up common projects.

By applying to a wide variety of programs, associations improved the quality of their interventions and tackled the roots of discrimination more effectively. While those programs offered increasing intervention opportunities, they also demanded new responsibilities. Associations were expected to become more and more professional in order to cope with the complex and rigid norms of the funding institutions and to reach the expectations for their work. This set of conditions led to the professionalization and maturity of the associative movement, in which the weaker associations did not succeed but the ones that were able to fulfil the growing responsibilities became essential partners in the overall set of social policies.

Summing up the guidelines of the several associations covered by the research, we can identify three major scopes of intervention (Albuquerque et al 2000: 37-38):

social and economic domain, which covers activities of informal education, such as educational workshops to prevent school failure and/or drop-out, and, on the other hand, professional training courses, informal networks to provide health care services, improvement of basic living conditions in houses and residential areas, among other activities;

cultural domain, by organising dance and music workshops to promote symbolic links with African culture and to preserve a sense of identity and belonging to a community; these activities are often related to educational activities aiming at promoting the language of the ethnic community's origin;

legal and political domain, based on information campaigns about citizenship rights and equivalent duties targeted to immigrant population and activities of lobbying oriented to the society and the several institutions representing the state.

In conclusion, the authors observe that, on one hand, the political context of the host society has determined the mobilisation of immigrants and, on the other, mobilisation of these groups has played a crucial role in the evolution of the Portuguese society as a whole.

Recently, an update of immigrants' associative movement characterisation was made (Albuquerque 2002). The author defines the attempt to identify and locate immigrant associations operating in Portuguese territory as a "detective job", but even so it was possible to identify 184 associations of immigrants and/or immigrant descendants, distributed by seven regions

(these ones covering 22 municipalities) (ibid: 372). Lisbon region hosts 149 associations and within this area associations are distributed as follows: 57 in Lisbon municipality, 26 in Amadora, 25 in Loures and 17 in Oeiras, just to mention the most important cases (ibidem: 374). When characterising associations by country of reference, those from Portuguese-speaking African countries represent 75 per cent of the total amount (ibidem: 375). It is important to note that the diversity of immigrants' associations has strongly increased since the late 1990s and in particular since 2000 with the emergence of more diversified national origins (e.g. Eastern Europeans' associations) (ibidem: 376-377).

In sum, data given by this study confirms migratory trends to Portugal and results about immigrants' associative movement that will later be presented in this section.

2.1.1.1. Immigrant descendants' associations²⁸

The work by Albuquerque et al focused on the similarities and differences in the mobilisation of immigrant descendants, through formal or informal associations. This will now be presented briefly (2000: 53-56). According to the authors, the mobilisation of immigrant associations clearly included the participation of younger generations. Immigrant descendants were involved in a diversity of projects, not only as their target public but also as active participants in the planning and organisation of activities. During the first half of the 1990s, immigrant associations focused their action in the fight for citizenship rights. Citizenship was regarded as a long-term battle, which would have as a first step the regularisation of illegal immigrants. However, the crucial element of full citizenship was the effective integration of immigrant descendants. The failure to integrate younger generations would affect social cohesion and reinforce the roots of ethnic, social and economic discrimination.

Although immigrants' associations have developed cultural and educational activities for children and young people since the mid-1970s, integration of immigrant descendants really emerged as one major issue in the associative intervention of the 1990s. It was only then that the presence of young people within immigrant communities reached a significant number, confronting society with new issues. Schools, the first institution forced to integrate diversity, were then confronted with immigration side effects, such as high drop-out rates among immigrant descendants, partly due to monocultural teaching and the lack of preparation to manage cultural diversity in the classroom. On the other hand, youth crime, strongly connected to small-scale smuggling and a direct result of school dropouts among teenagers, became more frequent in the multi-ethnic districts of Lisbon area and gave a negative visibility to immigrant descendants.

Confronted with those situations, associations invested in educational and cultural projects to address difficulties at school and to involve young people in leisure activities as a way to keep them out of the streets. As we previously mentioned, the available funding programs were useful and valuable tools for the improvement of associative intervention. Through those programs, associations developed training projects, gave support in finding a job or a training course and created cultural clubs to involve young people in activities that enabled them to gain self-respect and build life projects. Such activities improved young people's skills and many of them were then employed by associations in order to maximise their knowledge and experience in their work with other young people. The positive impact of such activities will have one direct and visible effect, as some of those trainees will take the initiative to create youth associations.

²⁸ When using the category "immigrant descendants" we are referring to people born in Portugal whose parents have an immigrant status or were immigrants who acquired Portuguese nationality, also so-called "second generation immigrants". As previously mentioned, they can be Portuguese nationals or not (see part I, section 1.3.2. and also Neves 2002: 214-215).

The first youth associations were born in the first half of the 1990s. They were created as local associations, settled in districts with a high concentration of ethnic minorities, or as national ones, composed mainly of university students. The evolution of these associations is similar to the immigrant ones. At the very beginning, they had a strong political discourse, by confronting the government with the injustice and discrimination situations suffered by immigrants, in general, and young generations, in particular, and accusing Portuguese society of institutional racism.

Racism was, in fact, frequently discussed among youth associations, as immigrant descendants did not accept the non recognition of their Portuguese status by Portuguese society and institutions. The slogan of the European Year Against Racism “All different, all equal” was much criticised because it hid the inequalities and differences of their real lives. The discussion about racism was directly connected with the battle for a full citizenship since young Luso-Africans - or Afro-Portuguese or whatever the hyphenated designation could be - wanted to be recognised as Portuguese²⁹.

In spite of the existence of immigrant descendants’ associations, we can observe that young people organised mostly in informal groups, building up a set of social micro networks to facilitate their integration, either through hip-hop subculture or cultural events related to African traditions.

In the second half of the 1990s, youth associations turned their intervention to less politicised areas and invested more in the promotion of skills, mainly through the training projects maintained within inclusive social policies. The fight against racism and negative stereotypes of society towards young blacks was then based in activities that helped young people to gain new competencies in order to overcome inequalities of access to the labour market. The strategy was no longer to valorise blackness and cultural ties but the individual value of each person, through a strong investment in training and educational activities.

