Mobility at the Heart of a Nation: Patterns and Meanings of Cape Verdean Migration

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Abstract   Cape Verde, an island nation off West Africa, is a country moulded by migration from the time of settlement until today. This article traces the shifting migration flows to, through and from the archipelago. These trends are related to developments in transportation technology and changes in the world economy, which have created fluctuations in the attractiveness of Cape Verde's location. The article then proceeds to explore the Cape Verdean "migration ideology", which has historical roots but became consolidated through large-scale labour emigration in the 1960s and 1970s. By "migration ideology" we refer to the set of ideas that associate migration with specific meanings and causalities. The final section of the article addresses some of the contradictions and pressures that have become central to Cape Verdean migration over the past decade or two: restrictive immigration policies in destination countries increasingly prevent the departure of prospective migrants, a diverse flow of return migrants challenges established notions of migrant success, and the islands are attracting larger numbers of transit migrants and immigrants from China and the African mainland. The analysis raises the question of how the Cape Verdean national identity will evolve with the complexity of the migratory landscape.

Introduction

The Cape Verdean nation is a product of human mobility, and migration has continued to shape its development. The history of constant out-migration deeply affects the way people look upon themselves and their nation. Successive generations of Cape Verdeans have grown up seeing mobility as an intrinsic part of life. The past is imbued with leave-takings and departures, but it is also a history of transnational contacts. The culture of migration, thus, has been shaped along two axes; across space as well as across time. The historical outward orientation fundamentally conditions Cape Verdean lives by turning mobility into something that is both necessary and natural. This article traces the shifting migration patterns, explores the Cape Verdean migration ideology,

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and discusses how recent changes in the international migration regime have challenged this ideology.

The Cape Verde Islands are an archipelago of ten islands in the Atlantic Ocean, 500 km off the coast of Senegal. Cape Verde gained independence from Portugal in 1975 and has fared much better than most Sub-Saharan African countries since independence. Multi-party democracy was introduced in 1991. While tourism is becoming more important and has considerable potential, the Cape Verdean economy remains dependent on foreign aid and remittances from emigrants. The half a million inhabitants on the islands are probably outnumbered by Cape Verdean emigrants and their descendants overseas (Carling, 1997).

The article is divided into three sections. The first gives an overview of the history of shifting migration flows from early colonialism until the 1980s, when Cape Verde had consolidated its independence. The second section discusses the contemporary Cape Verdean migration ideology. This refers to the set of ideas that associate migration with specific meanings and causalities. The third section addresses some of the contradictions and pressures that have become central to Cape Verdean migration over the past decade or two.

The authors of this article both visited Cape Verde for the first time in 1996 and have been involved in research on Cape Verdean migration since then. There has been a lot of common ground in our research, and we have benefited from exchanging perspectives and experiences. We come from different disciplines (human geography and social anthropology, respectively) but have done research on closely related issues in the same location. This article synthesizes selected aspects of our previous research and presents them in a new framework (primarily Åkesson, 2004, Carling, 2002b, 2004).

We have both done fieldwork primarily in São Vicente and Santo Antão. Cape Verde is a diverse country of nine inhabited islands, and many aspects of migration are significantly different elsewhere in the country. Studies of emigration on other islands include Dias (2000) and Finan and Henderson (1988) on Santiago, Meintel (1984) on Brava, and Filho (1996) on São Nicolau. Different diaspora communities are presented in detail in Batalha and Carling (2008).

Shifting migration flows

In Cape Verde, one often hears references to "the country's privileged geographical position", alluding to its location at the intersection of Atlantic shipping routes. Developments in transportation technology and changes in the world economy have created fluctuations in the attractiveness of Cape Verde's location, however. The balance between being a remote backwater and a strategic node has continuously been redefined throughout Cape Verde's history. The same tension has shaped, and been shaped by, the shifting migration flows.

From discovery to around 1900

The Cape Verde islands were named after the closest point on the mainland, Cape Verde (Cap-Vert) which was allegedly where seafarers first saw greenery on land after
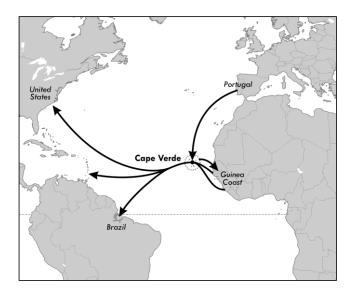
Figure 1. Dominant migration flows in the colonial period until around 1900.

sailing along the arid coast of the Sahara. The islands were uninhabited when a small group of Portuguese, Spanish and Genoese settled in 1462, only a few years after the discovery of the archipelago. Over the next 150 years, Cape Verde became an important transit point in the Atlantic slave trade. The shipment of slaves through the archipelago was Cape Verde's first experience with mass migration (Figure 1). During this period, the European settlers -- who were almost exclusively male -- and women brought as slaves from the mainland produced a population of mixed origin that soon became the majority among the residents of the islands. This created the foundation for a Cape Verdean population, although a national identity was not asserted until the twentieth century. The islands remained an important transit point from slaves who were transported to the United States, the West Indies and Brazil.

Under Portuguese colonial rule, Cape Verdeans had an ambiguous middle-man role. As early as the fifteenth century, Cape Verdeans were sent to the Guinea coast where they functioned as intermediary traders for Portuguese and later also for other European merchants. They were known as *lançados* and travelled up and down the African coast, into river systems, and efficiently penetrated local trading and slaving systems. Considerable numbers of Cape Verdeans migrated to the mainland where they came to function as an extended arm of Portuguese colonialism. Lisbon's need for qualified Cape Verdean administrators in the mainland colonies led to the establishment of the empire's first "overseas" secondary school in the archipelago. The Cape Verdeans were particularly visible in what is today Guinea Bissau, where they functioned as missionaries, traders, settlers, and government administrators (Meintel, 1984b).

Slavery came to an end in Cape Verde around the middle of the nineteenth century. Around the same time, a new migration flow to the Americas developed. American whalers from ports in New England began to arrive in the harbours of the archipelago by the end of the eighteenth century. The captains of these ships were interested in recruiting cheap labour, and they found this among the impoverished islanders, who
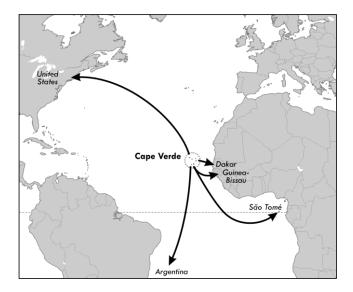
Figure 2. Dominant migration flows approximately 1900–1930.

accepted any kind of pay as long as they could escape the hardship at home. Life onboard was hard and humiliating, and when they arrived in New England, some of the Cape Verdean sailors took the chance to disembark and try their luck on the new continent (Halter, 1993).

