

CAPE VERDE - A NATION BORN IN THE XV CENTURY: Trajectories and trends of a migrated people

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1. Introduction

The idea of writing this text about the origin and the actuality of Cape Verdean emigration came about with the launch of the project of study of the new generations in five countries of the European Union. The movement that intends to establish global networks in the future for this type of study was born in the Netherlands and this country will receive in October 2017 the international forum on Indian emigration. Therefore, we decided to attend the event with an information article, but written in eight hands, which corresponds to the team from the country of origin (five EU countries + 1). Thus, we approach the coincidence in the fifteenth century between the colonial expansion of Europe and the formation of Cape Verdean society. This period was known as the era of maritime navigation and the first globalization. For Cape Verde, it was the time of great immigration and settlement. The African presence in the archipelago was mainly of black slaves, but also of some free people. Slaves were mainly for re-export to Brazil and the European colonies of the Caribbean. For centuries, the islands served to test the adaptability of people, animals, and plants. The formation of successive migratory flows of the islands to other regions of the World, more favorable in terms of economy and employment, happens from the XVIII century. In the transition from the 20th to the 21st centuries, new destinations emerge through direct migration and transnationalization. On the other hand, the small Atlantic

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country gradually becomes a transitional or permanent host country for migrants from the African continent. The absence of armed conflict in the archipelago, the growth of the welfare economy and society, and the absence of Cape Verdeans in European refugee camps are indications that justice and peace are possible.

2. Settlement

Located at the intersection of the sea routes connecting Africa to the Americas and Europe, the population of the Cape Verde Islands was formed in the transatlantic trade (XVI-XIX). The first attempt of Portuguese colonialism was to proceed to white settlement, as in the Azores and Madeira. Specific difficulties, such as frequent droughts and lack of cereals, the basis of European food at the time, dictated the failure of this policy (Sobreiro, 1998; Andrade, 1996; Amaral, 1991). It can thus be said that migration is one of the oldest and most stable phenomena of Cape Verdean society.

One of the explanations of the movement outside the archipelago intersects with the narrative of the islands, recurrent droughts, abandonments and repopulations, where slaves were sold and free laborers emigrated within the colonial empire. This restricted circulation was a characteristic that Cape Verdeans refer to as a necessity (Sobreiro, 1998; Semedo, 2010). The historical accounts of the great droughts and famines of past centuries have characterized our country as being of little precipitation, aggravated by the increase in consumption resulting from the population growth, the improvement of their living conditions and, above all, their inability to withhold water from rainfall Which run every year to the sea.

The Cape Verdean nuclei abroad preceded the country's independence in about four centuries, in 1975. In this historical and societal sense, Cape Verde is an example of a Nation transnationalized from its origin, formed by the group of residents in the archipelago Numerous nuclei of emigrants. The migration is structural and relatively old, dating back to the fifteenth century, when the Portuguese and other Europeans arrived on the islands

(1460), and it works, according to an old saying, as "the alternative window to the door that God closed." In fact, Cape Verde has one of the highest emigration rates in the world.

3. Successive waves of emigration - migratory times

The state of navigational techniques in the middle of the fifteenth century, taking advantage of the circulation of the trade winds, allowed the islands to be included in a privileged position in maritime trade, benefiting from its location in relation to Africa, Europe, the Americas, as well as all Transit in the tropical Atlantic. Thus, centuries XV, XVI and XVII were dominated by this trafficking, characterized by the significant experimentation and exchange of human beings, animals and plants. Thus, the successive droughts with the resulting mortalities precipitated a collapse of the slave society and stimulated the search for other stops for the escape to the misery lived in the islands (Amaral, 1991). In situations of crisis, such as those registered in the late eighteenth century, free individuals accepted the status of slaves to escape from hunger and death.

Therefore, with the exclusion of this phenomenon linked to the settlement of the islands with slaves of the African continent mainly for export, important migratory flows from the islands to mainland and African islands (Senegal, Angola, Guiné-Bissau, S The Americas (Brazil, USA, Argentina) and Europe (Portugal, the Netherlands and other EU countries). As a result, it is estimated that there are more Cape Verdeans living in the diaspora than in their own territory.

