

The interacting factors driving change: Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam



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¹ Source of cover photo: Carlos Goncalves, Event: a themed meeting of Cabo about Cape Verdean youth, held in 1994. Pictured left to right: Alzira Veira, Carlos Goncalves (founder), John Armstrong (founder), Maria Goncalves (founder and chairperson); Email: Nancy Peiffer personal archive (further NPPA) Carlos Goncalves (further CG), 28 September 2015, Nancy Peiffer (further NP).

1: Introduction

Cape Verdeans are one of the top five ethnic groups in Rotterdam, and nearly one third of all Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands live in the Rotterdam city district of Delfshaven.² Their migration to the Netherlands began in the 1950s and their first immigrant organizations were founded in the 1960s.³ Over the years the goals and activities of Cape Verdean immigrant and ethnic organizations have changed for a variety of reasons. The interaction of various factors has influenced the type of activities that have taken place. Moreover, the focus if not the goals of organizations have sometimes unwillingly been altered or hindered.

1.1 Main research questions

To contribute to the field of migration history, and research into organizational infrastructure and government policy and practices, I have explored the goals and activities of three Cape Verdean ethnic organizations: Stichting Avanço, Federation Emancipation Defense Interest Cape Verdeans (FEDIC), and Jongerenorganisatie Cabo⁴. I use the term 'ethnic organization' to refer to a voluntary organization that functions between family and tertiary (state) agencies or institutions. Furthermore, by using the term 'ethnic' rather than 'immigrant' I refer to the fact that the organizations I discuss are run by and for Cape Verdeans, although not exclusively. Moreover, they are focused on the needs and desires of both the first and second generation Cape Verdean immigrants to the Netherlands.⁵ My main questions for this research are:

1. Did the goals and activities of Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam change in the 1990s and 2000s?
2. If so, why? What factors could explain the changes in goals and activities?

1.2 Theoretical Framework

There are many significant factors which can explain the changes in goals and activities of ethnic

2 E. van Dijk and S. Jagmohansigh, *Staat van emancipatie Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2013) 32; Antonio da Graça, Ana Paula Beja Horta, and Jorge Malheiros, 'Ethnic Civic Communities and Political Participation: The Case Study of Cape Verdean Associations in Three Municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Rotterdam', in: Maria Lucinda Fonseca (ed.), *Cities in Movement: Migrants and Urban Change* (Lisbon 2008) 165-202, 92-93, citing Centrum voor Onderzoek en Statistiek (further COS), *Buurtinformatie Rotterdam Digitaal* (Rotterdam 2005).

3 Jørgen Carling, 'Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands', in: Luís Batalha and Jørgen Carling (eds.), *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora* (Amsterdam 2008) 91-100, 91; and Antonio A. da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces: Een case study in de Kaapverdise gemeenschap in Rotterdam* (Tillburg 2010) 54-59.

4 For this paper, I will refer to Stichting (Foundation) Avanço, as 'Avanço' and Jongerenorganisatie Cabo, as 'Cabo'.

5 See discussion in Jose C. Moya, 'Immigrants and Associations: A Global and Historical Perspective'. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* (further *JEMS*) 31:5 (2005) 833-864, 834, as well as in Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, 'Immigrant organizations', *JEMS* 31:5 (2005) 823-832, 824-825.

organizations. In the table below, I list the ones which have had the greatest impact according to previous research which I discuss below.⁶ In this thesis, I argue that the interaction between the factors are the impetus for change.

Table 1 Factors by cluster which could influence the goals and activities of ethnic organizations

Group	Host country	Competing organizations	Country of origin
characteristics (class, education and skill level, languages & fluency, age and gender ratio)	economic situation and geo-political position	third-party organizations (non-governmental organizations, schools)	economic situation and geo-political position
Visibility (size, spatial concentration, religion)	government authorities: policies and practices	church-related organizations	involvement with diaspora (provide funding, etc.)
Ethnic elite	opportunity structures	government agencies	geo-political history
	public debate	employers	

Goals and activities of ethnic organizations can transform because of changes in the community, such as male labor migration expanding to family migration and the emerging needs of women and children.⁷ Indeed, organizations need to change their activities to remain attractive to the next generation of migrants.⁸ In this 'bottom up' approach, there are 'mobilization processes' and 'channels of mobilization' at play in the setting of goals and the developing of activities, for example, by recruiting target group members to conduct interviews with the community.⁹ Changes in activities can occur in stages depending on the characteristics and issues of the ethnic group, as well as the economic situation, geo-political position, and policies and practices carried out by government authorities of the host country.¹⁰ Activities can also develop or shift as a result of the visibility of the group or public debate, for example, media coverage of religious practices or crime. The content of activities, for instance, can expand due to the influence of government policies and practices which 'bond' the ethnic community and 'bridge' its organizations to external actors (governmental and non-governmental agencies). Studies have shown that this expanding of

6 This table is based on one from Anja van Heelsum, *Migrantenorganisaties in Nederland, deel 2: Functioneren van de organisaties* (Utrecht 2004) 12.

7 See Irene Bloemraad, 'The Limits of de Tocqueville: How Government Facilitates organizational Capacity in Newcomer Communities', *JEMS* 31:5 (2005) 865-887, 874-875; Héctor R. ; and Tiziana Caponio, 'Policy Networks and Immigrants' Associations in Italy: The Cases of Milan, Bologna and Naples', *JEMS* 31:5 (2005) 931-950, 938-941.

8 See Rinus Penninx and Marlou Schrover, *Bastion of Bindmiddel? Organisaties van immigranten in historisch perspectief* (Amsterdam 2001) 56.

9 See M.M. Marques and Rui Santos, 'Top-Down and Bottom Up' Reconsidered: The Dynamics of Immigrant Participation in Local Civil Society', in: Rinus Penninx, Karin Kraal, Marco Matiniello and Steven Vertovec (eds.), *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies* (Farnham 2004) 107-126, 112.

10 See Caponio, 'Policy Networks', 947.

networks and fostering of social capital is an aim of local and district governments.¹¹ In this thesis, I define social capital as the 'features of social organization, such as networks, norms, and trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit'.¹² Researchers attest that this bridging of ethnic organizations in turn stimulates the ethnic community to have greater access to Dutch institutions and third-party organizations, thus ethnic organizations play a 'complementary' role to these external actors.¹³

These external agencies are one of the several opportunity structures in the host country in which ethnic organizations utilize and maneuver through. I define these structures here as: 'the range of options that a society provides to immigrants and their organizations that helps to determine what organizations can do and the effectiveness of their efforts'.¹⁴ As this range of options within opportunity structures directly influences not only what organizations can do, but also their continued existence, they are key to understanding change within organizations. For example, the opportunity structure of subsidies is a tool used to steer organizations. Thus, many local government administrators engage with migrant organizations using a top-down approach. For this reason, it is difficult for ethnic organizations to be independent from government agencies and policies.¹⁵ In some cases, the government has had a significant impact on the goals and activities of ethnic organizations.¹⁶ Activities, for example, can be reduced or discontinued due to 'crowding-out' by governmental and/or non-governmental agencies, such as those organized by churches or employers. If these organizations establish a strong social service and organizational role in the community, they may discourage the development or growth of independent ethnic organizations.¹⁷

Additionally, some ethnic organizations experienced a 'co-opted role'. For example they had to address issues in current public or policy debate, such as tolerance of homosexuality or female

11 See Peter Scholton and Ronald Hozhacker, 'Bonding, bridging and ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: changing discourses in a changing nation', *Nations and Nationalism* 15:1 (2009) 81-100; also Bloemraad, 'The Limits of de Tocqueville'; Caponio, 'Policy Networks', 938; Cordero-Guzman, 'Community-Based organizations'; and COS Zuid-Holland, *Ontwikkelingssamenwerking en integratie* (Assen 2010).

12 Robert D. Putnam, 'Social Capital and Public Affairs', *Bulletin of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 47:8 (1994) 5-19, 6-7.

13 See da Graça, Beja Horta, and Malheiros, 'Ethnic Civic Communities', 186; and Jennifer Clarke, 'Transnational actors in national contexts: migrant organizations in Greece in comparative perspective', *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 13:2 (2013) 281-301, 295-296.

14 Ewa Morawska, *Insecure prosperity. Small-town Jews in industrial America, 1890-1940* (Princeton 1996). Quote is a translation from Penninx and Schrover, *Bastion of Bindmiddel?*, 3.

15 See Flip Lindo, *De Positionering van het Nederlandse minderhedenbeleid in vergelijkend perspectief: Overzichtsnotitie Integratiebeleid 1998* (Den Haag 1998) 30.

16 See da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 152; Cordero-Guzman, 'Community-Based organizations', 905-907; Penninx and Schrover, *Bastion of Bindmiddel?*, 3; and Rinus Penninx and Boris Slijper, *Voor elkaar? Integratie, vrijwilligerswerk en organisaties van migranten* (Amsterdam: 1999) 31.

17 See Penninx and Schrover, *Bastion of Bindmiddel?*, 12; Caponio, 'Policy Networks', 937, 940; da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 158-159; COS Zuid-Holland, *Ontwikkelingssamenwerking*, 25; and Inge van der Hoeven, "Liever geen bemoeienis met AKU-buitenlanders": Verenigingen van Italiaanse gastarbeiders bij de Algemene Kunstzijde Unie 1956-1885. (Masters Leiden University 2012) 32, 107.

genital mutilation.¹⁸ Therefore, policy focus sometimes has been incongruous with the needs of the target groups and the goals of ethnic organizations.¹⁹ The top-down approach, however, has not always been practiced. For instance, the decentralization of social services in the 1990s led to ethnic organizations expanding their social service capacity and services. This development gave rise to an approach that became more 'needs-oriented', thus, practicing a compensatory role in the host society.²⁰

Moreover, the country of origin can influence activities of ethnic organizations depending on their economic situation, geo-political position and history, and the level of involvement they decide to initiate and maintain with their diaspora. For example, they can provide funding to or withdraw it from these organizations.

Another important factor in the transformation of activities is that the existence and degree of cultural capital of key actors of ethnic organization possess can significantly influence the ability and success of establishing and using social capital and available opportunity structures. Here I define cultural capital as: 'tangible and intangible knowledge; formal education and training, as well as the familiarity and valuing of cultural customs in the individual's behavior.'²¹ Ethnic organizations run by 1.5 and second-generation migrants are more successful in networking, understanding and adapting to changes in government policy, and securing funding from both governmental and non-governmental sources. This is largely a result of their higher level of formal education, language skills, and familiarity with the institutions of the host country.²² However, a negative aspect of their cultural and social capital is that often weighty claims are made on these well qualified members of the community.²³

The notable differences in cultural and social capital between generations can foment intergenerational tension, which can consequently strain and damage ethnic opportunity structures. Some researchers have explored the power dynamics within ethnic opportunity structures, specifically between the ethnic elite and the 1.5 and second-generation. The differences in cultural and social capital between the generations can greatly influence their respective approaches and

18 Clarke, 'Transnational actors in national contexts', 295-296.

19 See Marlou Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism and Cultural Freezing, Dutch Migration History and the Enforcement of Essentialist Ideas', *Low Countries Historical Review* 125: 2-3. (2010), 329-354, 343-351; Rinus Penninx, 'Dutch Immigrant Policies Before and After the Van Gogh Murder', *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 7:2 (2006) 241-254, 246-247; and Penninx and Slijper, *Voor elkaar?*, 27-28, 36. I will discuss these changes in policy in more detail in my background section.

20 See Patrick Ireland, *Becoming Europe: Immigration, Integration, and the Welfare State* (Pittsburgh 2004) 126; Clarke, 'Transnational actors in national contexts', 295-296.

21 See Alejandro Portes, 'The Two Meanings of Social Capital', *Sociological Forum* 15:1 (2000) 1-12, 2.

22 Angie Y. Chung, 'Politics Without the Politics': The Evolving Political Cultures of Ethnic Non-Profits in Koreatown, Los Angeles' *JEMS* 31:5 (2005) 911-929, 917-918.

23 See Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, 'Social Capital: Promise and Pitfalls of its Role in Development', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32 (2000) 529-547; and Pierre Bourdieu, 'The Forms of Capital', in: John G. Richardson (ed), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York 1986) 241-258, 250.

successes in accessing policy and institutional opportunity structures.²⁴ Nonetheless, ethnic opportunity structures are required to at least partly operate within the restrictive mainstream power structures.²⁵ The old ethnic elite are likely to dominate in their interactions with their ethnic organizations and community members, and may be reluctant to share power and resources with new generations. Consequently, this can lead organizations run by the younger generations to seek collaboration outside of the ethnic opportunity structure. Moreover, it can influence their activities.²⁶

1.3 Hypotheses

Here below I present the hypotheses which I tested in my research.

Table 2 Directional hypotheses based on factor cluster

Factor Cluster	Directional hypotheses based on factor
Group	If the group changes, the goals and activities of ethnic organizations change.
Host country	If the opportunity structure changes, the activities of ethnic organizations change.
Competing organizations	If governmental or non-governmental organizations provide the same service or activities, services or activities of ethnic organizations change.
Country of origin	If the country of origin becomes involved with their diaspora, the activities of ethnic organizations change.

1.4 Historiography

There has been very little research done into the Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam and the activities they offer. Of the research that has been carried out, none of it focuses on how and why their goals and activities have changed. In 1996, Carlos Gonçalves, and Antonio Silva wrote a report on the numerous Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam, their activities and the noticeable problem of organizational fragmentation. To a limited extent, these organizations were also discussed in a 2003 community report by Marjon de Gruijter, but she focused on the particular health issues and lifestyles of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam.²⁷ Furthermore, in 2008, a comparative study into Cape Verdean organizations in Lisbon, Portugal and Rotterdam, and their networks and political participation was published.²⁸ In addition, the networks of Cape Verdean organizations in

24 Min Zhou and Rebecca Y. Kim, 'Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite: The Case of the Chinese Immigrant Community in the United States', *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 2:2 (2001) 227-247, 237; and Chung, 'Politics Without the Politics', 912, 915-916.

25 Chung, 'Politics Without the Politics', 916.

26 Ibid, 912, 915, 924-926.

27 Carlos Gonçalves and Antonio Silva, *Een oriënterende studie over kaapverdiaanse zelforganisaties in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam, 1996); and Marjon de Gruijter, *Community Report: Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam* (Utrecht, 2003).

28 See da Graça, Beja Horta, and Malheiros, 'Ethnic Civic Communities', 165-202.

Rotterdam and the kind of assistance these organizations received from governmental and non-governmental agencies was provided in detail in the 2010 PhD dissertation of Antonio da Graça.²⁹ Although da Graça provided a categorization of these organizations according to their activities and how frequently they were offered, his PhD research differs from this thesis in that it mainly focused on the unifying capacity of ethnic organizations, and the role they played 'in the process of integration of ethnic communities'.³⁰

Similar research was published on Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands. However, this was mainly descriptive. In the 1990s and early 2000s, Jørgen Carling, Strooij-Sterken and Antonio Silva explored the Cape Verdean population regarding their label as *stille migranten*, as well as their identity.³¹ Moreover, Justus Veenman, Pauline Naber and Frederique Veldman focused on Cape Verdean youth.³² In addition, Doris Pires, Chan Choenni, Strooij-Sterken, and Carling provided their findings into migration flows and the characteristics of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam.³³ Later in the mid-2000s, Charlotte Laarman published her research on Cape Verdean religious practices and church activities.³⁴

However, what has not been investigated in depth by researchers of Cape Verdeans or other ethnic groups in the Netherlands, is how intergenerational tensions between ethnic organizations and their umbrella organizations have hindered the development and implementation of projects. Da Graça only briefly mentions a power struggle between the second-generation organization Cabo and Federação de Organizações Cabo-verdianas (FOCR), the first-generation run Cape Verdean umbrella organization in Rotterdam from 1987 to 1999.³⁵ This conflict was fueled by the threat FOCR board members felt by the successes and passion of Cabo and the shortcomings of their own

29 See da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, chapter 5 'Bridging Links' - 'Overbruggende schakels'.

30 Quote from the English summary, da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 157; also see da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, chapter 4.

31 Translation: 'silent migrants', Carling, 'Cape Verdeans'; Henny Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaaipverdianen. Hoe lang nog de "stille migranten" van Rotterdam?', in: P. van de Laar, T. de Nijs, J. Okkema and A. Oosthoek (eds.), *Vier eeuwen migratie bestemming Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 1998) 266-281; Henny Strooij-Sterken, 'Eilanden aan de Maas: De Kaaipverdische gemeenschap van Rotterdam', in: I. van Kessel and N. Tellegen (eds.), *Afrikanen in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2000) 43-60; and Antonio Silva, *Heimwee naar het eigene: de werkelijkheid achter de zoektocht van de Kaaipverdianen naar de 'eigen identiteit'* (Amsterdam 1997).

32 Justus Veenman, 'Cape Verdean youth and young people: education, employment and leisure' (Rotterdam 1996); and Eva Reekers personal archive (further ERPA), Pauline Naber and Frederique Veldman, *CABO: De stilte voorbij, Onderzoek naar de leefwereld en de maatschappelijke positie van Kaaipverdiaanse jongeren in Rotterdam en Zaanstad* (Rotterdam 1997).

33 See Doris T.D.R. Pires, *Immigratie en integratie op de arbeidsmarkt: Een vergelijkende onderzoek naar de arbeidsmarktpositie van Kaaipverdianen in Lissabon en Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 1997); Chan Choenni, 'Kaaipverdianen in Nederland: een profiel' (2004); Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaaipverdianen. Hoe lang nog'; and Carling 'Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands'.

34 See Charlotte Laarman, 'De kerk. Migrantengroepen, geloofsbeleving en de versplintering van de katholieke kerk', in: I. Hoving, H. Dibbits and M. Schrover (eds.), *Veranderingen van het alledaagse 1950-2000* (Den Haag 2005) 331-352; and Charlotte Laarman, 'De Portugeestalige migranten en hun parochies in de Nederlandse katholieke kerk, 1969-2005', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 4:1 (2007) 117-142.

35 Translation FOCR: Federation of Cape Verdean organizations.

cultural capital. I will explore this friction in detail in Chapter four.³⁶

In this research, I provide not only unique and valuable insight into how intergenerational tensions within ethnic opportunity structures can obstruct projects of ethnic organizations, but also how the practices of local power structures can facilitate the barriers placed by dominating umbrella organizations. While da Graça investigated the Cape Verdean organizations in the framework of social capital and opportunity structures, there is still a gap in research regarding the social and cultural capital of second-generation migrant organizations in the Netherlands, and how their organizations interact within the local power structure. This thesis aims to significantly contribute to this field of study.³⁷

Another unique factor in my research is that the three organizations have quite different organizational structures: Avanço, was a heavily subsidized umbrella organization; FEDIC was a very small organization consisting of only three members and was run on very little funding; and Cabo was a medium-sized organization, which for a time received a significant amount of funding from various sources.³⁸ Moreover, by describing the levels of opportunity structures and identifying the roles Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo played in their relationship with the local and district municipalities, my analysis will illuminate a richer depth of understanding than da Graça's previous study of Rotterdam's Cape Verdean ethnic organizations.

The organizational infrastructure of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo is a significant topic for research in the role ethnic organizations play in multicultural societies. It will increase the understanding of how ethnic organizations transform their functions within both their community and the greater host society. Furthermore, my research into these organizations gives greater insight into the interaction of factors behind changes in goals and activities, as well as the formation of barriers of similarly structured ethnic organizations, especially regarding the effect of local government policy and practices. Moreover, recognizing the means by which the policies of the municipalities of Rotterdam and the city district of Delfshaven fostered and hindered the aims of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo is useful knowledge for municipal bodies, ethnic organizations, and third-party organizations. In addition, shedding light on the dynamics of how ethnic organizations utilize opportunity structures and bridge with external actors is valuable information which can be used by those who are engaged in this multicultural society.

36 da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 67-68; and interviews: CG, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 27 May 2014, 6 June 2014, and 15 July 2015, Nancy Peiffer (further NP), Nancy Peiffer personal archive (further NPPA); and Carlos Goncalves personal archive (further CGPA), CG, nr. A.B.983.458/jv, topic: 'bezwaar CABO inzake korting op subsidie', letter to 'leden van de beroepscommissie', 11 June 1998, 7 pages.

37 From the English summary, da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 158-159.

38 See chapter 3 for more details on each organization and table 4 in appendix D regarding subsidy amounts of Cabo.

1.5 Methods and Materials

In the presentation of my empirical findings from Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo, I uncover the spectrum of similarities and differences among these organizations with regards to the above-mentioned factors.³⁹ There are a number of advantages in comparing and contrasting three different organizations, namely, to identify and understand what is shared and/or distinct in the dynamics behind change and decision making, to determine the possible links between cause and effect, and contribute an insight into organizations.⁴⁰

Empirical data collection

The three organizations I include in my research were largely determined on the basis of who would agree to an interview and the availability of reports or documentation from the organization. Thus, some information is incomplete and not all parties involved in conflicts were interviewed.⁴¹ In total I interviewed nine individuals: three from Avanço; one from FEDIC; four from Cabo; one from Dona Daria; and two former deputy mayors of Rotterdam municipality whose portfolio included ethnic minority issues.⁴² On the following page is a brief overview of those I interviewed, two I knew previously, two I searched for on the internet, and the remainder were recommended by those I knew. (For further details of these individuals, see Table 1 in Appendix A).

39 See Kathleen M. Eisenhardt, 'Building Theories from Case Study Research', *Academy of Management Review* 14:4 (1989) 540-543.

40 Ibid, 534-535; Joachim K. Blatter, 'Case Study', in: Lisa M. Given (ed.), *The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research* (2008), <http://srmo.sagepub.com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2048/view/sage-encyc-qualitative-research-methods/n39.xml>, accessed 15-2-2015; J. Lucassen, and L. Lucassen, 'Migration, migration history, history. Old paradigms and new perspectives', in: J. Lucassen and L. Lucassen (eds.), *Migration, migration history, history: old paradigms and new perspectives* (Bern 1999) 9-38, 25; and Floris Vermeulen, *The Immigrant organising process: Turkish organizations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese organizations in Amsterdam, 1960-2000* (Amsterdam 2006) 25.

41 Specifically, I could not interview former board members and staff of FOGR.

42 Dona Daria is a third-party organization that collaborates with ethnic organizations.

Table 3 List of persons interviewed and their positions at the organization

Organization	Person interviewed	Positions at organization
Avanço	John do Livramento	founding member, secretary, treasurer
	Beatris Rocha	managing director
	Ivone Mendes	managing director, general board member
FEDIC	John do Livramento	co-director, activity coordinator
Cabo	Carlos Goncalves	founding member, chairman, treasurer
	Beatris Roche	general board member, volunteer
	Eva Reekers	social worker, coordinator, general manager
	Sandy dos Reis	volunteer, intern, social worker, project coordinator
Rotterdam Municipality	Korrie Louwes	Deputy mayor of participation, employment, higher education
	Herman Meijer	Deputy mayor of ethnic minorities, city council member,
Dona Daria	Carola Dogan	project leader

For the interviews, I devised my questionnaires based on preliminary research into these organizations and relevant literature. I attempted to minimize the bias in data collection via interviewing by including many open-ended questions. These interviews took place in the homes and/or offices of the subjects, averaged two to three hours in length, and were mostly recorded using a digital recorder or a video camera.⁴³ All of them were conducted in English, except for one. Additionally, a few follow-up questions were answered by email. The quotes I include from the individuals reveal their varying levels of fluency in English. To clarify possible confusion as a result of misused or missing words, I provide the possible intended word in brackets. These individuals proved to be crucial for my analysis not only because of their experience within their organization and with external actors, but also due to their knowledge and involvement with activities and the decision-making process. However, they could only remember details in varying degrees. The two deputy mayors of Rotterdam and project leader of Dona Daria provide a different perspective regarding changing local policy and how it affected Cape Verdean organizations.

As a considerable portion of my empirical data is qualitative, I present previously uncollected testimony which illustrate a number of aspects. Firstly, it shows the dynamics of the development and transformation of activities. Secondly, the structural factors why goals and activities changed and were in some cases hindered. Thirdly, it clearly illustrates the bridging of these organizations with external actors. Furthermore, the qualitative and quantitative data I have compiled which informs this study, is not available in local or national archives, and on third-party websites.⁴⁴

43 Only an initial interview (6 November 2013) with Carlos Goncalves, co-founder of Cabo and then Chairman of Delfshaven sub-municipality of Rotterdam was erroneously not recorded.

44 See 'Methods and Materials' section regarding my collection and access to quantitative data, as well as interview

For this study it was very difficult to collect written documentation from or about Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo. Most of the documentation I received were from those I interviewed.⁴⁵ With the help from archival staff, I obtained a few reports of Avanço and Cabo.⁴⁶ Unfortunately, in these governmental institutions there were no archives available of third-party foundations who worked with the three organizations in this study.⁴⁷ Moreover, it was not possible to locate anything relating to these organizations from the municipalities of Rotterdam and Delfshaven, or receive access to archives housed at the Republic Cape Verdean Consulate in Rotterdam.⁴⁸ Moreover, it is quite difficult to get documentation from small organizations which either do not keep written records of decision-making or of their activities.⁴⁹ This is the case for FEDIC, which made decisions orally and did not record them.⁵⁰ In addition, formal reports were not written because they were not required, as the subsidies they received from the Delfshaven municipality was less than 5,000 Euros.⁵¹

Besides the testimony from those interviews, I have analyzed various annual reports, tables in appendixes, financial statements, letters, as well as work and strategic plans of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo.⁵² (For a listing, see chapter 8). I have used these documents to determine any changes in activities, how they were categorized and described, and provide a few examples of how they were subsidized. These documents also reveal the decision-making process and strategic measures planned or taken as a result of changing circumstances or policies. Therefore, I have critically assessed these documents in view of the transforming political and social landscape, and the knowledge of the difficulties Cape Verdean organizations faced in their attempt to reach goals stated. In particular, I searched for nuances in phrasing, changes in categorization of activities, as well as the development of new collaborations and networks. Due to the difficulty in getting individuals and organizations to participate in this research, Cape Verdean organizations which have had a longer existence in Rotterdam were not included, nor those which had existed in the 1970s and 1980s before being dissolved.

Structure

Before answering the thesis questions, it is important to discuss relevant information about the Cape

subjects.

45 See chapter 8: 'Consulted sources archive list'.

46 Ibid.

47 This was Stichting DISCK Sc&W which had declared bankruptcy on 18 September 2013 and closed down.

48 Currently there is a very large backlog of files to be processed at the Rotterdam city archive. The archives of Avanço were deposited in the basement of the Cape Verdean Consulate. I did not receive admittance to them.

49 See observations by Vermeulen, *The Immigrant organising process*, 16, 27; and Schrover and Vermeulen, 'Immigrant organizations', 825.

50 Interviews: John do Livramento (further JL), Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 3 December 2013 and 14 April 2014, NP, NPPA.

51 Inquiry answered per telephone: Amreen Rasiq, staff member of Delfshaven district municipality, December 2013.

52 These reports and various documents are listed in Chapter 8: Consulted Sources Archive List.

Verdean community in Rotterdam, their organizations, and the laws that affected them. Therefore, in Chapter 2, I first provide background migration history, and characteristics of the community which influenced their needs and desires. Furthermore, I briefly describe the development of their organizations in Rotterdam. In addition, on the basis of a variety of secondary sources I present an analytical overview of how the gradual change in concepts on ethnic minorities in the Netherlands led to changes in policies regarding these groups.

In Chapter 3, I describe how Avanço, FEDIC, and Cabo were founded, how they determined their goals and priorities, and why these changed over the years. In addition, I discuss some of the main obstacles these organizations faced in focusing on their stated goals and priorities. The sources for information for this chapter are documents from these organizations and interviews I conducted. A few details were obtained from secondary sources.

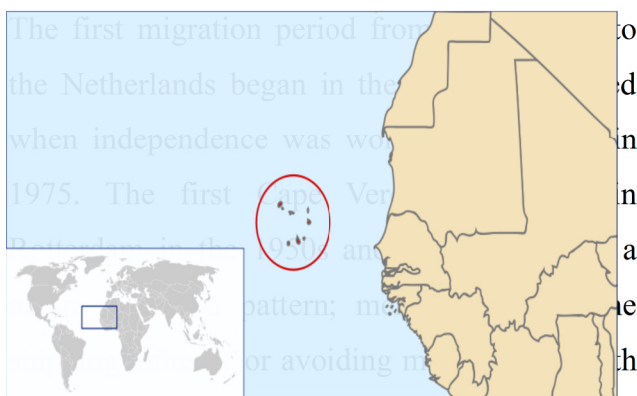
In Chapter 4, I describe and analyze the development and changes in activities of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo. I examine the extent to which these changes were community or government driven. In addition, I discuss whether these organizations were able to adapt their activities to meet the needs and desires of the community, and whether and how they were obstructed by community or government pressures and policies. Furthermore, I describe and analyze the impact of social and cultural capital, and the use of various opportunity structures for their activities. While a few secondary sources contribute to the information and analysis in this chapter, the empirical research is the primary resource for data and analysis.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I add to previous theory and literature on ethnic organizations and organizational infrastructure with an analysis of the major interacting factors contributing to the changes in goals and activities of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo. Furthermore, I provide my conclusions on the strategies and attributes which contribute to the success and endurance of ethnic organizations.

2: Background

This chapter provides a brief history of the Cape Verdean community and their characteristics. Secondly, I give a short overview of the development of Cape Verdean immigrant organizations in Rotterdam. Finally, I explain in limited detail the immigration laws and the immigrant/ethnic policies that specifically affected the Cape Verdean community. In this section I do not give detailed information which is not relevant to my research on Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo, such as legal issues and non-essential demographics.⁵³

2.1 Cape Verdean migration and employment in Rotterdam



the Portuguese colonial armed forces.⁵⁴

At that time, Rotterdam was a recruitment center for a number of European shipping companies and labor conditions on Dutch ships were comparatively better. However, these Cape Verdean migrants and others found getting employment and retaining it difficult when the recession and oil crisis hit in the early 1970s.⁵⁵ It is in these years though, that female migration of Cape Verdeans outstripped male migration when several thousand Cape Verdean domestic maids working in Italy moved to the Netherlands for better working conditions.⁵⁶

The second migration period took place after the 1975 independence. The migrants arriving were notably characterized by a greater diversification of employment backgrounds. For instance, the predominately male migrants were recent military personnel, teachers, low-level civil servants, as well as young men who had not completed their secondary education. As there was limited work to be found in the shipping industry, male migrants found jobs in the harbor, and in the construction

53 See Choenni, *Kaapverdianen in Nederland*; Pires, *Immigratie en integratie*; Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog'; and Carling, 'Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands'.

54 Carling, 'Cape Verdeans', 91; and Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 271. Strooij-Sterken has identified three migration periods which I repeat here for my background history.