The large-scale migration to America that followed can be seen as a small Cape Verdean chapter in the larger history of the great transatlantic migration. In Cape Verde, the history of pioneer migration to America tends to take on an almost mythical quality. Accounts of how the first migrants left aboard American whalers can be seen as a narrative of the creation of the ever-departing Cape Verdean. As migration is an intrinsic part of Cape Verdean identity and lifestyle, the pioneers have come to play the role of cultural heroes. They are the forerunners of the tradition of migration, and they are crucial to the ideology of migration.

The first decades of the twentieth century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, a small but stable Cape Verdean colony had been established in southern Massachusetts and Rhode Island. Some of these pioneers bought old sailing vessels and started to bring co-nationals to New England. The small vessels, known as packet boats, were mostly destined for the island of Brava, which has historically been the home island of many of the Cape Verdean-Americans. This initiative coincided both with devastating spells of drought on the islands and with an increasing demand for labour in the textile mills and cranberry bogs of Massachusetts, and brought about the first Cape Verdean mass migration. Between 1900 and 1920 approximately 20,000 persons, most of them males, entered the United States (Carreira, 1983:120; Halter, 1993:38-46). This was a substantial percentage of the archipelago's population, which at that time consisted of only about 150,000 persons (Wils, 1999).

The connection between the Cape Verdean American community and the Cape Verde islands was very strong, with frequent transportation back and forth. As a result, migration to the United States was not seen as an irreversible step (Halter, 1993:75). Even though many of the migrants never returned to the islands, there were others who came back for good or shuttled between the new and the old country. Some of those who worked as cranberry pickers left Cape Verde in the spring, and returned after the harvest in late autumn. They would spend the winter season at home and then leave again for the Massachusetts bogs in the spring. The travelling of these seasonal migrants affected life in the homeland community. Weddings and other important festivities, for instance, would take place during the months when the cranberry pickers were at home. In the 1920s, new immigration legislation in the United States curtailed the inflow of Cape Verdeans.

The first decades of the twentieth century were the beginning of a dark chapter in the history of Cape Verdean migration: the flow of indentured labourers to other Portuguese colonies in Africa (Figure 2). The somewhat higher status of the Cape Verdeans relative to other colonial subjects did not prevent the Portuguese from compelling them to work under slavery-like conditions when the need for cheap labour arose in the empire. Cape Verdeans were primarily forced to migrate to the islands of São Tomé and Principe in the Gulf of Guinea, where they worked on coffee and cacao plantations. The exact degree of coercion is unclear (Meintel, 1984b: 65), but in popular memory, the migration to São Tomé and Principe is compared to slavery. The dreadful conditions on the plantations have been documented in detail by Carreira (1983), who reports on torture and abuse, and shows that wages amounted to practically nothing. Between 1900 and 1970, approximately 80,000 women and men left Cape Verde for the islands in the south, while smaller numbers were sent to Guinea and Angola (Carreira, 1983:245).

While migration to the other Portuguese colonies happened with varying degrees of coercion, Dakar became an escape valve for many Cape Verdeans. The geographic proximity between Cape Verde and Senegal enabled migrants to travel back and forth quite easily, and thus escape the surveillance of authorities. The necessity of leaving unnoticed was due to the Portuguese intention to channel labour to São Tomé and Principe. Periodically, passports and travel permits were not issued for those heading for other destinations (Barcelos, 1899-1913: 84). When the United States halted immigration around 1920, a passage to Senegal became a new way for Cape Verdeans to leave their country. The Cape Verdeans were well regarded by the French in Senegal. Women often worked as domestic servants in their homes, while men found jobs as artisans.

In the early twentieth century, Argentina was a leading industrial power and a major source of immigration from Europe. Cape Verdeans were also part of this migration flow, especially from the 1920s and onwards. They settled in maritime, industrial environments near the mouth of the Río de la Plata, and established the first Cape Verdean association in 1927 (Correa, 2000; Maffia, 1986).
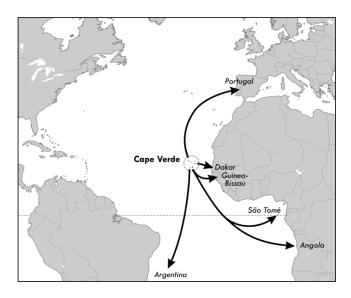
Figure 3. Dominant migration flows approximately 1930–1960.

The 1930s, 1940s and 1950s

The 1920s were a watershed in Cape Verdean migration history because of the closure of migration to the United States. Until the mid-1960s, the door to the United States was practically closed by stringent immigration laws as well as by obstacles imposed by the Portuguese government (Halter, 1993). The restrictions also prevented those who had reached America from visiting the islands for fear of being denied re-entry to the United States. Transnational contacts were not lost, however, thanks to the packet boats, which continued their passages across the Atlantic despite a dwindling number of passengers.

The migration flows to Argentina and Dakar that had been established early in the century continued until the 1950s. The flow of indentured labour to São Tomé was sustained until the end of colonial rule. While some Cape Verdeans also went to Angola as plantation workers, settlers and professionals were more significant groups in this flow (Figure 3). The status of Angola is reflected in the popular Cape Verdean song *Terezinha*, about a return migrant and his girlfriend: "Oh Terezinha; the money from Angola is gone; I don't have a penny left; to spend with you"[1] Even today, after several decades of civil war have left much of Angola in ruins, Cape Verdeans see hope in the country's vast economic resources and lack of professionals. "Soon, Angola might be the best *abertura* (opening) for us", people say (Åkesson, 2004:35).

In the middle decades of the twentieth century migration to Portugal was the preserve of a relatively small colonial elite (Batalha, 2004). They were students, merchants and administrators, welcomed without any procedural problems. The numbers were still small, however, in relation to later migration flows to Portugal.
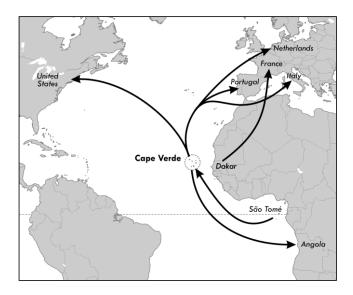
Figure 4. Dominant migration flows approximately 1960–1990.

The 1960s, 1970s and 1980s

The 1960s marked a second watershed in Cape Verdean migration history, with significant developments on several fronts (Figure 4). First, US immigration regulations were relaxed and Cape Verdean migration to the United States began anew. These migrants met a Cape Verdean-American ethnic group whose members looked like them, but differed culturally. Children and grandchildren of the first migrants were maybe proud of their Cape Verdean ancestry, but knew little about the conditions on the islands (Almeida, 1995).