Freely leaving the islands of Cape Verde to go to work and live abroad is seen by Cape Verdeans as an inevitability and also as a hope to "emigrate to survive." The continuous and continuous emigration of an important part of its population over the last centuries is the main singularity of the Cape Verdean people (Góis, 2006).

The emigration was exclusively a male emigration until the 1980s, mainly for the agricultural works as it was in the Brazilian case or the civil construction as in the Portuguese case. Certain professions in the cities of the western economies (eg, servants, iron keepers, cleaning maids, cleaners, or domestic workers). Still according to Góis (2006) and considered

by several authors as a contemporary diaspora example, this geographic dispersion of the Cape Verdean nation over the centuries has given rise to Cape Verdean communities in more than 40 countries on five continents.

3.1 From Portuguese Guinea to Guinea-Bissau

Relationship between Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde have been very close. For more than 300 years (1550-1789) they formed the same colony. Between 1956 and 1980 they fought under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (PAIGC), successively led by Amílcar Cabral (1956 - 1973) and Aristides Pereira (1973-1980). The two objectives were the liberation of Guinea (1973) and Cape Verde (1975). The unity would be decided by the respective peoples. Liberation was a success, and unity was a failure. However, informal relations between people are dense.

3.2 Angola

The presence of immigrants in Angola was developed through various constraints, which were carried out in accordance with the interests of the colonial administration, in which Cape Verdeans began to arrive in Angola to work on large farms, fishing, salinas, etc. Through so-called contracts with the support of local authorities.

After landing at the various ports, immigrants headed directly to the places where they were engaged in agricultural, fishing or saline tasks, depending on the interests of their employers. Emigration to Angola is normally classified as 'directed emigration', since it gives a prominent status, taking into account the functions or positions to be performed. The emigrant enjoyed some stability: they were given house and land for cultivation or cattle raising, as well as the respective equipment, with the condition of realizing its amortization. The phase that began after 1961 was to promote the process of occupation of abandoned or expropriated lands in a settlement system and, for this purpose, encouraged the delivery of Cape Verdean "settlers" (Carreira, 1983).

3.3 São Tome and Principe

The migrations of Cape Verdeans to the South, as they became popularly known, took different forms and in most cases compulsory migrations of Cape Verdeans qualified to perform functions in the Portuguese colonial administration in the various overseas provinces towards Guinea- Angola. The forced emigration of unskilled workers - those known as contractors for S. Tomé and Príncipe to work especially on the coffee⁶ plantations. Migrations to Timor were also stimulated with the aim of the reconstruction of Dili after World War II.

The exploitation of large farms on the islands of S. Tomé and Príncipe required a reasonable amount of labor, which was not completely covered by the natives of that archipelago. With the lack of regular rainfall in the Cape Verde Islands, whose traditional economy was based paradoxically on agriculture, policymakers, in collaboration with the owners of these plantations, saw in this situation an escape valve for the hungry, while at the same time problem of shortage of arms in that archipelago, under the cover of contractors.

So the colonial authorities encouraged Portuguese planters in São Tomé and Príncipe to recruit labor in Cape Verde. This measure would solve two problems for Sao Tome and Cape Verde: for Cape Verde it would minimize the social tensions created by drought and famine for the two islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, the problem of insufficient labor in the Coffee plantations and cocoa. In 1904, government entities laid the regulatory foundations that would allow the emigration of contractors to domestic, industrial and agricultural services, thus combining the interests of one's planters and the administration of another territory. This migratory current had its continuity until the independence in 1975 of São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde.

3.4 Senegal

The emigration to the continent gained expression with the fall of the exits towards the USA. Cape Verdeans chose Angola, Mozambique, Guinea and Senegal, traditionally target territories. These were mainly for Sao Tome and Principe and Angola under the command of

⁶ Through Royal Decree No. 105, dated May 18, 1864, the Portuguese Colonial Government ordered the Cape Verdean governor to "recruit" Cape Verdeans to send to Sao Tome and Principe: "the governor, in any transport of (Carrera, 1983: 151 In this way, we are able to transport to the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe up to 1,000 individuals of both sexes, using for this purpose all possible means of persuasion.

the regime. The main islands of origin are Santiago (greater number of staff), São Vicente and Santo Antão.

