

Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo
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Aspiration and ability in international migration

Cape Verdean experiences of mobility and immobility

Jørgen Carling

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in international migration**

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Jørgen Carling

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the Cand. Polit. degree in Human Geography.
Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo

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Cover photo (right): The harbour of São Vicente is Northern Cape Verde's main connection point with the outside world. It is also the principal symbol of São Vicente's past glory and current decay. In the background: Monte Cara ('Face Mountain') with its characteristic profile. (© Jørgen Carling)

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Preface

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OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Through the survey I conducted among students in Cape Verde, I collected much valuable information that there has not been room for in this thesis. I am grateful to all those who answered my questions, and feel that it would be disrespectful to let results collect dust in a drawer simply because they turned out not to be directly relevant for the final version of this thesis. I have therefore made additional findings available through the Internet at www.dragoeiro.com.

The main theoretical and empirical arguments of this thesis have been summarized in an article accepted for publication in *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28(1), January 2002.

A NOTE ON LANGUAGE

I conducted all the interviews with Cape Verdeans in the local Creole language, usually known as Crioulo or Kriolu. There is not yet a generally accepted written norm for this language, although it is used by all Cape Verdeans in their daily lives. The status of the language is a sensitive issue, and my approach requires a short explanation. Differences in dialects are a major barrier for standardizing Crioulo and granting it official status. Most initiatives for official recognition have come from the largest island, Santiago. This has caused considerable scepticism in other parts of the country, where people are anxious about losing their own dialects. My transcription of words and phrases is based on the officially recognized *Alupec* alphabet, which is a set of orthographical guidelines (Veiga 1995). However, I have stayed as close as possible to the local dialect of São Vicente, the island where I conducted most of the fieldwork. The resulting way of writing will seem awkward to people who are familiar with Portuguese, and even compared to the usual way of writing Santiago-based Crioulo. This is not 'wrong', but rather a way of supporting the development of local linguistic expression. Such sensitivity to local identity is a prerequisite for gaining acceptance for granting Crioulo – or different variants of it – official status. One implication of using the São Vicente dialect is that the language itself is described as *Kriol*. The orthographic basis of writing the São Vicentean dialect is available at www.dragoeiro.com.

Oslo, September 2001
Jørgen Carling

Introduction

Through one of the most widely read books in migration studies, we have come to think of our times as 'The age of migration' (Castles and Miller 1993). Other books that attempt to capture the essence of migration at the end of the millennium have been entitled 'Worlds in motion' and 'Workers without frontiers' (Massey *et al.* 1998, Stalker 2000). Such titles evoke immediate associations of fluidity and permeability of borders. As a complementary perspective, one might ask if our times are not also 'the age of involuntary immobility'. Indeed, one of the most striking aspects of today's migration order compared to the recent past, is the degree of conflict over mobility and the frustration about immobility among people in many countries of emigration. This is not only an issue of empirical characterization, but also raises important questions about the applicability of traditional migration theories.

This study departs from the proposal of a model of migration that incorporates the role of restrictive immigration policies and associated barriers to migration. I will use this framework in the analysis of contemporary emigration from Cape Verde. The essence of what I have called the 'aspiration/ability model' is that migration first involves a *wish* to migrate, and second, the *realization* of this wish. By considering these two steps separately, I believe that it is possible to explain several features of contemporary migration and non-migration that remain unexplained by traditional theory. The aspiration/ability model is intended to guide explanations of the size and direction of migration flows, and the characteristics of migrants compared to the characteristics of those who stay behind. There are many other questions to be asked about migration, which are equally important but need different approaches and frameworks for analysis.

The aspiration/ability model places the possibility of involuntary immobility at the centre of the migration process. This is important for two reasons. First, the massive extent of unfulfilled dreams about migration needs to be explained within a framework of migration theory: not only why these people wish to migrate, but also why they are unable to do so. Second, it is difficult to give adequate explanations of actual migration flows without relating to the widespread frustration over immobility. The migration flows that we observe are, in this sense, only the tip of the iceberg of wishes to migrate.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of the study is to explore the two fundamental components of the emigration process in a Cape Verdean context: The *aspiration* to migrate, and the *ability* to realize this wish and actually emigrate. Both can be analysed at two levels. First, there is the macro level context that underlies the overall level of aspiration and ability. This can be a 'culture of migration' that fosters aspirations to emigrate, and a restrictive immigration regime that tends to minimize prospective migrant's ability to realize their wishes. Second, there are individual level characteristics that differentiate between persons. This concerns explanations of *who* wishes to emigrate versus *who* wishes to stay. Among the prospective migrants, it concerns explanations of *who* is able to emigrate and *who* is not. The two components (aspiration and ability) and the two levels of analysis produce four research questions:

Aspiration (people's wish to emigrate or not)

- 1a) What is the position of emigration as a socially constructed project?
- 1b) How do individual level characteristics affect aspirations to emigrate?

Ability (people's capacity to realize a wish to emigrate)

- 2a) How is migration enabled and/or constrained through immigration policy?
- 2b) How do individual level characteristics affect the ability to emigrate?

Because the presentation and development of the model itself has been a principal objective in the project, I have chosen to address all four research questions. This has necessarily affected the depth of analysis of the individual questions, each of which could merit a thesis on its own. However, this approach has been necessary in order to understand and put forward the *interactions* between aspiration and ability, and between the macro and micro levels. Some of the most interesting results have indeed been found in these relationships.

In the remainder of this introduction, I will first present the field of study, then discuss some critical aspects of Cape Verdean society and migration, and finally give an overview of the organization of the subsequent chapters.

CAPE VERDEAN WORLDS, CAPE VERDEAN MIGRATION

I have chosen to use Cape Verde as my case in the analysis of aspirations and ability in contemporary international migration. Cape Verde is a former Portuguese colony off the coast of West Africa, an archipelago with about 430,000 inhabitants. The country is a suitable case because its experience of involuntary immobility is at the same time typical and extreme. It is typical in the sense that the constellation of a history of emigration, pervasive aspirations to emigrate, but few opportunities to do so, resembles the situation in many developing countries. This is discussed more extensively in chapter two. Cape Verde's situation is extreme in the sense that emigration has been more extensive than in most other countries, and affects virtually every family on the islands. As a result, phenomena that could also have been studied elsewhere stand out particularly clearly in Cape Verde.

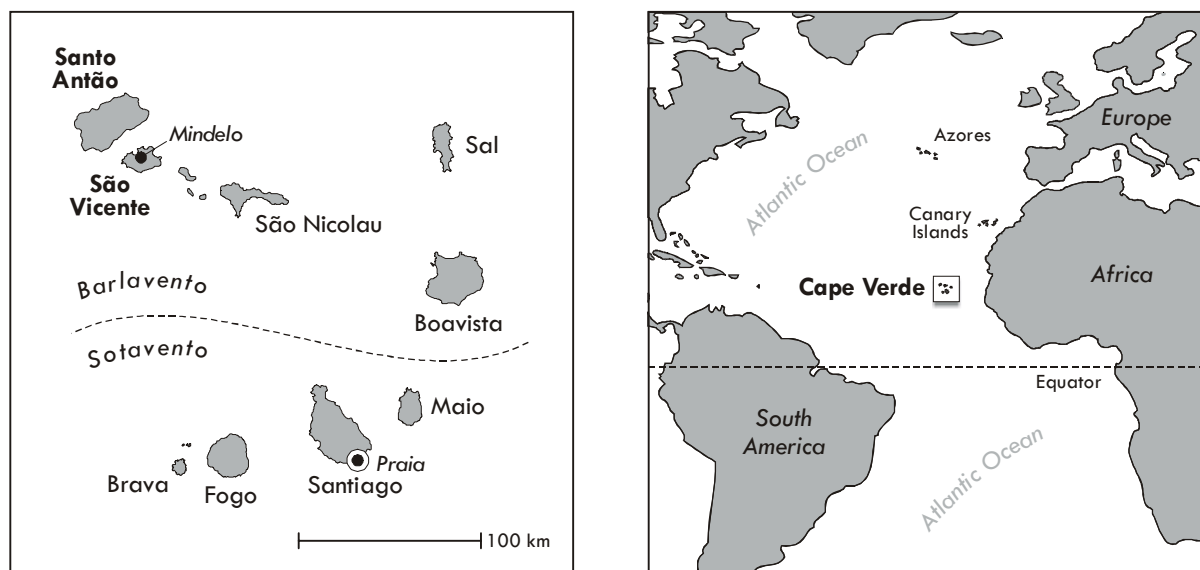


Figure 1. Map of Cape Verde.

Cape Verdean society is the result of five centuries of interaction with the different shores of the Atlantic. The Portuguese colonization and the settlement of African slaves have resulted in a society that is neither African nor European. There are many cultural and historical similarities with the Caribbean, but no significant social or economic ties with these islands. In short, Cape Verde is one of the places that are hard to classify within our standard ways of thinking about the world (cf. Lewis and Wigen 1997).

A presentation of a few central aspects of Cape Verdean society and emigration is required as a foundation for the analysis of aspiration and ability in contemporary Cape Verdean migration. I have partly relied on fieldwork data for this purpose, but included it here because it serves the purpose of giving a relevant descriptive background. Some of the same data will be used analytically in later chapters. An overview of key statistics and historical dates is provided in Appendix 1.

São Vicente and Santo Antão

I have restricted the field of study to the two north-westernmost islands, São Vicente and Santo Antão (see Figure 1). I will discuss the differences between these and other islands below. São Vicente is home to the country's second largest city, Mindelo, where more than 90 per cent of the island's 68,000 inhabitants live (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000a).¹ Santo Antão on the other hand, has a predominately rural population of 47,000. Due to the close links between the two islands, they can be thought of as a single region with a city (São Vicente) and a rural hinterland (Santo Antão). Together, they account for slightly more than a quarter of the country's population.

¹ Although the city's official name is Mindelo, this is rarely used. Instead, São Vicente refers to the urban centre as well as the island itself. When I use 'São Vicente' in this thesis, it can be thought of as an urban environment.

For more than a century, São Vicente's harbour was an important node in Atlantic trade and a source of wealth to the country (Fundo de Desenvolvimento Nacional 1984, Leão Correia e Silva 1998). However, declining activity at the harbour has contributed to a general feeling of melancholy and nostalgia for the cosmopolitan past. Despite the stagnation of the harbour, there is a rapid increase in visible signs of wealth such as new cars, mobile phones and luxurious houses. This is based partly on local business and partly on money earned abroad. Beyond the wealthy colonial centre and a couple of affluent suburbs, the city spreads out towards the surrounding hills as a mixture of decaying hovels, modest brick houses and brightly painted emigrants' homes. The island's population has increased rapidly throughout the century, and more that doubled since 1970.

Neighbouring Santo Antão is mountainous and relatively green in comparison with São Vicente's barren hills. The majority of the island's population still makes a living in the countryside where corn, sugar cane and beans are grown under marginal conditions. The insecurity of agriculture due to the scarcity and instability of rainfall has made many people leave the island, keeping the population virtually constant since 1970. The level of development is markedly lower than on São Vicente, with lower educational levels, larger families and a much higher incidence of poverty (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000b, World Bank 1994). Despite the differences between the two islands, their experience with emigration has been similar.

The nine islands of Cape Verde are remarkably different, not only in terms of their landscape, but also in terms of the local socio-cultural context and migration history. Each island is in many ways a world of its own. In fact, São Vicente and Santo Antão are quite exceptional in being so closely linked to each other. The present study is not an attempt to generalize beyond the two islands I have studied, and where I write about 'Cape Verdeans' in general, this should be seen as shorthand for people of the two north-westernmost Cape Verde islands.

Marginality and dependence

Throughout its history, from discovery and settlement about 500 years ago, Cape Verde has been characterized by a marginal existence. As expressed by the Cape Verdean historian António Carreira (1982:15), 'everything in these islands combines to impose on man a hard, difficult and wretched way of life'. A series of devastating droughts have resulted in levels of famine mortality that are exceptional in human history (Drèze and Sen 1989, Patterson 1988). As late as the 1940s, about one quarter of the total population died in two consecutive famines (Carreira 1984). The problem of drought has persisted, and there has been a downward trend in rainfall for several decades (Langworthy and Finan 1997). Today, less people live from subsistence agriculture and international food aid provides a guarantee against widespread famine. However, the scarcity and instability of rain is still a limiting factor for the country's development, and fundamental to people's image of their homeland.

Cape Verde's small size and geographical isolation has constituted a second form of marginality. The high cost of transportation, small domestic market and lack of natural resources have been important impediments developing the economy (Economist Intelligence Unit 1999). However, the country has fared better than its natural endowments would suggest. The Cape Verdean Gross Domestic Product and the Human Development Index are both above average for developing countries, and much higher than the Sub-Saharan African average (United Nations Development Programme 2001).

Export of goods has played a marginal role in the Cape Verdean economy since Independence. In the late 1990s, it accounted for only one sixth of the country's income. Export earnings from services, especially transportation and travel, contributed about twice as much.² The relatively high standards of living have been financed primarily through remittances and overseas development aid. In the late 1990s, inflows of remittances and government transfers together accounted for about half of the country's income. The level of aid per capita was more than 300 USD in 1999, which is the highest in the world by a wide margin (United Nations Development Programme 2001). Many donors have recently withdrawn from Cape Verde and redirected aid to poorer countries. (*A Semana* 20.08.99, 07.04.00, White and Leefmans 1999). However, remittance flows are rising slowly, and export earnings from manufactured goods have grown considerably during the 1990s.

Making a living in Cape Verde

Stepping down from the national accounts to the daily lives of Cape Verdeans, one might ask how people manage to make a living. Certainly, remittances play an important role here too. Different sources estimate the proportion of families receiving remittances to be between one third and two thirds (Fieldwork data, Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional 2000, Instituto da Condição Feminina 1996, World Bank 1994). If we assume that half the country's households receive remittances, each household would receive an average of about 10,000 CVE (\approx 100 USD) per month in 1998.³ This is roughly the same as a typical monthly salary for an unskilled worker.

While remittances are important, most people make a living in the local labour markets. In rural areas, which account for slightly less than half the population, agriculture is the principal source of income. Different sources report widely different figures regarding the proportion of the economically active population employed in agriculture, from less than 20 per cent to 60 per cent (Bourdet 2000, Langworthy and Finan 1997). The principal crops are vegetables, especially beans, potatoes and maize, and sugar cane, which is grown for the distillation of the traditional spirit *grog* (International Monetary Fund 1999, Langworthy and Finan 1997).

² These descriptions refer to the credit items in the current account, related to the total credit (International Monetary Fund 1998).

³ Calculated on the basis of the following assumptions: Total population 414,300 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000c), mean household size 6.6 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000b) and total remittances 7,517,000,000 CVE (Banco de Cabo Verde 1999). The result should be interpreted with caution since the assumption that half the households receive remittances is very rough, and there is no information about the distribution of remittances among remittance-receiving households.

Table 1. The distribution of employment and GDP by sectors, Cape Verde and São Vicente.

	Distribution of employment			Distribution of GDP (1998) ³	
	Cape Verde (1996) ¹	São Vicente 2000 ²			
		Total	Female	Male	
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	15.9	5.3	4.4	6.1	12.2
Industry and energy	7.3	8.5	3.5	12.9	9.7
Construction	10.6	9.8	0.0	18.2	8.8
Commerce, restaurants and hotels	19.5	21.1	24.6	18.2	19.0
Transport and communications	8.5	11.4	2.6	18.9	17.6
Banks and insurance	1.2	0.4	0.0	0.8	5.4
Other services (of which...)	36.4	43.5	64.9	25.0	26.7
<i>Public administration</i>		9.0	10.6	7.6	
<i>Health and education</i>		8.6	11.5	6.1	
<i>Domestic service</i>		15.1	32.7	0.0	
Total services	65.6	76.4	92.1	62.9	68.7
Total (Including undefined)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

¹ Source: (Bourdet 2000), based on IEFP (1997) *Inquérito às forças de trabalho*, Praia. These figures could also be biased in favour of urban areas, and the actual proportion of population employed in agriculture is probably higher (Langworthy and Finan 1997).

² Source: (Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional 2000), see details in chapter four.

³ Source: (International Monetary Fund 1999).

Employment in services have grown rapidly and today probably accounts for about two thirds of national employment (Table 1). In São Vicente, three quarters of workers are employed in the service sector. Male workers in São Vicente are concentrated in transport, commerce and construction. The construction business is in large part funded by remittances, since many emigrants hire local workers to construct houses for them in São Vicente. The most important areas of employment for women are commerce and domestic service. In fact, *one third* of all economically active women are employed as maids. Some work for return migrants, professionals and other wealthy families where the wife might not be working outside the house, but wishes to leave domestic chores to someone else. Other maids are employed by poorer female heads of households who themselves work outside the house. Wages for maids are typically 4–5000 CVE (40–50 USD) per month, while teachers, for instance, could earn around 30,000 CVE (300 USD) per month. A recent survey in São Vicente showed that 47 per cent of female workers and 13 per cent of male workers earned less than 6000 CVE (60 USD) per month (Concelho de São Vicente 1998).

Shifting emigration flows

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cape Verdean migrants crossed the Atlantic to the United States, along with Southern Europeans. The frequent famines provided a strong motive, and whaling ships from New England provided the means of emigration. In the 1920s the introduction of immigration quotas in the United States led to a redirection of Cape Verdean migration flows to Portugal, West Africa and South America. During the colonial period, there was also an extensive migration of indentured labourers to São Tomé and Príncipe, a Portuguese island colony in the Gulf of Guinea (Carreira 1983, Ishemo 1995).

After Cape Verde had taken part in the transatlantic migration a generation earlier, Cape Verdeans joined the northbound flows of labour migrants to Western Europe in the 1960s. Portugal remained an important destination, primarily because Portuguese emigration to North-Western Europe created a demand for unskilled labour in Portugal. In the first half of the 1980s, almost two thirds of Cape Verdean emigrants were headed for Europe (SEDES 1989). After a century of emigration, ethnic Cape Verdeans in diaspora probably outnumber the 430,000 inhabitants on the islands (Table 2). The number of Cape Verdeans in the United States is very large due to the long history of immigration from Cape Verde, and the figure includes third and fourth generation migrants. Despite the difference in the overall figures, the number of *Cape Verdean born* migrants is probably smaller in the United States than in Portugal (Carling 1997).

Decline and feminization of emigration

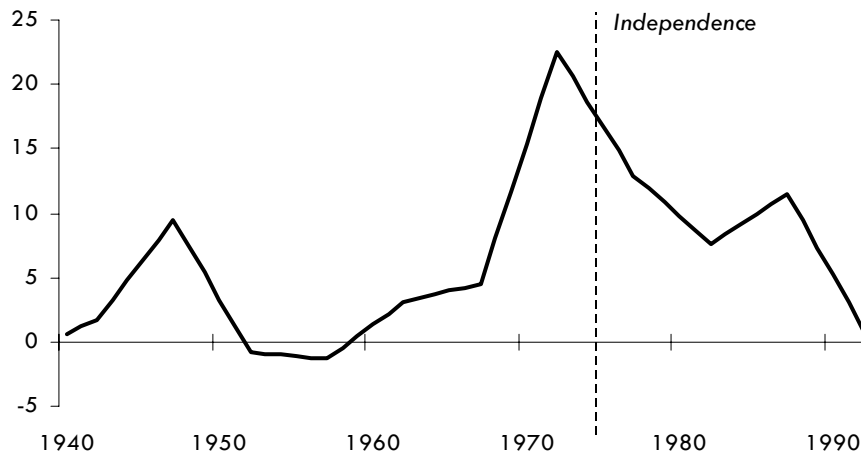
Legal labour migration to Europe has become much more difficult over the last 25 years. Available data suggests that emigration flows from Cape Verde have declined substantially while the gender balance has shifted in favour of women (Andrade 1998, Biayé 1996). The net emigration rate peaked at about 20 per thousand in the early 1970s and declined through the 1980s and 1990s (Figure 2). The population growth rate has trebled from the 1970s to the 1990s, reaching almost 2.5 per cent per year (Ministério de Coordenação Económica 1996). While the emigration figures have serious weaknesses and should be treated with care, other population data confirm the trends.⁴

Table 2. Estimates of Cape Verdean diaspora populations.

<i>Rounded continental totals</i>	Americas..... 270 000	Europe..... 150 000	Africa..... 90 000
<i>Country estimates</i>	United States260 000	Portugal.....80 000	Angola..... 45 000
	Argentina.....5 000	France.....25 000	Senegal..... 25 000
	Brazil3 000	Netherlands18 000	São Tomé & Príncipe 20 000
	Canada..... 300	Spain.....12 000	Guinea-Bissau 2 000
		Italy.....10 000	Mozambique 1 000
		Luxembourg..... 3 000	Gabon..... 200
		Switzerland..... 2 400	
		Germany800	
		Belgium.....800	
		Sweden.....700	
		Norway300	

Source: Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante (1998) with minor revisions based on additional sources. These are estimates based on information from Cape Verdean emigrant community leaders and consular staff. There are apparent weaknesses in these figures, both in terms of reliability and validity (see Carling 1997).

⁴ Emigration figures for recent years are based on passenger counts with poorly specified categories of travellers (Ministério de Coordenação Económica 1995a). However, the net emigration rate can also be calculated from population statistics on fertility, mortality and population size. This confirms that the annual net emigration rate was about 9 per thousand in the late 1980s and 5 per thousand in the early 1990s (Ministério de Coordenação Económica 1996).

Figure 2. Cape Verdean net emigration rate, 1940–1992 (five-year moving average).

Source: Calculated from (Biayé 1995). Negative figures indicate net immigration.

The change in the gender balance can be explained with reference to the gender-segregated historical migration flows. When Europe was hit by recession in the mid-1970s, there were two large flows of Cape Verdean migrants to Europe, excluding the migration to Portugal: Women who went to Italy for domestic work, and men who went to the Netherlands as sailors (Andall 1999). In total, male migrants were by far in the majority. However, both the geographical and occupational concentration meant that male migration was more heavily affected by the economic and political changes. The recession had a very adverse effect on the shipping sector, and many Cape Verdeans lost their jobs (Krijnen 1997, Reekers 1997). More generally, unemployment rose and labour recruitment was halted throughout Northern Europe. The female migration to Italy and other Southern European countries was relatively unaffected. Not only has Southern Europe remained more open to immigration from developing countries, but there has been a rising demand for domestic workers, both documented and undocumented (Campani 1993, Chell 1997, Cornelius 1994, Kofman 1999). Both the declining levels and changing composition of emigration flows are caused primarily by changes in people's *ability* to emigrate, and will be analysed in chapter six.

Island-specific linkages to the World

Cape Verdean emigration is characterized by complex criss-crossing relations between specific islands and destinations. Relatively speaking, North-Western Europe plays a disproportionately large role on São Vicente and Santo Antão. A principal reason for this is the early emigration of sailors through the port of São Vicente, which gave rise to emigrant communities in port cities such as Rotterdam, Hamburg and Gothenburg. The importance of North-Western European destinations means that São Vicente and Santo Antão have been particularly affected by restrictive immigration policies.

Portugal is comparatively more important as a destination for migrants from the largest island, Santiago, while the United States is by far the dominant destination on the south-

western islands Fogo and Brava. Italy is a particularly important destination for migrants from the north-eastern islands Sal, Boavista and São Nicolau.

The various islands are marked by their transnational connections to different destination countries. Faraway places are present through exchanges with them and consciousness about them, and this landscape of external reference points differs between localities.⁵ Because such transnational processes and relationships are often highly localized at both ends, it might be more correct to speak of the 'translocal', or the 'localized transnational' (Appadurai 1996, Smith 1998, Zhou and Tseng 2001). For instance ties between Cape Verde and the Netherlands are highly concentrated in São Vicente and Santo Antão on the Cape Verdean side, and Rotterdam on the Dutch side.

By using different statistical data, it is possible to construct an image of how São Vicente and Santo Antão are linked to the outside world through migration (Figure 3). Some countries stand out because many people in São Vicente and Santo Antão have relatives living there, because a big proportion of people who wish to emigrate mention them as their preferred destination countries, and because they contribute a large share of the total remittance inflow. These are indicators of what the world looks like from São Vicente and Santo Antão, which is different from the view from Santiago or Boavista. The 'presence' of these distant countries is clearly felt in everyday life. São Vicente has its *Avenida de Holanda* (Holland Avenue), *Café Portugal* and *Snack Bar Alemanha* (Germany) and Santo Antão has its *Avenida Luxembourg*. Phone calls, videocassettes, letters, parcels and shipments by boat reflect the same transnational linkages.

Judging from this composite picture in Figure 3, Portugal, France, the Netherlands and the United States seem to be the four most important exterior reference points. While Portugal is the most popular destination among those who wish to emigrate, the Netherlands is most important as a source of remittances. In addition to the four countries mentioned, Italy, Spain and Luxembourg are particularly significant.

When Figure 3 presents a picture that differs from Table 2 with the diaspora population estimates, this is partly because of the specific migration patterns of São Vicente and Santo Antão. In addition, there is an important difference between migrant stocks as such and the more dynamic relationships presented in Figure 3. For instance, the African destinations Angola, Senegal and São Tomé and Príncipe are home to very large numbers of people with São Vicentean or Santo-Antonense ancestry, but play a marginal role in today's landscape of transnational linkages. This is partly because these countries have received few Cape Verdean migrants in recent decades. In addition, they are poor countries which are relatively unattractive destinations and generate very small remittance flows.

⁵ The term 'transnational' is used to describe a wide variety of processes and relationships that cross national borders. The use of *trans*-national as opposed to *inter*-national shows that these are processes and relationships *across national boundaries* and not between nations (or rather, states) as corporate actors (Hannerz 1996).

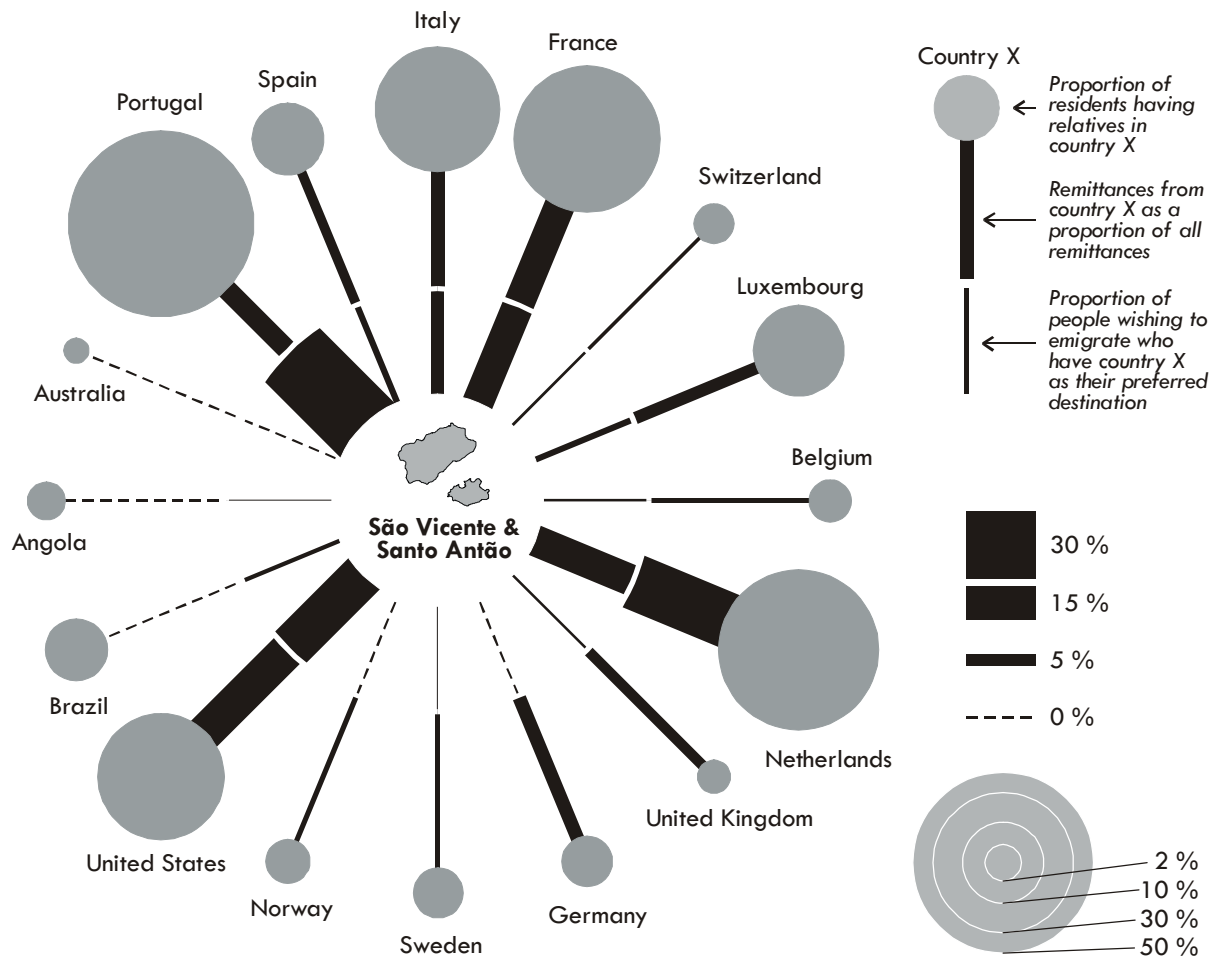


Figure 3. The relative strength of migration linkages to different destinations, São Vicente and Santo Antão.

Sources and definitions: Student Survey (administered by the author), OME Survey (IEFP 2000, see chapter four for details), (Banco de Cabo Verde 1996). The OME Survey covers only São Vicente. Remittance data are specific for remittances to São Vicente and Santo Antão. Data for relatives abroad and preferred destinations are unweighted averages of the Student Survey and OME Survey. While the proportion having relatives abroad was considerably higher in the Student Survey than in the OME Survey, the relative distribution among countries was similar. While respondents were simply asked in which countries they have relatives, the answers are probably affected by the degree of contact with them. Relatives with whom there has been no contact for a long time are more likely to be forgotten.

Emigrant families

The family has long been recognized as a principal frame of reference for the study of migration, and a brief presentation of how Cape Verdean family structures and emigration patterns interact is important for the analysis that follows. I will use fieldwork data about a typical family to illustrate this. A simplified version of the family's migration history is presented in Figure 4. The type of figure is adapted from Boyle *et al.* (1998) and Hägerstrand (1996). It shows the three locations Santo Antão, São Vicente and the Netherlands on the horizontal axis, while the vertical axis is a time scale. Each path represents an individual in the family.

The labour migration of the 1960s and 1970s was, as mentioned above, dominated by men. In many cases, these men left wives behind in Cape Verde. This is also the case with this family. When the husband emigrated to the Netherlands in the early 1960s, his wife and

their young son remained in their village of origin on Santo Antão. He worked at sea on a Dutch ship for several years, and came home regularly on holidays. Another two children were born during the 1960s. When the first son was old enough, he joined his father, who had then started working in a factory in the Netherlands. As with most emigrants, the father's aim was to earn money to build a house for himself and the family on Cape Verde. Prospects of better living standards in the city made him decide to have the house built in São Vicente. When the first rooms were finished, the wife and two children left the remote village and moved to São Vicente.

A few years later, the second son also emigrated. The Netherlands had ended the recruitment of foreign workers, but the son was able to go through family reunification provisions. By the time the son arrived, the father had reached his late fifties. After more than twenty years in the Netherlands, he decided to retire and return to Cape Verde. Not only did he have a good house in São Vicente, but also a pension that exceeded most salaries in Cape Verde. Such pensions are in fact a very important part of remittance flows to Cape Verde. A few years after the father's return, the daughter joined her two brothers in the Netherlands. Since her father was not there, family reunification was not possible. Her brothers found her a job as a domestic worker for a Dutch family who would accept her without documents. After nine years, she had still not been able to regularize her situation, and was forced to return to Cape Verde. She went back to live with her parents, and tried to find a way to return to Europe, but has had no luck to date.

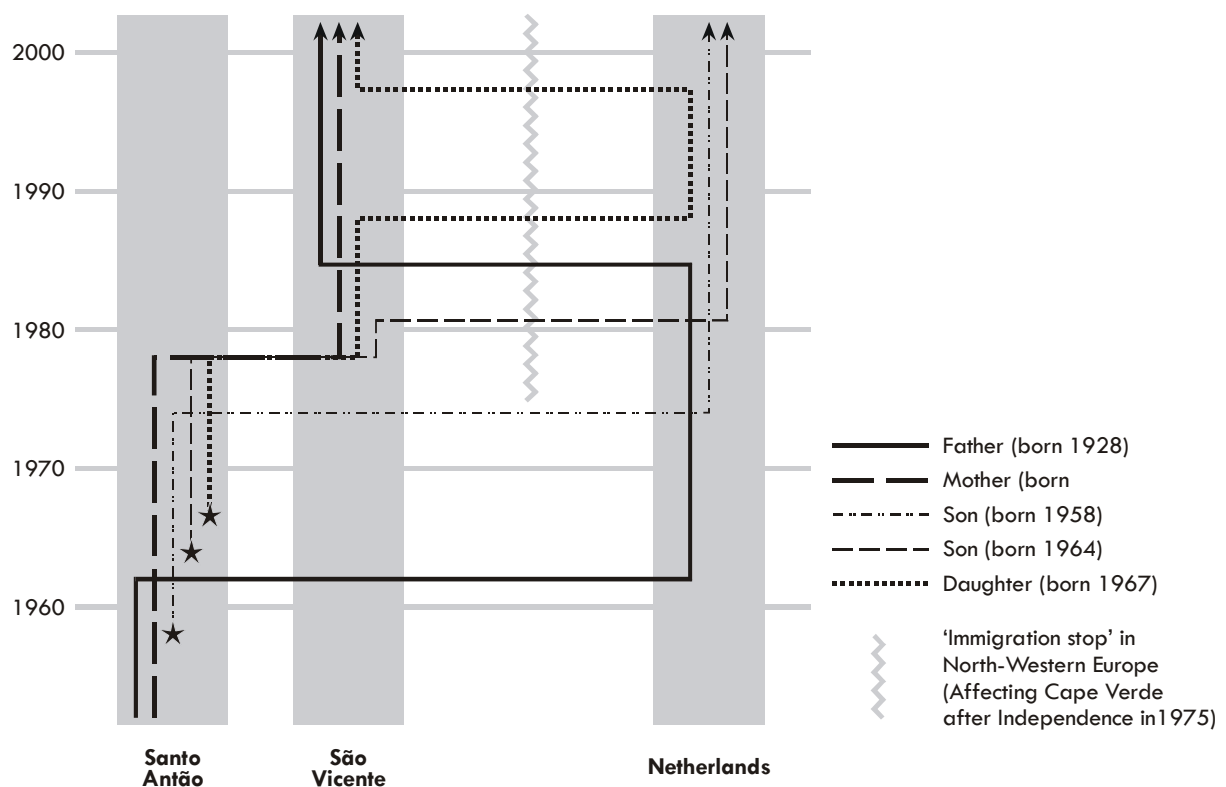


Figure 4. A typical family migration history.

This case illustrates several important points about Cape Verdean migration. First, the labour migration of the 1960s laid the basis for subsequent migration, both directly and indirectly. In this case, the sons were reunified with their father, and later facilitated the migration of their sister.

Second, nuclear families are often spread out geographically. In this case, the husband, wife and their children have *never* lived together in the same place, but in different combinations in three different locations. In fact, the Cape Verdean experience of transnationalism is very much lived through close 'blood' relations (Åkesson forthcoming).

Third, the immigration stop has created a 'mobility divide' between family members. The father's initial migration resulted in the two sons being settled in Europe, with Dutch passports and freedom to move, while the daughter is confined to Cape Verde by immigration regulations. In this case, it was the eldest children who were able to emigrate. In other cases, when middle-aged people emigrate, their youngest children could be eligible for family reunification while adult children have to remain in Cape Verde.

Fourth, migration from Santo Antão to São Vicente is linked with emigration. There are a large number of return migrants in São Vicente, and many of them were born in Santo Antão. In the same way, emigration and return have been linked to the rapid growth of the capital city, Praia (Got 1990).

It is less common to see this kind of lengthy separation of spouses today. It is still the case that family bonds form strong links between individuals who live far apart, but ties between mothers and children and between siblings are more important than ties between spouses. In fact, the flexibility and instability of couple relations is a characteristic that both shapes and is shaped by migration patterns (Åkesson forthcoming). In the case of the family I have just described, the daughter has three children with two different men. Today she is not in a relationship with either of them. The two oldest children stayed with their grandmother in São Vicente throughout the nine years their mother worked abroad. The implications of Cape Verdean family structures for migration are discussed further in the course of the analysis.

ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

The next chapter addresses the misfit between the contemporary international migration order and existing migration theory. It first discusses the central tendencies behind what we might call 'the age of involuntary immobility'. This provides a wider context for the Cape Verdean experience with migration that I have just described. In the second part of the chapter, I discuss the weaknesses and potential of migration theory to explain contemporary migration and non-migration.

Chapter three presents the aspiration/ability model in detail. This is my own theoretical contribution, which is inspired by the theories discussed in chapter two. The aspiration/ability model is reflected in the research questions as well as in the organization of the analytical chapters.

Chapter four describes the methods used in the study. This includes the theoretical foundations for using a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches, a discussion of the research design, a presentation of the different data sets, and an explanation of the analytical techniques I have used. Because of the variety of data sets and methods used, this is a relatively long chapter.

Chapters four and five contain the core of the analysis, structured according to the aspiration/ability model. The macro and micro level aspects of aspiration are analysed in chapter five, and the corresponding analysis of ability follows in chapter six.

Chapter seven addresses the important interactions between aspiration and ability that both illustrate the strength of the aspiration/ability model and point to important theoretical challenges. This chapter includes three case studies of individuals, analysed with reference to the model.

The final chapter summarizes the empirical and theoretical findings, and briefly discusses implications of the findings for different groups.

Old theories, new realities

Why is involuntary immobility a problem in the world today? And how can existing migration theory be of use in explaining this phenomenon? In this chapter I address these two questions, which I believe demonstrate the need for approaches such as the aspiration/ability model. After having examined the empirical tendencies that underlie involuntary immobility, I will identify some serious shortcomings as well as potentials and insights in existing theory that have inspired the aspiration/ability model.

THE AGE OF INVOLUNTARY IMMOBILITY⁶

If our times can be tentatively characterized as the age of involuntary immobility, this can be related to three concurrent tendencies. It is the interaction of these trends that help explain central aspects of the current migration order, including widespread involuntary immobility. First, opportunities for legal migration from developing to industrialized countries have contracted markedly. Second, labour emigration has become a structural feature of the economy and society of a large number of developing countries. Third, an increasing number of people live transnational lives, relating to two or more nations in their daily activities. I will examine each of these tendencies in turn before discussing the implications of their concurrence.

Closure of borders and the 'new' migration

Western Europe's recent history of immigration can be roughly divided into three phases (Castles and Miller 1998, Coleman 1997, Rystad 1992, White 1993, Zimmermann 1995). Recruitment of foreign workers to meet domestic labour shortages started in the 1950s and assumed considerable proportions in the 1960s. This might be called the 'guest worker' phase of European migration. In the early 1970s, global economic restructuring involved social and economic change that sharply reduced the demand for low-skilled foreign workers. Around 1973–1974, the countries of Western Europe halted labour recruitment and tightened immigration policies. The following decade or so marks the second phase, characterized primarily by family reunification.

⁶ The term *mobility* (as well as its counterpart *immobility*) refers to people's engagement with, and command over, space in an abstract way. *Migration*, on the other hand usually concerns the more tangible aspects of human movements as demographic events, individually or in aggregated flows.

From the early 1980s, migration flows expanded and became more complex. Asylum seekers appeared as a new and important category of migrants in Europe, illegal migration grew in volume and became more organized, and highly skilled workers moved between countries to a larger extent than before. The last 15–20 years constitute a third phase marked by increasingly complex and differentiated migration flows.

This third phase overlaps what has been referred to as a shift to a 'new migration' (Koser and Lutz 1998). Recent migration is new both in terms of its types, as just mentioned, and its geography. The areas of origin have grown in extent and diversity, with an increasing share of migrants originating in Eastern Europe and developing countries outside the Mediterranean region. At the same time a growing proportion of immigrants have settled in Southern parts of Europe (King 2000, King and Rybaczuk 1993). This is partially as a result of diversion from North-Western Europe where restrictive immigration control was imposed earlier and more effectively. While the major turnaround in European immigration policy came around 1973, it is important to note that possibilities for migration to Europe were further reduced by increasingly restrictive policies throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

The mass migration flows of guest workers to Western Europe might have been exploitative in a structural sense, but were nevertheless set within a non-conflictive frame. More recently, migration to Europe has been characterized by the diverging interests of potential migrants and host countries. This conflict acts to a large extent as an ordering framework of the new migration. Migrants respond to the efforts of restrictive immigration policies by adopting new migration strategies (Koser and Lutz 1998). This in turn, leads to new initiatives aimed at controlling migration flows and reducing the number of illegal residents.

Emigration as structural characteristic

The labour migration flows of the 1960s and 1970s consolidated the role of many non-European countries as a 'labour frontier' for the industrialized countries of Western Europe (Skeldon 1997). This included most of the Mediterranean's Southern shore as well as colonial or post-colonial outliers such as Pakistan, Jamaica, Suriname and Cape Verde. In many of these countries, emigration has become an important structural feature in both economic and socio-cultural terms. At the national level, remittances are an important source of foreign exchange. This also affects the daily well-being of large proportions of the population. Emigration – temporary or permanent – has become established as a strategy for securing a livelihood, supported by discourses and institutions. Whatever the long-term costs and benefits of emigration, many countries increasingly depend on migrants 'to ensure the survival of sectors of their populations [and] their hopes for social mobility' (Basch *et al.* 1994:261).

Migrant transnationalism

The emergence of a transnational perspective on migration has been one of the most important theoretical developments in migration studies in the 1990s. Transnational migration can be defined as 'the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement' (Glick Schiller 1992:48).

While this phenomenon itself is not new, it has recently acquired unprecedented scope and complexity, to the extent that current transnationalism marks 'a new type of migrant experience' (Basch *et al.* 1994:25, see also, Guarnizo and Smith 1998, Portes *et al.* 1999). Contemporary transnationalism involves an array of social, economic and political exchanges and processes that span national borders and affect people's everyday life. Among the most visible elements of transnationalism are the flows of remittances, parcels, letters and phone calls between migrants and their relatives. Internet-based ethnic communities of people dispersed by migration constitute another form of transnationalism (Elkins 1997, Morton 1999, Rude 1996). In many cases, migrants themselves also move frequently between countries and maintain several homes, in contrast to the traditional image of 'uprooting' followed by 'settlement' (Basch *et al.* 1994). Many governments, including the Cape Verdean, actively seek to reinforce the transnational ties between the home country and emigrant communities, for instance by allowing for dual nationality and promoting cultural events (Freeman and Ögelman 1998, International Organization for Migration 2000a, Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros e das Comunidades 2000, República de Cabo Verde 1996).