Second, Cape Verdean migration to Europe gained pace. In Portugal, labour migration was first facilitated by Portuguese construction companies in Cape Verde who brought Cape Verdean workers back to Portugal. This gave rise to a chain migration of low-skilled workers that increased rapidly in the 1960s and early 1970s (Batalha, 2004; Góis, 2006). Demand for labour in Portugal was partly driven by the emigration of Portuguese workers to non-Western Europe.

It was also around 1960 that Cape Verdean men began migrating to the Netherlands to find work as seafarers. The shipping industry was booming, and Rotterdam was where not only Dutch but also Norwegian, British and German ships recruited their crew. Many Cape Verdeans later settled in the Rotterdam area and brought their families from Cape Verde. This community in the Netherlands was pivotal in the establishment of Cape Verdean communities elsewhere in non-Western Europe, including Germany, Sweden and Norway.

At the same time as Cape Verdean men migrated to Rotterdam for work in the shipping industry, increasing numbers of Cape Verdean women travelled to Italy as domestic workers. For the first migrants, Capuchin friars based on the island of São Nicolau functioned as mediators. Through their contacts with Catholic parishes in Rome and elsewhere, they could place young girls as domestic workers in Italian families (Andall,

1998, 1999). The Catholic friars only helped a small group of young women to find jobs abroad, but these first migrants soon started to call for their daughters, sisters, cousins and friends (Monteiro, 1997).

As with Cape Verdean participation in the great transatlantic migration half a decade earlier, these new movements were also part of lager migratory phenomenon. Cape Verdean workers arrived in non-Western Europe alongside migrants from Turkey, Morocco and other countries as part of the massive "guest worker" migration from 1960 to the early 1970s. Cape Verdean migration to southern Europe contributed to the so-called "migration turnaround" through which Portugal, Spain and Italy went from being countries of emigration to being countries of immigration (King, et al., 1997).

Indentured labour flows to São Tomé continued through the 1960s, but this was increasingly an era of return to Cape Verde. Many remained, however, and São Tomé still has a sizeable Cape Verdean population. The Cape Verdean government has recently taken steps to facilitate the return of elderly emigrants from the islands in the South (Instituto das Comunidades, 2001). This is part of a larger re-orientation of government policy towards the diaspora, with greater emphasis on protecting vulnerable migrant groups.

When Senegal gained independence in 1960, many of the Cape Verdeans in Dakar left for France together with their French employers. This first group later helped other Cape Verdeans to establish themselves in France. Others stayed on in Senegal, but were not always accepted by the local population because of their role as "proxy" colonizers. Today, more than 40 years later, the Cape Verdeans who stayed are more or less assimilated into Senegalese society (Lesourd, 1995).

The Cape Verdean Migration Ideology

Everyday in Cape Verde is replete with references to migration in people's conversations and activities. They talk about their wishes to emigrate and about others who have left or are returning, receive phone calls and remittances from emigrant relatives, and are surrounded by emigrants' houses and other physical manifestations of migration. What emerges from extensive fieldwork in Cape Verde is that there is a well-developed migration ideology that constructs mobility as both natural and necessary. This view is rooted in two frameworks. The first of these consists of a combination of ideas and experiences that arise from the colonial history and the lack of resources in the country. The second element is the construction of creole identity. Cape Verdeans often view themselves as "experts" on migration and cultural integration, and maintain that their global background disposes them to easy adaptation to new sociocultural contexts. The role of the Creole identity is discussed extensively by Åkesson (2004). Here, we will concentrate on the role of ideas about the barren Cape Verdean homeland and its dialectical relationship with plentiful foreign countries. We then proceed to discussing the idealized life trajectories that integrate emigration.

Emigration (*emigrasãu* in Kriol) in Cape Verde is generally understood as living and working abroad, usually with the intention to return. This is different from going abroad for university education, which many young people wish to do. Studying abroad

is even seen as a means of escaping the necessity of emigration for work, since higher education could enable a professional career with a reasonable income in Cape Verdean business or government. Cape Verdean students abroad also seek to distance themselves from Cape Verdean labour migrants (Handing, 2001). Another kind of international mobility, transnational trading, is also engaged in by Cape Verdeans who see this as a strategy for avoiding "emigration", defined as working abroad (Marques, et al*.,* 2001). Those who work on foreign ships, on the other hand, are considered emigrants although they have no home in another country.

In Cape Verde, it is almost a cliché that people emigrate *pa pská um vida mdjor*, "in search of a better life". There is more to this than material well-being, however. Emigration is also associated with self-fulfilment in a wider sense. In Kriol, this is often expressed as *fazé nha vida* ("to make my life"). This makes it meaningful to conceptualize Cape Verdean emigration as a project of life-making. The concept of "making a life" through emigration is thoroughly discussed by Lisa Åkesson (2004).

Perhaps half the population in Cape Verde have a wish to emigrate. The exact proportion is unknown, not only because of statistical margins of error, but primarily because aspirations are often elusive and transient. Some people have a firm conviction that they wish to emigrate while others could say so on the spur of the moment. The best available survey, the *Observatório de Migrações e Emprego*, presents a picture of a consistently high proportion of prospective emigrants, close to half the population[2.]

More often than not, however, this is thought of as a better life in Cape Verde. Most young people express their emigration aspirations as projects for living better after returning to their home country. This makes it possible to see migration as a means to an end, an end that there could also be other strategies for reaching.

Ideas about a barren homeland

The sufferings of drought and famine are central to Cape Verdeans' sense of identity and have given them a view of their country as inextricably bound to poverty. Often, migration is conceived of as the only way to escape it. Both in people's everyday conversations about migration and in more scholarly accounts, one often encounters the reasoning that "people migrate (or wish to migrate) because they are poor". A more analytical approach would be that people wish to migrate because they think of themselves as poor, and they think of their poverty as place-bound[3.] These two conditions are both present in Cape Verde, although people do not necessarily express them in so many words. What is reflected in people's talk, however, is the idea that the transition from poverty to plenty can only take place outside the homeland.

Even in an ever more urbanized, service-oriented economy, the lack of rain is seen as setting the limits for opportunities in Cape Verde. It is the infertility of the land itself, of the stones, the rocks and the hopelessly dry fields that is seen to compel people to leave for other and richer countries. One often hears the statement that "*ess terra ka tem nada*" ("this land has nothing"). Such statements are founded upon an implicit comparison with another life outside Cape Verde. Often, they seem to function as

metaphors for a sense of despair and frustration, and they are frequently voiced by people who experience their present life as hopeless and stagnant and dream of migration.