Reinforcing similarities rather than differences are now at the core of youth associations’ strategies. Instead of dealing with the government as an opponent, they see it as a valuable and vital partner for the success of integration. This shift in youth associations’ strategies was partly due to the political changes that the state agreed to conduct.

In conclusion, intervention of youth associations and network building was determined by the policies developed by the State addressed at minority groups and society’s representations of immigrant descendants. The evolution of aims, strategies and discourses of youth associations is, once more, linked to the social and political context of society itself.

2.1.2. Immigrants’ associations of Portuguese-speaking African countries

As mentioned in the previous section, in the early 1990s immigrants’ organisations were few and immigrants were still invisible in the public political arena. This situation changed significantly a few years later, but we must remember that it was just around the late 1980s and during the 1990s that Portugal began to receive regular and steady immigration inflows³⁰.

According to Correia (1997), between 1970 and 1980 there was only one association of immigrants’ background (the *Associação Caboverdiana* that we will later present); in 1990 there were ten associations; while in 1996 the author identified seventy-eight such associations and ten university students’ immigrant associations (Correia 1997: 4). This paper was not a result

²⁹ See part I, section 1.3.2.

³⁰ See part I, section 1.1.

of academic research but represented the author's effort to map Portuguese-speaking African countries associations³¹. Correia was himself a leader of the *Associação Caboverdiana* and was interested in improving the knowledge on the associative movement in which he was involved. Because of the dominant informal character of these kind of structures, this work has many gaps, as do all attempts that aim at the identification of immigrants' associations referred in the report³². In fact, some of the identified associations could never reach the necessary conditions to obtain a legal status. The paper was presented at a conference along with the paper of another *Associação Caboverdiana* leader (Andrade 1997), which aimed at analysing the integration process of immigrants through the lens of associative leaders.

The *Associação Caboverdiana* (Cape Verdean association) was created in the 1970s, even before de-colonisation process. The *Associação Caboverdiana* has had an important role in the overall immigrants' associative movement and it assumed a pioneer role in the interaction between the State and minority groups several times. Carita and Rosendo (1993) developed a case study of the *Associação Caboverdiana* as an attempt to characterise the associative movement of this particular ethnic group. This article was the first publication addressing specifically civic participation of immigrants in Portugal. It characterised the different emigration flows from Cape Verde during the twentieth century and what the authors defined as the three stages of the association.

The *Associação Caboverdiana* was first created in 1960 as *Casa de Cabo Verde* (Cape Verde house) by an elite composed mainly of university students. As Cape Verde was a Portuguese colony at that time, it had the status of regional association. After the Portuguese revolution in 1974 and due to the proximity of the fight against colonialism between Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau, which resulted in the creation of a common political party, the *Casa de Cabo Verde* joined the two communities and changed the name to *Associação de Caboverdianos e Guineenses*. Its aims were strongly directed at the promotion of social and cultural development in the two countries. At the same time it lost some of its elite status and started to develop educational campaigns in residential areas inhabited by immigrants' working class.

In 1980, the political relations between Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau changed and led to a complete separation in political and social terms and consequently in the association's life. The *Associação Caboverdiana* was then formed and has maintained the same status until the present time. Community and political interventions have been the main concerns since then (Carita and Rosendo 1993).

2.1.3. Case study on East-Timorese associations

Here, we would like to highlight the work of Viegas (1998), which focused on an almost forgotten ethnic community in the Portuguese mosaic of minority groups: the community from East-Timor. This publication was the result of a long-term research led within the Research Centre on Migration and Intercultural Relations of Universidade Aberta. Its main concern was to characterise the associative participation of East-Timor citizens living in Portugal, analysing the connections between ethnic mobilisation and identity politics developed by this community, under the process of a more general and difficult process of battling for independence from Indonesia.

³¹ Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe.

³² E.g. Albuquerque et al 2000, Albuquerque 2002, Marques 1998. We must also refer the efforts to identify immigrant associations in Lisbon metropolitan area led by Centro Padre Alves Correia (1995) and Sociedade de Estudos e Intervenção em Engenharia Social (1995), although both studies had no academic or analytical aims.

We must refer that at the time East-Timor was still Indonesia's colony, Xanana Gusmão (now President of the Republic of East-Timor) was in jail and the people suffered some repression, which caused an important migratory flow to Portugal. East-Timorese citizens kept Portuguese nationality after 1974, a situation that resulted from the tricky political relations between Portugal and Indonesia. Even though they were Portuguese, Portuguese society and the East-Timorese themselves represented East-Timorese immigrants as political refugees (Viegas 1998: 133). As with other associations, East-Timorese associations developed activities in social, cultural and political fields, but the core of their intervention was political mobilisation towards a free East-Timor. The particular status of this group determined a fast recognition of their organisations as political actors by the Portuguese state (ibid: 177-178). In fact, the East-Timorese case assumed an exceptional role in the immigrant associative movement due to the complexity of the country's political situation.

2.1.4. Comparative studies of immigrants' associations: Indian, Chinese and Cape Verdeans

There are no studies analysing or giving a broad characterisation of Indian associations. In a research on Indian traders and their strategies of social integration into Portuguese society, the author refers briefly to the associative structures but does not develop the topic (Ávila quoted by Machado 2002). Indian's associative movement is then characterised as strong but strictly oriented to the Indian communities and closed to the society as a whole (Machado 2002: 419). Lobbying and claiming towards the state exist but in subtle and irregular terms (ibid: 420).

With regard to the Chinese, a similar situation has happened. The research on entrepreneurs and networks (Teixeira 1996, 1998) identifies and describes some associations but it does not examine them in terms of political mobilisation³³.

Mapril and Araújo (2002) have started to fill this gap by making a comparison between Chinese immigrants' associations and those from Cape Verdeans. By presenting a characterisation of associations' activities, the authors identified four domains of intervention: the social, the political, the cultural and the economic. These domains are

“spread across Portugal and their home countries, meaning that all these activities are performed locally and transnationally” (ibid: 205).

The social domain is the dominant field of activity of the Cape Verdean voluntary sector, as associations are usually located in slums of suburban areas, whilst the Chinese immigrants benefit from the direct support developed by religious associations (ibid: 205).