Transnationalism is often conceptualized as a theoretical perspective on *immigrant adaptation* rather than on migration as such (Portes 2001, Portes *et al.* 1999). Nevertheless, transnational migration often has its greatest impact in the areas of origin. In the words of Michael Kearney 'transnational labour migration has now become a major structural feature of communities which have themselves become truly transnational' (quoted in Basch *et al.* 1994:29-30).

There are many unresolved issues regarding the newness of transnational forms of migration, the usefulness of transnationalism as a theoretical concept, and the relationship between different forms of transnationalism (Conway 2000, Levitt 2001, Mahler 1998, Mitchell 1997, Smith 1999, Vertovec 1999). What is important in this context, is to note the extent to which contemporary migration tends to be associated with intensive and diverse border-crossing activities for a long time after the initial migration. For *how long*, is an imminent question in the context of involuntary immobility, but this will not be addressed here.

Implications of key tendencies

These three tendencies – the closure of borders, emigration as a structural characteristic, and migrant transnationalism – combine to make involuntary immobility widespread and problematic. Already in the 1970s, when labour recruitment to Europe was halted, this resulted in an 'emigration crisis' for a number of sending countries who feared the loss of remittance income and a strategy for upward social mobility among young people (Collinson 1993). Contemporary transnational practices reinforce a tradition of mobility, but the benefits of transnationalism are unequally distributed. Relatives of migrants often benefit from remittances and goods from abroad, and possibly visits to destination countries for holidays or medical treatment. For others, the effects of transnational practices could be experienced primarily through inflated price levels due to remittances. When migration is limited by the closure of borders, participation in transnational circuits can become an important dimension of social differentiation. Transnational practices also increase exposure to the ways of life in destination countries, and to migration as a strategy for upward social mobility.

Table 3. Share of respondents reporting that they wish or intend to emigrate, survey results from selected countries.

	Percent positive answers ¹	Key word in question ²	Year	Source	Population (millions, 2000 est.) ³
Cape Verde ³	61	Wish	1997–98	IEFP (1997-1998)	0.4
Morocco	72	Wish	1998	Migration News Sheet 9/98	29.9
Morocco	23	Intend	1997	European Commission (2000)	29.9
Egypt	15	Intend	1997	European Commission (2000)	67.9
Turkey	27	Intend	1996	European Commission (2000)	66.7
Senegal	42	Intend	1997–98	European Commission (2000)	9.4
Ghana	46	Intend	1997	European Commission (2000)	19.3

¹ Excluding 'Don't know' and 'Missing'.

² The difference between wishes and intentions is discussed in chapter three.

³ Source: (United Nations 2001)

⁴ National average for OME Surveys in the period 1997–98. In the analysis to follow, I use data from a particular round of the OME survey (2/2000) on the island of São Vicente. In this survey, the percentage wishing to emigrate is 43. This difference is partly due to inter-island differences and partly due to differences over time.

Transnationalism can be seen as an aspect of globalization. However, the hyperglobalist view that 'geography no longer matters' is hardly a relief to those who are affected by the closure of borders – the involuntarily immobile. It is true that existing diaspora networks can be maintained in ways that do not necessarily involve migration, and that virtual ethnic communities constitute an important form of transnationalism. However, diaspora newsgroups and web sites are no substitute for potential migrants who see emigration as a strategy for upward social mobility.

While past emigration and contemporary transnationalism tend to increase people's wish to emigrate, increasingly restrictive immigration policies limit their ability to do so. Social and cultural factors that would tend to perpetuate migration flows are well established in these communities, but changes in the policy environment have increased the obstacles to international mobility. This is reflected in a large share of people who wish to emigrate, but a relatively small number of actual migrants. This is illustrated by Table 3, which summarizes results from a series of surveys in emigration countries. Assuming that the samples are representative, there are about fifty million people wishing or intending to emigrate from these countries alone. The majority have Europe as their preferred destination. While the exact number of actual migrants is difficult to estimate, it is minuscule in comparison to the stock of prospective emigrants.

While I have been referring to the European experience and will use a case study of migration to Europe, similar problems of involuntary immobility can also be found elsewhere in the world. Examples include Southern Africa, where the neighbouring exporters of unskilled labour to South Africa were hard hit by increasing political barriers to migration in the 1970s and 1980s (Solomon 1996). In the Pacific Island economies such as Samoa, labour migration became a 'stolen dream' for youth who were unable to follow in the footsteps of the older generations when Australia and New Zealand tightened immigration policies (Macpherson 1990). In cases like Yemen, where labour emigration ended with the forced return of workers, and not simply the cessation of recruitment, consequences have been even

more severe (Findley 1994, Van Hear 1998). In different parts of the world, involuntary immobility has become a central concern for people who have lost a strategy for creating a better life for themselves and their families.

At the same time as immigration policies in industrialized countries were tightened during the 1970s and 1980s, researchers and policy makers started seeing the effects of labour emigration for countries of origin in a more positive light (Carling 1996). In 1976, only 3.1 per cent of the world's governments saw the level of emigration from their country as too low. In 1989, this proportion had risen to 11.1 per cent. (United Nations 1989).

Finally, it should be noted that involuntary immobility can have consequences for places as much as for people. In the context of globalization, places or localities are increasingly constructed in relational terms (Appadurai 1996, Hannerz 1996). This is apparent in places of emigration, which are shaped by their transnational social fields, be it materially through remittances, or at the level of meaning through a sense of engagement with the world. When emigration flows are severed by restrictive immigration policies, this will undoubtedly affect the places from which the flows originate.

INVOLUNTARY IMMOBILITY AND MIGRATION THEORY

While involuntary immobility can be analysed in terms of power and mobility or changing socio-spatial configurations, the phenomenon itself is firmly situated in the realm of migration. Being involuntarily immobile means wishing to migrate but not being able to do so. One should therefore expect migration theories to be valuable in the analysis of involuntary immobility. Conversely, since involuntary immobility is so widespread, migration theories must relate to this in explanations of actual migration flows.

Some of the existing theoretical approaches fail to provide adequate explanations for contemporary international migration patterns because they were formulated at a time when restrictions on international mobility were different or less important than today. Furthermore, migration has often been conceptualized on a general level, encompassing both internal and international migration. As a particular feature of international migration, control policies have often been excluded from consideration. Other approaches can be criticized on the grounds of their internal logic, which is incompatible with involuntary immobility.

In the following, I have not included a general discussion of the different traditions or approaches. Instead, I have specifically targeted those elements that either inform the aspiration/ability model, or document the need for it.

Explanations of immobility

Migration theory has to deal with two quite different questions concerning immobility. First, at the micro level, how do we account for the migration of some and the non-migration of others in a single framework? This has been addressed through studies of migration systems and networks which emphasize the role of family and informal networks in facilitating migration of some potential migrants rather than others (e.g. Boyd 1989, Böcker 1995, Gurak and Caces 1992). Studies within the so-called new economics of labour migration have shown

that the migration of *some* but not all family members can constitute an important risk-reducing strategy (Stark 1995, Taylor 1999). Existing research within these approaches provide some answers to why migration is easier for some individuals than for others, and to why it may be advantageous for some individuals in a household to stay behind while others migrate. Still, I believe there is room for complementary perspectives on the mechanisms that differentiate between those who are able to realize an aspiration to migrate and those who are voluntarily or involuntarily immobile.

The second question about immobility that migration theory must address is 'why is there not much more migration in the world today?' If migration flows were to conform to neo-classical migration theory, which emphasizes the role of income differences, the number of migrants would have been many times higher than in reality (Arango 2000). However, international migrants constitute only 2-3 per cent of the world's population (Castles 2000). Migration scholars who have asked themselves why this is so, have come up with the following answers (Faist 2000, Fischer *et al.* 1997, Hammar 1995, Malmberg 1997, Massey *et al.* 1998):

Lack of development – Migration is restricted by poverty, illiteracy, lack of education and the absence of long-term planning in the lives of people who live from hand to mouth.

Risk-aversiveness of potential migrants – Even when an improvement of living conditions is highly likely, awareness of the risk involved acts as a deterrent.

Location-specific advantages that would be lost with migration – Migration usually means forgoing locally bound social, political and economic resources.

Cumulative immobility – Decisions to stay tend to be cumulative as they encourage local investment and increase the likelihood of others making the same decision.

Opportunities for internal migration – People may prefer to migrate to more prosperous areas within the country, especially in large developing countries.

Discrimination against migrants at the destination – Discrimination may prevent migrants from enjoying the markedly higher standard of living at the destination.

Migration control policies – Policies of receiving states to control migration increase the costs and risks of migration.

These factors are all important, and taken together, they go a long way towards explaining why migrants are still numerically marginal in relation to the population of the world. However, these reasons have usually been discussed in a rather *ad hoc* fashion, without an analytical distinction between *not wanting to migrate* and *not being able to migrate*.

The impossibility of involuntary immobility in migration theory

Many theoretical approaches to migration are incompatible with involuntary immobility. When the contrast between migration and non-migration is linked directly with migration decision-making, the possibility of wanting to migrate but not being able to do so is often

lost. One reason for this is the influence of neo-classical migration models. In its simplest form, the idea of neo-classical migration models can be expressed as:

$$\text{Value of migration} = \text{Expected standard of living abroad} - \text{Expected standard of living at home} - \text{Costs of migrating}$$

The model predicts that migration will occur when the value of migration is positive.⁷ Within this approach, most of the points listed above can be incorporated into the equation. For instance, migration control policies constitute part of the cost, and discrimination reduces the standard of living abroad. However, this takes us even further away from distinguishing between *wanting* to migrate and *actually migrating*. By treating choices and opportunities within a single equation, it becomes impossible to separate people's preferences from the structural constraints on their actions. Within this model, a person *either* finds migration advantageous and migrates *or* does not find migration advantageous and stays. In other words, immobility is accounted for, but it cannot be involuntary.

The neo-classical model has been criticized for mechanistic and atomistic rationality without consideration of interpersonal relations, risk or imperfect information (Boyle *et al.* 1998). However, the refined or modified approaches that have followed have retained an emphasis on decision-making, whatever the degree of rationality that underlies it. The second step, from deciding to migrate to actually migrating, remains largely overlooked.

Neo-classical theory is often contrasted with historical-structural approaches, which explain migration with reference to the macro-organization of socio-economic relations (Faist 1997, Wood 1982).⁸ By focusing on the political economy of relations between sending and receiving countries, and relationships between migration and other economic flows, these approaches complement the decision-making theories. However, the historical-structural approaches also have little to say about the relationship between wishes and opportunities.

Migration pressure

An important recognition of the distinction between wanting to migrate and actually migrating comes from theories about *migration pressure*. This term is frequently encountered in migration literature, but often as an expression of political concern about inflows of immigrants, rather than as an analytic concept (Bruni and Venturini 1995). Straubhaar (1993) is among the few researchers who have explicitly addressed the understanding and usefulness of this term. He defines migration pressure as 'that part of migration potential not realized because of restrictions imposed by immigration countries' or:

⁷ See Fischer *et al.* (1997), Massey *et al.* (1993) and Straubhaar (1993) for more sophisticated, mathematically formulated versions.

⁸ There are many ways of classifying and naming the different theoretical approaches to migration (Boyle *et al.* 1998). What I broadly refer to as 'historical-structural approaches' here include different forms of migration systems analysis, world systems approaches, dual labour market theory and neo-Marxist perspectives (Kritz and Zlotnik 1992, Lim 1992, Patterson 1987, Potts 1990).

$$\text{Migration pressure} = \text{Migration potential} - \text{Migration demand}$$

The *migration potential* depends on the sum of individuals' hypothetical economic and non-economic gains from migration. It also varies with their propensity to translate these gains into a wish to migrate. Schaeffer (1993) and Bruni and Venturini (1995) take similar approaches, although their analyses are more narrowly related to demographic and labour market conditions.⁹ The strength of the common argument of these authors lies in the *separation* of migration potential from observed migration flows. At the individual level, this means that the wish to migrate must precede the actual migration, and it is far from certain that a person wishing to migrate will eventually succeed in migrating. A major limitation of the argument's validity, however, is the conception of actual migration as being determined by *migration demand* in immigration countries:

Migration *demand* [...] is the willingness of the potential destination countries to accept immigrants. Demand for foreign people and immigration laws decide whether and which part of migration potential becomes effective. [...] If no government wants to admit foreign workers there will be no (legal) international labour migration.

(Straubhaar 1993: 13)

This gives the impression of an international labour market where immigration countries are free to pursue a 'tap on-tap off' immigration policy to suit their needs. There are two shortcomings in this approach. First, as Straubhaar admits, the argument is restricted to legal labour migration. This is problematic, since refugee migration, family reunification and undocumented migration are all numerically important, and because it is often difficult to distinguish clearly between these different forms of migration. Second, the concept of migration demand ties the question of ability to migrate rigidly to the labour market. In reality, *who* gets to realize their wish to migrate is not determined straightforwardly in the host country labour market. There is, in other words, a need for a more comprehensive and analytical approach to the 'demand' element in the equation of migration pressure.

Theorizing contemporary barriers to migration

Since neo-classical theory incorporates control policies in an unsatisfactory way, and literature on migration pressure has largely restricted itself to labour market processes, the question remains as to how contemporary barriers to migration should be theorized. In fact, most migration theory has sought to explain what *would occur* in the absence of legal or political barriers (Arango 2000, Keely 2000, Massey *et al.* 1998). However, control policies are decisive in conditioning the character and volume of international migration flows today. This is not changed by the fact that all borders remain 'porous' to some degree, or by the concern about actual flows exceeding politically desirable immigration levels. Also the recent literature on

⁹ Massey *et al.* (1998) describe the work of Schaeffer and Straubhaar as demographic determinism with 'hydraulic logic'. While it is true that they use a macro level approach and include demographic perspectives, the theoretical basis should not be refuted on grounds of determinism.

transnational migration is weakened by its failure to deal with the legal constraints on migration (Conway 2000).

Migration control policies themselves have received considerable attention in migration research since the 1970s (Sciortino 2000). Some of this literature is motivated by the conundrum of large immigration flows co-existing with restrictive policies. However, the focus of research has usually been the policies themselves and the processes of policy development. There is a complementary body of literature on undocumented migration and the strategies migrants adopt to circumvent restrictions (e.g. Ghosh 1998, Salt 2000, Salt and Stein 1997). What is still needed, however, are theoretical approaches that *integrate* control policies in theoretical explanations of how *migration flows* are shaped.

While control policies are the backbone of barriers to international mobility, it is necessary to go beyond the letter of the law to analyse their impact on migration flows. First, control policies are put into practice in *implicit* as well as *explicit* ways. Implicit control includes hidden or subdued mechanisms as well as more or less systematic malpractices (Brochmann 1999). Second, strategies for circumventing legal barriers have their own obstacles and costs, such as the risks involved in people smuggling, the financial cost of bogus marriages and the social ties needed to identify bribable officials.

The aspiration/ability model

The preceding chapter identified strengths and weaknesses in existing migration theory when it comes to explaining contemporary patterns of migration. I will now present what I have called the aspiration/ability model, a framework for analysis that addresses the shortcomings and draws upon the insights in order to enhance our understanding of contemporary mobility and immobility. I use the words *model* and *framework* interchangeably. This is a model in the sense of a simplification of reality in order to identify essential elements, but not in the sense of a formalized statement with predictive capacity. As a framework, the aspiration/ability model provides a frame of reference for empirical research on particular instances.

The aspiration/ability model is intended to guide explanations of the size and direction of migration flows, and the characteristics of migrants compared to the characteristics of those who stay behind. It draws heavily upon existing migration theory, but is new in the sense that the underlying ideas have not before been developed into a coherent framework of analysis. Similar notions of wishes or intentions on the one hand, and their realization on the other, mediated by obstructive or facilitating mechanisms, have been mentioned by several recent authors (e.g. Faist 1997:247 and Massey *et al.* 1998:12) Even the classic article by Everett Lee (1966), while empirically and theoretically obsolete in many respects, contains elements which have gained importance with the heightened influence of immigration policies as intervening obstacles to migration.

OVERVIEW

An important first step is to distinguish between people's *aspiration* to migrate and their *ability* to do so. (Figure 5). Some people in the countries of origin have an aspiration to migrate, defined by a belief that migration is preferable to non-migration. The aspiration to migrate can vary in degree and in the balance between choice and coercion. Because of these elements of variation, aspiration is represented by a dashed line in the figure. Among those who aspire to migrate, *some* will also have the ability to do so. These people are the *migrants*, whose international movements can be observed. Those who have aspirations to migrate but

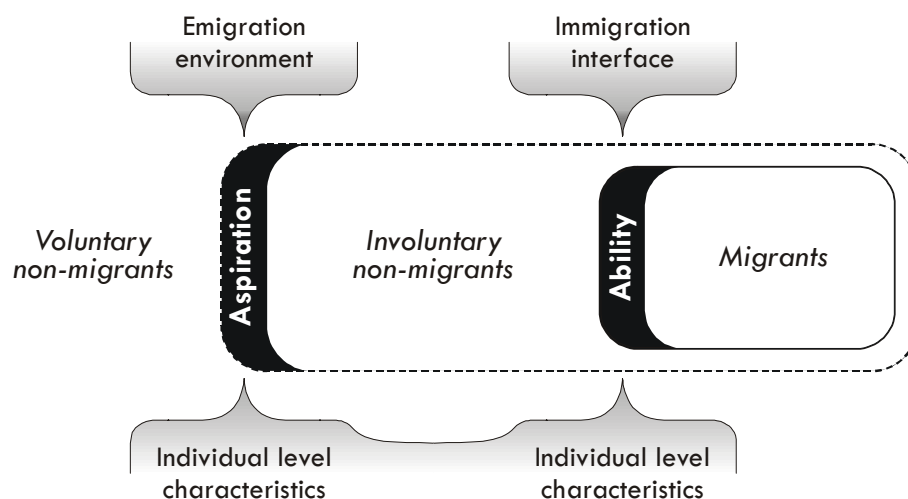


Figure 5. The aspiration/ability model.

lack the ability are *involuntary non-migrants*. They differ from the *voluntary non-migrants*, who stay because of a belief that non-migration is preferable to migration. The concepts of aspiration and ability thus define three migratory categories of people.

While *involuntary non-migrants* are clearly defined as not having the ability to migrate, I have used the term *prospective migrants* more generally about those who wish to emigrate, regardless of their ability to do so. This is because some people could have just decided that they wish to migrate, or that they wish to do so in the near future, but not yet made any attempts. Rather than prematurely labelling them as involuntarily immobile, I have therefore used the broader term *prospective migrants*.

Aspiration to migrate can be analysed at two levels. At the macro level, aspirations are formed within an *emigration environment*. This encompasses the social, economic and political context that is largely common to all members of the community and affects the meanings attributed to the project of migration. At the micro level, differences between individuals can explain *who* wants to migrate and *who* wants to stay.

Ability to migrate can also be analysed at two levels. The macro level *immigration interface* is the structural frame of opportunities and barriers that affect the overall level of ability to emigrate among those who wish to do so. At the micro level, there are *individual level characteristics* that differentiate between people in their ability to overcome the barriers to migration.

ASPIRATION

Aspiration to migrate has been addressed in various ways in existing migration theory. When theories seek to explain migration that would occur in the absence of barriers, they are in fact theories of aspiration. The aspiration/ability model does not require any particular approach to be used in the analysis of aspiration to migrate. However, it is necessary to address both the macro level question of how the social context influences the wish to emigrate and the micro level question of which individuals wish to emigrate and which wish to stay. When I employ specific approaches to these questions, this does not preclude room for variation.

In many cases, migration is such a marginal phenomenon that asking people if they wish to emigrate or not will seem completely irrelevant. In countries with significant emigration, however, this will probably be an option that most people have considered and evaluated (cf. Table 3 in the previous chapter). When people answer yes or no to the question, this is likely to reflect some sort of comparison of the expected outcome of migrating or staying. This comparison is a central element of traditional micro-economic and behavioural migration theory that is still valid even if we A) reconceptualize the nature of the comparison and B) refute the implication that finding migration desirable will necessarily lead to migration.

When people reflect upon whether or not they wish to migrate, they are unlikely to consider the cost of migration itself. This is a different question related to the feasibility of their wish. What the question of migrating or not calls for, is a comparison of imagining oneself as a migrant and imagining oneself as a stayer.

Analyses of aspirations to migrate will be incomplete without consideration of the socially constructed meanings of migration or emigration. In general, migration literature has been slow to accept the challenge of constructivism (Thomas-Hope 1994). However, migration is increasingly being analysed as a socially constructed project. By addressing the meanings of migration, it is often possible to make better sense of the more tangible variables traditionally employed in migration studies. This is exemplified by several analyses of Philippine migration from the perspective of meaning (Rafael 1997, Rugkåsa 1997, Tyner 1997). By seeing the meanings of migration in relation to concepts such as sacrifice, heroism, pity and respectability, these studies illustrate the promise of constructivist approaches to aspiration and the emigration environment.

Force, choice and planning

The focus on aspirations to migrate and involuntary immobility can seem out of place in a world where 'involuntary population movements' are prominent on the migration agenda. However, researchers within different disciplines have pointed out that there is no categorical analytical distinction between the 'forced' and 'voluntary' migration, since all migration involves both choices and constraints (Fischer *et al.* 1997, Keely 2000, Van Hear 1998). While the balance between force and choice depends on the circumstances, I believe that aspiration and ability are appropriate concepts for analysing migration within most contexts. In fact, the problem of involuntary immobility is likely to be particularly acute in the case of refugee migration. Civilians in an area of warfare could have stronger aspirations to leave, but even less ability to do so, than potential labour migrants in Cape Verde or elsewhere. In other words, even when the mobile are 'forced' those who stay behind could be involuntarily immobile.

Abandoning the forced-voluntary dichotomy must necessarily be complemented with sensitivity towards the different degrees of aspiration to migrate. Some people apply for visas or actively enquire about employment opportunities, while others believe that they would like to emigrate, but do not make any effort to realize this wish, while still others have a firm conviction that they do not want to work abroad. To some extent, the problem is

drawing the line at a reasonable point in the continuum. In the context of quantitative data collection, simply asking people if they wish to emigrate or not will often be a good option.

Others have asked people in developing countries whether they *intend* to emigrate (European Commission 2000). In my opinion, this is a confusing mixture of aspirations, plans and feasibility. It is difficult to say how much planning is needed for a wish to qualify as an intention. The difference in wording might explain part of the gap between the two Moroccan surveys quoted in Table 3. It is obvious that among those wishing to emigrate, some will have given practicalities little thought while others could have a detailed plan worked out. It is interesting to know what steps prospective migrants have taken, if any, but this is less important than establishing whether there is a wish or not. If an apparently more feasible wish to emigrate should somehow count more than a desire with little prospect of being realized, this blurs the distinction between aspiration and ability.

The emigration environment

The comparison between migrating and staying should be thought of with reference to a local emigration environment.¹⁰ Analysis of the emigration environment is the macro level approach to asking why people want to emigrate. What is it about the historical, social, economic, cultural or political setting that encourages migration or not?

Potential destinations are an important part of the emigration environment, but they are present through the locally existing, discursively constructed ideas about these places. This is a characteristic of the migration decision-making process that has long been recognized, whether it is conceptualized in terms of imperfect information or discursive constructions. Also the home community enters the comparison through discourse or discursively mediated experience. This is not to say that there are no independently existing features of the area that are relevant to migration, but rather, that people relate to them through discourse. For instance, an area of emigration can be marked by unemployment, drought or violence, but people's wish to emigrate is a result of their own understandings of these problems rather than a straightforward function of unemployment rates and precipitation figures. The way in which drought, for instance, translates into ideas about limited opportunities in the local area must be understood with reference to the specific cultural and historical context. I will elaborate on this in relation to Cape Verde in chapter five.

The comparison between places overlaps with a comparison between culturally defined projects. In people's minds migration is not simply a demographic event, a move from A to B, but a parcel of expected actions and consequences. A central theme in time-geography has been how people often initiate projects such as emigration with reference to ideal type versions of projects. I believe that this is a useful insight for the analysis of the emigration environment. In this perspective, projects can be studied 'both as historical entities, rooted in the flow of life, and as ready-made blueprints, preserved in the store-house of culture' (Hägerstrand 1996:653). In other words, people's *wish* to migrate will often be based on ideas

¹⁰ There are obvious problems with the 'local' in this phrase, which I will not discuss here. In small-scale emigration societies like São Vicente or Santo Antão in Cape Verde, this is relatively unproblematic. In more heterogeneous settings it might be incorrect to speak of *one* emigration environment, and it might not be correct to call it *local*.

about a culturally defined blueprint 'emigration project', but if they do migrate, their own particular experience is likely to diverge from this ideal type version. Furthermore, moves that are similar in a demographic sense could constitute vastly different projects.

By thinking of the different migration and non-migration options as ideal type projects, it is easier to see how the question of migrating or staying acquires a moral dimension. There are meanings attached to the different projects that make people evaluate them in moral terms, and not just in relation to personal gain. The intention to migrate or not, then, is not simply a matter of comparing expected personal gain or place utility, but of taking a stance with ethical implications.

A sketchy inventory of possible projects is often commonly held in a local community. This is what Hägerstrand referred to as 'blueprints preserved in the store-house of culture'. One way of looking at the emigration environment, then, is as such an inventory of projects, some of which include emigration. Given projects are embedded with meaning and often associated with stereotypical images of migrants and presumptions about outcomes.

An important implication of a constructivist approach is that emigration can have different meanings for different people. 'Emigration' is not a commonly agreed upon, detached object of thought which individuals place along a specified dimension of judgement, in this case *wishes – does not wish* (cf. Potter and Wetherell 1987). Rather, individuals differ in the way they ascribe *meaning* to the term emigration. It follows that when an interviewee answers that she wishes to emigrate, this could be signalling a culturally defined notion of initiative as much as reflecting a personal stance with respect to one's future.

It follows from this recognition that the emigration environment must be analysed in ways that account for differences in people's engagement with the emigration project. Even in a country like Cape Verde, where a very large proportion of people wish to emigrate, it is essential to identify reasons for wishing to stay as well as for wishing to emigrate.

Individual level influences on aspiration

The micro level analysis of aspiration seeks to explain *which* individuals wish to emigrate. In order to understand the underlying processes, probable consequences and possible policy measures, it is insufficient to know that 50 per cent wish to emigrate without details about what differentiates the prospective migrants from the rest of the population.

It is probable that a series of individual level characteristics influence people's wish to emigrate (see Figure 5). Factors such as gender, age, family migration history, social status, educational attainment and personality traits are likely to be important. These differentiating factors also include individuals' social networks. Exactly how individual level characteristics matter, depends on the particular social context.

There are essentially two approaches to analysing the effects of individual level characteristics on aspirations to emigrate. First, statistical techniques can be used to identify empirical regularities between certain characteristics and the wish to emigrate. Second, qualitative approaches can help explain the underlying causal mechanisms that could give rise to the numerical regularities.

ABILITY

Ability concerns the *realization* of a wish to emigrate. This is not an unobservable characteristic that some individuals are endowed with while others are not. On the contrary, ability to migrate becomes manifest when somebody who aspires to migrate actually migrates. Therefore, it does not make sense to discuss the ability in relation to those who do not wish to migrate.

In contemporary international migration, ability is most significantly affected by restrictive migration policies. A fundamental challenge, therefore, is how to approach the constraining effects of immigration restrictions on migration flows. As noted earlier, there is a need to go further than conceptualizing this simply as a numerical demand for foreign workers. I have used the concepts *immigration interface*, *modes of migration* and *barriers and constraints* for this purpose.

The immigration interface

The well-worn metaphor of a 'Fortress Europe' aptly emphasizes the wish to enter on the part of migrants, and the insistence on closure on the part of governments. However, this metaphor is misleading when it comes to analysing how migration flows are affected. The barrier faced by potential migrants is not a uniform, insurmountable wall, but can instead be compared to a dense jungle with various paths, each associated with specific obstacles, costs and risks. This structural frame of opportunities and barriers within which potential migrants can move is what I have labelled the *immigration interface*. It encompasses all the steps from living in the country of origin as a potential migrant to having secured the right to live and work legally for an extended period of time in the destination country. Many migrants do not reach this far, but have to make a living as undocumented immigrants. However, legal residence can generally be seen as the goal of the immigration process, whether or not subsequent return to the country of origin is part of the initial plan.

The immigration interface must be contextualized at different levels. First, there is the influence of immigration law, which varies from country to country. Such laws and regulations shape the immigration interface directly, but also indirectly through the way in which they are practiced, and through the possibilities for circumvention. Second, the immigration interface is influenced by factors in the home country or its diaspora, such as the existence of people smuggling networks and opportunities for bogus marriages. Together, these factors result in an immigration interface that is specific to the combination of the sending and receiving countries.

Modes of migration

Each path that leads in the direction of legal residence can be identified as a separate *mode of migration*. Each mode is defined by immigration regulations and the different ways of migrating in compliance or defiance of these regulations. Available modes of migration could be legal labour migration, family reunification, political asylum, visa overstaying and illegal entry. There are important differences between the modes in terms of outcomes. For

instance, those who enter illegally find themselves in a precarious situation as undocumented immigrants, while those who are granted family reunification usually become entitled to permanent residence in the destination country.

Barriers and constraints

Considering each mode separately is a prerequisite for understanding the actual obstacles to migration that enable some and hinder others in realizing a wish to migrate. Each mode of migration involves specific barriers and constraints that can be divided into seven types:

Categorical constraints – Some modes of migration are open only to migrants with certain enduring, categorical characteristics, differentiating between migrants in terms of eligibility. This is the case with visa-free entry (citizenship), family reunification (family relations) and regularization programmes (entry before a specified date).

Qualitative constraints – Certain steps also entail barriers related to qualitative, transient or modifiable properties of migrants. These are properties such as skill level, employment status and the ability of visa applicants to persuade consular officers that they are likely to return.

Social network constraints – In addition to the role of biological family ties, many modes of migration depend on having the necessary social contacts. This applies to finding an employer abroad, locating bribable officials or getting help to obtain false documents.

Practicality constraints – Migrants who are eligible and have the necessary characteristics to qualify for a certain transition can nevertheless be hindered by practicalities. Cases in point are obtaining the necessary documentation for regularization or travelling to the nearest embassy to apply for a visa.

Financial costs – Some forms of migration are associated with considerable expense beyond the normal cost of the journey. This is especially the case with paying for illegal entry with the assistance of traffickers or buying forged documents.

Physical danger – Illegal entry is often associated with considerable physical danger. This can take the form of accidents as well as maltreatment or murder by traffickers or others who exploit the migrants' vulnerability.

Risk of expulsion or denial of re-entry – All forms of illegal or fraudulent entry involve a risk of being forcibly returned to the country of origin and/or denied the possibility of re-entry in the future. This risk is itself a disincentive, since deported migrants are often worse off than before their migration attempt.

Individual level influences on ability

Each potential migrant will be differently equipped to overcome the various barriers in the immigration interface. In other words, a potential migrant's ability to migrate is determined in the interplay between A) the immigration interface and B) his or her personal characteristics. Considering each mode of migration in relation to a person's age, gender, educational

attainment, social network, family migration history, and other factors, is necessary to understand *if* and *how* they will be able to migrate. Geographical differences in the immigration interface mean that this micro-macro interaction also influences *where* a prospective migrant will migrate. As indicated in Figure 5, the same individual level characteristics influence both aspiration and ability to migrate. For instance, it could be that being poor strengthens the wish to migrate and at the same time reduces the ability to realize this wish.

LEVELS OF ANALYSIS

The aspiration/ability model is based on the distinction between two levels of analysis. This does not imply an exclusion of the factors that have been seen as linking macro and micro levels. During the last two decades, the household has gained importance as an intermediate level of analysis within various approaches to migration (Lawson 1998, Stark 1995, Wood 1982). Collectives and social networks more generally have recently been conceptualized as a 'meso-level' in migration research (Faist 1997, 2000). Where the aspiration/ability model focuses on individuals at the micro level, it is important to note that their enmeshment in social relations within and outside the household are among their most important characteristics. Furthermore, as the following analysis will show, the macro level emigration environment and immigration interface are defined not only in terms of economic or political structures, but are reproduced through social interaction.

VALIDITY OF THE MODEL

The aspiration/ability model is presented as a general model of contemporary international migration. Does this mean that it is valid for all settings? As an analytical framework, its validity is a matter of usefulness rather than correspondence with an external reality. When the model is conceived at a high level of abstraction, its scope of the model's validity is great. I believe that the backbone of the model, the division between aspiration and ability, is a useful way of thinking about most forms of migration and non-migration. However, the model is particularly appropriate in the analysis of migration from poor countries to wealthier countries with restrictive immigration policies. This encompasses the majority of international migration flows today, whether or not they are seen as 'forced' or 'voluntary' flows.

Methods

The purpose of this chapter is to account for how I conducted this study and give the grounds for some of the choices I have made. First, I will discuss the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods. This has wider implications in terms of theory of science. Second, I will explain how the various data sets were created through fieldwork. Finally, I will account for the different forms of interpretation and analysis. The quantitative data sets and analysis take up more space in this chapter than their qualitative counterparts. This is because there are many technical details that must be accounted for, and does not indicate that these methods were more important in the analysis.

MULTIPLE METHODS FOR COMPLEX REALITIES

The combined use of quantitative and qualitative methods is increasingly common in the practice of social science, and, even more common as a recommendation in texts on social science methods. Until the 1980s, mixed method research strategies were largely precluded by the entrenched conflict between positivist and constructivist epistemologies, adhering to quantitative and qualitative methods, respectively. The two types of methods were seen as incompatible because of irreconcilable differences in the underlying ontologies and epistemologies (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). These obstacles to combining methods have been reduced in two different ways.

First, specific methods are no longer seen as essentially linked to particular epistemologies or paradigms (Findlay and Li 1999). Epistemology *informs* rather than precludes or determines methodological strategy (McKendrick 1999). For instance, quantitative approaches can be used in feminist post-structural research, which is usually associated with qualitative approaches (Lawson 1995). This involves sensitivity towards what Lawson calls 'the politics of counting' and does not imply giving up the feminist post-structural epistemological stance. Another atypical (but common) paradigm-method combination is the positivist base of much qualitative research. For instance, Kvale (1996:3) uses the metaphor of mining to describe how qualitative interview research is often conducted in an empiricist manner: 'Knowledge is waiting in the subject's interior, waiting to be uncovered, uncontaminated by

the miner'. Such an approach implies a positivist epistemology in which the knower and the known are seen as independent (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). These two examples illustrate how researchers with different epistemological positions are not destined to use either quantitative or qualitative methods, but have a choice to choose between or combine different methods.

The second way of reducing obstacles to mixing methods is the promotion of theoretical approaches to science that explicitly call for a combination of methods. These approaches include philosophical pragmatism as well as different forms of realism, described as 'subtle', 'analytic', 'critical' or 'constructivist' realism (Cupchik 2001, Seale 1999, Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998). Findlay and Li (1999:54) argue that 'realism [...] does not see a mixing of methods as a research luxury added if the researcher has time, but as central to research that seeks to examine the middle ground where structure and agency meet'. From a realist position, so-called *intensive* (and typically qualitative) methods can offer causal accounts of how processes work while *extensive* (and typically quantitative) methods can be used to assess the representative or generalizable dimensions of certain processes (Findlay and Li 1999). Such an approach arises from the realist position that the cause of an event has nothing to do with the number of times it happens, since rare events are caused no less than common ones. However, both the causal processes and the resulting patterns of occurrence are worth examining (Sayer 1985).

All variants of realism share the view that although we always observe or engage with the world from a particular perspective, the world acts on us to constrain the range of possible views (Seale 1999). Realism distances itself from the positivist position that there is *one* truth to which research conclusions must correspond, as well as from the extreme post-modern position that truth is only about convention, and not about correspondence (May 1997, Sayer 1985, Sayer 1993). However, there is also common ground between realism and postmodernism that can be seen as encouraging the combination of different methods. Both have a concern with difference and differentiation, which implies that multiple, even conflicting, perspectives should be allowed to co-exist in research accounts. This constitutes an additional reason for the use of more than one method. While the previous point concerned the different potential of intensive and extensive methods for analysing causality and pervasiveness, respectively, the diversity argument is of a more general character (Eyles 1988). Combining qualitative and quantitative methods is only one way of pursuing an overall aim of sensitivity to diversity.

The term triangulation is often used to describe a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. This is based on the analogy with navigation, where several fixed references are used in combination to determine an unknown point. In this sense, triangulation is based on the idea of convergence on a single point of truth, and thereby differs from the ideal of combining methods for the sake of multiple alternative perspectives (Creswell 1994, Greene *et al.* 1989, Jick 1979, Seale 1999).

An obvious disadvantage of mixing methods, that has also affected my own work, is the reduced opportunities for in-depth involvement with each method. More thorough qualitative *or* quantitative analyses would have been possible if one of the two were excluded.

The process of research design

The research design evolved in response to many different factors. First and foremost, the design should strive to address the research questions in the best possible way. Second, there were constraints on data availability and opportunities for generating new data. Third, I set out with a belief in the value of combining methods, coupled with a wish to learn more about both qualitative and quantitative techniques. I will now discuss the resulting research design. Details about each of the data sets I have used are discussed in the next section.

Research design for analysing aspiration

In the previous chapter, I showed that there are many different questions to be asked within the aspiration/ability model. These are in fact different *types* of questions, suggesting that different methods are appropriate for each one.

Question 1a, 'What is the position of emigration as a socially defined project?' calls for general statements at the level of society. This is probably the most complex research question in the study. It concerns the established patterns of migration, the meanings of migration and the role of migration as one of several strategies for upward social mobility. I chose to focus on the latter two, which are partly caused by established migration patterns. First, it is through the history of emigration that working abroad has become established as a strategy for upward social mobility, in a self-reinforcing process. Second, the history of emigration has influenced the meanings that are currently ascribed to emigration. Chapter one gave a brief account of the Cape Verdean historical experiences of mobility, and the analysis of aspiration to migrate will concentrate on strategies and meanings as contemporary results of these historical processes.

I decided that the best way for me to address the role of emigration as a strategy for upward social mobility would be through interviews with young people who are about to make strategic choices for their own future. First they are likely to have an active awareness of different opportunities. Second, their thoughts about emigration are likely to reflect the position of emigration in society, more than their particular personal circumstances. They will of course have individual views, affected by their individual background, but still relate to emigration as an ideal type project. Especially for those who are in school, emigration will be relevant in terms of planning for the future, but not be related to the practicalities of the present. This distance is valuable for exploring the perceptions of emigration as a strategy for upward social mobility as well as for exploring the meanings ascribed to this strategy. Semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate method for this purpose.

Research question 1b 'Which individual level characteristics affect the aspiration to emigrate?' differs from the former because it calls for statements about differences between individuals. For this question, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods seemed appropriate. A typical approach to such a question is using a quantitative survey to find out how a dependent variable (aspiration to emigrate) is related to a number of independent variables such as age, gender and educational background. This would provide valuable information about what differentiates those who wish to stay from those who wish to emigrate. However, in line with the realist position outlined above, such numerical regularities are only half

the story, since they do not explain how these factors are *causally related* to aspiration. This requires the use of intensive methods.

For both research questions on aspiration, I decided to use students in their final (12th) year of secondary school as my informants. There were three advantages with this choice. First, being in school ensures the distance to emigration mentioned above, which is valuable for discussions of meanings and strategies. Second, those who are close to completing school have a wider choice of strategies for the future, and it is therefore possible to discuss emigration in relation to other strategies. Third, there is an enormous practical advantage in being able to identify and contact informants through schools, especially where a large number of informants are needed.

The obvious disadvantage with this group is that many Cape Verdeans do not complete twelve years of school. Because of large variations in the age of students and considerable inter-island migration, it is difficult to estimate an exact percentage. However, the number of 12th year students on the islands of Santo Antão and São Vicente in the year 2000 was slightly less than one quarter of the number of 19 year olds.¹¹ Some students dropped out at lower levels because they lost the right to free schooling after repeating several classes, some stopped studying because their families could not afford the expenses, and some simply made a choice to look for work instead. The majority of those who attended the final year of secondary school had ambitions to pursue higher education.

There are several ways to approach the problem that students are not representative of their age group. The obvious response is to refrain from generalizing the findings to a larger group, accepting that they are only valid for final year students. Furthermore, I have conducted additional interviews to know more about how this group differs from people in the same age group who have dropped out of school. This is much more sketchy information, but gives important indications. Finally, the student sample can form the basis of certain analytical generalizations. Variations within the student group can be used to make assumptions about the importance of such variations across the whole cohort, if it seems theoretically plausible. For instance, if students from poorer households are markedly more inclined to wish to emigrate than students from wealthy households, the relationship between wealth and aspiration to emigrate can be assumed to be valid among young people more generally under two preconditions. First, there must be substantial *variation* in wealth within the student sample, and second, there must be reason to believe in a *causal* relationship between wealth and aspiration, based on theory or empirical research of an intensive nature. What would be completely misleading, however, is to generalize about the proportion wishing to emigrate or the proportion living in poor households.

A second problem with using a student sample is that for question 1b, 'How do individual level characteristics affect the aspiration to emigrate?' such a sample would be of limited value in assessing the influence of such factors as age and educational background, since the

¹¹ There were 635 final year students in the four schools on these islands. The number of 19 year olds (the modal age of students) can be estimated to approximately 2800 using the island-specific 1990 age structure and the total population of each island for the year 2000 (Biayé 1996, Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000c). Age specific population figures from the year 2000 have not yet been published.

students are a homogenous group in these respects. I solved this problem by using a second data set, with a sample of the entire population. This was a survey on migration and employment carried out by Cape Verdean authorities (the OME Survey, *Observatório de Migrações e Emprego*). This survey contains a question about the wish to emigrate, which can be linked with background variables such as gender, age, educational background and the presence of emigrant relatives.

I was able to use the qualitative data to explore the plausible causal mechanisms behind the empirical regularities I found through the quantitative analysis of aspirations to emigrate. For instance, I used the two surveys to find out *whether* receiving remittances affected peoples wish to emigrate (in the sense of an empirical relationship), and then used material from the semi-structured interviews to explore *why* there was such a relationship. Therefore, for research question 1b, there was a full integration of methods.

