The Role Of Creole History And Space In Cape Verdean Migration To Lisbon, Portugal

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ABSTRACT: Despite its miniature size, the archipelago of Cape Verde, located 350 miles off the coast of Senegal in the Atlantic Ocean, has been influential in shaping Portuguese society. More broadly, Cape Verde was arguably the first "creole" society, an ambiguous model of colonial contact via the European-African encounter and model for postcolonial hybridity via popular culture. Cape Verdean migration experiences are remarkably diverse and contribute to a heterogeneous diaspora in terms of class, racial identification, gender and regional affiliation. This article addresses two dimensions of Cape Verde migration in the former metropole of Lisbon: the historical specificity of Cape Verdean in relation to Portugal's four other African territories (Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola and Mozambique) and the different ways Cape Verdeans have occupied public and residential spaces in Lisbon, including formal institutions and informal expressive culture. Based on ethnographic and archival research since 2007 in Lisbon and the Cape Verdean capital city of Praia, I argue that given these contextual factors of time and space, one can appreciate the unique position of Cape Verdeans as "creole citizens" and jettison the problematic category of "Luso-Africans" as inaccurate and myopic.

Introduction

With a majority of its population living outside its borders, Cape Verde comes into focus only when one considers migration. One may go further to suggest that the sociocultural and political-economic dynamics of the contemporary world remain mysterious without a grounded understanding of migration, and that populations such as Cape Verdeans should be at the center of globalization and migration research because the characteristics of hybridity, diaspora and creole are "traditional" rather than "new" addenda to their identities (Marcelinho 2011; LaPorte 2007). Indeed, there is a general lesson embedded in the Cape Verdean experience. Scholars, politicians, artists, policymakers and everyday Cape Verdeans have placed migration as a central factor in debates on development (Carling 2004; Lobban 1998), international relations (Durão 2011; Marcelinho 2011), labor laws (Akesson 2004; Horta 2008; Fikes 2009; Batalha 2008), and notions of belonging (Almeida 2004; Grassi 2009; Lopes 1947; Loude 1999; Arenas 2011; Horta 2008; Carreira 1982; Halter 1993). Despite all the heterogeneity of Cape Verdeans at home and abroad, migration continues to be a mark of collective identity.

In this essay I focus on the relationship between Cape Verdean migration to the former metropole of Lisbon, Portugal and on creole or "Kriolu," the native language and identity marker of Cape Verdeans. I argue that the creolization process of Cape Verde helps explain the distinct position Cape Verdeans occupy in the contemporary social landscape of Lisbon and thus contributes to the literature on African transnational migration to Europe.

However, Kriolu does not mean the same thing among Cape Verdeans nor among Portuguese and this ambiguity has afforded a unique place for Cape Verdeans in Portugal in contrast to other immigrant population from former Portuguese colonies in Africa, i.e., Angola, Mozambique, São Tomé

e Príncipe, and Guinea-Bissau. While the countries of São Tomé e Príncipe and Guinea-Bissau have a creole linguistic and cultural history, this part of their identity has not disrupted or influenced the Portuguese way of thinking of themselves both as former colonizers and contemporary European partners in the European Union (EU). For their part, migrants from Angola and Mozambique come to Portugal with a clearer sense of life in Portugal. It means a separation; Angola and Mozambique along with the rest of the African continent have always been *more different* than Cape Verde. Angolans and Mozambicans speak Portuguese in Portugal. There is little to no presence of Kikongo, Kimbundu (Angola), Emakhuwa or Cisena (Mozambique) in the Portuguese public sphere.

After providing contextual information regarding Cape Verde and a critical interpretation of Kriolu history, I use my ethnographic fieldwork data with local Kriolu rappers collected during visits to Lisbon in 2007, 2009 and 2011 to argue that Cape Verdeans' "creole citizenship" does not fit into "Luso" categories such as "Luso-African" and thus complicates straightforward notions of membership and belonging in contemporary Portugal. Kriolu rappers are a particularly insightful group to study because many of them are acutely aware of the power of language to express style and identity not only in broad terms but also in ways that emphasize neighborhoods and distinct Cape Verdean conceptualizations of space and place. Kriolu is at the heart of such expressions and sensibilities.

Background

Cape Verde is an archipelago nation-state consisting of ten islands, nine of which are inhabited, located in the Atlantic Ocean roughly 350 miles (563 kilometers) west of Dakar, Senegal. Figure 1 is a reproduction of a map drawn by Nicolas Bellin in 1746. The figure shows the general layout of the

islands. More specifically, one can visualize the Leeward or Sotavento group to the north and the Windward or Barlavento group to the south. This distinction will become important in subsequent discussions of *claridosos* and *badiu*, evaluative terms of race, class and general culture, respectively.

Cape Verde shares basic demographic history with São Tomé e Príncipe, Mauritius and a few other island nations in the world in that there was no indigenous culture. These places were born as creole. This differentiates Cape Verde from continental American locales, for example. Cape Verde emerged as a named place, concept and territorial possession in 1460, thereby making it one of the earliest "creole" formations, predating creolization in the Americas by at least a century.

Cape Verdeans, regardless of class, gender or age, speak and identify with the *Kriolu/Crioulo* language despite the fact that it is not officially recognized by the homeland national government. The only formal recognition of the language has taken place in Boston among district councils with regard to education and authorized language instruction (Batista et al. 2010). The language itself is composed of predominantly Portuguese vocabulary, and grammar and syntax structure from a mix of West African languages including Mandingo, Temne, Wolof and Manjak (Duarte 2003).

The current population of Cape Verde is 500,000 with roughly the same number estimated to be living abroad in the diaspora. The major destination points for Cape Verdeans have historically been the Boston-Providence area of the United States, Lisbon, Rotterdam, Madrid, Argentina, São Tomé e Príncipe, Italy and Paris. While the Cape Verdean community in the U.S. is the largest, it is the presence in Lisbon, Portugal, the former metropolitan center of the colonial empire, that is particularly significant.