Differences on the voluntary sector of each ethnic group are a direct consequence of differences between the groups themselves. As Cape Verdeans are mainly integrated in the lower sectors of economy and concentrate in specific suburban areas, associations focus their work more at a neighbourhood level and provide mainly social support to the inhabitants of those degraded areas who face some social deprivation. The situation of the Chinese is very different; Chinese integration is made into an immigrant economy, which protects them more from subsistence problems (Mapril and Araújo 2002: 220).

³³ We are aware that there is possibly a rich diversity of M.A. thesis on immigrants' associations and related issues due to the plurality of post-graduate courses on migrations and ethnic relations already existing in Portuguese universities. However, it is simply not possible to analyse all this research in the present report. Even to include it just as final bibliography, it turned to be very difficult to get precise and updated information. Thus, for the purpose of this report, we focused our attention on publications such as books and journal articles, just quoting M.A. thesis when they assumed a pioneer role in the research of a particular issue.

The authors observed that the associations' strategies are multidirectional and multiterritorialized, as both communities move along receiving and sending country political contexts, trying to negotiate benefits from both sides. Thus

“[t]he relationship between contexts and associative fragmented or unified structures not only reflects distinct relations between resources and associations, it is also a ground for ongoing negotiation of rights and of identities. It is not only resources that are negotiated but also multiple identities since this is the way through which these immigrant associations' leaders acquire their places of power (which enables them to negotiate the expected and needed resources)” (ibid: 221).

Another on-going research on migrants' associations and their elites covers Chinese, Cape Verdean and Indian groups (Marques et al 2003). The authors observed that leaders of national level associations of the three immigrant groups are not recognised as representatives of the communities by locally-based associations and are represented

“as a distant group, belonging to a higher stratum, a view opposed to the leaders' self-perceptions as they see themselves “as an elite representing the ‘community’ next to the Portuguese central authorities” (ibid: 24).

It is stressed that the term 'community' has different connotations, being used either to refer to a local neighbourhood, a religious group or the sum of co-ethnics and thus influencing the identification of representatives of the 'community'. The authors argue that

“[t]his use addresses both internal and external spheres: mobilization inside the ‘community’ around specific themes aiming at bringing together people who recognize themselves under that particular spotlight, and who may be very diverse on several attributes; and recognition by the outside ‘world’ of a specific space of ‘community’ (...), framed in collective terms” (ibidem: 24).

However, as immigrants' associations assume a greater diversity within each national origin so do associations' elites, following the economic incorporation modes of the specific group:

“whereas most of Indian and Chinese association leaders are self-employed in businesses created by them, the Cape Verdeans are generally educated people, having a tertiary education degree, working for wages or as professionals” (ibidem: 27).

The connection between incorporation patterns of each group and elites' prior concerns for associative mobilisation is also significant. Chinese and Indian elites

“stress primordial features (historical and cultural – including religious, in the Indian case)”, [while] “formal participation in political opportunity structures is seen [by African associations' leaders] as a platform both for community building and pressure group formation” (ibidem: 29).

Even if one Chinese association makes part of two platforms within the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities and one of the Indian local associations relates to the High Commissioner for obtaining provisions, both national groups base their public action through cultural and religious channels instead of political claiming (ibidem: 30).

The authors state that associative strategies aimed at achieving community formation and mobilisation of these two groups may evolve depending on the use of welfare to reinforce citizenship as far as the Cape Verdean group is concerned, and on the dynamics introduced by new inflow patterns on the case of Indians (ibidem: 30).

2.1.5. Eastern Europe immigrants' associations

Pires (n.d.) produced a research paper about associations of Eastern Europe immigrants, which is part of longer term research regarding immigrants' third sector. Given the gap of research on Eastern European immigrants, this paper is an important piece of research on the issue. The author describes Eastern European immigrants' associations and those associations whose work is oriented toward these national groups and their connections with Portuguese non-governmental organisations.

Associations of and oriented toward Eastern Europe immigrants' in Portugal were created since 2000, following the migratory flows of these groups (ibid: 10-11). Eight associations were identified, six of them have already been recognised as immigrant associations by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities under Law no. 115/99 (vd. 1.3.). These associations generally define as their target groups the Romanian, Slavonic and Eastern European immigrants, but some of them also aim at ethnic minorities in general (ibidem: 12). Half were founded by Eastern European immigrants, while the others were a joint initiative led by Portuguese and Eastern Europeans (ibidem: 13).

Similar to associations of other immigrant groups presented in previous research, these associations also orient their activities mainly to socio-economic and legal issues (e.g. social provisions such as food and other primary needs, work contracts, permanence or residence authorisations, social security documents). Some of them have the support of other Portuguese third sector organisations in the field of labour market insertion (ibidem: 16-17).

Despite the small number of these associations, there is a plurality of opinions among the different leaders on the attitudes and immigration policies of governmental structures. While some of them argue that official structures have no wish to know and to interact with the associative world, others criticise the bureaucracy and slowness of the administrative and legal processes as well as the link often made between crime and immigration by the Service for Foreigners and Borders. Local authorities are mentioned as funding institutions and only two of them look for the support of trade unions (ibidem: 19-20).

In contrast to other ethnic associations, contacts between Eastern European immigrants' associations and official structures of their countries of origin are few and irregular (ibidem: 21). The same happens regarding transnational links, either international or European. Associations usually do not look for inclusion and co-operation within those kinds of networks (ibidem: 22). On the contrary, there is a diversity of links between associations and Portuguese non-governmental organisations, which also introduces situations of conflict and competition among associations to obtain the most benefits and funding (ibidem: 21-22).

The author stresses that in relation to other immigrant groups' associations these have obtained formal recognition very quickly because of the lack of social structures to deal with this new and unusual migratory flow in Portuguese migration history. However, it is premature to think over the viability in the long term of this particular branch of immigrants' associative movement due to the strong inter-associative competition. For the present it seems that associations which were founded jointly with Portuguese are in a better position to satisfy Eastern European immigrants' needs (ibidem: 25).

2.2. Research on local authorities' policies in relation to immigrants' mobilisation

Although immigrant associations were taking the first steps toward political claiming and lobbying in the mid-1990s, they had already developed an important intervention that targeted the improvement of living conditions in the residential quarters mainly inhabited by immigrants. Sensitive to their role as social integration agents, some local authorities had created departments to deal with ethnic minorities and immigrants' specific problems and to establish co-operation links with associations (as referred previously in section 1.3.1.).