In contrast to this, the analysis of research question 1a, 'What is the position of emigration as a socially defined project?' was primarily qualitative. The primary data sources were the semi-structured interviews with students and other young people, and field notes. This material was supplemented by a quantitative illustration of the relationship between the household material situation and the family migration history, based on the survey of students.

Research design for analysing ability

In the analysis of ability to emigrate, there is also a difference between the first question calling for general statements at the level of society and the second question calling for statements about differences between individuals. Question 2a, 'How is migration enabled and/or constrained through immigration policy?' can be seen as a question of mapping the different modes of migration and their associated barriers and constraints, as explained in chapter three. This requires a combined approach to immigration policy proper, immigration policy practice, and ways of circumventing immigration policy. For these purposes, I used qualitative analysis of immigration policy documents, interviews with consular officials and interviews with potential migrants and families of migrants. This last group of interviews included those that I used for analysing ability, i.e. students and other young people.

When it comes to measuring ability quantitatively, serious problems emerge. First of all, the migrants have left the field and are not there to be surveyed. In theory, this could be solved by conducting a panel study and observing the departure of individuals over time, along with other variables. Since this would be impossible in the time available, I would have to rely on indirect methods, such as asking people about the migration of their relatives. However, there would be serious problems related to sampling.¹² Information about emigrant relatives can provide some indication of trends, but this cannot be the empirical backbone of the study. Reliable official data on emigration is not available. Passenger counts and census

¹² The only meaningful universe to sample from would be 'all persons living in Cape Verde at time t '. It would be impossible to draw a representative sample of this universe at time $t + 1$ ensuring equal probability of being sampled. If I were to ask persons in Cape Verde at time $t + 1$ about their relatives, emigrants with many relatives remaining in Cape Verde would have a high probability of being sampled, while emigrants whose entire families have left the country would have a zero probability of being sampled. Using proxy respondents to obtain information about the migration of others also severely limits the possible depth and quality of the information (Bilsborrow *et al.* 1997).

data can provide some indications, but again, this is only sufficient to indicate trends at a general level. In some cases immigration statistics from destination countries are the best source of information, but this excludes undocumented migration.

In addition to the problems of reliability and sampling, there is a problem with the validity of migration statistics in the analysis of ability. A declining emigration flow, for instance, could result *either* from a decline in prospective migrants' ability to realize their aspirations *or* from a decline in aspiration to emigrate. Simply observing a drop in the number of emigrants and concluding that it is getting more difficult to emigrate would be misleading. In contemporary Cape Verde, however, the proportion wishing to emigrate is so large in relation to the actual emigration rate that migrations flows can be assumed to be controlled almost entirely by factors affecting the ability to emigrate.

One way of making statements about individual level influences on the wish to emigrate is to compare information about aspiration with information about actual emigration. If, for instance, the proportion wishing to emigrate is similar among men and women, but the sex distribution of emigrants is skewed in favour of women, this suggests that being female increases ability to emigrate.¹³

Given the limitations discussed above, my analysis of research question 2a, 'How is migration enabled and/or constrained through immigration policy?' will focus on the mapping of modes of migration and their associated barriers and constraints. From this, I can indirectly address research question 2b 'How do individual level characteristics affect the ability to emigrate?' This is possible through deductions about how the various barriers will affect different individuals. Available quantitative information will be used with caution for the purpose of illustration.

THE MAKING OF THE DATA SETS

The data I have used can be divided into four sets of primary data, collected during four months of fieldwork from March to July 2000. In addition, I used documentary sources collected over a longer period.

Field notes – A fieldwork diary, including notes from participant observation and unrecorded interviews.

Student Survey – A questionnaire survey of 264 final-year students of secondary school carried out through interviews at all schools on Santo Antão and São Vicente.

OME Survey – A survey on employment and migration carried out by the authorities among 404 randomly selected inhabitants of São Vicente.

Semi-structured interviews – Recorded interviews with 15 respondents from the Student Survey and a small number of other young people.

¹³ Although this is the best strategy with available data, there is a caveat. There could be intermediate variables that are affected by gender and in turn affect ability. If, for instance, women have a higher average educational attainment, their higher ability could be related to education, and the true effect of gender could be zero. Such mistakes can be avoided when individual data is available and other variables can be controlled for. This is done in the analysis of individual level characteristics' effect on aspiration.

It is important to appreciate the processes behind each data set. The term traditionally used for generating data in social science research is 'data collection'. This gives an impression of an active and potent researcher encountering passive informants about whom information is collected. In opposition to this, Agozino (2000) suggest that 'data reception' is a better term for describing the process. This reverses the notion of activity and stresses the autonomy of the persons offering information about themselves. This could perhaps be going too far in the other direction. I have chosen to use the more neutral term 'making of data sets' to characterize the processes in which I interacted with informants in the production of the material. I will now discuss each data set, starting with the fieldwork experience, which resulted in the field notes.

Accessing and observing the social field

The four months of fieldwork in 2000 were part of a much longer process of engagement with the Cape Verde. I first visited the country in 1996, and spent three months getting to know the country and the language, a Creole language of Portuguese origin, called Kriol. Thanks to my previous stay, I had a large social network and was able to use Kriol in everyday conversations when I started the fieldwork nearly four years later. During this period, I had corresponded with friends in Cape Verde, followed Cape Verdean media and spent time with Cape Verdeans living in Norway.

I spent three quarters of the fieldwork period on the island of São Vicente. In addition, I spent two weeks on neighbouring Santo Antão, conducting interviews and collecting other forms of data locally. The last two weeks were spent in the capital Praia in order to carry out interviews and collect statistical information from centralized institutions of the State.

On São Vicente and Santo Antão I lived with families that I knew from my first visit to Cape Verde. In São Vicente, I became an integrated member of the household. This was not only because I spoke the language and had known the other household members for many years, but the loose and fluid character of Cape Verdean households facilitated my integration. In fact, in our six-person household, only one of the other members was related to the head of the household. In addition to the six household members, there were three 'associated members' who ate most of their meals there.

The fact that I spoke Kriol relatively well was extremely important in accessing the social field. This can only be understood with reference to the socio-linguistic situation in Cape Verde. The official language on Cape Verde is Portuguese, which is used in the media, in schools, and in public speeches. However, Kriol is always used in everyday conversation and is considered the best vehicle for living and expressing 'Capeverdeanity' (Veiga 1995, Lobban 1995). Cape Verdean society is a typical example of *diglossia* as opposed to *bilingualism* (Duarte 1998). That is, there is a marked specialization of function between the two languages, and there is a clear difference in prestige between them (Trask 1999). In short, using Kriol rather than Portuguese during the fieldwork not only made it easier to participate in social life, but also reduced the hierarchical aspect of interaction with informants. As most people

would expect a foreign researcher to address them in Portuguese, using Kriol conveyed a message of familiarity and respect that often came as a surprise.

While I had not planned for participant observation to be an important part of the fieldwork, everyday experiences with the people surrounding me turned out to be a very valuable supplementary source of information. Participant observation has been defined as a method of research

in which the researcher is intensively involved throughout the relatively long period of the research project with the people being studied, participating in what they do and often living with them, while observing and making records of the information for the study (Krulfeld 1994:150).

There are basically two reasons why I believe it is correct to use the term participant observation about my fieldwork. First of all, I developed a close and lasting relationship with several families, and took part in their daily lives. Second, emigration was a central aspect of their lives, and therefore, spending time with them provided me with valuable information about this subject. I choose to call this participant observation in order to signal the importance of the information I acquired in this way. Nevertheless, I do not claim to have conducted an ethnographic study, and there are many fields of my informant's lives that I did not get involved in.

I was continuously amazed by the ease of establishing contact with Cape Verdeans on an impulsive basis. I spent a lot of time walking around the different neighbourhoods of São Vicente, and I often struck up conversations with people I met. In several cases, these people became informants with whom I had several conversations. In other cases, it was only a brief acquaintance, but nevertheless a valuable source of information. Often, just mentioning that I was conducting a study of emigration would trigger stories that contributed to my understanding of what I was studying. This is primarily anecdotal information, but could spark off new ways of seeing things or challenge my existing ideas.

It is difficult to draw a line between semi-structured interviews and such casual conversations with strangers or friends. This is why I have not specified the number of interviews with young people other than the student interviews.

I also conducted a small number of unrecorded interviews with consular officials involved in issuing visas, and Cape Verdean government officials in the area of emigration. On the whole, I was well received by all these authorities, and obtained important background information. In particular, I felt that the consular officials were surprisingly open with me about the process of issuing visas. As will be shown later, the decisions of these officials are extremely important for the lives of the Cape Verdeans involved.

Every day I wrote field notes about my conversations and experiences. In some cases, this included notes I had taken immediately after informal conversations, trying to remember as accurately as possible what had been said. The field notes also included notes from interviews that had not been recorded, such as those with consular officials.

The Student Survey

The largest practical challenge of the fieldwork was conducting the Student Survey. I will first discuss the formulation of the questionnaire and then go on to consider the sampling process. I had initially planned to use self-administered questionnaires, but fortunately, I found out in time that this would not have been a good solution. First of all, many Cape Verdeans are not used to filling out forms, and it is highly likely that many respondents would fail to complete the questionnaire as intended. I therefore decided to conduct brief interviews with all the respondents and fill in the questionnaires myself. This allowed me to make a more complex questionnaire and make sure it was completed correctly. I could also make careful judgements about what to do with ambiguous answers. This was a very difficult task at times, which convinced me that I should conduct all the interviews myself and not hire an assistant to share the job with me. The questionnaire and notes on operationalizations are included as Appendix 2 and 3.

Questionnaire design

The principal objective of the survey was to explore the relationship between the dependent variable, aspiration to emigrate, and a range of independent variables that I assumed to be relevant. The first decisive challenge was to formulate questions about aspiration to emigrate in the best possible way. My main concern was to avoid formulations that could have a biased effect on the answer. For instance, with the question ‘do you wish to emigrate or not?’ it is easy to feel that answering ‘no’ would signal passivity or lack of initiative. What I decided, was to show interviewees a card with different migration and non-migration options and ask which one they preferred:

Q: I will now show you four options for your future. Please tell me which one you would prefer.

Stay in São Vicente ¹	Move to another island in Cape Verde
Emigrate and stay abroad	Emigrate and return to Cape Verde

¹ ‘São Vicente’ was replaced with ‘Santo Antão’ for interviews on that island.

The respondents were told that studying abroad did not count as ‘emigration’. Those who wished to study abroad and come straight back would therefore be recorded as *not wishing to emigrate*, whereas those who wanted to stay abroad to work for some years after university would be recorded as *wishing to emigrate*. The card did not include any choice of island for those who wished to emigrate and return, which might have been logical. However, it was important to keep the card as simple as possible, and have the same number of emigration and non-emigration options.

I believe that this method worked well. The most important problems were concerned with long-term planning in itself, since many students had vague ideas about what they wanted for the future. Furthermore, they often had conditional preferences of the kind ‘if I get a scholarship, I wish to go to university and come straight back, but if I don’t, I wish to

work abroad for some years'. This is discussed more in detail in chapter five. After choosing an option from the card, those who wished to emigrate were asked where they wanted to go, and which island they would prefer to live on if they were unable to emigrate. I also included an open-ended question about why the respondent wished to emigrate or not.

It was important that this question came after respondents had 'warmed up' with questions about themselves and their family, and before any other questions about migration. Because I was anxious about influencing the answers to these questions, I also introduced the interview saying that this was a study about the situation of young people in Cape Verde, rather than a study about emigration. It was true that I wanted to get a more comprehensive view of the situation of young people, and focusing on emigration from the outset could easily have influenced the answers.

The independent variables could be divided into five main groups:

1. Demographic background variables about the respondent and his/her parents
2. Information about the household, including socio-economic indicators
3. Views and opinions about Cape Verde
4. Relatives abroad, gifts and remittances
5. Social integration

The intention was that some variables could be used independently, such as gender and age, while others would be used to calculate indexes. For this purpose, it was necessary to include several questions that shed light on the same theoretical concept from slightly different perspectives. For instance, I wished to know if pessimism about Cape Verde's future was positively associated with aspiration to emigrate. I then formulated several statements and asked the respondents to say if they agreed or disagreed with each one. In some, an affirmative answer would be a sign of pessimism, while in others, this would be the case with a negative answer. The answers could then be analysed to see if they were consistently optimistic, consistently pessimistic, or neither. The construction of different indexes is discussed below.

Social status was a potentially sensitive issue, and I decided to split the questions related to this between different parts of the questionnaire. Early in the questionnaire, there were fairly uncomplicated questions about household size, the number of rooms and utilities in the house. The more sensitive questions about the household's ability to cover unforeseen expenses, and the respondents own characterization of the household's economic situation were 'tucked' between questions about spare time activities towards the end of the questionnaire. Such considerations about the emotional dynamics of the question sequence are as important with a questionnaire as with a semi-structured interview. I believe that the interview experience was a positive one for the vast majority of respondents. This was important not only for the sake of the individual, but also because it affected the attitude towards me in the student body of the schools where I conducted interviews.

The interviews were conducted over a period of eight weeks, and I made several changes to the questionnaire during this period, especially in the beginning. I removed questions that seemed to be confusing or yield little useful information, and included a few additional

questions that seemed relevant. Since the possibilities for preliminary testing of the questionnaire were limited, such flexibility was better than the alternative of not correcting weaknesses. The result was that some questions were not asked to all the respondents in the survey.

The questionnaire included many questions that were not used in the final analysis. This was partly because it was difficult to foresee what would be the most interesting variables. Furthermore, many questions provided me with valuable background information even if this was not incorporated in the quantitative models.

The sampling process

The survey finally included 264 interviewees sampled from a universe of 635 students in their final (twelfth) year of school. The universe included daytime students of the four state-run schools on the islands of São Vicente and Santo Antão.¹⁴ The sample was stratified by school and gender, so that the sample reflects both the distribution of students between schools and the gender balance within each school (Table 4). For practical reasons, the final number of interviewees within each of the eight school/gender divisions did not always match the target number exactly. However, deviations were small enough to be ignored for practical purposes.

As a general rule of thumb, the statistical significance of the results is only affected by absolute sample size, and not by its relation to the size of the universe. However, this is no longer true when the sample exceeds about ten per cent of the universe. In such cases, the margin of error is smaller than the absolute sample size would suggest (Haraldsen 1999). In the Student Survey, the sampling percentage is as high as 42, which means that the margin of error is the same as in a sample of about 450 drawn from a 'large' universe such as the entire population of a country.¹⁵ The significance levels reported for results of the Student Survey are in this sense underestimated.

Table 4. Distribution of interviewees in the Student Survey.

School	Island	Description	12 th year Students		Interviewees	
			Male	Female	Male	Female
Escola Comercial e Industrial do Mindelo	São Vicente	Vocational school	82 (13 %)	20 (3 %)	40 (15 %)	12 (5 %)
Ano Zero, Pólo de São Vicente	São Vicente	Preparatory course for higher education ¹	86 (14 %)	95 (15 %)	31 (12 %)	41 (16 %)
Liceu Ludgero Lima	São Vicente	General secondary school	76 (12 %)	143 (23 %)	30 (11 %)	58 (22 %)
Escola Secundária da Ribeira Grande	Santo Antão	General secondary school	64 (10 %)	69 (11 %)	24 (9 %)	28 (11 %)
<i>Total</i>			635 (100 %)		264 (100 %)	

¹ An educational reform introduced in 1999 eliminates Ano Zero and introduces a twelfth year of general schooling. During the school year 1999/2000, the old and new systems run parallel, but this was the last in which Ano Zero will operate.

¹⁴ There are also evening classes for older students, usually people who started working without completing secondary education and later resumed school on an evening basis. At the time of the fieldwork, no private schools were teaching the final year of secondary school (*liceu*).

¹⁵ The formula used to calculate this is: $m = n / (1 - (n/N))$ where m is the imaginary large sample, n is the actual sample and N is the size of the population (calculated from Haraldsen 1999:68).

Table 5. Sampling procedure and possible weaknesses in the Student Survey, by school.

School	Sampling procedure	Selection bias	Non-response
<i>Escola Comercial e Industrial do Mindelo (São Vicente)</i>	Specific students were asked by the headmistress to come to the interview room at specified times during free slots in the timetable or physical education.	Because some students had more free slots than others, the number of interviewees selected from each class did not accurately reflect the distribution of students between classes. There is no reason to believe that this led to a systematic bias.	At times, classes were cancelled, students failed to show up at the classes during/after which interviews were scheduled to be interviewed, or they failed to show up for the interviews. It is difficult to estimate the effects on the sample.
<i>Ano Zero, Pólo de São Vicente</i>	Students were excused from certain classes and interviewed in a neighbouring room.	Some students did not attend classes during which interviews were conducted. This led to an under-representation of students concentrating on natural sciences.	At times, classes were cancelled or students failed to show up to the classes during which interviews were scheduled.
<i>Liceu Ludgero Lima (São Vicente)</i>	Students who were not in class (because of free slots in the timetable or because the teacher missed the class) were approached in the corridor or in the classroom	Students who usually stayed inside the classroom or immediately left the building during breaks were less prone to be sampled.	Nearly all the students agreed to be interviewed when asked. In a few cases, they refused if they were busy studying for tests later in the day
<i>Escola Secundária da Ribeira Grande (Santo Antão)</i>	When there were no classes, twelfth year students who for some reason were at or near the school were identified by staff or fellow students and interviewed immediately. Other students were interviewed in between classes and at the student boarding house.	There was probably an overrepresentation of students who intended to pursue higher education and therefore came to school to attend voluntary classes and seek information about scholarship exams. There was probably also an overrepresentation of students living close to the school.	Some students who were asked to wait or come back later to be interviewed went away or did not come back as agreed.

The sampling process differed between schools, partly as a result of the different levels of willingness to excuse students from classes. The sampling procedure, possible biases and problems of non-response in each school are described in Table 5. In the school on Santo Antão, ordinary classes finished two weeks earlier than planned before the summer. This caused considerable difficulties and probably led to biases in the sample. Strictly speaking, interviewees were not selected on a truly random basis in any of the schools, but there is no reason to believe that there are systematic biases in the sample in the other three schools.¹⁶

The OME Survey

The second quantitative data set I used was the OME Survey (*Observatório de Migrações e Emprego*) conducted three to four times per year by the government Institute for Employment and Professional Training (IEFP). The primary purpose of this survey was to estimate the rates of unemployment and labour force participation. However, the questionnaire also

¹⁶ A truly random sample means that every individual in the universe has an equal probability of being sampled, and that that this probability is independent of the sampling of other individuals (Skog 1998).

contained several questions about migration, including the wish to emigrate. The questionnaire is included as Appendix 4.

The survey is carried out on four islands, including São Vicente, but not Santo Antão. The local division of the IEFP is responsible for conducting the interviews, while the results are analysed at the central office in Praia. In São Vicente, the sample consists of 404 passers-by, intercepted at three different locations in the town. The sample is stratified by age and gender. The principal problem with the sampling method is that inhabitants have very different probabilities of walking through the sampling areas when interviews are conducted. The three locations are the main street (Rua de Lisboa), a street near the fish market (Rua da Praia) and a major intersection outside a suburban market (Mercado de Ribeirinha). These locations cover a broad mix of people. However, the differences between these locations mean that the relative distribution of interviews between them is decisive for the results. There are also people with a low probability of being encountered in either location, depending on the nature of their daily routine. Fortunately, there is a very large variation in the sample in terms of important variables such as age, educational level and employment status. This means that although the average level of education, for instance, could differ from that of the population as a whole, it is still possible to examine the relationship between educational attainment and the wish to emigrate.

I was able to join the interviewers in the field for a few hours to see how interviews were conducted. This was a generally reassuring experience, but also made me aware of additional weaknesses. In particular, it made me sceptical of the question about reasons for wishing to emigrate. This consists of a list of alternative, partly overlapping reasons from which the respondent was asked to choose one.¹⁷ This is in itself a highly problematic way of approaching the wish to emigrate, which will be discussed further in chapter seven. In this situation, it was further complicated by the fact that the interviewers often suggested one particular answer, 'to search for a better life', in the many cases that respondents failed to come up with a clear answer themselves. When entering data from the OME Survey questionnaire, I therefore chose not to use the data from this question.

After the interviews were conducted, I had the chance to enter all the data from the questionnaires into the computer myself, before they were sent to Praia. This ensured maximum reliability and allowed me to use much more detailed categories than those that were used in the official analysis.

In addition to nominal data from this round of the survey (No. 2/2000), I have had access to summary reports from all of the 18 previous rounds of the survey, starting in 1995. In some cases, I have referred to this data to supplement the findings of my own analysis.

Semi-structured interviews

I conducted 15 semi-structured interviews with respondents from the Student Survey and a small number of interviews with other young people. One of these spontaneously evolved to

¹⁷ These were: A) Because of being unemployed, B) Earning little, C) Wanting a different profession, D) Go to be with the family, E) Search for a better life, and F) Other. Alternative E was not specified in the questionnaire, but frequently recorded by the interviewers.

resemble a focus group interview. I had agreed to interview a boy in his early twenties outside his house, and while we were talking, a number of his friends joined the conversation. The whole session lasted for one and a half hour and produced very valuable data. The discussion acquired a very good dynamism with the different participants commenting on each other's statements and entering discussions with each other.

The interviews with students were typical semi-structured interviews in standard settings, alone in a quiet room with the recorder. Semi-structured here means that there are no fixed questions and no particular sequence, but the interviewer improvises to let the conversation cover certain topics (Arksey and Knight 1999). Each interview lasted from 30 minutes to two hours. I recruited the interviewees during the short interviews for the Student Survey. I searched for students who were relatively articulate, and tried to cover a variety of backgrounds in terms of socio-economic status, family migration history and current school track. The fifteen interviewees are listed in Appendix 5. Because the girls were generally more articulate, there were a larger number of girls among the interviewees I selected. In addition, more boys failed to show up to our appointments, and were not possible to track down afterwards. While the number of interviewees was relatively small, I felt that I was approaching *saturation* in the sense that the last interviews primarily confirmed my impressions from previous interviews rather than adding new information (Miller 2000).

I made a 'mind map' of different topics to be covered in the interviews and used this to guide the conversation. The topics included different aspects of emigration, education, ambitions for the future, social stratification and social mobility. I started these interviews after a month in the field, and had already made certain findings that I could discuss explicitly with the interviewees. In order to get the conversations started, I usually asked the interviewees to tell me about their neighbourhood, and this usually led in the direction of one of the interview topics, such as social stratification or emigration, from which the conversation could proceed.

As with most other informants I encountered during the fieldwork, I was impressed with the openness and helpfulness of the student interviewees. The interviews were generally characterized by relaxed, flowing and rich conversations. Some interviewees talked very freely, and I merely guided them in different directions in the course of the interview. Those interviewees who tended to give relatively short answers and wait for the next question nevertheless provided good descriptions that I have used extensively. The fact that there was a small age difference, that we spoke Kriol, and that I had already interviewed them for the Student Survey, contributed to a friendly atmosphere in which both the interviewee and I felt comfortable. I kept in touch with several of the interviewees throughout the fieldwork and visited some of them in their homes.

All the interviews were conducted in Kriol, and all the quotes presented here are my translations. I have tried to strike a balance between staying close to the original ways of expression and conveying the content with the original degree of eloquence. For instance, repetition of words or phrases is often used for emphasis in Kriol, while it could easily give the impression of an uncertain or inarticulate speaker in English. In such cases, I have often found it best to use corresponding expressions of emphasis in English, without the original repetition.

Table 6. Overview of the quantitative analysis of aspiration to emigrate.

Research question	Data set	Variables		Type of analysis
		Independent	Dependent	
<i>1a (Macro):</i> What is the position of emigration as a socially defined project?	Student Survey	Household characteristics, including migration history	The household's material situation (Continuous index)	Linear regression
<i>1b (Micro):</i> Which individual level characteristics affect the aspiration to emigrate?	Student Survey	Individual level characteristics	Aspiration to emigrate (Dichotomous variable)	Logistic regression
	OME Survey	Individual level characteristics	Aspiration to emigrate (Dichotomous variable)	Logistic regression

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

As discussed under research design, the quantitative *analysis* – as opposed to the mere discussion of statistics – is limited to the study of aspiration. Quantitative data are also used in the study of ability, but not subjected to statistical analysis. Table 6 gives an overview of the different forms of analysis that will be discussed in this section. The analysis of how the material standard of households is affected by migration history is only a small element in the study of the role of migration in society (research question 1a), and will be discussed quite briefly at the end of this section. The quantitative analysis of how individual level characteristics affect aspiration to emigrate, on the other hand, is the principal approach to research question 1b and will be considered in more detail. All the quantitative analyses were carried out with the use of the software package *SPSS*.

Logistic regression analysis: Factors affecting aspiration to emigrate

The analysis of individual level influences on aspiration has a dichotomous dependent variable: wishing to emigrate or not. It would have been possible simply to compare characteristics of the two groups, such as average age, or the proportion having relatives abroad. However, such an approach could easily result in confounding the influence of different factors. If, for instance, those who wished to emigrate had a lower average educational attainment, it would not be possible to conclude that education decreases the likelihood of wishing to emigrate. It could just as well be that those with little schooling also had more relatives abroad, or that a higher proportion were unemployed. In order to disentangle the effects of education, emigrant relatives and employment situation, a different approach is needed.

Logistic regression analysis is a statistical tool developed to estimate the influence of different independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable (Kleinbaum 1994, Pampel 2000). Over the last twenty years or so, it has become the dominant form of analysis used for such questions in social science (Lewis-Beck 2000). Logistic regression analysis can be used to estimate the *isolated effect* of each independent variable such as educational attainment and employment situation on the wish to emigrate. One might, for instance, find that an additional year of education *does* decrease the likelihood of wishing to emigrate, even if it does not improve the employment situation or any of the other variables in the model.

This would indicate that there is an independent effect of education. With logistic regression, it is also possible to estimate *how much* the likelihood of wishing to emigrate changes with each additional year of education. I have used the same kind of logistic regression analysis for both the OME Survey and the Student Survey.

The greatest problem with logistic regression is the difficulty of interpreting the results. I will therefore give a brief explanation of the meaning of the figures I obtained in my analysis.

The effects of each independent variable are expressed as estimates of the change in the *odds* that the dependent variable will be true resulting from a one-unit change in the independent variable. For instance, how does an additional year of education affect the odds of wishing to emigrate, all other things being equal? The odds express the likelihood of a 'true' relative to the likelihood of a 'false'. This means that a probability of 0.8 (or 80 per cent) corresponds to an odds of 4, because the likelihood of a 'true' is 0.8, the likelihood of a 'false' is 0.2, and 0.8 divided by 0.2 equals 4. In other words, a 'true' is four times more likely than a false. A regression result of 2.0 means that a one-unit change in the independent variable is estimated to double the odds of the dependent variable being true, e.g. change the odds from 4 to 8. This result is the so-called transformed coefficient, which results from a transformation that makes results easier to interpret.¹⁸ Similarly, a result of 0.5 means that the odds are estimated to be multiplied by 0.5, or reduced by half. If the coefficient is 1.0, the estimated effect of the independent variable is zero, since multiplication by 1.0 does not produce any change.

What is important in interpreting transformed coefficients in logistic regression is that when the odds change, the change in *probability* depends on what the probability was to start with. If an additional year of education increases the odds of wishing to emigrate by a factor of 2.0, this could mean a change from 1 to 2 or a change from 4 to 8 in the odds. The corresponding changes in probability would be from 0.50 to 0.67 (a large change) or from 0.80 to 0.88 (a small change), respectively. The change in probability is large if the original probability is close to 0.5, and small if it is very low or very high.

Using the results from logistic regression analysis, it is possible to estimate the most probable value of the dependent variable, based on what we know about the independent variables. In other words, the *coefficients* for each variable can be combined with the corresponding variable *values* of a hypothetical or real person to produce a probability. For instance, a model where age and gender were the only two independent variables could be used to say how likely it is that a 35 year old man wishes to emigrate.¹⁹ This operation has two uses. First, the strength of the model can be assessed by predicting the dependent

¹⁸ I am referring only to the *transformed coefficients* which express the effect on odds rather than the effect on logged odds, i.e. e^β (the antilog of the coefficient) rather than β .

¹⁹ The general formula for this operation is

$$O_i = e^{b_0 + b_1 X_i + \dots + b_n X_i}$$

where O_i is the predicted value of the odds for case i , b_0 is the constant, b_1 is the coefficient for the first independent variable, b_n is the coefficient for the last independent variable, and X_i is the corresponding values for case i . If the gender variable is coded 0 for women and 1 for men, the example of a 35 year old man in a model with only two independent variables would be

$$O_i = e^{b_0 + b_{age} \times 35 + b_{gender} \times 1}$$

variable for each case, and seeing how many per cent were correctly predicted.²⁰ Second, calculated probabilities for hypothetical persons with different characteristics can be a useful way of presenting the results.

The process of analysis consisted of trial and error with different models. By combining independent variables in different ways, the aim is to construct a regression model that explains as much as possible of the variation in the dependent variable, and includes the principal theoretical components in an orderly way. With the OME Survey, there were relatively few variables to choose from, and very clear effects, so specifying a good model was relatively easy. With the Student Survey, however, possibilities for combining variables were much greater, and it was difficult to find consistent relationships. The final regression model (presented in Table 13, chapter five) was approximately the 50th I estimated.

Statistical significance

Each coefficient, or estimate of the change in odds, is associated with a certain level of statistical significance. This is based on the idea that the effect found in the sample is only an estimate of the 'true' effect in the population. What is usually most important is to rule out the possibility that the true effect is zero, which is represented by a transformed coefficient of 1.0. For each regression coefficient, it is possible to calculate a so-called *p*-value, which is the probability of estimating a coefficient of this size if the true effect is zero. This probability will be affected by the size of the sample as well as by the size of the coefficient. If the sample is small and the transformed coefficient is close to 1.0, there is a high probability that the true effect could be zero. The margin of error also increases if there is little variation in the independent variable. For instance, it would be difficult to estimate the effect of gender with a sample that was 90 per cent male. A result is said to be significant at the 95 per cent level if the probability that the true effect is zero is less than 0.05, or five per cent. It is usual to identify coefficients that are significant at the 90 per cent, 95 per cent, and 99 per cent level, corresponding to *p*-values of 0.1, 0.05 and 0.01.

Tests of significance should be used as an 'initial hurdle to overcome' before interpreting the coefficient in other ways (Pampel 2000:31). This means that interpretations should only be applied to coefficients that exceed standard levels of significance (usually 95 per cent). When coefficients *are* significant, however, the actual level of significance is less important.

Index construction

In order to analyse the effect of such independent variables as the material situation of the household, social integration, and optimism about Cape Verde's future, it was necessary to construct indexes based on several variables. I will present the indexes here, but discuss their validity in the context of analysis (in chapter five) because this is related to both substantial and methodological factors.

²⁰ This method of model evaluation is often discredited because if the average of the dependent variable is very large or very small, a high predictive accuracy can be achieved simply by predicting the largest category for all cases (Pampel 2000). However, it is well suited as an easily understandable indicator of the strength of these two models, which have dependent variable averages of 0.43 and 0.45.

Material household standard

This index is intended to measure the material well-being of the household, as a proxy for social status. The index has two main elements: crowding and the presence of various utilities. Crowding is measured as the number of rooms minus the number of persons living in the household.²¹ Mathematically, the index can be expressed as

$$MHS = \frac{R - \bar{R}}{\sigma_R} + 2 \frac{U - \bar{U}}{\sigma_U}$$

where R is the number of rooms minus the number of persons in the household and U is the proportion of a set of utilities present in the household.²² \bar{U} and \bar{R} are mean values and σ_R and σ_U are standard deviations. The purpose of subtracting the average and dividing by the standard deviation is to create a common scale for U and R , through so-called linear transformation. The values produced by this equation were then rescaled to give 0 as the minimum and 10 as the maximum value.

The variable U (utilities) is given twice the weight of R (crowding) because it presumably tells us more about the household's situation and is less prone to random variations. The crowding variable is also important, but not always related to the well-being of the household in a straightforward way. For instance, child fostering is a common practice in Cape Verdean society that tends to increase the number of residents in wealthier households, thereby offsetting part of the negative relationship between wealth and crowding. Nevertheless, the fact that U and R are correlated with each other (with a coefficient of 0.6) indicate that both can be taken as indicators of the same theoretical concept, i.e. the material well-being of the household. The utilities included in U are listed in Table 7 below. The employment of a maid is counted as a 'utility' because it is similar to the utilities as an indicator of material well-being.

Table 7. Utilities included in the index of material household standard, Student Survey.

Utility	Prevalence (per cent)	Utility	Prevalence (per cent)
1. Plaster inside the walls	95	6. Video	63
2. Plaster outside the walls	67	7. Refrigerator	82
3. Bathroom	91	8. Car	31
4. Washing machine	22	9. Maid (live-in or daytime)	24
5. Television	89		

²¹ In the interviews, it was not possible to obtain specific information about the size of the house in square meters, so the number of rooms was the best proxy. 'Number of rooms minus number of persons' is a better measure than 'rooms per person' because it is a linear variable with no maximum or minimum. 'Rooms per person' on the other hand, cannot be less than zero, and grows exponentially. As a result, a change from three to four persons in a house with ten rooms has a *larger* impact on the index than a change from five to fifteen persons in a house with five rooms! (3.3 to 2.5 and 1.0 to 0.3, respectively). By using 'the number of rooms minus the number of persons' the last change has an effect which is ten times stronger than the former, which is more in line with the actual experience of crowding.

²² *Proportion* is used instead of *number* so that a few cases where information on one utility is missing can be included on an equal basis. The variable U therefore has values ranging from 0 to 1.

Subjective assessment of the household's financial situation

A second index summarizes the respondent's subjective assessment of the household's financial situation. This is an index calculated from the answers to two questions: 1) *Would you say that the financial condition of the household where you live is A) good B) reasonable, or C) poor?* and 2) *If you imagine that in your household, you needed 1000 Escudos (10 USD) for something urgent that suddenly came up, would this amount be available A) always, B) usually or C) sometimes yes/sometimes no.* The last alternative was a euphemism for 'rarely' and 'never'. Saying 'never' would be unacceptable to many respondents because it rejects the essential Cape Verdean norm of hope, or belief that 'there is always a way'. For technical reasons, the index was given only two values, zero and one.²³ The variable is given the value of zero either if the answer to both questions is C) or if the answer to one is C) and the answer to the other is B) Based on experiments with different indexes and models, this appeared as a natural breaking point.

Assessment of Cape Verde's development

Several questions were included in the Student Survey in order to shed light on the degree of optimism or pessimism about Cape Verde's future. I felt that it would be misleading to construct a continuous index of optimism based on the answers to these questions. Thoughts about the country's future are certainly relevant to the wish to emigrate or not, but it seems naïve to think that every respondent has a fixed 'degree' of optimism which they reveal through these answers. A better solution, then, would be to see if those who were consistently optimistic or consistently pessimistic differed from others with respect to aspirations about emigration. Such consistency can perhaps be seen as an indication of a more conscious conviction that Cape Verde faces either a bleak or a promising future. Table 8 presents the patterns of answers that were classified as 'consistent optimism' or 'consistent pessimism'. As shown in the table, about one third of the respondents conformed to one of these patterns, while the remaining answers showed a mixed pattern. In the analysis of aspiration to emigrate, the two patterns constitute two separate dichotomous variables.

Table 8. Classification of 'consistent optimism' and 'consistent pessimism' about Cape Verde's future, Student Survey.

Q: I will now read you some statements about Cape Verde. Please tell me your opinion, if you agree or disagree.¹	Consistent optimism	Consistent pessimism
<i>Cape Verde's future seems prosperous</i>	Yes	No
<i>When your parents were young, their lives were easier than young people's lives today</i>	No	Yes
<i>Cape Verde's problems are getting bigger every day</i>	No	Yes
Proportion of all respondents conforming to the pattern	16 %	17 %

¹ These statements were mixed with five other statements about Cape Verdean society. Answers were recorded as 'yes' (agrees), 'no' (disagrees) or 'don't know'.

²³ If a more detailed additive index were constructed, it would be incorrect to treat it as an independent variable at the interval level of measurement because each interval could be of a different magnitude.

Receipt of gifts or money from abroad

This index is based on one question about gifts and one question about money sent by relatives abroad. Respondents were asked whether they had received gifts/money A) *many times* B) *a few times* or C) *never/almost never*. The index score was then determined as follows:

Combination of answers to the two questions	Score
'many times' + 'many times'	2
'many times' + 'a few times'	1
all other combinations	0

This reflects a finding that gifts and money from abroad only had an effect when they were received often, and especially in combination. When the index is calculated in this way, the difference between the categories 0 and 1 and between 1 and 2 is roughly equal in terms of effect on the dependent variable (aspiration to emigrate). This makes it possible to treat the index as a variable at the interval level of measurement.

Social integration and well-being

The final index in the analysis is intended to summarize various aspects of social integration and well-being. There is reason to believe that those who are well integrated socially are less inclined to wish to emigrate than those who are unhappy or isolated in their social environment. The following six variables were included in the indexes (See questionnaire in Appendix 2 for the formulation of questions and answers):

Variable	Question number	Range of values
Has good companionship with classmates	39	0–2
Enjoys to go dancing	40	0–2
Is allowed to go dancing	41	0–2
Few fights in the household	43	0–2
Practices sports outside school	47	0–3
Practices musical or artistic activities	48	0–3

The questions about dancing are particularly relevant in the Cape Verdean context. The country has a very rich musical tradition, and dancing is an important way of socializing. Those who enjoy and are allowed to go dancing are therefore more likely to appreciate one of Cape Verde's characteristic qualities.

The average score on these variables was used as the basis of this index. This means that the last two questions weighed slightly more than the others, since their maximum value is three. In general averages should not be calculated for variables that are not at the interval level of measurement. For instance, one should not assume that the distance from 'never' to 'some times' is the same as the distance from 'some times' to 'always'. Nevertheless, I believe that the use of averages is an acceptable way of summarizing the information from these six questions. The fact that intervals are not necessarily comparable with each other is a relatively marginal problem when the entire index is based on the rather crude assumption that

the six variables are comparable with each other. It is, of course, a very rough approximation to say that the lack of fights in the household counts *as much* as a good companionship with classmates towards social integration and well-being. Weighting the different variables would only complicate the matter, since there is no basis for saying what such weights should be.

There was a need to adjust the average in one way, however. Due to the nature of gender relations, girls scored considerably lower than boys on this variable. This is primarily because few girls practice sports outside school, and because many girls are not allowed to go dancing. This means that the variable is best suited for examining differences in social integration within each of the two gender groups. The effect of gender itself is included as a separate variable in the model. For this reason, the variable was linearly transformed within each gender groups to give the same average and standard deviation among boys and girls. The resulting figures were then rescaled to give 0 as the minimum and 10 as the maximum value.

Linear regression analysis: Household standard and migration history

While logistic regression was the backbone of my analysis of how individual level characteristics influence aspirations to emigrate, I used linear regression analysis for supplementary purposes in the analysis of the emigration environment (Black 1999, Skog 1998). The difference between the two is that linear regression is used in analyses with a *continuous* dependent variable and not a dichotomous one. I used this technique to estimate how various characteristics influenced the material standard of respondents' households in the Student Survey. The purpose was to show the effects of the parents' emigration and education history. These relationships are likely to influence young people's plans for education or emigration. The dependent variable in this analysis was the index of material household standard presented above. I also used this technique to illustrate the point that emigration aspirations among those who are employed are influenced by the unemployment level, based on data from previous rounds of the OME Survey.

Coefficients from linear regression are far easier to interpret than their counterparts in logistic regression. The figures indicate the expected change in the dependent variable resulting from a one-unit change in the independent variable. For instance, in the analysis of household standard, the coefficient for the variable 'number of mother's extramarital children' was -0.858. This means that for every extra-marital child the mother had, the household was estimated to score 0.858 unites less on the index of material household standard, which ranges from 0 to 10. This was one of the control variables in the analysis. Assessment of the coefficients' statistical significance is the same as for logistic regression analysis.

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

The field notes and semi-structured interviews were analysed jointly with a qualitative approach. I transcribed the recorded interviews, with a literal transcription of all paragraphs that touched on the key themes, and summaries of presumably less relevant parts of the

conversations. While the transcription process was extremely time consuming, I am convinced that I would not otherwise have been able to extract so much analytical strength from the interviews. This was partly because different aspects of the conversations became relevant in the course of the analysis, and partly because very interesting points were often expressed subtly through ways of expression that would easily have been overlooked without literal transcription.

Concepts and coding

When all the material was in written form, I used the *NVivo* software for qualitative research to code the text. This is one of several programs developed to reduce the logistical costs of handling large amounts of text, and thereby facilitating analytical efforts (Creswell 1998, Richards 1999, Seale and Kelly 1998). The programme allows for connecting fragments of text to analytical concepts, conducting complex searches and inserting comments about the text during the process of analysis. The process of coding in qualitative research has been described as attaching 'units of meaning' to 'chunks' of text (Miles and Huberman 1994). As an analytic strategy, this consists of first, noticing relevant phenomena, second, collecting instances from the text, and third, analysing these phenomena to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures (Seidel and Kelle 1995). As 'relevant phenomena' I used a combination of theoretical concepts (e.g. social mobility) well-defined thematic units (e.g. tourist visas) and indigenous or *in vivo* expressions and concepts (e.g. *vida stável*, a good life). In the *NVivo* software, each such concept is defined as a *node* and can be linked to text segments from a variety of documents. The codes I used in my analysis are listed in Appendix 6.

Coding has the function of ordering the data and facilitating access to text that concerns particular 'units of meaning'. However, it simultaneously complicates or expands the data by linking the original text fragments with ideas about these fragments. In this sense, coding is a way of interacting with and thinking about the data (Coffey and Atkinson 1996). In my analysis of interview transcripts and field notes, I felt that the process of coding helped me come closer to the data. This was important for keeping an active, flexible and open relationship with the text throughout the process of analysis and writing.

Interpretation

Through coding, portions of text are removed from their original context and reorganized with other text segments in analytic contexts of meaning. After the text has been coded and retrieved in analytic contexts, the interpretation of the data affects the conclusions. Most text segments can be read at different levels or from different angles. Consider the following extract from one of my interviews:

Many people wish to emigrate. You go and say, I am Cape Verdean, I am an honest worker. Other Cape Verdeans who are also honest workers, some are in Portugal, others in Holland, others in Norway, others in... in every country. But they go, they work, work really hard, they come back, they have their money, they arrive, and here they get a house, for instance. A house.