It is the strong link between poverty and place, and not with people, that often translates into desires to emigrate. The place-bound limits on social mobility are expressed by Calú, a young man in São Vicente (Carling, 2002b:20):

> Some of my friends, those I hang out with every day, say that 'Me, if I finish school, and I find a way of travelling, I'll go. Because Cape Verde, São Vicente, doesn't have a future for anybody'. That's how they say. In fact we all say, São Vicente doesn't have a future for anybody.

As young people with some schooling, Calú and his friends believe that they have a potential for success, but that this cannot be realized in São Vicente. While visible wealth in Cape Verde has grown rapidly in recent years, people have already become used to seeing their country as a place of poverty, and the wealth as coming from outside.

When Cape Verdeans say that the homeland "has nothing to give" this is not an anti-national statement. People pity their homeland and her poverty in much the same way as they would pity a poor and dear relative. Cape Verdean nationalism is of an intimate kind. In terms of kinship, the homeland might be represented as the "mother land" (*terra mãi*), while countries abroad harbouring Cape Verdeans are called by some the "step-mother land" (*terra madrast*). There is a feeling of close belonging to a land that is your own, but that unfortunately lacks the resources needed to take care of all of its children.

The "nothingness" of the homeland is seen to derive from the God-given conditions imposed upon Cape Verde. Not only rain is lacking; the islands are also short of natural resources. The necessity to migrate is believed to derive fundamentally from the drought. "If it only rained, nobody would emigrate", we often heard Cape Verdeans or visiting migrants say. Rain is conceived of as a nearly magical phenomenon even in urban areas. When the first rains of a year hit São Vicente, roads are quickly filled with shouting and laughing children and adults also openly show their satisfaction. Rain is life-giving and rainfall is a sign showing that God has not forgotten Cape Verde.

The poverty attributed to the homeland also marks Cape Verdeans' image of themselves as individuals, especially in relation to persons from the outside world. It often happened that people who enjoyed a reasonable standard of living represented themselves to us, Northern Europeans, as "poor". This attitude did not reflect a naivety on the part of the speaker. Instead it mirrored our different positions in relation to "geographies of power" (Gardner, 1993). Furthermore, the history of widespread despair gives rise to a collective image of life on Cape Verde as permanently marked by desolation. Still today, elderly people sometimes become absorbed in galling childhood memories of starvation and death. The crisis in the 1940s, when about one-third of the population died, is still an especially important part of popular memory.

The widespread disillusion with opportunities in Cape Verde does not mean that all Cape Verdeans draw the same conclusions about their own preferred strategies. The

following extract from an interview with Tina, a young girl in São Vicente, illustrates this (Carling, 2002b:19).

> If there is a group of us talking, somebody says 'I'm fed up with Cape Verde. I want a good life. I can't find work, in Cape Verde there is no...' — It's mostly a problem of rain, you know. The problem is... Because of [lack of] rain, those other problems grow more — Somebody else says 'You better shut up, because if you see on TV, you listen to the radio, there is no place like Cape Verde. There is no hunger, there is no war.' We... we want to have more, but we can't. We have to live in line with our own conditions, of our origin.

This passage draws together many aspects of poverty and emigration. First, Tina uses an imagined conversation to illustrate many young people's frustration over life in Cape Verde. Then, she diagnoses the situation as a consequence of drought, in line with our discussion in the preceding paragraphs. In fact, many Cape Verdeans see social problems such as unemployment, crime and drug abuse as linked by causal chains that originate from the drought problem. In the imagined conversation, Tina introduces the view that one should appreciate what Cape Verde offers in terms of peace and basic well-being, and not yearn for ever more material wealth. In her own closing comments, she makes explicit what both her imaginary friends probably agree about: Upward social mobility is virtually impossible in Cape Verde, and this results from the drought, a fact of nature. The imaginary argument was not about possibilities for "making it" in Cape Verde. On the contrary, it was presented as a choice between settling with modesty, within the limits permitted by the land, and yearning for what is seen as impossible on the islands.

Ideas about the plentiful stranjer

In Cape Verde, the notion of home as barren and impoverished has traditionally been counterpoised to the image of *stranjer* as a "paradise" where the ones who work hard can get everything they want. *Stranjer* (from Portuguese *estrangeiro*) is the collective term for foreign countries, implicitly limited to the wealthy destination countries of emigrants. Home and *stranjer* are seen as fundamentally contrastive. Not only Cape Verde's ecological conditions and lack of natural resources, but also the country's dependence upon remittances and development aid and its insignificance in the global political economy nourish these contrasting images.

Against the dark shadows of Cape Verde's past, the vision of the outside world as a place where you can get all you want, if you are prepared to work hard, is deeply-rooted. It is a dream of "a paradise", and a hope of rescue from experiences of poverty and stagnation. The "nothingness" of home evokes fantasies about another and abundant world. *La fora tem tud* ("out there they have everything") is a common way of phrasing this dream.

The gifts brought home by generations of migrants and the stories they have told have functioned as unambiguous signs of the wealth and magic of foreign countries. In the first half of the twentieth century, when most imported products were unknown

and famine was recurrent, the arrival of a visiting relative or a package from abroad was a dramatic event.

The children of those who left during the "golden years" of migration to Europe (the 1960s and 1970s) are now adults. When they talk about their childhood they often compare the visits of migrant family members with the arrival of Santa Claus. They describe how their relatives came home loaded with goods that were unknown to the islanders, and they can still recall in detail the gifts they received. These visits naturally gave rise to powerful dreams about the outside world and marvel at the life of a migrant.

The influence of visiting or returning migrants bringing home glamorous gifts and exciting stories is reported from many parts of the world (Fong, 2001; Halstead, 2002; Rugkåsa, 1997; Werbner, 1999). The condition of being a migrant seems in itself to imply that you should return home "in style". To break away from the homeland is a way of saying that "I'm opting for something better than this", and consequently, to come back without any signs of having gained a better life signifies a failure. In Cape Verde, the depth of such failures is illustrated by stories told about unsuccessful migrants who committed suicide on their way home as they found it impossible to face their families and friends in their miserable state.

Still today, emigrants coming back for holidays contribute to the vision of the superior life abroad. August is the major holiday month for such visits. In São Vicente, August is also the month of the warm sandy beaches, the intense nightlife and the music festival of Baía das Gatas, which each year hosts a public that exceeds the number of inhabitants on the island. In August the pace of life changes. There are more people in the streets, more cars on the roads, and the bars are filled with customers. Many of the migrants have saved for years to be able to make this return trip. Now, many of them lavish gifts on relatives and friends and the men treat their admiring companions to rounds of *grog* (sugarcane liquor) and beer. The young male migrants' behaviour and way of moving differ from the rest. They can be seen walking straddle-legged in the middle of the narrow sidewalks and heard talking in loud voices, thereby promoting a sense of being the ones who are in control. Some of them dress and behave in a way reminiscent of young urban black Americans, and they function as a role model for many non-migrants of the same age. To their peers in the homeland, they signal success and superiority, and they help to keep alive dreams of a better life somewhere else.