A range of scholars has discussed the importance of emigration to Cape Verdean identity and the dynamics of Cape Verdean political economy (Carling 2004; Pop 2011). The mean-
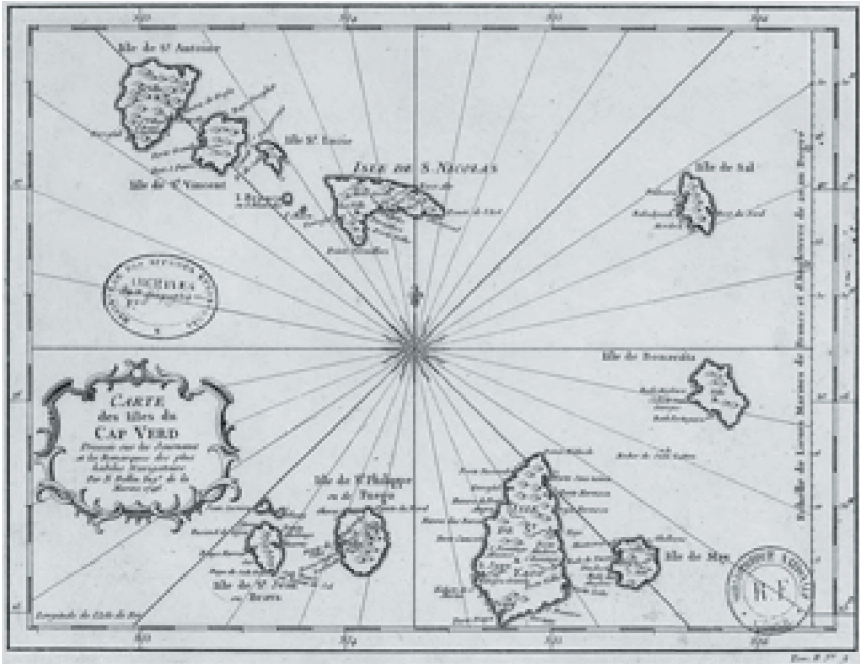
FIGURE 1. Map of Cape Verde originally produced by Nicolas Bellin in
Paris in 1746. A document in the public domain.

ing of "Cape Verde" in Lisbon must be approached from a
historical and geographical or spatial perspective because the
Cape Verdean "community" is extremely heterogeneous and
dynamic in terms of class, racial identification, education and
the intersections with gender and labor (Batalha 2004; Batalha
and Carling 2008; Fikes 2009; Lobban 1988). In addition, schol-
ars and government-sponsored agencies vary widely in their
estimations of the actual number of Cape Verdeans residing
in the Lisbon metro area. For example, anthropologist Luís
Batalha described the politics of demographics when he notes
that reports range between 50,000 and 80,000 resident Cape
Verdeans depending on who conducts the research. Thousands
of Cape Verdeans have achieved official Portuguese citizenship
status yet they self-identify as "Cape Verdean." Most govern-

ment surveys never reach these people since they assume that if one has Portuguese citizenship then one identifies as Portuguese (Batalha 2008; see also Carling 2004).

Beyond this diversity, the Cape Verdean population and the idea of Cape Verdeanness poses certain distinct questions for Portugal, unlike other diasporic locations and other immigrant populations inside Portugal because their creole identity is both a challenge and confirmation of Portuguese national mythology. In short, Cape Verdean creole affirms the ideology of Lusotropicalism, a belief that Portugal was an exceptional colonial power due to its embrace of racial and cultural mixture (Almeida 2004). This national sentiment is embedded in contemporary demographic terms of "Luso-African" and administrative titles of government councils such as "intercultural dialogue."

One may note that according to Zobel and Barbosa (2011), Cape Verdeans are by far the most active immigrant community in terms of voter registration and thus have invested in Portuguese politics. On the question of basic identification, scholars have published widely on the fact that even after independence, many Cape Verdeans "at home" see themselves as "European" and not "African" (Batalha and Carling 2008; Costa 2007; Meyns 2002; Vasconcelos 2004). The Cape Verde administration itself, especially during the 1990s after the country initiated a political-economic opening up to multi-party elections and international investment and loans, has often realigned itself with Europe vis-à-vis the Macronesian islands of Azores, Madeira, the Canary Islands, rather than with Africa mediated by ECOWAS (Economic Community Of West African States). However, Cape Verdean creole or Kriolu is also a sign of difference and a resistance to be subsumed by "Luso" categories of identity (Märzhäuser 2010; Carter and Aulette 2009). For these Cape Verdeans, Kriolu is a sign of blackness, Africanity, and a potential entry point to networks including

Jamaica, the United States, Brazil, Guinea-Bissau and South Africa, not Portugal, England or France.

Birth of Kriolu

A working knowledge of how Kriolu emerged as a native and then immigrant language along with a sense of the main interpretations of Kriolu among Portuguese officials and later elite Cape Verdeans is crucial to understanding the meaning of Cape Verdean migration to Lisbon in the contemporary period. Kriolu is a Cape Verdean and diasporic expression of language and identity within the larger "creole" category. Cape Verde was a significant early site of creolization. By "creolization" I mean the processes of intercultural identification and development made systematic in large-scale forms of hegemony such as colonialism, slavery, and geopolitical border life. Language is a key area of human activity in which such processes come to the fore.

Based on slave-trade records, we know that, during the 15th and 16th centuries, when Portugal was seeking to expand trade routes, most slave ships stopped in Cape Verde before making their way to the New World or back to Europe. In terms of language, historian Matthias Perl notes that Portuguese creole quickly became a language used by non-Portuguese, such as the Dutch and English. Kriolu was a recognized trade language to do business in West Africa and was disseminated to various parts of Africa, Asia and Americas. Kriolu contracted after the 17th century but it was once a transcontinental primary language of trade and power (Perl 1982: 12).

Fiction writers included Cape Verde in their adventure stories of transatlantic voyages and sea-fearing pirates. For example, Daniel Defoe, famous for ROBINSON CRUSOE, towards the end of his life in the late 1720s published a series of faux travelogs. According to Bosse in his introduction to the

1972 edition of THE FOUR YEARS VOYAGES OF CAPTAIN GEORGE ROBERTS (1726), De Foe sought to achieve realism by employing "a narrator whose modest literary gift is counterbalanced by a scrupulous attention to details of which he has first-hand knowledge" (Bosse 1972: 6). While certainly a dry read, GEORGE ROBERTS does convey two aspects of Cape Verde significant to the argument at hand. The story begins with Captain Roberts landing on the island of Sal ("Salt"), curiously the island that during the 20th century would become the most developed by way of European tourism corporations and contain the first international airport of Cape Verde. Captain Roberts shares with the reader his slight frustration that he must accompany his second-in-command, Captain Scott, because Scott knew nothing about the land or the language, i.e., the "trading account" left in the Kriolu (and Portuguese) term of *"Lingua"* (De Foe 1972 [1726]: 7). Beyond the recognition of Cape Verde as a site of a creole language, Captain Roberts' account also conveys the idea that Cape Verde was a strategic location for political and economic encounters, often between one trading company and another or a group of "King's men" and "Merchants." After the detailed account of pirates capturing the good captain, the last hundred pages of CAPTAIN ROBERTS are dedicated to "factual" descriptions of each island of Cape Verde. In the chapter on "St. Jago" or Santiago, the protagonist explains that this island "always remained in the King's hands, and [he] enjoys the privilege of obliging all ships to clear there, that trade by the Northward of Sierra Leone to Guinea…" (De Foe 1972: 403). In sum, political-economic figures as well as noteworthy fiction writers recognized long ago Cape Verde's strategic location and curious creole language as identifying marks.