55 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 271; Luís Baltalha and Jørgen Carling, 'Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora', in: Luís Baltalha and Jørgen Carling (eds.), *Transnational Archipelago: Perspectives on Cape Verdean Migration and Diaspora* (Amsterdam 2008) 13-31, 22.

56 Carling, 'Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands', 92.

and cleaning sectors. Furthermore, Shell and the Van Nelle factory were large employers of Cape Verdeans. However, as this was the time of economic crisis and low employment opportunities, many Cape Verdeans worked illegally. Additionally in this period, women and their children also arrived; applying through family reunification immigration laws.⁵⁷



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Cape Verdean woman and her sons, Rotterdam, 1987⁵⁸

The third migration period to the Netherlands began in 1991 when a democratic multi-party political system was established in Cape Verde. The most notable aspect of this flow of migration

57 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 272-273.

58 Geheugen van Nederland [Memory of the Netherlands] (further GVN), online photo archive, [http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/NFA06:RDH-871-16/&p=26&i=8&t=1547&st=Migranten&sc=\(isPartOf%20any%20%27NFA06%27\)/](http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/NFA06:RDH-871-16/&p=26&i=8&t=1547&st=Migranten&sc=(isPartOf%20any%20%27NFA06%27)/).

was that a large number of young people who came to the Netherlands had a secondary school diploma and sought further education before finding employment. Moreover, unlike earlier periods, many of them were independent women, some of whom first worked in Portugal or Italy before coming to the Netherlands. A considerable number of them worked in the cleaning industry.

2.2 Residence in Rotterdam

In 1997, Cape Verdeans were the fourth largest ethnic minority group after the Surinamese, Turks and Antilleans.⁵⁹ However, by 1999, due to the growth in the Moroccan population, Cape Verdeans slipped to the fifth largest ethnic group in Rotterdam.⁶⁰ More than 10,000 Cape Verdeans moved to Rotterdam and registered their residency there from 1967 to 1991. The population steadily increased in the early 1990s, but slowed down by the mid-1990s. In 1993, more than 70 percent of the Cape Verdeans between the ages of 25 to 34 were women. However, in the late 1990s this imbalance decreased by more than 25 percent.⁶¹ (For details, see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix A). In addition, there were also Cape Verdeans living in Rotterdam illegally. In 2000, this was estimated to be 2000.⁶² Most Cape Verdeans live in the city district of Delfshaven, and thus their social life and network building benefited from this spatial concentration. This also led to higher attendance at activities of Cape Verde organizations, mostly located in Delfshaven. (See Table 4 in Appendix A).

From 1995 to 2005 there was a steady increase in young Cape Verdeans from ages 15 to 24 who lived in Rotterdam. This constituted about 15 to 20 percent of the Cape Verdean population. Furthermore, in this same period, there was a noticeable rise in the number of Cape Verdeans in the age group 45 to 54 years and above 65 years. (See Table 5 in Appendix A). The increase in the number of youth as well as retired and elderly Cape Verdeans' influenced the activities offered by ethnic organizations. This aspect is discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. In Rotterdam until the late 1990s, more than 60 percent of the Cape Verdean population were born in Cape Verde as shown in Table 6 in Appendix A.⁶³ This large number of first-generation migrants had socio-economic needs and social-cultural practices that affected the second-generation, such as illiteracy and single parenthood, which were addressed by Cape Verdean organizations. These needs and practices are discussed later in this chapter and in Chapters 3 and 4.

59 COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1998: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 1999) 8.

60 COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1999: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2000).

61 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 272-273; COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1998 and 1999*.

62 de Gruijter, *Community Report*, 11; citing Stichting Avanço, *Beleidsplan Stichting Avanço* (Rotterdam 2000). This table does not reflect Rotterdam inhabitants with a Cape Verdean background whose nationality is Portuguese and who are registered as North Mediterranean. For more complete figures of Cape Verdeans living in Rotterdam, please see Appendix A.

63 COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1999*; Choenni, *Kaapverdianen in Nederland*; M. Hoppesteyn, *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam 2013-2030*, COS (Rotterdam 2012); and C. Ergun, M. Bik and C. Stolk, *Bevolkings Prognose Rotterdam 2025*, COS (Rotterdam 1998).

2.3 Education, income level and unemployment

A large number of the Cape Verdean migrants who came to the Netherlands from the 1950s to 1990s had a low education in their homeland. In fact, many of the first generation, were found to be functionally illiterate.⁶⁴ This had a considerable effect on their participation in the labor market, their integration into Dutch society, as well as their involvement in their children's education, and the level of secondary school their children attended. As the Cape Verdean community became settled in the Netherlands, these were issues that Cape Verdean organizations increasingly addressed through the activities they offered.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, a large percentage of the children attended schools that were for children with learning and behavior difficulties.⁶⁵ There usually was little or no emphasis placed on education in the home sphere.⁶⁶ In the standardized final tests for primary school, CITO, which are regularly used to determine the level of secondary schools children can attend, Cape Verdean children scored low.⁶⁷ Thus, a majority of the second generation went to low-level secondary schools, which corresponded into a continuation of education at low to mid-level vocational schools or a stop to their education.⁶⁸ In the late 1990s, there was a high drop-out rate from secondary school.⁶⁹ Only a small minority studied at high-level institutions.⁷⁰ (For further details on the continuation of education, see Table 7 in Appendix A). Raising CITO test scores and providing advice on educational and work experience opportunities became important issues for Cape Verdean organizations, discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

As a result of this low-level education and skills of a large percentage of the Cape Verdean community, many had a low income position and struggled in the Rotterdam labor market in the decades before and after the millennium. Furthermore, there was a higher percentage of Cape Verdeans who were recipients of welfare than that of the autochthon population in Rotterdam in the first decade of 2000.⁷¹

64 P.P.M. Leseman and E.M. Vries, *Lezen en Schrijven in Rotterdam: Omvang en Achtergronden van analfabetisme in Rotterdam* (De Lier 1990) 115.

65 This education is called 'Speciaal onderwijs'.

66 COS, *Minderhedenmonitor 2000*; and Dick Butte Personal Archive (further DBPA), Dick Butte, *Kleurrijk bestaan; een inventarisatieonderzoek naar sociaal-culturele achtergronden van Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam in relatie tot de risico's van HIV-infectie* (Rotterdam 1992) 17. These schools in the Netherlands are called 'Special education'.

67 COS, *Minderheden Monitor 2002: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2003) 51.

68 DBPA, Butte, *Kleurrijk bestaan*, 26; Justus Veenman, *Als de toekomst naar je toe komt: tweede generatie jongeren in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam: 1996) 30-33; and COS '*Minderheden Monitor 2002*', 56.

69 J. Veenman, *Als de toekomst naar je toe komt*, 30-31. This information comes from a survey of graduates of secondary schools in Rotterdam in 2000. In a 1996 survey of Cape Verdeans living Delfshaven and Feijenoord, there was a 19 percent drop-out rate from secondary school.

70 Pires, *Immigrate en Integratie*, 6, 34; and COS, *Minderheden Monitor 2002*, 56.

71 In using the term 'autochthon', I follow the definition of the research institute COS. Choenni, *Kaapverdianen in Nederland*, 33; Carling, 'Cape Verdeans', 95-96.

2.4 In the home: language, parenting and teenage pregnancy

The Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam speaks three languages: Portuguese, Dutch and Crioulo (a Portuguese creole), however, not everyone is fluent in all three. In the mid-1990s, the second generation was more likely to speak blended Dutch and Crioulo in the home and with their friends.⁷² In 2011, a large percentage of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam reported that they found it difficult speaking and writing Dutch.⁷³ This lack of Dutch language proficiency greatly influenced their employment and further educational opportunities for both the first and second generations.



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Cape Verdean school class receives extra Dutch language lessons, Rotterdam, 1985⁷⁴

The cultural practices of parenting and family composition in the Cape Verdean community were an important factor. Many Cape Verdean women raise their children alone with little help from the children's father.⁷⁵ Moreover, since a large number of these women worked in the cleaning industry or in other jobs, it was common for children to be left alone in the time before and after school due to their varying working hours.⁷⁶ Although many children and teenagers did not receive supervision in the home, parental authority was strict, according to research in the 1990s. Furthermore, in the 1990s Cape Verdean parents were not very likely to speak openly about sexual relations or birth

72 ERPA, Naber and Veldman, *CABO: de stille voorbij*, 33-34.

73 Van Dijk and Jagmohansigh, *Staat van Emancipatie*, 77-78. Findings of a survey: reading: 40 percent/women and 42 percent/men, writing: 50 percent/women and 53 percent/men.

74 GVN, [http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/NFA06:RDH-1036-9/&p=26&i=5&t=1547&st=Migranten&sc=\(isPartOf%20any%20%27NFA06%27\)/](http://www.geheugenvannederland.nl/?/nl/items/NFA06:RDH-1036-9/&p=26&i=5&t=1547&st=Migranten&sc=(isPartOf%20any%20%27NFA06%27)/).

75 DBPA, Butte, *Kleurrijk bestaan*, 33; and Choenni, *Kaapverdianen in Nederland*, 19, 43.

76 DBPA, Butte, *Kleurrijk bestaan*, 26.

control to their teenagers, and thus teenage pregnancy was common. These early parental responsibilities led to a curtailed education and social isolation for many of these teenage girls.⁷⁷ These issues were addressed by Cape Verdean ethnic organizations in the 1990s and 2000s, which will be discussed in Chapters 3 and 4.

2.5 Culture: creative expression

Other cultural practices of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam played a significant role in the types of activities arranged by their organizations. Especially significant were the talents and interests in music and dancing among both the older and younger Cape Verdeans, thus some formed dance groups. This cultural expression and bolstering of identity often took place during festivals, parties and other events the community organized. Moreover, Cape Verdeans were leading organizers and participants of the Rotterdam summer carnival and song festivals.⁷⁸

2.6 Characterization as 'silent migrants'

The Cape Verdean diaspora in Dutch society were characterized by various organizations as the 'silent migrants' for many years. Some reasons given for this labeling were: Cape Verdeans were not so noticeable in Dutch society as they look like they could be Surinamese, Antillean or from countries around the Mediterranean; they rarely demonstrated against, publicly complained or discussed issues; public authorities did not conceive them as a 'problem' group, and for many years they were rarely reported on in the press. Furthermore, despite research that proved otherwise in the 1990s, some considered the community to be 'satisfied' and 'well-integrated' into Dutch society. However, as will be shown in later chapters, this characterization of being 'silent' was to become a stigma which was to be rejected by many of the 1.5 and second generation.⁷⁹

2.7 Overview of development of Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam

A variety of Cape Verdean organizations have been founded to address various interests and issues important to the community. The first Cape Verdean organization in Rotterdam was Associação Cabo Verdiana, founded in the 1960s, it focused on gaining support of Cape Verdeans in the diaspora for the independence of Cape Verde from their colonial ruler Portugal.⁸⁰ In the late 1970s

77 Ibid, 31-32; Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaaoverdianen, How lang nog', 275; and Choenni, *Kaaoverdianen in Nederland*, 44.

78 da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 61, 65-66, 87.

79 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaaoverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 274; Carling, 'Cape Verdeans', 95; and interview: Herman Meijer (further HM), 23 June 2014, NP, NPPA. For one of the earliest in-depth studies commissioned by the Rotterdam municipality of the local Cape Verdean community, see DBPA, Butte, *Kleurrijk bestaan*. For rejection of characterization, see ERPA, Naber and Veldman, *CABO: De stilte voorbij*; and expressed in interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

80 Translation: 'Cape Verdean Association', da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 65-66,

to the 1990s, more organizations were founded to cater for the social and cultural interests of the Rotterdam community. For example, twenty sports clubs were established from the 1970s to the 1990s which held football matches and hosted tournaments.⁸¹ Additionally in the 1980s, special 'interest organizations' emerged which focused on helping specific communities on the Cape Verdean islands.⁸² In 1987, the umbrella organization, FOCR was founded to coordinate, manage and distribute subsidies to the diverse Cape Verdean organizations. These foundations were strongly supported by government subsidies and multicultural policies for many years.⁸³

Churches set up their own foundations to provide both social services, such as assistance with housing, legal and medical issues, and social-cultural events. In the late 1990s, a majority of Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam were Catholic (75 percent) and were the ethnic majority in Portuguese-speaking parishes, mostly located in Delfshaven. Other faiths in which Cape Verdeans have belonged are Pentecostal and evangelical faiths with Brazilian and African spiritual influences. As Christians, Cape Verdeans could benefit from an easier acceptance into Dutch society and were not problematized like migrants of Islamic faith. Furthermore, as most first-generation Cape Verdeans were members of pre-established churches, they could use them as a doorway into Dutch society.⁸⁴

In the subsequent decades there was a significant growth in the founding of Cape Verdean organizations. The 1990s saw the greatest number, 44 in total. Besides the sports clubs, there were also media organizations developing radio and TV programs. Moreover, new specific interest organizations were founded, for example, those that focused on women (Casa Tiberias) and youth (Cabo). This dramatic increase in Cape Verdean immigrant organizations was due to the official recognition, supportive policy and direct funding they received from the Dutch government.⁸⁵ In the 2000s, sixteen new organizations were founded, seven alone to support initiatives in Cape Verde.⁸⁶ Thus, transnational ties remained strong at the same time the strengthening of the position of those in the Netherlands was of paramount importance.

2.8 Changes in laws and policies / political environment

Since the 1950s, the immigration laws and government policies on immigrants and ethnic minorities have gone through many transformations. Immigration laws and policies affecting the Cape Verdean community were not a part of my research, however, I provide below a brief summary of it as

81 Ibid, 78; ERPA, Naber and Veldman, *Cabo: De stilte voorbij*, 66.

82 Translation: 'belangenorganisaties'.

83 da Graça, *Etnische Zelforganisaties*, 54-63; da Graça, Beja Horta, and Malheiros, 'Ethnic Civic Communities', 176-178.

84 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 277-278; Laarman, 'De Portugeestelijke migranten', 129, 133-134, 140-141.

85 Ibid.

86 da Graça, Beja Horta, and Malheiros, 'Ethnic Civic Communities', 176.

illegality was an issue Cape Verdean organizations attempted to address. Furthermore, I give an overview of how the gradual change in concepts of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands led to changes in policies regarding immigrant and ethnic minorities.

An overview of immigration laws and policies affecting Cape Verdeans

Until Cape Verdean independence from Portugal in 1975 and consequent loss of their Portuguese citizenship, Cape Verdean migrants received the same treatment as Portuguese work migrants.⁸⁷ Thereafter, legal migration into the Netherlands became a growing problem. Many lived and worked illegally in the Netherlands. However, male migrants had the right to a Dutch passport after working seven years on a Dutch ship.⁸⁸ In the 1980s and 1990s, marrying a Dutch national was also a means some took to obtain Dutch citizenship. A considerable number of these marriages, however, were considered to be 'sham' and this migration channel was stopped by a 1994 law.⁸⁹ Family reunification allowances were another avenue of migration. However, stricter rules in immigration law in 1993 and 1994 significantly hindered the Cape Verdean community, as barriers were erected against applicants who had a low income, were a recipient of welfare or unemployment benefits, and who were considered to have too small living quarters suitable for a family. Nevertheless, in Rotterdam in 1998, 85 percent of Cape Verdeans held a Dutch passport.⁹⁰

An overview of changes in government policies on immigrants and ethnic minorities

Before exploring how and why Dutch government policies have changed regarding immigrants and ethnic minorities since the 1950s, it is important to first consider why concepts have changed over time. In general, concepts change for a variety of reasons: developments in the social and political landscape, the economy, perceived threats, public discourse, and influences from policy from other countries. New concepts are introduced and become prominent by actors in academia, the media, the political arena as well as those being labeled or categorized. These concepts are used in order to communicate ideas, values and norms more easily. Furthermore, concepts are applied to make it easier to identify, categorize, formulate public policy and promote the achievement of goals.

The gradual transformation in concepts regarding immigrants and ethnic minorities living in the Netherlands have had a considerable influence on why Dutch government policies have changed regarding immigrants and ethnic minorities since the 1950s. Even though there was a sizable

87 Carling, 'Cape Verdeans', 92.

88 Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen, How lang nog', 272.

89 Carling, 'Cape Verdeans', 94; and Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen, How lang nog', 272.

90 See Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen, How lang nog', 273-274.

migration into the country in the immediate decades after the war, the official government and general national viewpoint remained that the Netherlands was not an immigration country. As a result of this stance, there was no uniform government policy concerning the various immigrant groups.⁹¹ In the 1970s, though, the national government acknowledged the multicultural character of Dutch society. However, the earlier model of pillarization practiced in the Netherlands, that is the segmentation of society into groups based on religion and political affiliations, was pursued as an approach regarding ethnic minorities. Therefore, the idea of multiculturalism in the 1970s and into the 1980s supported the notion that emancipation of ethnic minorities should take place within their own communities and facilities, and this would lead to individual socioeconomic development and participation. Because integration was conceived as a group process, subsidies were given to immigrant organizations.⁹² This history of pillarization also fostered the value that religious and cultural differences should be accepted.⁹³

However, owing to the growing concern and debate over the integration of immigrants and their families who were planning to remain in the Netherlands, in 1983 there was a new Ethnic Minorities policy which put an emphasis on immigrants adopting Dutch norms and values, and connecting to Dutch institutions. With this changing concept of multicultural Netherlands, the notion of 'integration with the preservation of identity' was officially rejected, nevertheless, it was in fact supported for decades to come by the facilitating role of the Dutch government.⁹⁴ For example, radio and television programs in the languages of immigrants were subsidized, as well as a program for the children of guest workers to learn the native language and culture of their parents. This subsidized education program continued till the late 1990s, while the media support to a large extent did not.⁹⁵

With the new Ethnic Minorities policy of 1983, multiculturalism became institutionalized. The process of integration and becoming a Dutch citizen was to be encouraged and advanced by immigrant organizations. Providing substantial subsidies, the government policy stated that immigrant organizations were to play an 'important' part in bridging their community and Dutch society, they could implement parts of the policy, and their roles were clearly described. Activities which would be subsidized were to foster integration, participation, empowerment, the development

91 Penninx and Schrover, *Basion of Bindmiddel?*, 40-43.

92 Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism', 334, 343-344.

93 Thijl Sunier and Mira van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', in: Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad (ed.), *Muslims in the West: from Sojourners to Citizens* (Oxford 2002) 144-157, 148.

94 Translation: 'integratie met behoud van identiteit', Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism', 347; Schrover and Penninx, *Basion of Bindmiddel?*, 45; Penninx and Slijper, *Voor Elkaar?*, 25-26, 30-31; Penninx, 'Dutch Immigrant Policies', 246.

95 Program: 'Onderwijs in eigen taal en cultuur' (OETC); Sunier and van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', 147; COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1998*, 27.

of relationships in the greater community, as well as cultural expression.⁹⁶ The concepts of 'integration' and 'participation' highlighted the socioeconomic advancement of ethnic minorities, as the 'disadvantaged' position of ethnic groups was a central issue of the new policy. The main areas of concern were employment, education and housing.⁹⁷

However, by the late 1980s, the still highly disadvantaged position of ethnic groups in the labor market and education, led to the view that too much attention had been paid towards social welfare and that minorities should have more required responsibilities in improving their socio-economic position. Furthermore, partly due to the economic recession at this time, the political climate regarding immigrants and integration had changed.⁹⁸ This led to the Ethnic Minorities policy to be retrenched in order to focus on socio-economic problems, and most importantly, the concept of 'integration' began to be construed as an individual process and endeavor, and not as previously thought, accomplished in groups. Consequently, particular programs were developed for distinctive groups (e.g. youth, women, the elderly) to replace the general programs that targeted poverty and disadvantages.⁹⁹ Additionally, the term *alloctonen* was defined (a citizen of the country who had at least one foreign-born parent) and used in government research offices and reports. However, the meaning of the term has not always remained consistent, and usually refers to those whose parent(s) come from a non-Western country. This use of 'alloctonen' in governmental and public discourse fed into the 'othering' of first and second-generation immigrants in Dutch society.¹⁰⁰

During the 1990s the name of the policy regarding migrants changed from 'Ethnic Minority Policy' to 'Integration Policy' to later 'Disadvantage Policy', and official multiculturalism was phased out in favor of 'civic integration'.¹⁰¹ Political and public discourse on ethnic minorities focused on their high unemployment rate and numbers of welfare recipients, and the failure of policy to address this; then on to cultural integration, as public opinion became harder on this topic.¹⁰² In partial response to the discourse on the higher numbers of ethnic minorities on welfare, new laws in the 1990s focused on integration, participation, emancipation, self-sufficiency, fluency

96 Sunier and van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', 148; and Penninx and Slijper, *Voor Elkaar?* 27, 30-31. Quotation from original source.

97 Translations: 'integratie', 'participatie', and 'achterstand', Lindo, *De Positionering*, 42; and Sunier and van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', 147.

98 The report was from the Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (WRR) (*Scientific Council for Government Policy*). See Rinus Penninx, *Migratie, minderheden en beleid in de toekomst: een trendstudie* (Amsterdam 1995) 37.

99 Ireland, *Becoming Europe*, 125; and Sunier and van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', 149-150.

100 Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism', 348.

101 Translations: 'Minderhedenbeleid', 'integratiebeleid', 'participatiebeleid', 'achterstandbeleid', and 'inburgering', Lindo, *De Positionering*, 103.

102 Dietrich Thränhardt, 'Conflict, Consensus, and Policy Outcomes: Immigration and Integration in Germany and the Netherlands', in: Ruud Koopmans and Paul Statham (eds.), *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives* (New York 2000) 162-186, 172.

in the Dutch language and citizenship.¹⁰³ In 1997 and 1998, Rotterdam's minority policies focused on obtaining results in the areas of integration, participation and prevention.¹⁰⁴

Partially as the consequence of the September 11, 2001 attacks in the USA, the murder of Pim Fortuyn in 2002, and of Theo van Gogh in 2004, and the shifting political atmosphere and public opinion, ethnic policies turned towards decreasing perceived cultural and social differences, viewed now as obstacles to integration and social cohesion. Creating a Dutch national identity was prominent in public discourse and Dutch policies shifted more towards assimilation in nature though not in name, as in many other European countries¹⁰⁵ In Rotterdam, from 2007 to 2011, the concept of 'urban citizenship' was added to the key objective of participation, and a focus was placed on the fostering of it among *all* Rotterdammers.¹⁰⁶

Sub-Conclusion

The Cape Verdean community has had many socio-economic disadvantages: in the decades before and after the millennium, a large percentage of migrants were low educated and illiterate; the Dutch language proficiency in the first-generation was quite limited, and deficient among many in the second-generation; and most of the second-generation attended low level schools. This has contributed to many working in low-wage industries, and a high number receiving unemployment or social welfare benefits. Furthermore, Cape Verdean family life has been impaired by its lack of attention paid to children's education, as well as a high rate of teenage pregnancy.

Due to the transformation in concepts, norms and social values in the Netherlands, as well as internal and external events since the 1970s, national and local policies have changed regarding ethnic minorities. Laws and policies have evolved in name and focus with the shifting notions of multiculturalism, integration, participation, disadvantage, and citizenship.

To differing degrees, the changing desires and needs of the community, as well as the shifting concepts, laws and policies, affected the formation, goals and priorities of Avanço, FEDIC, and Cabo.

103 Translation self-sufficiency: 'zelfredzaamheid', Penninx and Slijper, *Voor Elkaar?*, 25-26.

104 COS, *Minderheden Monitor* 1998, 120.

105 Schrover, 'Pillarization, Multiculturalism', 348-354, Christian Joppke, 'Beyond national models: Civic integration policies for immigrants in Western Europe', *West European Politics* 30:1 (2007) 1-22, 2; and Peter Scholten, 'Constructing Dutch immigrant policy: research-policy relations and immigrant integration policy-making in the Netherlands', *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 13 (2011) 81-100, 81.

106 Translation: 'stadsburgerschap', Van Dijk & Jagmohansigh, '*Staat van Emancipatie*', 9-10; Theo Dukes and Sako Musterd, 'Towards Social Cohesion: Bridging National Integration Rhetoric and Local Practice: The Case of the Netherlands', *Urban Studies* 49:9 (2012) 1981-1997, 1991; and Gemeente Rotterdam, *Stadsburgerschap: Het Motto is Meedoen* (Rotterdam 2007) 4-7.

3: Founding and goals of Avanço, FEDIC, and Cabo

On the basis of primarily empirical research, but also a few secondary sources, I discuss in this chapter a number of aspects: the circumstances of the founding of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo; how they determined their goals and priorities; and if these changed over the years. Firstly, I provide a table with an overview of the organizations. Thereafter, for each organization, I present a brief history and description, followed by an examination on both an analytical and descriptive level the establishment and change in their goals and priorities. In addition, some of the obstacles Avanço had in meeting their goals and priorities are discussed.

Table 4 Overview of differences between Avanço, FEDIC, & Cabo

	Avanço	FEDIC	Cabo
Year established:	1999	1982	1994
Main goals:	integration, emancipation, support of Cape Verdean organizations, serve the Cape Verdean community, later serve the Portuguese-speaking communities	serve the Cape Verdean community, foster participation in the labor market, improve parenting, encourage further education & training	Raise awareness of the issues of Cape Verdean youth, develop projects for youth and children, first only Cape Verdean, later open to all ethnicities
Main areas of focus:	support Cape Verdean organizations, advocacy, education (including Dutch language) and skills development, health, elderly, women, youth	information, elderly, youth, school choice, parenting skills, male emancipation, education and skills development	education (homework and study support), participation, information and prevention, culture & identity
Top down or bottom up:	Top-down from Rotterdam municipality	bottom up	began bottom up, ended top down
Number of board, staff, interns and volunteers	2005: 6 board members, 12 staff members, 5 interns, 42 volunteers ¹	No paid staff, three volunteers	1994: six Founding members 1997: 5 staff 2002: 1 youth worker (paid by Avanço), 4 staff (ranging 5 to 32 hrs/week) 3 interns ²

Sources: Unless stated in the text in the table, information is from interviews I conducted¹⁰⁷:

¹ No details known about founding years. 2005 given to give an indication of size, unknown hours/type of contracts.

² Eva Reekers, Overzicht om over te dragen, report on projects, activities, staff, networks and contact persons, 9 December 2002, 19 pages, 16.



3.1 Avanço: a brief history and characteristics

The impetus for founding Avanço was the failure of FOGR to fulfill their role as the leader of 25 member organizations, as well as a confirmed case of financial fraud. In 1998, Carlos Goncalves began forming Avanço first as a project at Platform Buitenlanders Rijnmond (PBR), and then in the

¹⁰⁷ Avanço: interviews: CG, 6 June 2014 and 15 July 2015; and JL, 23 December 2013; FEDIC: interview: JL, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 14 April 2014, NP, NPPA; and CABO: interview: CG, 27 May 2014.

employment of the Rotterdam municipality, as part of their program *Veelkleurige Stad*.¹⁰⁸ As the external process manager, Goncalves recruited the first board members. Unlike FOCR, Avanço was led by mostly 1.5 or second-generation Cape Verdeans educated in the Netherlands. However, in its early years, some of the former FOCR staff worked at Avanço.¹⁰⁹

Policy-driven and community-driven goals and priorities

The Rotterdam municipality department Youth, Education and Society (JOS) imposed the broad goals of integration and emancipation on Avanço, and determined the initial focus range of five areas: education, health, elderly, women and youth.¹¹⁰ In addition, Avanço were given the main task of assisting the Rotterdam Cape Verdean organizations with their activities and goals. In addition, Avanço were to promote Cape Verdean interests and stimulate policy which affected their community. From these broad goals, focus areas and tasks, Goncalves and the first board developed the structure, goals and mission of Avanço.¹¹¹

In order to reach their target groups in their different focus areas, Avanço connected with Cape Verdean organizations as well as a variety of governmental and non-governmental institutions. As it was described: 'From each point we had an organization who help[ed] us with our activities. So for the youth we had Jongeren Cabo, for the woman we had Casa Tiberias, for the elder[ly] we had 55+, for the social benefits, social activities we had SMDD, the Sociale Maatschappelijk Dienstverlening Delfshaven. So we are searching for organization[s] to cooperate with. It was our goal and we found it [them].'¹¹² (For an overview of the networks Avanço joined and organizations they collaborated with see Table 1 in Appendix B).

The department Social Affairs and Employment (SoZaWe) of the Rotterdam municipality provided a structural subsidy to Avanço. However, because of miscalculations during the founding, only the fixed costs, and some main tasks were covered by this subsidy.¹¹³ This insufficient funding from the outset was to have a long-lasting effect on the ability of the board and leading staff to focus on their main goals. It was declared in their 2003 strategy report: 'De overige activiteiten en projecten worden uitgevoerd op basis van fondswerving wat belastend kan zijn voor de

108 Translation PBR: 'Platform Foreigners Rijnmond', a foundation focused on migrant issues; translation: 'Veelkleurige Stad': 'Multi-colored City'; interview: CG, 6 June 2014; email: NPPA, CG, 23 and 27 May 2015, 5 June 2015; and da Graça, *Etnische Zelforganisaties*, 67-68.

109 Interview: CG, 6 June 2014; email: NPPA, CG, 23 and 27 May 2015, and 5 June 2015. John do Livramento was also part of the first board.

110 JOS: Jeugd Onderwijs en Samenleving, interview: JL, 23 December 2013.

111 Ibid; and email: NPPA, CG, 5 June 2015.

112 Translation SMDD: 'Social Services Delfshaven', interview: JL, 23 December 2013.

113 SoZaWe: Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, John do Livramento personal archive (further JLPA), Avanço (further Av), Opzet Strategisch plan Stichting Avanço 2003-04-13, 2003, 8 pages.

bedrijfsvoering door de onzekerheid en het administratieve werk dat hiermee gemoeid is.¹¹⁴

Although the focus range set by JOS encompassed some of the immediate needs and desires of the Cape Verdean community, such as teenage pregnancy and domestic violence, their priorities differed. It was disclosed: 'Avanço didn't determine their goals by themselves. That was dictated by the JOS. [...] They dictated what happened with their subsidies, with their supporting rules. Otherwise we [would] have focused on some problems [we had] in our community that was more important than what they dictated. It was more integration, [which they focused on].[...] to learn the language.'¹¹⁵ For example, legal residency and housing were pressing issues when Avanço was founded in 1999. However, Avanço could not focus on them.¹¹⁶

Despite their government-driven program, the Avanço board and staff attempted to respond to the needs of their community. 'Our goals we tried to get into the system with their goals, but otherwise parallel, next, we tried to do our things, which we thought was necessary. We created possibility to do something for our objectives.'¹¹⁷ An innovation to facilitate goal determination and an appropriate response to community needs was the formation of a 'User's Board', in 2002, and regular consultation between it and Avanço's governing board.¹¹⁸ A former board member insisted: 'We tried to get a balance in our board. A top-down from JOS and a bottom-up from the community. So we tried by the User's Board to have influence in our policy. It was the meaning [...] of this User's Board. They were in the field, they know what is happening in our community, so they came with suggestions and preoccupations [priorities] so that we can work with it.'¹¹⁹ Having achieved a good rapport and regular consultations with the User Board, Avanço set their direction and priorities, and developed strategies to reach their objectives.¹²⁰ However, despite their goals being formed on the basis of government policy, and the community via consultation with the User Board, Avanço expressed their difficulty in establishing clear priorities for the short term in a 2003 strategy report: 'Avanço heeft nog geen duidelijke visie over de toekomst van de organisatie en de taken die erbij horen. Het ontbreken van een visie weerspiegelt zich in de onduidelijkheid over welke gebieden op korte termijn prioriteit verdienen.'¹²¹

114 Translation: 'The other activities and projects are carried out on the basis of raising funds which can be burdensome for the operations due to the uncertainty and the administrative work involved with this.', JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 4.