The vision of *stranjer* is also nurtured by TV broadcasts from abroad. Strikingly, when people see images from Europe and the United States, it is generally the rich natural resources of foreign countries that attract attention, not the personal wealth of the individuals passing by on the screen. When pictures of green fields, waterfalls and forests are shown, they can provoke lively discussions about the poverty of Cape Verde and the wealth of *stranjer*. In the reflexive comparison between home and abroad, it is primarily the difference between the landscapes that is noted, and this works as a key symbol of an unequal relationship.

Migration and ideal life trajectories

While the riches of the outside world prepare people to leave the homeland, those who have left experience a pull in the other direction. The purported sociality and peace of the homeland compel people to return when their working-days abroad are finished. The outline of the ideal life trajectory can be summarized as leaving Cape Verde and working hard abroad in order to have a better life in Cape Verde afterwards. Even emigrants who have settled permanently abroad often see emigration and homecoming as the fundamental transitions in a typical Cape Verdean life.

There is a strong work ethic coupled to the migration cycle. Hard work and thrift are said to be necessary in order to succeed as a migrant. Work abroad is also believed to be more stressful than in Cape Verde, and people often say there is no point in leaving if one is not prepared for hard labour. Given this linkage between migration and work, gender differences are not emphasized in the ideas about the ideal trajectory, because work, even heavy physical labour, is associated as much with women as with men. To migrate is to leave in search of employment, or better paid employment, and in Cape Verde this is considered as important for women as for men.

The goal for both females and males who work abroad should be to save money and build a house in the homeland. Ideally, the construction of a house should be completed before return. If this is accomplished, the migrant can come home and directly settle into the new surroundings. The new house not only provides comfort, but also mirrors the migrant's success. Some find it important to build the new house in a prestigious part of the town. One successful returnee who had acquired a building site in a prosperous neighbourhood emphasized this by saying "I didn't come back from Europe to live in the slum". Others build their houses where they lived before they departed. As a result, many relatively poor neighbourhoods are dotted with brightly coloured emigrants' houses.

In Cape Verde, return is conceived of as the given end of the migration project. The notion of return is so strong that it is possible to speak of an "ethos of homecoming". The strength of this ethos seems to be built upon at least three different elements. Firstly, return is emphasized because it is an acknowledgement of loyalty and belonging to the homeland. Secondly, the idea that those who migrate will eventually return may work as a coping strategy in a society where almost everyone undergoes painful separations. For both leavers and stayers the idea of an endless separation may be unbearable, while assumptions about a future return and reunion are consoling. Thirdly, the idea of the good life after return builds upon conceptions of sacrifice and reward coupled to movements in space and time. Migration is a sacrifice for the future. Some sufferings are especially frequently mentioned; besides the feelings of *sodad* (longing), the migrants have to work hard abroad, they are exploited and discriminated against, and they have to endure cold weather and freezing rain. Life after return is a reward for all these sufferings, and it signifies a transformation of mobile subjects into persons who are in control of their lives. Successful returnees play an important role in signalling the potential of emigration as a project for life-making. As a girl from São Vicente said about elderly returnees in her neighbourhood, "everybody who sees somebody like

that will say that 'that one has his life sorted out'; he doesn't have to do anything more; now he can just live" (Carling, 2001:60).

Living the *vida boa* (good life) after having returned to the homeland is represented as the "happy ending" of the migration cycle. This is when Cape Verdeans can benefit from the best of both worlds: enjoying a secure and respectable position, an independent life in a good house, advantages drawn from *stranjer*, but also sharing in local life, now without worries for the future. Djunga, a young carpenter in São Vicente, put it like this (Åkesson, 2004:91):

> When I emigrate I want to come back as soon as possible and then always live here. If there were money in Cape Verde, no better place would exist. Not in the entire world. Here there are no wars, no earthquakes, nothing. That is the most important factor, but it is also important that people here live together in a happier and more pleasant manner than abroad. We know how to live together and how to have a good time.

In this quote, Djunga shows us a new side of the image of the homeland. It is true that Cape Verde is said to have "nothing to give" to young persons who want to make their life. But beyond this it is generally acknowledged that there also exist important positive aspects of homeland life. In the discourse, local social life is described as *sossegód* -- calm, non-violent and unstressful. People value the tranquillity of their lives and say that those abroad suffer from an existence that is *forsód*, that is, stressful and constrained. There is an element of coercion in life abroad that has not only to do with hard work, but also with the general style of life.

The strong ethos of homecoming accordingly builds upon this conviction that (successful) returnees lead the best of all possible lives. The ideal is to fetch from abroad what is needed at home and combine it with the tranquillity and *konviv*[4] of the homeland. As with most "happy endings", the idea is that the "good life" continues eternally after the final turning-point, the return. In this it represents a sense of consummation. The notion that the migration cycle begins and ends in Cape Verde is fundamental for the way people in the homeland view mobility. To migrate is to be industrious and strong enough to give up the familiar life at home in exchange for challenges and difficulties in foreign lands. Leavers are seen as foresighted when they sacrifice the peace and the pleasurable sociability of home, as it is generally believed that they will return one day in full control of all that is necessary for a good life. People who manage to turn migration dreams into reality are respected.

Contradictions and tensions in contemporary migration

Since the mid-1990s, Cape Verdean emigration has continued with Portugal and the United States as the principle destinations, followed by France, the Netherlands and Italy (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2002). However, restrictive immigration policies in these countries have challenged the persistence of Cape Verdean emigration (Carling, 2002a, 2004). During past decade or two, large numbers of emigrants have also returned to Cape Verde. Some have returned to enjoy retirement in Cape Verde, much in line with the ethos of return described above. In addition, however, returnees have included large numbers of deportees who are sent back to Cape Verde against their will
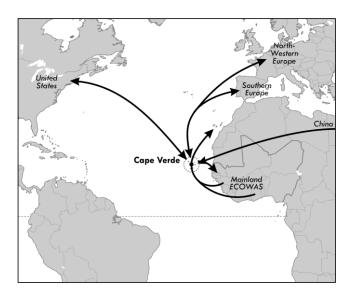
Figure 5. Dominant migration flows approximately 1990–2005.

(Figure 5). This section will address these tensions in contemporary Cape Verdean migration, and also discuss how Cape Verde is increasingly becoming a country of transit migration and immigration, rather than just emigration.

Mobility and immobility

The principal challenge to the Cape Verdean migration ideology is the increasing barriers to immigration in European and American destination countries. Cape Verdean emigrants are, in general, not highly skilled and not eligible for asylum. In short, they are not welcome under the dominant migration regimes in industrialized countries. The maintenance of the Cape Verdean migration tradition therefore largely depends upon how people manage to circumvent the restrictions. For Cape Verdean emigrants to Europe and the United States, there are three principal modes of entry that enable continued migration (Carling, 2001, 2002b).