This would be coded to a variety of nodes, including 'emigration as social practice', 'return' 'ideas about life abroad' and '*kaza*' (house). However, the most interesting aspect of this segment is probably the chronological and causal structuring of the different elements. It reflects a very clear conception of a causal chain from leaving Cape Verde as an 'honest worker' to being back in Cape Verde in one's own house. You pay for it with 'really hard' work abroad, but this will pay off in the form of money to buy a house. Through various interview extracts similar to this one, it was possible to identify a general 'emigration project' as a parcel of causally related expectations. Such interpretations rely on the ability to place the text or talk within its *interpretive context*, or social setting (Tonkiss 1998). In this respect, lengthy fieldwork and semi-structured interviews complement each other as research strategies.

Another important element of interpretation in qualitative analysis is the exploration of contradictions and variability in the material (Potter and Wetherell 1987, Seale 1999). This includes contrasts *within* as well as *between* accounts. In my analysis, I searched for contradictions in the way people talked about emigration, and identified several recurrent dimensions of judgement. This was important for understanding why some people wished to emigrate while others did not. Scrutiny of contradictions can also make it easier to see what people agree about.

The fact that Kriol is a foreign language to me is a limiting factor for qualitative analysis. While I could understand the apparent meaning of virtually everything that I recorded, nuances and subtleties could easily have been lost.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

I encountered two considerable ethical challenges during the fieldwork and subsequent writing. First, I acquired material from a wide variety of contexts other than explicit interviews. With interviews, explaining the purpose of the project, procedures for anonymization and the use of the material could easily ensure informed consent. In casual conversations with people in everyday life, this was very different. This is a typical dilemma in ethnographic research, where informed consent is often considered impossible (Ellen 1984). I found two ways of dealing with this. First, I was always open about the purpose of my stay in Cape Verde, and avoided lengthy discussions about emigration without explaining my interest in the subject. This meant that my conversation partners could always assume that what they told me was relevant to my work. Second, I have been particularly careful to conceal the identity of informants who had not explicitly agreed to be interviewed. This has involved combining the characteristics of different informants under a single identity in the text. All names are of course fictive, and certain details that are not essential to the analysis have been changed in order to preserve anonymity.

The second ethical challenge was specific to my analysis of the ways in which migration wishes were realized. As mentioned in chapter two, restrictive immigration policies have been met with various strategies to circumvent the restrictions, some of which are illegal. This is very important to people's ability to realize wishes to emigrate, and is therefore

essential to the analysis. However, if I were to reveal details about migration strategies that were unknown to European officials, I would compromise the collective interests of my informants. During the fieldwork I therefore sought to find out what consular officials knew about these practices, including the various forms of fraud involved in obtaining visas. In writing this thesis, I have taken care to ensure that I do not reveal details that A) are not already known by the relevant authorities, and B) could make it easier to further restrict migration flows. I have also sought to protect the identity of consular officials who provided me with information of how visa applications were handled.

I have made these ethical precautions in order to comply with the ethical standards of social science, and not because the informants were anxious about this themselves. In fact, even illicit practices such as bogus marriages or visa fraud were not seen as sensitive issues, but rather discussed quite openly.

Aspiration

A person's aspiration to emigrate or not is formed by the interplay between the emigration environment and his or her individual characteristics. In this chapter, I will first explore the local emigration environment in São Vicente and Santo Antão, and then proceed to consider the influence of various individual level characteristics.

Perhaps half the population of São Vicente and Santo Antão 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. As explained in chapter three, some people have a firm conviction that they wish to emigrate while others could say so on the spur of the moment. Nevertheless, the different sources present a similar picture of a consistently high proportion of prospective emigrants. In the OME Survey and the Student Survey, the proportion wishing to emigrate is 43 and 45 per cent respectively. In previous rounds of the OME Survey in São Vicente during the period 1995–2000, this figure has ranged from 41 to 70 per cent. There has been a slight downward trend during the period, but this could be due to changes in the survey design (Fialho 1997).

What are the implications of these figures for the analysis of aspirations to emigrate? First, the proportion of prospective emigrants is *high*, regardless of whether the figure is 40 or 70 per cent. This must be explained with reference to the emigration environment. Second, there is also a large group who do not wish to emigrate. This *variation* must be accounted for in the analysis of the emigration environment as well as in the investigation of how individual level characteristics influence the wish to emigrate.

Before presenting the analysis, a brief discussion of the meaning of *emigration* is required. As I argue in chapter three, aspiration to emigrate must be related to emigration as a socially constructed project. Emigration (*emigrasãu*) 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.

The meaning of emigration must also be related to intentions to return. In the Student Survey, almost 90 per cent of those wishing to emigrate said that they wanted to return to Cape Verde. It is a common finding in studies of migration from poor to wealthier countries that the original intention to return dwindles with time, and many migrants remain in the destination country (Boyle *et al.* 1998). Nevertheless, the *idea* of return often persists as a dream, myth or ideology. This pervasive phenomenon, which is often known as 'the myth of return' is an essential part of the migration ethos in many different contexts (Guarnizo 1997). Wishes to return are seen among prospective migrants, as in the Cape Verdean Student Survey, and are maintained by the discourse of diasporas (Safran 1991, Tölölyan 1996). The important point here is *not* whether or not those who emigrate will actually return, but, that in the overwhelming majority of cases, the aspiration to emigrate is formulated with intentions to return. At this stage of the migration process, it is therefore more appropriate to speak of an 'ethos of return' than of a myth or an illusion. As I will show in the course of the analysis, return is an integral part of the typical migration project that potential migrants consider.

The ethos of return is associated with a strong cultural focus on emotional ties between emigrants and their homeland. This is usually expressed with the word *sodád*, which does not translate into any single English word, but 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 national belonging of Portuguese emigrants (Feldman-Bianco 1992). The same notion of an enduring longing for the homeland is present in political texts and in schoolbooks that teach Cape Verdean children about the history of emigration (Ministério da Educação e do Desporto 1995, Monteiro 1995).

A second concomitant of the ethos of return is the idea that those who do not return are *unable* to do so. This could be because they are undocumented and run the risk of not being able to re-enter Europe if they returned to Cape Verde.²⁴ It could also be that they have no savings to return with, and are afraid to come back empty-handed. During the fieldwork, I heard numerous stories about emigrants whose highest wish was to return to Cape Verde, but who were trapped abroad for various reasons.

²⁴ Many migrants who consider return first go on holiday or live for a while in their home country before making their final decision. Undocumented status is therefore an obstacle to return in the sense that re-entering Europe is very difficult. One of the immediate consequences of the 1998 regularization programme in Greece was that 30,000 migrants left Greece to visit their home countries during the summer. Many of them had been separated from their families for ten years and could finally leave Greece without the risk of being denied re-entry (*Migration News Sheet* 10/98).

THE EMIGRATION ENVIRONMENT

In this study, I approach the emigration environment from three slightly different angles. First emigration can be seen in the context of projects for upward social mobility. I have attempted to understand the role of emigration by mapping the culturally defined inventory of projects that young Cape Verdeans draw upon when talking about their future. Second, I have analysed how a generic or dominant emigration project is evaluated through discourse. Drawing upon the view of migration as a socially constructed project embedded with meaning, I have tried to identify the principal dimensions along which it is appraised. Third, I have analysed how the emigration environment is shaped by people's understandings of the geographical rootedness of poverty. Emigration as a means of upward social mobility is an engagement with place that presupposes a link between place and poverty. I have tried to show how this is seen by prospective migrants in Cape Verde.

As explained in chapter three, the aspiration/ability model does not require any particular approach to the emigration environment. In Cape Verde, it could have been relevant to examine the history of emigration, the role of emigration in local and national politics, the interactions between family structure and emigration, or the cultural representations of emigration in literature and music. It would be impossible to cover all aspects of the emigration environment, and I have made selective choices. These are partly the result of working with young people and partly inspired by geography's concern with place. Despite the selectivity, I believe that the analysis captures many essential features of the local emigration environment.²⁵

Discourses about emigration play an important role in my analysis of aspirations. Where quantitative techniques are included, these are used to illustrate the background for, or expression of, discursively constructed ideas. I use the term discourse in a broad sense, referring to representations, practices and performances through which meanings are produced and legitimized (Gregory 2000). I do not do a discourse analysis as such, but believe that 'discourse' is the most appropriate term to use in describing the processes by which the migration project is given a content of meaning.

The focus on discourse was facilitated by using students in the final year of secondary school as the principal interviewees. Since the question of working abroad or not is still some time away, students tend to relate to it with references to their ideas about migration, quality of life and opportunities in Cape Verde rather than with reference to the particular circumstances of their everyday life. Therefore, this group is particularly valuable in accessing the discursive aspects of the emigration environment. These interviews were supplemented by interviews with other young people who had not completed school.

The analysis of the emigration environment is probably the part of the study that draws most heavily on the totality of my fieldwork experience rather than the individual data sources. The recorded interviews have been important, but have been complemented by impressions from the constant exposure to emigration issues in daily life during the fieldwork.

²⁵ See Åkesson, L. (forthcoming) for an analysis that complements my own. Her ethnographic study of São Vicente migration provides additional insight into the objectives and meanings of migration.

Projects for life-making

In Cape Verde, it is almost a cliché that people emigrate *pa pská um vida mdjor*, ‘in search of a better life’. More often than not, however, this is thought of as a better life *in Cape Verde*. In line with the ethos of return, 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. Until now, I have used the conventional term ‘upward social mobility’ for this aim. However, it should be redefined for the Cape Verdean context. The aim is often described as material stability and relative comfort in an owner-occupied house with a stable nuclear family. This is different from social mobility as such, because it focuses on material comfort rather than class, and often contains an element of psychosocial well-being. In Kriol, this is expressed as *fazé nha vida* (‘to make my life’) or obtaining *um vida mdjor* (‘a better life’), or *um vida stável* (‘a stable life’). Drawing on these expressions, I prefer to use the term *life-making*. The identification of different strategies for life-making as ‘projects’ is inspired by the notion of projects in time geography, discussed in chapter three.

Established projects

Through my fieldwork I found that there are essentially two established projects for life-making in Cape Verde. The first is to go abroad to work for some years, return with savings, build a house for one’s family and possibly invest in additional housing or a small business. The second option is to go abroad for university-level education, return as a trained professional and work one’s way up in Cape Verde. Broadly speaking, today’s middle-aged people with a high standard of living have followed one of these two paths in life. Whatever the statistical distribution of life paths, people living in good owner-occupied houses, people with cars and mobile phones, are usually *thought of* as being either professionals trained abroad or emigrants who have returned with savings or pension rights.²⁶ During the fieldwork, it became clear that education is generally preferred over emigration as a life-making project. An extract with one of my interviewees, Sú, illustrates the difference between the two. I asked her about how wealthy middle-aged people got to where they are.

Normally, they’re people who... their husbands were emigrants, or if not, people who always... who came from a family who had property. And so, coming from a family who had property, they went to school, they studied, they got a profession, and so, they got a different mentality, much more modern. And so, they don’t have lots of kids, they have few, one or two. They manage to lead a satisfactory life, and little by little, they improve their lives, and when they’re fifty-something, they are retired and live in their houses, quietly. And normally, they have a car, they have a good house.

And, like I said, those who were emigrants. When they were abroad, emigrated, they had family here in Cape Verde who made them a house. And then they would come for holidays, in their own houses, which were wealthy houses. And when they retired, they would come and settle here in their houses, in their wealthy houses.

²⁶ This is not to say that all emigrants return with wealth. Some come back empty-handed, especially the ones who are deported from the destination country due to illegal residence or criminal activity. This is discussed in chapter six.

She identifies the two main projects – education and emigration – and associates the former project with people from good backgrounds. Because they grew up in wealthy families, they were able to get an education and a profession. They could work as professionals and had acquired what she calls a modern mentality, and they could secure their own future. Emigration, on the other hand, requires neither a wealthy background nor a change of mentality. While the two projects can have the same material outcome, there is a difference in prestige between them.

While Sú assumed middle-aged professionals to come from wealthy families, she saw education as a way out of poverty for young people today. She comes from a very poor family in São Vicente herself, and said she knew many people who had been able to escape poverty by means of education. ‘If they make an effort’, she said, ‘and if they have the capacity, they’ll manage to complete school, get a degree and have a profession’. In fact, many poor families go to great lengths to send their children to school.

The dominance of these two parallel projects has had a strong impact on the nature of social stratification and residential segregation. For the older generation, emigration was a way out of poverty that proved successful for many, and return migrants are conspicuous in the local communities. As explained by Sú in the extract above, many migrants build houses in Cape Verde while they are abroad, and settle in them when they return. Because they often tend to build their houses in the neighbourhood they left, sometimes as an extension of their old house, wealthy emigrants’ houses are scattered throughout São Vicente’s suburbs and Santo Antão’s valleys.

Urban São Vicente has a peculiar form of residential segregation that derives from the history of emigration and helps explain the status of emigration as a project for life-making. Most of the colonial centre and extensions to the North and South of it can be described as uniformly middle-class or wealthy, but contains less than 20 per cent of the city’s population (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000a). The majority of professionals and the established elite live in these areas. The vast surrounding suburbs, on the other hand, are thoroughly mixed, with ostentatious emigrants’ homes, modest brick houses and small tin shacks side by side (Figure 6). The only uniformly poor parts of the city are the most recent extensions on the hill slopes, neighbourhoods that are too young to have seen emigrants leave and return. This means that the majority of the city’s young people live in areas where rich and poor are mixed, and where the wealth of the rich derives from emigration.

The situation on Santo Antão is slightly different. As mentioned in the introduction, many return migrants from Santo Antão have settled in São Vicente upon their return. My impression is that this is especially the case with those who came from the most remote parts of the island. In the more fertile valleys, however, there are a number of return emigrants. As in São Vicente, they typically build large, brightly painted houses and are conspicuous members of the local community. In fact, one of the most stereotyped statements about return migrants in my interview material was made by Djoni from Santo Antão. He said that while there are many people who are struggling to make a living, ‘those emigrants, they already have their pension. [...] Then they receive their money just sitting down around here. Their own money, just sitting down.’



Figure 6. Emigrants' homes and tin shacks side by side in the suburbs of São Vicente.

While there are many points to be made about the role of return migrants in the community, what is important here is their role in signalling the potential success of emigration as a project for life-making. As a girl from São Vicente put it to me, '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'.

The impression of return migrants as wealthy individuals is reflected in the distribution of wealth among households. With data from the Student Survey, it is possible to evaluate how much a history of emigration affects the material situation of a household. As many as 28 per cent of the fathers and 13 per cent of the mothers of the interviewees were return migrants, so this affected a large proportion of the students. In order to make the units of analysis comparable, I have restricted the analysis to those student households where both the father and mother were present. The dependent variable is the index of material household standard described in chapter four. By means of linear regression, it is then possible to estimate the effect of different household characteristics on the material standard (Table 9). The results show that nothing is more strongly associated with a high material standard than emigration by the father. All other things being equal, households where the father has been working abroad are estimated to score 1.8 units higher on the index of material household standard, which ranges from 0 to 10. This is considerably more than the effect of the father having a secondary education (1.1 units). Also for the mother, being a return migrant has a stronger effect on the household standard than having a secondary education.

A cross-tabular comparison of return-migrant and non-migrant households would not have shown the independent effect of emigration. The regression model, on the other hand, not only quantifies the effect of emigration when all other variables are held constant, but also shows that emigration contributes *more* than secondary education to household wealth. The effect of emigration could partly be spurious because the family's initial socio-economic situation affects the probability of emigration. Generally speaking, a man from a poor family will have had a lower chance of being able to emigrate, and his family background will have an independent effect on his standard of living today. What is important here, however, is that the empirical relationships give people reason to believe that emigration will lead to a higher material standard.

Table 9. Effects of household characteristics on the household's material standard, Student Survey, linear regression results.

	Range of values	Mean value/ per cent positive	Coefficient (b)
Urban location	0–1	81.4 %	0.932**
Number of marital children ¹	0–11	5.0	–0.110
Characteristics of the mother			
Urban-born	0–1	36.3 %	–0.118
Number of extra-marital children ²	0–2	0.2	–0.858**
Secondary education	0–1	30.1 %	0.724*
Past emigration experience	0–1	11.5 %	0.977**
Characteristics of the father			
Urban-born	0–1	35.8 %	0.545
Number of extra-marital children ²	0–10	1.1	0.014
Secondary education	0–1	45.5 %	1.090***
Past emigration experience	0–1	34.5 %	1.776***
Constant			4.121***

Note: The dependent variable is an index from 0 to 10 based on a number of household utilities and the relationship between the number of rooms and the number of residents. Details are described in chapter three. The analysis includes cases in which the respondent's parents were both living in the household. N=113.

¹ Common children of the mother and the father regardless of current residence.

² Number of children with another person than the current partner/spouse, regardless of their official marital status.

*** Significant at the 99 % level, ** Significant at the 95 % level, * Significant at the 90 % level.

In addition to the return migrants, there is also a growing class of professionals, documenting the success of education as a life-making project. 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.

Young people's choices

Since emigration and education are the two principal established projects for life-making, young people often think about their own future in terms of these options. Through a series of questions in the Student Survey, it was possible to map the distribution of preferred trajectories in terms of education and migration. The results are presented in Figure 7. The percentages refer to the total group of students who are about to leave school. After completing the different paths, about six percent wish to remain abroad after emigrating, while the rest wish to spend their future in Cape Verde.

The vast majority – 85 per cent – of the students wished to enter university abroad. Today, education as a project for life-making generally involves studying abroad and returning as a professional. While the older generation were often able to enter good jobs in Cape Verde with only secondary school, this is no longer a possibility. As one girl put it, it is possible to work your way up and 'make your life' in Cape Verde 'if you have a degree'. In this way, going to university is seen as a way of escaping the necessity of emigration for securing a good standard of living in Cape Verde.

The first challenge in the education project is getting a scholarship for going abroad. Such scholarships are partly financed by the destination countries, primarily Portugal, Brazil and Cuba, and administered by the Cape Verdean Ministry of Education. While the majority of

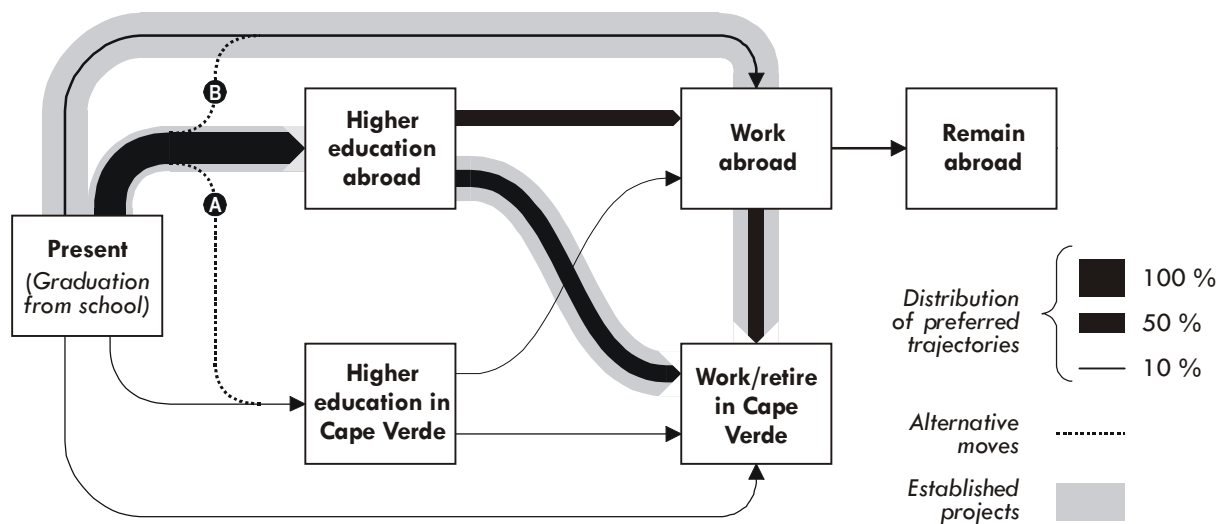


Figure 7. Preferred projects of education and migration, Student Survey.

those who graduated from secondary school in the past could expect to go to university abroad, this is not the case anymore. The number of students has increased, and the number of scholarships has been reduced (*A Semana* 14.04.00). The importance of scholarships as the key to a professional career was made very clear by a series of events during my fieldwork.

A new system for the distribution of scholarships was introduced with the aim of eliminating possibilities for nepotism and reducing the high failure rate of Cape Verdean students abroad. This was based on a new entrance exam for all those who applied for scholarships. The government handled the change of system rather clumsily, and students were furious about the way in which the new exam was introduced. The relationship between students and the Ministry of Education became increasingly tense, and the student protests erupted in violent demonstrations in July 2000. The capital's main street 'looked like the streets of Jakarta or Dili' wrote one reporter, 'with damaged cars, children and adults running away, police firing into the air and students responding with stones' (*A Semana* 14.07.00). Such scenes are almost unthinkable in Cape Verde, which is one of Africa's most peaceful countries. The scale of the protests is a powerful indication of the importance of these scholarships.

Even for those who are lucky enough to go abroad for university, problems persist. Many have academic difficulties, and there have repeatedly been problems with delayed or reduced scholarships, resulting in severe economic problems for the students. When they return to Cape Verde with their degrees, they also have a hard time finding relevant jobs. The commonly feared scenario was having to teach at a secondary school. Many students told me about teachers who were trained economists or lawyers but who had been unable to find other jobs. Despite the difficulties ahead, university education abroad was clearly the preferred project of most students.

As shown in the figure, about half of those who wish to study abroad intend to return directly to Cape Verde after completing a degree. The other half wish to work abroad for some time. This constitutes a combination of the two established projects, both getting a

profession and working abroad. Some said they wished to work abroad for the sake of professional experience while others emphasized the opportunity to accumulate savings.

It is also an option to study in Cape Verde, although the range of courses is limited. For most students, this is clearly an inferior alternative to studying abroad. Only five percent *wish* to stay in Cape Verde for higher education. However, about 30 per cent of all the scholarships distributed are for courses in Cape Verde. Since it does provide a degree, studying in Cape Verde is the preferred alternative for most of those who fail to get a scholarship for studying abroad (labelled *A* in Figure 7). The other possibility for those who do not get a chance to study abroad is to emigrate (labelled *B* in Figure 7). This is also the preferred project among the small minority of students who do not wish to pursue higher education.

Emigration is also regarded as the only possible life-making project for those young Cape Verdeans who do not complete school. One of my informants, Sú, said about these people that

they are left with emigration as their only solution for getting a better life. But sometimes, they don't even think about emigration, because they know that emigration... day by day it is getting more difficult.

It is telling that emigration is presented as one of several projects. (The difficulties of emigrating will be discussed in the next chapter, and the possible effects of lack of ability on aspirations are analysed in chapter seven.) When Sú said that 'they are left with emigration as the only solution' this refers to a common set of 'solutions' for life-making, and to the ordering of the different solutions. These preferences are remarkably similar for most students, with studying abroad and returning as a professional ranked first. Those who have left school and lost the opportunity of competing for a scholarship are left with emigration. One of the students I interviewed, Eneida, summarized her fellow students' ordering of different projects as follows:

Normally, they would like to go for the professional life... they want to go and study abroad, then return. But if they don't succeed, they... they could get an education here in Cape Verde. But those who can't do that either, they emigrate, work for some time and return to live here.

Why is it that a professional career is the preferred option? While some students clearly expressed a desire for exercising a profession, others saw it primarily as a means to achieve a better standard of living. Even if accepting that education and emigration are parallel projects for achieving the same situation of material well-being, a professional career has its advantages over emigration. The account of Ilda, a student from a relatively wealthy family, reflects the difference in perceptions of the two paths:

You find people with no schooling who have a stable life, because maybe they emigrated, they achieved something. And you find people who studied, who had a professional career. Now, it's just that we don't rely on emigration because day by day, those other countries are closing the door on emigration. And then, not everybody manages to go. And there are also those who wouldn't like to go. Because, me, I say, sincerely, I would like to live here in Cape Verde, going abroad from time to time, spending a holiday there, rather than going to live all your youth or what out there, and then come back, come back and spend what you have earned there. I wouldn't... I don't know. It is an alternative people find in life. It's just that I don't find it very pleasant.

Another student, Ira, made a slightly different argument when I asked her whether young people today still have the choice between emigration and education:

Well, nowadays I wouldn't say so, because we can't compare a middle-aged person with... for instance a youth of nineteen years. That was... a long time ago. A long time ago, school was very different. For instance, four years were worth much more than in today's school. Nowadays, I wouldn't advise any adolescent to stop studying just because she wants to go and work abroad. If she finishes school, gets a degree, it's a guarantee. Rather than staying without a degree and just going to work abroad. Sometimes she could be lucky, sometimes the opposite could happen.

These extracts point to several factors that explain the preference for a professional career. As Ira explains, the context of migration has changed. It is more difficult, and more risky than in the past, when the older generation left for Europe. One's chances in the Cape Verdean labour market are also much more dependent upon education today. Abandoning school means a life of uncertainty, either abroad or in Cape Verde. There is a clear difference in prestige that shines through in the way these two girls describe emigration in relation to education.

The preceding discussion could give the impression that emigration is not a relevant option for today's young people. There are three comments to make about this. First, as mentioned above many wish to combine a project of education with a subsequent period of emigration, staying abroad to work after they have obtained a degree. Second, many will not be able to get scholarships, and then turn to emigration as the best alternative. Third, the students are a relatively small and fortunate group. As one of them expressed it, those who have not completed school are left with emigration as 'the only solution' for getting a better life. As I will show later in this chapter, a very high proportion of people in this category do wish to emigrate. While emigration ranks second to a professional career as a project for life-making, only a small minority are actually able to make a choice between the two.

Is life-making a universal aim?

Young people make many choices in the context of life-making ambitions. Those who are leaving school are about to assume responsibility for their own future, and those who have lost the chance of a professional career often find themselves in a difficult situation that they look for ways of improving. Life-making projects are also relevant in adult life, as will be shown later in this chapter. In short, life-making does not necessarily mean creating your life once and for all, but taking a step towards the desired life of material well-being and stability in one's own house.

The project of life-making through education, however, is only open to the young. This means that not only drop-outs from school, but also older people more generally are left with emigration as the most obvious life-making project. For these people, emigration as a project of life-making emerges from a current situation of hardship and a wish to do something to change it.

Most of the school-leavers who did not want to emigrate had another life-making project in mind. However, others had no wish to emigrate because they *did not intend* to enter a project of life-making at all. The focus on life-making should not result in a deterministic

image of people whose minds are set to doing what they can to improve their lives. As mentioned in chapter two, many people do not (wish to) migrate simply because they are not planning for the future or because they are highly risk-averse. Both are typical results of living from hand to mouth. During the fieldwork I met a few young people who were poor by Cape Verdean standards, did not want to emigrate, and did not have any other plan for securing a better future. One of them was a teenage girl who had a child when she was fourteen and now lived alone with her boyfriend and worked part-time in a bar. She did not wish to emigrate, and had no clear idea of why. While her life was clearly quite difficult, she said that 'I don't make plans for the future, I wait for the future to make plans for me'. Another girl from a very poor family who also did not wish to emigrate said that 'it's all in the hands of God', meaning that maybe, one day she would emigrate, but she did not make plans for it. This was very different from other poor people I met who were very highly motivated to improve their lives and were ready to emigrate tomorrow if they got a chance.

While poverty itself can be a barrier to planning, it can also constitute a motivation for taking action. What is clear, however, is that there are aspects of mentality or personality that are decisive for entering projects of life-making, and therefore vital for aspirations to emigrate.

While those who are poor are motivated by their own hardships to struggle for a better life, others who are better off are motivated by the poverty surrounding them. Just as the return migrants and professionals are models of success, there are others who constitute warnings of what happens to those who fail to secure their future. This was striking in what one of the students in São Vicente, Eloisa, said about her fellow students:

Everybody works hard at school, to get better grades, so they can go to university, so they can have a degree when they come back, get a job and earn well. So they can have a better life... Because, like I told you, here in São Vicente there are people who don't have the most basic living conditions. They live, but it's more surviving than living. [...] It is very sad, but it happens a lot here in São Vicente.

The residential mixing in São Vicente strengthens this effect, since most people see poverty in their own neighbourhoods. Emigration has also distributed wealth in such a way that many people who live well have close relatives who are very poor. Those who have not benefited from emigration in any way, but live in relative prosperity, are often aware that this hinges on an insecure job.

Discourse and the emigration project

While the inventory of life-making projects is a common frame of reference for young Cape Verdeans, it is important to acknowledge the *variation* in attitudes toward emigration. First, as shown in Figure 7, some of those who seek a professional career wish to combine this with emigration while others do not. Second, among all those who have no chance of studying abroad, many wish to emigrate, but many also wish to stay.

In order to come closer to understanding these differences, I will now explore the principal dimensions along which the emigration project is evaluated. These are the common dimen-

sions of judgement, part of the macro level emigration environment. They relate to a generic or typical emigration project, as described in the preceding section. This involves working abroad for some years – anything from one to thirty years – and then returning with savings to lead a better life in Cape Verde. This is a general and well-established concept that overarches the differences in individual plans or preferences.

Certain contrasts or dimensions are recurrent in the way people talk about emigration, as well as in cultural and political texts. This does not mean that individuals necessarily adhere to *one or the other* side of these contrasts. Rather, they act as frames of reference that are often used to rationalize a wish to emigrate or a wish to stay. I have summarized these dimensions in Table 10 and will now discuss each dimension in turn.

Escalation versus illusion

Perhaps the most important contrast is between emigration as a key to socio-economic *escalation* versus emigration as *illusion*. This concerns the viability of emigration as a project for life-making. The stereotypical image of return migrants discussed above is part of a causal structure that often underlies the way people talk about emigration. You go, you work, you return, and you live well. Getting work once you succeed to emigrate is usually taken for granted. There is also a very strong expectation of coming back to Cape Verde, in line with the ethos of return. Migrants are assumed to return to a higher social position than the one they left. If they don't they will easily be suspected of having lead a dissolute life and squandered their earnings. Leaving, working, returning and enjoying a better life, then, are the elements that constitute emigration as a project for social *escalation*.

A contrasting but common way of thinking about emigration, is as an *illusion*. More specifically, there is a saying that '*stranjer* is an illusion', which often emerges in conversations about emigration. *Stranjer* is the noun used to describe foreign countries in general, or more specifically as a term for the industrialized countries that are destinations of Cape Verdean emigrants. Through family and friends, and not least through the media, people have become

Table 10. Central dimensions in the evaluation of emigration through discourse.

Escalation	versus	Illusion
Emigration seen as a key to socio-economic <i>escalation</i> , expressed as 'going to work <i>there</i> in order to come back and have a better life <i>here</i> '		Opposing the naïve view of emigration as a key to success, seeing migration as a risky adventure. If it pays off, the benefits result from years of toil.
Necessity	versus	Experience
Emigration as an imperative resulting from the hardship of life in Cape Verde. 'Nobody emigrates for pleasure'.		Emigration as a chance to see the world and gain experience. 'Seeing what it is like' after hearing relatives tell about faraway places.
Sacrifice	versus	Betrayal
Emigration as sacrifice, enduring all sorts of difficulties in order to make a living. Emigration as self-sacrifice, going abroad to support the family.		Working abroad because it pays better while your skills are needed for the motherland's development. (Specific to university graduates).
Capeverdeanity as leaving	versus	Capeverdeanity as staying
Emigrating as 'the thing to do' for Cape Verdeans, an integral part of the culture. 'All Cape Verdeans have a dream about emigrating'.		Being at home as the natural thing, cherishing one's country of birth. 'We love our country very much and separate from it only because we have to'.

more aware of the difficulties Cape Verdean emigrants experience in other countries. More educated people in particular often refer to the view of emigration as a key to success as backward and naïve. An extract from the interview with Sù exemplifies this. 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, Sù 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 comments on how the view of emigration has changed over time, with people acquiring a more realistic view:

There are many people who think that once you go abroad, you'll live well, you'll be rich, but it's not like that. I believe that they have started being aware that if you go abroad, you will have a lot of difficulties as well. Afterwards, when you come back, you might have something that you achieved through your efforts. I believe that people have started being aware that *stranjer* is not a paradise.

Eloisa agrees that emigration can pay off, but stresses that you do not get anything for free. Whatever you achieve through working abroad, she says, is 'through your efforts'. Thinking of emigration as an illusion then, 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. This attitude is important for the ordering of projects discussed above, where a professional career is rated above emigration as a means of life-making. It is also a way of rationalizing *not* wishing to emigrate in a society where it has almost become the norm.

Necessity versus experience

Emigration is often seen as 'doing what one has to do' as a result of the hardship of life in Cape Verde. In this context, emigration is a *necessity*, strictly for work purposes. As a student from São Vicente said it, 'I don't see anybody emigrating for pleasure nowadays. Just to work'.

Among the more educated, however, emigration is also seen in the context of adventure and experience, leaving Cape Verde to see the World. This is often expressed in terms of curiosity. Since virtually everybody has relatives in faraway places such as the Netherlands and the United States, many people have a wish to 'see what it is like'.

The contrast between necessity and experience is closely linked with age and educational background. Emigrating out of curiosity, or going on holiday abroad, is seen as a luxury. Among the majority of people who see emigration in relation to the hardship of everyday life, a wish to emigrate is usually expressed in terms of necessity.

Sacrifice versus betrayal

The most explicitly moral dimension of emigration is the contrast between sacrifice and betrayal. This is a common theme in countries of emigration, often related to changing views on migration in development theory and politics (Carling 1996). In radical development theory and nationalist policy, emigration has often been viewed in terms of 'brain drain'. When emigrants are seen as people who choose to employ their skills for better returns in other countries, to the detriment of national development, emigration becomes a form of betrayal. During the last couple of decades, however, theorists and policy makers have come to see emigration in a more positive light, focusing instead on the potential contribution of emigrants to local and national development. This has resulted in policies promoting emigration as well as the integration of emigrants in the homeland nation. Such political efforts often take the form of rhetoric of heroism, sacrifice and loyalty (Abella 1997, Basch *et al.* 1994, Rafael 1997, Tyner 1996).

The sacrifice-betrayal contrast is clearly present in the Cape Verdean discourse about emigration. While politicians are eager to underline the importance of emigrants in national development, the government also appeals to Cape Verdean students abroad to return and help the country develop. There is a double rhetoric with messages tuned to two different audiences: Emigrants should keep working abroad and send remittances to Cape Verde, while students should return home and contribute through their skills. For instance, speeches by president (1991-2001) António Mascarenhas Monteiro were replete with praise of the Cape Verdean emigrant: The necessity of leaving, the spirit of determination, the affection to the homeland and the contribution to its development (Monteiro 1994, Monteiro 1995). At the same time, the students I interviewed were highly conscious of what was expected of them if they were given a scholarship, and viewed the question of return in moral terms.

The majority of people contemplating emigration, however, are low-skilled or unskilled workers – if they are employed at all – who do not think of emigration as betraying the country. In their situation, betrayal towards the family is a more important theme. Emigrants who fail to support their family are often frowned upon as ungrateful and selfish. They are seen as lucky individuals who are in a position to help their families, and they have an obligation to do so. Emigration itself is *not* an act of betrayal, but failure to support the family is.

The contrast to seeing emigration as betrayal is the image of emigration as a form of *sacrifice*. This includes the sacrifice involved in defying the suffering of emigration, as well as self-sacrifice for the sake of the family. For the individual, emigration is a form of sacrifice because it entails emotional costs and possibly physical suffering for the cause of gaining a livelihood. This is sometimes represented in songs about migration that place the lone migrant in a heroic light.²⁷ Interestingly, this form of sacrifice is not necessarily linked to helping others, but simply reflects determination and responsibility in relation to one's own life.

²⁷ In particular, this concerns the classic *Disispero*, 'Despair' which starts as follows: 'He left his land / Left travelling / With no bearings and with no direction / He left his wife / He left his children / He searched for a better life.' (My translation). This song was written by Grupo Cola and recorded by Os Tubarões in the 1970s, and is still popular where people gather to play guitars and sing.

In relation to the family, however the emigration project is often seen as an act of *self-sacrifice*. One girl, Bia, talked about emigration in a way that reflects both necessity, loyalty and sacrifice in the form of supporting the family:

A characteristic of Cape Verdeans is that we are very much linked to our country. We really love our roots, and we separate from it only... the only reason is that we can't make a living here, we emigrate in search of a livelihood, not so much for ourselves, but primarily for our families, because most of those people who leave are those who have the most difficulties, who have the least chance of finding some job, especially those women, those who have the most children, things like that. They can't... there is no way of supporting them so they can lead a decent life, you see. So they have to leave and keep sending to their family. Construct... something. Survive.

What is interesting about this extract, are the roles of country and family. She starts by stressing the patriotic nature of Cape Verdeans, and addresses the apparent conflict between loving one's land and leaving it for another. The apparent inconsistency is explained by recourse to the family: The love for the family is the greatest of all, and so the emigrant endures the pain of leaving her land in order to support her family. This goes beyond the sacrifice in 'doing what one has to do' to the self-sacrifice in 'doing what one has to do for the family'. In the past, the typical image was that of a male breadwinner emigrant who worked abroad in order to support his family. As the sex balance of emigrants has shifted in favour of women, the traditional view is supplemented by one of female emigrants supporting their children.

Two faces of Capeverdeanity

A final dimension in evaluating the emigration project relates to the meaning of being Cape Verdean. Both the wish to emigrate and the wish to stay are rationalized with reference to what is natural for, or expected of, Cape Verdeans. Bia's account, quoted above, began with a claim that Cape Verdeans are particularly fond of their land and therefore would not want to emigrate if they could avoid it. This is echoed by many other informants, and is linked with the idea that emigration is a necessity, not a desirable adventure. The idea of being at home versus being a stranger influences the choice of words when talking about migration. Staying in Cape Verde was frequently described as staying in *nha terra*, 'my country', while destination countries are often referred to as *terra de jent*, 'other people's countries'. These expressions reflect the valuation of being at home in one's own country. As a Cape Verdean, Cape Verde is where you should be.

This contrasts with an equally common view that travelling is the thing to do for Cape Verdeans. Texts and talk about emigration is replete with general assertions such as 'All Cape Verdeans wish to emigrate' or 'Emigration is the destiny of Cape Verdeans'. Such statements sometimes portray emigration as a necessity and sometimes as more of an adventure, but the link between emigration and 'Capeverdeanity' is a common feature. Migration has come to be seen as an integral part of Capeverdeanity through a self-reinforcing historical process. After more than a century of emigration, the emigration project has secured a prominent place in the culturally defined inventory of life-paths. Few other countries have experienced emigration to such an extreme extent over such a long period of time, and Cape Verdeans are aware of this. The fact that there are more people of

Cape Verdean origin living abroad than on the islands is well known, and often exaggerated to become 'twice as many' living abroad. This is even said with a sense of pride, expressing a rare element of grandeur in a country that is usually just thought of as marginal and barren.

The apparent conflict between 'Capeverdeanity as staying' and 'Capeverdeanity as emigrating' is partly resolved through the ethos of return. There is an image of people leaving Cape Verde because they *have to*, and if they do not return, it is because they are *unable* to. Implicitly, Cape Verdeans would like to stay in Cape Verde, and if they emigrate, they would like to return.

The way people talked about return migrants and current emigrants on holiday also illustrates important links between Capeverdeanity and emigration. Many young people, when they talked about emigration, were quick to mention holidays in Cape Verde. Being an emigrant on holiday or a settled return migrant seemed to unite the best of two worlds. When the drudgery of everyday life is transformed into recreation and you can simply bypass the difficulties of making a living in Cape Verde, being Cape Verdean becomes a blessing.

Insights from the Student Survey

The discursive evaluation of the emigration project is reflected by results from the quantitative Student Survey. All 264 respondents were asked *why* they wanted to emigrate or not. The answers they gave were collected into ten categories listed in Table 11. This table can be interpreted in light of the preceding discussion of findings from the qualitative interviews.

First, the *escalation – illusion* dimension is evident. Half the respondents who wished to emigrate based this on the view of emigration as a form of social escalation (Category 1). One percent of those who did *not* want to emigrate also gave upward social mobility as a reason, saying that there were better opportunities in Cape Verde. This reflects the idea of location-specific advantages mentioned in chapter two as a reason for non-migration. The view of emigration as illusion is reflected in all those who referred to the hardship of emigration as the reason for wanting to stay (Category 9). Some of these respondents referred to problems in general while others mentioned specific difficulties such as coping with the climate, language or racial discrimination. One word that often came up was *kansód*, meaning 'stressful' or 'exhausting'. This reflects the awareness people have that many emigrants are working hard to make ends meet.

Second, the *necessity – experience* dimension is reflected by the answers in category 2 and 3. More than a quarter of those wishing to emigrate said that this was due to the lack of opportunities in Cape Verde (Category 2). This was often expressed with such general statements as *Kab Verd ka ta dá nada*, 'Cape Verde does not yield anything', or *Li ka ta dá*, 'This place is useless'. Such expressions place emigration in a context of necessity, an imperative resulting from the characteristics of Cape Verde. However, many respondents also saw emigration as a form of adventure and an opportunity to see the World, reflecting the other end of the *necessity – experience dimension* (Category 3).

Third, the *sacrifice – betrayal* dimension is also present in the answers. Helping the family was one of the reasons given for wanting to emigrate. This involves a form of sacrifice (Cate-

Table 11. Stated reasons for preferred wishing/not wishing to emigrate, Student Survey, percent.

Reasons mentioned	Wishes to emigrate		
	Yes	No	
<i>Mentioned only/primarily as reasons for emigrating</i>	1. Search for a better life/better future	50	1
	2. Lack of opportunities in Cape Verde	28	0
	3. Know the world	17	0
	4. Help the family	8	1
<i>Mentioned only/primarily as reasons for <u>not</u> emigrating</i>	5. Does not want to/never planned to emigrate	0	8
	6. Stay close to the family	5	12
	7. Stay at home ¹	0	12
	8. Likes Cape Verde	0	19
	9. Problems of emigration	0	22
	10. Help the country/island	0	24
<i>Number of observations</i>	120	144	

Source: Student Survey conducted during fieldwork. Note: Percentages relate to the total number of respondents wishing to emigrate and not wishing to emigrate, respectively. The original question was open-ended and some answers were attributed to more than one category.