Put in a broader historical context, as Newson concludes in her study of African trading practices: "the Atlantic trade on the Upper Guinea Coast in the early seventeenth century was not, therefore, a simple exchange of European imports for slaves,

but was embedded in and part of a more complex system of trade rooted in pre-European patterns of exchange in locally-produced commodities" (Newson 2012: 24). Therefore, Kriolu as part of creole was born in the intimacy of European-West African encounters and cultivated relationships as both African roots and Luso-African routes. As we will see, the tensions between Kriolu as difference and Kriolu as hybridity cannot be collapsed into a paradigm of nostalgic roots of a monolithic "Africa" versus a cosmopolitan mix of racial passing. Let us take a moment to assess the emotive responses of Portuguese and Cape Verdean intellectuals as Kriolu returns as an asset in the later stages of colonialism.

Philology

The Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 is significant in the history of creole because the renewed urgency of European colonialism in Africa rejuvenated philology as a utilitarian body of knowledge in the field of pedagogy (Errante 1998). In the following, I discuss a set of documents from two archives, the Geographical Society Library (GSL) of Lisbon and the Portuguese Overseas archive collection. The GSL is a private organization that was formed in 1875. Modeled on the Royal Geographical Society in London, the purpose of the GSL was to gather data, promote symposia, and subsidize research on the Portuguese colonies, as Portugal tried to keep up with the emergent concern in Europe to take account and make something of foreign holdings, especially in Africa. The second archive is the Overseas Collection, part of a multiplex state institution of Portuguese colonial record keeping.

Cape Verdean Kriolu impacted not only the formation of the colonial subject, i.e., the process of "getting the native to work" (Andrade 1913, see also Guedes 1928), but also that of the colonial administrator. Reading between the disparaging

lines of European traveling merchants, as they complained of dealing with and eventually adapting to the Cape Verdean Kriolu (e.g., Lyall 1938), one can glean the influence of the language on the European-African encounter. Soon after the founding of the Geographical Society (GS), linguists began to take a systematic interest in the languages spoken overseas. In 1877 the naturalist Barbosa do Bocage gave a moving speech to the GS in Lisbon about the necessity to include Kimbundu, a language in the Bantu family spoken in southern Angola, in institutional settings (Baião 1943:384). In 1878 the Portuguese colonial administrator Teixeira de Vasconcelos began to work directly with the linguist Adolfo Coelho resulting in 1891 in a "colonial course" later codified as the September 19th Institute for Colonial Studies. Eventually, in 1927, these efforts would contribute to the political will and resources to establish the *Escola Colonial* (Colonial School).

For philologists such as Adolfo Coelho, Kriolu lamentably indicated blackness but not necessarily a wholly other Africanity: "they [the Cape Verdeans] substituted a moorish mixture of African terms and antiquated Portuguese pronounced with a reckless abandon with guttural stops. This was called *lingua creola*, without grammar or fixed rules. It spread from island to island..."(Coelho 1882:451-2). Coelho observed that the locals perform all facets of daily life in this idiom: "The locals don't speak another language: [they] pray in crioulo; the parochial pedagogues teach the Christian doctrine in crioulo. Those who have traveled abroad understand Portuguese, but do not speak it" (Coelho 1882: 452). Coelho went on to state that: "The whites reinforce this, as they learn crioulo, use it in domestic relationships, and rear their children in crioulo almost to the exclusion of pure Portuguese…"(Coelho 1882: 452).

Cape Verdeans as Ideal Colonial Subjects

Cape Verdean intellectuals, such as Baltasar Lopes, a famous poet, writer and philologist as well as one of the founders of the "Enlightenment" movement (*claridosos*) to be discussed below, followed late 19th century Portuguese scholars such as Adolfo Coelho in asserting that Kriolu was a black inflection on an otherwise Portuguese essence: "the creoles of that archipelago [Cape Verde] are nothing more than, in essence, than a Portuguese altered in the mouths of Blacks, whether it be phonetically, morphologically, semantically or syntactically" (Lopes 1957:12). "Enlightened" writers such as Lopes and Pedro Cardoso helped establish Kriolu as a "dialect" that in the words of Portuguese writer Edmundo Correia Lopes, "possesses the normal elements for the resolution of [typical] linguistic issues [that might arise in practice]" (Lopes 1941:429).

Portuguese officials and educators developed this paradigm of "Kriolu as dialect" and by extrapolation as a "social fact" of positive colonial encounters in various inclusive ways throughout the 20th century. As the popular travel writer Augusto Casimiro wrote in the opening words to his collection of essays ILHAS CRIOULAS ("Creole Islands"), "to write about Cape Verde is a national obligation" (Casimiro 1936). For the most part, this mindset benefitted Cape Verdeans and their life chances in the empire as they often were recruited as intermediaries abroad in Lusophone colonies not only in Africa but also in Goa and Macau (Nascimento 2008; Carling and Akesson 2009).

What is striking about the institutional knowledge produced about Cape Verde and Kriolu by Portuguese and Cape Verdean authors is the presence of creole as natural, ubiquitous, and ultimately Portuguese. Unlike in the cases of Kimbundo, Umbundo, other languages in the Bantu family, Fula and Mandjak (Guinea-Bissau) under Portuguese dominion,

Cape Verdean Kriolu registered with the Portuguese as a so-
cial fact, albeit problematic, of the colonial encounter. Portu-
guese officials prohibited Kriolu in public institutions such as
schools but they never entered homes or regulated street ban-
ter. The operating logic was that creole is a remedial language
of transition, from a Cape Verdean identity to a Portuguese
one.

Lusotropicalism

Members of the African lettered elite occasionally pub-
lished in the periodicals of late colonialism to express a sense
of self for subjects in Portugal's "Overseas Territories." In
1971 Albano Neves de Sousa, an Angolan artist, wrote a cu-
rious obituary essay in tribute to Jorge Barbosa, the famous
Cape Verdean poet of the "Enlightened" movement. Sousa ex-
pressed an unusual tone of camaraderie compared with other
essays in PERMANÊNCIA (Permanence), one of the most
popular Portuguese magazines of propaganda of the time.
Normally, authors described their bonds with other Africans
or colonial others (in the case of Portuguese writers) as part of
the liberal view of race and difference in Portuguese mythol-
ogy. In contrast, Sousa identifies with the Cape Verdean way
of diasporic sentiment. Ultimately, he looks to Kriolu as a way
to find his place in the world.

The following two excerpts are particularly striking. Sou-
sa opens the essay with the following sentence: "I think I was
born with this crazy anxiety to see the person who condemned
me to feel well only where I am not present." Later, Sousa de-
scribed Kriolu specifically: "the painful, melodic *crioulo* of a
sweet idiom that is not an African language nor is it simply
Portuguese, *morna* that is not *fado* nor *batuque*… [1] it is the taste
of distance, in the crossroads of the world, a delayed farewell,
a hesitant teardrop that has yet to fall" (Sousa 1971:32). Sousa

opens his essay with a ponderous claim to a diasporic existence. He feels compelled to get to the bottom of the persistent feeling that one is not exactly in the right place. Comfort only seems to come through the imagination of elsewhere. In this manner Sousa introduces the fallen poet Barbosa in terms common to many immigrants. Yet, it is Kriolu or *crioulo*[2] where Sousa finds a key to such an existential dilemma. The Angolan artist identified the Cape Verdean idiom as that which succeeds in articulating the "taste of distance" not in terms of separation but as the trajectory resulting from the *encruzilhada* or crossroads. Kriolu is not simply the drama ensuing a bitter farewell but the drama of a person/group/nation juggling, the co-presence of Cape Verde as intersection, a long-standing meeting point of interculturality, and of Cape Verde as one point in a history of migration. Kriolu is the idiom of wellness "where I am not present."