First, family reunification allows for immigration on the basis of existing family relations. Since most destination countries limit family reunification to the closest relatives, this is not an option for the majority of Cape Verdeans.

Second, family formation may provide the basis for immigration. This means obtaining long-term residence rights through contracting a marriage. In many cases, migration strategies are part of the motivation for marrying somebody with a residence permit or citizenship abroad. At time, marriages are contracted against a payment. Such "document marriages" do not necessarily conflict with Cape Verdean ideas about couple relations, which seldom correspond to European conceptions about the sacred nature of marriage and ideals of life-long love. In line with this, the difference between marriages for immigration documents and "love marriages" is a fuzzy one (Meintel, 2002). A relationship can be initiated for document reasons and then be transformed into something else. From a Cape Verdean perspective, efforts by immigration authorities to draw a strict line between "true" and "fake" marriages are therefore futile.

A third strategy is to enter Europe or the United States on a short-term visa and not return when the visa expires. Those who do this may hope to gain permanent residence rights through amnesties or marriage at a later stage. A basic prerequisite for obtaining the visa, however, is to have somebody abroad willing to guarantee the stay. The applicant must also be able to convince consular officers that he or she will return before the expiry of the visa. In practice this means that applicants must show that they have a stable social situation and a good economy in Cape Verde, which is assumed to be evidence of low motivation for migration. The applicant must present documents such as an employment contract and declaration of salary, or a bank account transcript or documentation of ownership of a house. It is the judgements of consular officers that in the last instance determine the outcome of the visa application.

One possibility for those who would otherwise not be given a visa is to approach their *padrinh'* (patrons) -- if they are lucky enough to have a patron who can influence visa procedures. A *padrinh'* is a person who, in exchange for support and loyalty, is willing to mediate access to desirable resources. During fieldwork, we followed processes in which people succeeded in acquiring visas solely because they had personal channels to a consular officer. Some of these people would probably otherwise have been labelled "potential overstayers". In none of these cases were bribes paid. Among people in general, the importance of patron-client relations for visa procedures is often taken for granted. One unemployed young man in São Vicente expressed it as follows (Åkesson, 2004:73):

> I believe in luck. That is my only hope for emigration. But if I had a *padrinh'* inside the consulate I would give this person my documents, and he would speak with the consul and she would give the visa. This is the way it works you see.

The resources required for migrating under these three strategies imply that international mobility is a scarce good available only to a minority of Cape Verdeans. The restrictions have created a socio-economic "migration divide", which also affects the ways in which people from different social groups judge the possibility of leaving. Cape Verdeans with money and influence could say that "everyone who really wants to emigrate can leave". In their eyes, the inability to migrate depends upon individual failure and not upon structural factors. The less fortunate often refer to the structural divide by saying that only those who do not need to emigrate can do it today.

Second thoughts about the emigration dream

At the same time as emigration has become more difficult, it has also lost some of its prestige as a social project. During the 1990s, a dark picture of the living conditions for the migrants in Portugal was transmitted to the homeland through both national and Portuguese mass media. Television programmes and newspaper articles debated the social problems in the Lisbon slum areas where many of the immigrants from Cape Verde and other parts of the former Portuguese African Empire live. Such images contributed to the idea of emigration as an illusion. More specifically, there is a saying that "*stranjer* is an illusion", which often emerges in conversations about emigration. More

educated people in particular often refer to the view of emigration as a key to success as backward and naïve. An extract from an interview with Sú, a student in secondary school, exemplifies this (Carling, 2001:67). She said about people in Cape Verde that

> they have the idea that the lives of Cape Verdeans abroad is a bed of roses. At least because, many of them, they prefer to emigrate and suffer bad treatment in a foreign country, rather than being here in Cape Verde, leading a normal life. They think that *stranjer* is a paradise. Quite simply. They don't have the least idea what it is like to be cold, go to work like that, all tired, hear people speak and you don't have the least idea what they are saying, for example, to be reprimanded, be marginalized, be... be, what is it people say... Well, all those things. Be insulted and all. In other countries.

In fact, Sú herself wishes to work abroad, but she ridicules what she sees as the ignorance of others regarding the hardships of life as an emigrant. Another student, Eloisa, specifically said that "I believe that people have started being aware that *stranjer* is not a paradise". Thinking of emigration as an illusion does not necessarily mean seeing emigration as a futile project altogether, but rather opposes the view of emigration as a key to success. First, success is not guaranteed. Second, if you do succeed, you have paid for it with your sweat.

In addition to the return migrants, there is also a growing class of professionals, documenting the success of education as an alternative strategy for life-making. Especially those who have found work in the private sector often live well and enjoy considerable prestige. State-employed professionals earn less, but are also treated with much respect. Higher education has developed rapidly in Cape Verde over the past decade, although the University of Cape Verde is still in the making. These developments have contributed to a dampening of the migration dream among young Cape Verdeans over the past decade. While people in their thirties may feel that emigration is the only option for changing their lives to the better, young school-leavers today seem more optimistic about other possibilities.

Returnees from Europe and the United States

Many of the migrants who left Cape Verde for Northern Europe in the 1960s and early 1970s reached retirement age and returned to Cape Verde in the 1990s. This group include the successful returnees par excellence, in that many have earned pension rights and very clearly enjoy the fruits of hard work abroad. These migrants are both admired and resented. There is a certain ambiguous tension in the relation between the stayers and the successful returnees. Generally, returnees are seen as capable and resourceful, but also as arrogant. A common commentary was, "they believe they are something special just because they have been abroad". The returnees themselves sometimes find it troublesome to integrate anew into São Vicentian society. They complain about not being treated with due respect by the stayers and they resent finding what they had expected to be a familiar and idyllic environment changed in what they perceive to be a negative way. The problem of social integration after many years abroad is well documented in the literature on return migration (Gmelch, 2004; Stefansson,

2004). As a rule, returnees have a hard time accommodating their diaspora dreams of the homeland with the reality they meet when they actually return "home".

People who have returned to São Vicente after many years regret the spread of modernity and individualism that they feel have taken place during their absence. The watching of television, for instance, is said to have eroded the traditional social gatherings in the evening. Rejecting the present preoccupation with the Brazilian soap operas (*telenovelas*), elder returnees rejoice in memories of a past when everybody gathered around a storyteller on the doorstep of his or her front door and listened together to an exciting tale.