¹ This partly overlaps with liking Cape Verde, but reflects the somewhat different thought that it is natural or preferential to live in Cape Verde, not because it is better, but simply because it is the homeland. As one boy put it: 'Remember, this is where I was born'.

gory 4). Conversely, *not* wanting to emigrate was often based on a wish to help the *country* or the island (Category 10). This reflects a view of emigration as betrayal and not emigrating as a sign of loyalty to one's homeland. It is interesting to see how country and family play parallel but different roles in the emigration environment. Both the preceding discussion and these figures from the quantitative survey have shown that love for the family and love for the country are given as reasons for two opposing conclusions regarding emigration.

While *helping* the family was given as a reason for emigrating, *being close* to the family was a frequent reason for not wishing to emigrate (Category 6). Being away from the family is often seen as one of the most difficult aspects of emigration. Separation from the family therefore affects the evaluation of costs and benefits of emigration, much in the same way as the other problems of emigration (Category 9). Some people said that they *wanted* to emigrate in order to be close to the family. These were respondents who have parents or other close relatives living abroad.

Finally, quite a large number of respondents said that they had just never thought about or wished to emigrate. It is difficult to say how this should be interpreted. Emigration is such a ubiquitous feature of Cape Verdean society that it is difficult to imagine a young person not giving emigration any thought. However, this answer could reflect a gut feeling of not wanting to emigrate without an awareness of why.

Understandings of place and poverty

I have discussed how the generic Cape Verdean emigration project constitutes a project for life-making, or a way out of poverty. The emigration project can also be seen as 'an engagement with place' (King 1995). As mentioned in chapter three, migration involves a comparison of places as well as a comparison of projects, both of which are socially constructed entities. As a final approach to the Cape Verdean emigration environment, I will therefore analyse

the dominant understandings of the relationship between place and poverty more closely. This underlies much of what has already been written, but often in subtle or implicit ways.

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' (e.g. República de Cabo Verde 1999). I believe that a more analytic approach would be that people wish to migrate because A) they *think of themselves* as poor, and B) they think of their poverty as *place-bound*. These two conditions are both present in Cape Verde.

First, people do think of themselves as poor. This is not obvious, but depends entirely on the point of view. As discussed in the introduction, the level of development in Cape Verde is considerably higher than in most of Sub-Saharan Africa, including all the other former Portuguese colonies in Africa (United Nations Development Programme 2001) (See also Appendix 1). Cape Verdeans often compare their country to mainland Africa in order to highlight the country's peace and stability. However, they do not reach a similar conclusion with respect to their relative prosperity. One reason for this is the importance given to natural resources when people talk about wealth and poverty. Also, people tend to compare their standard of living with that of their relatives in industrialized countries, and therefore conclude that they are poor.

Second, Cape Verdeans express a view of their poverty as *place-bound*. The scarcity and instability of rainfall is extremely important to how people think about their country (Langworthy and Finan 1997, Lesourd 1995). Even in an ever more urbanized, service-oriented economy, the lack of rain is seen as setting the limits for opportunities in Cape Verde.

Analysis of people's talk about their place of origin and the possibility of emigration sheds light on their assumptions about causal mechanisms, choices and constraints. The words of my informant Tina illustrate this:

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 extract draws together many aspects of poverty and emigration. First, she uses an imagined conversation to illustrate many young people's frustration over life in Cape Verde. Then, Tina herself diagnoses the situation as a consequence of drought. In fact, many informants saw social problems such as unemployment, crime and drug abuse as linked by causal chains that originated from the drought problem. In the imagined conversation, she 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, Tina 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.

These place-bound limits on social mobility are also expressed by Calú:

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.

Again, poverty is seen as linked to places rather than to people. 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.

Realities of the emigration environment

My analysis of the emigration environment has focused on the socially constructed projects of life-making, the competing discourses of emigration and the understandings of how poverty is linked with place. This emphasis on 'emigration in people's minds' does not mean that the actual drought, experience of poverty, or lack of opportunities for education and employment in Cape Verde are insignificant. On the contrary, these are fundamental characteristics of Cape Verde that shape the emigration environment. However, such factors affect aspirations to emigrate *through* people's minds, through the meanings attributed to them and through the understanding of their causes. For instance, while drought is often mentioned as the primary reason for emigration from Cape Verde, the lush and rainy Azores have had a similar history of intensive emigration for more than a century (Williams and Fonseca 1999). This does not mean that drought is not important in explaining Cape Verdean migration, but that looking for direct links from the climatic to the migratory is futile and misleading. The same is, to a certain extent, true about poverty. As I have shown, the link from living in a poor country to wishing to emigrate depends on people's understanding of their poverty and possible ways out of it.

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL INFLUENCES ON ASPIRATION

Having explored the emigration environment, it is necessary to address the question of *who* wishes to emigrate. This is a different question from the selectivity of migrants, which has been addressed through numerous studies (de Haan 1999, European Commission 2000, Jones 1990). While migrant selectivity concerns differences in the incidence of migration among men and women, in different age groups, according to educational background, and so on, what I am concerned with here, are differences in the *aspiration* to migrate.

Focusing on individual level influences does not mean abandoning the macro level context. In the case of gender, for instance, the aspiration to migrate is influenced by the individual characteristic of being male or female, but *how* this matters, depends on the gender structures of the society in question.

The individual level factors I have chosen to include in my analysis are selected partly on the basis of data availability and partly on the basis of what seems relevant in Cape Verde.

Hartman and Hartman (1995) found that academic school track, religiosity, and support of the government were important factors influencing Israeli students' aspiration to emigrate, while Jamieson (2000) analysed young people's attitudes to out-migration from the Scottish Borders with reference to class background and family migration history. Both these studies illustrate how migratory aspirations are formed by the interplay between individual characteristics and the specific historical and cultural environment.

I have used logistic regression analysis on the data from the Student Survey and the OME Survey to estimate the effect of different variables on the wish to emigrate. The results are presented in Table 12 and Table 13. The odds column in each table gives an estimate of how much a one-unit change in the independent variable affects the odds of wishing to emigrate. A coefficient of 1.4 means that the odds increase by 40 per cent, for instance from 5.0 to 7.0. When the odds are 7.0, this means that wishing to emigrate is seven times more likely than not wishing to emigrate.

In the tables, 'typical change in probability' is included as an additional aid for interpretation. As explained in chapter four, a change in the odds will produce different changes in probability, depending on the initial probability. The 'typical change' is one that starts with the overall probability of wishing to emigrate, i.e. the average of the dependent variable. In the case of the OME Survey, for instance, this means that if we imagine a person whose characteristics suggest a 43 per cent probability of wishing to emigrate, and the person does not

Table 12. Effects of individual level characteristics on aspiration to emigrate, OME Survey, logistic regression results.

Variables	Range of values	Coefficients		Typical change in probability ¹	Change in expected direction ²
		Logged odds (β)	Odds (e^{β})		
Gender (Male = 1)	0–1	0.332	1.393	8	?
Age	15–85	–0.103	0.902***	–3	Yes
Non-nativity (Born outside São Vicente)	0–1	–0.247	0.781	–6	(Yes)
Educational attainment (Years)	0–15	–0.227	0.797***	–6	Yes
Employment situation					
<i>Unemployed (Reference category)</i>		0.000	1.000	0	
<i>Employed, unskilled</i>	0–1	–1.297	0.273**	–32	Yes
<i>Employed, skilled</i>	0–1	–1.452	0.234***	–36	Yes
<i>Inactive</i>	0–1	–1.707	0.182***	–42	Yes
Remittance receiver	0–1	0.568	1.765*	14	(Yes)
Close family members living abroad ³	0–1	1.428	4.169***	35	Yes
Other emigrant relatives	0–1	1.013	2.753***	25	Yes
Constant		4.542			

N = 395. Overall predictive capacity = 74 per cent. Source: IEPF (2000) *Observatório de Migrações e Emprego 2/2000*.

*** Significant at the 99 % level, ** Significant at the 95 % level, * Significant at the 90 % level.

¹ Estimated percentage change in the probability of wishing to emigrate resulting from a one-unit change in the independent variable when the initial probability is 43 per cent (the average of the dependent variable).

² Specifies whether the estimated change in probability is in the expected direction. A question mark (?) indicates no hypothesis about direction. Parentheses indicate that the result is not statistically significant at the 95 % level.

³ Defined as parents, children, siblings or spouse.

receive remittances, a remittance-receiver who is otherwise identical has an estimated probability of wishing to emigrate of $43 + 14 = 57$ percent (since 14 is the typical change in probability reported in Table 12). In the first case, our best guess would be that the person does not wish to emigrate, but in the case of the remittance receiver, the estimated probability passes the 50 per cent mark, and our best guess, based on the model, would be that this person wishes to emigrate. Such predictions of individual cases are of little practical use, but serve to illustrate the effect of individual independent variables, such as receiving remittances.

Most of the results from the OME Survey are highly significant, while this is not the case with the Student Survey. Technically speaking, the reasons for this are that the effects were not as strong in the Student Survey as in the OME survey (i.e. the coefficients were smaller), the number of observations was smaller, and there was often less variation in the independent variables.

The model using data from the OME Survey also had a higher capacity to predict the correct value of the dependent variable for each case. When the model was used to estimate the likelihood of wishing to emigrate or not for each case, it was 74 per cent correct in the model

Table 13. Effects of individual level characteristics on aspiration to emigrate, Student Survey, logistic regression results.

Variables	Range of values	Coefficients		Typical change in probability ¹	Change in expected direction ²
		Logged odds (β)	Odds (e^{β})		
Gender (Male = 1)	0–1	0.025	1.025	1	—
Age	16–27	0.041	1.042	1	(Yes)
Parenthood	0–1	-2.270	0.103*	-56	(Yes)
Island (Santo Antão = 1)	0–1	0.348	1.416	9	?
Material household standard	0–10 (index)	-0.275	0.760**	-7	Yes
Assessment of household situation	0–1 (index)	0.494	1.638	12	(No)
Mean grade in 11 th year	10–17	-0.200	0.819*	-5	(Yes)
Father with secondary education	0–1	0.819	2.269**	20	No
Mother with secondary education	0–1	0.112	1.119	3	—
Parents with migration experience	0–1	-0.146	0.864	-4	—
Receipt of gifts/money from abroad	0–2 (index)	0.119	1.127	3	—
Social integration and well-being	0–10 (index)	-0.026	0.974	-1	(Yes)
Assessment of greatest problem in CV					
Unemployment	0–1	0.377	1.458	9	?
Drought	0–1	0.766	2.151**	19	Yes
Poverty and/or hunger	0–1	-0.013	0.987	0	—
Assesment of CV's development					
Consistent pessimism	0–1 (index)	0.183	1.201	5	—
Consistent optimism	0–1 (index)	0.636	1.888	16	(No)
Constant		2.079			

N = 221. Overall predictive capacity = 69 per cent. Source: Student Survey.

*** Significant at the 99 % level, ** Significant at the 95 % level, * Significant at the 90 % level.

¹ Estimated percentage change in the probability of wishing to emigrate resulting from a one-unit change in the independent variable when the initial probability is 45 per cent (the average of the dependent variable).

² Specifies whether the estimated change in probability is in the expected direction. A bar (—) indicates that the effect is close to zero. Where variables have a large range of values, there could be a considerable effect even if a change of one-unit has little impact, e.g. with 'Social integration and well-being'. A question mark (?) indicates no hypothesis about direction. Parentheses indicate that the result is not statistically significant at the 95 % level.

for the OME Survey, and 69 per cent correct in the model using data from the Student Survey. I will discuss the substantial explanations for the ambiguous results of the Student Survey towards the end of the chapter.

The group of people covered by the Student Survey can be seen as a subset of the population covered by the OME Survey. While the latter covers all ages, professions and levels of education, the former only covers students in their late teens or early twenties, all of whom have a high level of education, as they are about to complete their twelfth year of school. The proportion wishing to emigrate is very similar in the two samples (45 per cent and 43 per cent). While the students' young age suggests a large share of potential emigrants, their high level of education works in the opposite direction. As a result, the actual proportion of respondents wishing to emigrate is close to the share for the population as a whole.

It is important to note that the regression models on which the table is based estimate the *isolated effect* of each variable when all others are held constant. For instance, a cross-table of aspiration to emigrate by educational attainment would show that the highest level of aspiration is found in the middle range of education. This is because the average educational attainment is much lower among the old, and their high age tends to discourage emigration. When comparing individuals that are similar with respect to all other variables, however, the effect of education is unambiguous: the higher the educational attainment, the lower the likelihood of wishing to emigrate. I will now address each of the factors in more detail and relate the results from the two surveys to each other, where appropriate.

Gender

Gender is recognized as a fundamental organizing principle in all forms of migration (Chant and Radcliffe 1992, Kofman *et al.* 2000). However, it is difficult to make universal assumptions about the effects of gender on aspirations to migrate. It depends on the nature of gender relations in the community of origin as well as at the possible destinations. An important implication of the aspiration/ability model, is that gender relations affect both aspiration and ability to migrate, and that the two effects should be analysed separately.

All the available data from Cape Verde show remarkably similar proportions of men and women wishing to emigrate. In the OME Survey, the difference was only one percentage point, with a higher proportion of men wishing to emigrate. In the Student Survey, the difference was 10 percentage points, also here in the favour of men. These differences, however, could be due to gender differences in other variables. The pure gender effect, illustrated by the regression coefficients, is virtually zero in the Student Survey. The gender coefficient in the OME Survey indicates that being male increases the odds by a factor of 1.4, but this is not statistically significant.

Until the 1970s, emigration was very much a male project in Cape Verde. The fact that the wish to emigrate today is similar among men and women is probably due to changes in the international migration regime as well as in Cape Verdean society. As the next chapter will show, realizing a wish to emigrate has become relatively more difficult for men than for women, and this has shifted the gender balance of migration flows. In other words, *possibilities*

for emigration are no longer biased in favour of men, and this has probably had indirect effects on aspirations. At the same time, disillusionment with the nuclear family and stable couple relationships has induced women to assume a more independent role in securing an income for themselves and their children. This disenchantment results from a pattern in which women are dependent on men for subsistence, in relationships that are often short-lived, but usually result in children (Gullesen 1997). One way for women to support their own children has been working abroad. These historical developments have resulted in a situation where there is little numerical difference in aspiration between genders. It is interesting to note that in surveys from five other Sub-Saharan African and Mediterranean countries of emigration, the proportion intending to emigrate was always higher among men than among women – up to seven times higher in Morocco. The difference was smaller in Senegal, Ghana and Turkey, but nevertheless considerable (European Commission 2000).

Age

Empirical research from different parts of the world has shown that people are usually most mobile as young adults (Boyle *et al.* 1998). This has been explained with reference to the family life cycle as well as through economic theory. When considering migration as an investment, a young adult is most likely to find the initial costs acceptable in view of the long-term opportunities for increased income (Fischer *et al.* 1997). While investment theories of migration have often assumed a permanent move, a similar argument holds for temporary emigration of the Cape Verdean type. As mentioned above, what is important in explanations of aspirations is the *intention* to return, regardless of the actual outcome. Temporary migration can be seen as an investment of labour and hardship with expectations of returns in the form of a better future life in Cape Verde. Young people will therefore have more to gain from emigrating because the younger they are when they return, the longer they will enjoy the fruits of their work. A second reason why young people are more inclined to wish to emigrate is that they have fewer social and economic responsibilities in Cape Verde.

The OME Survey, which covers the entire adult population, clearly shows that the wish to emigrate declines with age. The regression results indicate that every additional year of age will reduce the odds of wishing to emigrate by a factor of 0.9. This means that if a 25 year old has a 75 per cent probability of wishing to emigrate, the corresponding figure for an otherwise identical 35 year old is only 52 per cent.²⁸

In the Student Survey, 95 per cent of the respondents are within the 17–21 age group and they are all at the same stage in life in terms of education and career. This makes age a less important variable, and the coefficient is small and not significant. However, it is not surprising that the result suggests an *increase* with age in the proportion wishing to emigrate. This is the opposite of the overall effect, but reasonable because the wish to emigrate often peaks in the early twenties rather than in the late teens. While this was not the case with the OME Survey data I am using, the proportion wishing to emigrate has been higher in the 20–24 age group than in the 15–19 age group in earlier rounds of the survey.

²⁸ The formula for this type of calculation was presented in chapter four.

Whether or not the aspiration to emigrate increases slightly with age at young ages, there is a consistent decline across the rest of the life span. However, even such clear-cut results of quantitative analyses must be interpreted with caution. What is surprising, perhaps, is not that nearly three quarters of the youngest respondents in the OME Survey wish to emigrate, but that as many as a third of respondents around the age of forty have the same wish. While it is true that aspiration falls sharply across age groups, it would be misleading to conclude that emigration is only of concern to young adults. An extract from my interview with the student Eloisa sheds some light upon this:

There are many young people and many *adults* who... who already have their children, they have their house, but always, they would like to go. In order to have something more... Go and work, in order to come back and have a more stable life. Because here in Cape Verde, even if you have a job, even if you have your house, life will always be difficult. Really difficult.

(Italics reflect verbal emphasis.)

This extract shows that the emigration project is not associated with a particular stage in the life cycle, as in many other emigration-intensive societies. Instead, emigration as a means of socio-economic escalation is seen as a solution in many phases of life. Eloisa's own father was already forty years old when he spent five years working for a foreign shipping company and managed to earn enough money to build a house for the family. Only after the age of fifty, when many people retire, does the proportion wishing to emigrate fall to very low levels.

Parenthood

Having children could affect the wish to emigrate or not in either direction. On the one hand, it increases the emotional and practical costs of emigration. On the other hand, the well-being of children constitutes a powerful motive for increasing one's standard of living and financing the children's education.

Unfortunately, the two surveys are of little use in analysing the effect of parenthood on the wish to emigrate. The OME Survey does not include questions on parenthood, and only 3 per cent of respondents in the Student Survey have children of their own. The coefficient indicates that having a child exerts a strong negative pressure on the wish to emigrate, but because of the small share of parents, the coefficient is only significant at the 90 per cent level. Furthermore, students with children are a somewhat extraordinary group, and it is difficult to generalize from their experience to assess the more general effects of parenthood.

The qualitative interviews point in different directions. One of the young men I interviewed complained that he could not afford to send his son to school, because he hardly earned enough to pay for food and rent. For him, this was a major motivation for wishing to emigrate. Others were more ambivalent. A young woman in her late twenties who had three children had made it very clear to me that she wished to emigrate. I asked her what would happen to her children:

I'll leave them here. Two with their father and the smallest one with his grandmother... I love them so much that I would like to bring them. Sometimes I get fed up and say that I want to go, but then perhaps I think of them and don't want to go after all.

Leaving children behind in Cape Verde has been common for emigrant women since the beginning of independent female migration in the 1960s. It is based on a tradition of child fostering which is common across West Africa and the Caribbean. In Cape Verde, being a foster child is generally not seen as traumatic or negative, but as a perfectly acceptable part of childhood (Åkesson forthcoming). Most commonly, foster children are raised by their grandmothers or maternal aunts, either for a few years, or for the entire childhood. Furthermore, good parenting is often thought of in material as much as emotional terms. A good parent is someone who provides for the children and secures them a good future. Emigration could be the best way to achieve this.

While child fosterage makes emigration possible for many women, there is a limit to how many children it is possible to leave behind. In fact, the large number of children is often put forward as a reason why the poorest people rarely emigrate. Eneida, a student living in the suburbs of São Vicente, explained it as follows:

Normally, those people who are suffering are those who have the most children, who have large families. And they can't emigrate just like that, leaving all those children behind. They can't find places to leave them when they are so many. When they are one or two, you leave one with one aunt, the other with another aunt. But when they are so many, you can't find people to look after all of them.

It is interesting to note that it is not the affectionate bonds between parents and children that are seen as the problem, but the practical obstacle of finding people to foster them. This problem increases with the number of children while the emotional attachment, perhaps, does not. In other words, it is not only having children or not that affects aspirations to emigrate, but the number of children. Already in the 20-24 age group, nearly a third of women have two children or more, so the question of quantity is relevant at an early age (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000b).

It is quite obvious that parenthood affects the aspiration to emigrate in rather different ways among men and women. This is an example of the more general point that it is not always gender as such that affects migration, but gender mediates the effect of other variables (Carling 2001). Compared to ties between mothers and children, father-child ties in Cape Verde are much more diffuse and varying. Both families and households are therefore often centred on women (Finan and Henderson 1988, Gullesen 1997, Åkesson forthcoming). Around 40 per cent of Cape Verdean households are female-headed (Ministério de Coordenação Económica 1995b, World Bank 1994). Where there is a male head, he often has a more marginal role than the principal women in the daily life of the household. Furthermore, the role of adult men in the households is often focused on their economic contribution. Being a parent is therefore less of a disincentive to migration for men than for women. The role of a good father can often be better filled by being a committed emigrant than by taking casual work in Cape Verde.

The appropriate way to explore these questions quantitatively would be to estimate how the interaction between gender and parenthood affects aspiration to emigrate. Unfortunately, this is not possible with the available data, since the number of parents is so small that an interaction term would have very large margins of error.

Social obligations towards close relatives affect migration in complex ways, and it is difficult to distinguish between effects on aspiration and effects on ability. The different implications of interpersonal relations are therefore discussed separately in chapter seven.

Inter-island differences

If there were significant differences in aspirations to emigrate in São Vicente and Santo Antão, this would challenge the underlying assumption that the two islands can be seen as one emigration environment. The Student Survey, which covers both islands, shows that all other things being equal, island of residence does not have a statistically significant effect on the wish to emigrate.

The OME Survey only covers São Vicente, but includes a question on place of birth. The majority of in-movers come from the surrounding rural islands, especially Santo Antão. One could expect the in-movers to be more inclined to emigrate. First, they have already left their island of origin, often motivated by better opportunities for work in the city. Under the present migration regime, moving to the city could be a second best alternative for those who are unable to move abroad, and this would mean a high proportion of involuntary non-migrants among the in-movers. Second, in-movers have fewer location-specific resources that would tend to discourage migration.

The results indicate that being born outside São Vicente does not affect aspirations to emigrate to a significant degree. This could be because most in-movers have already lived on the island for many years (IEFP 2000).

Socio-economic situation

When the purpose of emigration is so widely recognized as 'getting a better life' in material terms, it is presumably the poor who have the most to gain from emigrating. In addition to the role of absolute poverty, recent research has also stressed the importance of *relative deprivation* as a motive for emigration (Massey *et al.* 1998, Stark and Taylor 1991). That is, regardless of the absolute level of income, households who are poor compared to their reference group have the strongest incentives to use migration as a strategy for enhancing their position.

While the OME Survey does not include questions that can be linked to the household's economic situation, I included a range of such questions in the Student Survey. The regression model includes two indices which are calculated on the basis of these questions, and which were described in chapter four. The first summarizes the level of material comfort in the household based on questions about utilities present and the number of rooms in the house in relation to the number of people living there. As expected, higher material standard is associated with a lower probability of wishing to emigrate, and the result is significant at the 95 per cent level. The index ranges from 0 to 10, and an increase of only one unit is estimated to reduce the odds of wishing to emigrate by nearly a quarter.

The second index is based on the respondent's subjective assessment of the household's financial situation. Unexpectedly, the regression model indicates that given a comfort level

as defined by the first index, those who perceive the situation as *more* difficult are *less* likely to wish to emigrate. The result is not statistically significant, and should therefore not be given too much weight. The two indices are significantly correlated with each other, and this complicates the interpretation.²⁹ Furthermore, they are difficult to separate conceptually. The difference between the two indices is not simply a question of measurable versus subjective assessment, but also a difference between 'household standard' as a static characteristic and the day-to-day financial situation of the household. If there is a true effect in the direction indicated, this could mean that having a poor material environment is actually a larger incentive for emigration than struggling to make ends meet and rarely having a surplus on the household budget.

The cultural setting is quite complex in this respect, combining an ethos of humility with a predilection for visible signs of wealth. Cape Verdeans often portray themselves as humble in the way they cope with the hardship of living in Cape Verde. There is an expectation that people will *dzenrasgá*, 'get by' from day to day, and that this relaxed hand-to-mouth existence is almost a way of life. In this respect, people might not always worry about their monthly budgets as much as they would be expected to from a European perspective. People often don't have the means to cover necessary expenses, but a faith that somehow, the money will appear. At the same time, many people tend to spend whatever surplus they have in ways that are visible to others. Even the poorest hovels are often brightly painted on the outside while they lack the most basic facilities inside. For the more well off, smart cars and mobile phones are valued not only for their usefulness, but also for their symbolic significance. All this suggests that, perhaps, material comfort is more important as an incentive to stay than a sound family budget with ample margins.

Employment status

For the adult population, employment status is probably as important for aspirations to emigrate as socio-economic situation. The two are correlated, but it is not possible to assess the degree of correlation because they are not included in the same survey.

Based on questions about employment in the OME Survey, I have constructed four employment categories: unemployed, skilled employed, unskilled employed and economically inactive. As expected, the regression model shows that compared to all other groups, the unemployed have a *much* higher probability of wishing to emigrate. Being unemployed here means A) not having work, B) looking for work, and C) being prepared to start working if a job appears. The inactive have the lowest probability of wishing to emigrate. This group includes pensioners, students and housewives who are not employed outside the house. As expected, skilled workers have a somewhat lower probability of wishing to emigrate than unskilled workers.

²⁹ Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.640, which is around the level where intercorrelation becomes problematic. Cross-tabulation of 'subjective assessment of household situation' and 'wish to emigrate' shows that the proportion wishing to emigrate is somewhat higher among those who describe their household's situation as very poor. This is a relationship in the expected direction. However, the *isolated* effect of 'subjective assessment of household situation' when 'material household standard' and all other variables are constant, is in the unexpected direction.

While the effect of the employment situation is clear-cut and as expected, it is important to consider the difficulties of analysing employment and unemployment in developing countries like Cape Verde. In the OME Survey data I used, the unemployment rate was as low as 13 per cent.³⁰ However, a much larger share of the economically active population are temporarily or occasionally employed with little security about the future. The employment situation in the community therefore has an effect beyond one's own situation at the moment. I used data from previous rounds of the OME Survey to explore this, and found that the proportion of *employed persons* wishing to emigrate is heavily influenced by the unemployment rate. This is not unexpected, since the general economic atmosphere is likely to influence people's faith in the future.³¹

The same effect was evident in one of my informal conversations about emigration. I asked a young woman why she had such a strong wish to emigrate. Her immediate answer was that 'there is no work here!'. However, both she and her husband had relatively stable jobs, in a hotel and as a civil servant. She had recently changed jobs after a disagreement with her former employer, but found a new job within a week of her resignation. Her motivation for wishing to emigrate therefore had more to do with conditions of employment and a general attitude towards the local labour market than with unemployment as such.

Another source of distress was the wage level. Prices on consumer goods are high in Cape Verde, and much of the local demand is generated by remittances from emigrants. In this situation, the average standard of living is considerably higher than the local wages can support. While many houses are filled with consumer goods bought abroad, buying the same goods in Cape Verde with savings from a typical income seems overwhelmingly difficult. This misfit between wages and expectations are an important explanatory factor for emigration. In particular, reaching what is seen as a reasonable standard of living will take a very long time. Calú (21) was one of several informants who stressed this:

Cape Verdeans in general wish to struggle for a better life. It's just that in Cape Verde... right here, it is difficult. Just see if I want to build a house, for instance, I, working here, earning 15,000 escudos [150 USD, monthly] will need thirty years. I'll be old! It's not like abroad, where it takes less time. [...] So, this is why Cape Verdeans go for emigration. Perhaps. In order to achieve... realize their dreams. Within a reasonable time.

³⁰ There was considerable political controversy about the level of unemployment at the time of the fieldwork. The opposition accused the government of tampering with the figures in order to give the impression of a successful employment policy (*Horizonte* 20.07.00). For this reason, public servants were anxious about the unemployment rate falling too much. The official report from the round of the OME Survey I am using estimated the unemployment rate to be 21 per cent, while my own calculations indicated 13 per cent (Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional 2000).

³¹ I used the eight survey rounds on five different islands in 1996–1997 to estimate this. There were 29 different observations (island-period combinations). These were used as cases in linear regression analysis with the percentage of employed persons wishing to emigrate as the dependent variable. In a trivariate analysis with unemployment rate and period as independent variables, the effect of the unemployment rate was large and significant (0.835***). Since the analysis was restricted to employed persons, this was not an effect of being unemployed, but of many *others* being unemployed. The effect of unemployment was no longer significant when island was introduced as a third independent variable, but most islands were significantly different from each other. Because of the short time span, temporal variations in unemployment were much smaller than the inter-island variations. This made it difficult to isolate the unemployment effect from other possible island-specific variables, but does not necessarily discredit the finding.

It is evident in the way people talk about emigration that work is the fundamental motivation behind the wish to go abroad, or at least the most legitimate one. The views of emigration as a *necessity*, as a means of socio-economic *escalation* and as a form of *sacrifice* discussed above are all founded on work as the primary purpose of emigration. While there is a very clear statistical effect of being unemployed, there is a need to go beyond employment categories and analyse people's experiences, thoughts and expectations about work and wages. An interesting side of this question, which I will not explore here, is the type of work done in Cape Verde and abroad. It is striking in the recent female emigration to Europe that many people go from semi-skilled or skilled work in Cape Verde to domestic service in Europe.

Education

A third variable related to employment and socio-economic situation is educational attainment. From the discussion of projects for life-making, it is evident that a certain level of education is seen as a prerequisite for improving one's standard of living without emigrating. While enrolment ratios have risen markedly over the last couple of decades, the OME Survey indicates that about a third of people in their twenties have only four years of schooling or less. This reflects a two-tier situation among young people. There are those who are completing secondary school, who have a chance to get university level education, and even without this, have a hope of a stable job in Cape Verde. Then there are the dropouts who have lost their chance of upward mobility through education. Faced with the problems of finding regular employment in Cape Verde, not to mention the lack of opportunities for climbing the employment hierarchies, they see emigration as their only chance for securing a better life. Many students said that wishing to emigrate was much more common among their neighbourhood friends than among their classmates.

The OME Survey covers the full range of educational attainment and shows that the effect on aspiration to emigrate is strong and significant. For every additional year of education, the odds of wishing to emigrate are estimated to decline by a factor of 0.8. This means that if someone who is completing their twelfth year of school has a 50 per cent probability of wishing to emigrate, the corresponding probability of a person with the same value on all other independent variables but only four years of school is as high as 86 per cent.

Among the students, who all have the same educational attainment, educational *performance* can have an effect on the wish to emigrate. This is measured in the Student Survey by the mean grade in the eleventh year. It is reasonable to believe that those who performed poorly thought that they had lesser chances of a professional career, and therefore wished to emigrate to secure their future. The results show that there was a considerable effect in this direction, significant at the 90 per cent level.

A very unexpected education-related finding is the effect of the father's educational attainment. The Student Survey shows that all other things being equal, those students whose fathers had attended secondary school were much *more* likely to wish to emigrate. The effect of the mothers' education was in the same direction, but not statistically significant. It is difficult to interpret these findings. Especially, it is difficult to disentangle the effect of education from

the material situation of the household. The father's educational attainment is correlated with the index of material household standard, but not to a problematic degree.³² The effect of the former is more or less the same whether or not the father's education is included in the model. What the results say, is that at a given level of material well-being, students with better educated fathers are more likely to wish to emigrate. It is unlikely that there is a direct effect of the father's schooling, but this apparently captures a characteristic of the family environment that influences aspirations to emigrate. As explained above, there was also an unexpected effect of the student's subjective assessment of household situation, although this was not statistically significant. These diverging results could mean that the different aspects of 'class' have complex and contradictory effects on the wish to emigrate.

Family migration history

Having close family members abroad and receiving remittances from them is likely to influence aspirations to emigrate. However, it is not obvious what the effect will be. There are several possible causal mechanisms that partly work against each other. Figure 8 gives an overview of the different possible mechanisms.

First, emigrant and return migrant relatives have a very important influence on people's belief in the emigration project. However, the image of the emigration experience which family members transmit can work in both directions. Therefore, having close relatives living abroad or having returned to Cape Verde can either strengthen or weaken the belief in emigration as a means of improving one's life. This can be thought of as a balance between seeing emigration as *escalation* or *illusion*, as discussed above. In fact, several people I interviewed referred to the experiences of their parents when they presented a view of emigration as illusion, while others pointed to their parents' emigration as a successful project.

The relationship between emigrants and their relatives, neighbours and friends in the country of origin has a complexity that can only be hinted at here. On the one hand, emigrants could wish to appear successful, and present a glorified image of their lives abroad. On the other

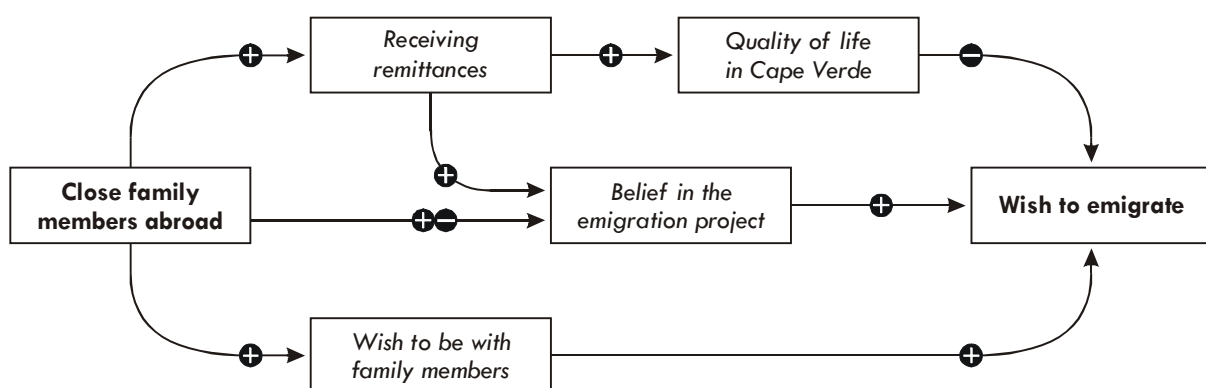


Figure 8. Possible causal relationships between having emigrant family members and wishing to emigrate.

³² Pearson's correlation coefficient is 0.35. Correlation between independent variables is generally not a problem with coefficients of less than 0.5 (Skog 1998).

hand, they could wish to relieve themselves of pressure to send remittances or facilitate the emigration of their relatives, and therefore present a dismal picture. These are general considerations that, of course, are mediated by the migrants' own feelings about their emigration experience. My own impressions of the interaction between emigrants and non-migrants were also contradictory. For instance, one emigrant told me that 'when we tell people here that life abroad is difficult, they don't believe us and think we just want to keep it to ourselves'. Exactly the opposite situation was described to me by one of my interviewees who talked about young emigrants on holiday in Cape Verde:

They come with their nice clothes and everything, and people think that... people see them and think that their lives are like that. Because normally, they come and show off, talking and all, saying that abroad, people can do this, people can do that. But we who stay here, we know what efforts they make, we know what it costs them to work abroad.

Several other stories from my interviews illustrated the element of distrust that sometimes characterizes such relationships. This is probably less so with close family members who work abroad. The more intimate the relationship, the more likely it is that the dark sides of the emigration experience will be discussed. In other words, how emigrant relatives affect peoples belief in the emigration project depends not only on the relatives' experiences, but also on the nature of their relationship with potential emigrants.

There is a second effect of having close family members abroad, which presumably is more straightforward. Especially when parents or children are long-term emigrants, being close to them constitutes a motive for emigration (see Figure 8). A large proportion of Cape Verdeans have such close relatives abroad. In the Student Survey, 18 per cent of the respondents had parents living abroad and 30 per cent had emigrant siblings, excluding siblings who were only studying abroad. In the OME Survey, the proportion having close family members (parents, children, siblings, or spouse) was as high as 47 per cent.³³ Both surveys indicate that more than a third of the prospective emigrants wish to emigrate to a country where their parents, children, siblings or spouse are living.

The regression results of the OME Survey indicate that having close family members living abroad strongly increases the probability that a person will wish to emigrate. The odds are estimated to be increased by a factor of 4.2, which is a stronger effect than for any other variable in the model. Having more distant relatives abroad works in the same direction, although to a somewhat smaller extent.

In the Student Survey, the variable chosen was whether any of the parents had experience with migration. As many as 22 per cent of the mothers and 39 per cent of the fathers are or had been working abroad. The model estimates that having a parent with migration experience slightly *lowers* the odds of wishing to emigrate, although not to a statistically significant degree. This gives support to the idea that when a close family member has worked abroad, darker sides of the emigration experience emerge and act as a disincentive to follow the same strategy.

³³ It is worth noting that only 0.3 per cent had emigrant spouses. This primarily reflects the nature of Cape Verdean conjugal relations, with formal marriage being relatively rare, and co-residence being the basis for being considered husband and wife (Gullesen 1997).

With the data from the OME Survey, it is possible to give an indication of whether those who have emigrant relatives are generally more inclined to wish to emigrate, *regardless* of the wish to be close to these family members. If we remove all those who wish to emigrate to destinations where they have relatives, an analysis of the remaining cases will isolate the effect that emigrant relatives have on peoples' belief in the emigration project. The remaining sample is sufficiently large and varied to do such an analysis.³⁴ The results show that the strong relationship between having relatives abroad and wishing to emigrate disappears. When the same analysis as the one presented in Table 12 is run on the new sample, the effects of nuclear and other emigrant family members are reduced to zero, while the other coefficients in the model remain more or less unchanged. This suggests that having relatives abroad does not contribute to a more general wish to emigrate, but rather to a specific aspiration to go to the same location.

Remittances

As noted in the introduction, a large proportion of Cape Verdean households receive remittances from abroad. In the OME Survey, one quarter of the respondents were remittance receivers. The proportion of remittance receivers was highest among the young and the elderly. There was no significant difference between men and women.

It is difficult to say for how long remittance flows persists after the initial emigration of relatives. In a study of Samoan migrants in New Zealand, Macpherson (1994) estimated that emigrants remitted about half of their income during the first five years, but after ten years, the share remitted had fallen to less than ten per cent. Macro level studies of remittances to Cape Verde have found that the volume of remittances vary with economic conditions in Cape Verde (including exchange rates and the introduction of high interest emigrant bank accounts), but these studies have not provided insight into how duration of emigration affects individual remittances (International Monetary Fund 1996, Wils 1996). The total remittance inflow grew steadily during the 1990s, despite the falling number of new emigrants (Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante 1998a).

Remittances can affect aspirations to emigrate in two ways, as illustrated in Figure 8. First, someone who receives money from abroad on a regular basis can have a relatively good life in Cape Verde. There are many examples of people who have all their expenses for shoes, clothing and children's schooling covered by emigrant relatives. In this perspective, receiving remittances is a disincentive for emigration.

One of the student interviewees, Bia, told me about one of her elderly aunts who lived off her emigrant family members. She said that it was no problem for her to get a visa, because it was quite obvious that she would come back and not stay abroad illegally.

³⁴ After filtering out those who wish to emigrate to countries where they have relatives living, 288 persons remain. About 20 per cent wish to emigrate, 38 per cent have close family members abroad, and 15 per cent have other family members abroad.

First she sorted out the visa for America, and then she sorted out the visa for Holland. So, she went to America, and from there she went to Holland. And then she returned to Cape Verde *for sure*, because she has no need to stay over there. She has family who sends her everything... from there. [...] She just goes for a holiday and then she comes back.

(Italics reflect verbal emphasis.)

This story illustrates a possible causal mechanism from receiving remittances via having a good life in Cape Verde to not wishing to emigrate.

The second possible effect of remittances on emigration aspirations is the signalling of emigrants' success, thereby strengthening belief in the emigration project (see Figure 8). This would work in the opposite direction, tending to encourage emigration. Remittances can easily be seen as a sign of abundance, even if those who remit feel substantial pressure to do so, and have a hard time making ends meet.

Both the mechanisms connecting remittances and aspiration are theoretically plausible, and both are reflected in the qualitative interviews. The quantitative analysis can perhaps shed some light on which is the most important mechanism. The model based on the OME Survey shows that receiving remittances *increases* the probability of wishing to emigrate, although the coefficient is only significant at the 90 per cent level. In other words, the positive effect resulting from increased belief in the emigration project is apparently stronger than the negative effect resulting from a better standard of living in Cape Verde. There was no effect of receiving remittances in the Student Survey.

Going back to Figure 8, the different qualitative and quantitative results give support to all the mechanisms represented by arrows in the figure. The fact that there are interlinked, contradictory mechanisms at work precludes any firm conclusions about the effects of having relatives abroad and receiving remittances from them.

Social integration and well-being

Since the emigration project is very well established as a possibility for young people, it is plausible that those who are not well socially integrated could see it as a 'way out' of an unhappy or unsatisfactory situation in Cape Verde. I constructed an index to explore this possibility, based on a series of questions about friendship, spare time activities and family circumstances. The details were given in chapter four. The effect of this index on the wish to emigrate was in the expected direction, but very slight and not statistically significant. There are several possible explanations for this, mainly related to methodology and theory of science. I will discuss this towards the end of the chapter.

Assessment of prospects and problems in Cape Verde

It seems reasonable that those who have little faith in Cape Verde's future have a stronger inclination towards emigration. They might wish to leave the country altogether, or they could wish to live in Cape Verde in the future, but see few chances of achieving the standard of living they want without working abroad. In the Student Survey, I included several questions to shed light on these possible mechanisms. The indices identifying consistent optimism and consistent pessimism in views about Cape Verde's future did not produce any

significant effects. However, the question about what was seen as the greatest problem in Cape Verde gave a very interesting result. Those who mentioned *drought* had a much larger probability of wishing to emigrate than those who pointed to other problems. Mentioning unemployment or poverty was not statistically associated with the wish to work abroad. This result would have been hard to interpret without the complementary qualitative approach. As I discussed above, the question of emigration must be understood in relation to the way people *think about* poverty. The fundamental link between poverty as an experience and Cape Verde as a place is the lack of rain. Seeing unemployment or poverty itself as major problems also means seeing a potential for change and progress. Drought, however, is a problem that can be escaped only by leaving the location altogether. It is not so much that drought directly affects the lives of young people in a predominately service-based economy, but it is a powerful symbol of the unchangeable lack of opportunities in Cape Verde.

The meanings of measurements

The analysis of how individual level characteristics affect aspirations to emigrate showed that when considering the population as a whole, in all its variety, certain regularities stand out. This is documented by the model based on data from the OME Survey. Having little education, being young and having a vulnerable position on the labour market are factors that are strongly associated with a wish to emigrate. Also having relatives abroad and receiving remittances from them probably increases the probability of wishing to work abroad. The regression model identified these as clear empirical regularities. They are presumably also *causal* relationships, since likely causal mechanisms were identified through the qualitative interviews and discussions. In several cases, the material from the qualitative interviews also modified the apparently clear-cut effects demonstrated in the regression model and helped understand the complex mechanisms behind the regularities. For instance, receiving remittances probably has two contradictory effects on aspirations to emigrate.