Sousa's essay was a tribute to one of the leaders of a group of Cape Verdean intellectuals, predominantly from the island of São Vicente and the city of Mindelo. This elite group called themselves the *claridosos* (the illuminated / enlightened) and published a landmark journal called CLARIDADE starting in 1936. Poets, linguists, musicians, scholars, such as Eugenio Tavares (whose picture and poem appears on a Cape Verdean bank note), Manuel Lopes, Jorge Barbosa and Baltasar Lopes, are significant in the history of "Kriolu" because they articulated language and geography as identity. Lopes wrote: "these islands; creole, by the people's color, white, by the social conditions, and by the language, a Roman experience in the tropics" (Lopes 1957:15). The "Enlightened" movement was one of cultural nationalism in an effort to rework the experiences of colonialism into an expression of high modern art thereby establishing a relative distinction or, as Ana Cordeiro has described, a habit of "thinking Cape Verde" (Cordeiro 2010). From this perspective, being Cape Verdean could be achieved

without disrupting Portuguese conventions of racial and lin-
guistic hierarchies.

While Portuguese officials increasingly praised Cape
Verdeans in the array of colonial bulletins as hard workers,
poetic artists, and capable managers, the cause of a distinct
Kriolu identity inside Portugal seemed to go in the opposite di-
rection. Even members of the privileged classes of Cape Verde,
who emigrated to Lisbon for university education, supported
Portuguese colonialism, and were invested in procuring middle
class employment for themselves in the metropole, remarked
on almost Fanonian moments of misrecognition. In short, the
"Enlightened" were not being heard as they intended.

Part of this creole identity drama stemmed from the account
of Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre. Freyre is widely known
in anthropological scholarship in the English language as that
former student of Franz Boas, who returned home to Brazil dur-
ing the rise of populist dictator Getúlio Vargas during the early
1930s and helped shape what continues to be the dominant
nationalist ideology in Brazil: "racial democracy." Less known
on this side of the Atlantic is his experience in the early 1950s as
an invited guest by the Ministry of Culture of Portugal to visit
and assess the Portuguese colonies in Africa and Asia. Freyre
went on to formulate a related theory of "Lusotropicalism,"
which argues that the Portuguese were historically exceptional,
due, in part to their Moorish and generally "mixed" stock, in
cultivating the colonial encounter into a creative, Dionysian
dance of order and progress.[3]

Freyre's comments on Cape Verde, published in *Aventura e
Rotina* (Adventure and Routine), surprised the "Enlightened,"
as they fancied themselves the intellectual vanguard of a
people, who epitomized Lusotropicalism and could potentially
share the grandeur with Brazil, a success story of Portuguese
colonialism. In contrast, Freyre wrote:

> During my first encounter with Cape Verde, I thought initially about the racial mixture, which was rehearsed here in an intense fashion by the Portuguese with Jews and notably black Africans, only to be developed in tropical America, of course mediated by the Amerindian. The first cauldron was here on the island of Santiago, today so negroid: a sign that, unlike what has successfully been happening in Brazil, this place has maintained the African elements of origin...They had told me that I would find a place reminiscent of the Brazilian northeast here in Cape Verde...however, this kinship appears to me to be vague and not accentuated (Freyre 1953:290).

The "Enlightened" published editorials of dismay and pondered Cape Verde's place in the Luso scheme of things (Lopes 1956). Were they a relative failure in Lusotropicalism due to underdeveloped practices of mixture, empirically present in Cape Verde's overemphasis of blackness?

Mário Oliveira, an Angolan writer and proponent of Lusotropicalism, brought the question back to language. The distinction of Portuguese colonialism, according to Oliveira, was that unlike other powers, Portugal had always been interested in the mixture of "civilization" and "culture." Hence, a "metropolitan Portuguese" existed to provide a political unity to the range of non-Indo-European languages. "[Civilization has] a dynamic connotation, related to the process of inserting technology and social organization that are indispensable to development…[culture refers to] the differentiation of personality by which men feel a dignity related to their cultural inheritance" (Oliveira 1970:21). For Freyre, the Kriolu language was African gibberish. He quickly left for Guinea-Bissau as part of his Portuguese state-sponsored travels around the Lusophone world. With a sense of Kriolu's role in Portuguese colonialism and Cape Verdean identity, we can consider how such experiences are realized in Lisbon.

Cape Verdeans in Contemporary Lisbon

Scholars such as Antoinette Errante, Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper, have described in their work a variability of life, position and dependency within the rubric of European colonialism in Africa and Asia, thereby exposing that "colonialism created a false sense of homogeneity within the metropole" (Errante 1998:290). While the myth of creole as colonial serendipity continued on in the minds of many Portuguese and some Cape Verdeans, as exemplified in the citations above, two new factors contributed to the contemporary state of Kriolu.

The dynamics of political economics following World War II influenced labor markets and demographic patterns. The "idea of Portugal" began to change. As Errante asserts in her thorough treatment of 20th century educational pedagogy, the Portuguese state continued to represent the nation and its "imaginary standing" in the world vis-à-vis its territories and a romantic view of traditional, rural life. The cordiality of an intercultural Portugal was depicted as always "over there." However, the reality in the post-Moorish period is that Lisbon, in particular, has always been the home of a significant African population, a "black city" (Loude 2007). We know this through the scripts of 16th century plays, for example, and the mention of "Black manners" of speaking Portuguese (Stathatos 1997).

More recently, after 1960 with state investment in infrastructure, and again after 1986 with Portugal's entry into the European Union, Lisbon became increasingly a stage for "black" immigrant presence and cultural performance. In effect, then, the issue of creole, serendipitous or woefully "negroid," in the words of Freyre, was now *here at home*, as Cape Verdeans, along with immigrants from other PALOP nations (*Paises Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa,* African Countries with Portuguese as official Language), created improvised neighborhoods around the periphery of Lisbon.

In addition to creole being increasingly located in the former metropole, the Kriolu-speaking person is predominantly poor, underemployed and from the island of Santiago. The islands of Cape Verde differ greatly in terms of geology and demography. Most pertinent in this case is the perceived and performed Africanity of Santiago. Many in the *Barlavento* or "Windward" islands refer to Santiago as a slide into the African continent, a slide into *manjaco*, referring to the ethno-linguistic group in West Africa. Writing in the 1930s, Portuguese scholar Mário Leite explained *manjaco* in the following manner: "everyone knows that on Cape Verde there is no black race [*raça preta*], in the strong sense of the expression. There are some isolated elements of this race that come from Guinea during the colonization period of the archipelago, most probably the *manjacos* or *biafados.* But these elements, due to the secular cross-fertilization supported by whites and mestizos are, it can be well affirmed, practically extinct" (Leite 1937:202). On the island of Santiago itself, the term is derogatory of residents from Guinea-Bissau or Senegal.