Amadora town hall published two reports regarding the relations between local authorities and immigrants' organisations, within the framework of ELAINE network (Câmara Municipal da Amadora 1997, European Centre for Work and Society 1997) and Loures town hall developed a diagnosis of the needs, problems and expectations of local associations operating in the district (Nunes and Gouveia 1996).

Although rare, these initiatives were valuable since they represented an effort of local authorities to improve the knowledge of the processes they were involved in and also because it was a formal recognition of associations' role as mediators between communities and political institutions.

2.2.1. Case study on the Oeiras district

In the late 1990s and as part of the project *Multicultural policies and modes of citizenship in European Cities*, the results of the Portuguese case study on the Oeiras district started to appear to the public (Marques et al 1998). The research was centred in the municipality of Oeiras, a suburban area of Lisbon with an important presence of immigrant population, in particular from Portuguese-speaking African countries, including Cape Verde. This case study focused on the interactions between local policies and immigrants' mobilisation and characterised ethnic and national organisations operating in the district.

Associations were divided into five categories:

“those which have a strict local involvement (...) be they created by the local authorities or not, their survival always depends on the more or less regular attribution of public funding (...); those with supra-local involvement in Portuguese society, but having local references of their country of origin (...); those having a religious background (...); those which have all encompassing aims, trying to work as representatives of the whole community (...), and clearly assuming (and claiming) the status and role of partner in all the negotiations with public authorities (...); and finally, those which aim at promoting and fostering the communities' cultural identities, probably also working as lobbying structures” (ibid: 31-32).

Of the 102 associations that exist in the district, 15 are mainly grass-root organisations with a dominant participation from immigrant and ethnic minorities'. Their scope of intervention is related to sports and popular culture activities, while just four of them have plans to assume the role of pressure groups (ibidem: 50-51). This is congruent with the analysis of immigrants' associative movement as a whole presented in a previous section.

Contrary to other municipalities that have created structures that aim specifically at immigrant groups (e.g. Lisbon and Amadora, as presented in 1.3.), the Oeiras town hall vision of local policies is centred on the individual:

“the philosophical guidelines of the Town Hall elected representatives confer the focal role to the individual, assuming this is the only right democratic position to escape patronising and naïve attitudes. These ‘maxime’ quotas creation and other such positive

discrimination measures are refused on the basis that it only leads to the crystallisation both of stigmatising tendencies steaming from outside (white, lower-classes of Portuguese descent), and of the internal stratification cleavages of immigrants and ethnic minorities, where only the better positioned can avail themselves of these exceptional opportunities created” (Marques et al 1998: 44).

This political strategy makes Oeiras a singular case compared to other Portuguese municipalities that have significant amounts of immigrant residents in their geographical space of intervention. The authors stress that local policies in Oeiras reveal a strong opposition toward specific policies or structures targeted to immigrant and ethnic minorities:

“there are no specific group problems, at least as much as the Town Hall is concerned, there are only individual problems – e.g., and foremost, the inability to accede to the housing market (...). The individual is the sole interlocutor of the City Hall, and the relations between Town Hall and local inhabitants, whether national or not, are therefore personal and direct: independently of passport register, every resident is a ‘municipal citizen’ and must be faced as such” (ibidem: 44).

When looking at the participation levels of the immigrant population in the Oeiras district, the authors observe that participation is low and weak since associations are small organisations and present limited scope and forms of mobilisation (ibidem: 54).

Focusing on attitudes towards organisations, the most frequent were

“suspicion, estrangement and even conflict among particular interest” (ibidem: 56).

Regarding strategies to solve problems, immigrants prefer collective solutions while ethnic majority interviewees are balanced between individual and collective response (ibidem: 56).

Stemming from Soysal’s analysis in the influence of dominant society political matrix in minority groups’ mobilisation (Soysal quoted by Marques et al 1999: 5), the authors underline the fact that the position of local authorities in Oeiras towards immigrants determined the scope and strength of immigrants’ participation.

In practical terms, as Oeiras town hall policies have an individualistic approach, by envisioning each inhabitant as a citizen without highlighting his or her ethnic background, local associations organise themselves mostly on a non-ethnic designation basis, even though their target groups are immigrant population (Marques et al 1999: 10).

However, the authors observed that

“participation in the political system (both in the sending and the host societies) by the members of ethnic minorities living in Oeiras is strongly encouraged by the political parties, their local representatives, and the homeland authorities as well” (ibid: 5).

Political participation of immigrants is thus the result of a top-down process and not a grass-root organisational response to institutions at the top of political hierarchy (ibidem: 5).

When looking at national and local associations, we can point out that the capacity of associations in being recognised as representative of immigrants groups is also linked to a top-down legitimacy process. The authors argue that

“there is some disjunction between immigrant associations’ actions and legitimacy grounds at local (municipal and neighbourhood) levels, on the one hand, and at national or international levels, on the other. The activation of the national associations, even those acting at local level, is performed either by actors at the national government level, or by supra-national actors (international institutions, sending countries’ governments and political parties). It is from this activation and from the relationships

that they establish at those levels, rather than from the mobilisation or suffrage of immigrant communities, that national associations draw their legitimacy” (ibidem: 13).

Regarding local associations, their legitimacy is a result of

“their coming from the mobilisation of local groups, or from their ability to activate them and render them services (including those of mediators to the local political institutions). Their orientation towards mobilising to participate in higher levels, however, is feeble, as is their articulation with national level associations” (ibidem: 14).

Besides this set of intricate variables altogether influencing immigrants’ political participation, more structural characteristics of Portuguese society are also playing an important role in broadening or limiting opportunities. Marques and Santos (2000) proceed the analysis of the last two works quoted before, now addressing the issue of the weakness of Portuguese civil society and its conditioning of immigrants’ inclusion in Oeiras district. Portuguese welfare state’s fragility derives from a

“deep mistrust toward state institutions performance and opportunity structures in general” [and] “very low and fragmented associative participation” (Marques and Santos 2000: 2).