115 Interview: JL, 23 December 2013. To lessen possible misunderstanding, I added words in brackets to clarify the quotation. This I will continue throughout this paper.

116 Interview: JL, 23 December 2013.

117 Ibid.

118 Translation: 'Gebruikersraad'.

119 Ibid.

120 Ibid.

121 Translation: 'Avanço does not have a clear vision about the future of the organization and the tasks associated with it. The lack of vision is reflected in the lack of clarity about which areas deserve priority in the short term.', JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 9. Underlining is from the original report.

Other than the User's Board, another method in which Avanço kept abreast of community needs was their close monitoring of their open walk-in hours for social service advice with a social worker or a cultural interpreter, a professional familiar with the client's culture.¹²² Making use of the institutional opportunity structure, Avanço was assisted by this interpreter from the local foundation SMDD as well as two interns from the social work education program at Albeda College, a local vocational college.¹²³ Avanço kept records of the types of help requested, the numbers of clients, and their age and nationality. Not only did these social service sessions inform them of the type of information meetings which could be organized and provided to the community at a future date, but the walk-in social service hours served as a recruitment source for language and citizenship courses - a key policy goal of the local municipality. Furthermore, it gave Avanço a platform to meet other policy goals: to facilitate the self-sufficiency of immigrants, and familiarize them with and send them to general municipal institutions or other third-party organizations.

In addition, the church Migrantenparochie OLV van de Vrede was a source for information regarding community needs, as well as a partner for the recruitment of participants and volunteers for activities.¹²⁴ A former director explained: 'If the partners would notice that there was a lack of information about something under the Cape Verdean, Avanço would arrange the meetings and the experts to inform the community.'¹²⁵ Avanço 'had a good relationship with the board of the church', and fostered their relationship by sending social workers to church gatherings.¹²⁶ While Avanço would communicate with Cape Verdean spiritual groups per email about their activities, it 'would get time in the church to inform the people about the different activities.'¹²⁷ However, in 2009:

the Church created their own Social organization, with their own Social projects and activities and with their own Board. [...] Their intention was to create almost similar projects and activities like Avanço for the Cape Verdean and Portuguese-speaking Communities. [...] This new organization was located in the Church and had employed 2 Social workers: 1 for the elderly and 1 for the youngsters. They worked at the Church and were always there during all Cultural and Religious activities during the week and weekend. Avanço continued to reach out to the Church [...] so when we would visit them to announce a new activity or to recruit Volunteers, they would give us room for that, but it wasn't very effective, so we did it less and less.¹²⁸

122 Translation social service hours: 'spreekuur'; translation cultural interpreter: 'cultuurtoolk'.

123 JLPA, Av, Avanço Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 2006, 28 pages, 13. SMDD - translation: Foundation Social Work Delfshaven; also Gemeentearchief Rotterdam (further GAR), Av, Avanço Jaarverslag 2008, 2009, 18 pages, 7.

124 Translation: 'Migrant parish Our Lovely Lady of the Peace'.

125 Email: NPPA, Ivone Mendes (further IM), 31 August 2015, NP; also GAR, Av, Avanço Jaarverslag 2010, 2011, 12 pages, 5.

126 Ibid.

127 Ibid; also email: NPPA, Beatris Rocha (further BR), 1 September 2015, NP.

128 Email: NPPA, BR, 31 August 2015. Capitalization and use of numerals are from the original email text.

Thus to a certain extent, starting in 2009, Stichting Emanuel, the church's social-cultural foundation, became competitors of Avanço.

Impact of changes in government policy

Changes in government policy and community needs led to changes in the goals and priorities of Avanço. 'The community and the policies changed always all the time. So, we had to guess at our red view, red threat and then we navigated in this...The Cape Verdean organization, that is point one. The point was integration. But next to integration, I told you before, there were some funds reserved [reserved] for, but next is they have also funds to support the needs we have from our User Board, the needs from the bottom. That was all this movement, it was constantly changing.'¹²⁹

However, while the stated goals of Avanço changed due to policy demands, their essential goals did not.

We had a goal, and that was to serve the Cape Verdean community. What made us change, not really the goals, but the way we were working. [...] Like every four years, something else was a priority, so you had to switch the work you were doing. [Every] four years you had to organize differently so that it could be seen as that it [the goals] matches what the government wants, otherwise we wouldn't get money from them. [...] Because you really couldn't focus on your own goal. You always have to be dependent on what the government wanted and what they found was important at [...] that moment. So you always had to do a lot of switching and a lot of juggling, it's like magic. Today, I am doing this work like this, tomorrow I have to describe it in a really different way, otherwise it doesn't fit. So, I found that really disturbing in the work we were doing. So mainly, we didn't change the goals of the organization itself, but it was mainly from the extern [external pressure], what the government expected from us that made us really switch in how we did the work.¹³⁰

Policy changes in the early to mid-2000s brought on by a mixture of international, national and local events (2002 election win of Leefbaar Rotterdam and effects of the Rotterdam coalition government) and the rise in discourse on immigrant integration, the Rotterdam municipality began cutting the budget to immigrant organizations, and linking future subsidies on a series of new demands. Avanço addressed these challenges in their 2007-2010 strategy report: 'De consequenties van dit beleid zijn dat er grotere nadruk gelegd wordt op de te leveren prestaties bij de vaststelling van de subsidies en dat de subsidies gerelateerd zullen worden aan politieke prioriteitsstellingen.'¹³¹

129 Interview: JL, 13 December 2013.

130 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014, NP, NPPA.

131 Translation: 'The consequences of this policy are that greater emphasis be placed on the deliverables in determining the grants and the grants will be related to political prioritization.', JLPA, Av, Groeidocument Strategisch beleidsplan 2007-2010 Stichting Avanço, 2006, 18 pages, 10-11; and confirmed in GAR, Av, Avanço Jaarverslag 2007, 2008, 11 pages, 3.

One of those demands was that Avanço needed to change from a mono-ethnic organization to one focused on all ethnicities. Even though persons from other ethnic groups did participate in some projects and activities, in 2006, Avanço recognized their insufficient knowledge and experience with other ethnic groups.¹³² However, their mainly mono-ethnic focus and experience level began to evolve via its social service provision. In 2005, they reported an increase in Portuguese migrants at their walk-in social service hours, asking for assistance regarding their children attending Dutch schools.¹³³ In the 2000s, the Portuguese migrant population in Rotterdam nearly doubled (3,291 by 1 January 2009).¹³⁴ Furthermore, there was also a rise in Portuguese-speaking migrants from Angola, Guinee-Bissau, Mozambique and Brazil requesting assistance and information from Avanço on mainly financial and housing issues.¹³⁵ This enlargement of target groups for the open walk-in hours for social service advice, facilitated to a limited extent, meeting the changing government demands for the broadening of their ethnic reach. However, this was insufficient to meet government demands of having knowledge about and providing service to all ethnic groups, as Avanço 'weren't in touch at all with what happened within the Dutch community.'¹³⁶

These above-mentioned policy changes, and Avanço's continual financial instability led them to prioritize their survival over focusing on the broad goals of stimulating integration and emancipation. Thus Avanço's goals became subverted to changing their organization and their practices in order to meet the demands of the government, as they outlined in their 2007 annual report: 'Het streven is naar een markt-/klantgerichte en procesgestuurde organisatie'.¹³⁷ Although Avanço acknowledged that they would have to transform their organization from being supply-driven to demand-driven, thus not focus on community-driven social service provision, but on policy demands, they did not have the financial resources to achieve this goal. In an effort to meet government demands, in 2008 Avanço invested considerable time developing a system to register results and outputs of their activities and projects. However, despite the implementation of this system to prove the meeting of subsidy goals, they continued their main activity, providing community-driven social support via their open walk-in hours, thus further supplanting the

132 JLPA, Av, Groeidocument, 10-11.

133 JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 12; and interview: IM, 18 June 2014.

134 Sander Deijl, 'De onbekende allochtonen: Verbondenheid binnen de Portugese gemeenschap in Rotterdam', (Bachelor thesis, University Utrecht 2010), 22-23, citing COS Website: <http://www.cos.rotterdam.nl>. This website is no longer available.

135 JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 12; interview: BR, 17 June 2014; GAR, Av, Avanço Jaarverslag 2009, 2010, 11 pages, 7; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 3. There are no available figures of these migrants to Rotterdam.

136 Interview: Korrie Louwes (further KL), 16 June 2014, NP, NPPA.

137 Translation: 'The aim is to a market / customer-oriented and process-driven organization.', GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 3.

prioritization of projects which matched policy-driven focus areas.¹³⁸

In the mid-2000s, the Rotterdam municipality advised Avanço to merge with other organizations as a way to continue operating.¹³⁹ Therefore, Avanço researched the possibility of a merger in 2006-2007 with three other immigrant organizations which they shared similar target groups and objectives, as well as had experience working with: PBR, Stichting Welzijn Antillien en Arubanen (SWA), and Stichting Vluchtelingen Organisaties Rijnmond (SVOR). While the subsequent collaboration group '4M' (began in 2007) was successful in working together on projects for successive years, and organizing a conference for volunteer immigrant organizations, they did not succeed in merging into one organization.¹⁴⁰ Barriers were not only the reluctance from PBR, SWAA, SVOR and Avanço, whose staff would lose their paid positions, but also from the Avanço board. Most of the board members of Avanço had been there for 10-15 years and were not supportive of a merger. It was acknowledged: 'We were too proud to [be] involved with another organization. We thought we could do [it] alone. It was our biggest, biggest mistake, in this area.'¹⁴¹

In 2011, with the new Rotterdam policy 'Participation: Choose Talent' another opportunity for Avanço to continue was suggested by JOS, that is, to become a knowledge center on diversity.¹⁴² However, Avanço had been focused for too long on providing social services and not on projects on diversity and emancipation.¹⁴³ Furthermore, it was discovered by the Rotterdam municipality that Avanço did not have the capacity to transform into a knowledge center.

'It was quite obvious that they wouldn't meet up to the new demands. They were specifically an organization doing activities at the welfare side. Actually if people would have looked into it earlier, they would have wondered earlier about the basics, why they were financed from this budget, because this is a budget for citizenship. [...] It is not a budget for taking care of elderly people. It's about citizenship, so it's about emancipation, it's about discrimination, it's combating discrimination. It's about making sure people get equally treated. That's [what] the budget is for.'¹⁴⁴

After many years of struggling with decreasing subsidies and increasing demands to expand their organization's target groups, as well as to change their main focus, Avanço filed for bankruptcy in March 2013.¹⁴⁵

138 Ibid; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 3; JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 10, 16; and email: NPPA, BR, 1 August 2015.

139 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014, NP, NPPA; and JLPA, Av, Groeidocument, 10.

140 Translations: SWAA: 'Foundation Welfare Antilleans and Arubans', SVOR: 'Foundation Refugee Organizations Rijnmond'; JLPA, Av, Avanço Jaarverslag 2006, 2007, 17 pages, 2; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 19; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 3, 16-17; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 10; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 12.

141 Interview: JL, 23 December 2013; also confirmed in interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

142 Translation: 'Participatie: Kiezen voor talent'; JLPA, Av, Avanço Werkplan 2012, 2011, 18 pages, 2.

143 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

144 Interview: KL, 16 June 2014.

145 See: JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 4, 7-8, 10; JLPA, Av, Jaarverslag 2006, 2; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 3, 19; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 3; JLPA, Av, Groeidocument, 7-8, 10, 15; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 2; JLPA, Av, Werkplan 2012, 2, 6; RTV Rijnmond, 17 April 2012, news of 80 percent cut in subsidies,

Obstacles in the opportunity structures

There were internal and external barriers which hindered Avanço in meeting their stated goals. Many of them were discussed in the strategic reports written by Avanço in 2003 and 2006, and the 2007 report from the Instituut Nederlandse Kwaliteit (INK), however, organizational culture or structure will not be discussed in this thesis.¹⁴⁶ The barriers as a result of community demographics and competing organizations I will examine in Chapter 4.

Throughout its existence Avanço struggled to accomplish aims due to a lack of financial resources. Their tight budget and the decreasing subsidies for trainings, and the lack of financial reserves to hire qualified personnel, contributed greatly to their inability to grow into the organization with the human capacity which could conduct research, as well as secure a variety of funding. Their lack of human capacity was one major reason they could not develop into a knowledge center of diversity which had been proposed by the Rotterdam municipality.¹⁴⁷

But in my opinion we didn't have the opportunity to become this kind of organization. Because you always were focusing on today. You had to survive today. So there was no really [adequate] time and knowledge also to start something new. [...] So in my mind, we had a really good idea. But we didn't make time to really focus on that, to make an organization who could do that. Because to [have] this kind of organization you had to have other kind of people, other kind of workers. We didn't had [have] workers who could write reports or could do research or that type of work.¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, other than the policy advice Avanço received from Carlos Goncalves, who was the chairman of Delfshaven from 2006 to 2014, they lacked a network with Rotterdam politicians.¹⁴⁹ For this reason as well as a cultural tendency to not complain, perhaps they were less likely to take the initiative to raise issues regarding problems and advocate for their organizational needs or aspirations to local politicians. As they claimed, 'We didn't have that kind of impulse. That kind of need. I don't know, if it has to do with who you are, Cape Verdean, or did you hear the term "still immigranten"? [...] We think, well if we do our work really good, and we are professional, so then they would see it.'¹⁵⁰

In its beginning years, Avanço had an advisory board consisting of both Dutch and Cape Verdean. Several of them were 'advisers and decision makers' in the Rotterdam municipality and the

<http://www.rijnmond.nl/nieuws/17-04-2012/stichting-avanco-zwaar-weer>; and for bankruptcy reporting, see <http://www.isolvency.nl/bedrijf/insolventie/122917/Stichting-Avano>. Misspelling in weblink.

146 Translation INK: 'Institute for Dutch Quality'. Reports: JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch; JLPA, Av, Groeidocument; and JLPA, Leon Groenenboom, Concept INK Positiebepaling Stichting Avanço September 2007, 21 pages. *INK Positiebepaling* is the management model positioning tool devised by INK.

147 JLPA, Av, Werkplan 2012, 2; JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 9; and JLPA, Av, Groeidocument, 8.

148 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014.

149 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014; and for dates of Goncalves' position at the Delfshaven municipality see PVDA Rotterdam website: http://www.pvdarotterdam.nl/partij/wie_is_wie/wie_is_wie_details/t/carlos_goncalves.

150 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014.

Ministry of Justice, and two were professors at Dutch universities.¹⁵¹ They were a source of knowledge on policy, developments within the government and society, as well as certain fields. For example, a biology professor from Wageningen University gave advice regarding nutrition for the elderly. They also gave advice and feedback on strategic reports, work plans and annual reports written by Avanço.¹⁵² However, by 2006, this advisory board was no longer active.¹⁵³ The board and subsequent directors had made no effort to maintain it.¹⁵⁴

In addition, the insufficient network developed or maintained by Avanço staff and board members within their community was a barrier which greatly hindered the organization in their struggle to achieve policy and organizational goals. At the beginning, Avanço were not well-known by Cape Verdean organizations and the community at large. With those who knew them, there was a lack of trust because of their perceived left-wing political association, even though the organization said they were nonpartisan.¹⁵⁵ Although the partial aim of the creation of the User Board in 2002 was successful in improving communication with the Cape Verdean organizations, the User Board did not continue to function by 2006. The structural meetings was reduced to only individual contacts at organizations, which hindered the maintenance of networks when there were staff changes at Avanço or at the Cape Verdean organizations, many of which had high staff turnovers.¹⁵⁶ Another trust issue in the community was regarding how the subsidies Avanço received were spent. 'So as an organization we didn't *only* fight the government, but we also had to fight the community to gain their trust, and let them see that what we were doing was really for them. And [that] we didn't put any money in our pockets. So it was *really* a struggle.'¹⁵⁷ Attempts were made to directly communicate with the community, but Avanço seemingly faced a wall: 'Meetings, We tried everything, but we didn't succeed. There was always a view that Avanço is an elite group.'¹⁵⁸ Even though there was apparent distrust from some in the Cape Verdean community, nevertheless, the walk-in hours for social service advice were regularly and primarily visited by those from the first-generation.¹⁵⁹

3.2 FEDIC: a brief history and characteristics

FEDIC was founded in 1982 by two members of Associação Cabo Verdiana. John do Livramento, a member of the same association, joined FEDIC in 1995. This organization of three individuals has

151 Interview: JL, 13 December 2013; JLPA, Av, Jaarverslag 2002, 18; and JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 3.

152 Interview: JL, 13 December 2013.

153 JLPA, Av, Groeidocument, 5.

154 Interview: JL, 13 December 2013.

155 JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 6, 10; interviews: BR, 17 June 2014; and IM, 24 June 2014.

156 JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 6; interviews: IM, 18 June 2014 and 24 June 2014.

157 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014. Use of cursive is an emphasis from the interviewee.

158 Interview: JL, 23 December 2013.

159 JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 12; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 7; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 3.

remained small so that they can remain decisive in their decision-making and act quickly, thus not be held back by an influential board. They have also maintained their independence from government policy because of their lack of dependence on government subsidies. According to John do Livramento, FEDIC still exists today, but is active at a low level.¹⁶⁰

Community-driven goals and priorities

FEDIC established their goals and priorities by direct contact with community members either by means of community meetings or personal conversations. The socio-economic situation of the community in the 1980s and 1990s was the impetus for this grassroots organization. Of great concern in the community was the high unemployment during the 1980s recession. One of FEDIC's main goals was to increase the participation in the changing labor market by encouraging further formal education and the development of vocational skills. As was explained: 'It was a transition moment...from the recession. So you can see the country is growing up, and if you don't participate, you stay behind. [...] That was one of our important thing[s] was wake up the people to participate to go further. Else you miss the train [...] so if you didn't, you easily stayed in the same position and that was poverty.'¹⁶¹

Another main focus was housing. Many in the community had to deal with poor quality housing and/or exploitation due to the sublet of apartments and having a lack of information on government housing possibilities. In providing advice on available options, FEDIC took advantage of the institutional opportunity structures by sending individuals to the government agencies or third-party organizations which could help them with their problems.

FEDIC set their priorities on the basis of whatever issues were of immediate importance. 'That was what at that moment was hot, and we took it and we worked on it. But we didn't have a show list of priorities. No. We worked like a fire wind. There's fire, we go to it, and we try to get a solution'.¹⁶² Two other areas developed into focus points of FEDIC: elderly concerns and male emancipation, issues of special importance to John do Livramento, the leading active member. Elderly issues such as isolation and health became important to him after his father had died in 2004. 'After my father was died. He was one [] had founded an organization for the elders, so when he died, I think maybe I could give a contribution to this, this activities that he left.'¹⁶³ Furthermore, as a young father not living with his children, he strove to address the male emancipation issues he shared with many other Cape Verdean men, namely, how to stay involved

160 Interviews: JL, 3 December 2013 and 14 April 2014; and da Graça, *Etnische Zelforganisaties*, 61.

161 Interview: JL, 14 April 2014.

162 Ibid.

163 Interview: JL, 14 April 2014. This organization was 'Stichting 55+ In Beweging'.

with family life, build relationships with children, as well as help and advise your children's education.¹⁶⁴ Thus, a micro factor such as the personal interests of its members, was part of the impetus in which FEDIC addressed community needs; issues directly connected to changing demographics (e.g. increase in elderly population) and culture (e.g. parenting practices).

Accessing opportunity structures

To obtain further information regarding the socio-economic situation of migrants and advocate for Cape Verdean interests, the FEDIC members attended local and national government meetings, conferences on social issues, as well as meetings of national consultative bodies for minority issues, such as Landelijk Overleg Minderheden (LOM) and the foundation Landelijk Inspraakorgaan Zuid-Europeaanen (LIZE).¹⁶⁵ By attending these consultative bodies and meetings, the FEDIC members developed their network and knowledge of policy and institutional opportunities. Furthermore, they had an information stream concerning labor and social issues and subsidies from their contacts within JOS and SoZaWe. FEDIC's accrued knowledge helped them spread information either by word-of-mouth, organized meetings, or by radio spots on the local radio program *Voz de Cabo Verde* on where to take courses or seek assistance.¹⁶⁶ FEDIC advised their community to go to Dutch institutions and third-party organizations, such as Albeda college for education programs or *Avanço* for Dutch lessons.¹⁶⁷ (For an overview of the networks FEDIC joined and organizations they collaborated with see Table 1 in Appendix C).

3.3 Cabo: a brief history and characteristics

Cabo was founded by 1.5 and second generation Cape Verdeans who were mostly educated in the Netherlands. As an intern at FOCR in 1992, Carlos Goncalves was asked among others to start a youth organization. The founding group of six Cape Verdeans were students at the time and were aware of the struggles of others in their community. They understood the problems and difficulties of Cape Verdean youth, as well as the issues Cape Verdean parents had in raising their children in Dutch society. However, the catalyst for starting the youth organization were news reports of Cape Verdean youth criminality and fighting in Rotterdam.¹⁶⁸

164 Interview: JL, 14 April 2014.

165 Translation LOM: 'National Consultation Minorities', LIZE: 'National Consultation Body Southern Europeans.' LIZE researches and advocates for the interests of Southern Europeans, including Cape Verdeans due to their historic and current ties with Portugal. Interview: JL, 14 April 2014.

166 Translation of radio program: 'Voice of Cape Verde'.

167 Ibid.

168 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014; and email: NPPA, CG, 24 March 2015. The six founding members of Cabo were: Carlos Gonçalves, John Armstrong, Maria Gonçalves (chairperson), Malu Teixeira (treasurer) Estella da Veiga (recording secretary), and Eloisa Gomes.

Determination of community-driven goals and priorities

The first goal was to highlight the problems of Cape Verdean youth, a minority group who had not previously received attention from the Rotterdam government. 'We were seeing that there were other groups who were having support and fighting the issues, the problems they had, and there wasn't nothing happening for the Cape Verdeans. So that was one of our main goals why we started CABO.'¹⁶⁹ The second initial goal in mind was to develop projects to help Cape Verdean youth cope with the difficulties they had with growing up within two cultures who had opposing views on youth behavior and parental authority.¹⁷⁰

Cabo's first activities were organizing meetings with youth to ascertain their main issues, areas of interest, and priorities. This research project *Onderzoek Leefwereld*, was funded by LIZE.¹⁷¹ An initial step in the mobilization process as part of the foundation of Cabo was having youth conduct the interviews, and an intern at FOCR coordinate the data collected from the qualitative research. The results were presented at meetings with the Rotterdam municipality and with groups of youth, and provided evidence that Cape Verdean youth required more attention from the policy makers. This research was instrumental in the foundation of many of Cabo's first projects and activities, and led to the Rotterdam municipality awarding NLG 150,000 for Cape Verdean youth projects.¹⁷²



Source: Carlos Goncalves, a themed meeting of Cabo about Cape Verdean youth, held in 1994. Participants left to right: Alice Fortes, Petty Lemmers, Carlos Goncalves, Jorge Lizardo¹⁷³

The research process led to the determination of Cabo's goals, immediate priorities and initial project ideas.¹⁷⁴ In addition, Cabo continued to determine goals and their priorities by hosting

169 Interviews: CG, 27 May 2014 and 6 June 2014.

170 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014.

171 Translation: 'Research environment'; *ibid*; and Kitty Jurrius, *Uit de Spagaat! Naar een kwaliteitsraamwerk voor Participatief Jongeren Onderzoek* (Amsterdam, 2012) 14.

172 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014; and Jurrius, 'Uit de Spagaat!', 14.

173 Email: CG, 28 September 2015.

174 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014; and Jurrius, 'Uit de Spagaat!', 14.

annual meetings with the Cape Verdean community.¹⁷⁵ The overarching goal of Cabo was to empower Cape Verdean youth. 'Putting the Cape Verdean youth in their strength, that was the main goal.'¹⁷⁶ One of the main focus areas and top priorities of Cabo was education, and the cultural capital acquired by the founders proved to be an influential factor.

We thought one of the main issues that we had was [...] that our parents couldn't help us with the education skills in the Dutch society. Because they didn't know how the school structure in Holland worked. If they didn't know how it worked, how could they help us get through [...] our school time? So we all, who was involved on the board of Cabo, we had all passed that. We went to the primary and the secondary [schools], some of us was studying at the university, some of us studied at the HBO. So we all had succeed[ed] in passing through the difficulties that we had. So we were very anxious to help other youngsters with our experience. So education was for us the main issue that we had to help other Cape Verdean youngsters understanding what is need[ed] to be successful at school.¹⁷⁷

Another primary focus area was prevention, providing information and fostering inter-generational communication, especially regarding teenage pregnancy and drug use, the dominant parenting style and the lack of dialogue between parents and their children.¹⁷⁸ As education, this inter-related focus area of prevention/information/communication was partially inspired by those who got involved early on in Cabo. 'We had a few role models that were completely addicted to drugs and cut out of it and stimulated other people. We had mothers, teenage mothers that wanted to do something for other teenage mothers. So we had about, every time we had a group that said "I have been through something and I want to do something back for", and that was why we also made *massa* [a multitude of activities], because we didn't have one goal.'¹⁷⁹

Thus the experiences of Cape Verdean youth and their desire to help others struggling in their community became a channel of mobilization. The multiplicity of goals and opportunities within Cabo's mission and structure as a participation organization, fed into Cabo's goal of increasing youth participation. 'I think weekly I had about 40 to 50 people that were organizing activities for about 200 or 300 other youth, so it was big at that time.'¹⁸⁰ Furthermore, some youth who began as participants, became volunteers, then started their own projects and later served on the board. This process, for example, was how Beatris Rocha became increasingly involved at Cabo.¹⁸¹

175 Interview: Eva Reekers (further ER), 25 June 2014, NP, NPPA.

176 Ibid.

177 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014. 'HBO' refers to a college of applied sciences.

178 Ibid; and interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

179 Ibid.

180 Ibid.

181 Interviews: ER, 25 June 2014; and BR, 17 June 2014.

Furthermore, exploring the Cape Verdean culture and identity were community-driven goals at the beginning of Cabo's existence. 'Maintaining their culture was very important for young people. You have to know who you are, know where you are going to.'¹⁸² However, as Cabo grew into a youth organization with volunteers, interns and participants from diverse ethnic backgrounds, there was less emphasis placed on the culture of Cape Verde.¹⁸³ 'Living in the cities where the society is very mixed, the Cape Verdean youth don't feel different than others living in the city. All Rotterdammers. Your ethnic background doesn't become a big part of the youth identity.'¹⁸⁴

Accessing opportunity structures

From the very beginning, institutional and ethnic opportunity structures were used by those at Cabo. While setting the first foundation stones during their time at FOCR, Carlos Goncalves and John Armstrong established bridges and built their own network within the municipalities of Delfshaven and Rotterdam, having meetings with them on the development of Cabo. In creating a founding group for Cabo, they reached out to their network in the Cape Verdean community.¹⁸⁵ Pursuing goals in Cabo's focus areas were facilitated by bonding and bridging with those in their ethnic community and collaborating with governmental institutions or third-party organizations who had the knowledge, skills and experience. 'If you had to do something with your Cape Verdean roots, then you looked inside the Cape Verdean community. Did you have to do something in something else, participation, you looked in another way, you looked for your best partner to get you somewhere.'¹⁸⁶ Other than partnering with organizations, Cabo was active with a variety of networks in the Delfshaven district, within greater Rotterdam, as well as national and international networks.¹⁸⁷ For example, to seek further knowledge, expertise and connections with key individuals in crime prevention, Cabo's youth worker Eva Reekers joined various district and city-wide networks, such as the Delfshaven network *Jeugd Kansen Zone 12+*, as well as pursued a European youth worker exchange in this field.¹⁸⁸ Additionally in 2002, Cabo joined Belgium and Irish youth organizations in Lisbon, Portugal in an exchange regarding using sport as crime prevention.¹⁸⁹ Their networks broadened as they attended meetings and conferences. (For an overview of the networks Cabo joined and organizations they collaborated with see Table 1 in Appendix D).

182 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014.

183 Ibid.

184 Interview: Carola Dogan (further CD), 21 May 2014, NP, NPPA.

185 Interview: CG, 27 May 2014.

186 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

187 ERPA, ER, Overzicht, 13-15; GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007, 2008, 11 pages, 10-11; interviews: ER, 25 June 2014; and CG, 27 May 2014 and 6 June 2014.

188 Translation: 'Youth Chances Zone 12+'; CGPA, ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker, 12 October 1998, 3 pages, 2; and interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

189 CGPA, ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker, 6. The Portuguese youth organization 'Moinho da Juventude' invited Cabo.

Furthermore, the national and local policies in place regarding ethnic minorities in the late 1990's when Cabo was founded proved to be an opportunity structure, as policies matched Cabo's community-determined goals and focus areas. 'I think that is why the policy helped, because they used us for their goals.'¹⁹⁰ The Ethnic Minorities 'disadvantage' policy with its focus on socio-economic problems and on distinctive groups such as youth, assisted Cabo in securing a structural subsidy from the Rotterdam municipality, channeled first via FOOCR and then Avanço. 'The city hall didn't have enough information to know what was happening. So when we started, so not only claiming attention, but also telling them what was happening. I think they had a need for that and maybe we started the just [right] time for that, for us. Because for us, it was fitting in their policy, what we were doing.'¹⁹¹ The 1994 'Big Cities' policy which strove to realize emancipation via participation as well as stimulate social networks via organized activities, and the 1997 Rotterdam 'Effective Minorities' policy focused on integration, participation and prevention, met Cabo's community-driven goals and activities in education, prevention/information and youth participation.¹⁹² Moreover, the initiatives of the National Ministry of Education to increase the level of engagement of ethnic parents with their children's education and schools, concurred with Cabo's goal of informing Cape Verdean parents about the Dutch school system and increasing their involvement with their children's education.