Yet, *manjaco* is a semiotically limited term pertaining to the relatively internal identity politics and racialization of Cape Verdeans. A more general term that connotes Cape Verdean space, Kriolu language dialect and a marked category of Cape Verdean immigrant is *badiu,* Kriolu for the Portuguese term of *vadiu* or vagabond. To be and/or speak *badiu* is a reference to Santiago and blackness. Cape Verdean sociologist Redy Lima Wilson writes about *badiu* in his work on rap music in Praia, the capital city located on Santiago, as akin to "nigger, wild, idle" in English (Lima n.d.). Unlike *manjaco, badiu* reveals the tension of Kriolu as a practice of literal denigration and criminalization of some Cape Verdeans as well as a politics of difference. For example, Kriolu rappers among others have recuperated *badiu* as a symbol of racial and linguistic pride to remind listeners that the island of Santiago was also the place of rebellion against colonial forces in the 1970s. In sum, the increased presence of

Cape Verdeans descendant of Santiago inside Lisbon led Kriolu to take on a more indignant tone, a more brash reflection on displacement and relocation in the land of Luso.

The expression of Kriolu as difference was not solely an organic development, an isolated cultivation of a separatist sense of pride on the part of migrant Cape Verdeans. By the late 1960s, as thousands of Cape Verdeans moved to Lisbon for employment in manual labor sectors of the economy, the Portuguese media in newspapers and television began to offer a counter-narrative to the Cape Verdean as quasi-Portuguese, i.e., the ideal colonial subject. Using a mixture of folklore and on-site observation, journalists depicted Cape Verdeans as "good, strong workers" but easily angered and "hot-blooded." According to this logic, they caused danger in the workplace. In addition, if left on their own, in the new, emerging periphery neighborhoods of Lisbon, they create dangerous residential areas (Batalha 2008).

Certainly, the relationship between space and identification has been a frequent and productive topic of scholarship and public policy. In the European context, scholars have approached the issue of immigration and cityspace in terms of collective action and sociopolitical agency (Bousetta 1997; Horta 2008; Sardinha 2010; Suárez-Navaz 2004). In Portugal, as Horta explains, such grassroots politics around space and identity are relatively new because terms such as multicultural-ism, interculturality and ethnic minorities emerged only at the end of the 20th century.

Kriolu as emplacement, the process of making location salient to identity, necessarily involves histories of labor and race. Similar to its neighbor Spain, Portugal's transition to a recognized multicultural nation-state and a "labor importer" is relatively recent (Cornelius 1994). Two major periods of migration occurred in the 1960s, as the Salazar regime granted labor permits, especially to Cape Verdeans, to replace Portuguese nationals who had left for Angola and Mozambique in

efforts to maintain Portugal's African colonies. This, coupled with a series of droughts on the islands along with a restrictive quota system adopted by the United States, helps explain the "boom" of Cape Verdeans in Portugal (Carreira 1982). In addition, Cape Verdeans were recruited inside Portugal to take the place of Portuguese emigrants to more highly industrialized nations such as France, Germany and Luxembourg (Franco 1971; Rocha-Trindade 1979). After 1986, when Portugal entered the European Union, a more diverse wave of migrants entered Lisbon with a strong Cape Verdean presence followed by Brazilians and, more recently, various East European and Asian nationals.

That contemporary European citizenship involves a tense relationship between inclusion and racial differentiation is, of course, not unique to Portugal. As Suárez-Navaz (2004) explains, the rapprochement of Spain with Europe in the 1980s transformed what had been previously a general alliance along class lines between working-class Andalusians and African immigrants into a racialized difference marking the latter as a suspicious group of "foreigners" and "illegals," thereby constituting "Andalusia" as a "Mediterranean border" between "Europe" and "Africa" as well as between democratic modernity and dangerous traditionalism. However, unlike the situation in southern Spain, the move toward a "naturalization of difference" (Suárez-Navaz 2004:7) in public practices of hegemony (e.g., documentation regulation and behavior) has been rearticulated to a certain degree by Kriolu negritude and local neighborhood politics. This is despite the fact that xenophobic racism in Portugal carries significant heft in Portuguese politics, as represented in national parties of the right-wing populist CDS-PP and in social media venues such as Youtube and Facebook commentary. Whereas in Spain Senegalese migrants employ the qualifier of "Muslim" to place themselves legitimately in Andalusia as part of regional histories and, indeed, "migrant" to take part in the "Andalusian collec-

tive memory" (Suárez-Navaz 2004: 81), Cape Verdean youth purposefully mark themselves as Kriolu and thus not as part of Lusotropicalist history of hybridity and quasi-Portuguese status but as transnational African residents who shape the present Lisbon.

Identity as a Spatial Formation

To what extent are Lisbon residents of Cape Verdean descent "Cape Verdean" or "Portuguese," both or neither? As time passes and families and neighborhoods move into their second and third generation of locally born populations, community leaders and scholars debate the question of identity in a post-colonial Portugal. Many scholars, such as Luis Batalha (2008: 63), argue that contemporary Cape Verdean youth in Lisbon live in a "liminal world," somewhere in between mainstream Portuguese culture that remains exclusionary often in practice and representation and a Cape Verde linked to a receding past of older generations' stories and cultural practices. Batalha has suggested that in Lisbon Cape Verdean identity "is rooted not in 'national' but 'neighborhood' boundaries" (Batalha 2008: 63). Others have argued that Cape Verdean youth, like other immigrant youth groups, repurpose "tradition" to current contexts. For example, Samuel Weeks (2012) argues that rural Cape Verdeans practices such as *djunta mon* (literally "join hands"), a seasonal ritual of collective labor distribution in a community, have not vanished in urban or suburban Lisbon but rather have become less about helping with crops and more about aiding others in finding employment, child care, and home repair. Moreover, practices such as *djunta mon* or hip hop performance are not simply about neighborhood affiliations but also include diasporic and other transnational connections. For Weeks, one must take into account a neoliberal perspective on the self to understand the changing meanings of *djunta mon* over the past

decade. Below I provide an example of how a local rapper from an improvised Lisbon neighborhood directly links his place to a marginalized neighborhood in Praia, the capital city of Cape Verde, where he spent his early teenage years.

Space is central to notions of value and power.[4] In her oft-cited ethnography of hip hop culture, Tricia Rose (1994) linked the power of rap music to black youth's response to and reshaping of the "postindustrial city" in the late 1970s. More germane to creole emplacement, anthropologists Laguerre and Gibau have made the case that Haitian and Cape Verdean diasporic communities in New York City and Boston, respectively, have forged identity through the "materiality" of the neighborhood as exemplified by the corner store (Laguerre 1998; Gibau 2005).