In contrast to the classic returnees, there is a large group of empty-handed returnees, unsuccessful migrants who come back being no better off than when they left. As discussed in an earlier section, emigration is usually conceptualized as an instrumental project for achieving a higher standard of living after returning to Cape Verde. Returning empty-handed and becoming a burden to one's family upon return, can only be seen as a humiliating experience.

While there are obvious disincentives to returning to Cape Verde without savings, an increasing number of emigrants are forcibly returned against their will. All emigrants who lack the necessary permits for residing in Europe or North America run a risk of being deported. In addition, migrants who are convicted of serious crimes could be expelled after serving a prison term even if they had a residence permit at the time of their conviction.

Cape Verdean authorities registered almost 500 deportees living in Cape Verde in 2002 (Instituto das Comunidades, 2002). The involuntary returnees have become a considerable problem in some islands, and often have great difficulties reintegrating into Cape Verdean society. A rough categorization of the deportees whose grounds for repatriation are known, shows that about 40 per cent have been repatriated due to undocumented residence or possession of false documents. About the same number have been convicted of drug-related crimes, and the final 20 per cent have been convicted of other crimes (Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante, 1995-1998).

Involuntary repatriation at a substantial scale began in the mid-1990s with migrants from the interior of Santiago who were repatriated from Portugal. They may have returned empty-handed, but have by and large managed to reintegrate. More recently, younger deportees from the United States have dominated. Many of them were born abroad or left Cape Verde as young children, and were usually deported in relation with crime. Having practically no roots in Cape Verdean society often makes their reintegration difficult (Instituto das Comunidades, 2002; Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante, 1995-1998; Tavares, 1997).

It is hardly surprising that some people return with substantial savings while others do not. However, it easily leads to speculations about what went wrong with those who return as poor as they left. Such speculations often go in the direction of irresponsibility. If it is a man, people will often say that "it must have been *vida de paródia*, or spending it with women". While Cape Verdeans are fond of partying and proud of this tradition, a *vida de paródia* ("a life of excessive revelry and squandering of money") is often held up as a contrast to responsibility. If the person has been deported, such suspicions

are even more probable, and often focus on drugs. People know that there are severe drug problems among young Cape Verdeans in the United States, Portugal and the Netherlands. Many people in Cape Verde have relatives who have lived for many years without papers in Europe or the United States, and conclude that deportees must have done something wrong in order to be sent back. Those 40 per cent who have been deported due to undocumented residence only, therefore run the risk of being suspected of having caused their own deportation through criminal behaviour. As emigration is getting more and more difficult, returning empty-handed is a greater humiliation than ever. Going abroad is such a coveted opportunity that deportees are easily accused of "having wasted their chance", whatever the circumstances of their deportation.

Transit migration and human smuggling

The tightening of the European immigration regime has given Cape Verde a new role as a transit country for undocumented migrants. It is remarkably rare for Cape Verdeans to travel illegally to Europe, but Sub-Saharan Africans increasingly use the archipelago as a stepping-stone. Going illegally by sea is usually referred to as *bá gatxód*, "going hidden". There is less detailed knowledge about it among people, and most prospective migrants regard illegal entry to be out of the question.

There are basically three possibilities for entering Europe illegally from Cape Verde. First, it is possible to go as a stowaway on a commercial ship headed for Europe. However, this has become an ever more difficult and dangerous way of migrating. European governments have implemented severe measures to combat the problem of stowaways, and port security in Cape Verde has been improved.

Second, it is possible to pay the crew of commercial ships or yachts to be taken to Europe with their knowledge. Yacht owners are well aware of the penalties for human smuggling, however, and are usually unwilling to take the risk.

Finally, there have been people smuggling operations in which substantial numbers of people are taken to the Canary Islands on ships that are used only for this purpose. As immigration policies become more restrictive and more measures are implemented to prevent illegal migration, a growing proportion of migrants depend on the services of people smugglers. When journeys are organized for the purpose of people smuggling from Cape Verde, the Canary Islands are the preferred destination. As illustrated in Figure 5, the stretch of sea between the two archipelagos is relatively short, about 1500 km. From the Canary Islands, it is possible to move freely within the Schengen area with only occasional controls.

The demand for such smuggling operations comes, to a large extent, from West Africans who use Cape Verde as a transit country for illegal entry into Europe. Cape Verde is part of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has implemented a protocol allowing for the free movement of persons. Visitors from other ECOWAS countries are required to have the necessary means for sustaining themselves in Cape Verde, however. People who wish to enter Cape Verde in order to migrate illegally onwards often lack this and sometimes attempt to enter illegally.

One of the larges smuggling operations discovered to date occurred in March 2000. More than 40 people from Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone and Togo were arrested on a deserted beach on Santo Antão as they were about to board a ship headed for the Canary Islands (Carling, 2001). According to witnesses, the same boat had previously made two successful people smuggling journeys from Santo Antão to Las Palmas. The boat remained undetected in São Vicente for several weeks, before making a second attempt to smuggle people to the Canary Islands. A large group of Africans were assembled in São Vicente and were waiting to be taken to the boat when the whole operation was cancelled. Neither the boat nor the captain was seen again, and the Cape Verdean middlemen went into hiding in fear of reprisals from the passengers, who had lost US$ 800–1600 each. These episodes illustrate the vulnerability of illegal migrants even before they leave Cape Verde.

The recent growth in transit migration integrates Cape Verde in a larger West African migration system. For about a decade, large numbers of Sub-Saharan Africans have travelled north to Morocco, Tunisia and Libya in the hope of entering Europe illegally by boat (Carling, 2007). The Canary Islands have become increasingly important as a point of entry, and smuggling routes have shifted to Western Sahara and southern Morocco. One of the most dramatic developments, however, is the growth in large-scale illegal immigration directly to the Canary Islands from ECOWAS countries. Some of the ships than have used this route call in Cape Verde. In September 2006, four EU countries launched a joint operation to stem the flow by means of patrol boats, planes and helicopters patrolling off the shores of Cape Verde, Senegal and Mauritania.

Morocco and Libya have come to host large populations of Sub-Saharan Africans who entered in the hope of reaching Europe, but remain trapped in transit for months and years. Cape Verde is increasingly experiencing the same situation. Migrants from Senegal, Guinea, Ghana and other West African countries try to make a living on petty trading in Cape Verde while they are waiting for a chance to leave for Europe. Especially on Sal, where the Cape Verdean tourism industry is concentrated, aggressive street vendors are perceived as a large problem.

It was the unprecedented level of immigration from the mainland that led Cape Verdean Minister of the Interior, Júlio Correia to sound the alarm bell in 2006, saying that "Cape Verdeans may become a minority in the archipelago" (*Expresso das Ilhas*, 23.08.06). The Cape Verdean government is currently seeking to limit or suspend the provisions for free movement within ECOWAS. It is not surprising that Cape Verde, like Italy, Spain and Portugal in the past, may be experiencing a "migration turnaround" with emigration being gradually replaced by immigration. The fear of being outnumbered seems premature, however. From a political point of view, it is also remarkable that the concern is being voiced by a politician from PAICV, a party that was founded on strong ideas of intra-African solidarity.