While the Rotterdam municipality followed national policy, the networks Cabo cultivated with governmental institutions, laid the tracks for Cabo to bring youth community issues to bear on local policy development. It was asserted: 'It was a bottom-up approach because we were trying to translate what was happening in the youth community, in the Cape Verdean youth community, to the policy makers. Because we had a good network of different departments. We were working with the GGD, with *Dienstonderwijs*. We were working with OBR. So all those departments that city hall, we had a relation with them. And we were translating what was happening with them, first the Cape Verdean youth, then later it was the youth of Delfshaven, it was a larger group. [...] So we gave them information to help them develop policy and they were giving us support in return.'¹⁹³ Although, 'the policy was top-down, but it was an interaction of what we are telling them.'¹⁹⁴

However, the networks which had developed within the city hall and government departments were not all maintained. 'When we left CABO, the first generation, board members of

190 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014; and CGPA, Ad van Trig (further AvT), fax nr. 4360714 to FOOCR and SoZaWe advice report (unnamed and undated), fax date: 14 October 1996, 3 pages.

191 Interviews: BR, 17 June 2014; and CG, 27 May 2014 and quote from 6 June 2014.

192 Translations: 'Grote Steden Beleid', and 'Effectief allochtonenbeleid'.

193 Government departments: GGD: 'Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst' – Municipal Health Service; 'Dienstonderwijs' - Education Service; OBR: 'OntwikkelingsBedrijf Rotterdam' – Rotterdam Development, interview: CG, 6 June 2014.

194 Interview: CG, 6 June 2014.

Cabo. I thought the relations of the different department of the city hall, were not strong any more. They lost the relations with the different departments.¹⁹⁵ As an organization, Cabo lost social capital within institutional structures as a result of a turnover in board members. This board turnover and lack of maintenance of networks within the power structure could have been a contributing factor in the significant effect the substantial decrease or the complete withdrawal of subsidies and other funding for projects (beginning in 2007) had on the morale of the board and volunteers. Perhaps it was the combination of a lack of social capital to give a possibility to maneuver within Rotterdam's institutional opportunity structures, as well as the considerable effort required to receive any funding due to changing policy, which were the grounds in 2010 for Cabo to dissolve after board positions could not be refilled after resignations.¹⁹⁶ 'Because there was only one person at Cabo who was paid and the other were like volunteers. [...] All those people who had done it a lot of years were a little bit tired. Because you get tired to always fight, fight, fight with the government about money. And you always have to show the meaning and the importance of the work you were doing. And that was really tiring. So I understand why they said [...] they couldn't find other people to continue, to take over.'¹⁹⁷

Sub-Conclusion

While the founding of all three organizations were built from the local ethnic opportunity structure, such as networks in their community, Avanço and Cabo also derived from both national and Rotterdam municipal policy opportunity structures; the policies which focused on disadvantage, citizenship and participation. Cabo's foundation stones were from a discursive opportunity, the negative news reports about Cape Verdean youth, as well as the municipal policies to decrease youth crime and disadvantage. Furthermore, the institutional opportunity structures of a municipal program and the an internship were key factors in the respective founding of Avanço and Cabo. I did not examine political opportunity structures as it did not show in my research.

Although Avanço was a 'top-down' and FEDIC and Cabo were 'bottom-up' organizations, they held the same structural place within Rotterdam's municipal policy on ethnic organizations. Their roles as a facilitator of policies and a bridge between their target groups and government institutions, fostered the pursuit of government objectives even as these shifted and became redefined. Although these changes were sometimes at odds with the immediate needs of their community and their organization's goals, as previously research into ethnic organizations has

195 Interview: CG, 6 June 2014.

196 Interviews: ER, 25 June 2014, and BR, 17 June 2014. For a comparison, in 1998, there were 10 Cabo board members, but in 2007, only five.

197 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014.

recognized, my findings attest that they became the agents or vehicles of policies, as their core goals matched the key social-economic policy objectives.¹⁹⁸

Even though Avanço received their goals and focus areas from the Rotterdam municipality, there was a failure to adopt the government-imposed focus, an observation previously made by Penninx and Slijper.¹⁹⁹ Avanço took on the central role of a social welfare agency catering only to the needs of the Portuguese-speaking community of Rotterdam, and failed to maintain a broad network. Thus it did not build the expertise and experience required to provide services and develop activities for all ethnicities. The lack of local government oversight of Avanço's divergent focus on social service provision, I would argue contributed to its vulnerability and organizational weakness. As Rotterdam policy changed and subsidy demands encouraged mergers between organizations, a government action, as was observed by Schrover and Vermeulen, Avanço did not take the necessary decisions which could have ensured its survival.²⁰⁰ A myriad of interacting factors thwarted a merger; firstly, their founding goals of focusing on Cape Verdeans and supporting their organizations; secondly, their enduring primary reliance on government subsidies and refusal to pursue other financial strategies; and thirdly, the stagnant composition of their board.

198 See da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 121, 152; Cordero-Guzman, 'Community-Based organizations', 905-907; Sunier and van Kijeren, 'Islam in the Netherlands', 148; Penninx and Schrover, *Bastion of Bindmiddel?*, 3; and Penninx and Slijper, *Voor Elkaar?*, 31.

199 Penninx and Slijper, *Voor Elkaar?*, 36.

200 Schrover and Vermeulen, 'Immigrant Organisations', 829.

4: Development and changes in activities

Based on my empirical research, in this chapter I present the factors that influenced the development and changes in the activities of Avanço, FEDIC and Cabo. (For an overview of the activities, see Tables 2 and 3 in Appendixes B, C and D). I partially explore the influence of human capital in these three organizations, and how projects or activities were hindered by external factors. In addition, to give an example of the changes in funding of activities, I have provided tables listing the subsidies or funds awarded for a few of the projects and activities offered. In this thesis, I will not discuss how projects were affected by the opportunity structure due to political alliances.

4.1 Avanço: their activities and development

Some Avanço activities and projects developed and transformed as a result of changing client-based needs. As the first-generation population grew older, Avanço strove to meet their special needs. In 2007, Avanço began offering open walk-in hours for social service advice at the Cape Verdean senior living facility A Pauzada as they 'wanted to move to the client, instead of the client moving to us.'²⁰¹ Furthermore, they expanded walk-in social service hours from the morning to also the afternoon, because of input from social work staff and client satisfaction forms.²⁰² In 2008, in response to cues from this social service, Avanço organized information evenings with third-parties on such topics as: funeral services, stress and depression, the Social Service Act, and education for pupils with learning difficulties or behavior problems.²⁰³ As their client base expanded with the growth of first generation migrants from Portuguese-speaking countries, the topics of their information evenings changed and new collaborations with governmental and non-governmental organizations were achieved. In 2009, for example, meetings were held on various subjects such as debt, taxes, diabetes, welfare benefits, housing and immigration issues.²⁰⁴ In previous years, most of the clients of the walk-in social service hours were first-generation Cape Verdeans over the age of 55. However in 2010, the majority were under the age of 55 and mainly from Portugal.²⁰⁵

Activities and projects were also initiated due to external influences such as collaborations with third-party organizations. The two-year *Project Kaapverdiaanse Taakcombineerders*, a collaboration project between employers of cleaning companies, female Cape Verdean cleaners and schools of employees' children began in 2006. This was owing to network connections with

201 Social service open walk-in hours for seniors – 'ouderenspreekuur'. Interview: IM, 24 June 2014; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 12.

202 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014.

203 The Social Service Act - 'Wet Maatschappelijk Ondersteuning'; and the education - 'speciaal onderwijs', discussed previously in chapter 2.

204 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 5, 7-8.

205 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 3.

foundation Daaladvies who helped obtain funding from the European Union.²⁰⁶ It was explained: 'There was always a need for Avanço to do something with this group. And that was the opportunity to do that. [...] Because the kind of project that it was, as Avanço we could not get the funds from the European Commission by ourselves. So it had to be in collaboration with some other organization.'²⁰⁷ Moreover, as a consequence of Avanço's access to and expertise with Portuguese-speaking groups in Rotterdam, third-party organizations such as Stichting Pameijer and Stichting MEE contacted them to jointly organize information evenings.²⁰⁸

The combined influence of external organizations and Rotterdam policy was a major factor in determining the reason why some projects developed or were taken on by Avanço. For example, in 2005, Avanço began the two-year project *Zusters Steunen Zusters* with the foundation Vrouwenhuis to promote integration and participation by coupling immigrant women with Dutch women.²⁰⁹ The same two-year project ran again from 2007-2009, with an expansion of collaborating social institutes and organizations.²¹⁰ This project was to a great extent made possible by the Rotterdam policy that people who received welfare benefits were obligated to perform voluntary work. Thus, via their collaboration with voluntary organizations, Avanço could find Dutch women between the ages of 40-50 to participate.²¹¹ In addition in 2010, Avanço restarted the previously Cabo-led projects *&U Meidenproject* and *Leerling Begeleiding* of secondary school children after Cabo dissolved in 2009.²¹² Because of the increasing difficulty to secure funding for projects, collaborating with third-party organizations became a strategy of Avanço. 'So, every year you had to be very creative in how to find money in a project that was good for the community. In *one way* it made us like a little bit more *inventive*, because you always had to think how to get the money and collaborating with other organizations.'²¹³

Due to government policy subsidy demands, Avanço was obliged to expand the target groups of their activities, as well as change the content for some. 'The demand was that they should be accessible for everybody. And that was not the practice. [...] [with] public money, you should have public responsibility. It has to be publicly accessible.'²¹⁴ For example, the São João Festival

206 Translation: 'Project Cape Verdean Task Combiners'. For more information see tables 2 and 3 in Appendix B.

207 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014. Also: JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007.

208 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 5. For information on these foundations, see table 1 in Appendix B.

209 Translations: 'Sisters support Sisters' and 'Women's home', JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 4; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006, 8; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 10, 16.

210 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 7-8; also see GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 10, and interview: IM, 24 June 2014.

211 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014.

212 Translations: '&U Girls project' and 'Pupil guidance', interview: BR, 17 June 2014; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 10, 12; and JLPA, Av, Avanço Werkplan 2011, 2010, 11 pages, 6. See tables 2 and 3 of Appendix B for more information on these projects.

213 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014. Italics used to indicate emphasis made by interviewee.

214 Interview: HM, 23 June 2014; also confirmed in interview: IM, 18 June 2014.

was a celebration of Cape Verdean independence from Portugal. It had been organized from the 1980s to the mid-1990s by a small Cape Verdean organization, Associação Centro Cultural. However, it stopped for a few years because of a lack of individuals to organize it. In the late 1990s there was a new subsidized municipal program that encouraged ethnically-exclusive celebrations to become city events. However, Associação Centro Cultural was unable to organize the event with the new requirements, so in 1999/2000, Avanço began organizing the annual festival.²¹⁵ 'It had to become more professional, and work together with other groups, for the funding [...] And then it was a kinda clash as they saw that Avanço was [...] adding things to the program, it was not their idea of how things were supposed to be. [...] And *São João* was celebrated really simple, but if you keep on organizing it really simple and in the traditional way, you won't get the funding you need to organize the activity.'²¹⁶ In order to receive a subsidy the program had to expand, other ethnic groups had to perform, and 'also the program has to be more in their eyes appealing for other people.'²¹⁷ Therefore, in 2006, Avanço renamed the three-day festival to 'Delfshaven Festival', and added children's activities, Turkish, Moroccan & Dutch DJs, and Brazilian artists.²¹⁸ As part of becoming professional, the subsidy application forms had to be submitted six months before the festival, and the report had to include details such as budget, costs and estimates of attendees.²¹⁹

Changes in government policy or initiatives also led to the change in content in Avanço's Dutch conversation course, and guided which subjects they presented to their community. In the conversation course 'you had to give information about a lot of things, so it had to be completed with that. We couldn't do those things separately. [...] We [had] always organized days and themes. But they had to be joined together.'²²⁰ As a result of the 2007 national integration law, there was a new integration exam immigrants had to pass.²²¹ Therefore, Avanço had to include a variety of themes in their language and integration courses, for example: the Dutch education system; dealing with a crisis; doing volunteer work; and visiting a doctor, a governmental health agency or the city hall.²²² Furthermore, they also incorporated into these lessons topics which they would typically present in community information meetings, such as domestic violence and sexual transmitted diseases.²²³ Additionally, as a policy-driven initiative in 2008, Avanço presented to the community

215 Emails: NPPA, CG, 21 and 22 September 2015. The exact year is unknown.

216 Translation: 'Saint John', interview: Sandy dos Reis (further SdR), 30 June 2014, NP, NPPA.

217 Ibid.

218 Ibid, JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 17; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006, 8, 16-17.

219 Interview: SdR, 30 June 2014.

220 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 13; and Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 5.

221 Integration law: 'Wet Inburgering'.

222 Interview: IM, 24 June 2014; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 5; Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 3; and Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 6; and InfoNu.nl website, Inburgeringsexamen [Citizenship exam], <http://mens-en-samenleving.infoNu.nl/onderwijs/50212-inburgeringsexamen-inburgeren-om-te-blijven.html>.

223 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 13; and Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 5.

the taboo subjects of homosexuality and domestic violence via the broadcaster TV Morabeza.²²⁴

The transformation of policy goals and subsidy requirements led Avanço to almost yearly change how they described their activities and which information they included in their annual reports. Although most of their activities catered to the Cape Verdean community, in 2006, this target group was barely mentioned in their annual report.²²⁵ However in contrast, in 2007, their annual report began with a chapter detailing the social-economic situation of Cape Verdeans.²²⁶ Furthermore, some activities were given different names and recorded under different policy goal categories. For example, their walk-in social service was listed under 'Social service' in 2006, but in 2008, it was listed under 'Building bridges and laying connections'.²²⁷ Furthermore, the São João Festival was reported in 2005 under 'Media, Arts and Culture' but in 2006 when it was renamed 'Delfshaven Festival', it was listed under the category 'Social participation and Skills training', and in 2008, it was under 'Building bridges and laying connections', and in 2010, it was categorized under 'Stimulating initiatives urban citizenship'.²²⁸ (For more changes in activity and category name, see Table 3 in Appendix B. For subsidy information, see Table 4 in Appendix B).

Obstacles they encountered

Avanço had a hard time reaching their target groups due to the demographics and characteristics of the community. For example, the cleaning work that most Cape Verdean women did, made them unavailable for participating in courses or many activities. In addition, developing structural collaboration between Cape Verdean organizations and building networks proved to be a difficult challenge in the beginning years because the organizations were founded by first-generation immigrants based on their island background, and thus their prejudices from their homeland hindered bridge building.²²⁹ Moreover, some of the issues which were both policy and community-driven, such as those related to sexuality, birth control and abuse, were considered taboo in the Cape Verdean community, thus were quite problematic to discuss in a public forum.²³⁰

Changing governmental policies and the decreasing or stopping of subsidies hindered Avanço in providing activities which were important to their community members. 'In the beginning, we could have funds for the youth to participate in their own culture. [...] The lesson in

224 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 7.

225 JLPA, Av, Jaarverslag 2006.

226 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 4-7.

227 Translations: 'Maatschappelijke dienstverlening' and 'Bruggen bouwen en verbindingen leggen', JLPA, Av, Jaarverslag 2006, 14; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 9; and Av, Jaarverslag 2009, 7.

228 Translations: 'Media, Kunst en Cultuur', 'Maatschappelijke participatie en kadervorming' and 'Stimulerings-initiatieven Stadsburgerschap', JLPA, Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005, 17; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006, 8; GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 9; and Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 10.

229 JLPA, Av, Opzet Strategisch, 10.

230 Ibid, and interview: CD, 21 May 2014.

your own language that was cut. A lot of cultural activity was also cut'.²³¹ The funding of cultural activities for specific ethnic groups stopped in 2002 after the political party *Leefbaar Rotterdam* won a majority in the Rotterdam City Council.²³² Also because of the withdrawal of government funding in 2005/2006, *Avanço* had to stop providing community information meetings concerning health until an employee of the municipal health agency, the GGD, agreed as a volunteer to provide this specialized information.²³³ Moreover, the number of information meetings being held decreased. 'So let's say, if in one year, prior you can organize every month an information evening. Now you had to do seven or six because you couldn't pay the whole ten. So in that way, it was still less.'²³⁴ In 2010, when the subsidies stopped for media, *Avanço* could no longer fund *TV Morabeza* which had been providing information on health and other issues especially relevant to the Cape Verdean community since 2003. Other activities and projects also ended as a result of the loss of government funding: computer lessons in 2008, *Zusters Steunen Zusters* in 2009, & *U Meidenproject* in 2011, as well as providing guidance and trainings to ethnic organizations in 2011.²³⁵ In addition, the activities and assistance *Avanço* gave regarding parental engagement in their children's education and secondary school choice ended in 2007 due to the loss of funding. However, this activity was restarted in 2010 for a short period when an intern did it as a graduation project for a Pedagogy study, 'but after she graduated the project closed down again.'²³⁶ At the end of 2011, *Avanço* received a notice from the Rotterdam municipality that they would have an eighty percent reduction in their subsidy the following year. 'From January 2012 we immediately started reducing our budget, activities and personnel'.²³⁷ This led to the cancellation of the planned restart of *Zusters Steunen Zusters*, as well as a new male emancipation project and the *Workshop: Breng burgers bij elkaar*.²³⁸

Another barrier to *Avanço's* survival was that one of their policy-driven tasks, the giving of advice and training to immigrant organizations/foundations, was already being provided by several third-party organizations in Rotterdam that received subsidies from the Rotterdam municipality, namely, *De Heuvel*, *CVD stap*, *Proxy*, and *SBAW*. Furthermore, *Avanço's* role in the Rotterdam institutional infrastructure was crowded out by these organizations which were not hindered as

231 Interview: JL, 23 December 2013.

232 Interview: ER, 25 September 2015.

233 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014; Email: NPPA, IM, 29 September 2015. The precise year when this activity was disrupted is unknown.

234 Interview: IM, 18 June 2014.

235 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008; Av, Jaarverslag 2009; and Av, Jaarverslag 2010; email: NPPA, BR, 8 September 2015.

For more information about these projects, see tables 2 and 3 in Appendix B.

236 Quote from email: NPPA, BR, 9 September 2015; also confirmed in email: NPPA, IM, 9 September 2015.

237 Information and quote from email: NPPA, BR, 5 September 2015. The notice received was 'Beschikking 2012', translation: subsidy dispensation decision.

238 Translation: 'Workshop: Bring citizens by each other', JLPA, Av, Werkplan 2012.

Avanço was, by their lack of experience with foundations from diverse cultural backgrounds.²³⁹

4.2 FEDIC: their activities and development

FEDIC developed their activities based on the changing needs of their community, especially the aging first generation and the growth of the second generation. As discussed previously, they expanded their target groups from working adults to also the elderly and young people after 2000. FEDIC began to address elderly issues such as receiving state pension benefits, dealing with fraud, and financial problems with the 'personal health budget plan', among others.²⁴⁰ Two major youth issues which FEDIC focused on was education and young parenthood. 'After 2000, then we've had a problem with the youngster. [] Education, the most problem is that they didn't finish their schools. There was a lot of drop-outs.'²⁴¹ FEDIC's range of activities grew by using their network with third-party organizations such as LIZE, Dona Daria, and Delphi. For example, they partnered with LIZE to provide information on social issues, with Dona Daria to address emancipation topics such as parenting, and education and skills development, and with Delphi to provide school choice information to parents. 'So they gave me the opportunity to organize activities and so they can come and to give information. And so there was an open door for me to send people to them.'²⁴² FEDIC also provides personal advice on these aforementioned topics, and uses the institutional opportunity structure to direct community members to expert advice. In 2014, with the opening of Center Atendimento Orientação (CAO), in which John do Livramento is a founding member, FEDIC began offering personal advice via this new Cape Verdean foundation that fills the social services vacuum of *Avanço's dissolution*.²⁴³

To further foster parenting skills of fathers and their relationships with their children, in 2011 and 2012, FEDIC organized such activities as a zoo visit, football tournaments, and a bike repair workshop which was co-organized with neighborhood families in Delfshaven. These events were not funded from external sources except for the zoo visit, which the Delfshaven municipality subsidized. FEDIC also repeatedly organized family events such as recreational trips with picnics and music, and dinner and dance events. However, they found the attendance of women at some of their activities decreased when Casa Tiberias, who had begun as a women's shelter, increased their activities for women and children in the later 1990s.²⁴⁴ (Further information on FEDIC activities can

239 For a listing of organizations see the Avanco produced 'Handboek Zelforganisaties', 2011. Also for a description of Avanco's plans in this work area: JLPA, Av, Werkplan 2012, 9-10. The social project development foundation SBAW (full name) has a new name: Cultuur Concreet.

240 Translation: 'persoonsgebondenbudget', interview: JL, 14 April 2014.

241 Ibid.

242 Ibid.

243 Translation: 'Center Client Orientation', interview, 2 October 2015.

244 Ibid. Dates of activities are unknown, and can not be provided by the interviewee.

be found in Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix C).

4.3 Cabo: their activities and development

Cabo developed and offered a range of educational and social projects, as well as informational and cultural activities. On occasion, they also organized a commercial activity, for example, multicultural catering for a municipal event on the Grote Kerkplein in Rotterdam in 1998.²⁴⁵ Some of these projects, such as study support and homework tutoring, continued for over ten years, and some such as 'Mission Impossible' and *Project ons leert ons* were short-term, and only ran for six months or a year.²⁴⁶ Cabo also organized and provided activities sometimes for many years, such as festivities and themed discussion meetings, as well as participated in the school choice market for pupils entering secondary school. Even though Cabo began with a focus on Cape Verdean youth and their issues, its identification as a youth organization and its location led to the participation of youth and children from other ethnicities in Delfshaven and beyond within its first year. While most of the activities and projects developed by Cabo were for youth, children and occasionally their parents, sometimes their specific target groups changed in age or ethnic background. In Tables 2 and 3 in Appendix D, I provide a listing of projects and activities offered by Cabo. How these developed and why they changed will be discussed in the following section.

Human capital and its influence

The cultural capital the board of Cabo possessed was evident by the knowledge and skills they had for developing, presenting, and implementing their ideas into projects and activities. As previously mentioned, all the Cabo board members had grown up in the Netherlands and thus were familiar with the culture and spoke Dutch fluently. Additionally, they received degrees in social work, human resource management, law, and leisure marketing at the HBO or university level, and had an understanding of youth policy, as well as had organization and communication skills.²⁴⁷ They utilized their knowledge and skills, for example, in the successful coordination and research they did for LIZE in 1996, and in their role as the main organizer of the international conference in Rotterdam: *Kaapverdianen en steden in Europa*.²⁴⁸ Later, the cultural capital of the founding board was bolstered when individuals from other ethnic backgrounds joined, for example, Moroccan,

245 CGPA, Mark Sieben (further MS), Notulen AB vergadering 21 April 1998, 1 page; and interview: CG, 27 May 2014. For this event, Cabo was commissioned by the municipal department of infrastructure.

246 Translation: 'Project We teach us', interview: SdR, 30 June 2014. See table 3 in Appendix D for information on project lengths.

247 CGPC, Cabo, Pleitnota Cabo, (no date given, but most likely March 1998), 2 pages; and interview: CG, 17 May 2014.

248 Research for LIZE: 'Onderzoek Leefwereld'; translation conference: 'Cape Verdeans and cities in Europe', CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 6, and interviews: CG, 27 May 2014 and 15 July 2015.

Dutch and Indonesian. Some of these new board members had first been interns at Cabo while they had pursued their HBO degrees, then became volunteers before joining the board.²⁴⁹

Cabo and its projects were strengthened by the hiring of Eva Reekers (ethnically Dutch) as youth worker, coordinator of activities, and general manager of Cabo in 1998. Having received a masters degree in Cultural Anthropology and written her masters thesis on the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam, she had the knowledge and insight required to analyze the needs of Cabo's target groups, and develop viable projects. She proclaimed: 'I was the one who was good at translating ideas into project plans.'²⁵⁰ For example, in her project plans she included background information from published research, a detailed budget and list of diverse funding.²⁵¹ Furthermore, her tendency to join networks was a characteristic which fostered her knowledge of where to seek information and partners. For example, to help professionalize tutoring projects for secondary school pupils, and those in primary school who were preparing to take the CITO tests, she copied projects at FORUM, a national foundation for migrant issues. Furthermore, it was through her network with them, that she sought and received funding from Royal Dutch Shell via their 'Shell Cares' social work program from 2001 to 2003.²⁵²

Knowing where to look for funding for projects or activities, and successfully applying for and securing it through subsidies from the Rotterdam municipality or the sub-district Delfshaven, or via funds from foundations or a European Union program, were skills that the Cabo board and the youth workers, Eva Reekers, and later Janke Reiding possessed. A volunteer revealed: 'All kinds of projects, for money, or for knowledge. Eva or Janke would know where to go to get it. [...] That's the way I think we continued to work for so long. The youth workers were very inventive with that. They would know everything. Like I said, they would feed us with everything.'²⁵³ Furthermore, as long as there were subsidies or funding available, the youth workers sought ways to have some financial flexibility. Eva Reekers disclosed: 'But we knew if we wanted to do activities we couldn't find funding for, we made use of other projects so we could put a little bit more, like more general, so we could put the other activities into it.[...] And I had the European projects, they were very good for that as they were lump sum finance. And that is how we could start, promote new activities that later on could grow into more professional activities. So that was something that worked in that

249 Interviews: CG, 27 May and 6 June 2014.

250 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014. For more information on her education, see table 1 in Appendix A.

251 ERPS, Eva Reekers, Project Afro-Luso, project report with budget, (undated, most likely 1998 or 1999), 5 pages.

This project later was called 'Back to our Roots'.

252 Project names: 'Project Studieonder-steuning Voortgezet Onderwijs' - Project Study Support Secondary Education, and 'Project Huiswerk-begeleiding groep 7+8 Basis Onderwijs' - Project Homework Support, Groups 7 & 8, Primary Education'; *ibid*; and CGPA, ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker, 1-3.

253 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

period.¹²⁵⁴ (To see a partial list of subsidies and funds received for projects and activities in 2002, see Table 4 in Appendix D). How policy and the availability of subsidies affected specific projects or activities, I will discuss later in this section.

In addition, Cabo's policy of offering internships and the MBO and HBO students who worked there as interns, had a great impact on the projects and activities developed and implemented. As an organization which had received approval from the Landelijk Orgaan Beroepsonderwijs (OVBD), Cabo may have provided little financial compensation to their interns, but they offered vast opportunities for experience and skill development within projects which matched their study.²⁵⁵ It was claimed: 'Cabo was a vehicle for those who wanted to develop themselves. We were always trying to stimulate people to develop themselves [themselves] by not only practicing things, but also by trying to get some new skills. So we were really stimulating people to make more of themselves [themselves] than they were.'²⁵⁶ Furthermore, the ideas of the interns frequently became the initiative for a new project:

There was a culture that we listened to what somebody wanted to do and we give them the freedom to do what they wanted to do. So that could change the activities that you did by the year. So if we had someone who did the pedagogic school, we started the project about teenage mothers, when we had people doing the juridical school [law], we started with poverty and helping fill in papers. When we had somebody that did kids' activities, we started a project about kids' activities. So it was all about who joined, who started the projects.²⁵⁷

The ideas and successful experiences of interns inspired new activities to be developed by Cabo board members. For example, Lisa Pires, an intern who was studying Leisure Management at an HBO, later inspired John Armstrong and Carlos Goncalves to begin organizing events at the Doelen and the Laurenskerk in Rotterdam. After her internship, she stayed on and became a volunteer at Cabo as many other interns did, and later became a board member. 'So the skills she was learning at her study, she was transmitting it into the organization.'²⁵⁸

Like the board, the cultural capital at Cabo was invigorated by the interns, who soon after the founding year, came from different ethnic backgrounds, for example, Moroccan, Dutch and Surinamese and from outside Rotterdam.²⁵⁹ A youth worker explained: 'People who did their study, some were there 80 hours a week and some only for the hours they had to do for their internship.

254 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

255 Translation OVBD: 'National Board for Vocational Education', interview: CG, 6 June 2014.

256 Ibid. In 2002, interns received €45/month if they worked at least 2 days/week.

257 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

258 Interview: CG, 6 June 2014. The Doelen is a multi-hall venue. The Laurenskerk is a cultural venue which was once a church. Cabo organized events there for 300-400 people.