With the fall of emigration to the Americas, there has been an increase in the flow of migrants to Senegal, especially the city of Dakar, as an alternative to the emigration of so-called contractors to Sao Tome and Principe. However, it had greater significance in the 1950s, because of the proximity that facilitated contacts between the two countries. Senegal was a good job market for Cape Verdeans at the time, as the French settlers and Senegalese contractors sought to recruit professionals in the field of bricklayers, carpenters, painters and other craftsmen in Cape Verde who needed to expand the city Of Dakar, offering salaries well above those fixed in Cape Verde and São Tomé (Filho, 1996).

The flow of emigration in the vicinity of the archipelago, particularly for West Africa, was used as a springboard for other destinations, such as the United States or Europe, that is to say, from the outset it assumed a dual role: on the one hand, There are those that assume these countries as the final migratory destination; On the other, there are those that use these countries as an intermediate destination for other countries (Veiga, 1997, Varela & Barbosa, 2014).

3.5 United States of America

Although Cape Verdeans began to emigrate practically from the settlement of the islands, emigration to the United States began in the late eighteenth century (Carter 1983, Halter 1993). It is considered that the most representative flows were a direct consequence of the activity related to the fishing of the whale by the Americans in the Cape Verdean seas, sector of great economic importance at the time⁷. These are people from Fogo and Brava, and some from São Nicolau. In the context of destination countries, the US is the main host country.

After a first emigration-temporary flow of seafarers from Cape Verde, basically crew of whalers, it gradually becomes a migratory current (Góis, 2006). According to this author, the first wave to the US stretched from the mid-nineteenth century to the twentieth century

⁷ There is no consensus as to the specific date of the first emigration wave. However, we chose those who defend that began in the eighteenth century, as Antonio Carreira (1977).

and settled in cities along the American coast of New England (Boston, Brockton, New Bedford, Providence, Pawtucket, Nantucket Island, etc.). Most of them from the Brava, Fogo and São Nicolau islands, the emigrants are mostly male.

It was a legal and simultaneously clandestine emigration to the whale fishing in the American boats that came to fish in the waters of the archipelago. Many Cape Verdeans, taking advantage of the opportunity, eventually embarked on the whaling ships, and later most of them managed to secure their residence in the United States of America.

The remittances and call letters⁸ traditionally sent by migrants to their families have had the effect of nourishing the chain of Cape Verdean solidarity, allowing them to attract even more relatives and friends, thus giving rise to the consolidation of the migratory current.

The first generations to come to the United States, due to their low qualifications, will be included in sectors such as agriculture, textiles, or industries related to the sea -e.g. Fishing, ship repair, canning industry, etc. (Góis, 2006).

With the restrictions of entry into the United States, with the quota law in 1924, it drastically delimited emigration to America, the Cape Verdeans sought other directions. To the south of the American continent, they migrated clandestinely to Argentina, Brazil (cities of Santos and Rio de Janeiro) and other cities in South America, which corresponded at that time to 7.1% of the flow of Cape Verdeans. This last destination was also linked to whaling in the South Atlantic and continued until the end of the 1930s (Carreira, 1983, Andrade, 1998).

3.6 Europe

The inflection towards Europe constituted a great turning point in the destinies of Cape Verdean emigration, facilitated in part by the international conjuncture, because the European countries were in full development, reaping the effects of World War II.

It began in the late fifties of last century and because there was a huge shortage of labor in those countries, the Cape Verdeans were very well received which provoked a real exodus,

⁸ The number of Cape Verdians in the U.S. has expanded geometrically through the "calling-letter" process and / or family reunification.

first for Holland and Belgium, To then extend to almost all of Western Europe and constitute the largest flow of outgoing Cape Verdean emigrants. There was an appreciation of the phenomenon of transnationalization.

The emigrants are mostly from Santiago. Following are other islands like São Vicente, Santo Antão, Fogo and São Nicolau.