In the case study of Oeiras municipality, the authors argue that

“the effective ability of providing public resources is also a prime determinant of the opportunity structures moulding immigrants’ civic inclusion. It is not enough to create formal structures of participation (...), unless the public authorities can achieve some sort of effective redistribution of public goods, and the extension of welfare rights that build the state’s ‘performance legitimacy’ to previously excluded segments of civil society” (ibidem: 3-4).

In fact, in spite of the individualistic philosophy that underlines the town hall policies, the authors stress that the municipal re-housing process that occurred in the late 1990s, while broadening associations’ opportunities to participate in local decisions, it also allowed them to be treated as intermediary bodies in order to effectively implement this program.

When regarding the issue of trust in organisations as an important variable for participation, the present research stressed that immigrants and those of African descent who lived in the district had higher levels of trust in public authorities and a greater reliance in mediating structures than the Portuguese population (ibidem: 15-16). In practical terms, this meant that local housing policies had positive benefits for associative participation, by allowing associations

“to act as autonomous bodies (...), to make plans for the future (not being so intensely dependent on responding to urgent, pressing, everyday needs), to organize to meet interests above the local level immediate needs, and to engage in activities (old and new) which further the civic inclusion by framing it in regular, formalized settings” (ibidem: 16).

However, this situation also resulted in a stronger dependence on public provision of resources, which somehow can limit the autonomy achieved (ibidem: 16).

The authors conclude by drawing two hypotheses: first

“welfare redistribution should not be taken for granted when dealing with the role of the state in shaping the inclusion of the immigrants, [when] taking into account the north-south European divide, welfare is a variable, not a constant (...),”

and secondly,

“informal networking and formal participation can have a reciprocal shaping up effect in enacting forms of democratic participation (...) as long as the first one can achieve some autonomy from particularistic dynamics, and the latter can add some grassroots legitimacy into its representation claims.” (ibidem: 19-20).

2.2.2. Case study on the Amadora district

Horta (2000, 2002b) also deals with the interactions between local authorities' policies and minority groups' mobilisation. This analysis is framed around a discussion on citizenship and immigration policy in post-colonial Portuguese society. The field research was developed in Amadora, a city situated in the periphery of Lisbon with a high percentage of immigrant and immigrant descendants. Its multicultural character is similar to that of Oeiras, but its location is in a more degraded suburban area, and presently it is a district with one of the highest presence of slums. Amadora is one of the Portuguese municipalities that has a specific department to deal with migrants and ethnic minorities' population (vd. 1.3.).

Through a multi-year research project, the author observed how institutional discourses and policies have been shaping and controlling immigrant political participation and integration (Horta 2002b: 157).

During the 1980s, Amadora municipality created a strong dynamics in promoting and stimulating the creation of popular associations and assuming a concern to involve immigrant groups. In the early 1990s, the Project of the Ethnic Minorities of the Municipality of Amadora was a political response to the unprecedented centrality obtained by immigrants' participation in the local political agenda (ibid: 160-161). This project

“was crucial for the production of a new social category, that of ethnic minorities” (ibidem: 161),

in opposition to the ambiguity of the official discourse on immigrants until then.

The author underlines that 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” (ibidem: 162).

And stresses that

“[u]nder 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” (ibidem: 162).

The creation of the already mentioned Municipal Council for Ethnic and Immigrant Communities in mid-1990s enlarged the formal channels for immigrants' participation and it was an example of the dynamics introduced in local politics and its concern with these groups. However, the set of measures, structures and policy guidelines were unable to solve the structural problems faced by the city and its population, on the contrary,

“[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’” (ibidem: 165).

Since 1997, after the victory of the Socialist Party in local elections, which substituted the Communist Party political majority until that year, there was a switch in the official discourse and policies, now based on

“[t]ighter control, new police stations, a ‘school-factory’, (...), and a municipal agency to deal exclusively with ‘the immigration problem of insecurity’” (ibidem: 167).

Again, the discourse produced problematic views regarding the concerned population since

“by reducing immigration to criminality it depoliticizes marginalization and social exclusion; (...) it imposes a new set of representations based on a simplistic and deeply racialized notion of immigration and cultural differences” (ibidem: 167).

2.3. Questioning ethnic politics and political mobilisation of immigrants in Portugal

The first journal articles on immigrants' civic participation published in the 1990s stressed the absence of ethnic politics or the political mobilisation of immigrant groups in Portugal (Machado 1992, 1994). The reasons pointed out to justify this situation were the recent character of immigration flows, the weakness of the Portuguese welfare state, and the lack of interest by immigrant elites in participating in the political context of the host country.

However, the author also points out that this situation was about to change with the first period of regularisation of illegal immigrants launched by the Portuguese government in 1992. The issue of illegal immigrants was seen as the turning point in the mobilisation of immigrants. In spite of the difficulties faced by immigrant associations, they had two major concerns: 1) trying to gain the political recognition of immigrants and immigration issues from the state, and 2) solving the problem of the illegal status of large numbers of immigrants (Machado 1992: 134). The illegal status of unknown numbers of immigrants was indeed the dominant concern in the public discussion of immigration issues, since it compromised the whole process of integration of minority groups into Portuguese society.

The same author points out the hypothesis that the potential of collective action will be reinforced in the medium-term along with the emergence of immigrant descendants and a new generation of associative leaders, already born in their parents' host country (Machado 1994: 128-129).

A decade later, Machado (2002) continues to develop an analysis focused on the issues of ethnic politics and/or ethnic mobilisation. Four basic features of ethnic mobilisation in Portuguese society are drawn by the author (Machado 2002). In the first place, he stresses that in a short period, ethnic mobilisation evolved from a “zero level point” to a situation of institutional regulation (ibid: 416). In the beginning of the 1990s the discussion was still when and how illegal immigrants would be legalised. However, six years later two extraordinary legalisation processes had already occurred, immigrants had participated in local elections, the central governmental had created a High Commissioner for developing specific and integrated programs for immigrants and ethnic minorities, and a set of other actions had been implemented. The author explains that this fast evolution resulted from a strategy of regulation led by the state, instead of an active response coming from collective action (ibidem: 416). A second relevant feature outlined by Machado (2002) is the fact that ethnic mobilisation stressed more the social dimensions of discrimination instead of those related to racial categories. In other words, the author argues that the state is more concerned with universalistic policies, while associations' claims are mainly addressed to social and cultural categories instead of racial ones (ibidem: 417). The third characteristic outlined by Machado relates to the evolution of the associative movement itself. On the one hand, the author points out the balance between autonomy and dependence (ibidem: 418). When associations reach a certain degree of professionalism because they are recognised partners of institutional structures, they start to receive public funding to promote their activities and by so doing broaden their scope of intervention. Thus, at the same time that they reinforce their intervention and assume a leading role, they also become more dependent towards their funding institutions. On the

other hand, the capacity of collective action depends on how able associations are to organise themselves beyond specific ethnic communities (ibidem: 419).