259 Interviews: CG, 27 May 2014; and ER, 25 June 2014.

There was a Moroccan girl who brought her own, new influences. Girls who were from Limburg who wanted to know the big city. Some people who wanted to restart their lives. Some People who were successful and wanted to give back to the community. All different types of people.¹²⁶⁰

Another source for project development and implementation was the great number of volunteers who brought their ideas and interests to Cabo and enhanced its offerings. Many of the volunteers were from the Cape Verdean community and the level of education was not important, but their experience and enthusiasm. For example, some young volunteers did poorly at school, but were very good DJs and led regular workshops. Others were students at a HBO who wanted to actively address community needs, so they initiated such projects as: the homework and CITO test preparation project for 11 to 12 year olds, the children's activity club *Kinderclub Movimento*, and the inter-generational project for teaching Dutch *Ons leert ons*.²⁶¹ Other volunteers from diverse ethnic backgrounds and professions initiated projects at Cabo based on previous experience. For example, Beatris Rocha had done TV production previously, and then brought her ideas to Cabo to begin her own TV show, recruiting volunteers at Cabo to assist her. Furthermore, a Dutch man on the Cabo board who had a degree in development studies and had done an internship in Cape Verde began an exchange program with young professionals of Cape Verde.²⁶²

Turnover in volunteers, board members or the youth worker also was an impetus for new project development, or for on-going projects or activities to change or to stop. For example, 'Patat met Capuchón' a radio show run by volunteers changed when they left and new ones took over: 'That was other people, so you bring your own interests, your own topics.'²⁶³ In addition, a new project in 2007 to foster a dialogue between experienced mothers and youth mothers began. This was revealed to be caused by: 'There were new people in the board, and also there was a new *jongerenwerker*. So when there are new people, there are new ideas and projects.'²⁶⁴

Additionally, participants of Cabo activities and projects were the creative and driving force of new project development and the variety of activities offered at Cabo. A social worker claimed: 'So I think it was 30 percent top-down from out into Cabo and over 70 percent youngsters themselves, youth participation that became projects.'²⁶⁵ Cultural activities such as music, dance and theater were popular among the youth who were involved at Cabo. For example, the 'Black Diamond' Cape Verdean dance group expanded in number in 2002 when it was invited to join the

260 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

261 Interviews: BR, 17 June 2014; and SdR, 30 June 2014.

262 Interviews: BR, 17 June 2014; and CG, 6 June 2014.

263 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

264 Translation: 'youth worker', interview: CG, 27 May 2014.

265 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

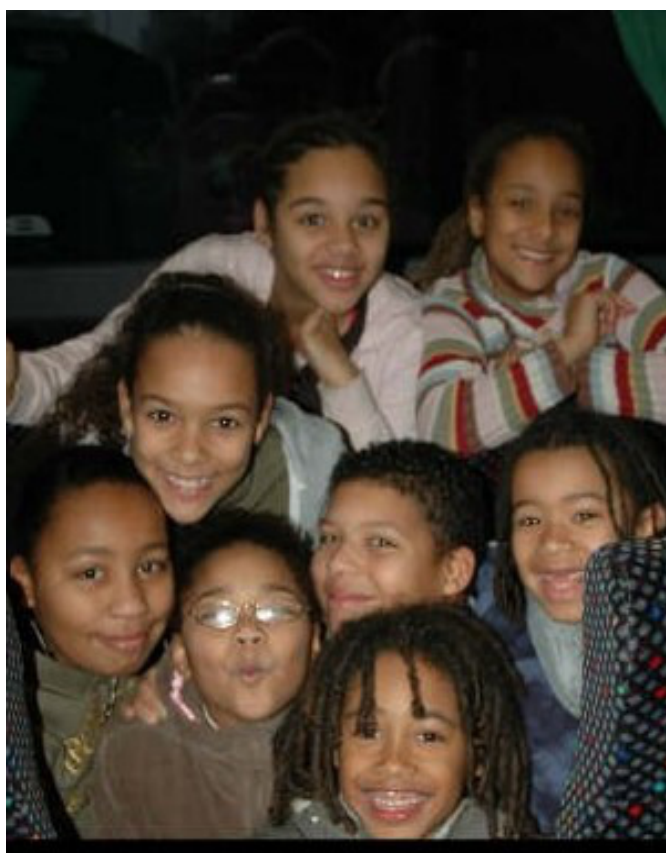
2003 summer Liverpool International Carnival.²⁶⁶ Furthermore, the '100% Cabo' theater group was formed in 2000 by some of the participants of the 'Back to our Roots' exchange project.²⁶⁷ It was inspired by a theater group they saw perform in Cape Verde. In 2001, '100% Cabo' began a planned four-year professionalization process when one of its collaboration partner's, SBAW, suggested and wrote up a project plan for the group to be coached by a professional director.²⁶⁸ Even though it received over EUR 6,000 in subsidies and funds in 2002, they did not receive subsidies for subsequent years, so could not complete the plan. (For further details on funding see Table 4 in Appendix D).²⁶⁹

External influences

The availability of new locations also proved to stimulate the development of new activities or the expansion of on-going activities. When the possibility of using the neighborhood center De Helling in Delfshaven, Cabo developed a 5-day program of cultural and prevention activities for children and youth during the autumn 1998 school vacation week.²⁷⁰

It was explained: 'If you have a new place then you have activities, then there happened all new activities, so we had DJ workshops, we had children activities, all kinds of things started, salsa dancing.'²⁷¹

The social work foundation Disk managed the neighborhood center and



Source: Sandy Dos Reis, 2007, Cabo children's event

sometimes jointly initiated projects with Cabo there. Furthermore, due to collaboration with Disk and sharing the use of the activity rooms with a Moroccan foundation, both foundations who were active in the area of 'prevention', Cabo expanded its public reach in Delfshaven.²⁷²

266 ERPA, ER, Overzicht, 9. The change in numbers of members is unknown.

267 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

268 Ibid, 7-8; and interview: ER, 25 June 2014. For more information see tables 2 and 3 in Appendix D.

269 Cabo, Grootboekkaarten 2002, (incomplete accounting general ledger), 2002, 66 pages, 34; and interview: ER, 25 September 2015.

270 CGPA, ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker, 2.

271 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

272 Ibid. De Helling closed in 2002 and then reopened as Buurthuis Pyramide in January 2003.

Furthermore, government agencies and local and national third-party organizations contacted Cabo to participate in projects or activities. In 2002, Cabo was asked to participate in research initiated by the district of Delfshaven, and by foundations organizing panel discussions.²⁷³ That same year during the period before the local city council elections, the Rotterdam foundation Lokaal began a project with Cabo to stimulate debate and youth interest in politics.²⁷⁴ In 2007, the Rotterdam foundation 2 Get There asked Cabo to partner with them and coordinate the *&U Meidenproject*, a multi-ethnic mentoring project for teenage girls.²⁷⁵



Source: Carlos Goncalves: Cape Verdean dance troupe performs as part of a request by the local neighborhood association (bewonersorganisatie) for Cabo to contribute to the program at a festival at the Tiendplein in Rotterdam in 1995.²⁷⁶

International organizations also contacted Cabo to participate in their projects or events, and to attend meetings or workshops, which further stimulated Cabo to broaden their scope outside of Rotterdam and the Cape Verdean community. 'I think that we got more international over time. [...] At the beginning it was more inside the community, and over time it got a mixture.'²⁷⁷ The Liverpool foundation Hope Street contacted Cabo and beginning in 1998, asked them to collaborate on projects and participate in exchanges. For example, in 2001, it asked the theater group '100% Cabo' to perform there in England, and via its network, also in Portugal, and in 2002, Hope Street asked the dance group 'Black Diamond' to join in the summer Liverpool International Carnival. Cabo also

273 CGPA, AvT, fax nr. 4360714, 2; CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva Reekers, wat doet ik op dit moment voor de jongeren bij Cabo, Datum: 6 februari 2001, 3 pages, 1.

274 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

275 Interview: BR, 17 June 2014.

276 Email: CG, 28 September 2015.

277 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

went to Liverpool to join a 'train the trainer' program.²⁷⁸ Additionally, in 2002, Cabo was invited to Lisbon by the Portuguese foundation Moinho da Juventude to participate in an exchange on how to use sport as a crime prevention method.²⁷⁹ Furthermore, in 2003, the German foundation Junet invited Cabo to meetings in Hamburg, and to participate in multimedia workshops as part of their 'United We Stand' program.²⁸⁰

Rotterdam policy and the subsidies available connected to policy goals were both an inspiration and an opportunity for the development of new projects and activities at Cabo. The youth workers of Cabo, Eva Reekers and Jonka Reiding kept informed with policy changes and available subsidies, and would convey this information to those at Cabo in order to generate new projects. 'It was in the time of Eva worked for Cabo, that we had a weekend with all the volunteers, and people who were interested in doing voluntary work for Cabo. They organized a weekend and talked about the topics that were of interest to the government and also for the young Cape Verdean people living in Rotterdam. Then we had to come up with ideas of projects we could organize, things that were important, and then we came up with the projects. Then they wrote the project plans.'²⁸¹ For example, for the Rotterdam youth program 'Young R2001', the teenage girls at Cabo had the opportunity to join a program at Nighttown on 10 March 2001. Furthermore, they formed a discussion group over issues in their life, a project which Cabo listed as 'girls and emancipation'.²⁸² Later in 2005, volunteer Sandy dos Reis developed the six-month project 'Mission Impossible' to stimulate inactive youth to do sports and voluntary work, when 'there was a funding possibility for young people who had ideas.'²⁸³

In addition, other organizations in Rotterdam came to Cabo, or vice versa, because of municipal subsidy demands or the goals of the organizations. Cabo and Disck collaborated as Disck had to work with disadvantaged children and those living in Delfshaven. In addition, theater foundations such as Theater Zuidplein, Nighttown and Lantaren Venster strove to expand their artist and audience bases to youth and ethnic groups. This created opportunities for the music, theater and dance groups of Cabo youth. A youth worker acknowledged: 'We just go to Zuidplein because they had their fund with the responsibility to work together with migrants. So we said "Here we are! Can we make use of your theater?" [...] So we made use of policy of others.'²⁸⁴

In fact, the Rotterdam municipality and Cabo used each other to pursue their own goals. It

278 Ibid; CGPA, ER, Verslag week tot en met 20 oktober, 1998, 1 page; and CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 9.

279 ERPA, ER, Overzicht, 6. Youth organizations from Belgium & Ireland also took part.

280 Ibid; and CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 3. For more information, see tables 2 and 3 in Appendix D.

281 Interview: SdR, 30 June 2014.

282 CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 2.

283 Interview: SdR, 30 June 2014.

284 Interview: ER 25 June 2014; and confirmed in interview: SdR, 30 June 2014; and in CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 3.

was asserted: 'I think that is why the policy helped, because they used us for their goals. GGD, SoZaWe [...] the projects we had in education they were happy with us because it was also some kind of method that was out of school, that we did it for our own community. So they could use us for their goals. And we were also good at looking at what other people wanted and we could translate that to our projects.'²⁸⁵

Jongerenorganisatie CABO presents:

ZONDAG 21 MEI 2000
vanaf 16.00 uur tot 01.00 uur

CABO
benefietconcert

Deze manifestatie zal gehouden worden in **Nighttown** te Rotterdam.

Deze dag staat vol gepland met optredens van verschillende Kaapverdiaanse artiesten en daarnaast presentaties van de jongeren die meewerken aan dit project.

CABO benefietconcert wordt een manifestatie waarbij Jongeren Organisatie Cabo aandacht vraagt voor het jongeren-uitwisselingsproject Nederland Kaapverdië en geld inzamelt voor projecten in Kaapverdië. Een voorbeeld daarvan is een project voor de straat kinderen.

Als speciale gast hebben wij

PAULINO VIEIRA
DE MEESTER VAN DE KAAPVERDIAANSE MUZIEK!

BANDEIRA ★ PAULINO & FRIENDS
(COMBINED ARTISTS SURPRISE ACT)

FORT MODA GROGUE

ZE CARLOS ★ YOUNGBLOOD

ARIETTE FURTADO ★

AMERICO BRITO ★ THE REAL VIBE ★ SUZANNA LUBRANO

MILENA ★ DJ TCHINDO

Deze dag zal gepresenteerd worden door:

Osvaldo Brito, voorzitter van Avanço
Sonia VJ van TMF (OVB)
Neusa Gomes van het radioprogramma CATCHUPA OF PATAT MET.

Het concert wordt gehouden in Nighttown, West-Kruiskade 28 te Rotterdam. Hier kunt u tevens terecht voor uw kaartjes, kosten NLG 20,- in de voorverkoop, aan de deur NLG 25,-

Naast alle optredens en presentaties heeft de Jongeren Organisatie CABO ook nog een hele leuke verrassing voor al haar gasten in de Nighttown dus zorg er voor dat je deze dag echt niet gaat missen!!
Voor meer informatie of voor adressen van kaartverkooppunten neem gerust contact op met de Jongeren Organisatie Cabo Tel: 010-4369912 tijdens kantooruren en een medewerker van CABO zal u graag te woord staan.

Source: Eva Reekers

Changes in projects and activities

One reason projects and activities transformed at Cabo was due to the changing desires and evolving needs of the participants or the community. For example, youths would request certain activities to be repeated or projects to continue from their originally planned time period. This happened, for example, with *Kinderclub Movimento*. It was intended to only run during the school summer vacation weeks, but the children enjoyed it, so it was continued year round.²⁸⁶ Also the

²⁸⁵ Interview: ER 25 June 2014.

²⁸⁶ CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 3; and interview: SdR, 30 June 2014.

target group, and what they did or issues focused on were expanded for some projects or activities, mainly because of the participants getting older but remaining with the group. 'The teenage girls become young women, you just grow with them.'²⁸⁷

However, changes to projects or activities were also policy-driven. To apply for Rotterdam or Delfshaven municipal subsidies for new projects or to continue receiving them for on-going projects, Cabo had to meet certain demands. For example, in 2001, the *Project Jong-Oud* was set up for a group of Cape Verdean youth to share knowledge with a group of members from '55+ In Beweging', a first-generation Cape Verdean foundation.²⁸⁸ In 2002, the project stopped after two gatherings because of a lack of funding. The project could restart with funding from the Rotterdam subsidy program *Jeugdinitiatieven*, but there were demands: there had to be Moroccan and Dutch youth and senior groups, participants had to share their culture and opinions, hold presentations, and produce a video and final reports.²⁸⁹ However, this project did not restart until 2008, and by then demands had changed again: there had to be diverse ethnicities and the video content had to include: upbringing, lifestyle, identity, and role in society. It was renamed *Dialogo jong en oud*.²⁹⁰ Furthermore, in 2002/2003, Cabo had to expand the target group for the homework support for 11 and 12 year-old pupils. From the beginning in 1998, Cape Verdean children were the only participants, but to continue receiving subsidies in 2007 from the Rotterdam municipality, it had to expand to all ethnic groups. The ethnicity of the tutors had already transformed over the years to include HBO students from different ethnicities.²⁹¹ However, JOS placed a further demand on Cabo. To receive a subsidy, college students studying pedagogy had to be used to tutor the primary school children. Thus, Cabo began a collaboration with the Thomas More PABO in Rotterdam to fulfill this requirement.²⁹² Another project that was affected by subsidy demands was *Kinderclub Movimento*. When the project received a subsidy from the district Delfshaven, 'ninety percent of the activities had to take place in Delfshaven' which made it 'more difficult to find attractive things to do with the kids'.²⁹³

As policies changed in Rotterdam and the district Delfshaven, Cabo sometimes changed the project names, how they were described, who the target group was and the policy goal they were reported under. This was done to match projects and activities to the current vision of the government, so that they still would receive subsidies. 'Yeah, so that's also something we did that I

287 Interviews: CD, 21 May 2014; and SdR, 30 June 2014.

288 Translation: 'Project Young-old', ERPA, ER, Overzicht, 11.

289 Translation: 'Youth initiatives'; *ibid*.

290 Translation: 'Dialogue young and old'; *ibid*, and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2008, 12

291 Interview: SdR, 30 June 2014; and email: NPPA, BR, 7 August 2015. Precise date unknown.

292 Emails: NPPA, BR, 7 and 8 August 2015. The PABO program is a teacher-training program for the primary school level.

293 *Ibid*; and email: NPPA, SdR, 6 August 2015.

was always playing with. Sometimes I say 'we are kids only from Delfshaven', and then I said 'we are kids from Rotterdam', and then I said 'we are kids in Holland'. So I used what they wanted. I looked what the fund wants and then I wrote my project confirming their language.²⁹⁴ In terms of categorization, for example, when the project study support for high school pupils began in 1993/1994, it was listed under the policy goals 'prevention and service'. Later in 2007, it was listed 'education and participation'.²⁹⁵ Furthermore, the *&U Meidenproject* was categorized as 'education and participation' from 2007 to 2009, however, in 2010 it was changed to 'Emancipation'.²⁹⁶ (Other changes can be seen in Table 3 in Appendix D).

There were several reasons why projects or activities stopped. Sometimes it was because the need or interest of the target group dissolved, or the occasion for the activity ended. 'Like after the elections passed, then that activity stopped. Or if the exchange program finished, the project finished. So that was not an issue. I think we had about 50 structural activities, 50 percent, and 50 percent 'come and go' activities.²⁹⁷ However, there were also barriers to projects and activities continuing or expanding while there still was an interest or a need of the community. These I will discuss in the following section.

Obstacles they encountered

Like most other foundations, the development and running of projects and activities were mostly dependent on volunteers and interns who sometimes had a limited capacity, as there was not always (enough) funding to hire professional staff. Before Eva Reekers was hired as a youth worker, Cabo had a volunteer with an MBO degree who was hired by FOCR in 1996 to manage Cabo's youth projects. However, owing to his lack of experience and knowledge, he could not work independently which hindered these projects. Thus, because of the lack of qualified full-time staff at Cabo before 1998 and the limited time of the board members, the activities and projects of Cabo could only be partially developed until there was funding and government consent to hire a professional youth worker with a HBO degree or higher.²⁹⁸ Furthermore, owing to a lack of volunteers or interns to run some projects and activities at Cabo, these programs either ended prematurely or stopped temporarily. For example, the radio program stopped in 2002 since there

294 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

295 Translations: in 1994: 'Preventie en dienst' to 2007: 'Educatie en participatie'. Cabo, Bijlage Bij Overkomst Tussen FOCR, CABO en Gemeente Rotterdam, appendix to agreement, table of projects, 27 May 1997, 1 page; and GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007, 2008, 11 pages, 6-7. The estimate of the project beginning date is from an email: NPPA, CR, 22 September 2015.

296 Translation: in 2010: 'Emancipatie'. GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 6-7; GAR, Cabo, Bijlage III: Jaarrapportage Jongerenorganisatie Cabo 2008: Resultaten, table of projects, 2009, 1 page; and GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2010, 10.

297 Interviews: ER, 25 June 2014; and CD, 21 May 2014.

298 CGPA: Maarten Rensen (further MR), SoZaWe/PIN, nr. 4600.98.06.47, topic: 'Overleg 24 april 1998', fax sent to: 'Bestuur Cabo', 27 April 1998, 1 page; and CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 2-3; and interview: CG, 6 June 2014.

was no editing team, and the children's activity program *Ti Lobo* stopped a couple times due to either the intern assisting had stopped and there was no replacement, or Cabo's collaboration partner Casa Tiberias no longer had a suitable volunteer to assist.²⁹⁹

There were other typical problems which Cabo faced similarly to other foundations. One was the difficulty Cabo had in reaching the target group they hoped for some projects. 'It's always the same people we reach...we don't reach the kids that really need it. We don't reach the parents of the kids....It is much more difficult to reach the boys than the girls.'³⁰⁰ In 2001, for example, there was a lack of youth signing up for an employment project.³⁰¹ Another issue was the lack of sufficient facilities for programs and the conflict with other foundations who share facilities at neighborhood centers. For instance, in 2001 there was not enough space and desks for the participants of the study support and the CITO tests preparation projects, and in 1998 there was conflict with a Moroccan foundation in the use of neighborhood centers *Ons Huis* and *De Helling*.³⁰² Furthermore, competition from other foundations who offered the same programs was a problem Cabo experienced with their homework support project for primary school pupils. Facing restricted subsidy funding and an increasing number of organizations (e.g. *Disck*, neighborhood centers, and other migrant foundations) and district schools who offered after school homework support (twenty-three locations in Delfshaven alone), this project stopped in 2009.³⁰³

Government subsidies decreasing or ending were a major factor why activities ended at Cabo. In fact, Cabo received a warning already in December 1997 that austerity proposals would be in the Rotterdam municipal budget for 1999. Although Cabo continued to receive subsidies from the city municipality for many years, the amounts awarded decreased and the topics subsidized changed. For example, Cabo had received a municipal subsidy between 1997 and 1999 to research and address teenage pregnancy in the Cape Verdean community. Even though this topic remained a priority for Cabo and the community, it did not for the municipal government, thus funding stopped.³⁰⁴ Later in 2007, Cabo was able to receive subsidies for two years from the district Delfshaven and third-party funds for their *Moeders voor Moeders* mentoring project which paired

299 Translation: 'The Wolf', CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 1; and ERPA, ER, Overzicht, 9.

300 Interview: ER, 25 June 2014.

301 CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 2.

302 CGPA, ER, Verslag Eva, 1; Deelgemeente Delfshaven (further DD), Verslag van de bijeenkomst van 18 november 1998 met als aanwezigen Marokkanse Oudersvereniging Delfshaven-Schiemond, CABO-jongeren, DISCK en DB Delfshaven, 27 November 1998, 1 page; and CGPA, DD, DISCK, Cabo-jongeren, MOVD/S, Dg Delfshaven, Bijeenkomst 16 december 1998, 1 page.

303 Email: NPPA, BR, 3 August 2015; and Lenie van den Bulk, et al, *Beter huiswerk maken: Verslag van een inventariserend onderzoek naar huiswerkbegeleiding in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2007) 5, 24.

304 CGPA, MR, SoZaWe/PIN, nr. 4600/97/283, topic: 'Subsidie 1998', letter to FOOCR board, 17 December 1997, 2 pages, 2; CGPA, MR, SoZaWe/PIN, nr. 1400.97.01, topic: 'Projecten tbv. Kaapverdiaanse jongeren', letter and tables sent to FOOCR and Cabo boards, 10 April 1997, 3 pages, 3, and interview: SdR, 30 June 2014.

young and older mothers.³⁰⁵ Cabo also received Rotterdam municipal funding for Children's activities starting in 1998, but this also stopped and this funding had to be sought from the district Delfshaven and third-party foundations.³⁰⁶ In 2007, Cabo stopped offering *Kinderclub Movimento* as it became too difficult to secure funding and organize monthly activities.³⁰⁷ As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, there was a considerable drop in available subsidies and funds beginning in 2007, which led to a repeated demoralizing struggle to secure funding and the eventual dissolution of Cabo in 2010.

Cabo and FOOCR conflict: the background

Early in Cabo's existence, the organization was hindered by both external and internal forces. These came in the form of local government policy and practices, but to a great extent from their ethnic opportunity structure: FOOCR, the Cape Verdean umbrella organization from 1987 to 1999. As the situation and circumstances are complex, I will restrict more description to the relevant policy and practices of the Rotterdam municipalities and its representatives, the barriers erected by FOOCR on Cabo, and the intergenerational tension and its probable causes which was one of the main sources of the conflict situation which arose in 1997 and 1998.

The Rotterdam municipality began an official policy per 1 January 1994 that all their subsidies would only be paid to ethnic umbrella organizations. Thus, member organizations would have to seek subsidies or funding from city district municipalities, third-party funds or commercial activities. This resulted in the consolidations of some foundations.³⁰⁸ However, the municipality and their department SoZaWe did not follow this policy consistently. For example, Cabo received direct subsidies for their task as the main organizer of an international conference in Rotterdam initiated by various departments of the municipality, held from 26 to 28 October 1996.³⁰⁹ For the cultural program of the conference 'Cabo-Verde in Focus' Cabo received a direct subsidy of NLG 41,300.³¹⁰

This municipal policy of using one channel to distribute subsidies meant that umbrella organizations could decide on their own which member organizations they would support with municipal subsidies. Furthermore, there was no official criteria or appeal procedure for member organizations to follow. This lack of structural guidance left the member organizations vulnerable to

305 Translation: 'Mothers for mothers', GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007, 6, 8; GAR, Cabo, Jaarrapportage; and email: NPPA, BR, 7 August 2015.

306 GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007, 7-8. Those interviewed do not remember when this funding from the Rotterdam municipality stopped.

307 GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007, 7-8.

308 da Graça, *Etnische Zelforganisaties*, 64-66,

309 CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 6; and interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

310 CGPA, Q.T. Tersteeg, nr. 1238/97.076B, topic: 'Subsidie 'Cabo Verde in Focus', letter sent to: 'bestuur Cabo Jongerenorganisatie', 8 April 1997, 1 page.

the adhoc and dominating decisions of the ethnic elite of the umbrella organizations, which in turn could have had a stifling effect on the initiatives of community members and projects of member organizations. This was the situation at FOCR:

De beslissing of een organisatie wel of geen subsidie krijgt gebeurt door deze constructie niet op basis van duidelijk omschreven criteria. Het vermoede bestaat dat dit gebeurt op basis van willekeur. Als je over goede contacten beschikt met de bestuursleden of consultant van de FOCR dan kom je in aanmerking voor de subsidie heb je die niet dan heb je pech. Er is overigens ook geen mogelijkheid om beroep aan te tekenen als de FOCR besluit om een organisatie niet te subsidiëren. De afgelopen jaren zijn er diverse goede initiatieven binnen de Kaapverdiaanse gemeenschap gesneuveld door deze werkwijze.³¹¹

The uncertainty in securing municipal subsidies and the municipality's inconsistent following of policy, was one of the reasons Cabo decided to collaborate with FOCR on an application for a 1997 municipal subsidy for youth projects. 'Before that we did everything on ourself. We didn't need them. But they told us: "Hey listen, we can go ask separately, we would be in competition of each other. Let's join and do one thing, let's do it together, then we would have more chances that we would be approved."' So we agreed on that.³¹² Cabo gave FOCR their work plans for their youth projects which they had already started, but which they wanted to expand and professionalize.³¹³ The youth projects were in the areas of: parental participation, youth participation by volunteering, computer skills, research on Cape Verdean youth, criminality prevention, teenage pregnancy and study support.³¹⁴ The application was successful and an extra subsidy of NLG 150,000 was awarded to FOCR for not only 1997, but for the next three consecutive years.³¹⁵ At that time, the policies on ethnic minorities in Rotterdam was to provide financially support to projects which promoted emancipation, participation, and prevention, as well as addressed socio-economic disadvantage. Furthermore, Cabo had already proven their capabilities by their organization of the above-mentioned 1996 international conference as well as the extensive research they had conducted into the problems and concerns of Cape Verdean youth.³¹⁶

311 Translation: 'The decision whether or not an organization gets funding is done by this construction is not based on clearly defined criteria. There is a suspicion that this happens based on arbitrariness. If you have good contacts with the board or consultant of the FOCR, then you qualify for the subsidy, if not you had bad luck. There is also no possibility of appeal if the FOCR decides not to subsidize an organization. In recent years there have been several good initiatives within the Cape Verdean community killed by this method.', CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 6. The 'consultant' here refers to the director of FOCR, da Graça. Also confirmed in interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

312 They collaborated on the 'aanvraag 1997'. Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

313 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

314 CGPA, Cabo, Bijlage Bij Overkomst.

315 CGPA, Q.T. Tersteeg (further QTT), nr. 1260/97/000229, topic: 'aanvullend subsidie 1997', letter to FOCR board, 13 February 1997, 2 pages.

316 The quantitative research they conducted significantly contributed to: ERPA, Naber and Veldman, 'Cabo: De stilte voorbij', 24. Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

Cabo and FOOCR conflict: the development

However, from the beginning there was conflict between FOOCR and Cabo, as FOOCR: 'once they got the money their attitude changed completely.'³¹⁷ Even though the subsidy award letter stated clearly that the subsidy was for combating the youth problems among the Cape Verdeans living in Rotterdam and that Cabo would be involved, FOOCR disagreed on how the subsidy would be allocated and whether Cabo would be a collaboration partner.³¹⁸ This disagreement led FOOCR and Cabo to seek clarification from SoZaWe and specifically Maarten Rensen, one of the policy staff members directly involved with their subsidy award. Rensen repeated in a meeting with the boards of FOOCR and Cabo on 10 April 1997, what had been clearly stated in the subsidy award letter.³¹⁹ To further clarify the tasks, responsibilities and funding for the youth projects, an agreement between the boards of FOOCR, Cabo and Rotterdam municipality, was signed on 20 May 1997, which stated: the subsidy award of NLG 150,000 was for implementing youth work among the Cape Verdean community, both FOOCR and Cabo were responsible for this work; a youth worker would be employed to manage the projects, paid by FOOCR, and supervised by the FOOCR director Antonio da Graça. Furthermore, a steering committee would be formed consisting of two board members from each organization, plus da Graça. This committee would make decisions on the use of the funds.³²⁰

However, the conflict escalated as FOOCR erected barriers against Cabo and the implementation of the youth projects. Despite prior confidence expressed in written agreements with Cabo that the organization had the capacity to implement the youth projects, in August 1997, FOOCR communicated with SoZaWe that they doubted the quality of Cabo's work.³²¹ Furthermore, the agreements they had made in May were not fulfilled: FOOCR did not consult Cabo when submitting to SoZaWe work plans which included youth projects; the FOOCR board reversed decisions made by the steering committee by not paying subsidy advances to Cabo; FOOCR members did not attend steering committee meetings; and da Graça did not fulfill his duties by initiating these meetings nor supervising the youth worker.³²² These obfuscations by FOOCR, as well as their

317 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

318 Dutch passages: 'bestrijding van de jongerenproblematiek onder de in Rotterdam woonachtige Kaapverdianen', and 'bij de bestreding van bovengenoemd bedrag de jongerenorganisatie Cabo wordt betrokken', CGPA, QTT, nr. 1260/97/000229. Also confirmed in interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

319 CGPA, CG, nr. 058/97/AG, topic: 'aanvullende subsidie 1997', request letter to A. van Trigt/M. Rensen at SoZaWe, 24 March 1997, 1 page; and interview: CG, 15 July 2015. However, there were no notes taken during the meeting of 10 April 1997.

320 CGPA, Gemeente Rotterdam, 'Overeenkomst tussen F.O.C.R., Jongerenorganisatie Cabo en Gemeente Rotterdam met betrekking tot de inzet van het Jongerenwerk ten behoeve van de Kaapverdianse Gemeenschap', 20 May 1997, 2 pages; and CGPA, MR, SoZaWe/PIN, nr. 4600/97/0062, topic: 'Overeenkomst jongerenwerk', letter to Cabo board, 9 July 1997. 1 page.

321 CGPA, Estela da Veiga, Samenwerking FOOCR-CABO, Praktische invulling aankomende formatieplaats, Concept Voorstel FOOCR, 18 December 1996, 2 pages; CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden voor het voortzetten van de samenwerking met de FOOCR, 1997, 4 pages; and interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

322 Ibid; and CGPA, Cabo, Notulen van de vergadering van CABO met F.O.C.R., (formal detailed minutes), 10 March

determination of the number of hours of the youth worker, jeopardized the youth projects.³²³ 'Het streven van CABO was toen er subsidie beschikbaar werd gesteld de projecten zodanig verder te ontwikkelen en te versterken dat ze daadwerkelijk een bijdrage konden leveren aan de achterstandbestrijding van onze doelgroep. Helaas is dit door tegen werking van onze eigen koepelorganisatie [FOCR] niet geluk.'³²⁴

Cabo and FOCR conflict: the role of government practices

The disagreement in how the subsidy will be allocated rose again, partly because of the inconsistent and irregular practices of local government staff. Earlier discussions and correspondence between FOCR and Ad van Trigt of SoZaWe in 1995 and 1996 had led the FOCR board to believe that the SoZaWe would support them in using a part of the 1997 subsidy for moving expenses, and Rensen denied later to Cabo that the complete amount of the subsidy was to be allocated to the youth projects, as a part of the subsidy was meant to go to moving costs.³²⁵ At a meeting on 23 October 1997 which had been planned to evaluate the youth projects, instead Rensen told Cabo that the subsidy would be cut in the coming year and 'Hij beargumenteert dit met de mededeling dat de huisvestingskosten van de FOCR van de jongerensubsidie zouden worden afgetrokken'.³²⁶ Moreover, in December 1997, Rensen reported to FOCR that the subsidies for 1997 and the next three years were decreased to NLG 115,400 due to some costs in the submitted budget not being honored.³²⁷ However, the submitted budget for the youth projects which Cabo sent to FOCR, had not been used in the subsidy application for 1997 nor 1998, and there were costs attributed to Cabo which were not listed on Cabo financial accounts and were denied by the Cabo board.³²⁸ Moreover, the youth worker salary had been listed NLG 25,000 higher than the amount he was paid, and his

1998, 7 pages.

323 CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden.

324 Translation: 'The aim of Cabo when the subsidy was made available was to further develop and strengthen the projects so that they could actually contribute to combating the disadvantage of our target group. Unfortunately, this has not been successful because of the opposition by our own umbrella organization (FOCR).', CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 5.