3.6.1 Portugal

As the country that owns the Cape Verde colony, Portugal first functioned only as a "turntable" that distributed potential Cape Verdean emigrants to the various host countries, namely Spain, France, the Netherlands, Italy, etc.), as well as USA, position that Malheiros (2001). In this case, the author attributes to this phenomenon the transnational character, an idea reinforced by Góis, who considers that it is a potential transnationalism and of low intensity, to the extent that individual and family initiatives outnumber collective initiatives, which may be justified By the lack of capital. Góis (2002: 5)

It is considered to be the main host country for Cape Verdeans in Europe; however, in recent years it has lost a large part of that population due to the crisis which has been felt, mainly displaced to the Nordic countries, namely France , England and Luxembourg.

Later, with the heavy emigration of Portuguese to France and Germany, and the departure of a significant number of military personnel to the three fronts of the colonial war in Africa, there was a labor emptiness in Portugal, leading to Which, on the initiative of the Government, would help the Cape Verdeans to fill the gap that was felt at a time when, in particular, they had begun work on the port of Sines and the construction of hotel units in the Algarve to match the expansion of tourist demand.

Portugal thus became an important destination for Cape Verdean workers who were facing the lack of employment in the archipelago, as it was experiencing another crisis of lack of rain.

It should be noted that the important turntable role that Portugal had at the beginning of the Cape Verde migratory wave has been more intensive in recent years, driven by the economic crisis.

From the 1940's onwards, Lisbon began to play a role of (re) distribution of Cape Verdean emigration, a step towards the emerging destination: the port city of Rotterdam in the Netherlands (Góis, 2006).

3.6.2 Netherlands

The first Cape Verdeans left for the Netherlands in the 1950s, especially for maritime work. At this time Rotterdam was an important recruiting center for European shipping companies and working conditions on Dutch ships were better.

The second wave of migration will come from the national independence in 1975. The new migrants are characterized by a greater diversification in terms of backgrounds. Teachers, military, less qualified public servants and also young people without complete secondary education. With the decrease of offers in the maritime sector they entered the civil construction and the sector of the cleanings. Shell and the Van Nellea factory were Cape Verde's largest employers. However, the economic crisis plaguing Europe at the time reduced job opportunities.

The third migratory wave occurred in the early 1990s with the demographic opening and the holding of the first multiparty elections in Cape Verde. The most striking aspect of this period is that the vast majority of young people from Cape Verde already arrive with full secondary education. Many many independent women who have already worked in Portugal or Italy migrate to the Netherlands by joining the cleaning industry.

Cape Verdean immigrants in the Netherlands are called stille migranten or silent immigrants. This label derives from an image of the Cape Verdeans as a reserved, docile and self-sufficient group and denotes some lack of social recognition and a certain isolation (Smulders, 2003), which point to its minority character among minorities. This image has, however, been changing and this is particularly noticeable in sports, science and culture, spaces where the community is becoming more and more evident (Freitas, 2016).

The past few decades have shown a changing community. There are those who say that one can not speak at present of a single community, since it is very segmented internally, with second and even third generation.

There will be everything from workers and similar workers to senior management. It is also a "historically" political community. There is a lot of connection between the cadres of Cape Verde in the Netherlands and the renewal of politics in Cape Verde, several ministers, secretaries of state, deputies are people who lived some time in Holland as immigrants and then return to Cape Verde.

The Netherlands "continues to receive new generations" of Cape Verdeans, but "a part" of the community is already formed by Dutch citizens, who are connected to the community and Cape Verde. "They still speak some Creole, but basic already. Normally they speak Portuguese and English, and concentrate essentially in Rotterdam, take the Cape Verdean identity also "by opposition" to the other ethnic groups.

3.7 Other European countries

In particular circumstances, begun in the nineteenth century, the case of Cape Verdean emigration to Italy was and remains almost exclusively female.

Especially from Portugal, the Cape Verdeans sought to reach other destinations with better salaries and social benefits. Therefore, after the necessary acquisition of passports, they traveled to the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Luxembourg and Italy, in flows that according to their labor markets became host countries. Lisbon has thus assumed a growing role as a redistribution platform for the various European countries (eg France and Spain).

In the first phase, most Cape Verdeans were recruited to work in the merchant navy (Holland is a concrete example and today we have a large number of Cape Verdeans linked to this sector in that country), but when the possibility arose to settle On land began family reunification, thickening the migratory current.