In the scholarship on rap music and territoriality, Murray Forman has argued that rappers are experts in analyzing and popularizing the "spatial partitioning of race and the experiences of being young and black in America" (Forman 2004: 202). Rappers bolster their claims to authority and legitimacy by transforming vague notions of ghetto into sharp identity tales of the "hood." Yet, if we take the basic message of Paul Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" (1993) to heart, we must agree that identity is always a translocal articulation (see also Pennycook 2010). To this end, the following lyrical excerpt from rapper LBC, a resident from the "improvised neighborhood" of Cova da Moura or "Kova M" (to be discussed below), demonstrates that the reckoning of Lisbon neighborhoods and socio-cultural identification often involves other places and the curious, diasporic vehicle of Cape Verdean Kriolu. LBC raps:

> What is that about "real thugs" and "real gangstas" in training who leave their kids and women hungry in the ghetto? / When I arrived from Eugenio Lima in Kova M, I learned a lot of things / a badiu soldier right here / MINAO soldier is here to defend / all those that the state oppresses / fuck a nigga who isn't with my ideas / who

doesn't know about Carlos Veiga / he barely maintains his legitimacy / he was down with the guy who killed Renato Cardoso / enough nigga / I became a soldier here / we must have a new kind of spirit / Refrain: M.I.N.A.O. / Black Anti-Oppression Mental Intellect / It's all about preparing people for a world revolution…

In the above excerpt, LBC, an acronym meaning "Learning Black Connection," located his "learning" in the Cape Verdean diaspora. It is when he moved from the impoverished neighborhood of Eugenio Lima in the Cape Verdean capital city of Praia to the established yet "improvised" neighborhood of Cova da Moura ("Kova M") that LBC began to reflect on Kriolu. In other sections of the song LBC describes police brutality and racial profiling in the Lisbon periphery on his way back to references to Carlos Veiga and Renato Cardoso, two opposing political figures within the same party during Cape Verde's transition from a Marxist-style, one-party system to a multi-party, neoliberal system during the 1990s. When asked about the song's message, LBC made it clear to me that "I identify my place as a contemporary colonized person, who hasn't realized the revolution. The spaces are linked. Kova M is like Palestine is like Praia city, and so many other places. I am a soldier of the third world inside Europe doing outreach."

LBC identifies the problem of postcolonial emplacement as not only a challenge of physical diaspora but also of language. The latter is signaled in the term *badiu*, a potent Kriolu word as discussed above. Unlike the Cape Verdeans in past generations of migration, most young Cape Verdeans in Lisbon are *badiu*, meaning poor, working class individuals. As an expression of diaspora, postcoloniality, gender, class, language and race, *badiu* is a keyword in the "social imaginary" of certain peripheral spaces in Lisbon. LBC most directly relates *badiu* to his personal identity, "a *badiu* soldier," an identity marker that requires space to be meaningful. In his lyrics LBC qualifies *badiu* with two deictic expressions: "right here" and "arriving from

Eugenio Lima." While the former refers to his current presence in "Kova M," the latter refers to migration from the Cape Verdean island of Santiago and an "improvised" neighborhood in the capital city of Praia. Moreover, LBC described *badiu* as a spatial project of "outreach" through Europe for those who engage oppressive state regimes in a spirit of resistance.

Understanding "Social" and "Improvised" Neighborhoods in Lisbon

This brief example of *badiu* demonstrates that the production of locality through the process of emplacement involves a range of spatial references. Such heterogeneity complicates the straightforward notion of place as an easily demarcated locale rooted in autochthonous or even unidirectional diasporic practices. In popular culture the term used by practitioners and more recently employed by scholars that best characterizes the creative and competitive dimensions of locality is the "scene" (Connell and Gibson 2003; Krims 2007; Straw 1991). Kriolu rap as a scene distinct from "Portuguese" rap (*rap tuga*) or Cape Verdean rap (*rap kaubverdianu*) depends on participants' belief and assertion of their identities as essentially linked to inhabited space. It is the popular, in this case rap, music which draws attention through the aesthetics of rhetoric and facilitates circulation in public presentations and information technology. Similar to the "music scene" in Austin, Texas during the 1990s (Shank 1994) or the hip hop scene in Newcastle, England (Bennett 2000), the Kriolu rap scene and by extension Kriolu emplacement in Lisbon relies on landmarks of consumption or participation, broadly defined. For Kriolu the efficacy of the scene depends less on commercial spaces of clubs and stores and more on the relative penetration into neighborhood community centers and the social ubiquity of streets. In this respect, Kriolu scenes contribute to the meaning of urbaniza-

tion processes such as the transformation of "improvised" into "social" neighborhoods.

The "social" neighborhood is a standardized design, featuring clustered apartment buildings around a central plaza with accessible streets of commerce, which provide basic services of groceries, baked goods, cafés, popular restaurants, clothing, hardware and household items. After the 1881 "Industrial Study" (*Inquerito Industrial*), a state evaluative report on national industries, city administrations began to consider more seriously the geography of labor. The challenge was how to manage urban space to maximize labor efficiency. State urbanization agencies responded in two ways: "*patios*" and "*vilas*." The former refers to annexes and ad hoc construction for laborers behind the houses of elite urban property owners. Subsequently, real estate developers proposed to standardize the *patio* phenomenon and codify it as the *vila* thereby creating more spatial segmentation and differentiation (Pereira 1994). Batalha provides similar descriptions of housing established for the waves of Cape Verdean immigrants on construction sites during the 1960s (Batalha 2008: 66).

"Social neighborhoods," first established in 1918, essentially are *vilas* on a larger scale. After World War II, migrants from the countryside met significant groups of Cape Verdeans, and to a lesser extent Angolans and Mozambicans, and remade the Lisbon areas of Loures, Seixal, and Amadora into large residential municipalities with significant pockets of "improvised" settlements. In the 1950s Salazar began to address housing through a reinvestment in "social" neighborhoods to combat the surge of "clandestine neighborhoods" and informality outside of the municipality proper (Eaton 1993; Cardoso and Perista 1994). The implementation of subsequent laws around residential property contributed to a stigma levied against those in the auto-constructed communities. The stigma of informality intensified after the implosion of the fascist regime and the

concurrent independence movements in Lusophone Africa in 1974 (Horta 2001).

Kriolu Attempts at Neighborhood Formation: Cova da Moura / Kova M

Alto da Cova da Moura is a large, "improvised" neighborhood in the municipality of Amadora, located two miles south of Boba. Given its relative unofficial status, demographic information on Kova M's population varies significantly. While government numbers report 6,000 people (ACIDI 2010) and independent sources cite 10,000 residents (Vaz 2011), what is generally agreed upon is that Cape Verdeans make up roughly 60% of Kova M. In contrast to improvised neighborhoods such as Fontaínhas, Asílio 28, Bairro Santa Filomena and dozens of others, Lisbon officials decided to spare Kova M from the PER demolition and urban renewal plan, in part due to the dynamics of local patronage (Horta 2001). Special Program of Relocation (PER) is a project initiated in 1993 sponsored by the Portuguese state and European Union agencies to eradicate the "tin can 'hoods' " (*bairro de lata*) from Portugal's main cities of Lisbon and Oporto by the year 2000. The main goal of PER is to relocate approximately 130,000 people, who were living in unregulated, non-standard, poorly serviced communities to places with infrastructure in the most efficient manner possible.