A final feature outlined by the author is the role developed by institutional actors like anti-racist associations, trade unions, and Catholic Church organisations in the overall process of ethnic mobilisation (ibidem: 420). All of these organisations have assumed positions in favour of immigrants' integration and have contributed to achieve an institutional regulation of integration and immigration policies. Their intervention has however varied over time and according to the issues discussed in the public arena, additionally there are many differences among these various types of organisations.

The author thus concludes that many open questions are still under discussion and influencing the changing character of ethnic mobilisation process in the Portuguese society (ibidem: 421). He argues that the evolution of ethnic mobilisation will depend on the relation between social contrasts and continuities established between ethnic minorities and the majority group of host society, justifying the stronger mobilisation of African immigrants' associations, as these groups are in a situation of more intense social contrast (ibidem: 430). The author also outlines the associative participation of Guinea Bissau immigrants in Portugal, pointing out that this group along with Cape Verdeans are the most active in ethnic mobilisation, due to the above-mentioned intensity of social contrast (ibidem: 421-430).

2.4. Immigrant personalities

Fernando Ká has been the president of *Associação Guineense de Solidariedade Social* (Social solidarity Guinean association) since it was created in 1987.

He has Portuguese nationality since he was born Guinea Bissau before 1974 when Guinea Bissau was still an overseas Portuguese colony.

He was the first deputy with a foreign background ever elected to the national Parliament. His election occurred in 1991 and it was the result of a pre-electoral agreement between the Socialist Party and immigrant associations. He was thus formally elected as a representative of immigrants living in Portugal.

He was one of the most active leaders during the period of reinforcement of associations' political mobilisation, in the first half of the 1990s. He is still a reference name since he is the only associative leader willing to introduce a racial category - that of the black Portuguese population - on the discussion about citizenship, political and social rights. This issue is also important in symbolic terms since during his deputy mandate he raised awareness in the national parliament on the visibility of racial diversity that illustrated the changing character of Portuguese nationals.

Celeste Correia was president of *Associação Caboverdiana* (Cape Verdean association) for some years in the 1990s.

She also holds Portuguese nationality but her origin is Cape Verdean. She came to Portugal before 1974 as a university student and kept Portuguese nationality after the independence of Cape Verde. She is now the only deputy with foreign background in the national Parliament, having succeeded Fernando Ká in the 1995 elections. She has since assumed the mandate of deputy within the Socialist Party.

While assuming leadership roles in *Associação Caboverdiana*, Celeste Correia was one of the most active voices in political lobbying for claiming the regularisation of illegal immigrants in the first half of the 1990s (as well as Fernando Ká). Being part of the Cape Verdean elite, she was able to assume a close relationship with grass-root organisations. By using her skills

as a secondary school teacher, during the 1980s, she promoted within the *Associação Caboverdiana*, in partnership with other associations, an important literacy project targeted to immigrants living in the suburb slums of Lisbon metropolitan area.

Mamadou Ba is an associative leader of *Associação Luso-Senegalesa* (Luso-Senegalese association).

He has been living in Portugal for eight years and has resident status. He was one of the individuals who founded *Associação Luso-Senegalesa* in the mid-1990s. During the nineties, he increased his participation in migrant lobbying organisations, always assuming a strong politicised view of immigration and integration policies.

He is also a leader of *SOS Racismo*, a non-governmental organisation, and an activist in *Bloco de Esquerda*, a left wing political party. Despite the few numbers of Senegalese immigrants in Portugal and the small dimension of *Associação Luso-Senegalesa*, he benefits from his other associative and political ties and has become a regular presence in conferences on immigration. He clearly questions the concepts of citizenship and nationality in relation to the traditional conceptions of the Nation-State. Making part of a younger generation of leaders, he represents the most politicised sector of the immigrants' associative movement.

Part III. Expert assessment

What are the main fields of activities that immigrants engage in?

We base our answer to this question on the scientific research described in Part II.

Immigrants engage mainly in ethnic associations that develop a diversity of activities. Most associations operate at a micro level, in residential degraded quarters where immigrants are disproportionately represented. They provide social support to people with some kind of deprivation (e.g. food, medicine or clothes), but they specialize in educational and cultural activities, such as creating studying rooms to help children with their homework, or organising dance and music groups, and sporting events. Besides these activities, political claiming for the regularisation of illegal immigrants has also been a permanent and important field of intervention since the mid-1990s. Associations pay strong attention to legal issues by providing information in the areas of work contracts, social security and health care, and by helping immigrants in solving conflicts with employers and institutions of the host society.

What ethnic and nationality groups are particularly active, and why?

Our answer to this question is also based on scientific research described in Part II.

Reflecting directly the evolution of Portuguese migratory flows, Cape Verdeans are one of the most active ethnic groups since they were the first group with significant and regular immigration flows to Portugal, only surpassed by immigrants from Guinea Bissau who have a higher number of associations. A recent characterisation of immigrant associations by country of reference identified 42 Guinean associations and 24 from Cape Verdeans (Albuquerque 2002: 374).

Among African immigrants' associations, Cape Verdeans and Guineans are the ones who have a more politicised discourse. This is due, on the one hand, to the historical link between the two communities and the political history of the two countries, as Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau were allies during the battle against colonialism. The existing Cape Verdean Association, the oldest immigrant association, and also the most recognised by institutional structures

in Portugal, developed from the Cape Verdean and Guinean Association founded in the 1980s (see Part II of this report).

On the other hand, we can offer an explanation for this when turning back to Machado's analysis of social contrasts and ethnic mobilisation (Machado 2002). The stronger activism and more politicised discourses and positioning of associative leaders' of Guineans and Cape Verdeans are a consequence of the larger cultural gap towards Portuguese society faced by these ethnic groups.