3.8 New trends: The case of Qatar

Cape Verde's migratory movements to new destinations (the United Kingdom, Northern Europe, the Middle East and the Far East) are part of a broader process characterized by the globalization and internationalization of production. Its distinctive features reflect not only the economic context but also the immigration policies pursued by the host countries, thus

giving rise to immigration with characteristics different from those of the preceding decades.

From this range we highlight the Persian Gulf as an emerging region in terms of new migratory trends. The United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain and Kuwait, countries that emerged in the last century as development poles in the Persian Gulf and its coastal areas due to the rich oil reserves.

By way of example, we propose to analyze the case of Qatar. With an estimated population of 1.9 million, only 250,000 are native. The rest are foreign workers, especially from other Arab nations (13%), Indian Subcontinent (India 24%, Nepal 16%, Bangladesh 5%, Pakistan 4%, Sri Lanka 2%), Southeast Asia Countries (7%)⁹. This migratory mass that occurred to this region in the last decades and that helped to erect the infrastructures that modernized this country due to the enormous resources coming from petroleum.

But the immigration and employment market in oil-producing countries in the Gulf region refers to two discrepancies. On the one hand, highly specialized professionals, mainly from Western countries, with functions mainly in the management, banking, counseling and service industries. On the other hand, a large number of unskilled or semi-skilled workers, mostly in construction, oil and gas exploration, or household labor, usually originate in Asian countries. According to Santos (2013) these differences reflect a structure of inequality in the labor market and recruitment practices, although the changes, as a consequence of the crisis of the western economies, are reducing the situation of relative privilege of the specialized sectors, due to the greater flow of professionals in search of these positions, further aggravating the disparities within this group.

Without official data, the first migratory trends of Cape Verdeans to Qatar seem to us not to fit the range of unskilled or semi-skilled professionals typical of the Indian subcontinent and other nearby regions nor can we say that it resembles the migration profile of Qualified cadres from Western countries to the emerging Gulf financial market.

Of the first known references were the transfer to Qatar of coach Carlos Alhinho and later of the cape-verdean footballer Caló Morais, in 2002. Both soccer professionals have in

⁹ Font: http://m.portalangop.co.ao/angola/pt_pt/noticias/africa/2014/5/25/Cabo-Verde-Qatar-analisam-proposta-acordo-sobre-migracao-laboral,7dde241d-d9a9-4e1d-b1b0-ab16d136d8cf.html – July 2016

common the passage the soccer. These countries will have served as a turntable for the Arab market.

Therefore football has been the promoter of a specific wave of Cape Verdean migrants to new regions of the world, thus providing economic opportunities and exchanges of cultures and ways of life.

Caló Morais has returned to Cape Verde for a few years and founded a sports association named Qatar, which has implemented various social actions and regularly works with a team in the Praia City veterans football championship.

In spite of the obvious difficulties in following the migratory trail for these new regions, we are also simultaneously witnessing an intensification of the diplomatic contacts of these countries with Cape Verde. This is how in July 2014 an official delegation from Qatar visited Cape Verde. From the visit, the possibility of signing an agreement for the mobility of Cape Verdean executives, especially young people, who wished to invest in the internationalization of work, was suggested. The issue is not new, but it illustrates the diplomatic role of migration.

Conclusions

This study, which aims to inform about the formation of the nation and, in particular, the part of it that forms the diaspora, complements the project to reinforce the emotional and intelligent connections among the several generations of migrants and citizens living in Cape Verde. Both are concerned with the development of Information Technologies and with the collaboration of various organizations interested in the best cooperation between Africa and Europe in the first phase and Cape Verde and the World in a second: institutions, think tanks and civil society organizations . It projects Cape Verde as a resultant nation of Africans, Europeans, Jews and Muslims, peaceful and promoting peace and social justice. One of the products of the networks that will be established between the emigrant communities and the Mother Earth will probably be a study center for the islands. However, we find that new directions are added to the older ones. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the African Union, the United Arab Emirates, are increasingly viewed as potential jobs and life. But this is a sign to say that in the islands a team has been formed and that in the future we will combine the institution and the individual taste, with the other five teams

that constitute this first phase, to gather the basic data about the half of the population Of Cape Verde living abroad. In the year 2022 we will draw the map of all the significant Cape Verdean nuclei.

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