New immigration from China

It is not only the transit migrants from mainland West Africa that are upsetting the Cape Verdean migration order. To the surprise of many Cape Verdeans, their barren

archipelago has also become a destination for substantial numbers of Chinese migrants (Haugen and Carling, 2005). Almost all the Chinese immigrants are involved in the retail business, selling Chinese consumer goods at low prices. They are quickly becoming the largest visible minority in Cape Verde, and Chinese shops have come to dominate the shopping streets of Praia, São Vicente and the smaller towns.

The first Chinese shop opened in Cape Verde in 1995. In the course of a few years, Chinese entrepreneurs set up shops on all of the nine Cape Verdean islands. With a couple of exceptions, all Chinese-run shops in Cape Verde offer the same range of goods and cater to the same customer groups. The shops are not specialized, but sell clothes, shoes, household consumer goods, cosmetics, toys and nick-nacks, mostly imported directly from the wholesale markets in Yiwu, China, by the shop owners. The range of goods is remarkably well adapted to Cape Verdean consumer preferences.

When the first Chinese entrepreneurs settled in Cape Verde in the mid-1990s, the country offered a rare combination of political stability, security, high price levels and relatively high local purchasing power. The lack of existing Chinese businesses on the islands constituted an opportunity for making better profits than in more mature markets. As one Chinese woman put it, "In Europe there have been Chinese running businesses for sixty years, so it's hard to manage" (Haugen and Carling, 2005:646-647). In São Vicente, where the first Chinese shop opened in 1997, the number of shops grew to 10 in 2000, 25 in 2003 and more than 50 in 2006. The growth in the number of shops and number of Chinese residents is intimately connected.

Chinese shops have multiplied in two ways: through established shop owners expanding their businesses and opening more shops, and through new owners entering the market (Haugen and Carling, 2005). The new owners usually have a relationship with incumbents: as relatives, former employees, or both. Having several outlets increases the turnover of goods, and shop owners therefore have an interest in increasing the number of shops under their control. Cape Verdeans are usually not entrusted with handling cash in the shops, and increasing the number of outlets requires more people to be brought over from China. The new Chinese immigrants generally come to Cape Verde at the invitation of migrants who have already established themselves in the country and can produce the necessary documents for visa applications. The competition in the market for Chinese consumer goods has become fierce as a result of the large number of shops. Profit levels have dropped sharply, and the success and failure of individual shop owners depends largely on when they arrived with respect to the wave of Chinese immigration.

The socio-economic adaptation of Chinese in Cape Verde is vastly different from that of Cape Verdeans in Europe and the United States. However, there are remarkable similarities between the contexts of emigration in Cape Verde and in the region of Zhejiang from which the majority of Chinese immigrants come (Åkesson, 2004; Carling, 2001; L. Angshan, 1999; L. Minghuan, 1999). Both Cape Verde and the Chinese migrants' region of origin are characterized by longstanding traditions of emigration that have gained self-sustaining momentum. In both regions, the latest news about immigration policies and practices in different European countries is a hot topic of discussion. In both Cape Verde and Zhejiang, people who do not take advantage of an

opportunity to go abroad are often frowned upon, and people without close relatives abroad quite openly display both resentment of the emigrant's position and an eagerness to become like them. The migration ideology in Cape Verde has a parallel in Li Minghuan's (1999) notion of "*qiaoxiang* (i.e. overseas Chinese area) consciousness" in Southern Zhejiang. In both cases, discourse about place and belonging presents the local area as special by virtue of its active linkages with the wider world.

A nation of nostalgia

In this article we have outlined the historical succession of migration flows to, through and from Cape Verde, and discussed the Cape Verdean migration ideology. Cape Verdeans see themselves as a people that first came to the islands from somewhere else and then spread to nearly all parts of the world. They also imagine their nation as intimate and close-knit, despite the geographical separation. If we appreciate this, we understand why *sodád* stands out as the national feeling. *Sodád* does not translate into any single English word, but resembles "longing" or "nostalgia" and refers to the mingled sadness and pleasure of remembering distant people or places (Rebhun, 1995). *Sodád* is the Cape Verdean equivalent of the Portuguese *saudade*, which has also been central to the collective memory and belonging of Portuguese emigrants (Feldman-Bianco, 1992). In Cape Verdean national identity, *sodád* is the emotion coupled to the fate of being a people destined to be forever wandering in the world. Longing for somebody or something beyond immediate reality is an experience shared by nearly all Cape Verdeans. The difference is only that while those at home long for people and possibilities abroad, those who have left dream about the homeland.

The Cape Verdean migration ideology, centred on mobility as necessary and natural, is a persistent feature of life in Cape Verde and the Cape Verdean diaspora. One of the factors reinforcing it is the cultural celebration of *sodád* as the national feeling. *Morna* songs popularized worldwide by the singer Cesária Évora convey the sadness of departures and the promise of future reunions.

Cape Verde today is developing rapidly, and it remains to be seen how the migration ideology might change. When we first came to Cape Verde in the mid-1990s, São Vicente exuded a nostalgia and melancholy that perfectly accompanied the mornas of Cesária. Decaying monuments were echoes of past greatness and colourful but faded fishing boats with names such as *Boa Esperança* witnessed the resilient hopes of the poorest inhabitants. A decade later, monuments have been restored, a marina is being built in the harbour, and the antiquated groceries have been replaced by Chinese shops. The government is eager to present Cape Verde as a dynamic and successful nation, and young people appear to have greater hopes for making a living in Cape Verde.

Countless Cape Verdeans still see emigration as their best strategy for the future, however. How many will be able to realize their dreams depend largely on European and American immigration policies. What seems clear is that Cape Verdean migrations have grown in complexity. The outward flows that dominated newly independent Cape Verde are being complemented by new flows of immigrants and transit migrants. It

remains to be seen how the Cape Verdean national identity will evolve with the complexity of the migratory landscape.

Notes

1 Terezinha is written by Gregório Gonçalves. It appears on Cesária Évora's 1999 CD Café Atlântico (Lu-safrica).

2 This survey is conducted several times per year by the Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional (IEFP).

3 This is not to say that poverty does not exist in Cape Verde, but that explanations for migration must be sought in the social construction and individual perceptions of poverty, rather than in the absolute values of poverty indicators.

4 The Cape Verdean *konviv* is related to the English "conviviality" and its original Latin meanings, to "live together" or "share the same life". In Cape Verde, it combines the notions of having a good time and foster-ing a spirit of community.

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