According to local mythology and community documentation, Cova began with the end of Portuguese colonialism in 1974 represented by the implosion of the Portuguese military and the independence wars in its African colonies.[5] For four years thereafter, a gradual but consistent stream of day laborers, consisting of predominantly Africans and the white Portuguese, who were forced to return to Portugal, the so-called *retornados* or "returnees," sought out residence close to the automobile accessory factory of Martins and Almeida and various

FIGURE 2. View from Cova da Moura of the planned, "social" neighbor-
        hood of Damaia on the other side of the train tracks. Photo by
        author, 2009.

construction sites, which contributed to the boom in "social"
neighborhood urbanization, as discussed above. In 1978 the
municipality finally recognized Alto da Cova da Moura offi-
cially as a legitimate neighborhood, albeit "improvised."

   Figure 2 shows a view from the entrance to Cova da Moura
looking across the tracks to the "social" neighborhood of Da-
maia. Figure 3 depicts the main entrance to Cova closest to the
train station. Taken together the images demonstrate a contrast
in housing: the standardized "project" versus the "improvised"
structures in Cova.

   In Kova M youth are present in great numbers and want
to link talk to neighborhood landmarks. This is what youth
call making *cenas* or "scenes." There are two different types
of "scenes." The first is institutional, the landmark of Moinho
da Juventude. *Moinho* can translate as "mill," a connection to
a traditional part of the Cape Verdean economy. However,
perhaps the best translation of *moinho* in this case is to draw

FIGURE 3. View of main paved entrance into the neighborhood of Cova da Moura, as seen from Damaia/Santa Cruz train station. Photo by author, 2009.

from the colloquial phrase, "to take the water to the mill," meaning to get the job done. The connotation here is more about achievement; therefore, one might understand "Moinho da Juventude" as an organization of youth achievement. The second "scene" highlights nighttime strolling and car cruising around the neighborhood. Moinho da Juventude is a non-profit organization that employees 94 people. It began in 1984 as a grassroots project to improve living conditions and healthcare, and to provide daycare and professionalization workshops for the residents of Cova da Moura.

As kids ran by Moinho, which sits at the peak of this hillside neighborhood, Heidir, aspiring rapper, sound engineer, and veteran community activist, revealed his connection to the center. Heidir had been in prison for more than two years for drug trafficking before we met in 2009. His brother was sentenced to five years. While in prison, they wrote pages of lyrics and soon after he returned to Kova M, Heidir spent as much time as possible in the new confines of the Moinho recording studio. He saw it as a "platform to make a scene." We arrived at the recording studio, Heidir inserted his USB pen drive, cued up the control board, and made the desired adjustments for bass and volume. He signaled for me to sit beside him and soak up the sounds and lyrics. We listened independently to the seven-minute song. It was intense; Heidir never once looked at me. While he mouthed his lines and bobbed his head to the pounding downbeat of the bass drum, I stared at the lone microphone in the insulated recording room. I thought about amplification and platforms.

> You see. That [the song] right there is drama. It is real experience. It is straight up Kova M. You know, outside of the neighborhood there are few options for us. Few people really move away because we end up finding something in our immediate surroundings that we connect with and make into something…a living. For me and many others, it was drugs. But that is a dead end. Cova da Moura has

> more scenes. That's a good thing. For me, rap and even
> more to the point, Kriolu rap is a good scene. There are
> two types of songs for me – drama and party. Drama,
> like the song I did with my brother right there, is real; it's
> about learning. It's fact. It's not about celebrating violence.
> It's just fact. Party is about celebrating Kova M; it's about
> pleasure and the spots...

That Kova M studio is a scene is not a secret. Most Lisbon-based Kriolu rappers record in Kova M and increasingly more *tuga* rappers are embracing Kova M as a respected hip hop landmark. In addition, directors of state cultural agencies such as Programas Escolhas, an organization that works with immigrant youth regarding issues of citizenship, education, and employment, have sponsored sound engineering workshops and rap contests linked to Kova M.[6]

Scholars of ethnomusicology and pop culture, more generally, have argued cogently that the concept of "scene" is a primary nexus point that connects aesthetics, in this case of sound, with sociality and ethos (Krims 2007). Furthermore, the "scene" necessarily involves spatial differentiation, as in the Seattle scene of grunge, the Bay Area scene of hiphy, or the London scene of grime. The colloquial reference of "Kova M" is interesting in this context because its proponents, rappers such as Heidir and LBC, purposefully inject Kriolu language politics into the spatial politics of scene-making. The letter "k" does not officially exist in the Portuguese language. It appears usually as a reference to English and by extension the global cache of the United States and "American culture."

While certainly U.S. rappers' use of English influences Kriolu rappers, the "k" refers to a difference from "Luso" and Portugal. It is not *crioulo*; it is Kriolu. It is not Cova da Moura but Kova M. Chullage explained the politics of Kriolu presence in this manner: "it's not just that I feel more comfortable rapping in Kriolu, it's about getting everybody [non-Kriolu speakers in Portugal and rap fans around the world] to listen and go

search for the meaning. It's what we all did when we first heard Public Enemy (the influential black nationalist rap group from Long Island, New York during the late 1980s and early 1990s). We didn't understand English. We looked it up. People can do that with Kriolu." In sum, Kriolu rappers, through orthography, pronunciation, and recording studio hype, have coupled language and space together and proposed it as a neighborhood value and an implicit obligation for others to learn or at least engage with Kriolu on its own terms.

Kriolu emplacement is not only a formal endeavor but also an everyday part of locality. My emerging friendships with Heidir and LBC garnered a series of weekend evening invitations. On one particular Saturday night, I arrived in Kova M unannounced. I decided to climb the main road (Figure 3) and not take my chances navigating the labyrinth of alleyways Heidir and LBC had shown me during prior visits. After the first 50 meters, I heard nothing but Kriolu. Kids of all ages, young adults and a few elderly folks were out in the streets. People were simply hanging out, sitting on steps, visiting friends, and making plans.

The initial scene was at the café owned by LBC's mom. Dona Anastácia welcomed me and told me to stay, as a *funaná* band would shortly begin to play. Funaná is a Cape Verdean dance music typical of the island of Santiago that until independence was considered too "African" and "backward" for national identification. It is now one of the most popular genres of cultural consumption both inside the archipelago and abroad. Young men had already occupied the tile-covered balcony. They were drinking beer and sodas, playing cards, and talking soccer. Instead of music stores or conventional entertainment clubs, Kriolu scenes in Lisbon root themselves during the nighttime hours in cafés like this one.