325 CGPA, AvT, fax nr. 4360714; CGPA, O.V. Livramento, FOCR, nr. 206/97/AG, topic: 'acute nood t.a.v. Huisvesting', letter to Rensen/PIN, 5 November 1997, 3 pages; CGPA, Cabo, Complaint letter to 'College van Burgemeester en wethouders van de gemeente Rotterdam', 3 April 1997, 1 page; CGPA, Cabo, Notulen bestuursvergadering 31-10-1997, 2 pages; CGPA, Alzira Freire (further AF), Verslag gesprek-Cabo/F.O.C.R.-04-11-1997, 1 page; CGPA, J.B. Armstrong, Complaint letter to 'fractieleden' of Rotterdam city council, 12 November 1997, 1 page; and interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

326 Translation: 'He substantiates this by saying that housing costs would be deducted from the FOCR of youth subsidy.', CGPA, E. Da Veiga (further EdV), topic: 'beroep aantekenen beslissing subsidie korting', letter to 'Algemene Beroepscommissie', 29 January 1998, 2 pages, 1.

327 CGPA, MR, Subsidie 1998.

328 Improper posting of 50 percent of youth project costs as volunteer fees and travel costs. CGPA, EdV, formal letter to FOCR board re Emergency Meeting, 4 March 1998, 2 pages, 1; CGPA, EdV, beroep aantekenen; and van Brugge & partners b.v., Kortlopende Schulden, Overige algemene kosten, (financial report comparison FOCR 1996-1997), (no date), pages 12, 22.

work hours and degree level were stated falsely higher.³²⁹

There was a growing distrust of Rensen by the Cabo board. Owing to Rensen's inconsistent statements regarding the allocation of the subsidy award, Cabo held the opinion that he did not take Cabo seriously. 'CABO heeft het gevoel niet serieus genomen te worden.'³³⁰ Additionally, in a negotiation meeting between Rensen, FOCR, and Cabo, to resolve the conflict, Rensen stated that if Cabo would not accept his proposal, they would no longer be eligible for a subsidy. 'Het probleem blijft bestaan maar de mensen worden monddood gemaakt door te dreigen met het stop zetten van de subsidie.'³³¹ A declaration which was regarded by Cabo as a threat to silence opposition.

The degree of mistrust and irregular practices of both FOCR and the SoZaWe came to further light during the proceedings of two hearings of the Appeals Commission of Rotterdam, initiated by Cabo, and related written statements by Rensen, and members of the board of Cabo.³³² Cabo attested to the breach in the May 1997 contract, and the irregular working manner of Rensen and FOCR. 'Er sprake is van een schending van het vertrouwensbeginsel en het leveren van een wanprestatie door zowel de ambtenaar M. Rensen die namens de Rotterdam handelde als door de FOCR.'³³³ Furthermore, Carlos Goncalves accused Rensen of bias by his description of the conflict and the dysfunction of the steering committee, and the selective information he provided to SoZaWe and the appeals commission, for example, Rensen did not report the financial irregularities of budgets submitted by FOCR.³³⁴

However, it appears that there was a lack of oversight by SoZaWe staff of the reports submitted by FOCR. It was not until July 1998 that SoZaWe contacted FOCR by telephone and by letter that their financial accounts for 1996 and 1997 were insufficient: 'De door u ingediende Jaarrekening bevat slechts een samenstellingsverklaring, waarvan geen zekerheid ontleend kan worden. Ook de Jaarrekening 1996 bevatte een dergelijke verklaring.'³³⁵ Furthermore, in a meeting with Cabo youth worker Eva Reekers in September 1998, Rensen stated that there were no

329 CGPA, EdV, formal letter, 1; and CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden.

330 Translation: 'CABO feels not to be taken seriously.', CGPA, AF, Verslag gesprek.

331 Translation: 'The problem persists but orders the people silenced by threatening to cut off the subsidy.', CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 6; and interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

332 The Appeals Commission: Algemene Beroepscommissie. CGPA, Algemene Beroepscommissie (further ABC), A.B. 983.458/jv, Concept: Proces-verbal van de hoorzitting betreffende het beroep-schrift van de Jongerenorganisatie CABO inzake korting op subsidie, 26 March 1998, 3 pages, 1. The related written statements were the following: CGPA, Cabo, Pleitnota; CGPA, MR, SoZaWe/PIN, De Voortgang van de Jongerenprojecten FOOCR - CABO, internal report for SoZaWe, (no date given, most likely May 1998), 5 pages; CGPA, CG, bezwaar; and CGPA, Cabo, Samenvatting beroepszaak CABO, (no date, but most likely March 1998 according to CG, 15 July 2015), 3 pages.

333 Translation: 'There has been a violation of the principle and a breach of contract by both the officer M. Rensen who represents Rotterdam, and FOOCR.', CGPA, Cabo, Pleitnota, 1. This was read out during the Appeals Commission hearing.

334 CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 2, 5.

335 Translation: 'The statements submitted by you only contains a summarized declaration, in which no assurance can be derived. The Financial Statements 1996 contains a similar declaration.', CGPA, J.G.M. Breukels (further JGMB), SoZoWe/PIN, nr. 4600/98/topic: Jaarrekening 1997, letter to FOOCR board, 23 July 1998, 2 pages, 1.

irregularities in FOOCR's annual financial report: 'Volgens hem zijn er overigens geen onregelmatigheden geconstateerd in het financieel jaarverslag van de FOOCR.'³³⁶ This statement was made despite the previous detailed information on financial irregularities provided by Cabo to the Appeals Commission, and presumably forwarded to SoZaWe. It remains unknown whether there was a repeated lack of oversight of financial reports by SoZaWe staff, or this only occurred in the case of FOOCR. However, in a meeting hosted by SoZaWe with the boards of FOOCR and Cabo, it was discovered that FOOCR could not account for costs made in 1997, reported in their financial report 1998.³³⁷

In December 1998, the Appeals Commission determined that the entire subsidy of NLG 150,000 would be awarded for the youth projects, that this subsidy award referred to 1997, 1998 and 1999, and that Cabo would implement the youth projects.³³⁸ In December 1999, the liquidation of FOOCR began.³³⁹

Cabo and FOOCR conflict: the intergenerational tension and link to cultural/social capital

A major contributing factor in the conflict between FOOCR and Cabo was intergenerational tension and the noticeable difference in cultural capital between FOOCR and Cabo board members. The 1996 international conference in which Cabo was the main organizer, was for the board of FOOCR, the first spark of intergenerational resentment among many. Due to the readiness and the proposals of the Cabo board to organize the conference, the repeated absence to the meetings of the director of FOOCR, da Graça, and the dependence of the FOOCR board on their director, FOOCR lost the leading role to their member youth organization.³⁴⁰ A founder of Cabo asserted:

What I think the real trigger of everything was what happened in 1996 with the international conference. They never could get over that. [...] They had a fear that we had over-achieved them when there was a possibility and they were confidence [confident] that they were the organization to organize everything. But [...] the city hall choose us. They gave us the whole thing to organize. [...] So at that moment, I think they said 'oh these guys, if we don't watch us, they will take our place'. [...] So at that moment they started to see us not as a partner organization, but as a threat.³⁴¹

The 1.5 and second-generation board members of Cabo had not only the knowledge and

336 Translation: 'According to him, there are no irregularities in the annual financial report of the FOOCR.', CGPA, ER, Notulen ABV 14-9-1998, 1 page.

337 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015. The date of the meeting is uncertain. It could have been in the winter 1998-1999.

338 CGPA, JGMB, SoZoWe/PIN, nr. 4600/98/823, topic: Subsidie 1998 tbv. de jongerenprojecten, letter to FOOCR board, 18 December 1998, 2 pages.

339 Liquidatiecommissie, Notulen Vergadering tussen de gemeente en de liquidatiecommissie d.d. 7 december 1999, 1 page; and Liquidatiecommissie, Kort verslag van de vergadering van de liquidatiecommissie van de FOOCR en mevrouw Gorgina van Oudshoorn van het administratiekantoor van Brugge & Partners. 1999, 1 page.

340 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015 and CGPA, CG, bezwaar, 6,

341 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

organizational skills that the first-generation FOCR board lacked, but also through their advocacy for the Cape Verdean youth, Cabo developed a network within the local power structure which the FOCR board did not achieve: 'I think they didn't do what was necessary to get sufficient support for what they wanted. They didn't go lobbying. We did it. All that work we invested in getting subsidy. We were lobbying. All the politicians knew us. The parties knew us. The city hall. Members of the council of Delfshaven. But FOCR, nobody knew who was on the board of FOCR. They didn't. They were dependent on da Graça to do the lobby work, but he didn't.'³⁴²

Moreover, the FOCR board did not have the level of understanding the Cabo board had for municipal policies, nor the communication skills to sell their ideas to the local power structure. A founder further declared:

I think especially that they were very surprised we were doing [] a lot of projects. People were, city hall were, when there were things for the Cape Verdean community, they always invited FOCR and CABO. So when they came to [...] the meetings, to speak to the City Hall about the Cape Verdean community, we were already there and we were discussing business, and we were presenting ideas that they couldn't present. I think they were a little bit overwhelmed by us. And that was the main reason I think, they saw a threat. "Wow, these guys are talking in a way that they understand the policy of the government and they are presenting ideas and solutions that *we* couldn't think of."³⁴³

Furthermore, these 1.5 and second-generation Cape Verdeans of Cabo were unlike the 'silent' generation of the first-generation Cape Verdeans of FOCR or in the community. As was elucidated: 'In the eyes of some people we were going too fast, we were too ambitious. [...] In a way [...] they thought that we were not anymore the typical Cape Verdean, [...] I mean to say that we were not waiting until they were giving something to us. We were going out for our goals. [...] We were running to get into projects and running to get into all kinds of networks.'³⁴⁴

While FOCR was resentful over the skills and successes of Cabo, there is little or no evidence that the level of tension flowed in the other direction: 'They thought that [...] we were cocky and we knew everything better than them, but that was not the way we approached them. We were just doing our thing. We were working with everyone, all kinds of organizations.'³⁴⁵

In addition to more extensive networks, the Cabo board had a more extensive knowledge and experience in youth social work to design projects, as well as a greater level of passion to follow them through. As it was stressed in a letter to the municipality: 'Cabo heeft gezien haar kennis, netwerk, contacten en positie in het jeugdbeleid op zowel gemeentelijke als op

342 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

343 Interview: CG, 6 June 2014. Use of cursive shows emphasis from the interviewee.

344 Ibid.

345 Interview: CG, 15 July 2015.

deelgemeentelijk niveau, bij de uitvoering van de projecten de regie op zich namen. Dit houdt overigens niet in dat de FOCR hier geen rol in had, we hebben FOCR altijd betrokken maar ze hebben zich in de uitvoering altijd passief opgesteld.³⁴⁶ For example, Cabo had completely developed the project plans which won the 1997 and consecutive three-year municipal subsidy: 'De jongerenprojecten zijn allemaal door Cabo ontwikkeld en zijn derhalve onze [ons] creatieve eigendom'³⁴⁷ Furthermore, this greater knowledge and experience in youth social work, led to Cabo taking the leading role in the steering group, as the FOCR board members came unprepared to meetings and overall lacked the knowledge for their position on the steering committee.³⁴⁸

Therefore, there was an underlining level of competition before the conflict arose regarding the allocation of the 1997 subsidy funds. 'They saw the new generation coming up, who are really, well better prepared for the job than they were. And they were not keep the same pace that we had.'³⁴⁹ Thus, the level of passion and knowledge, combined with the language skills, the understanding of power structures, the more extensive networks, as well as the confidence to advocate for their target groups and projects; all contributed to the intergenerational tension between FOCR and Cabo.

Sub-Conclusion

The activities and projects of all three organizations developed and changed to a great extent due to client-based needs. However, the interaction of external organizations and Rotterdam policy was a major factor of why some projects developed, changed or were taken on by Avanço. Furthermore, the activities developed at Cabo were significantly influenced by the cultural capital of its volunteers, interns, staff and board members. As both Avanço and Cabo were dependent on government subsidies and other funding, they changed not only the project descriptions to fit current government policy goals, but also the target groups and sometimes the activity content. This change in government policies and the decrease in subsidies increasingly led Cabo and Avanço to implement less projects and finally to their respective closures.

In its early years, Cabo's focus on goals and implementation of projects were hindered by power dynamics within the ethnic opportunity structure. My findings show the arbitrary manner in which umbrella organization can allocate subsidy funds to their member organizations. The subsidy

346 Translation: 'Cabo has let it been seen in their knowledge, network contacts and position in youth policy at both municipal and district municipal level, that they take control of the implementation of the projects. This does not mean that the FOCR had no role in this, we have always involved FOCR but they have always adopted a passive execution.', CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden, 3.

347 Translation: 'The youth project is totally developed through Cabo and is therefore, our creative property.', CGPA, Cabo, Pleitnota, 1.

348 CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden, 2-3.

349 Interview: CG 15 July 2015.

distribution channel of Rotterdam, as well as the practices of government administrators, facilitated the barriers placed by FOCR. This lead to Cabo's vulnerability in the ethnic opportunity structure, especially because of the lack of governmental oversight of reports. My research verifies Vermeulen, that poor monitoring of ethnic organizations and insufficient policy regulations regarding subsidies can reinforce the instability of ethnic organizations and increase rivalry between them.³⁵⁰ As Zhou and Kim have previously observed, the ethnic elite is reluctant to share power and resources with the new generations.³⁵¹ My findings attest this reluctance can be further acerbated by intergenerational tensions owing to the first-generation's resentment of the younger generation's level of cultural capital, and specifically its skill in lobbying and accessing opportunity structures.

350 See Vermeulen, 'Organisational Patterns', 964, 970.

351 See Zhou and Kim, 'Formation, Consolidation, and Diversification of the Ethnic Elite', 245.

5: Analysis and Conclusion

In this thesis I explored the questions of whether the goals and activities of Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam changed in the 1990s and 2000s, and what factors were behind the changes. With my empirical research into *Avanço*, *FEDIC* and *Cabo*, I confirm change did take place and as previous research has attested: it is an interaction between the factors which is the impetus of change in goals and activities of ethnic organizations.³⁵² Firstly, important founding and organizational differences in the three organizations greatly influenced which factors generated the development and changes in activities. My research testifies that at a 'bottom-up' organization such as *Cabo* and *FEDIC*, the combination of the cultural capital of those active (e.g. board members, volunteers, staff, interns) with that of the community's characteristics and issues was the most significant reason why goals were established, and activities started and later transformed. Indeed, the micro-factors of the interests, previous experiences and altruism of the key actors in the organizations became channels of mobilization as part of their bottom-up approach. However, when an activity at *Cabo* was dependent on government subsidy, the demands of the subsidy was the deciding factor of change. *Avanço*, founded by a government program and heavily subsidized by the local municipality, were obligated to change their activities to remain in line with government policy.³⁵³ This 'upward accountability' led them to shift their priorities in order to meet policy demands, an observation also made by Clarke.³⁵⁴

During my research, I have observed that there are several strategies ethnic organizations should follow and attributes they should have in order to succeed within an ever-changing society and its opportunity structures. The following conclusions both contribute to the debate on ethnic organizations and are valuable for researchers studying the agents of change. First, organizations which provide services and activities distinctive or superior to competing organizations can maintain an advantage in the organizational landscape. This strategy, however, is difficult to practice if the same services are provided by governmental or non-governmental social organizations staffed by professionals, or if similar activities are organized by church groups in the community, effectively squeezing or crowding out the role played by ethnic organizations. This was an obstacle which *Avanço* and *Cabo* encountered. Secondly, a fundamental strategy which allows ethnic organizations to continue their ability to develop and provide activities is the securing of funding through multiple sources. Little or no dependence on government subsidies incurs the least

352 See Vermeulen, 'Organisational Patterns', 971.

353 For how government programs can stimulate an organization to develop, see Bloemraad, 'The Limits of de Tocqueville', 871-872.

354 See Clarke, 'Transnational actors in national contexts', 286.

risk of encountering restrictions in the pursuit of community-driven goals and activities. This was a strategy that Avanço was unable to pursue, and FEDIC had most consistently followed.

Thirdly, ethnic organizations which have the cultural and social capital to take advantage of all the opportunity structures available, are more successful in playing both a complementary and compensatory role to local government agencies.³⁵⁵ Indeed, possessing the language skills and cultural knowledge required to reach difficult target groups, as well as 'bridging' and 'bonding' outside their ethnic group, will more likely result in an organization continuing and expanding, or increasing its activities. Having the required cultural and social capital is more likely if organizations are not only made up of well-educated individuals from the 1.5 and second-generation, but also have board members, staff, interns and volunteers from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Organizations which achieve ethnic diversity among their key actors, but also in its target groups, are more likely to receive public funds. For example, Avanço secured funding for a festival when it included performers from different ethnic backgrounds. Furthermore, as a youth organization who early on transformed into a multi-ethnic organization, Cabo expanded and increased its activities by profiting from conducive policy and institutional opportunity structures. The ethnic diversity of Cabo contradicts previous conclusions of Laarman, who stated non-religious Cape Verdean organizations in Rotterdam were ethnically homogeneous.³⁵⁶

While my research supports previous findings by Chung, that possessing cultural capital is crucial for bridging with governmental and non-governmental organizations, and securing subsidies, my findings highlight that the possession of cultural and social capital is not enough to survive adverse changes in policy which results in a substantial decrease or total withdrawal in subsidies.³⁵⁷ In this thesis I illuminate that if networks within the power structure or with other non-governmental organizations are not maintained due to a turnover in board or staff members, unfavorable changes in policy exacerbate the situation. These were the circumstances of both Cabo and Avanço before their respective demises. Additionally, my research attests that the continual government pressure to comply with the shifting policy demands leads organizations to repeatedly adjust their priorities, categorization of activities, working methods, and organizational structure. This consequently constrains their ability to meet community-driven goals. This was the case with Avanço.

In the introduction of this thesis I described how the factors of group, host country, competing organizations and country of origin can influence the goals and activities of ethnic

355 See Clarke's observation in 'Transnational actors in national contexts', 296; and similar conclusion by da Graça, 'Etnische zelforganisaties in het integratieproces', 158-159.

356 See conclusion in Laarman, 'De Portugeestelijke migranten', 141.

357 See Chung, 'Politics Without the Politics', 917-918.

organizations, and that previous findings had shown that it was an interaction between these clusters that was the impetus of change. In my research, the country of origin was not a factor in the organizations I studied, however, I did identify that there is a fifth cluster operating: the mediators. (See Table 5 below). This is a crucial factor which has not been acknowledged in the research on organizational change.

Table 5 Factors by cluster which could influence the goals and activities of ethnic organizations

Group	Host country	Competing organizations	Country of origin	Mediators
characteristics (class, education and skill level, languages & fluency, age and gender ratio)	economic situation and geo-political position	third-party organizations (non-governmental organizations, schools)	economic situation and geo-political position	Professional staff or other key actors in ethnic organizations
Visibility (size, spatial concentration, religion)	government authorities: policies and practices	church-related organizations	involvement with diaspora (provide funding, etc.)	
Ethnic elite	opportunity structures	government agencies	geo-political history	
	public debate	employers		

These mediators are professional, and can be staff or other key actors in an ethnic organization. They can translate policy goals into projects, and skillfully convert the needs and desires of the community, as well as the interests of volunteers and interns, into goals and activities which meet the policy objectives of current government policy. At Cabo, these were the native Dutch social workers/general managers and the founding board members, who had the education and skills to turn municipal policies into projects, write detailed project plans and budgets, and secure funding from multiple sources. They also sought and joined the networks, and developed the social capital which fostered their success in accessing opportunity structures. Thus, having key actors who play the role of a mediator can not only lead to the successful development or transformation of activities to match changing policy, but it also has the potential to lead to organizational endurance.

6: Appendixes

6.1 Appendix A

Table 1: Interview subjects & some basic information.

Name	Organization	Positions held and years	Ethnicity or Generation in NL	Formal Education
Carola Dogan	Dona Daria	Project leader, 2 years	Dutch	not available
Carlos Goncalves	FOCR Cabo Platform Buitenlanders Rijnmond Delfshaven district - municipality Rotterdam municipality program 'Veelkleurige Stad'	Intern: project to start a youth organization, 1993 Founding member, general board member Chairman: 1995-1997 Treasurer: 1997 Consultant and staff member on 'policy', 1993-1999 mid-1998 began task to liquidate FOCR and found Avanço March 1998 - Jan 1999 Council member Jan 1999 - 2002 external policy adviser and project :external facilitator for founding Avanço	Cape Verdean, 1.5 ^t generation NL	HBO - Human Resources and Organization Management
John do Livramento	FEDIC Avanço	Co-director, activity coordinator: began early 1990s. Founding member, Secretary: 1999-2002 Treasurer: 2002-2007	Cape Verdean, 1 st generation NL	HBO - Bachelor in Business Administration
Korrie Louwes	Rotterdam Municipality	Vice-Mayor of participation, employment and higher education: 2010 to 2014	Dutch	University Leiden, Masters in History
Herman Meijer	Rotterdam Municipality	City Council Member: 1990-1994, Vice-Mayor of Ethnic Minorities 1994-2002	Dutch	not available
Ivone Mendes	Avanço	Board member from 2000 to 2006 Managing Director: 2006 to 2009	Cape Verdean, 1.5 ^t generation NL	HBO – Bachelor in Human Resources Erasmus University - Masters in Sociology, specialty: Work and organization

Name	Organization	Positions held and years	Ethnicity or Generation in the Netherlands	Formal Education
Eva Reekers	Cabo	Coordinator, Social Worker, General Manager; ½ year in 1997, 1998-2002	Dutch	Univ. Amsterdam - Cultural Anthropology, MA thesis on Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam
Beatris Rocha	Cabo Avanço	Participant 'Back to our Roots' project: 1999-2000 General board member: 2000-2007 TV show presenter: 2002-2006 Coordinator TV Morabeza Jong: 2005 Managing Director: 2009-2013	Cape Verdean-Dutch, 2 nd generation NL	University studies: Law (1 year) Translation Science (1 year) MBO+ diploma in Hotel Management Further courses in project management and hotel management
Sandy dos Reis	Cabo FC Maense Delfshaven football club Casa da Cultura Stichting de Heuvel / Vrijwilligers-Werk Rotterdam/ Centrum Voor Dienstverlening	Volunteer: 1997-2007 Intern: 2001, 4 months, Project staff member (paid) 2004, 5 months Founder of: Kinderclub Movimento, project 'Ons leert ons', project 'Mission Impossible' Coordinator & Participant: 'Youth in Action', Tutor/Mentor in project homework support, secondary education: 1998-2002 Coordinator/Social Worker (paid) a few months in 2007 Volunteer: 2010-2012 General board member, secretary, activity organizer, volunteer: 2010-2012 Adviser, 2009- 2013 Adviser, 2013-present	Cape Verdean-Dutch, 2 nd generation NL	InHolland HBO – Bachelor in International Business and Languages, Univ. Wagening – Masters in International Development Studies

Sources: Information derives from interviews, screening emails and follow-up emails with interview subjects.

Table 2: Registered inhabitants from Cape Verdean background per year, living in the Netherlands and living in Rotterdam.

per 1 Jan. of year	# in the Netherlands	# living in Rotterdam
1967	unknown	700
1991	unknown	10,744
1992	unknown	11,590
1993	unknown	12,452
1994	unknown	13,073
1995	unknown	13,437
1996	unknown	13,534
1997	unknown	13,708
1998	unknown	14,014
1999	unknown	14,264
2000	unknown	14,449
2001	unknown	14,650
2002	unknown	14,827
2003	19,353	14,835
2004	unknown	15,015
2005	unknown	15,205
2006	unknown	15,165
2007	unknown	15,114
2008	unknown	14,971
2009	20,669	15,103
2010	unknown	15,542
2012	unknown	15,404

Sources: Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog' 271; Choenni, 'Kaapverdianen in Nederland', 14, 16; Pires, *Immigratie en integratie*, 6, 10; COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1998*, 8; COS, *Minderheden Monitor 2001: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2002), 6; de Gruijter, *Community Report*, 10; COS, *Minderheden Monitor 2007: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2008); COS, *Kerncijfers & Trends Rotterdam 2009*, 32, <http://www.rotterdam.nl/cos/publicaties/vanaf%202005/09-3002.kerncijfers%20en%20trends%20rotterdam%202009.pdf>, assessed 16-2-2015, 32; Hoppesteijn, *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam*, 35; and Ergun, Bik and Stolk, *Bevolkings Prognose Rotterdam 2025*.

Table 3 Percentage of women among registered inhabitants of Rotterdam with Cape Verdean ethnicity per 1 January, years 1993 to 1999

Age/Year	1993	1998	1999
0-14	unknown	49%	49%
15-24	unknown	51%	51%
25-34	71%	58%	57%
35-44	unknown	50%	52%
45-54	unknown	43%	44%
55-64	unknown	37%	49%
65+	unknown	49%	48%

Sources: Strooij-Sterken, 'Kaapverdianen. Hoe lang nog', 273; and COS reports, *Minderheden Monitor 1998*, 15; and *Minderheden Monitor 1999*.

Table 4 Percentage of Cape Verdean ethnicity living in various Rotterdam city districts per 1 January, years 1997 to 2007

District/Year	1997	1999	2000	2002	2007
Center	unknown	7	7	6	6
Delfshaven	45	45	44	43	40
Noord	10	9	9	9	9
Feynoord	11	11	11	11	11
Kralingen/ Crosswijk	8	8	8	8	8
Charlois	6	7	7	7	8
Prins Alexander	unknown	3	4	4	6

Sources: COS Rotterdam, *Allochtonen in Rotterdam: De maatschappelijke positie op het gebied van arbeid* (Rotterdam 1997), 15; and COS reports, *Minderheden Monitor 1998*, 11; *Minderheden Monitor 1999*; *Minderheden Monitor 2000: Etnische minderheden in Rotterdam* (Rotterdam 2001); *Minderheden Monitor 2001*; *Minderheden Monitor 2002*, 19; *Minderheden Monitor 2007*.

Table 5 Percentage of inhabitants of Rotterdam with Cape Verdean ethnicity by age category per 1 January, years 1995 to 2007

Age/Year	1995	2000	2005	2007
0-14	33	28	23	21
15-24	15	17	20	20
25-34	19	16	14	14
35-44	18	19	17	16
45-54	9*	11	15	16
55-64	5*	7	7	8
65+	1	2	4	5

Sources: Pires, *Immigratie en integratie*, 6.11; COS reports, *Minderheden Monitor 1998*, 13; *Minderheden Monitor 2000*, 218; *Minderheden Monitor 2007*; and Ergun, Bik and Stolk, *Bevolkings Prognose Rotterdam 2025*, 47.

*Approximate as source provides data from age group 45-64.

Table 6 Percentage of registered Rotterdam inhabitants from Cape Verdean background by generation, years 1999 to 2012

Year / Generation	1st generation	2nd generation
1999	61	39
2003	59	41
2007	58	42
2012	57	43

Sources: COS, *Minderheden Monitor 1999*; Choenni, 'Kaapverdianen in Nederland', 15; Hoppesteyn, *Bevolkingsprognose Rotterdam 2013-2030*, 3; and Ergun, Bik and Stolk, *Bevolkings Prognose Rotterdam 2025*.

Table 7 Continuation of education of graduates of secondary school in Rotterdam in 2000, Cape Verdean youth compared to Surinamese, Antillean/Arubian and autochthon youth, in percentages and number of survey respondents.

Ethnic group	No further education	Low vocational school¹	Lower mid-level vocational school²	Unknown mid-level vocational school	Higher mid-level vocational school³	Universities of applied science/research⁴	Total nr. of survey respondents
Cape Verdeans	21.9	3.1	14.1	6.3	46.9	7.8	53
Surinamese	13.8	6.9	11.5	9.6	35.3	22.9	187
Antilleans/ Arubians	25.0	4.5	6.8	18.2	31.5	13.6	39
Autochthon	12.0	4.9	4.1	9.8	32.6	36.6	1250

Sources: COS, *Minderheden Monitor 2002*, 56.

¹ 'Voortgezet' education, ² MBO levels 1 & 2, ³ MBO levels 3 & 4, ⁴ HBO and university

6.2 Appendix B: Avanço

In the table below are the networks Avanço joined and the organizations, institutions and agencies they collaborated with. Each entry is marked with an [N] for network only, and a [C] for collaboration, which includes being part of their network. Due to a lack of available information, it does not include when these networks or collaborations began or how long they were maintained.