If we take a broader perspective and look for associations that are not based on a single group, we find that those which include multiple national origins and that were constituted by immigrants from Portuguese-speaking African countries (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé e Príncipe) are the most numerous (ibid: 374).

By adding the numbers of Portuguese-speaking African countries' associations, either with a single designation or with multiple origins, we can also observe that 75 per cent of the total number of associations located in Portugal were founded by people of those countries (Albuquerque 2002: 375). The same research underlines that the diversity of immigrants' associations has increased since the late 1990s and in particular since 2000 with the emergence of more diversified national origins, namely Eastern Europeans. In only a few years (2000 - 2002) eight Eastern European immigrant associations or associations operating on their behalf were created (Pires n.d.).

In sum, the political participation level is related to the migratory experience and patterns of inclusion of different immigrant groups into Portuguese society.

Is the degree of active civic participation of immigrants low or high compared to the majority population?

Our answer is a hypothesis grounded in empirical information obtained through informal opinion taking with associative leaders and other researchers in the field. We do not have enough empirical data to draw an accurate comparison between the level of participation of immigrants and that of the Portuguese population.

Research on the Portuguese population stresses the fragility of civic participation and its connection with the weakness of the Portuguese welfare state (e.g. Cabral 1997, 2000, Santos 1994, Viegas 2000), while research on the immigrant population underlines the limits and problems dealt by different ethnic groups' associations. There are however no studies comparing nationals and non-nationals. The attempts to characterise immigrants' associations have been unsuccessful in collecting precise data on the number of associations. Even the records of associations officially recognised by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities do not offer data on this topic.

Here we will try to make a simple mathematical exercise drawn out of the Oeiras municipality case study (Marques et al 1998). Oeiras had 152.000 inhabitants and estimates of the immigrant population identified a number between 6.000-8.000 individuals (which must be added to the number of Portuguese inhabitants, thereby, totalling between 158.000 and 160.000). In the empirical survey, the authors identified 15 immigrant associations out of a total amount of 102. Based on this information, we find that the immigrant population was between 3,7 and 5,0 per cent of the total population while the numbers of immigrant associations was 14,7 per cent of the total amount of local organisations. In this particular case, it would appear that immigrants are more active than the Portuguese population.

What is the relation between engagement in ethnic or migrant organisations compared to mainstream society organisations?

Our answer is a mix of our personal opinions as experts on immigration issues and the opinions exchanged with other researchers in the field since academic research has yet to cover this issue specifically.

If we analyse immigrants' participation in non immigrant-based associations and the set of non-governmental organisations existing in the Portuguese third sector, we observe that immigrants engage mainly and almost exclusively in ethnic or migrant organisations. There are some non-governmental organisations whose target groups are immigrants and ethnic minorities that were founded by immigrants (in this case, immigrants often make also part of the board of directors). That is, when immigrants participate in non-immigrant organisations, they still operate in the 'immigration or ethnic arenas'.

So, it seems that there is a 'restricted area' open to immigrants' participation due to the Portuguese institutional and legal framework and, on the other side, as a result again of the migratory patterns and modes of incorporation into Portuguese society.

What issues do you consider to be of particular interest and importance in the field?

There are very interesting and relevant issues raised by the discussion of different research results. One of these is the question about the links between social contrasts and the evolution of immigrant associative mobilisation. It is most interesting to analyse future trends on incorporation processes of ethnic groups and its connections with associative leaders' claims and political positioning.

It is also important to compare the Portuguese situation with those of other European countries that have an older immigration history, and see how the Portuguese immigrants' associative movement will be affected by a changing legal framework and the emergence of new opportunities in the set of structures regarding the political mobilisation and participation of minority groups.

Of course new issues will arise along with the increasing interest of researchers and political institutions that deal with immigration. One should not forget that Portuguese society has awakened to the reality of immigration only recently. In a relatively short period, many things have changed rapidly starting from the almost total absence of ethnic mobilisation in the 1990s to a situation of institutional regulation in the beginning of the 21st century. These changes have happened despite the existence of structural problems of democratic participation and citizenship in Portuguese society, as a whole.

Where do you see the major research gaps?

There are visible gaps in research on immigrants' participation in political parties and trade unions, as well as about other civic participation fields beyond associations.

When research covers the set of interactions between immigrants' associations, local and governmental authorities, which it often does, membership of associative leaders in political parties and its connections to political mobilisation of different ethnic groups are also analysed (e.g. Albuquerque et al 2000, Horta 2000, 2002b, Marques et al 1998, 2003), but without assuming a particular and strictly focused research topic.

We were able to identify just one journal article regarding specifically the vote of foreigners in Portuguese elections (Costa 2000). Furthermore, although there seems to exist some interest in analysing the political discourses on immigration (Oliveira 2000), research on the

strategies of political parties to attract and involve immigrants' are a black hole in scientific literature. Immigrants and naturalised citizens' experiences and processes of inclusion in political parties are issues still not covered by research within the more general field of political participation.

To conclude, there are many research gaps on immigrants' civic participation with perhaps the most important ones being those related to immigrants' inclusion in political parties and its relation with the processes of political claiming and ethnic mobilisation.

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URL addresses:

ACIME www.acime.gov.pt/

GARSE http://www.cm-loures.pt/aa_ASocial.asp

STAPE <http://www.stape.pt/index.htm>

Annex. Mapping of research competences in Portugal

1. Civic Participation of Immigrants

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS DAS MIGRAÇÕES E DAS RELAÇÕES INTERCULTURAIS - CEMRI

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CEMRI has been in operation since 1989, at the Institute of Post-Graduate Studies of the Universidade Aberta (Portuguese Open University). The Centre was recognised by the Portuguese National Research Scientific Board as a major research and advanced training centre in Portugal for the study of migrations and intercultural relations.

Its research activities are organised into three major areas: 1) Migrations, with three main sections: a. Migrants' memories and interactions, b. Migrations and Urban spaces, c. Multicultural and Intercultural Dynamics. 2) Gender and Equal Opportunity Studies, with three main sections: a. Gender and Women History, b. Women and family, c. Women and social citizenship. 3) Health, Culture and Development. In 1990-91, CEMRI instituted the first Masters Programme in 'Intercultural Relations' in Portugal. In 1995-96 CEMRI also launched a pioneering Masters Programme in 'Womens Studies'. In the academic year of 1996-97, a course named 'Sociology of Migrations' was also introduced by the Centre, which is the only one in Portugal on this topic. In 1998-99 a 'Communication in Healthcare' Masters Degree was introduced.