Alyson, a 20-year-old rapper and recent immigrant from Santiago, impressed the men with his stories of the capital city of Praia and the rough nature of living through droughts,

dengue fever, and constant power outages. He battled rhetorically with the tales of money and labor from Simão, who was in town from the popular Cape Verdean diasporic community of Rotterdam, Holland to visit his mother and sister. The small crowd egged them on and eventually drowned out Alyson and Simão expressing that "now, you all are here – the heart of Kriolu in Portugal. This is Kova M. Yeah!" As dozens of young men shouted "*kel li, Kova M*," others added, in English, "black lyrics, soldiers soldiers, ghetto life." The juxtaposition of Kriolu and English, when approached from the perspective of practice, is less about the "use" of a stable entity called "English" or "Kriolu," and more about social practices of interest and persuasion, in this case celebrating the centrality of Kova M in "reality" knowledge based on experiences of blackness, poverty and violence.

As one can imagine from the photograph in Figure 3, Kova M is not an easy place to drive with streets so narrow that cars can barely get by all the people who are seemingly always outside. However, car travel is actually important in Kova M for those of some means. Cars become mobile stages for individuals and groups with reputations to amplify what Heidir described as "party" or leisure life, as opposed to "drama" rap.

Heidir hailed me, LBC and Kromo, another Kova M rapper, over to his car and we took off. I realized that our cruising around curves, logistically going nowhere, was part of a game that included swerving, yelling out to everyone, and pumping a mix of Kova M studio Kriolu rap and the latest tunes by Lil' Wayne and 50 Cent. Heidir turned on the twelve-inch LCD screen and cued up a series of Jay-Z, 50 Cent, and Black Eyed Peas videos. Over the next hour or so, we made the rounds stopping at this and that corner, asking to talk with so-and-so, and inquiring about the whereabouts of so-and-so's sister. While Heidir exchanged extended greetings with Kova M residents, LBC joked but with serious undertones that we were

outlining the youth boundaries of the neighborhood, the *limiti di gentis*, in our excursion. From an informational standpoint, very little was exchanged in these conversations and inside the car the sheer volume of sound precluded much chitchat. When we arrived back in the area close to Dona Anastácia's café and the funaná music, Heidir turned around and asked, "so, D, did you feel Kova M?"

The joyride was meaningful on several levels. As is per the norm in ethnographic research, it would only be later that I began to interpret Heidir's question as a provocation to consider the spatiality of the Kriolu keyword of *xinti*, "to feel," the base of "sentiment." "Feeling" affords an understanding of youth leisure and everyday drama. In effect, the videos doubled as inside entertainment for the passengers as well as a complement to the interior and exterior lighting of the car. We glided by bumping and illuminating trails in the neighborhood, a party pod in the name of Kova M.

Conclusion

A product of colonialism, diaspora, trade and other forms of mass migrations, creole speaks to the human condition of contact, power and cultural expression. Creole is a powerful and, at times, empowering rubric for understanding Africa-Europe migration and appreciating migrants' lives. Cape Verdean creole or Kriolu represents a particular history of language and belonging that informs contemporary identity politics in Lisbon, Portugal. Cape Verdean intervention in the debate on Portuguese citizenship and identity comes in its distinction to other African migrant communities in the former metropole and its provocation for Portuguese to reflect on the national ideology of Lusotropicalism embedded in current demographic terms of "Luso-African" and European political terms such as "interculturality."

This essay has featured the essential characteristics of time through a detailed history of the emergence and use of Kriolu during colonial and post-colonial periods and space through an ethnographically based interpretation of Kriolu rappers' linguistic and political practices in the improvised and "social" neighborhoods of contemporary Lisbon. Cape Verdeans as an immigrant "community" in Portugal are hardly unified as to how best to articulate their identities in political, cultural or social terms. For the most part, this is due to class divisions frequently linked to geographical rivalries back in the archipelago, the most noteworthy of which is the tense relationship between Cape Verdeans of São Vicente, symbolized in the legacy of the "Enlightened," and Santiago, represented in the *badiu*. Nevertheless, the common story of migration and a collective pride in speaking Kriolu provides a basis for Cape Verdean identity in Portugal and other diasporic locales. The specific engagement of Cape Verde and Portugal over the past five centuries makes Lisbon a special diasporic emplacement and an important case study as Portugal reassesses its position as a diverse and creative population in an economically and politically precarious Europe.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES

1   *Morna* is a lyrical lament, a song genre with a long history throughout Cape Verde. It became the national music of Cape Verde due to the influence of the sentimental lyrics written by many "Enlight-

ened" artists. The voice in *morna* takes front stage and is usually accompanied by nylon-stringed guitar, clarinet and other winds, occasional keyboard, and light percussion. *Fado* is the national music of Portugal. It is also a poetic lament narrating longing and separation. *Batuque* refers to African-influenced percussion performance often without lyrics.

2   "Crioulo" is the spelling consistently used by Portuguese scholars, officials, and by many Cape Verdeans from the Barlavento or Windward island group, including São Vicente, the home of the "Enlightenment" movement. Those from the Sotavento or Leeward group, especially inhabitants from the island of Santiago, prefer the "k." For more on orthography in Cape Verde, see Duarte 2003.

3   As Errante argues, the utility of the Lusotropicalism discourse was not only in service of an imagined antiracism but also by the late 1950s and early 1960s an attempt to essentially link Portugal to its remaining African colonies (Errante 1998: 296). For example, *Presença,* a propaganda magazine of the 1960s and 1970s printed in color, often featured a pair of children, one a "black" native of Angola or Mozambique and the other a "white" native of Portugal. Ensuing interviews and reports framed the white youth as identifying with Angola and equating this sentiment with an overall Portuguese identity. Specific to Cape Verdeans in Lisbon, Machado notes that the "Cape Verdean House" published a monthly bulletin initially with the name "Presença Crioula" in the early 1970s but "considering that 'crioulo' was a significantly ambiguous designation, the name was changed to 'Presença Cabo-Verdiana" beginning in April of 1974" (Machado 2010: 245).

4   Throughout this text I use "space" and "place" somewhat interchangeably. In English and Portuguese, the connotations of "place" are rooted in a boundedness, a specificity, and seemingly closer to identity formation, while the meaning of "space" is generally more abstract, universal, and less articulated. However, as cultural geographers, such as Doreen Massey (1994) and Edward Soja (1996) following Henri Lefebvre (1991), have pointed out, this dichotomy is a false one. "Place" necessarily includes more than the local just as "space" is always located "somewhere" vis-à-vis human practices. For either term to be salient in analysis, one must account for practices, e.g., language and labor, in a dynamic temporality.

5   According to Horta (2008: 184-5), the actual history of Cova starts in 1940 with rural, white migrants in search of arable land.

6   See the article in Fórum Escolhas, no.12, July 2009: 43-44.

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