Table 1: Networks joined and organizations/institutions which Avanço collaborated with categorized by ethnic connection (Cape Verdean, Portuguese), governmental, and third-party.¹

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] Jongerenorganisatie Cabo [Youth organization Cabo]	[C] Jeugd Onderwijs en Samenleving (JOS) [Youth, Education and Society]	[C] Platform Buitenlanders Rijnmond (PBR) [Platform Foreigners Rijnmond]	[C] Stichting Welzijn Antilliaan en Arubanen (SWAA) [Foundation Welfare Antillians and Arubians]
[N] Gebruikersraad [user board], active members of various Cape Verdean foundations	[C] Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid' (SoZaWe) [Social Affairs and Employment]	[C] Sociale Maatschappelijk Dienstverlening Delfshaven (SMDD) [Social Services Delfshaven]	[C] Stichting Vluchtelingen Organisaties Rijnmond (SVOR) [Foundation Refugees Organization Rijnmond]
[C] Stichting 55+ In Beweging, [Foundation 55+ in Movement] for Cape Verdean seniors	[C] Afdeling Sport en Recreatie – Deelgemeente Delfshaven – Department of Sport and Recreation, Delfshaven	[N] Landelijk Overleg Minderheden (LOM) [National Consultation Minorities] national consultative body for minority issues	[C] Secondary Schools: International School of Hilversum, Het Startblok in Schiedam, Zuiderparkcollege, GK van Hogendorp
[C] Stichting Casa Tiberias, foundation / center for Portuguese-speaking women	[C] Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst (GGD) [Municipal Health Dept.]	[C] Stichting Delphi Opbouwwerk [Foundation Delphi Development Work]	[N] Stichting SOBER, a Surinamese social work foundation
[C] Portuguese-speaking Catholic parishes : Migranten-parochie OLV van de Vrede, and Racionalismo do Christao (spiritual org.)	[C] Deelgemeenten Delfshaven & Noord [District municipalities Delfshaven and North]	[N] Network group with migrant organizations: de Heuvel, KROSBE, PBR, RADAR, SBWR, SOBER, SPIOR, VWR	[N] Stichting VluchtelingenWerk Rijnmond (VWR) [Foundation Refugees Work Rijnmond] Foundation that supports refugees
[C] broadcasters: TV Explosão, TV Morabeza, TV Kahombo (Angolan) TV Samba do Quintal (Brazilianen), TV Calor, TV/Radio Ngola Yetu,	[C] Rijksinstituut voor Volksgezondheid en Milieu (RIVM) [National Institute for Health and Environment]	[N] Stichting Platform Islamitische Organisaties Rijnmond (SPIOR) [Foundation Consultative Body Islamic Organizations Rijnmond]	[C] Stichting Palestijnse Islamieten Nederland (SPIN) [Foundation Palestinian Islamist Netherland]
[C] Woongroep A Pausada, care facility for elderly Cape Verdeans	[C] Immigratie en Naturalisatie Dienst (IND), the Dutch Immigration and Naturalization Service	[N] RADAR, a foundation that researches, monitors, trains, and gives advice and support regarding discrimination	[C] SBAW, a Rotterdam foundation that advises and supports the implementation of culture projects/events
[C] Stichting Emanuel, the social-cultural foundation of Migranten-parochie OLV van de VredeInter	[C] Reiniging Ontsmetting Transport en Brandweer (Roteb) – Rotterdam municipal service agency	[N] Stichting Buitenlandse Werknemers Rijnmond (SBWR) [Foundation Foreign Workers Rijnmond]	[N] Stichting KROSBE Multicultureel Centrum – a foundation to promote multiculturalism

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] Stichting Letras das Iihas (unknown focus)	[C] various political parties in Rotterdam	[C] Pluspunt, Rotterdam foundation for seniors	[C] de Heuvel, foundation for social work advice in
[C] Stichting Azáguas Associação Cultural, Cape Verdean foundation for integration, education, sport participation, and culture	[C] Transcultural department of Regionale Instelling voor Ambulante Geestelijke Gezondheidszorg (RIAGG) Regional governmental agency for mental healthcare	[C] SMACCV -(Stichting Marokkaans en Arabisch Cultureel Centrum voor Vrouwen [Foundation Moroccan & Arabic Cultural Center for Women] focus on women's emancipation and education	[N] Overlegplatform Gezondheidszorg Allochtonen Rotterdam (OGAR) [Information Platform Healthcare Foreign Background Rotterdam] a consultative body for minority health issues
[C] Stichting Longa Mo, Rotterdam foundation to help reduce poverty and improve future opportunities in Cape Verde	[C] Centrum voor Werk en Inkomen (CWI) / Arbeidsbureau Rotterdam – Municipal employment agency	[C] Erasmus MC afdeling infectie ziekte [Erasmus Medical Center Department Infectious Diseases]	[C] Landelijk Inspraakorgaan Zuid-Europeanen (LIZE) [National Consultation Body Southern Europeans]
[C] Stichting Abada Capoeira, foundation for the sport Capoeira	[C] Rotterdamse Kunststichting (RKS) [Rotterdam art foundation]	[C] Stichting Delmatur, foundation for school drop-out issues	[C] Stichting Pluspunt, foundation for elderly issues
[C] Sociedade Cultural Caboverdiana, Foundation for San Rotterdam Juan festival	[C] network 'Jeugd Kansen Zone 12+ [Youth Chances] part of sub-municipality Delfshaven	[N] Platform Zorg en Welzijn Rotterdam Central [Consultative Body Care & Welfare] focus: seniors	[C] Stichting DISCK – healthcare and welfare foundation in Delfshaven
[C] Stichting Fogo, foundation on the island of Fogo in Cape Verde	[C] Gemeentelijke Kredietbank [Municipal credit bank] government agency re: debt, prevention, personal financial administration	[C] Werkgroep allochtone vrouwen tegen verarming [work group foreign background women against poverty]	[N] Regionaal Patiënten Consumenten Platform (RPCP) [Regional Patients Consumers Consultative Body]
[C] Cha de Alecrim, foundation on the island of São Vicente in Cape Verde	[N] Dienst Stedelijk Onderwijs (DSO) [Service City Education] Rotterdam	[C] Basisberaad GGZ, was a foundation for supporting mental health issues	[C] Albeda College Scholingswinkel, education consulting services group
[C] Organisatie São Tome (unknown focus)	[C] Dienst Kunst en Cultuur (DKC) [Service Art and Culture]	[C] Scala Rotterdam, was a knowledge center focused on female empowerment	[C] Stichting Trans Forum, a foundation for intercultural collaboration
[C] Stichting Amílcar Cabral, foundation for providing funds for projects	[C] Instituut Beleid en Management Gezondheidszorg [Institute Policy and Healthcare Management]	[C] Samenwerkende Rijnmond Ziekenhuizen (SRZ) [Collaborating Rijnmond Hospitals]	[C] Koninklijke Nederlandse Voetbalbond (KNVB), National sports club, Rotterdam division
[C] Bons Negócios, an entrepreneurs' association in Portuguese-speaking Africa and Brazil Previously, 'Cambios International'	[N] Rotterdam Raad voor Kunst & Cultuur (RRKC) [Rotterdam council of Art and Culture] set up Rotterdamse Kunststichting (RKS) [Rotterdam art foundation]	[C] Vocational colleges: Albeda College, Zadkine, Accent College, Carre College, Melachthon College, Mavo Delfshaven, Junior College Middellande, GK. Van Hogendorp, City College St. Franciscus	[C] Tertiary educational institutions: Erasmus University Rotterdam; InHolland Hogeschool, Hogeschool Rotterdam (Applied Sciences colleges)
[C] Ajuda Nos – platform for supporting Cape Verdean organizations with setting-up projects	[C] Gemeentearchief Rotterdam (GAR) Rotterdam municipal archives	[C] Het Vrouwenhuis [The women's house] was a foundation that supported projects for women	[C] Stichting Lokale Omroep Rotterdam (SLOR) [Foundation local radio stations Rotterdam]

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] Netwerk Nô's Saúde, network for welfare issues (founded in 2004)	[C] Jurdisch Loket, office for free legal advice or services	[N] Werkgroep Onderwijs Migranten (WOM) [Work group Education Migrants]	[N] Netwerk Ouderparticipatie [Network parent participation]
[C] Cape Verdean Sports clubs & teams: Cabo 10-youth basketball team, FC Maense, Ngola Yetu (Angolan), Pindiguita (Guineese), Cabo Verde Boys, FC Santiago, Liga CV de clubes (Cape Verdean football umbrella organization)	[C] Verweij-Jonker Instituut, Institute for research on social issues, formally Nederlands Instituut voor Zorg en Welzijn (NIZW) [Dutch Institute for Care and Welfare]	[N] Platform Allochtone Ouderen (PAO) [Platform foreign background Seniors] a consultative body for issues of seniors from a foreign background	[C] Stichting de Meeuw – foundation focused on the upbringing of children in the home, in school and in the neighborhood
[C] Cape Verdean Consulate in Rotterdam	[C] Het Formulierenteam, service of Rotterdam municipality focused on explaining forms and procedures	[C] Centrum voor Transculturele Zorg (CTZ) [Center for Trans-cultural Care]	[C] Centro Latino Americano (Cenla), association for Latin American cultural and social activities
[C] Stichting Water voor Leven [Foundation Water for Life] foundation for improving living conditions for inhabitants of the island of Fogo, Cape Verde	[C] 'Bureau Veelkleurige Stad' [Office Multi-Colored City] of municipality Rotterdam, focus on diversification of staff	[C] Stichting Denkers die Doen, was a Surinamese foundation focused on education and integration	[C] Various neighborhood centers: Buurthuis Mozaïek in het Oude Noorden, Buurthuis de Vlieger, Meidenvilla (Disck),
[C] Stichting Amigos da Lagoa, foundation focusing on development work in Cape Verde	[C] Ondernemershuis op Zuid – Chamber of Commerce office of Rotterdam South	[C] Bureau Medelanders, Commercial provider of Dutch language courses (Bankrupt in 2007)	[C] Wereldmuseum Rotterdam (WMR) World Museum
[C] Vereniging vrienden van Figueiral [Association friends of Figueiral] focus: development in Cape Verde	[C] Ministerie van ZonMW – Dutch Ministry of Healthcare Research and Health Innovation	(N) Stichting Het Platform Digitaal, foundation focused on new technology, skills development & education	[C] Historische Museum Rotterdam (HMR)
[C] Stichting Welzijnbevordering en Integratie van Kaapverdianen in Rotterdam (WIKRO) [Welfare Foundation Promotion & Integration of Cape Verdeans, Rotterdam]	[N] Service Bureau van Center van Onderzoek en Statistic (COS) Rotterdam [COS-Center of research and Statistics], COS Rijnmond, COS Zuid Holland	[N] Nationaal Comité voor internationale samenwerking en duurzame ontwikkeling (NCDO) [National Committee for International Collaboration and Sustainable Development]	[C] Klankbordgroep POM, [Sounding Board Province Development Society West Vlanders] focused on social development and innovation
[C] Amaigos de Paul, development work foundation in Cape Verde	[C] Parnassia Bavo Groep department of GGD, specializes in mental healthcare	[C] Wybenga den Puttelaar Advocatenkantoor, law office specializing in family youth and health rights	[N] Stedelijk advies Orgaan voor Ouderen (SAO) [City Advice organization for Seniors]
[C] Stichting Grupo Recreatie E. Cultural 'Santiago', foundation for organizing sport events	[C] Centraal InburgeringsLoket (CIL) [Central Integration Office]	[C] Associação Desportiva Caboverdiana Hollande (ADCH), national Cape Verdean sports association	[C] The Atlantic & Pacific Exchange Program (APEP), foundation for international exchange
[C] Stichting Tarrafal, foundation focusing on development in Cape Verde	[C] Belastingdienst, the Dutch Tax Agency	[C] Stichting Help ons Armoede [Foundation Help our Poverty]	[C] ETV – Rotterdam television production company

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[N] Conferentie Quadros, conference group of Cape Verdeans	[C] InEnt, part of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focus on development work	[C] ETV, Rotterdam television production company	[C] Various Neighborhood organizations: Delfshaven, Middelland
[C] Stichting Palop (Radio Palo) Cape Verdean Radio		[C] Jongeren centrum VaJo, (Youth Center VaJo)	[C] Cosbo, trade union for seniors
[N] Mr. Joao Silva, gives integration advice		[C] Stichting Arosa, foundation, focuses on domestic violence	[C] Vereniging van Diabetici, Dutch Association of Diabetics
[C] Função EPIF – preparation school for integrated football in Praia, Cape Verde		[C] Pameijer, a foundation that focuses on emancipation issues and problem solving	[C] Stichting Reflex, a foundation focused on education guidance and parental engagement
[C] Racionalismo Cristao, foundation for culture		[C] Stichting MEE, a foundation that helps people with a disability	[C] Psychologenpraktijk Sane, office for psychological issues
[C] Stichting Organização Humanitária Não-Governamental Cabo Verde (OHNGCV) [Foundation Organization Humanitarian Non-Governmental Cape Verde]		[C] Stichting Nieuwe Rotterdamse Cultuur (Foundation New Rotterdam's Culture) in January 2010 merged with SBAW	[C] Rotterdam Sociale Alliantie (RoSA) [Rotterdam Social Alliance] Network against poverty and social isolation, and for empowerment
[C] Stichting Progresso, Cape Verdean foundation (unknown focus)		[N] Netwerk Allochtone Ouderen (NAO) [Network foreign background Seniors]	[C] Vrouwenplatform Delfshaven, [Consultative body for women]
[C] Consulaat van Portugal, the Consulate of Portugal		[C] SPIRIT, foundation re: youth and parenting issues	[C] Stichting Mara – social services foundation
[C] Stichting Fidjuz Di Cabral, foundation for service provision for performing arts		[C] CoDoen, an office for personal coaching, Dutch language and work philosophy	[C] Stichting DOCK Rotterdam, (full name) local branch of a national foundation for social work
[C] Portugueses Cultural Centrum [Portuguese Cultural Center]		[C] Stichting Sarah Events, photography of celebrations, weddings	[N] Strategisch beraad CDA, strategy council of the Christian Democratic Party
		[C] Het Nederlandse Rode Kruis [Dutch Red Cross]	[C] Peuter & Co, children daycare center
		[C] Stichting Stimulans, foundation for integration, participation, employment of migrants	[N] Stedelijk comité 8 maart [City committee 8 March for International Women's Day], merged with Dona Daria
		[C] Achmea/Zilveren Kruis, health insurance providers	[C] Consumentenbond [Consumer Union]
		[C] Your Natural Best, consulting office, works in empowerment	[C] Daaladvies, Work-Life Coaching firm

Sources: JLPA, Avanço reports: Jaarverslag 2002; Opzet Strategisch; Concept Jaarverslag 2005; Jaarverslag 2006; Werkplan 2011; and WP2012. GAR, Avanço reports: Jaarverslag 2007; Jaarverslag 2009; and Jaarverslag 2010. Interview: JL, 2 October 2015.

In tables 2 and 3, information is given about the projects, activities and services of Avanço. Table 2 provides the activity names (some were changed) and a brief description of them, while Table 3 has detailed information regarding dates, categorization, target groups and changes.

Table 2 Avanço project/activity/service by name, English translation, and brief description.

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Ondersteuning van kaapverdiaanse zelforganisaties / Stimuleringsinitiatief Intensieve begeleiding	Support of Cape Verdean ethnic organizations / Intensive guidance ethnic organizations	Support ethnic organizations with project/activity development, planning, securing funding, etc.
Onderzoek naar de wensen en behoeften van Kaapverdiaanse vrouwen	Research into the wishes and needs of Cape Verdean Women	Qualitative research conducted into the wishes and needs of Cape Verdean women
Kaapverdianen en politiek	Cape Verdeans and Politics	Election year project to increase the political awareness of Cape Verdeans via community information meetings
Nô's Saúde	Our Health	Research project of health portraits, organized by Verweij-Jonker Instituut
Project Apoio	Project Support	Project to increase the trust in and use of Dutch mental healthcare among Cape Verdeans
Zusters Steunen Zusters	Sisters support Sisters	Project pairing non-native Dutch woman with a Dutch woman to combat social isolation, and encourage participation and integration
Project Dagbesteding / Project Kaapverdiaanse Taakcombineerders	Project Day Spending Time/ Project Cape Verdean task combiners	Project to create a balance between work and family life for Cape Verdean mothers who are cleaners, and to increase engagement with children's education, Project involves mothers, employers and schools of the children
Politek Café	Politics Cafe	Community meeting on 'Sexual abuse of girls and women' with experts in field, included brainstorming over solutions
&-U Meidenproject	&U Girls project	Empowerment project pairing teenage girls and coaches, also group activities and workshops
Kracht van Diversiteit	Power of Diversity	Project to foster employment among youth, collaboration with PBR
Voorlichtings-bijeenkomsten	Information meetings	Community meetings on various topics
Nier en Orgaan donoor campagne	Kidney and organ donor campaign	Campaign to increase donations of organs by Cape Verdeans. Collaboration with Catholic parish Migranten-parochie OLV van de Vrede, Erasmus MC department infectious diseases and Stichting Amilcar Cabral
HIV/AIDS voorlichtingscampagne	HIV/AIDS information campaign	Information campaign regarding sexual practices and HIV / AIDS
Voorlichtings-campagne Anti-discriminatie	Information campaign Anti-discrimination	Information campaign regarding discrimination in Dutch society
Ouders informeren Leerkrachten	Parents inform Teachers	Parents provide information regarding upbringing and education in their homes to school teachers, project collaboration with SBWR and SWA.

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Ouders en Schoolkeuze / Schoolkeuze en de schoolkeuzemarkt / Ouderbetrokkenheid en schoolkeuze	Parents and School Choice / School Choice and the School Choice Market / Parental engagement and School Choice	Meetings to inform and advise parents and their children who will soon be attending secondary school, regarding the Dutch school system, differences in schools, and CITO tests
Oudersparticipatie	Parental Participation	Activities to increase parental engagement in children's education and at their schools
Project Delmatur	Project Delmatur	Project for pupil guidance and parental engagement to discourage school truancy and drop out, collaboration with Stichting Delmatur
Project Tweede Thuis	Project Second House	Multi-functional facility and program for providing educational information to non-native parents regarding the importance of using pre-school / daycare facilities
Leerling begeleiding	Pupil guidance	Homework and study skills guidance to pupils
Belangenbehartiging / Signalering en antidiscriminatie	Advocacy / signaling and anti-discrimination	Advocacy in various areas, signaling of problems
Nederlandse lessen / Conversatietraining	Dutch lessons / conversation training	Dutch language courses
Inburgeringscursus I	Integration Course I	Introductory integration course for first-generation migrants
Inburgeringstraject II	Integration project II	Follow-up integration course for migrants
Toeleidingstraject	Guidance project	Education and integration project, 1-2x weekly lessons given by foundation 'Stichting Denkers de Doen'
Inburgeringcursus opvoeders	Integration course parents / guardians	Integration course for parents or guardians
Integratiedebat Avanco	Integration Debate	Discussion over opinions regarding integration as part of the city participation campaign 'Rotterdamme' [Rotterdam - Join in]
Computercursus	Computer courses	Various courses: Introduction to computers, windows 98, Word, Excel and internet, train the trainers, computer course for seniors
Van Eiland tot Eiland	From Island to Island	Project to foster knowledge of Cape Verde, and its culture, also to cultivate relationships between Cape Verdean youth and seniors
Woongroup 'A Pousada'	Living group 'A Pousada'	Living and activity group for seniors
Kaapverdiaanse ouderen en jongeren samen op weg / Dialoog tussen jong en oud [Cabo name: Project Jong-oud]	Cape Verdean seniors & youth together on the way / Dialogue between young and old	Project for seniors and youth to share their upbringing, lifestyle, experiences and identity, restarted from a Cabo project
Spreekuur / Maatschappelijke dienstverlening	Walk-in hours / Social service	Social service to provide information, advice or guidance to Dutch institutions in the language of the clients (Portuguese, Crioulo)
Professionalisering /Studiedagen / Workshops van zelforganisaties	Professionalization / study days / workshops of ethnic organizations	Giving or organizing trainings for skill and expertise development of volunteers
Cursus Social hygiene	Course social hygiene	Hygiene course for working in food industry
Cursus alfabetisatie	Literacy course	Course to teach literacy in Portuguese before first-generation takes Dutch language course

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Kleur in huis tour	Color in House Tour	Ethnic organizations paired with governmental institutions to foster collaboration and support
Project Werkgelegenheid en sociale activering	Project employment and social activation	Foster skills development and employment via internships and volunteer experience
RTV Cape Verde	RTV Cape Verde	Collaboration with Stichting Wikro to produce TV programs for the Cape Verdean community
RKS Project	RKS Project	Project to teach volunteers of ethnic organizations skills for art and culture projects
Viering onafhankelijkheid	Celebration Independence	Celebration & Discussion History Cape Verdean Independence
Kunst en Cultuurhuis	Art and Culture House	Project group to set up Art and Culture House for Cape Verdeans
Cultureel Erfgoed	Cultural heritage	Project on cultural heritage on Cape Verdean history in Rotterdam, collaboration with the Rotterdam municipal archive, the History Museum and the World Museum of Rotterdam
São João Festival / Delfshaven Festival	Saint Johannes Festival / Delfshaven Festival	Celebration of Saint Johannes, Delfshaven festival celebrating ethnic diversity
Rotterdam Canta	Rotterdam Sings	Collaboration with Stichting Wikro to set up and run a talent competition
LIMITS onderzoek	LIMITS research	International migration comparison research project of five ethnic groups, financed by the European Commission
TV Morabeza	TV Morabeza	Informative TV broadcasts on various topics
Rotterdam Festivals: Dunya Festival, Zomercarnaval	Dunya Festival and Summer Carnival	Performances and other activities, the Summer carnival copies the pre-Lent carnival celebrated in Cape Verde and Latin American countries
World Music Dance Center (WMDC)	World Music Dance Center	Collaboration to organize 5 cultural evenings in which Cape Verdean artists participated
Codarts	Codarts	Collaboration to organize 4 music workshops to encourage Cape Verdean youth to study music at Codarts music academy
Sports	Sports	Organized and fostered sports among youth: Soccer, Basketball team Cabo 10
Congres van Kaapverdiaanse Kaders	Congress of Cape Verdean Cadre	Participation in Congress of Cape Verdean Cadre in Praia, Cape Verde
Bezoek van de International School of Hilversum	Visit of the International School of Hilversum	Foster knowledge of a migrant organization and the problems of its target groups
Porta Palavra	'Door Word'	Contribute to a website for migrant organizations to consult and add information, project of European Commission
Werkbezoek Kaapverdië	Work visit to Cape Verde	Work visit of Peter Froom, Beatris Rocha, Janke Reiding to Cape Verde to organize pupil and school board members exchange
Uitwisseling leerlingen en directie leden (Porto Novo & Rotterdam)	Exchange of pupils and board members (Porto Novo & Rotterdam)	Exchange of pupils and board members of Technical School João Varela of Porto Novo, Portugal and SG Melanchthon Rotterdam

Sources: *Same listed as under Table 3.*

Table 3: *Avanço projects/activities/services, by activity name in English, years offered, the recorded category name re: policy goal, and changes*

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
1999-2009 Support of Cape Verdean ethnic organizations 2010: Intensive guidance ethnic organizations	1999 to 2011	Until 2005: unrecorded 2006: Social participation and skills training ¹ 2008: Building bridges and making connections ² 2010: Stimulating Initiatives City Citizenship ³	Cape Verdean migrant and ethnic organizations	2006: specifically listing it in a category 2010: activity and category name Dutch Category name: ¹ Maatschappelijke participatie en kadervorming ² Bruggen bouwen en verbindingen leggen ³ Stimulerings-initiatieven Stadsburgerschap
Research into the wishes and needs of Cape Verdean Women	2002 to unknown*	Women	Cape Verdean women	
Cape Verdeans and Politics	2002	Women	Cape Verdean women, seniors,	
Our Health	2002 to 2006	2002-2005 Women 2006: Education & Information ⁴	Cape Verdean women	2002: Research 2003* Themed Information meetings 2006: category name Dutch: ⁴ Voorlichting
Project Support	1999 to 2002	Women	Cape Verdeans	
Sisters support Sisters	2005 to 2006 Restarted: Sept 2007- July 2009	2005: Women 2006: Education & Information	Migrant women all ethnicities paired with Dutch women	2006: category name Sept 2007: Restarted
2005: PProject Day Spending Time (preparation) 2006: Project Cape Verdean Task combiners	2005 (preparation) 2006 to 2007	2005: Women 2006: Education & Information	Cape Verdean female cleaners with children, employers, schools of participating mothers	2006: project name and category name
Politics Cafe	2005	Women	Experts in fields of women's health and sexual abuse	
&U Girls project	2008 to 2009 2010 to 2011	Emancipation	Girls ages 15-18, mixed ethnicities	2008-2009: Cabo-leading project 2010: restart Avanço leading project
Power of Diversity	2010	Unrecorded	Non-ethnic Dutch youth & young adults	
Information meetings	unknown* to 2011	2002: Healthcare 2009: Emancipation & Social participation 2010: Non-formal Education	Cape Verdean seniors, parents, youth	2009: category name 2009: began collaborative meetings on domestic violence with 4M Network, 2010: category name

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Kidney and organ donor campaign	2005	Healthcare	Cape Verdean adults	
HIV/AIDS information campaign	2006 to 2007	Education & Information	Portuguese-speaking migrant groups	
Information campaign Anti-discrimination	2008 to 2009	Information	Employees of organizations, 'media makers'	
Parents inform Teachers	2002	Education	Parents from Cape Verde, Turkey, Morocco and the Antilles, and school teachers	
2002: Parents and School Choice 2005: School Choice and the School Choice Market 2006: Parental engagement and School Choice	2002 to 2007 Restarted 2010 to unknown**	2002: Education 2005: Education & Integration ⁵ 2006: Education & Information	Cape Verdean parents	2005: change name of activity and category 2006: change name of activity and category 2010: ran as a project of a Pedagogy student Dutch: ⁵ Inburgering
Parental Participation	2002? to 2006	2005: Education & Integration 2006: Education & Information	Cape Verdean parents	
Project Delmatur	2005	Education & Integration	All secondary school pupils & their parents	
Project Second House	2002 to 2006	2002: Education 2005: Education & Integration 2006: Education & Information	All parents and their children to age 12	2005: expanded program, category name 2006: category name, project ended
Pupil guidance	2006 to 2009 2010 to June 2012	Education & Information	Secondary school children	2006-2010: Cabo-leading project 2010: restart with Avanço leading project
2000-2005: Advocacy 2006: Signaling and anti-discrimination 2008: Advocacy	2000 to 2012	2002: Education, General activities, 2005: Women, seniors, 2006: Education & Information 2008: Building bridges and making connections	Network with government and third-party organizations	2005: More emphasis placed on task of advocacy 2006: activity and category name 2008: activity and category name
Dutch lessons 2007: Conversation training	2002 to April 2012	2002: Education 2006: Education & Information 2009: Participation and Citizenship	*Cape Verdeans, first-generation *all ethnicities, first-generation	2007: Government demand of content expansion, activity name 2009: category name

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Integration Course I	2005*	Education & Integration	Cape Verdeans, first-generation	
Integration project II	2005	Education & Integration	First-generation migrants until age 57.5, with low Dutch language skills, and lack work skills	
Guidance project	2005* to 2006	2005: Education & Integration 2006: Education & Information	Mothers or female guardians, ages 18-57.5,	
Integration course parents / guardians	2006	Education & Information	parents or guardians	
Integration Debate Avanco	2005	Education & Integration	Cape Verdeans and other ethnicities	
Computer courses	2001 to 2008	E-Centrum	All ethnicities, youth, seniors unemployed, trainers,	
From Island to Island	2002	Seniors	Cape Verdean seniors	
Living group 'A Pousada'	2002 to 2003/2004*	Seniors	Cape Verdean seniors	
2001: Cape Verdean seniors & youth together on the way 2008: Dialogue between young and old	2001 to 2002 2008 to 2009	2001: Seniors 2008: Building bridges and making connections	2001-2002: Cape Verdean seniors and youth 2008: seniors and youth from various ethnicities	2002: government demands in target groups, content, output 2008: government demands in target groups, content, output
2005*-2007 Walk-in hours 2008: Social service	unknown* to March 2012	2005: Seniors 2006: Social Service 2008: Building bridges and making connections	Cape Verdeans & Portuguese-speaking migrants, adults	End 2007: Avanco social worker at senior center 'A Pousada' 2006: category name 2008: activity and category name 2010: age and country origin of clients
2002*-2007: Professionalization ethnic organizations 2008: Study days ethnic organizations 2009: Workshops ethnic organizations	unknown* to 2011	2002: Expertise 2006: Social participation & skills training 2008: Courses and trainings 2010: Non-formal Education	Volunteers at Cape Verdean organizations	2006 and 2008: category name 2008: activity name 2008: evening course begun, request from community 2009: activity name
Course social hygiene	2002 to 2003/2004*	Expertise	Cape Verdeans	
Literacy course	2001 to 2003/2004*	Expertise	Cape Verdeans, first-generation	
Color in House Tour	2002 to 2003/2004*	Expertise	Cape Verdean migrant organizations	

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Project employment and social activation	2005	Expertise	Unemployed Cape Verdeans	
RTV Cape Verde	2001to unknown*	Media, Art & Culture	Cape Verdean community, all ages	
RKS Project	2001-2003/2004*	Media, Art & Culture	Cultural Cape Verdean organizations	
Celebration Independence	2001 to 2005	Media, Art & Culture	Cape Verdeans first & second-generations	
Art and Culture House	2001 to 2002*	Media, Art & Culture	Cape Verdeans first & second-generations	
Cultural heritage	2004 to 2007	2004-2005: Media, Art & Culture 2006: Social participation & skills training 2007: Signaling and anti-discrimination	Cape Verdeans, first-generation	2006: category name
1999/2000*-2005 Saint John Festival 2006: Delfshaven Festival	Unknown* to 2011	unknown*-2005: Media, Art & Culture 2006: Social participation & skills training 2008: Building bridges and making connections 2010: Stimulating Initiatives City Citizenship	All Rotterdam citizens	2005: only held on Sunday 2006: festival and category name 2008: category name 2010: category name, new collaborative partners, new funders 2011: organization by other foundations, gave only 'expertise transfer'
Rotterdam Sings	2002	Media, Art & Culture	Cape Verdean Youth	
LIMITS research	2004	Media, Art & Culture	Cape Verdean community	
TV Morabeza	2003 to 2010	2003-2005: Media, Art & Culture 2006: Education & Information 2008: Building bridges and making connections 2010: Stimulating Initiatives City Citizenship	Cape Verdean youth	2005: Category change 2006: Category change 2008: Category change 2010: Category change, subsidy stopped,
Rotterdam Festivals: Dunya Festival, Zomercarnaval	unknown*to 2006	2005: Media, Art & Culture 2006: Social participation & skills training	Cape Verdean artists, Cape Verdean youth	
World Music Dance Center (WMDC)	2006	Social participation & skills training	Cape Verdean artists	
Codarts	2006	Social participation & skills training	Cape Verdean youth	

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Various Sports	Unknown* to 2005	Sports	Cape Verdean youth, young men & women	
Congress of Cape Verdean Cadre	2002, 2005 to 2006	2005: International Meetings 2006: Social participation & skills training 2007: Signaling and anti-discrimination	Board members, staff and volunteers of Rotterdam Cape Verdean organizations	2006: category change
Visit of the International School of Hilversum	2002	International Meetings	International pupils of school	
'Door Word'	2002	International Meetings	All ethnicities and ages	
Work visit to Cape Verde	February 2010	Unknown**	Organizers of exchange	
Exchange of pupils and board members (Porto Novo & Rotterdam)	7-21 April 2011	Unknown**	Secondary school pupils, mixed ethnicities and board members of schools	

*The annual reports for years 2000, 2001, 2003 and 2004 could not be obtained, therefore there is a lack of information for most of the activities in those years except for the courses at the e-centrum.

** The Work plans for 2011 and 2012, but not the annual reports for years 2011 and 2012 could be obtained, thus there is a gap in definite information for the activities in those years.

Sources: JLPA, Avanço reports: Jaarverslag 2002; Opzet Strategisch; Concept Jaarverslag 2005; Jaarverslag 2006; Werkplan 2011; and Werkplan 2012. BRPA, Peter Froom, Beatris Rocha, Janke Reiding, Werkbezoek Kaapverdië, DVD, 2010; Peter Froom, Uitwisseling: leerlingen en directieleden van de Escola Técnica João Varela uit Porto Novo - met leerlingen en directieleden SG Melanchthon Rotterdam, Nederland – 7 t/m 21 april 2011, Photo book report, 2011, 25 pages. GAR, Avanço reports: Jaarverslag e-centrum Avanço 2001, 2002, 5 pages; Jaarverslag 2007; Jaarverslag 2008; Jaarverslag 2009; and Jaarverslag 2010. Gemeente Rotterdam (further GR), Subsidieoverzicht 2009 (bijlage bij concernjaarverslag 2009), 2010, 74 pages, 38, found at: <http://bogue.nl/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/10gr1637b.pdf>, assessed 5-8-2015. Interviews: BR, 7 August 2015; IM, 24 June 2014; and KL, 16 June 2014; and emails: NPPA, BR, 5, 8 & 9 September 2015; and IM, 9 September 2015.