Ana Paula Beja Horta and Rosana Albuquerque are the researchers who have been studying on the issues of political participation of immigrants in Portugal, with several publications.

The Centre is linked to major international research centres and organisations.

in: <http://www.cemes.org/current/ethpub/ethnobar/portugal/dir-Portugal.htm>

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SociNova/Migration is organized in seven areas of research: 1) Migrants modes of civic inclusion, 2) Migrants entrepreneurship, 3) Transnational flows, place making and the formation of identities 4) Migrants impact on demographic systems 5) Colonialism, post-colonialism and ethnicity, 6) The making of a Lusophone community, 7) Immigrants and the knowledge Based society.

In: <http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/socinova/migration/>

2. Civic Participation

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The Centre was created in 1978 by a group of faculty members of the School of Economics of the University of Coimbra to promote scientific research on Portuguese society. Today the CES has 36 researchers – sociologists (who form the majority), economists, jurists, scholars of literature, geographers and medical doctors – who in the past five years have either completed or developed 57 research projects including: ‘The State, the Economic and Social Reproduction in the Semiperiphery of the World System’ and ‘The Administration of Justice in Portugal: Patterns of use of Courts and Portuguese Images of Justice’.

Within the next five years research at CES will be guided by a new project, ‘Portuguese Society and the Challenges of Globalisation: Economic, Social and Cultural Modernisation’, that is deemed decisive for its future development and will reinforce CES’s link to international research.

The Centre also participates in the European comparative project ‘Migrated insertion in the informal economy, deviant behaviour and the impact on the receiving society’, funded by the Fourth Framework Program of the European Commission. The Portuguese work is co-ordinated by Professor Maria Ioannis Benis Baganha.

in: <http://www.cemes.org/current/ethpub/ethnobar/portugal/dir-Portugal.htm>

CENTRO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO E ESTUDOS DE SOCIOLOGIA – CIES

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The CIES was established in 1977 and in 1985 became a co-operative based at the Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa (ISCTE).

CIES is involved in the development of research projects in the field of the social sciences, especially in sociology, surveys, studies and other activities in response to outside requests, the publication and dissemination of the results of projects undertaken by CIES, and other texts of proven interest, interchange with universities, centres and other national and international research units.

Research projects include: ‘Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities and Ethnicity’ with the following sub-projects: ‘Impact of colonial repatriation on Portuguese society’ (directed by Rui Pena Pires); ‘Class, ethnicity and cultural interaction: Guineans in Portugal’ and ‘Guineans in Portugal, ethnicity and integration’ (directed by Fernando Luis Machado); ‘Identity reconstruction in the migration process. The Cape Verdian population in Portugal’ (directed by Ana Saint-Maurice); ‘Memory and identity. From the colonialising state to the country of immigration: a sociological study of African migrants in Portugal’ (directed by Maria de Fatima Toscano); ‘Ethnic Cape Verdian association: identity, integration and marginalisation in Portuguese society’ (directed by Rogerio Roque Amaro, Cristina dos reis Carita, Vasco Nuno Rosendo); ‘Brazilian in Portugal’ (directed by Filipa Pinho).

In: <http://www.cemes.org/current/ethpub/ethnobar/portugal/dir-Portugal.htm>

INSTITUTO DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS - ICS

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President of Scientific Board: João de Pina Cabral

The Institute of Social Sciences is an interdisciplinary body of researchers within the broadly defined area of the Social Sciences. Benefiting from the status of faculty of the University of Lisbon, it carries out a Program of Post-Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences, with research degrees of Master and Ph.D. level. Furthermore, ICS has been granted the status of Associate Laboratory by the Ministry of Science and Technology.

Its principal aim is the furthering of the understanding of contemporary society, with particular attention to Portugal and its relations both with Europe and with historical territories of Portuguese expansion. As Associate Laboratory, the Institute focuses its research in two broad thematic areas: “Citizenship: democracy and solidarity” and “Development: sustainability and transnationality”.

The Institute integrates researchers working within a large range of disciplines, especially sociology, anthropology and history, but also political science, social psychology, human geography, international relations and economic history.

In: <http://www.ics.ul.pt>

3. Immigration

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS GEOGRÁFICOS – CEG

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Director: Diogo José Brochado de Abreu

Under the direction of the assistant researcher Jorge Macaísta Malheiros, the Centre has carried out research on ‘Labour market problems of ethnic minorities in Portugal’ (project finished). The project relating to ‘The internationalisation process of Lisbon Metropolitan Area and the generation of new types of marginality’ is now finished, under the direction of Professor Teresa Barata Salgueiro. Professors Lucinda Fonseca and Jorge Gaspar are developing projects within the Metropolis framework (migrants and cities). Research assistant Alina Esteves is starting a project in the same field.

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS DE MIGRAÇÕES E DE MINORIAS ÉTNICAS - CEMME

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Director: José Gabriel Pereira Bastos

CEMME was founded in 2000 and it is a research unit within the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of The New University of Lisbon. Since 2003 it is recognised by the Portuguese National Research Scientific Board as an advanced research unit. It develops qualitative and quantitative research concerning migrations, identities and ethnic relations. Current research is organised around three main scientific units: studies on transnational populations (co-ordinator : Susana Pereira Bastos); studies on ethnic consumptions (co-ordinator: Filomena Paiva Silvano); studies about gypsies (co-ordinator: José Gabriel Pereira Bastos).

CEMME cooperates with MERIB – Migration and Ethnicity Research Institute, Brussels (www.cemes.org) and two of the researchers participate in the European network IMISCOE – International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion, Amsterdam (www.imiscoe.org).

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS DAS MIGRAÇÕES E DAS RELAÇÕES INTERCULTURAIS - CEMRI

CENTRO DE ESTUDOS SOCIAIS – CES

CENTRO DE INVESTIGAÇÃO E ESTUDOS DE SOCIOLOGIA – CIES

SOCINOVA