Table 14. Predicted probability of wishing to emigrate, eight hypothetical women, calculated from the regression model based on the OME Survey.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Age	25	25	25	25	40	40	40	40
Educational attainment (Years)	4	12	6	6	4	12	6	6
Employment situation	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Employed (skilled)</i>	<i>Employed (unskilled)</i>	<i>Employed (unskilled)</i>	<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>Employed (skilled)</i>	<i>Employed (unskilled)</i>	<i>Employed (unskilled)</i>
Remittance receiver	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Close family abroad ¹	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Other emigrant relatives	No	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes
Wish to emigrate								
<i>Predicted probability</i> ²	74 %	10 %	33 %	91 %	38 %	2 %	10 %	68 %
<i>Best guess about wish</i> ³	Yes	No	No	Yes	No	No	No	Yes

Note: All the women are born in São Vicente.

¹ Defined as parents, children, siblings or spouse.

² The formula for this calculation is given in chapter four.

³ Reflecting a probability above or below 50 %.

Table 14 summarizes the findings from the OME model by presenting the predicted probability of wishing to emigrate for eight hypothetical women. As shown in the analysis above, gender is relatively unimportant here, and therefore kept constant for the sake of simplicity. Men with the same characteristics would have had a slightly higher predicted probability of wishing to emigrate. While Table 12 presented the effect of *each variable*, Table 14 presents the outcome of some *typical combinations* of characteristics. For instance, the poorly educated, unemployed young woman (Case A) has a very high likelihood of wishing to emigrate, even with no relatives abroad. In contrast, it is extremely unlikely that the well-educated, employed woman aged 40 (Case F) wishes to emigrate. Case E most probably does not wish to emigrate even though she is unemployed and poorly educated. This is because her relatively high age, and not having any relatives abroad are factors that work in the opposite direction.

While the OME Survey documented striking regularities, it was much more difficult to find regular patterns of who wished to work abroad and who did not in the Student Survey. There are several reasons for this difference. First, since emigration is more hypothetical and less of an immediate concern for the students, there could be a 'random' element in their answers. This was especially the case with all those who wished to study abroad. Staying abroad to work for some years or returning directly to Cape Verde after completing one's degree was something that many students had not carefully considered. When the question of wishing to emigrate or not took this form, it is not surprising that there were fewer regularities that reflected the plausible mechanisms.

Second, the respondents in the Student Survey are a much more uniform group than respondents in the OME Survey. They are similar with regard to important explanatory variables such as age and educational background, and differences with regard to emigration aspirations depend more on personality traits which are difficult to detect in a quantitative survey. Through the qualitative interviews, it became clear that attitudes toward emigration often reflect a subtle process of positioning oneself in a discursive landscape.

Through the Student Survey I had the opportunity to attempt to identify the effects of such elusive variables as 'social integration and well-being' and the degree of pessimism or optimism in relation to Cape Verde's future. However, no significant regularities in such variables were found. This could be because of the uncertainty about the dependent variable discussed above, or it could be because these intangible variables were inadequately measured. Estimating the effect of a variable such as pessimism in relation to Cape Verde's future takes the form of a chain from the 'actual pessimism' to the measured effect. As with any chain, it is not stronger than its weakest link. First, it could be that the three more specific opinions that were asked for did not reflect the underlying pessimism. Second, each of the statements presented to the respondents might not adequately capture the relevant opinion. For instance, disagreeing to the statement that 'Cape Verde's future seems prosperous' might not be a good sign of pessimism. Third, the way in which an index was constructed based on the three answers could be questioned. As explained in chapter four, there was an index for being a consistent pessimist or a consistent optimist, rather than an index measuring the degree of pessimism. There are uncountable ways of constructing such an index, giving a lot of room for variation in results. Fourth, it could be that the regression model did not incor-

porate the indices of pessimism and optimism in the best way. These co-existed with many other variables in the model, and the inclusion or exclusion of other variables might affect the effect of these two indices. In fact, a danger with such models is that alternate possible specifications could lead to very different, even contradictory results, although they will all have a 'scientific' appearance (Bradley and Schaefer 1998).

These objections are all in line with the premises of the method, and the best defence is having carefully planned, tried and erred in order to avoid the pitfalls. However, it is also possible to reject the results on the basis of the methodology. For instance, it is possible that the idea of a pre-existing, enduring degree of pessimism is flawed. Perhaps it is not the case that some people are endowed with a pessimism that can be identified through a survey. Such an objection corresponds to discourse analysis' critique of traditional research on attitudes (Potter and Wetherell 1987). This challenges the idea that language can be used as a neutral means to 'discover' a fixed internal mental state. Instead, it is argued, responses to a survey are linguistic performances tuned to the context at hand. When the students agreed or disagreed to the statement that 'Cape Verde's future seems prosperous' it is obvious that this might be something more than a neutral act of reporting a pre-existing attitude. While these are powerful criticisms of the method, it is difficult to say whether one should refrain from including such 'soft' variables altogether. What is clear, however, is that it raises a series of problems that are avoided with such clear-cut variables as age or educational attainment. Even the relatively complex index of material household standard is clearly less problematic. All the questions it was based on had an unambiguous pre-existing answer, despite a few problems of definitions such as whether or not to count a video recorder that was not functioning at the moment. It was also reassuring to find a high degree of correlation between the different elements of the index. Those who had video recorders were also likely to have a spacious house, and it was reasonable to let both contribute to a high material household standard. This was more difficult with the index of social integration and well-being, and there is therefore reason to be sceptical about the results of this variable.

I will not attempt to resolve all of these methodological problems, but draw up some conclusions about the methods and results from the analysis of how individual level characteristics affect aspirations to emigrate.

First, the model based on the Student Survey suffers from ambiguities affecting both the dependent variable and several of the independent variables. Interviewing people who were a couple of years older and faced emigration as an immediate option could have yielded clearer results, even with the same independent variables. However, the student's distance to the emigration project proved very valuable for discussions in the qualitative interviews.

Second, the problematic indices of optimism, pessimism and social integration and well-being can not have done much harm, because including them did not have a significant effect on the other variables in the model.

Third, the model based on the OME Survey clearly demonstrates the potential of models that identify empirical regularities with less ambiguous independent variables. The fact that there were so clear results with aspiration to emigrate as the dependent variable is a sign of

the usefulness of the aspiration/ability model. All the results were in the expected direction, and presumably reflected causal mechanisms identified through the qualitative analysis.

Fourth, insignificant results do not indicate the lack of causal mechanisms. This only constitutes a lack of empirical regularities, and could have several causes. There could, for instance, be an effect of social integration and well-being, but one which was not measured by the index. It could also be the case that opposing mechanisms cancel each other out, either at the individual or at the aggregate level. Some people could see the remittances they receive as a guarantee for their future in Cape Verde, while others could take them as a sign of the success of emigrant relatives. Depending on the numerical balance between the two, the measured effect of receiving remittances could be zero, but this would not change the existence of causal mechanisms. Lastly, there could be rare but equally real causal mechanisms that are simply not common enough produce measurable empirical regularities (Sayer 1985). Some people could wish to emigrate *because of* frequent fights in their family, but it might only be possible to discover this through an investigation of the individual case.

Ability

When somebody has an aspiration to emigrate, they could be able to realize their wish and migrate, or remain involuntarily immobile. A prospective migrant's ability to migrate is determined by the interplay between the immigration interface of potential destinations and his or her individual level characteristics. In this chapter, I will first explore the European immigration interface that Cape Verdean migrants encounter, and then proceed to consider how individual factors affect who will be able to migrate and who will not.

Realizing a wish to emigrate can be thought of as overcoming the various barriers to migration. Today, a person wishing to migrate from a poor country to a wealthy country is likely to find that the greatest barriers are linked to the destination country's immigration policy. The cost of a ticket can itself be overwhelming, but migration flows are often sustained by systems of borrowing which enable people to manage the initial expenses. In Cape Verde, an official working with migration told me that 'Money is not a problem; as long as people get a visa, they will earn, borrow or steal the money; they will get it one way or another'. The baseline cost of transportation will certainly exclude some people from taking part in migration. However, the most important checks on migration flows can be traced directly or indirectly to immigration policies.

THE IMMIGRATION INTERFACE

Cape Verdeans who wish to enter Europe encounter a particular version of the European immigration interface. As explained in chapter three, the immigration interface is specific to the combination of the sending and receiving countries, and migrants from other countries will therefore have different encounters with Europe. In the following analysis, I consider Europe in general, which is a simplification. However, it is possible to analyse the different modes of migration with reference to general features and selected examples. Differences between countries are mentioned where it is relevant, and the implications of national differences are discussed later in the chapter. I also use examples from the United States to illustrate certain points. For many prospective emigrants, the most important thing is to *emigrate*, not where they go. In principle they have to choose among the modes of migration I

discuss in order to migrate to an industrialized country, be it in Europe or America, while the exact opportunities and constraints will differ.³⁵

I have chosen to distinguish between five different modes of migration. These can be seen as ‘typical paths’ through the immigration interface, in the direction of legal long-term residence in Europe. ‘Long-term’ can either mean the right to remain permanently, or residence permits that are renewable at intervals of one year or more. The identification of different modes is influenced partly by existing provisions in immigration policy, and partly by ideas about migration opportunities among prospective migrants. These ideas are shaped by the histories of migration of relatives and friends, or more generally by the patterns of migration established in the past. The modes I have identified are:

- A. *Family reunification* (long-term right of residence based on existing family relations)
- B. *Family formation* (long-term right of residence based on contracting a marriage)
- C. *Legal labour migration* (right to reside and work for a certain number of years)
- D. *Overstaying tourist visas* (shift from legal to illegal presence with hopes of regularization)
- E. *Illegal entry* (entry without documents with hopes of regularization)

A more detailed analysis will show that there are numerous possible deviations from the typical modes. In chapter three, I suggested ‘a dense jungle with various paths’ as a metaphor for the immigration interface. Figure 9 is a simplified representation of Cape Verdean encounters with the European immigration interface, with the five typical paths identified by letters A-E.

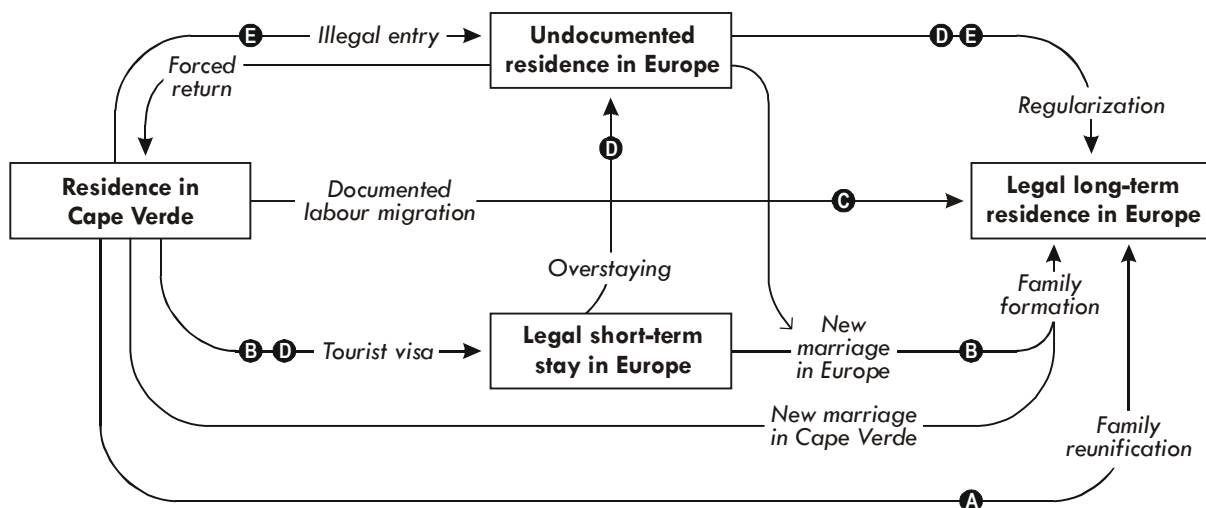


Figure 9. Cape Verdean encounters with the European immigration interface.

³⁵ While the United States is more open to immigrants, very few slots exist for unskilled workers, unless they can qualify for immigration through family reunification (United Nations Population Division 1997). The greater opportunities for family reunification in the United States is perhaps the most important difference between the European and American immigration interface, but the processing time can exceed ten years (Embassy of the United States of America in Cape Verde 2000). There are also opportunities for immigration under the Diversity Visa Lottery, but only 12 Cape Verdeans were admitted under this program for the year 2002 (US Department of State 2001).

Some prospective migrants have close relatives living in Europe, making them eligible for family reunification (mode A). Those who do not have relatives to be reunified with can become eligible for reunification by contracting a marriage with a legal resident. This has often been done while staying in Europe as a tourist (mode B). Then, there are those who enter Europe legally as labour migrants, particularly domestic workers (mode C). A tourist that fails to return or secure a residence permit, becomes an undocumented immigrant after overstaying the visa validity. He or she could become a legal resident through regularization procedures (mode D). As illustrated by the figure, undocumented immigrants could also be forcibly returned to the country of origin if they are apprehended by the authorities. There has also been a possibility of regularizing one's presence through marriage, although this is no longer possible for undocumented immigrants in most countries. Finally, a small number of Cape Verdeans have entered Europe illegally by boat (mode E). As with other undocumented immigrants, they might be able to regularize their status, although this will be a difficult process.

These modes differ widely in their importance to Cape Verdean migration today. Illegal or semi-legal modes of migration are discussed in detail for analytical purposes, but this is not an indication of the numerical importance of such migration. The only aspects of illegality that will be discussed are related to illegal entry and illegal residence. A thorough analysis of illegality in migration would also have had to include the linkages to the black labour markets and crime (Baganha 1998, Engbersen and Van der Leun 1998, Mingione and Quasoli 2000).

The analysis seeks to combine information about the European immigration interface with my own fieldwork material. Since I have only done fieldwork in the community of emigration, my empirical data gives only a partial view of the immigration interface. Additional fieldwork among immigrants in destination countries is needed to complete the picture of the immigration interface and the nature of the different modes of migration.

Much of the information about the European immigration interface is based on an earlier study of Third World immigration to Southern Europe (Carling 1999). Where specific sources are not given, most of the information is summarized from various issues of *Trends in international migration* (SOPEMI, various years), *Migration News Sheet* and *Migration News*.

Family reunification

Family reunification has played a very important part in the continuation of Cape Verdean immigration to Europe when opportunities for legal labour migration have contracted. In Northern Europe, where immigration on the basis of work has been virtually impossible since the early 1970s, family reunification has ensured the continued inflow of migrants from Cape Verde. For instance, 88 per cent of all Cape Verdean immigrants in Norway were admitted through family reunification. This is a higher proportion than for any other immigrant group.³⁶ Family reunification was initially based on the previous settlement of male

³⁶ Calculated from unpublished data from Statistics Norway. The figures refer to 1998 when there were 225 registered immigrants from Cape Verde living in Norway.

labour migrants in the 1960s, as described in the introduction. These men were often joined by family members after the immigration stop of the early 1970s. Many of the original Cape Verdean labour migrants to Northern Europe reached retirement age in the 1980s and 1990s and moved back to Cape Verde. This raises the proportion of immigrants whose entry was based on family reunification.

The basic institution of family reunification is founded on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and has certain fundamental features underlying the various forms of implementation (United Nations 1998). First, both existing family relations and new marriages can be grounds for admittance. The latter is usually called family *formation* migration as opposed to family reunification migration (see Figure 9). While the two are similar with respect to immigration law, they are very different as modes of migration. For this reason, they are treated separately here.

Secondly, there is a distinction between reunification with citizens and reunification with resident foreigners. For Cape Verdeans, reunification with foreign residents is the most significant aspect of family reunification. The resident applying for reunification with his or her family members must have the right to reside in the country for a certain period of time, but the exact requirement varies between countries. In addition, residents are usually required to have adequate accommodation and income to support the family members.

Some countries have introduced legislation to prevent 'cascade' reunification, meaning cumulative family reunification migration on the basis of one initial move. In the Netherlands, for instance, family reunification migrants cannot themselves apply to have relatives join them for the first three years (SOPEMI 2001).

These requirements effectively restrict eligibility for family reunification to a limited part of the immigrant populations. In addition, the application process often involves several separate parts of bureaucracy and can be marred by administrative inefficiencies. In Italy, this was seemingly used as a mechanism to reduce the volume of immigration in the early 1990s. In 1995, Italian authorities even introduced a ceiling on the total number of family reunification permits per year (Sciortino 1999).

Most countries allow for reunification with 'immediate relatives', but definitions differ. Eligibility is usually defined by a combination of biological and socio-economic relations between the resident and the family members. In addition to the spouse, children are usually eligible as long as they are dependent on the parents. The maximum age at which children can join parents is generally higher in Southern Europe than in Northern Europe. In Spain, children as old as 25 years can be admitted unless they are independently established with families of their own. In Portugal, the general age limit is set at 21, but older children are covered under special circumstances (*Migration News Sheet* 11/97, 9/99). Germany, on the other hand, has lowered the age limit to 16 years, which severely restricts the number of children admitted (Kofman *et al.* 2000).

The notion of family reunification is strongly present in the Cape Verdean discourse about emigration. Having relatives abroad is important for most other modes of migration as well, as will be discussed later. What is striking in the way people talk about family reunification, is that agency is usually placed with the relatives abroad rather than with the prospective

migrants. Two expressions are recurrent in descriptions of people migrating to join their family members: *ses família ta levá-s*, (their family takes them away) and *ses família ta mandá pská-s* (their family calls for them). A reason for this could be that the most common form of family reunification is children joining their parents, and in this situation it is natural that the initiative lies with the parents. When these expressions are used more generally, however, it could be because prospective emigrants know that it essentially depends on the success of their relatives' efforts whether they will actually be able to join them through family reunification. The other side of this is that it easily appears to be up to the migrants if they 'call for' their relatives or not. The two expressions both give an impression of ease in the process, as long as the migrants decide that they want their relatives in Cape Verde to come.

This belief is sometimes reflected in naïve expectations of family reunification provisions. One of my informants whose mother had married a Cape Verdean man in Luxembourg said that 'when she becomes a citizen there, I will have a right to enter Luxembourg, and my husband as well, and then my children'. She was approaching thirty years of age and sustained herself in Cape Verde, so she would in fact be clearly inadmissible through normal family reunification procedures.

Family formation

Migration through family formation has become increasingly important over time, especially in Northern Europe. As time passes since the immigration stop, the potential for family reunification is gradually depleted. In most cases today, the labour migrants of the 1960s and 1970s have either returned to Cape Verde, or their families have already joined them in Europe. Contracting a marriage with a second-generation immigrant has then become a common form of legal migration for young prospective migrants in the country of origin. Among Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands, family formation migration now accounts for nearly two thirds of all family-related migration, up from about a quarter in the mid-1980s (de Beer and Noordam 1992, Nicolaas and Sprangers 2001). For the resident immigrants, motivation for such marriages can result from a sense of obligation towards relatives in the home country (Böcker 1994). Motivation can also stem from a desire to have a spouse (usually a wife) with more 'traditional' values than most second generation immigrants.

Bogus marriages constitute a more overtly strategic way of making use of family reunification provisions to realize migration aspirations. This has been relatively common among Cape Verdean emigrants, especially in the Netherlands and the United States. Meintel (1984) reports that this was widespread in emigration to the United States even before Cape Verdean Independence in 1975. With increasingly restrictive policies against undocumented migrants in Europe, bogus or contract marriages have become the only possible way for many undocumented migrants to legalize their status (Staring 1998).

As shown in Figure 9, marriages that give grounds for family reunification can be contracted either in Europe or in Cape Verde. The latter is less common, and usually involves a Cape Verdean emigrant marrying a Cape Verdean during a holiday in Cape Verde. Those who are planning to contract a bogus marriage in Europe would usually enter on a tourist

visa. In the past, it was also possible to get married after overstaying a tourist visa, but documented status is now a prerequisite for getting married in most European countries.

Bogus marriages are a well-established mode of migration in the sense that people are highly aware of the opportunity and often know others who have migrated in this way. There are essentially three different ways of using marriages as a mode of migration. First, the marriage can take the form of a contract where the resident marries the immigrant in return for money. One girl, Ira, summarized this in a highly pragmatic way:

If for instance, I wish to emigrate to the Netherlands, I'll look for a Dutch man who is willing to marry me only so that I'll get that paper. So, I'll pay him, and we will marry, just to get the paper and nothing more. Afterwards, each one will get on with their lives. That's it.

The usual assumption was that there would be an agreement about the price, the marriage would be contracted, and the couple would divorce as soon as the immigrant was no longer dependent on the marriage for his or her right to remain in the country, usually after three or four years (SOPEMI 2001). The payment involved varies widely, but amounts between 2000 and 10,000 USD are common (Andall 1999, Åkesson forthcoming). The money could be raised by the migrant himself or herself, or by relatives abroad. During my fieldwork, I also heard about a Cape Verdean girl living illegally in the Netherlands who paid a Dutch girl to marry the father of her children, so he could come to the Netherlands.

This form of contract marriage is often problematic because the residents fail to fulfil their obligation after they have received the payment. There are numerous stories about people who either did not get married as promised and lost their money, or were exploited by contract spouses who afterwards refused to let them have a divorce.

The second way of using marriages as a mode of migration is to marry an emigrant relative or friend who contracts the marriage as a favour. In this case, there is no payment involved, and the risk of being exploited is thought to be smaller. The whole arrangement is founded on a sense of solidarity, whereas somebody who does it for money essentially acts out of greed and could seize the opportunities for exploitation or betrayal that might arise. The disadvantage with bogus marriages based on solidarity, however, is that the distinction between a bogus and a genuine marriage can become blurred. One of my informants, Tina, told me about such a case:

I have a friend, he is 19 years old, and he wanted to emigrate. He knows a girl, of his age. This girl came from the States, came to Cape Verde, married him, and took him with her to America. She is Cape Verdean but has lived in the States for many years. She has documents.

Q: So, the girl did it only to help this boy?

Yes but... she liked the boy. They have been going out for a long time.

Q: So, they are really going out?

Not really. She likes him, but he doesn't like the girl very much. It's not like they were really going out like that... They liked each other. But to say that they married for love, no. They married mostly to get... mostly for the papers. The boy could like her, and stay with her, but if he finds out that he doesn't like her, then they'll divorce. And he will have his documents.

This story illustrates the potential for misunderstandings and deceit in using this type of 'solidarity marriage' as a mode of emigration. Some people even said that they would prefer paying for a marriage exactly for this reason. When somebody does it as a favour, there would always be room for reinterpreting the nature of the exchange. Tina's story also illustrates the casual nature of Cape Verdean couple relations that to some extent facilitate the use of bogus marriages for migration purposes.

When the resident spouse is a migrant, there is sometimes a requirement that he or she must have been a legal resident for a certain number of years before family formation migration is allowed (Nicolaas and Sprangers 2001).

The third strategy is to contract a 'genuine' marriage, but where the migrating partner is primarily motivated by the residence permit. This is often the case in Muslim immigrant communities where arranged marriages are common, while bogus marriages would be unacceptable. Settled migrants are often approached by relatives in the country of origin who would like to see their sons married to an emigrant girl and thereby be able to settle in Europe. By arranging marriages, the parents of these girls can meet obligations towards relatives in the country of origin to whom they are indebted (Böcker 1994, 1995).

For Cape Verdeans, entering a 'genuine' marriage can be the only option for those who do not have the money to pay for a bogus marriage nor relatives or friends who would contract a marriage without being paid. The resident partner could be an emigrant Cape Verdean or a foreigner, either male or female. The most common case, however, is probably Cape Verdean girls marrying foreign men. The overwhelmingly female migration from Cape Verde to Italy is a case in point. A large number of women have married Italian men in order to be able to settle permanently in Italy (Monteiro 1997). This is not a question of what constitutes legitimate motives for marriage, but an illustration of the point that also 'genuine' long-lasting marriages can be understood in terms of migratory strategies.

There is a blurred distinction between the three ways of using marriages as a mode of migration. In all types of marriage, the Cape Verdean emigrant is motivated wholly or primarily by the prospect of obtaining a residence permit. The resident partner is either motivated by a payment, acts out of solidarity, or wishes to enter a lasting relationship involving co-residence and sexuality. Ira's story about her friend who married a girl living in the United States illustrates the blurred distinctions. It could be seen as a solidarity marriage, or as an actual marriage in which the two parties had different motivations. In this case it was quite clear that the boy acted strategically in order to obtain a residence permit, but in any marriage with an emigrant, the prospect of moving abroad could be very difficult to separate from the purely interpersonal factors.

Despite the well-known difficulties, Cape Verdeans usually talk about bogus marriages with a strong degree of pragmatism. One girl, Bia, said that 'Well, it's a solution for legalization. Yes, it's a very practical solution, a solution... that is, not very *practical*, maybe, but a widely *practiced* solution'. She corrected herself, but nevertheless retained the image of bogus marriages as a solution. In two different cases, I also experienced that people in São Vicente were frustrated, or even annoyed with their emigrant relatives who lived illegally in Europe and did not want to contract a bogus marriage. One of the cases was a cousin of Bia:

I have a cousin who... She left Cape Verde when she was nine, and now she is twenty, but it's just that still... Her mother is always going on at her about finding somebody to marry, just so that she can come back on holiday. It's just that she says that she doesn't want to get married yet, she is young and wants to study. Therefore, she still hasn't come back. And she never managed to obtain papers in another way.

Another informant, Toi, said about his sister who lives illegally in the Netherlands that 'the problem with her, is that she doesn't want to marry'. As with Bia's cousin, she has been unable to come back to Cape Verde because she is undocumented. Toi and Bia's aunt both see contracting a marriage as the obvious solution, and see the emigrant girls as being stubborn or difficult when they refuse.

The 'popularity' of bogus marriages among Cape Verdeans can only be understood with reference to the specific social and migratory context (Åkesson 2000). From a European perspective, such marriages are seen as illegal, immoral and a profanation of marriage as a manifestation of love. From a Cape Verdean point of view, this is very different. First, bogus marriages are seen as righteous inasmuch as they are an instrument of life-making, and will make it possible to fulfil obligations to support one's family, or even facilitate their migration to Europe. Many Cape Verdeans who marry in Europe already have children in Cape Verde. Second, bogus marriages contribute to the maintenance of the national migratory order. Many people see involuntary immobility as a threat to Cape Verdean society, and in this sense, bogus marriages play a morally justifiable role in preventing isolation and poverty at the national level. Finally, bogus marriages are not seen as a threat to 'real love' and the institution of marriage in the same way as in Europe. This is because couple relations in general are often expected to be more flexible and transitory. In many cases they also have a clearly instrumental role in providing subsistence for a woman and her children from previous relationships (Wind 1995).

I was told that bogus marriages have become less common as a strategy for migration during the 1990s, and many people complained that it was no longer an easy option. There are three reasons for this. First, authorities in the immigration countries have implemented measures against such marriages. For instance, many countries have passed legislation that prohibits undocumented residents to marry. This means that a marriage would have to be contracted before the tourist visa expires, often after only thirty days. In the past, marriages were possible as long as one of the spouses was a legal resident. In the Netherlands, a new law concerning marriages of convenience was introduced in 1994, which allows registrars to refuse to marry a couple when there is reason to believe that the marriage is bogus (Staring 1998). The second, and related, reason for the declining number of marriages is that potential spouses demand ever more exorbitant amounts of money. This was mentioned by several of my informants as an increasing obstacle to pursuing this mode of migration. Third, many prospective migrants are discouraged from contracting bogus marriages because of frequent conflicts in the wake of such marriages. During my fieldwork, I heard several stories about friends or relatives who had been financially or otherwise exploited by their bogus spouses, and this seemed to deter people.

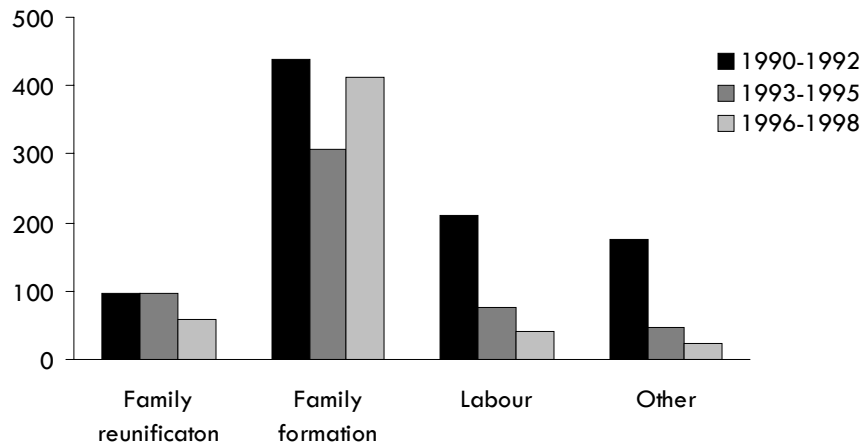


Figure 10. Immigration of adult Cape Verdeans to the Netherlands by grounds for admission. 1990-1998.

Source: Unpublished data from the Central Register of non-Dutch nationals of the Dutch Ministry of Justice, compiled by Statistics Netherlands. The figures refer to Cape Verdean-born Cape Verdean citizens aged 18 years or more. 429 children were admitted during the same period, primarily through family reunification.

Immigration statistics from the Netherlands illustrate the continued importance of family formation migration, regardless of the nature of the marriages behind the figures (Figure 10). A total of 2409 Cape Verdean immigrants were admitted from 1990 to 1998, in a flow that was declining during the decade (Statistics Netherlands 2001). For the period as a whole, 48 per cent entered through family formation, 25 per cent through family reunification and 14 per cent as labour migrants. The remaining 12 per cent were primarily accompanying family members and, during the first years, asylum seekers.

These figures reflect the overall shift from labour to family migration since the 1970s, and the more recent shift from family reunification to family formation. During the course of the 1990s, there was a further reduction in the number of labour migrants, to less than 20 per year, and a continued decline of family reunification migration among adults. Family formation migration, on the other hand, only saw a slight downturn in the mid-1990s, when new legislation on marriages was introduced. It resumed its importance as a mode of migration towards the end of the decade, when it came to account for more than three quarters of all adult immigrants.

Documented labour migration

Legal labour migration formed the basis for Cape Verdean migration to Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, and is still significant in some countries. As the Data from the Netherlands illustrated, labour migration to Northern Europe has come to an end. In Southern Europe, however, there is still demand for Cape Verdean labour as well as certain legal provisions for it. Labour migration flows continues to be extremely gender segregated, with domestic service and construction as the principal areas of employment for women and men, respectively.

In the discussion of documented labour migration as a mode of migration, this is defined as emigration with an employment contract, which is the basis for obtaining a visa and a work permit. There are many other Cape Verdean migrants who are working legally in

Europe, but they have entered through other modes of migration, such as family reunification, or they have regularized their situation after a period of undocumented residence.

In 1997, Cape Verde and Portugal signed a bilateral agreement regulating temporary labour migration.³⁷ Under this agreement, Cape Verdeans are entitled to work in Portugal for up to three years, with work permits issued on the basis of one-year employment contracts. When the final contract expires, the worker must return to Cape Verde within two weeks. In addition to domestic service and construction, agricultural work has also become important under this law. Also Spain and Italy are allowing for limited labour migration from Cape Verde, primarily for domestic work.

With growing numbers of Cape Verdean women doing domestic work in Europe, the flow has become self-perpetuating. The domestic workers themselves often act as intermediaries between female friends or relatives in Cape Verde and neighbours or friends of their employers in Europe. While the recruitment of domestic workers to Italy has declined somewhat since the 1970s, Spain has become an important destination, as well as Portugal and France (Filho 1996).

A typical contract for domestic work in Portugal stipulates a monthly salary of 60,000 Portuguese Escudos (250 USD) in addition to board and lodging.³⁸ This is about five times as much as a domestic worker earns in Cape Verde. The plain ticket is paid by the employer, who is also responsible for ensuring that the worker returns to Cape Verde when the contract expires.

The other dominant form of Cape Verdean labour migration is construction work in Southern Europe, especially in Portugal. The demand for labour in this sector has been strong ever since Portuguese workers emigrating to Northern Europe in the 1960s and 1970s left vacant positions behind (Carreira 1983). In recent years, the good performance of the Portuguese economy has sustained the demand for foreign construction workers. In the 1990s, an estimated 60–80 per cent of male Cape Verdean immigrants in Portugal were employed in the construction sector (de França 1992, Mendoza 1997).

Where provisions for legal work and residence exist, the bureaucracy itself can take the form of a major barrier. A combination of cumbersome procedures and insufficient capacity and competence on the part of authorities has had a negative effect on the balance between legal and illegal migration in Southern Europe. While it now seems possible to arrange legal labour migration from Cape Verde to Portugal quite smoothly, this idea has yet to gain foothold among prospective migrants in Cape Verde. This was a major preoccupation of the Portuguese honorary consul in São Vicente who issues visas to Cape Verdeans. According to the consul, it is now 'very easy' to arrange contracts, but she saw it as a major pedagogical challenge to convince people that this was a better option than applying for a tourist visa with the intention of overstaying.

³⁷ The agreement is incorporated into national legislation as Decree Law no. 60/97 in Portugal, and Decree Law no. 7/97 in Cape Verde.

³⁸ The information is based on a standard contract obtained from local authorities in the area of emigration.

This scepticism towards formalized labour migration was reflected in many of my interviews. One girl, Bia, said about women being recruited as domestic servants by friends that they have a hard time getting a visa:

It's with an employment contract, all *legal*. Therefore, it'll be *difficult* for them to go, difficult to get a visa from the embassy here, really difficult to get a visa. But if they get it, they will go *legally*, already legalized, just going to stabilize their lives.

(Italics reflect verbal emphasis.)

Others made similar statements in passing, saying that 'if you ask for an employment contract, they just give you a lot of hassle'. The scepticism is probably based in a more general distrust in migration bureaucracy. It is well known that obtaining a tourist visa requires a lot of paperwork, and people seem to believe that even more papers are needed for documented labour migration. While it is true that both types of visa applications involve an array of different documents, there is not necessarily a big difference in the number of documents or in the difficulty of obtaining them.

As a mode of migration for prospective migrants in Cape Verde, legal labour migration actually seems under-exploited. However, this is limited to Southern European countries. While the work done typically requires few qualifications, making the necessary practical arrangements is a considerable obstacle. For those who wish to emigrate to Northern European countries, legal labour migration is usually not an option at all.

What is striking about the two principal forms of legal labour migration – construction work and domestic service – is that both are also typical areas of employment for undocumented migrants in Southern Europe (Anderson 2000, Baganha 2000, Chell-Robinson 2000, King *et al.* 1997). This means that documented and undocumented Cape Verdean migrants are concentrated in the same labour markets. This probably tends to increase the number of undocumented migrants. First, documented migrants are often able to continue working without documents in the same sector after their contract expires and they are expected to return to Cape Verde. Second, documented migrants can act as intermediaries to facilitate the migration of friends or relatives to work in the same sector without the necessary documents. In most cases, these migrants enter Europe with a tourist visa, but overstay when the visa expires.

Overstaying tourist visas

Overstaying has been the principal reason for the growing number of illegal residents in Europe. While overstayers include those who have held short-term residence permits as labour migrants, the majority of Cape Verdean overstayers have entered Europe with a tourist visa. Such visas are valid for a maximum of three months, but are often issued with a shorter validity. When the tourist does not leave the country before the visa's date of expiry, he or she becomes an undocumented resident. As shown in Figure 9, overstaying is one of the two paths into undocumented residence, the other one being illegal entry.

The following discussion will focus on tourist visas as a first step in a process of migration. However, the difficulty of obtaining such visas is also an important concern for those who

have no intention of overstaying. Many Cape Verdeans have close family members living abroad, and obtaining a tourist visa is often a major impediment to visiting them.

Overstaying tourist visas is well established as a mode of migration in Cape Verde. During an interview with Sú, a girl from a poor family in São Vicente, I asked how those who emigrated managed to do it:

Normally, they have a family member there, and so, they ask for papers from this relative. This person sends them the papers, and they sort out the papers at... they sort out those papers, get the visa, all those things. If they manage to get the visa, they are able to go.

Q: That is, a visa for holidays?

Yes, a visa for holidays, because visas for proper emigration, they don't give. And when they go on holiday, and that duration of the holiday ends, they stay there clandestinely. And little by little they manage to get papers, and they stay.

There are several points to make about this extract. First, the initiative is placed with the prospective migrant, who asks for papers from relatives abroad. This differs from the case of family reunification discussed above. This is important because it reflects an idea that visa overstaying is the way to go for a person wishing to emigrate, while family formation is for those who happen to be called for. Second, the way she talks about the paperwork shows that she is well aware that it is a cumbersome process, although she is not sure about the details. What she does know, however, is that documents are required from the destination country as well as from Cape Verde. Third, she makes it clear that the visa is the decisive element, determining whether migration will take place or not. Fourth, although she is well informed about migration opportunities, she does not see documented labour migration as a possibility, in line with the general scepticism discussed in the previous section. Finally, the last sentences effectively summarize overstaying a tourist visa as mode of migration: going with the intention of remaining illegally after the visa expires, but with a conviction that it will be possible to regularize one's status with time.

*Obtaining tourist visas*³⁹

As demonstrated by Sú's account, obtaining the tourist visa is the principal obstacle. Immigration authorities in North America and Europe are well aware of the practice of overstaying tourist visas, which is not specific to Cape Verdean migrants. Tourist visas are therefore issued restrictively with the aim of identifying potential overstayers in the application process. This sifting is an extremely important part of international migration regulations, although this is seldom recognized in research or policy debates (Bø 1998, Wenzel 2000).

The principle behind the issuance of tourist visas to industrialized countries is stated most clearly in the so called 'intending immigrant presumption' of the United States Immigration and Nationality Act, Section 214(b). This section states that 'every alien [...] shall be pre-

³⁹ In addition to the semi-structured interviews with young people, I have used interviews with a small number of consular officials involved in the issuance of visas as the basis for this section. Such interviews were carried out in São Vicente and Praia. The focus should be on how the process of obtaining a visa affects prospective migrants' ability to emigrate, and not on the individual consular officers, consulates or embassies. I have therefore chosen not to include unnecessary information that would help to identify the officers or countries in question. For this purpose, I denote all consular officers as male, regardless of their actual gender.

sumed to be an immigrant until he establishes to the satisfaction of the consular officer, at the time of application for admission, that he is entitled to non-immigrant status'. In other words, applicants bear the burden of proof to demonstrate that they are entitled to a visa. This is specified as documenting ties to the country of origin that are sufficiently strong to convince the consul that the applicant will return.

There is no corresponding statement in the visa section of the Convention applying the Schengen Agreement, which now governs the issuance of visas to most Western European countries. However, the common instructions for issuing visas specify that 'the fight against illegal immigration' is a main issue to be borne in mind when examining visa applications, and that responsible authorities must always assess whether there is an 'immigration risk' (Council of the European Union 2000:26).

Most prospective migrants can submit their applications in São Vicente, through the Portuguese or French consulate, which together process applications for seven countries in the Schengen area. The applications are forwarded to the respective embassies in Praia. At the time of the fieldwork, the Schengen area included ten European countries, which together host more than 95 per cent of the Cape Verdeans in Europe (Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante 1998b).

Table 15 lists the documents required in applications for tourist visas to the Schengen area. The most decisive requirement for prospective emigrants' ability to obtain tourist visas is the so-called 'proof of socio-professional situation'. This is usually specified as a pay slip or employment contract and a transcript of the applicant's bank account. Such a requirement essentially constitutes a means of sorting applicants by social status, ensuring that only those with a high level of material well-being in Cape Verde are given visas. This is based on a belief that the risk of overstaying is associated with the perceived benefits of emigrating, which again depends on material well-being in Cape Verde. This closely resembles neoclassical migration theory. The consular officers stressed that visa applications were not assessed on the basis of specific requirements for salary levels or bank accounts, but from the overall impression of a person's financial situation. In particular, stable employment was more important than the actual level of income.

The socio-economic barrier to obtaining a visa is well known among people in Cape Verde, including those who have not applied for visas themselves. One of my informants, a casually employed man in his twenties, explained people's inability to emigrate as follows:

Table 15. Documents required in applications for tourist visas to the Schengen area.¹

Documents from Cape Verde	Documents from Europe
Valid passport	Declaration of responsibility
Completed application form	Identity document of the host (photocopy)
Recent photograph	Proof of accommodation (photocopy)
Proof of socio-professional situation	Three most recent salary slips of the host (photocopies)
Ticket reservation	

Source: Instructions for visa applicants distributed by consulates in Cape Verde. The centralized Schengen instructions allow for local judgement as to which documents to require (Council of the European Union 2000). The actual requirements could differ slightly between the consular representations issuing visas, for instance with respect to the type of 'Proof of socio-professional situation' required.

¹ At the time of the fieldwork, the Schengen area included Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece, France, Austria, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg. In 2001, the five Nordic countries became part of the Schengen area.

The problem is that visa to emigrate. Those who have a wish to go, they can't. Going is for those who get the chance, who has somebody to take them. But somebody who wishes to go and work, he can't emigrate. To emigrate you have to have an economy of 200 *kont* [2000 USD], have a house, have a car, for them to sign you the visa so you can go.

He makes a distinction between family reunification and migration motivated by work, pointing out that most of those who emigrate are taken abroad by their relatives. A person like himself, however, who just wishes to go and work, has difficulties. Interestingly enough, he specifies what is unofficially seen as the required size of an applicant's bank account, but also believes that it is necessary to have a car, which is incorrect. This account is typical in that it shows a high level of knowledge about visa procedures, often quite specific, but not always correct.

In a discussion with a group of young people who all wished to emigrate, it struck me how severe the socio-economic barrier is to many people. These men were typical of a large group of young people in São Vicente, who come from poor backgrounds, have little schooling and make a living on temporary manual work. They typically earn 3000–3500 Escudos (30–35 USD) on a week of work, but could spend several months with no work at all. For these men, the problem is *not* having too little money in their bank accounts, but not having a bank account at all – and, for some, not even knowing exactly what a bank account is. While I was there, some of the men engaged in a heated discussion about this, when one of them described a *konta bankária* (bank account) as a document that 'says how much you earn, for how long you've worked there, how you behaved'.