Table 4 Subsidies Avanço received from JOS / SoZaWe of Rotterdam municipality in 2009 by objective, policy and subsidy received.

Measurable objective*	Policy**	Subsidy received
Courses/training: Conversation, computer, Workshop 20	Participation and Citizenship	€363,354

* Dutch: 'Meetbare doelstelling' ** Dutch: 'Beleidsdoel'

Source: GR, Subsidieoverzicht 2009, 38.

6.3 Appendix C: FEDIC

In the table below are the networks FEDIC joined and the organizations, institutions and agencies they collaborated with. Each entry is marked with an [N] for network only, and a [C] for collaboration, which includes being part of their network. Due to a lack of available information, it does not include when these networks or collaborations began or how long they were maintained.

Table 1: Networks joined and/or organizations/institutions/agencies with which FEDIC collaborated with categorized by ethnic connection (Cape Verdean, Portuguese), governmental, and third-party.¹

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] Stichting Avançaço Previously: FOCR - Federação de Organizações Cabo-verdianas (FOCR) [Federation of Cape Verdean organizations] Previously: Associação Cabo Verdiana	[N] Jeugd Onderwijs en Samenleving (JOS) [Youth, Education and Society]	[C] Landelijk Overleg Minderheden (LOM) [National Consultation Minorities]	[C] Landelijk Inspraakorgaan Zuid- Europeanen (LIZE) [National Consultation Body Southern Europeans]
[C] <i>Voz de Cabo Verde</i> [Voice of Cape Verde] Cape Verdean radio station	[N] Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid' (SoZaWe) [Social Affairs]	[C] Local secondary schools: Noordrand College, Melachthon College	[C] Stichting Dona Daria – a Rotterdam knowledge center on emancipation
[C] Stichting 55+ In Beweging, [Foundation 55+ in Movement] foundation for Cape Verdeans age 55 and older	[C] Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst (GGD) [Municipal Health Dept.]	[C] Stichting Delphi Opbouwwerk [Foundation Delphi Development Work]	[C] Stichting DISCK – healthcare and welfare foundation in Delfshaven
[C] Stichting Casa Tiberias, foundation / center for Portuguese-speaking women	[N] Rotterdam municipality, city council members,	[C] Stichting Werk in West, a foundation focused on employment in Rotterdam West	[C] Kunsthal [Art Hall], art museum
[C] Migranten- parochie OLV van de Vrede, Portuguese-speaking Catholic parishes	[C] Reiniging Ontsmetting Transport en Brandweer (Roteb) – Rotterdam municipal service agency	[N] Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA) Rotterdam [Labor Party] city and district council members	[C] Abu Rak Rak, Moroccan cultural foundation
[C] Stichting Amilcar Cabral, foundation for providing funds for projects	[C] InEnt, part of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focus on development work	[N] Daaladvies, Work-Life Coaching firm	[C] Stichting Pluspunt, foundation for elderly issues
[C] Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde (PAICV) [The African Party of Independence of Cape Verde] In the 1990s, a socialist political party in Cape Verde.		[C] RADAR, a foundation that researches, monitors, trains, and gives advice and support regarding discrimination	[N] Pameijer, a foundation that focuses on emancipation issues and problem solving

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] Bons Negocios, an entrepreneurs' association in Portuguese-speaking Africa and Brazil Previously, 'Cambios International'		[C] Stichting Het Platform Digitaal, foundation focused on new technology, skills development & education	[N] Stichting MEE, a foundation that helps people with a disability
[C] Liga CV de clubes - Cape Verdean football umbrella organisation			
[C] Vereniging vrienden van Figueiral [Association friends of Figueiral] focus: development in Cape Verde			
[C] Stichting Palop (Radio Palo) was a Cape Verdean Radio station			
[C] Stichting Progresso, Cape Verdean foundation (unknown focus)			
[C] Stichting Fidjuz Di Cabral, foundation for service provision for performing arts			

Sources: Interviews: JL, 13 December 2014, 14 April 2015 and 2 October 2015; and da Graça, *Etnische zelforganisaties*, 67, 69. 94.

In tables 2 and 3, information is given about the projects, activities and services of FEDIC. Table 2 provides the activity names (some were changed) and a brief description of them, while Table 3 has detailed information regarding dates, categorization, target groups and changes.

Table 2 FEDIC activity, by name and brief description¹

Activity name	Brief description
Meetings with Cape Verdean community	Meet with community members to discuss various topics: school choice, social-economic issues, changes in regulations regarding government benefits, repatriation
Personal Advice on various issues	Gave personal advice to Cape Verdean adults on various topics: parenting, education of children, adult continuing education and skills development, and elderly issues: state pension benefits, fraud, and financial problems with the personal health budget plan (persoonsgebondenbudget)
Father & son activity: bike repair workshop	Bike repair workshop with fathers and sons, co-organized with neighbors of various ethnicities. Purpose: community building
Father & son activity: zoo visit	Arranged visit to Rotterdam Blijdorp Zoo for Cape Verdean fathers and their sons, subsidized by Delfshaven sub-municipality. Purpose: relationship building and educational as for many it was their first visit to a zoo
Father & son activity: football tournaments	Fathers and sons play football, invited pupils and their fathers from local schools
Dinner and dance	Dinner and dance for Cape Verdean community, singer from Cape Verde. Purpose: community building
Recreation family day	Family recreation excursions to parks, picnic and live music. Purpose: community building
School choice market	Meetings to inform and advise parents and their children who will soon be attending secondary school, regarding the Dutch school system, differences in schools, and CITO tests. Held at Pier 80 in Delfshaven in March. Partners: Delphi Opbouwwerk, and Noordrand College, Melachthon College.

Sources: Interviews: JL, 13 December 2014, 14 April 2015 and 2 October 2015.

¹ Project names are only given in English because this information derives only from interviews.

As FEDIC did not seek or receive government funds for their activities except for the zoo visit, they did not have to write reports or categorize their activities. However, in brackets I provide the category the activities would possibly have been recorded under.

Table 3: FEDIC activities, by years offered, the recorded category name re: policy goal, and changes with date

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Meetings with Cape Verdean community	1982 to 2010	Not recorded [Information, advice]	Cape Verdean adults	Topics depending on needs of community
Personal Advice on various issues	1982 to present, but via Center Atendimento Orientação (CAO) [Center Client Orientation] foundation to support Cape Verdeans with social-economic issues, and foster integration and participation	Not recorded [Information, advice]	Cape Verdean adults, young fathers, elderly	2014: began offering advice via new Cape Verdean organization Center Atendimento Orientação (CAO)
Father & son activity: bike repair workshop	2012	Not recorded [Education, participation]	Men and their sons, all ethnicities	
Father & son activity: zoo visit	2012	Emancipation, Education	Cape Verdean fathers and their sons	
Father & son activity: football tournaments	2011	Not recorded [Participation]	Men and their sons, all ethnicities	
Dinner and dance	2009 to present	Not recorded [Participation]	Cape Verdean adults and children	
Recreation in parks with picnic and music	2009 to 2012	Not recorded [Participation]	Cape Verdean adults and children	
School choice market	2012	Not recorded [Information, advice]	Cape Verdean parents and their children, ages 11 and 12.	

Sources: Interviews: JL, 13 December 2014, 14 April 2015 and 2 October 2015.

6.4 Appendix D: Cabo

In the table below are the networks Cabo joined and the organizations, institutions and agencies they collaborated with. Each entry is marked with an [N] for network only, and a [C] for collaboration, which includes being part of their network. Due to a lack of available information, it does not include when these networks or collaborations began or how long they were maintained.

Table 1: Networks joined and organizations/institutions/agencies which Cabo collaborated with categorized by ethnic connection (Cape Verdean, Portuguese), governmental, and third-party.

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] FOOCR - Federação de Organizações Cabo-verdianas (FOOCR) [Federation of Cape Verdean organizations]	[C] City district municipality Delfshaven, set up the network 'Jeugd Kansen Zone 12+ [Youth Chances]	[N] RJR – Rotterdamse Jongeren Raad [Rotterdam Youth Council]	[C] Stichting Delphi Opbouwwerk [Foundation Delphi Development Work]
[C] Stichting Avançaço, Cape Verdean umbrella organization	[C] Jeugd Onderwijs en Samenleving (JOS) [Youth, Education and Society]	[C] JACD – Jeugd Actie Centrum Delfshaven [Youth Action Center Delfshaven]	[C] Stichting DISCK – healthcare and welfare foundation in Delfshaven
[C] Stichting Casa Tiberias – foundation / center for Portuguese-speaking women	[C] SenR – Sport en Recreatie Rotterdam [Sport and Recreation Rotterdam] organizes network platform for youth workers: JIP – Jongeren Informatie Punt [Youth Information Point]	[C] Scala Rotterdam – knowledge center for women emancipation, network: Meiden in de Nesten [Girls in the Nests], network for young black migrant women	CED – Centrum voor Educatieve Dienstverlening [Center for Educational Service], organizes teenage mother network
[C] Migrantenparochie OLV van de Vrede / Paróquia Nossa Senhora Da Paz [Migrant parish OLV of the Peace] – Catholic Church located in Delfshaven	[C] Veelkleurige Stad [Multi-colored City] program of Rotterdam Municipality	[C] Stichting Buitenlandse Werknemers Rijnmond (SBR) organizes WOM (Werkoverleg Onderwijs) [Platform on Education] for school projects for migrants	FORUM – national foundation for migrant issues, was located in Utrecht, worked with 'Shell Cares'
[C] SKA – Cape Verdean youth organization for cultural events (music awards)	[N] Rotterdam Raad voor Kunst & Cultuur (RRKC) [Rotterdam council of Art and Culture] set up Rotterdamse Kunststichting (RKS) [Rotterdam art foundation]	[N] Werkgroep Jeugd: Delfshaven/Schiemond – youth worker group network re: practices and programs for children and youth	[C] Shell Cares – foundation from Shell Corporation which supports homework projects of migrant youth organizations
[N] Kaapverdiaanse Kaders, Group of Cape Verdean professionals in Rotterdam	[N] Rotterdam municipality, city council members,	[C] 'Two Get There' – Rotterdam foundation for social-cultural participation	[C] Stichting Thuis op Straat (TOS) [Home on the Street]
[C] Letra das Ilhas – Cape Verdean newspaper	[C] Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid' (SoZaWe) [Social Affairs and Employment]	[C] Stichting Palestijnse Islamieten Nederland (SPIN) [Foundation Palestinian Islamist Netherland]	[C] PBR – Platform Buitenlanders Rijnmond [Consultative Body Foreigners Rijnmond]
[C] Stichting 55+ In Beweging, [Foundation 55+ in Movement] foundation for Cape Verdeans age 55 and older	[C] Dienst Recreatie Rotterdam (DRR) Rotterdam Department for Recreation	[C] SBAW, a Rotterdam foundation that advises and supports the implementation of culture projects/events	[C] Theaters in Rotterdam: de Doelen, Theater Evenaar, Theater Zuidplein, Prinses Theater

Ethnic connection	Governmental	Third-party	Third-party
[C] King's Place – Cape Verdean disco	[C] Gemeentelijke Gezondheidsdienst (GGD) [Municipal Health Dept.]	[C] Stichting Dona Daria – a Rotterdam knowledge center on emancipation	[C] Werk in West – Employment foundation in Rotterdam West
[C] Moinho da Juventude, [Culture Association Youth Mill] in Lisbon, Portugal,	[C] Neighborhood police agents in city district Delfshaven, and neighborhoods Schiemond and Middelland	[C] CNV Dienstenbond – [CNV Services Federation] - Union for workers in the services sector	[C] Landelijk Inspraakorgaan Zuid-Europeaanen - (LIZE) [National Consultative body Southern Europeans]
[C] Stichting Sodade – Rotterdam music and youth foundation	[C] Nationale Commissie Duurzame Ontwikkeling (NCDO) [National Commission Sustainable Development]	[C] Rotterdam radio stations: Radio Atlantico, Radio Voz de Cabo Verde, FunX radio, Cabo Time, Radio KMS, Radio Zaandam, Ilhas Radio	[C] Stichting Alexander – a national foundation for youth participation, research and empowerment
[C] Institutions in Cape Verde: Technische School in Porto Novo Santo Antão,		[C] Woonbron, a Rotterdam housing corporation with many buildings in city district Delfshaven	[C] Stichting Lokale Omroep Rotterdam (SLOR) [Foundation local radio stations Rotterdam]
[C] Santa Kultura – theater group in Praia, Cape Verde		[C] Scouting Rotterdam	[C] Stichting Humanitas [Humanitas Foundation]
		[C] Phoenix Foundation – organized artist professionalization projects	[C] Evenementen bureau, La Femme, Party and event bureau
		[C] Neighborhood centers: De Helling / de Pyramid (group: 'No Doubt'), Rosa and Ons Huis in Delfshaven, and Frimangron in Middelland.	[N] Stichting Wereldwinkel – foundation that organizes activities and sells Fair Trade products
		[C] Liverpool Hope Street, UK youth foundation, network 'Euforia' with Porto, Portugal youth organizations	[C] JuNet – German foundation organizes Multi-media network for cities part of program 'European Capitals of Cultural'
		[C] Brouhaha International, international foundation for organizing carnivals	[C] Primary school: De Boog, Delfshaven
		[C] Secondary Schools: Henegouwen College, Rotterdams Lyceum, Melanchthon Prinses Irene & Laanslootseweg, GK Hogendorp, Carré College, Mavo Delfshaven	[C] Tertiary School: Thomas More Hogeschool,

Sources: GAR, Av, Jaarverslag 2007; GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007; GAR, Cabo, Rapportage Cabo, table of projects, 2009, 1 page. CGPA, CG, Dringende voorwaarden; ERPA, ER, Overzicht; Cabo, Grootboek; Peter Froom, Verslag Leerstage: I.s.m. De Technische School in Porto Novo Santo Antão Cabo Verde met 14 leerlingen van de vmb-afdelingen Melanchthon-Prinses Irene en Melanchthon-Laanslootseweg Rotterdam van 1 t/m 22 november 2007, 2007, 27 pages. Emails: NPPA, BR, 7 August 2015; and ER, 17 August 2015.

In tables 2 and 3, information is given about the projects and activities of Cabo. Table 2 provides the activity names (some were changed) and a brief description of them, while Table 3 has detailed information regarding dates, categorization, target groups and changes.

Table 2 Cabo project/activity, by name, English translation, and brief description.

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Project Studieonder-steuning Voortgezet Onderwijs	Project Study Support Secondary Education	Tutoring of secondary school pupils 2/week from college students, also contact with parents to foster parental engagement and better contact with the school
Project Huiswerk-begeleiding groep 7+8 Basis Onderwijs	Project homework support, groups 7 & 8, Primary Education	Tutoring of primary school pupils by pedagogic students and preparation for the CITO test
<i>Ouderen-participatie / Ouder-betrokkenheid</i>	Parental participation / Parental engagement	Meetings and personal visits with parents to foster engagement in their children's education and encourage participation with their children's schools
<i>Tiener-zwangerschap / Gezondheid en Onderwijs</i>	Teenage pregnancy / Health and Education	Various activities to deter teenage pregnancy, or to support young mothers
<i>Vrijwilligersbeleid</i>	Volunteer policy	Provision of opportunities for youth to organize or support the running of activities or projects, and learn skills
<i>Criminaliteits-preventie</i>	<i>Criminality prevention</i>	Various activities and methods to deter criminal behavior and future criminality
<i>Jongeren Soos</i>	<i>Youth Soos</i>	A space for youth to meet, offered both unstructured time and planned activities, located at various neighborhood centers
Computer Stimulus	Computer stimulation	Various computer courses: Word, Excel, internet skills
<i>Onderzoek Leefwereld</i>	<i>Research Environment</i>	Qualitative research with Cape Verdean youth to learn their main issues, interests and priorities, funded by foundation LIZE
<i>Ouders en Schoolkeuze / Schoolkeuze en de schoolkeuze-markt</i>	Parents and school choice / School choice and school choice market	Meetings to provide advice and information to parents and their children about the differences in types of secondary schools, and the Dutch school system
Kinderactiviteiten: OKI, Ti Lobo	Children's activities OKI, Ti Lobo	Various children's activities at neighborhood centers during weekends and vacation weeks
<i>Werkgelegenheids-project</i>	<i>Employment project</i>	<i>Internships and voluntary work to teach skills and broaden knowledge</i>
Buurthuis de Helling/Pyramide	Neighborhood center de Helling / Pyramide	1998: activities for children, culture, criminality prevention, teen-mother; discussions; Jongeren Soos project 2002: Passada Lessons, children's dance group, Nos Dilema theater group, salsa dancing

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Back to our Roots	Back to our Roots	A project in which Cape Verdean youth from Rotterdam visited Cape Verde and explored the 'reality' of life there and different social, historical and economic aspects of the country.
Theatergroep 100% Cabo	Theater group 100% Cabo	A second-generation theater group which dealt with Cape Verdean social issues with a humorous approach. They performed in a mixture of Dutch and Cape Verdean language. The director Fransje Kraaij worked with the group 5 hours/week. The group not only performed locally, but also in Cape Verde in 2003.
Radio Program: Catchupa+Patat	Radio Program: Catchupa+Patat	Broadcasts on the mix of Dutch and Cape Verdean culture of Cape Verdean youth
Internationale uitwisselingen	Foreign exchanges	Dance and theater groups with 'Hope Street' in Liverpool, UK and Porto, Portugal. Multi-media with 'Junet' in Hamburg, Germany. Sport as prevention with 'Moinho da Juventude' in Lisbon, Portugal. Congress with 'Congresso da Quadros Caboverdianos' in Cape Verde. Exchanges with Cape Verdean organizations in Portugal, Luxembourg and Italy
Project Jong-oud /Dialoog jong en oud	Project Young-old/Dialogue Young and old	Project to increase communication and understanding between seniors and youth, shared culture and opinions
Black Diamond	Black Diamond	Female dance troupe, performed locally and also in Marseille, France in 2003.
Gitaarlessen	Guitar Lessons	Guitar lessons paid by participants
United We Stand	United We Stand	Workshops and meetings for organizations involved with the 'European Cultural Capital' program. Organized by Junet in Hamburg
Muziekproject	Music project	Workshops with professionals
Voetbal	Football	Recreation and matches with other clubs
Nos Dilema	Our Dilemma	Female theater group
Verkiezings-campagne	Election campaign	Activities and meetings to foster understanding and interest in current issues, politics and voting
Als Mijn Moeder	As my mother	No information available

Activity name	English translation	Brief description
Project Ons leert ons	<i>Project We teach us</i>	<i>Youth teach the Dutch language to the first-generation, and the generations getting to know each other</i>
<i>&U Meidenproject</i>	&U Girls project	Pairing of teenage girls with coaches to foster better decision-making, planning for the future, group activities: social skills workshops. Partner: 'Two Get There'. Funded by JOS and Delfshaven sub-municipality
<i>Moeders voor Moeders</i>	Mothers for mothers	Young mothers receive support and participate in educative activities (household, prevention), also some activities with children. Held at Neighborhood center Rosa
<i>Project Preventieve aanpak Jongeren</i>	<i>Project Preventative Approach to Youth</i>	Activities used as a method to deter criminality. Capoeira lessons and DJ course for girls, held at neighborhood center de Pyramide
<i>Kinderclub Movimento</i>	<i>Children's Club Movimento</i>	Children's activities during vacation periods using 'Youth passport' as parents worked. Expanded to year-round.
<i>Project Leerstage Kaapverdië</i>	<i>Project Learning Internship Cape Verde</i>	14 Youth from VMBO school Melanchton did an internship on Santo Antão, Cape Verde, partnered with youth from the technical school of Porto Novo. Internships at government departments and companies
TV Morabeza Jong / Jo Cabo TV	TV Morabeza Jong / Jo Cabo TV	Broadcasted informational programs and about events of the community. Run by interns and volunteers; media training received
Mission Impossible	Mission Impossible	Implementing activities to get youth interested in volunteering. Funding from 'Youth in Action', 6-month project conceived by Sandy dos Reis
Themen discussie-bijeenkomsten	Themed discussion meetings	Various topics, including the environment, homosexuality, upbringing, and discrimination

Sources: CGPA, Cabo, Bijlage Bij Overkomst; ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker; ER, Verslag week; Cabo, Begroting 98 projecten t.b.v. Kaapverdiaanse jongeren, 1997, 4 pages; and ER, Verslag Eva; ERPA, Eva Reekers and Irene Lopes, Thuis: Rotterdam of Kaapverdie?: Kaapverdiaanse Jongeren gaan op zoek naar hun roots, 2001, 48 pages; ER, Overzicht; and Cabo, Grootboek; JLVA, Av, Jaarverslag 2002; Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006; BRPA, Peter Froom, Drie Weken stage lopen in Kaapverdië: van 1 t/m 22 november 2007 met Melanchthon Prinses Irene en Melanchthon Laanslootseweg, Report, 2007, 51 pages; and Peter Froom, Verslag Leerstage: I.s.m. De Technische School in Porto Novo Santo Antão Cabo Verde met 14 leerlingen van de vmbo-afdelingen Melanchthon-Prinses Irene en Melanchthon-Laanslootseweg Rotterdam van 1 t/m 22 november 2007, 2007, 27 pages; GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007; Cabo, Jaarrapportage; Av, Jaarverslag 2007; Cabo, Jaarrapportage; Av, Jaarverslag 2009; Cabo, Rapportage; and Av, Jaarverslag 2010. Interviews: SdR, 30 June 2014; ER, 25 June 2014, and 25 September 2015; and BR, 17 June 2015. Emails: NPPA, BR, 3 August 2015; CR, 22 September 2015; and SdR, 6 August 2015.

Table 3: Cabo projects/activities, by years offered, the recorded category name re: policy goal, and changes with dates

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Project Study Support Secondary Education	1993/94* to 2009 2010 to 2012 Continued by Avanco	1994: Prevention, service 2007: Education & participation	Cape Verdean Youth in secondary education	1997-2007: Increase in pupils 1997: 30 pupils, 2007: 40 pupils 2008-2009: Decrease in pupils 2008: 35 pupils, 2009: 24 pupils Unknown* Category name 2001: Professionalization 2001: Training tutors/mentors 2001-2003: Subsidized from FORUM via 'Shell Cares' program 1997-2009: Subsidized from JOS
Project homework support, groups 7 & 8, Primary Education	2000** to 2009	Education & participation	Cape Verdean children ages 10-11, 2007* open to all children ages 10-11	Unknown* Tutors from different ethnic backgrounds 2001: Professionalization 2001: Training tutors/mentors 2001-2003: Subsidized from FORUM via company funding <i>Shell Cares</i> 2007* <i>Opened to children of all ethnic backgrounds</i> 1998*-2009: Subsidized from JOS
<i>1993/94: Parental participation</i> <i>2007: Parental engagement</i>	1993/94* to 2009	1994: Activation, mobilization 2007: Education and Information	Cape Verdean parents of school age children	
<i>1993/94 to 2002** Teenage pregnancy</i> 2002** Health and Education	1993/94 to unknown*	Prevention, advice, information, service	Young girls	Unknown** Name changed to Health and Education
Volunteer policy	1993/94 to 2002*	Activation, mobilization	All ages and ethnicities	
<i>Criminality prevention</i>	1993/94 to 2009	Prevention, information	Children and youth, mostly boys	
<i>Youth Soos</i>	1993/94 to 2009	Activation, mobilization	youth	
Computer stimulation	1994 to 2001	Activation, mobilization	youth	2001: Offered by Avanco at their e-centrum
<i>Research Environment</i>	1994 to 1995	Activation, Motivation	Cape Verdean youth	

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
<i>1993/94: Parents and school choice</i> 2005: School choice and school choice market	1993/94 to unknown*	<i>1993/94: unknown*</i> 2002: Education 2005: Education and Citizenship	Cape Verdean parents and their children ages 10-12	2002: Project name & Category 2005: Project name & Category
Children's activities OKI, Ti Lobo	1997/98 to unknown*	unknown*	Children	Feb 2001: Collaboration with Casa Tiberias ended - no suitable volunteer available
<i>Employment project</i>	1994 to 2009	Education & Participation	Youth	Decrease in interns/volunteers: 2007: 11 interns, 45 volunteers 2008: 30 interns, 40 volunteers 2009: 6 interns, 40 volunteers
Various activities at Neighborhood center de Helling / Pyramide	1998 to 2002	Activation, Motivation		Changed depending on the interests of the volunteers and youth
Back to our Roots	1999 Preparation 2000	unknown*	Cape Verdeans ages 16-21	
Theater group 100% Cabo	2000-2008	Culture & Identity	Cape Verdean youth	2002: Professionalized with help from a director, 4-year project with foundations RKS and SBAW.
Radio Programs: Catchupa+Patat	1998* to 2002	Culture & Identity	Youth for youth audience	unknown* - 1 Dec 2002: used SLOR subsidy, collaboration with radio show of Norberto da Silva
Various foreign exchanges	1998 to 2007	Depended on exchange	Youth, staff, volunteers	
2001: Project J Young-old 2008: Dialogue Young and old	2001 to 2002 Restarted 2008	Building bridges and making connections	2001: Cape Verdean youth and 55+ 2002: expand to Moroccans and Dutch 2008: expand to various ethnic groups	2002 & 2008: policy demands of project goals, content and target groups
Black Diamond	2001* to unknown*	Culture and Talent Development	Cape Verdean girls	2002: Received Subsidy from 'Jeugdinitiatieven' (Youth Initiatives) from Rotterdam municipality
Guitar Lessons	1999 to 2002	Culture and Talent Development	Youth	
RKS Traject	2002 to unknown*	Expertise	Interns and volunteers active in small cultural projects	
United We Stand	2003* to unknown*	Unknown*	Organizers of activities	
Music project	Unknown*	Unknown*	youth	
Football	1996 to unknown*	Unknown*	youth	

Activity name in English	Years offered	Recorded category re: policy goal	Target group	Changes
Our Dilemma	Unknown*	Culture	girls	
Election campaign	Only 2002	Participation	youth	
As my mother	Unknown*	Unknown*	girls	
Project We teach us	2004 to 2005	Unknown*	Youth 16+ and 1 st gen. 50+, Cape Verdean	
<i>&U Girls project</i>	1 July 2007 to 2009	2007-2009: Education & Participation 2010: Emancipation	Girls ages 15-18, mixed ethnicities,	Number of girls coupled with a buddy or coach: 2007 – 6, 2008 – 21, 2009 – 19
Mothers for mothers	2007 to 2008	Information & Prevention	young mothers, ½ Cape Verdean	2007: mentoring on young mother issues 2008: added debt problems
<i>Project Preventative Approach to Youth</i>	2007	Information & Prevention	youth	2007: Capoeira lessons & DJ course for girls at neighborhood center De Pyramide
<i>Children's Club Movimento</i>	2004 to 2007	Culture & Identity	Children, all ethnicities mostly in Delfshaven	Period of activity, age of group, Subsidy source, Delfshaven municipality policy demands
<i>Project Learning Internship Cape Verde</i>	Nov 2007 to May 2008	Cabo & the Media	14 pupils from VMBO school Melanchthon, ½ Cape Verdean	none
TV Morabeza Jong / Jo Cabo TV	2002 to 2009	2006: Avanco reported: Education & Information 2007: Cabo reported: Cabo & the Media	Youth	2002-2006: Beatris Rocha, TV show presenter end 2007: Bought own camera, no longer renting/borrowing
Mission Impossible	2005, only 6 months	Participation	Ages 17 to 24	none
Themed discussion meetings	1993 to 2009	Information & Prevention	Youth, parents	none

* Unknown exact dates. The annual reports for Cabo could not be obtained from 1994 to 2006, and from 2008 to 2009.

Only a table listing projects were obtained for years 2008 and 2009.

** Not definite information provided during interview: Eva Reekers, 25 September 2015.

Sources: CGPA, Cabo, Bijlage Bij Overkomst; ER, Verslag Jongerenwerker; ER, Verslag week; Cabo, Begroting 98 projecten t.b.v. Kaapverdiaanse jongeren, 1997, 4 pages; and ER, Verslag Eva; ERPA, Eva Reekers and Irene Lopes, Thuis: Rotterdam of Kaapverdie?: Kaapverdiaanse Jongeren gaan op zoek naar hun roots, 2001, 48 pages; ER, Overzicht; and Cabo, Grootboek; JLVA, Av, Jaarverslag 2002; Av, Concept Jaarverslag 2005; and Av, Jaarverslag 2006; BRPA, Peter Froom, Drie Weken stage lopen in Kaapverdië: van 1 t/m 22 november 2007 met Melanchthon Prinses Irene en Melanchthon Laanslootseweg, Report, 2007, 51 pages; and Peter Froom, Verslag Leerstage: I.s.m. De Technische School in Porto Novo Santo Antão Cabo Verde met 14 leerlingen van de vmbo-afdelingen Melanchthon-Prinses Irene en Melanchthon-Laanslootseweg Rotterdam van 1 t/m 22 november 2007, 2007, 27 pages; GAR, Cabo, Jaarverslag 2007; Cabo, Jaarrapportage; Av, Jaarverslag 2007; Cabo, Jaarrapportage; Av, Jaarverslag 2009; Cabo, Rapportage; and Av, Jaarverslag 2010. Interviews: SdR, 30 June 2014; ER, 25 June 2014, and 25 September 2015; and BR, 17 June 2015. Emails: NPPA, BR, 3 August 2015; CR, 22 September 2015; and SdR, 6 August 2015.

Table 4: Subsidies, funding and income received for Cabo projects in 2002 in EUR.

Activity name in English	Rotterdam subsidy	Other subsidies	Funds	Other income	Participant fees
Project Study Support Secondary Education	€11,404.72	€567.50	€	€340.00	€521.11
CITO test, homework support, groups 7 & 8, Primary Education,	€4,939.58	€567.50	€	€	€298.36
Research and Initiation	€	€523.34	€	€	€
Music Project	€	€3,630.00	€	€	€
Employment project	€	€	€907.56	€	€
Theater '100% Cabo'	€	€3,630.24	€2,496.23	€	€115.00
Guitar lessons	€	€	€	€	€15.00
Our Dilemma	€	€	€	€270.00	€96.00
Netherlands - Cape Verde ¹	€1,452.10	€8,350.00	€	€	€
Back to our Roots	€	€	€	€20.00	€
Sport	€	€	€4,639.00	€	€850.00
United We Stand	€5,900.17	€756.30	€	€	€
Election Campaign	€829.00	€	€	€	€

Source: Cabo, Grootboekkaarten 2002 (Rotterdam, 2002). This is an incomplete list of projects and activities running that year.

¹ This subsidy was for hosting a school group from Cape Verde.

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