Most of the students I interviewed, on the other hand, had very precise information about the procedures for obtaining a visa. This included not only the specific requirement, but also the processes behind the eventual decision. Consider the following extracts from interviews with Ilda and Bia, respectively:

You have to have a paper that shows that you work, and that you have a salary that justifies that you are going on a holiday. Because they'll think right away that you might go there and stay. You have to show them that you have responsibilities in Cape Verde, that you have to return.

You have to give a transcript of your bank account, if you have a job, you have to have to get a declaration from your job. You have a lot of things to give, you see. So when they go and submit their papers, if it doesn't correspond, if, for instance, they see that they have no schooling, if they see that their bank account is weak, things like that, they know right away that they are going for some pretext, to emigrate. So, they send their papers back and don't give them a visa. [...] But it is extremely... very, very easy for somebody rich to get a visa. Sometimes within a month, you have your visa. Very quickly. As long as you are wealthy, you have your visa.

These statements quite starkly reflect the reality of tourist visas. Ilda's expression that you must 'have a salary that justifies that you are going on a holiday' summarizes the purpose of the socio-economic barrier in a clear-cut way. Bia's account of how wealthy people obtain visas seems exaggerated, but official requirements and conversations with consuls both point in the same direction. The fact that Bia and several others expressed the link between wealth and visas so boldly also speaks for itself. Furthermore, the two statements above reflect an understanding of the 'game' of visa applications, where consuls examine the evidence in an attempt to discover the intentions of the applicant.

This reality is reflected in the Schengen countries' internal instructions for examining visa applications. These instructions describe the basic criteria for examining visa applications as follows:

The purpose of examining visa applications is to detect those applicants who are seeking to immigrate to [the Schengen Area] and set themselves up there, using grounds such as tourism studies, business or family visits as a pretext. Therefore, it is necessary to be particularly vigilant when dealing with 'risk categories', in other words unemployed persons, and those with no regular income etc.

(Council of the European Union 2000:26)

This describes a situation where consular officials must 'detect' the intention of applicants through examining the evidence, and that people with few economic resources are a 'risk category' in the sense that they are likely to have dishonest intentions.

There are, of course, numerous attempts at overcoming the socio-economic barrier to obtaining a visa. First, many applicants submit false employment contracts. Second, people fill their bank accounts with borrowed money before the transcripts for their bank accounts are issued. These strategies were well known by consular officials and ordinary people alike. For this reason, one embassy had no requirement for bank transcripts at all. Where such transcripts are used, they are always compared with different pieces of information to see if the totality makes sense. I was told that there were many naïve attempts at fraud. This included employment contracts stipulating salaries of 30,000 escudos (300 USD) for working in a local bar, which would rarely pay more than a third of this, or voluminous bank accounts of people with a salary of 6,000 escudos and only two years of work experience.

Several informants told me that it is now more difficult to get a false work contract, because most employers refuse to issue them. The use of false statements or forged documents is potentially risky for both parties, and could result in a lifetime ban on being given a tourist visa. As far as I know, it has never been common to produce completely forged documents in São Vicente, but people have depended on friends or relatives who own businesses to write a false statement. In Praia, there is apparently extensive trade in forged documents for obtaining visas, including false employment contracts and transcripts of bank accounts. In addition people have been known to buy false medical certificates to support applications for visas for medical treatment (*A Semana* 20.07.00).

There is a second socio-economic barrier involved in the visa application process, concerning the friends or family members abroad that will host the applicant. As shown in Table 15, a visa application must be accompanied by proof of accommodation as well as the three most recent pay slips of the host. This is intended to support the declaration of responsibility that holds the host responsible for the applicant during his or her stay abroad. My impression is that this is a necessary requirement, but less important for the outcome than information about the applicant.

In some cases, visa applications are examined only on the basis of the written documentation. In other cases, depending on the country and on the individual case, there is a short interview with a consular officer. The purpose of such interviews is to strengthen the basis for deciding if there is a risk of overstaying. One of my informants told me that she was hoping

to go on holiday to Europe, and had applied for a visa. She knew that she would have to go for an interview, and had talked to others who had gone through it before. She told me about the consul that 'especially with those he doesn't know, he will try to find a way to... he'll talk to you and try to trick you into revealing yourself'. This was in fact reflected in the interview with the consul himself. He said that the interviews are quick, rarely more than ten minutes, and that often, people are so confused that they quickly reveal themselves. 'They don't see that there is banana peel in my questions.' As with the written documentation, the purpose of the interviews is to compare different pieces of information to see if the totality makes sense and documents a 'socio-professional situation' that makes overstaying likely or not.

Ties to Cape Verde that work against overstaying could also include responsibilities to family members, but this is very difficult to judge. One consular officer said that it is difficult to know what to do with a person who says that 'I have three children, I love them and have to come back to them' when the person just about manages to support them in Cape Verde, and would probably be better off working illegally abroad. Cape Verdean family norms suggest that having children could be both an incentive and a disincentive to emigrating, as shown in the previous chapter. Having family members abroad could also work either way in a visa application, according to one consul. Somebody who has close relatives abroad is likely to wish to settle with them, but on the other hand, they probably receive help from them in Cape Verde, which they would forgo if they settle abroad. The fundamental idea that somebody in Europe has *opportunities* that do not exist in Cape Verde, has two implications: First, migrants might live with emigrant relatives for a long time, and in that sense be supported, but would generally be expected to make a living for themselves now that they have the chance to do so. Second, they themselves will be expected to support relatives who are still in Cape Verde.

Age is also an important criterion, which interacts with socio-professional and family circumstances. A young person is likely to have fewer responsibilities in Cape Verde and a greater potential to benefit from migration. It is well known to consular officials that the probability of wishing to emigrate, and therefore overstaying a tourist visa, is very high among young adults and then declines with age. For this reason, the elderly can usually obtain tourist visas quite easily. They are less likely to overstay because they are less able to adapt to new circumstances and have little potential for working abroad. Should they overstay, they are also less of a problem to the host country than young overstayers, according to one consul. They don't take a job from a citizen or legal permanent resident, and they are likely to be supported by their children rather than social welfare.

The consuls I interviewed had different views on the task of identifying potential overstayers. Some of them said that it is 'very easy' to see from the totality of the information submitted in the application who is a likely overstayer. This has important implications for prospective migrants' ability to emigrate by means of overstaying a tourist visa. What the consuls base their decisions on, is primarily an assessment of the applicants true socio-professional situation, as well as their family circumstances. The ease of making decisions, then, is based on a firm association of certain characteristics with the risk of overstaying. In particular, potential overstayers are identified as those who have an unstable socio-professional

situation, whether or not they attempted to give a different impression. Furthermore, the risk of being seen as an overstayer declines with age.

In addition to the fraud involved in submitting false documents, there is the possibility of obtaining visas with the help of consular officials, against the intentions of regulations. First, there is issuance of visas based on friendship or acquaintance, where it is very difficult to pinpoint unethical or illicit practice, especially in a close-knit community like São Vicente. One consul explicitly said that processing visa applications was easy for him because he knew so many people in the local community and could base his decisions on what he knew about the applicants and their families. Several informants also said that they were sure to get a visa if they needed one because of their parents' friendship with the consul.

Such favours probably have little impact on the actual distribution of positive and negative decisions, because the applicants who are friends with the consul also belong to social strata that in any case would have few difficulties in obtaining a visa. A different situation is when embassy or consulate employees do favours for friends or relatives who would not otherwise be given a visa. One of my informants, a man in his twenties with no school and only casual employment, was hoping to emigrate shortly with the help of a cousin who was employed at an embassy:

If she does me that favour, I'll enter easily at those borders. All legalized. Like a tourist, it's nice. That's how all my other cousins went, as tourists.

Q: But if you didn't have that cousin working at the embassy...

I would worry. I wouldn't be able to go. If I didn't have her, I'd say I didn't have a chance to go to Europe. Remember, she did a lot of favours. All those relatives of mine! Last year, she sent off... more than ten.

He explained that with a close relative like that, there was no reason to pay for the favour. To his great disappointment, his cousin lost her job at the embassy soon after our interview. I do not know if this was due to her habit of helping her relatives.

Others told me about outright bribery for obtaining visas. This was also extensively discussed in the main national newspaper during my fieldwork (*A Semana* 28.07.00, 04.08.00). The newspaper referred to several cases of trade in forged visas to Portugal as well as bribery among embassy officials. The Portuguese ambassador denounced the possibility, claiming that visa seals were not possible to falsify, and that the actual decisions were made in Lisbon and could not be influenced by individual staff members at the embassy. Regardless of the actual opportunities for bribery, there have been several cases of fraud whereby 'middlemen' have collected money from prospective migrants who believe that they will obtain a visa, but simply end up losing their money. The prices reported vary from 40,000 to 200,000 escudos (400–2000 USD) (*A Semana* 18.09.98, 28.07.00).

Obtaining a tourist visa is, in theory, only possible for those who do not appear to be probable overstayers. The requirements for getting a visa weigh heavily against those without relatives abroad, the poor and the unemployed. Furthermore, young adults are particularly likely to be regarded as potential overstayers. Having family members who overstayed visas in the past can also result in the application being turned down. While some of the obstacles

might be overcome, for instance by borrowing money or obtaining a false employment contract, this demands a social network which many poor people lack. While there are systematic differences between people's chances of obtaining a visa, it is sometimes difficult to predict the outcome. I heard several stories about rejection or issuance that made little sense, and one official working with emigration told me that 'it's like *totobola*', the lottery.

It is not possible to conclude from the fragmentary statistics that are available whether the rate of rejection in visa applications has increased. Where relevant figures were available, the rejection rate was approximately one third in the late 1990s. However, there was apparently a tightening of visa procedures in connection with the implementation of the Schengen Agreement in the mid-1990s (Tavares 1997).

Regularization after overstaying

Those who manage to obtain a tourist visa face a second challenge if their intention is to stay and work in Europe. After the visa expires, they become undocumented immigrants and must either live without documents or find a way of regularizing their situation. Regularization occurs after migration, and therefore has no direct effect on ability to migrate in the first place. However, opportunities for regularization are an essential part of the immigration interface, and affect the feasibility of modes of migration that lead to undocumented residence in Europe.

As shown in Figure 9, there are two ways out of undocumented residence, apart from forced return to Cape Verde. First, it is sometimes possible to marry a legal resident and become entitled to family reunification. As discussed in the preceding section, several countries have now introduced legislation that excludes this possibility. The second possibility is regularization through administrative procedures, often in time-limited amnesties. France has implemented several such programmes since 1973, followed by all the large Southern European countries during the 1980s and 1990s. A total of nearly 12,000 Cape Verdeans were regularized in Portugal's programmes in 1992-93 and 1996 (SOPEMI, 1992-1998). Regularization schemes have been undertaken with unease, but they have been preferred over the alternative options of either maintaining a large undocumented work force, or expelling large numbers of long-term residents. In general, regularization programmes are associated with a recognition that past controls have been insufficient, and that a stricter regime should be imposed after wiping the slate clean (Bodega *et al.* 1995, Campani 1994, Cornelius 1994, United Nations 1998).

In order not to encourage illegal immigration, regularization programmes have often been announced as strictly exceptional. However, they have sometimes been repeated after only a few years, as was the case with Spain in 1991 and 1996. This has created a strong belief in the possibilities for regularizing one's situation after overstaying tourist visas. Consider, for instance, Sú's statement about undocumented immigrants mentioned above, that 'little by little they manage to get papers, and they stay'. Bia put it even more clearly, that 'from time to time, every four or five years, I think, they give out papers, for legalization'. Such beliefs certainly strengthen the role of visa overstaying as a mode of migration. However, regularization is often difficult, and does not constitute an easy way of securing legal residence. The

basic impression of potential migrants in countries of origin is that 'they give out papers', and nuances are often lost.

The programmes undertaken in Southern Europe have differed in three important respects. First, the categories of eligible immigrants vary between the programmes. In most cases, immigrants who entered before a specified date and have secured a living in Southern Europe can apply for regularization. The 1991–1992 regularization in Italy was particularly inclusive, covering all immigrants who had entered before 1. January 1990. The 1996 regularization in Spain, on the other hand, was limited to those who had formerly held residence permits but failed to renew them. Second, the additional requirements also range from presenting a passport to submitting a long list of documents and certificates. Third, the work and residence permits issued through the programs vary in type and duration. In most cases, the permits given to regularized migrants are valid for one or two years and must be renewed on the basis of continued employment (*Migration News Sheet*, 1995–1999).

There have been several major barriers to regularization through the programmes. Eligible migrants, wanting to regularize their status, have failed to do so because they have not obtained the necessary documents. Furthermore, many employers have resisted the regularization of their workers. Those characteristics that make undocumented Third World immigrants attractive on the labour market – invisibility, marginality and vulnerability – also make it difficult for them to have their status regularized (Calavita 1994, Cornelius 1994).

Spain, Italy and Portugal have all introduced legislation that allows for the regularization of certain groups of immigrants outside the 'exceptional' regularization programmes. The most generous provisions for legalization are those introduced in Portugal in January 2001, under the Decree-Law no. 4/2001. This allows for undocumented immigrants to obtain renewable one-year 'permanence permits', with fewer rights than residence permits. The principal condition is that they are employed. After holding such a permit for five consecutive years, immigrants are eligible to apply for residence permits, which make family reunification possible. This law can be seen as a significant liberalization, since there is no requirement concerning the date of entry into Portugal. This means that future overstayers will also be able to benefit from the opportunities for regularization.⁴⁰

The great demand for tourist visas among prospective emigrants must be interpreted in light of the opportunities for regularization after overstaying the visa. Not only has this been possible for thousands of Cape Verdean migrants in Europe, but many prospective migrants have a clearly exaggerated view of the possibilities for legalization.

Illegal entry

Many people know that they have virtually no chance of obtaining a tourist visa or work permit, but are still determined to emigrate. For these people, the last recourse is attempting to enter Europe illegally by boat. Illegal entry has played an important role for the increasing number of undocumented immigrants in Southern Europe since the late 1980s. The long coast-

⁴⁰ This is not to say that the regularization process has been without problems. Many immigrants complain of lack of information, and parents holding 'permanence permits' have great difficulties in securing legal status for children that are born to them in Portugal (*Público* 09.05.01, 18.08.01).

lines are impossible to patrol sufficiently to halt illegal entry by sea. Authorities estimate that only a quarter to a third of all the migrants who cross the Mediterranean to southern Spain and Italy are apprehended. Somewhere in the region of 20,000 migrants were believed to have crossed the Strait of Gibraltar into Spain every year in the mid-1990s, and roughly the same number might have crossed the Adriatic Sea into Italy (*Migration News Sheet* 1996–1998).

During the colonial period, many Cape Verdeans emigrated clandestinely to the United States and Senegal (Carreira 1983, Filho 1996). After Independence and the ‘immigration stop’ in Europe, illegal migration has gained renewed importance. However, it is a marginal mode of migration compared to the other modes already discussed. This mode of migration 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. Nevertheless, it has played a significant role for those who see no other alternative.

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. Second, it is possible to pay the crew of commercial ships or yachts to be taken to Europe with their knowledge. 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.

Going as a stowaway has been a rather obvious solution in a port city like São Vicente in the past. Many ships called there, and the level of security in the harbour was not prohibitive. 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, in response to the fact that many hundred, if not a few thousand, stowaways reach Western Europe each year (Morrison 1998). These measures are concentrated on carrier liability, i.e. holding the shipping company responsible for the consequences of bringing stowaways to Europe. Companies must not only pay heavy fines when they arrive in European ports with stowaways, but also assume responsibility for repatriating the migrants. This is one element in a general trend towards privatization of immigration control that can increase migrants’ vulnerability (Miles 1999). In the case of shipping companies, legislation on carrier liability provides a strong incentive for crews to murder and dispose of stowaways at sea. In 1995, the Ukrainian captain and two crewmembers of the cargo ship *McRuby* were convicted of the murder of eight African stowaways in 1992. A few months later, four Danish seamen were arrested for killing a stowaway off the Ghanaian coast (*Migration News Sheet* 1995–1996, de Stoop 1997). In the case of *McRuby*, the shipping company in question had allegedly subtracted previous fines from the crew’s salary. Given the strong incentives, the ease of getting rid of stowaways at sea, and the high number of stowaways reported every year, it is probable that a substantial number of illegal migrants are killed at sea. In addition to such murders, many stowaways are known to have died from thirst and hunger, from poisonous gas emanating from vegetable cargo and from the insecticide used in the hold.

It is very difficult to estimate the number of stowaways leaving Cape Verde, and the extent to which they arrive successfully. One of my informants told me about her father, who used to work in the harbour. He often discovered young men who tried to hide in barrels or sneak aboard ships. What is clear from the situation for Europe as a whole, however, is that stow-

away migration has become more difficult and dangerous during the last decades. In São Vicente, there has also been a marked decline in activity in the port. The number of passengers has fallen from about 50,000 annually in the 1960s to about 10,000 in the mid-1990s (Leão Correia e Silva 1996, Lopes 1997).

The second possibility for illegal entry is to go with the knowledge of crews, against a payment. The vessel could be either a commercial freighter or a private yacht, of which there are many in São Vicente. The price for such a journey to Europe was said to be about 60–80,000 escudos (600–800 USD). Making a deal with the crew eliminates the difficulty and danger of hiding in the hold, but not necessarily the risk of being murdered. After I had heard about the possibility of going by yacht, I asked a group of young men about it during an interview:

Q: They say that sometimes, people go with those yachts...

Nelson: Those yachts... ha! It's very difficult to go in those yachts. Very difficult.

Tony: If you go, they could kill you. They could kill you. You give them the money, they take you to somewhere, they kill you and throw you into the sea, and keep their money. [...] Imagine, if I am a foreigner. I take them, I know that I won't be able to put them in a port so they can go somewhere. So before... as long as I get that money, I get to... halfway to Santo Antão, for instance, I throw them into the sea. I keep my money. I have that money, and I throw them into the sea. So, I can arrive calmly, they don't take my boat, they don't take my yacht.

They did not know for sure that this had happened, but knew of several people who had left Cape Verde with yachts and nobody had ever heard from them again. Their awareness of the danger shows that this is hardly a feasible mode of migration for most Cape Verdeans. These three young men would probably never be able to obtain a visa, but were very eager to work abroad. Still, they would not risk going illegally by boat.

The students I interviewed would never consider such a way of migrating for themselves, and most of them did not have precise knowledge about it. However, they were aware of the dangers involved. One girl, Ilda, put it like this:

They go... Normally, people who go like that, they go prepared, knowing that either they will arrive dead, or they will arrive alive. I think that they are brave people who don't have any other hope in their life, so they take the risk.

Apparently, yacht owners are also becoming more anxious about taking passengers illegally to Europe. Tightened laws on people smuggling and carrier liability means that if the passenger is arrested, the boat could be confiscated and the financial costs for the captain will be very large. A young Nigerian told me that he had been approaching yacht owners for many weeks in search of somebody who would take him to Europe against a payment, but nobody wanted to take the risk.

The third way of entering Europe illegally is with the help of people smugglers.⁴¹ In legal terms, captains who accept undocumented passengers on a journey are also people smugglers.

⁴¹ Facilitation of voluntary illegal migration by an intermediary in return for a payment has until recently been described as *trafficking* in migrants (Ghosh 1998, Salt and Stein 1997, United Nations 1998) However, this is now usually referred to as *smuggling of migrants* or *people smuggling*, while *trafficking* is used only when people are smuggled or moved for the purpose of exploitation, typically for prostitution or forced labour (European Council on Refugees and Exiles 2001, United Nations 2000a, United Nations 2000b). In short, *human smuggling* is a migration issue and *trafficking in persons* is a human rights issue (International Organization for Migration 2000b).

However, it has been increasingly common to organize journeys by boat where transport of illegal migrants is the sole 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. Concurrently, people smuggling has become increasingly sophisticated and organized, and more expensive to the migrants (Knights 1997, Salt and Stein 1997).

When journeys are organized for the purpose of people smuggling, the Canary Islands are the preferred destination. As shown in Figure 11, 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 stepping-stone for illegal entry into Europe. Cape Verde is part of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which has recently speeded up the integration process, including the implementation of a protocol relating to the free movement of persons, and the launching of a common ECOWAS passport (Thompson 2000, Ugho 2000). While visa-free entry for other West Africans is part of the protocol, visitors are required to have the necessary means for sustaining themselves in Cape Verde. People who wish to enter Cape Verde in order to migrate illegally onwards often lack this prerequisite. As a consequence, there have been several attempts at illegal entry into Cape Verde. Both in 1999 and 2000, large groups of illegal immigrants have been intercepted by police on the easternmost island, Boavista (*A Semana* 23.06.00). The West African immigrants are usually more prepared to take the risk of illegal entry than native Cape Verdeans, and their presence therefore contributes substantially to the demand for smuggling operations.

Two incidents of people smuggling to the Canary Islands have recently been discovered by the police in São Vicente and Santo Antão, and indicate the nature of people smuggling

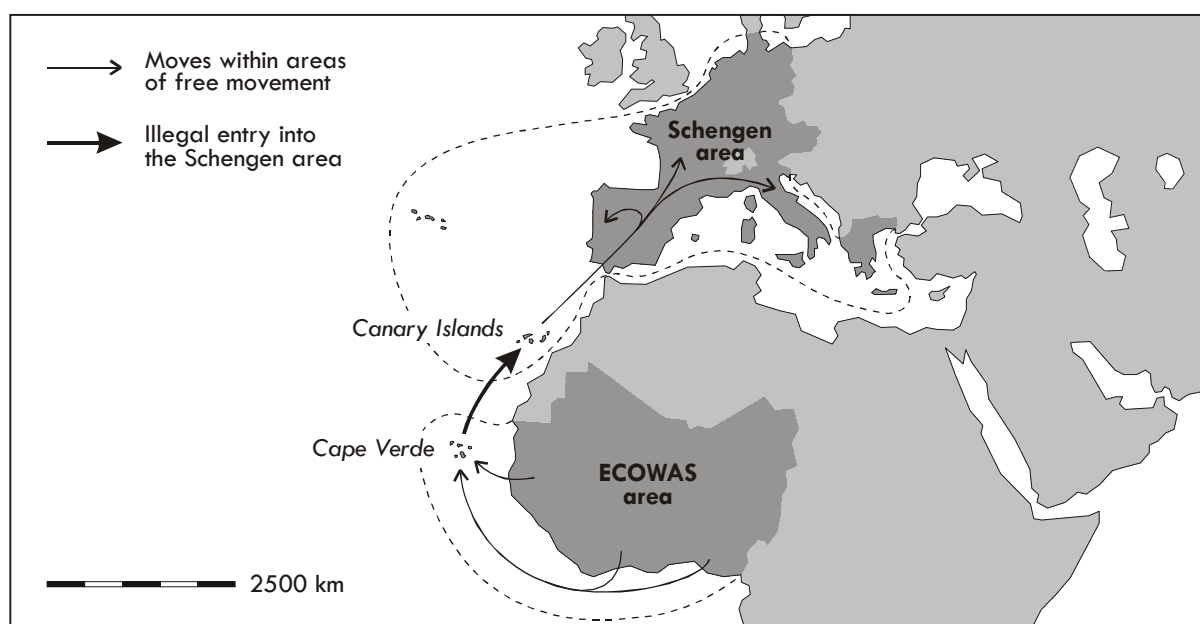


Figure 11. Cape Verde as a stepping-stone from the ECOWAS area to Schengen area.

activities. The first one occurred in early 1999 when approximately ten people were about to be taken to the Canary Islands in a yacht. Four of the passengers drowned when the dinghy taking them from the shore to the yacht capsized late at night, and the police were alerted. The operation was organized by a Nigerian living in Cape Verde, who had charged 2000 USD for each of the passengers. The victims of the accident were all from the island of Santiago (*CaboNews* 09.03.99).

A much larger attempt at people smuggling was discovered 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 (*A Semana* 24.03.00, 14.05.00, *CaboNews* 27.03.00). According to witnesses I interviewed, there was also a small number of Cape Verdeans among the passengers. Apparently, the same boat had previously made two successful people smuggling journeys from Santo Antão to Las Palmas. When the Africans were arrested, they were allegedly maltreated severely by the police and military, but refused to reveal details about the boat or the organizers. One of the prospective passengers told me that 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 on Palm Sunday and were waiting to be taken to the boat when the whole operation was cancelled. Neither the boat nor the captain were seen again, and the Cape Verdean middle men went into hiding in fear of reprisals from the passengers, who had lost 800–1600 USD each. These episodes illustrate the vulnerability of illegal migrants even before they leave Cape Verde.

The largest known people smuggling operation to date occurred in 1999, when 180 Indians and Sri Lankans were arrested when they attempted to go illegally by boat from São Vicente to the United States (*A Semana* 24.03.00).

Despite these accidents, failures and crimes, many Cape Verdeans have realized their wish to migrate by means of illegal entry. While some people smugglers have clearly exploited migrants, others simply deliver a service at a prearranged price, and cannot be accused of wrongdoings other than violation of destination country immigration laws.

As with several of the other modes of migration, illegal entry is said to be getting more difficult. This was often explained in detail, and not only as a general expression of hopelessness. Yacht owners are facing more control and stricter punishment, the port and the cargo ships are subject to better surveillance, and the recent interception of people smuggling operations have discouraged the organizers from making new attempts. Nevertheless, many of my informants knew people who had left Cape Verde in one of these ways, and it appears to be continuing on a small scale.

While organized people smuggling seemed to have come to a halt in the wake of the recent arrests, I would be surprised if new attempts are not made. The West African immigrants generate a substantial demand for such operations, and it is possible that more Cape Verdeans will be interested as other modes of migration fail. Judging from developments in the Mediterranean, it is likely that there will also be a supply of people smuggling undertakings. However, many people smuggling operations in the Mediterranean have had the aim of reaching the shore to let the migrants apply for asylum, rather than entering undetected. The

migrants are then guaranteed a stay in Europe while their asylum applications are processed, and they have often been able to remain illegally if the application is turned down. While this strategy has been possible for migrants from countries with oppressive regimes or civil war, applications from Cape Verdeans would be declared 'manifestly unfounded' and the migrants would be returned immediately.

Forced return

As shown in Figure 9, undocumented migrants run the risk of being forcibly returned to their country of origin. This is an important aspect of the immigration interface that affects the opportunities for migration by undocumented means. Forced return could take place after entering illegally, or after overstaying a visa or a work permit. On average, more than a hundred Cape Verdeans were deported from Europe and North America every year during the 1990s (Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante 1995-1998). Almost two thirds of the returnees were expelled because of migration-related offences, such as illegal residence. Drug trafficking was the reason for most of the remaining expulsions.

The involuntary returnees have become a considerable problem in some islands, and often have great difficulties reincorporating into Cape Verdean society. Many have not lived in Cape Verde for many years, are not familiar with Cape Verdean society and have no family to receive them. This often results in either attempts at re-emigration – which will have to be by illegal means – or drug abuse and delinquency in Cape Verde. (*Público* 04.12.99, Instituto de Apoio ao Emigrante 1996, Tavares 1997).

The presence of deportees is a constant reminder of the problems of undocumented migration and thereby acts as a deterrent to potential migrants. However, the fact that many of them have been deported because of serious crimes could also lead people to think that 'I will be all right as long as I don't get into trouble with the police'. This is partly true, since numerous Cape Verdeans have lived a decade or more as undocumented immigrants in Europe and the United States.

Geographical complexities

The fact that the immigration interface differs between destinations, adds a further dimension to the analysis. A potential migrant in Cape Verde, for instance, could be faced with the possibility of going to Portugal as a domestic worker, overstaying a tourist visa in Luxembourg or contracting a bogus marriage with her cousin in the United States. These options are defined by the migrant's individual level characteristics, as well as the nature of the immigration interface in different destinations. The point is not that the element of choice is necessarily large, but that the feasibility, nature and direction of migration are determined by the interaction between individual factors and a geographically differentiated context.

Sensitivity to geographical differences has been a form of resistance to the general tightening of immigration policies. In particular, the Schengen agreement has induced people to first find the best point of entry, and then, the best place of residence within the Schengen area. For instance, the student Filóca told me the following:

I know some people who went with a tourist visa to the Netherlands, as if going on a holiday. Afterwards, they escaped, they went to Portugal and stayed there. Because in Portugal, they give them documents more easily. They go more unnoticed than in the Netherlands, because in the Netherlands, there is this control. They emigrate as if they are going on a holiday to the Netherlands, then they go to Portugal. In Portugal they work in construction.

This strategy reflects differences in visa policy, employment opportunities and possibilities for regularization. Not only is undocumented work thought to be easier in Portugal, but chances of escaping the undocumented situation are thought to be greater. The reason for going to the Netherlands in the first place is that at the time of the fieldwork, the Netherlands had a reputation as a relatively easy country to enter on a tourist visa.

Internal movement in Europe has also been a means of adaptation for those who have obtained the right to stay. For instance, Cape Verdean female domestic workers in Italy have moved to the Netherlands in order to break out of the constraints of the domestic sector (Andall 1999). The Netherlands offered more diverse employment opportunities, better welfare and a chance to meet Cape Verdean men. The Cape Verdean niche of domestic work in Italy provided a means of entering Europe, but also constrained the possibilities for setting up a satisfactory autonomous life.

The Cape Verdean transnational networks in Europe have a very important role in facilitating migration between European countries (Andall 1999, Vieira 1998). The various forms of transnational linkages described in chapter two not only connect Cape Verde and Europe, but also link the different emigrant communities to each other. Just like most people in Cape Verde have emigrant relatives, most Cape Verdean emigrants have relatives in other destination countries.

Profiles of barriers and constraints

The preceding discussion has made it clear that there is a variety of possible modes of migration, and that each one is fraught with difficulties. The important analytical point is that the modes are rather different from each other in terms of the barriers and constraints that are associated with them. That is, each mode of migration has its own barrier profile. A comparative analysis of the modes can be based on the different types of barriers and constraints identified as part of the aspiration/ability model in chapter three. These were:

- *Categorical constraints*
- *Qualitative constraints*
- *Social network constraints*
- *Practicality constraints*
- *Financial costs*
- *Physical danger*
- *Risk of expulsion or denial of re-entry*

Before the modes of migration can be tied to different types of barriers and constraints, it is also necessary to appreciate that some modes are made up of several transitions in the immigration interface. Each arrow in Figure 9 represents such a transition. Overstaying a

tourist visa, for instance, involves three transitions: First, obtaining the visa, second, overstaying its validity and thereby becoming an undocumented resident, and third, regularizing one's situation. Other modes are represented by only one transition, such as going abroad to work under provisions for documented labour migration. This distinction between modes and transitions is made in order to ease the identification of specific barriers and constraints.

Table 16 presents the comparative analysis of transitions in the immigration interface, with reference to the seven types of barriers and constraints identified above. Such an analysis helps explain how prospective migrants are channelled to certain modes of migration, depending on their individual circumstances.

The preferred mode for most Cape Verdeans is family reunification based on existing family relations. This ensures long-term legal residence and access to the labour market with no particular disadvantages. However, the option is only open to the small number of people who have nuclear family members residing legally in Europe. This is a categorical constraint that is prohibitive for the majority of prospective migrants. For the small minority with the required family bonds, there are also qualitative barriers to migration connected with the economic situation of the emigrant family member.

A second priority then, could be arranging a bogus marriage. This ensures similar long-term benefits as family reunification, without the categorical requirements for having a close relative to be reunited with. However, finding a partner for the marriage constitutes a large social network constraint, and the financial costs can be extremely high. Furthermore, by acquiring a residence permit on false grounds, one runs the risk of being prosecuted, expelled and denied re-entry. The outcome of family formation migration by means of a bogus marriage is often a precarious situation of vulnerability at the hands of the partner, as numerous stories circulating in Cape Verde illustrate.

Some people might find that illegal entry with the help of human smugglers is their only chance. The outcome of such migration is clearly unattractive, since it involves leading a life without documents and in constant fear of expulsion. However, the barrier profile of this mode of migration is different, attracting those who have bleak prospects of succeeding with other modes. The physical risk and financial costs are very high, but there are no categorical constraints, and no paperwork that would discriminate against those with few resources (Table 16).

With all the possible modes, there are similar trade-offs between the barriers and constraints on one hand, and the expected outcomes on the other. The different profiles presented in Table 16 show that behind the image of an impassable fortress wall in the European immigration interface, there are a variety of different paths. However, many of the barriers are prohibitive, and many prospective emigrants find that, one after another, the various modes of migration are out of their reach.

Table 16. Barriers associated with selected transitions in the immigration interface.

<i>Transitions</i>	<i>Barriers</i>						Risk of expulsion or denial of re-entry
	Categorical constraints	Qualitative constraints	Social network constraints	Practicality constraints	Financial costs	Physical danger	
Family reunification	<i>Family relations, legal status of the resident</i>	<i>Income and accommodation of the resident</i>		<i>Obtaining the necessary documentation from both countries</i>			
Family formation (Bogus marriage)	<i>Being unmarried</i>		<i>Locating a willing marriage partner</i>		<i>Compensation paid to the marriage partner</i>		<i>Risk of revelation and expulsion</i>
Documented labour migration	<i>Agreement between sending and receiving country</i>	<i>Skills, age (depending on type of employment)</i>	<i>Locating an employer in the destination country</i>	<i>Obtaining the necessary documentation from both countries</i>			
Entry with tourist visa (legally obtained)		<i>Not appearing as a probable overstayer</i>	<i>Having a host to guarantee for the stay abroad</i>	<i>Travelling to the nearest consulate or embassy</i>			
Entry with tourist visa (obtained by fraud)			<i>Arranging a deal with a bribable consular officer</i>	<i>Travelling to the nearest consulate or embassy</i>	<i>Payment for forged documents or bribe</i>		<i>Risk of revelation and blacklisting</i>
Overstaying tourist visa							<i>Loss of opportunity of being granted visas in the future</i>
Regularization through amnesty¹	<i>Entry before a specified date, no criminal record</i>	<i>Employment situation, additional requirements</i>		<i>Obtaining the required documentation</i>			
Illegal entry as a stowaway			<i>Obtaining information about ships, help to enter</i>	<i>Entering the ship</i>		<i>Risk of accidental death, injury or murder</i>	<i>Risk of apprehension and expulsion</i>
Illegal entry with people smugglers			<i>Arranging a deal with people smugglers</i>		<i>Smuggling fee</i>	<i>Risk of accidental death, injury or murder</i>	<i>Risk of apprehension and expulsion</i>

¹ Regularization amnesties often have highly specific requirements such as proof of employment, proof of social integration in the local community, health certificate, payment of social security contributions by employers, etc. Some countries have also allowed regularization on a continuous basis, without specified deadlines.

The table is based on the Cape Verdean experience, but presents a typical picture of migration to Europe. What is missing in the case of Cape Verde, however, is asylum migration. The fact that seeking refugee status or applying for asylum could be considered as a transition with associated barriers and constraints much like the other transitions listed, reiterates the call for an integrated approach to ‘forced’ and ‘voluntary’ migration, discussed in chapter three. Many asylum seekers have no alternative to using people smugglers to reach Europe, taking on the risks and costs presented in Table 16. Being granted asylum or Exceptional Leave to Remain is a second transition, primarily associated with qualitative constraints.

INDIVIDUAL LEVEL INFLUENCES ON ABILITY

An important point arising from the preceding analysis is that each prospective migrant will be differently equipped to overcome the various barriers. Considering each mode of migration in relation to a person's age, gender, educational attainment, social network, family migration history, and so on, is necessary to understand *if* and *how* they will be able to migrate. Such consideration can also help explain changes in the size, direction and composition of migration flows over time.

As noted initially, thorough empirical analysis of how individual level characteristics affect ability is beyond the scope of this study. However, I have summarized the presumed effect of selected individual level characteristics, based on the analysis of different modes of migration (Table 17). An important aspect of the aspiration/ability model is that the *same* individual level characteristics often affect both aspiration and ability. In order to highlight the dual effects of each characteristic, I have included effects on aspiration in the table. I will now discuss the most important characteristics in turn.

Gender

Available statistics suggests that male emigrants outnumbered female emigrants two to one in the 1970s, while women were the majority during the 1980s (Biayé 1995). This reflects a significant shift in the ability of the two genders to realize emigration aspirations. My impression from the fieldwork is that the majority of emigrants are women. As shown in the previous chapter, there is no apparent gender difference in *aspirations* to migrate.

Explanations for the relative increase in women's ability to migrate can be found in A) changes within each mode of migration and B) a changing numerical balance between the different modes. Men dominated documented labour migration in the colonial era, when the demand for foreign labour was concentrated in shipping, manufacturing and construction. Since then, the overall demand has contracted markedly, and it has shifted in the favour of women, especially as a result of the rising demand for domestic work. The increasingly restrictive European immigration regime has also led to a shift away from documented labour migration towards other modes of migration with a larger proportion of women. First, family reunification increased markedly in the 1970s, and became the principal form of migration. Since the preceding labour migration was dominated by men, more women fulfilled the requirements for family reunification migration outlined.⁴² More recently, the increase in undocumented residence in Europe has also been an element in the growing proportion of women. Opportunities for undocumented work have been relatively large for women compared to the opportunities for men. This is because domestic work is an inconspicuous type of employment where the probability of being apprehended and expelled is

⁴² This typical periodization of European immigration history has been said to have a distorting, sexist bias (Kofman 1999, Kofman *et al.* 2000). These representations of male labour migration followed by female family reunification has sometimes been exaggerated, based on an expectation of men producing and women reproducing. In fact, many women entered as independent migrants in the pre-stoppage years, as was mentioned in the case of Cape Verdean migration to Italy. Furthermore, many young men have entered as dependants. While I am aware of these nuances, I have chosen to present the general tendencies – which do hold true – for the sake of illustrating the analysis of ability.

Table 17. The effect of selected individual level characteristics on aspiration and ability to migrate.

<i>Individual level characteristics</i>	Effect on aspiration (From chapter five)	Effect on ability (Deduced from the analysis of different modes of migration)
Gender	No significant difference between men and women.	<i>Probably higher ability among women.</i> Women could have more opportunities for documented labour migration, undocumented work, family reunification and family formation. However illegal entry could be more difficult for women.
Age	Highest among young adults, lower aspiration with age.	<i>Depending on the mode of migration.</i> Young adults have much greater difficulty than the elderly in obtaining tourist visas, but greater opportunities for documented labour migration and illegal entry. Among children of emigrants, age is a decisive criterion for being granted family reunification, since adult children are generally inadmissible.
Material well-being	Lower aspiration with higher material well-being.	<i>Higher ability among the wealthy.</i> Material wealth increases ability to migrate within several modes of migration. It increases opportunities for being given a visa, as well as for paying bribes.
Educational attainment	Lower aspiration with high educational attainment.	<i>Indeterminate.</i> It is difficult to estimate the effect of educational attainment in itself, but a high level of education is often associated with social networks that facilitate migration.
Employment situation	Lower aspiration with stable employment.	<i>Higher ability with stable employment.</i> Stable employment clearly increases the opportunities for being given a tourist visa, while there is no clear effect in other modes of migration.
Family migration history	Higher aspiration with close family members abroad.	<i>Higher ability with family members abroad.</i> Emigrant family members can guarantee for tourist visas, assist in finding documented employment, facilitate marriages and support undocumented residence.
Social networks	Indeterminate (not part of the analysis of aspiration).	<i>Higher ability with extensive social networks.</i> Social networks outside the family could facilitate migration in much the same way, and ease the social network constraints presented in Table 5.

relatively low. In other words, changes in the gendered constraints and barriers to migration have altered the effect of gender on ability over time.

Illegal entry must be assumed to be more difficult for women than for men. While smuggling operations have been known to include entire families and single women, the vast majority of migrants travelling in this way are men. Compared to men, women place themselves in an even more vulnerable position at the hands of crews or people smugglers, and this could be said to reduce their possibilities for making use of this mode of migration.

The changing migration regime is evident in the sex ratios of the Cape Verdean population. The decline in the level of emigration and the shifting gender balance of migrants have worked together to increase the number of men per 100 women from 90 in 1990 to 94 in 2000 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000c). Since sex ratios have been kept unnaturally low as a result of male emigration, a decline in the level of emigration without a change in the gender balance would also have tended to equalize the Cape Verdean sex ratio. Regional sex ratios reflect the differences in migration patterns. In the Barlavento (including São Vicente and Santo Antão), where female emigration has been more pronounced, there is already a surplus of men.

An interesting reversal of the trend in the gender balance of Cape Verdean migrants has taken place in the Netherlands during the 1990s. The shift from male to female migration was well established in 1990, with 78 per cent women among adult Cape Verde immigrants coming to the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands 2001). However, the subsequent changes

affected women more than men. Both labour migration and family reunification migration were reduced drastically among women, while men were less affected. At the same time, the shift towards family formation migration has coincided with an increase in the proportion of men in this mode of migration. It appears that when migration flows from Cape Verde to the Netherlands were reduced by more than a third during the 1990s, this has been borne almost entirely by adult women. In 1998, the female share of Cape Verdean immigrants had fallen to less than 60 per cent.

Age

While aspirations to emigrate are clearly declining with age, the discussion of different modes revealed that young adults often have great difficulties realizing their wishes. In particular, they are less likely to be given tourist visas. As noted above, these can be important for permanent migration through overstaying or family formation.

Immigration statistics from the United States and the Netherlands can illustrate how the age profile of ability contrasts with that of aspiration (Figure 12 and Figure 13). Both figures illustrate how actual migrants tend to be considerably older than prospective migrants. The figures show the age *distribution* of prospective and actual migrants, and not age-specific ‘rates’ of aspiration and ability. In other words, what Figure 13 demonstrates, is that almost 70 per cent of people wishing to emigrate are aged 18-29, whereas only about a third of migrants to the Netherlands are within this age group. The Dutch data refer to immigrants whereas the American data refers to temporary admissions, primarily tourist visas.

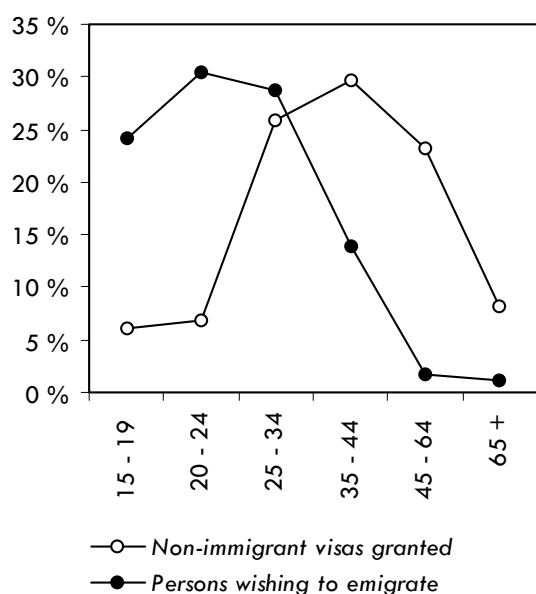


Figure 12. The age distributions of people wishing to emigrate from Cape Verde (2000) and Cape Verdeans granted non-immigrant visas to the United States (1998–1999).

Sources: IEFP (2000) and US Immigration and Naturalization Service (2001) United States data refer to fiscal years.

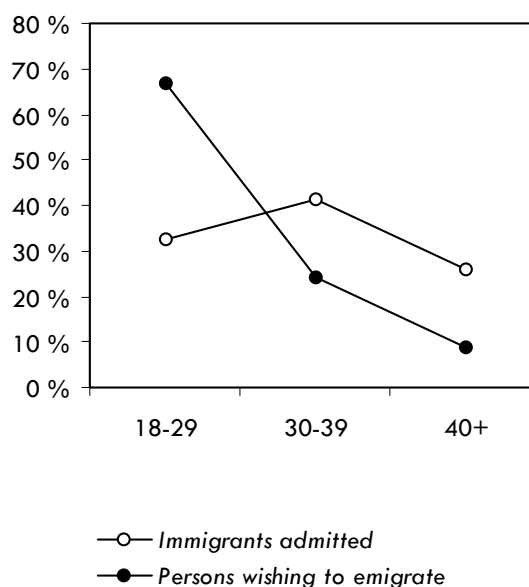


Figure 13. The age distributions of people wishing to emigrate from Cape Verde (2000) and Cape Verdean-born immigrants to the Netherlands (1990–1998).

Sources: IEFP (2000) and Statistics Netherlands (2001).

Material well-being, education and employment

Among the most important findings in this analysis, are the counterbalancing effects of key socio-economic characteristics. Those who are poor, without stable employment and have little education are expected to have a high aspiration to emigrate. However, the *same* characteristics strongly restrict their ability to realize such a wish. The opposite is also true. Being wealthy, well educated and with a stable job is associated with a low aspiration to emigrate, but if such a person wishes to emigrate, these characteristics will increase his or her ability to do so. The relationship between socio-economic characteristics and ability to migrate is particularly important in the case of tourist visas. However, those who have wealthy emigrant relatives also have greater opportunities for family reunification.

The counterbalancing effects on aspiration and ability will tend to reduce the number of emigrants. They also explain the common finding that most migrants come from the middle socio-economic strata of their communities. As one of my informants put it, 'most of the people who go are those who have a life which isn't very bad, but who also want to make it a bit better'. Filóca, one of the student interviewees made the connection between ability and socio-economic status very clear:

The lower strata, those who don't have any profession, always want to leave. [...] The rich people have more possibilities of getting out because when they have a house, they have property, things like that, they give them visas to emigrate. But the poor ones, they always stay.

I asked another student, Bia, if it was correct that those who have the greatest wish to go also have the most difficulties:

Those who have the biggest wish, no, because those who have a *wish* to go are those who have something here, who just want to go for a holiday. The most appropriate term would be that those who have the biggest *necessity* to go, in order to try to improve their lives, those are the ones that will be *obstructed* most. Which is what creates a lot of problems in our country. Because sometimes, young people, especially boys, when they stay here a long time without anything to do, they have a tendency to get involved in drugs, delinquency, things like that.

(Italics reflect verbal emphasis.)

In presenting emigration in terms of necessity, she shows that the inability of the poor to emigrate is not simply a question of 'unfulfilled wishes' but a severe problem for themselves and their surroundings.

Analyses of how socio-economic status affects ability are highly relevant to understanding the distributional effects of migration and remittances. Studies from different parts of the world have shown that remittances *can* have a positive effect on income distribution and poverty alleviation, depending, among other factors, on the circumstances of recruitment (Adams 1991, Ahlburg 1991, Connell and Brown 1995, Conway and Cohen 1998, Funkhouser 1995, Jackson 1990, Jones 1998, Keely and Tran 1989, Rubenstein 1992, Russell 1986, Taylor *et al.* 1996). The World Bank (1995) argues that effects on income distribution are likely to become more positive over time as the development of migration networks lowers the costs of emigration and allows the participation of more poor families. However, the preceding

discussion has shown that there are specific mechanisms in the immigration interface that tends to lower the ability of poor people to migrate.⁴³

Family migration history and social networks

Having close family members abroad increases the likelihood of *both* wishing to emigrate *and* being able to realize such aspirations. Emigrant relatives are a prerequisite for family reunification, and could make it easier to find a marriage partner abroad, facilitate arranging documented employment or apply for a tourist visa. Family members who are settled abroad can also make undocumented residence easier. This is not in itself an effect on ability, but lowers the threshold of making use of modes of migration that lead to undocumented residence. Increasing barriers to migration mean that family ties and other social networks are becoming even more important for migration aspirations to be realized (Böcker 1994, Espinosa and Massey 1999, Faist 2000, Knights 1997, Wilpert 1992).

This finding is also relevant in the context of development and inequality, because the dependence of relatives for migration could reinforce the difference between those within and those outside transnational spheres.

While social status has opposite effects on aspiration and ability and thereby contributes to lowering migration flows, the effects of family migration history tend to increase migration flows in a powerful positive feedback mechanism. Past migration of relatives leads to increased aspirations and ability today, which will constitute the basis for migration in the future. The mechanism also works in the opposite direction. Less migration will mean that fewer people have relatives abroad, and this will probably lower aspirations to emigrate. It will also most certainly reduce people's ability to emigrate.

⁴³ Since my analysis is based on the European experience, this argument is not universally valid. However, European, North American and Australian immigration interfaces are similar in this respect. In much of Asia, recruitment agencies play an important part in migration flows and this creates different forms of selectivity (Dias 1994, Sarmiento 1991, Singhanetra-Renard 1992).

Aspiration and ability intertwined

A central implication of the aspiration/ability model is that migratory outcomes must be explained with reference to both aspiration and ability. In this short chapter I will explore some of the ways in which aspiration and ability are connected. First, I will use three individual case studies to show how aspiration and ability interact in determining the migration trajectories of young Cape Verdeans. In the second half of the chapter, I will discuss challenges and insights arising from the aspiration/ability model.

THREE INDIVIDUALS IN THE MIGRATION PROCESS

I have used fieldwork data to describe the situation of three Cape Verdeans in their early twenties (Figure 3). In this section characteristics of different real persons have been combined to preserve anonymity, and the names of countries are fictive.

Minda

Minda is twenty years old and has completed twelve years of school in Cape Verde. However, she failed mathematics and could not apply for a scholarship to study abroad this year. Now she is working part time in a library, while studying mathematics in order to complete her diploma. She wishes to become a doctor and return to Cape Verde after completing her education abroad. Her father has worked abroad for several years, but she sees no future in emigration for herself. She reckons that she would have to work as a domestic worker, and feels that she is overqualified for such a job. She is also keen to stress that she wants to contribute to Cape Verde's development by working as a doctor. This places emigration in a moral context for her. She said about young people in her area that

many of them always have this ambition of going out of Cape Verde, to work. 'to look for a better life' [laughs].

Q: Why do you laugh?

[laughs] No, because... Cape Verdeans always have this idea. Since the time when the first Cape Verdeans started going to America, with the whaling ships and all. Those who stayed here always saw that those who emigrated came back with something, and so they have this mentality, they've always had this idea on the brain that those who emigrate always get something better. It's some-

thing that's been transmitted from generation to generation, that over there, in *stranjer* there is always a solution. The solution for Cape Verdeans is to leave. That's what they think. And then there's this situation of drought in Cape Verde. The Cape Verdeans are here... those who are here are just waiting for the rain. There isn't any work, so what they're waiting for is rain. If it rains there's bread! [laughs] If it doesn't rain, they'll prefer to emigrate. Always, they had this idea that emigration is the solution for Cape Verdeans. So, those young people who are here always want to leave, to 'look for a better life'.

She does not deny the fact that emigration can pay off. Thanks to her father's years of work abroad, she lives in one of the area's nicest houses. However, she clearly sees the obsession with emigration as a problem for Cape Verde. This applies not only to people like herself who are hoping to get a degree, but also to all those who, as she puts it 'are just waiting for the rain' rather than making an effort to create something locally. She distances herself from this, saying that she does not wish to work abroad, but on her own island. Her position can be related to the *sacrifice – betrayal* dimension in the evaluation of the emigration project, discussed in chapter five. In her account, even the passivity of those who pin their hopes for the future to emigration can be seen as a form of betrayal. Her implicit portrayal of other young people as naïve in their fixation on emigration also reflects the *escalation – illusion* dimension of assessing the emigration project. While it is true that many of those who emigrated came back with savings, she points out the illusory belief of other young people that emigration is *the* solution.

In terms of the aspiration/ability model, Minda is a *voluntary non-migrant*. She wishes to go abroad for education, but this has little to do with the emigration project. In fact, the purpose of university level education is securing a future livelihood on Cape Verde.

Zéca

Zéca dropped out of school in his seventh year, and has been working for several years. At the age of twenty-three, he lacks formal qualifications, but is working as a mechanic's assistant at a local garage. He never knows when there will be work, however, and feels that

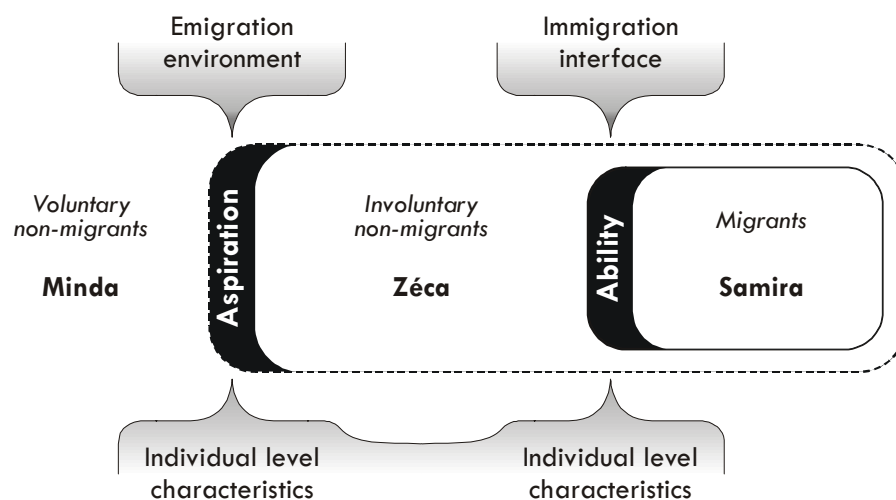


Figure 14. Three individuals placed in the aspiration/ability framework.

he would be unable to support a family. With the money he earns, he can only afford to rent a small room of his own. He eats all meals at his mother's house nearby. He already has a daughter, but has never lived with the child's mother. At the moment, she is working in Italy, while Zéca's daughter is living with her maternal grandmother. Zéca himself feels that the time has come for him to emigrate.

It's not that I want to go to Europe to be important, or anything. Imagine, for instance, you're my relative and you are in Europe. I say, don't you think you can get me a paper so I can enter Europe? You think wanting to go to Europe is trying to be somebody, be important, but it's not. *Life* is what wants you to go, what is asking you to go. To get a better life. [...] Life in Cape Verde is very... what is it people say... very hard. Hard and sad. Struggle, struggle, struggle, always. Sometimes you struggle, struggle, struggle, and the result: nothing.

He is aware that life in Europe too can be hard, but says that those who are *lutador pa vida*, who are ready to fight for themselves, live well. His expression that '*life* is what's asking you to go' is fascinating as a way of presenting emigration as normal, natural and expected. During the interview, he presented it partly as a necessity, partly as an adventure, but definitely as the right thing for him to do.

Zéca's complaints about life in Cape Verde are typical, stressing the meagre rewards for one's efforts. He is not afraid of working hard, he said, but wants to get something in return. His description of life in Cape Verde as 'hard and sad' is stark, but this does not mean that he wants to leave his country for good. He explained that

when you leave Cape Verde, it is to sort out a better life. You don't say 'I'll go, I'll get to Europe, and I won't come to Cape Verde anymore'. No, this is what's yours! You go and work, and then you sow here. When you come back, you build your house, you see.

Zéca's ideas are very much in line with the archetypal Cape Verdean emigration project, seen as a means of socio-economic *escalation*. He wishes to work *there*, in order to get a better life *here*, in Cape Verde. Unlike himself, his elder brother doesn't want to emigrate, but keep working in Cape Verde. Zéca told me that 'I say to him, you don't like a place but you've never been there. You have to go and see for yourself'. His brother has a wife and five children, and a stable, if poorly paid, job. However, Zéca talks about him as if he *ought* to go. For Zéca, emigration almost acquires a moral dimension in the unexpected direction, that staying in Cape Verde signifies a contemptible lack of initiative.

Being poor, uneducated and only casually employed, Zéca knows that he will have a hard time getting a visa. He has ruled out the possibility of going illegally, and his hopes are pinned to friends and relatives who can help him with the paperwork. 'They're working on it', he said. Although he had waited for more than a year, he believed that soon, he would be able to go.

Zéca is a typical *involuntary non-migrant*, having a pronounced *aspiration* to migrate, but – at least until now – not the *ability* to realize this wish. Like most potential migrants, he has hopes and plans, but it remains to be seen whether he will eventually be able to emigrate. Ironically, the lack of a regular job with a decent salary is both his reason for wishing to emigrate and the main reason for not being able to do so.

Samira

Samira is 23 years old and has just migrated to Portugal. She graduated with nine years of school and had a secure job in the local government in São Vicente, but only earned about 12,000 escudos per month (120 USD). This was far from enough to set up a household of her own, but she did not mind at the moment, as she was content to live in her sister's house. However, she was unhappy about the prospects for the future. When I first met her, she had just applied for a visa to France, and explained why she wanted to go:

I'm fed up with this place. It's all the same. People never change their lives. I don't mind if I have a hard life there, working a lot and all that. With time, I'll be all right. I have my job here, and I could even get a promotion, but afterwards I would stay here and work for twenty-five years! I want some change in my life so it can get a little bit better. I don't mind where I go. What I want is to get out of here.

More than anyone else I met, her motivation to emigrate was based on a fundamental dissatisfaction with Cape Verde, or São Vicente, as a place. It is striking that in terms of the old push-pull approach to migration, her account signals only push and no pull. As she said, she is fed up and wants to get away, where she goes or what she does there, is less important. Her situation in Cape Verde was apparently a lot better than Zéca's, but she made no point of wishing to coming back to reap the fruits of her work abroad.

During the summer, Samira's cousin who married an Austrian man and lives in Vienna came to Cape Verde. There was little difference in age between them, and they had spent a lot of time together before the cousin moved to Austria. Hearing about how her cousin enjoyed her new life in Austria only strengthened Samira's wish to emigrate. She wanted to get a tourist visa to Europe, and was prepared to marry somebody in order to stay there. However, her visa application for France was turned down.

Soon afterwards, a friend of Samira who worked as a domestic worker in Southern Portugal offered to get Samira a job in one of the neighbouring houses. Samira did not want to miss this opportunity, and started to arrange the necessary papers. With the employment contract from Portugal, she got a work and residence permit that allows her to stay and work in Portugal for three years.

Samira exemplifies the *migrants*, those who have had both the *aspiration* and the *ability* to migrate. The fact that she went from being a public servant to a domestic worker did not stop her. Her social network gave her the opportunity to take advantage of the possibilities for legal emigration that do exist.

CHALLENGES AND INSIGHTS OF THE ASPIRATION/ABILITY MODEL

The strength of the aspiration/ability model lies in the relationship between aspiration and ability, but there are also complicating aspects to this relationship. In this section, I will first address four areas in which the separation of aspiration and ability is problematic. I will then proceed to consider the implications of the aspiration/ability model for a central concept in migration research and policy, namely reasons or motives for migration.

The ambiguity of interpersonal relations

Interpersonal relations sometimes affect migration in ways that complicate the separation of aspiration and ability. Imagine a girl who has to care for her sick mother, sees few opportunities for work and would have attempted to emigrate had it not been for her mother. Is she a non-migrant, who does not have an aspiration to migrate because she would rather stay with her mother? Or is she a prospective migrant, eager to migrate but unable to realize her wish? Similar questions arise in the case of mothers of young children who have to be cared for by others. The feminist critique of atomistic models of choice is relevant here (McDowell 1992). In reality, people are enmeshed in interpersonal networks that both enable and constrain individual action. This poses important challenges to the very notion of a wish to migrate.

While the conceptual problems remain unresolved, I believe that there is an analytical distinction between social obligations or emotional ties in the community of origin and true *barriers* to migration, affecting ability. The girl with the sick mother then, should therefore be seen as a non-migrant. When all factors are taken into account, she does not wish to emigrate.

Wishing to stay as psychological defence

Involuntary immobility is, per definition, a frustrating situation. In theory, there are two ways out of it: A) actually emigrating, and B) giving up the aspiration. For somebody who knows that they have almost no chance of being able to emigrate, saying that they wish to do so can be seen as a manifestation of failure. Consciously or unconsciously convincing oneself that it is better to stay in Cape Verde is therefore a possible psychological defence mechanism.

It is difficult to say how important this is in Cape Verde. There is no apparent stigma attached to failed attempts at emigration. Many people have had visa applications turned down, and it is well known that they are not necessarily to blame for it. Unfulfilled aspirations are therefore consistent with determination and willingness to keep trying to improve one's lives and give the family a better future. However, involuntary non-migrants can be also seen as good-for-nothing dreamers. This was exemplified by Minda, above, who was annoyed with the passivity of those who are just waiting for a chance to emigrate, instead of making an effort for their country or their families.

Aspirations to emigrate are likely to be influenced both by the chances of success, and by the meanings of a situation of involuntary immobility. Where the chances of succeeding are small, and being an involuntary non-migrant is frowned upon, this could reduce the (stated) aspirations to emigrate.

The imperative of seizing opportunities

The shortage of opportunities for migration can also affect aspirations in the positive direction when opportunities *do* arise. In a place like Cape Verde, where ability to migrate is so scarce and desirable, a person who is given the chance to emigrate is likely to feel that they ought to seize the opportunity. This applies even if he or she did not have a pronounced aspiration to emigrate in the first place. This kind of situation could arise when somebody is offered an employment contract by a friend who has already emigrated, or when a relative employed in

an embassy offers to provide a tourist visa. When ability occurs without being preceded by aspiration, the emigration environment could induce the person to migrate all the same.

Conditional aspirations

Finally, aspiration and ability can be intertwined in situations where the wish to migrate is conditional upon the outcome. The case of Samira, above, exemplified a firm, unconditional wish to leave Cape Verde, regardless of the destination or the circumstances. For others, however, aspirations to migrate are clearly affected by the outcome of migration. They might have a strong wish to work in Europe, but would rather stay in Cape Verde than be an undocumented immigrant. In fact, less than a third of the students in the Student Survey who wished to emigrate said that they would be willing to do so without documents. This illustrates the fact that many people do not try to emigrate because the outcome *under the possible modes* would be unacceptable.

There are two conclusions to draw from this argument. First, when people say whether they wish to emigrate or not, they usually relate to a vaguely specified generic emigration project. For a Cape Verdean, this means going abroad to work for some years, possibly under difficult circumstances, but at least earning money from your efforts. It could very well be that people who wish to emigrate, defined in this way, turn down specific opportunities with more detailed information about the costs and benefits. Others have such strong aspirations that they are likely to accept whichever opportunity they get. According to my informant Ilda, many people are completely determined to emigrate saying that 'it's better to be dead in Portugal or France than to be alive in Cape Verde'.

The second conclusion is that people must be regarded as involuntarily immobile even if they do not wish to migrate at all costs. People could have a very strong wish to use emigration as a strategy for life-making even if they are not prepared to take the risk of being sent to jail or deported. This does not mean that they expect life in Europe to be 'a bed of roses'. For the aspiration/ability model, this implies that aspirations to emigrate must be analysed quite carefully. While the crude approach of asking people 'do you wish to emigrate or not?' provided very interesting and trustworthy results in the OME Survey, each person's aspirations are likely to be much more complex than the yes/no answer would suggest.

While it is sometimes difficult to classify people as either non-migrants or prospective migrants, aspiration and ability remain powerful heuristic devices for thinking about migration and non-migration. As with any model, the aspiration/ability model provides insight at the cost of simplifying a complex reality.

The elusive nature of reasons for migration

The stories of Zéca and Samira, and several others mentioned in the preceding chapters have provided some insight into the circumstances of young Cape Verdeans who wish to emigrate. Why do they wish to go? Analysis of the emigration environment demonstrates the difficulties of determining reasons for migration at an individual level. In Cape Verde, it is not uncommon that people who have never expressed any wish to emigrate quite suddenly announce that

they intend to go. It could then turn out that they had just had an argument with their boss or an upsetting conflict with their partner. The omnipresence of emigration in society, supported by discourses about the difficulties of life in Cape Verde, then facilitates *post hoc* rationalization of the wish to emigrate with reference to legitimate, standardized motivations. Neither 'marital problems' nor 'Cape Verde's poverty' can in itself be seen as the reason for wishing to emigrate, but the fact that somebody who has had a serious fight with her husband turns to emigration as a way out says a lot about the emigration environment.

This illustrates the problematic nature of 'reasons for migration'. This concept has long been criticized on various grounds, but is still being widely used (Fawcett and DeJong 1982). In the OME survey, questionable attempts were made to compare the frequency of such reasons as 'being unemployed' and 'search for a better life'. When I included an open-ended question in the Student Survey asking respondents why they wished to emigrate or not, this was used only to identify the most important dimensions of evaluation of the emigration project and not to classify reasons by their relative importance.

The separation of modes and motives

One of the most important implications of the aspiration/ability model is the separation of *modes* and *motives* of migration. Whether or not the motive is a tangible one like fleeing war, or a more elusive combination of motives, as in the case of many Cape Verdeans, it belongs to the realm of aspirations. Modes of migration, on the other hand, are ways of realizing a wish to migrate, and therefore concern ability. The assumption of congruence between modes and motives is therefore not an analytical one, but a political one. In the European immigration interface, migrants are admitted through specific modes on the basis of their presumed motives. Family reunification is equated with 'family motives' and labour migration with 'work purposes'. Discordance between modes and motives is even seen as a social evil liable to judicial countermeasures, such as in the case of bogus marriages and 'bogus' asylum seekers.

While the distinction between different categories of migrants has never been absolute, it is becoming increasingly blurred as the problem of involuntary immobility increases. As opportunities for labour and family migration are restricted, there is little doubt that many prospective migrants will turn to asylum as an alternative mode of migration even though this does not necessarily reflect their motives. The growth in illegal entry is also based on involuntary immobility among people in very different circumstances across the developing world. For instance, the dozens of large ships with undocumented migrants landing on the beaches of Southern Italy during the 1990s have carried Rwandan, Kurdish and Bangladeshi migrants side by side, migrating with very different motives. In former labour-exporting countries, there has been a continuity of migration flows to Europe within changing modes of migration. Sirkeci (2001) illustrates the case of migration from Kurdistan to Cologne, Germany, which took the form of labour migration in the 1960s, family reunification in the 1970s, asylum migration in the 1980s and undocumented migration in the 1990s. There have obviously been changes in motives during the same period, but the changing *modes* must be explained with reference to the immigration interface and not the emigration environment.

INVOLUNTARY IMMOBILITY: ASPIRATION WITHOUT ABILITY

In the final section of this chapter, I will return to the concept of involuntary immobility, which was presented in the introduction. Involuntary immobility results from the clash between aspiration and ability, when the former is present and the latter is not. I will first discuss the experience of involuntary immobility in Cape Verde and then relate this to theoretical concepts of time-space relations.

The experience of immobility

The gradual restriction of the European migration regime over the last 25 years has made involuntary immobility a very real aspect of life in Cape Verde. There is widespread recognition that times have changed for the worse in terms of emigration. One of the students I interviewed, Ira, summarized it like this:

Once emigration was easier. Easier than today. In the past, I've heard, people were emigrating with... only their identity cards! Nowadays it's not like that anymore. Now you have to have your visa, you have to have a lot of papers, you have to have a lot of... a lot of problems.

In fact, many people contrasted the present with the days of identity cards, when you could emigrate 'just like that'. Another informant said with a sigh that 'Cape Verde is a free country, open to the World, but every other country, for Cape Verdeans, is closed'. Similar feelings were expressed by a young woman who had to return to Cape Verde after several years of undocumented work in Europe. At the age of 35, she was eager to re-emigrate, but was not able to do so. 'It's like you're in a prison' she said to me, but her mother overheard it and said she should not talk like that about her own country.

The experience of immobility is likely to be particularly strong in a small place like São Vicente or Santo Antão. They are quiet, bounded places where the surrounding sea both connects and disconnects them from the rest of the world. At the level of experience, there is little doubt that 'islandness' matters, even if islands are not generally a useful analytic category in social science (Selwyn 1980). Cape Verdeans, like many other islanders, are 'constantly reminded that their way of life and their identity have much to do with insularity and isolation on the one hand, and with migration and mobility on the other' (Connell and King 1999:2).⁴⁴ Involuntary immobility is shifting this balance towards isolation. This is a source of distress for the individuals who are unable to use migration as a strategy for life-making. For a place like São Vicente, it also reinforces the loss of a cosmopolitan past.

The power-geometry of transnational migration

Involuntary immobility is related to differences in people's power over their involvement in processes of globalization and time-space compression. A thorough analysis of these per-

⁴⁴ There is a danger in overemphasizing the importance of insularity and committing an error of environmental determinism. In fact, Ellen Semple (1911) identified migrations as a key characteristic of island populations in her influential but discredited book *Influences of the geographic environment* (Connell and King 1999). Involuntary immobility is also a serious problem in larger countries in mainland Africa. However, Cape Verde's insularity and cultural distinctiveness make the contrast between 'home' and 'the World out there' particularly pronounced, and this affects people's experience of immobility and isolation.

spectives on migration and non-migration is beyond the scope of this study. However, a brief discussion of my findings in relation to existing concepts of mobility and power can place involuntary immobility in a wider context.

Involuntary immobility is one aspect of what Massey (1994) has called the power-geometry of time-space compression. As different forms of flows and interconnections are speeding up and spreading out across the globe, people are placed very differently in relation to it. Some are in charge of processes while others are affected by them, some are on the contributing side of global flows while others are at the receiving end. Similar forms of stratification in globalization processes more generally have been identified by Held *et al.* (1999). Building on these authors, three key dimensions of transnational migration as an element of globalization can be suggested: participation, exposure and control.⁴⁵

Migrants and non-migrants differ in terms of *participation*, regardless of whether the non-migrants are voluntarily or involuntarily immobile. Neither those who are satisfied to stay in one place nor those who have an intense wish to emigrate but are unable to do so are participants in transnational migration flows.

There are also important differences in terms of *exposure* to transnational migration flows and related exchanges of remittances, goods, and information. Virtually all Cape Verdeans are highly exposed to these flows in their daily lives. This was seen in the analysis of the emigration environment and aspirations to emigrate. Return migrants are conspicuous in the local communities, and most people have relatives living abroad. Also the local levels and patterns of consumption are heavily influenced by remittance-based demand. In this respect, Cape Verde differs from much of mainland Africa, which, relatively speaking, is less affected by transnational migration flows.

Lastly, there is an important dimension of *control* that distinguishes between actors. This could also be conceptualized as being 'in charge' or not, or having different degrees of power. Some of the wealthier voluntary non-migrants in Cape Verde are clearly in control of their situation regarding mobility. They wish to stay where they are, but know that they have the means to obtain a visa for visiting Europe, or even the contacts required for working abroad for some time. Other voluntary non-migrants are in a more ambiguous situation. They could be happy to be in Cape Verde, but in reality have little choice. For instance, this was the case with the girl mentioned in chapter five who said that 'I don't make plans for the future, I wait for the future to make plans for me'. She did not have any project for life-making but lived from day to day, and was aware that should she try to emigrate, she would have a very hard time succeeding.

Control is also an important dimension of differentiation among migrants. In concentrating on involuntary immobility, there is a danger of simplistically seeing those who migrate as successful, powerful individuals. However, the lives of transnational migrants are deeply embedded in the racial and social hierarchies, laws and regulations and political and economic

⁴⁵ Massey (1994) does not explicitly identify such analytical dimensions, and Held *et al.* (1999) uses a complex system of dimensions stretching far beyond those I have mentioned. The identification of participation, exposure and control as key dimensions is only inspired by these works and chosen specifically for the present purpose.

structures in the communities in which they live, both at home and abroad. Many of these migrants are 'parochial transnationals' rather than 'thrusting cosmopolitans' (Van Hear 1998:255). The analysis of ability to migrate showed that those who do succeed to migrate are nevertheless often 'pushed' in the direction of certain modes of migration, under conditions that are beyond their control. They are a far cry from the skilled migrant executives who travel the world as if it were borderless.

These points show that involuntary immobility is not a counter-indication of globalization, but a concomitant part, and a symptom of its contradictory nature. Cape Verde, like Tonga, Peshawar, Nador and Nevis – to name a few examples – is not an introvert backwater place where life is little more than parochial routine. On the contrary, these are transnational places where social fields extend to faraway places across the globe. As a potential migrant in São Vicente, Zéca might just have talked with his uncle in Rotterdam on the phone, have an album full of family photos from Lisbon, Boston and Rome and be on the way to the disco with his cousin who is visiting from Spain. All the same, he himself is involuntarily immobile, still unable to realize his aspiration to emigrate.

Conclusions

In the concluding chapter of the thesis, I will first summarize the empirical findings of my analysis. I then proceed to consider the theoretical conclusions regarding the aspiration/ability model itself. Finally I will discuss the implications of my findings for three principal interest groups: European authorities, Cape Verdean authorities and prospective migrants in Cape Verde.

EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The findings of the study can be summarized under each of the four research questions. These were listed as follows in the introduction:

Aspiration (people's wish to emigrate or not)

- 1a) What is the position of emigration as a socially constructed project?
- 1b) How do individual level characteristics affect aspirations to emigrate?

Ability (people's capacity to realize a wish to emigrate)

- 2a) How is migration enabled and/or constrained through immigration policy?
- 2b) How do individual level characteristics affect the ability to emigrate?

Through the aspiration/ability model, *emigration environment* and *immigration interface*, were presented as terms that describe the object of study under research question 1a and 2a, respectively.

The emigration environment

The emigration environment of São Vicente and Santo Antão is characterized by strong faith in the emigration project as a means of life-making. Seeing emigration as a means of life-making means that there is usually a relatively well defined image of a life that can be reached through emigration, a situation that is referred to as a *vida stável*, 'a stable life'. Such a life is commonly seen as desirable, possible, and a reasonable ambition. This means that emigration has an instrumental role, but one which is guided by cultural imagery more than

financial considerations as such. The belief in the emigration project is reinforced by the presence of affluent return migrants, positively charged discourses about emigration and negatively charged discourses about opportunities in Cape Verde. This is based on several material features of the socio-economic setting, such as the insecurity of employment for most people, and the misfit between wage levels, prices, and common standards of living. The opposing discourses that present emigration as inferior to other life-making projects have their stronghold in a relatively small and well-educated elite. Many poor people seem to have a realistic view of the difficulties involved in working abroad, but still see this as attractive.

Individual aspirations

The analysis of how individual level characteristics affect aspirations to emigrate illustrated both the elusive nature of such mental constructs as the wish to emigrate, and the clear-cut effects of factors such as employment situation, education and age. The students who were interviewed through the Student Survey had attitudes toward migration that could not easily be linked to characteristics of their households, family migration history, opinions about Cape Verde or their social integration. Nevertheless, a few findings were clear and interesting. This was the case with the negative relationship between material household standard and the migration aspirations, and the finding that those who saw drought as Cape Verde's principal problem also tended to have a wish to emigrate.

The OME Survey demonstrated that in a more heterogeneous sample, much of the variation in aspiration can be explained by measurable individual characteristics. Those who are young, have little education and lack secure employment are highly likely to wish to emigrate.

Having relatives abroad and receiving remittances clearly affect aspirations to emigrate, but the analysis suggested that the mechanisms are complex and contradictory. It appears that the *typical* effect is that those who have emigrant family members and receive remittances are more likely to wish to emigrate. However, some people might wish to stay in Cape Verde because of their relatives' negative migration experiences, or because remittances secure them a comfortable standard of living.

The immigration interface

Prospective migrants in Cape Verde have a variety of modes of migration to choose from, but each mode is associated with such barriers and constraints that the element of choice is usually minimal. Nevertheless, it is important to analyse the variety of modes and their individual barrier profiles in order to understand which prospective migrants are able to migrate and how they are channelled towards specific modes of migration. The barrier profiles of the different modes were analysed with reference to seven types of barriers and constraints, including categorical, qualitative and social network constraints. The explicit identification of the different modes of migration and types of barriers is in itself an important contribution to the existing literature on international migration.

Migration policy is the principal factor behind the nature of the immigration interface, but opportunities for circumventing regulations are as important as the regulations themselves. When certain modes of emigration became even more restricted during the 1990s, this resulted partly from changes in policy, and partly from changes on the part of other actors. For instance, bogus marriages have become more difficult to contract due to new legislation, but also because potential partners demand increasingly exorbitant payments. Both in this case and with illegal entry, the cost of circumventing restrictions rise along with the restrictions themselves. Portugal's 1997 agreement to allow temporary labour migration from Cape Verde, and the more recent liberalization of regularization procedures for undocumented immigrants are steps in the opposite direction of the overall shift towards a tighter immigration interface.

Individual ability

Different individual level characteristics are required to succeed within each mode of migration. Family reunification is only possible for those who have close relatives to be reunited with, and contracting a bogus marriage usually requires a social network in the destination country as well as a large amount of money to pay off the partner. Among those who wish to emigrate, it is quite clear that those who are poor or do not have family or other social networks abroad, will be less likely to succeed. Certain individual level factors, such as age and gender are likely to have a variable effect on ability, depending on the specific mode of migration. The old can get tourist visas more easily, whereas the young have better opportunities for documented labour migration. Similarly, bogus marriages and possibly documented labour migration could be less difficult for women than for men, while women are at a disadvantage in relation to illegal entry. Investigation of how individual level characteristics affect ability to migrate within the various modes can help explain A) the overall composition of migration flows (such as the feminization of migration over time) and B) the channelling of different migrants towards different forms of migration (such as the dominance of uneducated young men 'with nothing to lose' among illegal entrants).

Interactions

The aspiration/ability model allows for analysis of two types of interaction: between the macro and micro levels, and between aspiration and ability. First, in terms of macro-micro relations, a person's actual aspiration to migrate results from the interplay between the emigration environment she shares with many others, and her own individual characteristics. The same is true for ability. The immigration interface constitutes a structure of opportunities and constraints, and individual characteristics determine the ability of different individuals to navigate within it. The behaviour of individuals also influences the macro level structures, with regard to both aspiration and ability. The emigration environment is affected by people's lived migration experiences, for instance when return migrants signal the potential success of migration as a project for life-making. Similarly, the immigration interface is constantly changing when authorities in destination countries respond to migrants' attempts to circumvent regulations.

The second form of interaction concerns the relationship between aspiration and ability. This has many different aspects, which were discussed in chapter seven. One important finding, which illustrates the potential of the aspiration/ability model, is that migration flows are constrained by the counterbalancing effect of class-related variables on aspiration and ability. Those who are poor *more often* wish to emigrate, but are *less often* able to do so, than those who are wealthy. In other words, many poor people are immobile because they lack the ability to migrate, while many wealthy people are immobile because they lack aspiration to migrate. The effect of family migration history is very different from the effect of class-related variables. Those who have close relatives abroad are more likely to wish to emigrate, *and* at the same time, more likely to succeed. This form of interaction between aspiration and ability tends to increase migration flows.

Another important conclusion regarding the relationship between aspiration and ability is that *motives for migration* and *modes of migration* are analytically very different, although the two are often confounded in migration policy and public debate. Motives concern aspirations to migrate. Modes, on the other hand, are means of realizing such a wish, and therefore an aspect of ability. People who migrate through family reunification and documented labour migration could have similar motives for migrating, but their different individual level characteristics induce them to make use of different modes.

THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS

The study has explored contemporary migration from Cape Verde with a new theoretical approach: the aspiration/ability model. The strength of this model has to be assessed on the basis of its usefulness in empirical analyses. I have found it appropriate as a tool for understanding mechanisms and patterns in this particular case. The separation of aspiration and ability is in itself a heuristic move that is valid in a wide range of contexts. This can help explain observable migration outcomes, for instance the fact that most migrants usually come from the middle socio-economic strata of a society. As described above, the wealthiest and the poorest have very different reasons for not migrating.

Beyond the separation of aspiration and ability, the model contains more detailed elements such as the focus on modes of migration and the seven types of barriers and constraints. These are analytical tools that are particularly useful for investigating contemporary migration from low- and middle-income countries to industrialized countries with restrictive immigration policies. This is a numerically important and politically controversial type of migration. It also involves an increasing degree of human suffering and loss of life as people go to greater lengths to defy the barriers. As shown in chapter two, traditional migration theories fall short of explaining essential features of this type of migration. One of the strengths of the aspiration/ability model is its capacity to explain and understand the phenomenon of involuntary immobility – aspiration without ability.

The nature of aspirations to emigrate as a psychological variable constitutes a challenge for the further development of the aspiration/ability model. More precise theoretical formu-

lations about this concept rely on insights from social and cognitive psychology, discourse analysis and possibly other fields outside the traditional foci of migration research. There is probably considerable potential for finding better ways of treating aspirations to migrate in empirical research.

IMPLICATIONS

The problem of involuntary immobility is based on a conflict of interest between prospective migrants in countries like Cape Verde and immigration policy makers in industrialized countries. Cape Verdean authorities assume an ambiguous position, trying to combine a wish to protect Cape Verdean citizens abroad, an interest in encouraging temporary emigration, and responsibility in relation to preventing illegal practices such as people smuggling. Because of the potential for conflict between the different parties, a study like this one cannot produce neutral recommendations or policy implications. Instead, the findings must be related to the interests of each group.

Authorities in destination countries

Chapter six demonstrated how the issuance of tourist visas is one of the most decisive regulatory mechanisms for migration flows. This sometimes takes the form of a game in which applicants strive to give the impression that they will return, and consular officials attempt to 'reveal' the applicants' actual intentions. The analysis in chapter five, of how individual level characteristics influence aspiration, showed that consular officials are right when they see a low standard of living, insecure employment and young age as indicators of a wish to emigrate. Cape Verde's recent history of emigration has also shown that when a person who wishes to emigrate is given a tourist visa, there is a considerable chance that he or she will remain abroad when the visa expires. In other words, the way in which visa applications are handled does make sense in relation to the aim of preventing overstaying. However, there are critical ethical dilemmas involved in this process that are not well known in the destination societies. This includes the explicit discrimination of applicants on the basis of social status, and the practice of denying visas to applicants whose relatives have overstayed visas in the past. These are issues that challenge typical norms for public administration and perhaps need to be debated more thoroughly in immigration countries.

A very clear policy recommendation emerging from my study is that where possibilities for documented labour migration exist, this should be publicized widely. European countries have a common interest in reducing the scepticism and increasing the knowledge about documented labour migration from Cape Verde to those countries that allow for it, most notably Portugal. By emphasizing A) the problems of visa overstaying and B) the benefits of documented labour migration, authorities could be able to channel migration into more orderly forms. An important point is to make people aware of the actual difficulties in securing legal residence in Europe. For instance, many Cape Verdeans believe that it is possible to regularize one's situation by marrying a resident *after* overstaying a visa, which is rarely the case.

Combating undocumented migration and promoting documented labour migration are connected, since policy measures against illegal migration are more effective when people are offered a legal migration alternative, rather than just being advised to stay where they are (Skeldon 2000).

The recent change of Portuguese legislation that makes regularization easier could, to a certain extent, encourage overstaying. The opportunities for obtaining papers will increase the outflow from the category 'undocumented residence' but could also increase the inflow to this category by encouraging people to enter Portugal with the intention of overstaying visas. Whether or not the liberalization was a sensible move, it calls for increased efforts to discourage potential overstayers to enter an undocumented situation.

European authorities have sought to reduce emigration pressure through cooperation with emigration countries primarily in North Africa (Farsakh 2000, Tapinos 2000). This study has supported the view that the creation of secure employment is a necessary measure to reduce emigration pressure. However, the analysis has also shown that people's attitudes towards the meanings of emigration as a *socially constructed project* has a strong impact on desires to emigrate. To some extent, the Cape Verdean authorities' praise of emigrants as national heroes serves to sustain emigration pressure. It is difficult to say if or how European authorities could interfere in Cape Verdean discourses about emigration. However, my findings suggest that, for instance, using the media to directly target attitudes toward emigration could be a very cost-effective way of reducing emigration pressure. Such a strategy would have to identify and strengthen pre-existing elements in Cape Verdean discourses about emigration, such as the view that '*stranjer* is an illusion'.⁴⁶ This approach would raise ethical questions about using public funds to reduce emigration pressure in a way that does not create alternatives for emigration or contribute to the development of the society of origin.

Cape Verdean authorities

Cape Verdean authorities also have an interest in promoting documented labour migration, both as an alternative to undocumented migration, and as a means of increasing the gains from migration for Cape Verdean society.⁴⁷ In the late 1980s the Cape Verdean government changed its official view on emigration levels from 'satisfactory' to 'too low' (United Nations 1989). The government's officially declared *policy* is to maintain the present level of emigration (United Nations 1996). Declaring a policy of increasing emigration levels could be politically sensitive *vis-à-vis* European countries. However, maintaining the current level of emigration requires efforts that compensate for increasingly restrictive immigration regulations in Europe. It is quite clear from the analysis of different modes of migration that the government's opportunities for maintaining or raising the level of emigration lies in promoting and

⁴⁶ As explained in chapter five, *stranjer* is the noun used to describe affluent destination countries.

⁴⁷ I will not go into the debate on whether emigration ultimately benefits Cape Verdean society or not. Researchers have voiced different opinions about this in the past (Amaro 1986, Andrade 1991a, Andrade 1991b, Meintel 1984, Perotta 1988).

making use of provisions for documented labour migration. The agreement that was signed with Portugal in 1997 therefore constitutes an important victory. My findings suggest that the number of migrants under this agreement could be increased if the Cape Verdean authorities assumed a more active role in facilitating contacts between employers and prospective migrants.

Central actors in European public debate are currently calling for a liberalization of labour immigration policy to meet labour shortages in many sectors (*The Financial Times* 08.10.00, *The Economist* 31.03.01). There is reason to believe that a possible liberalization will be carefully targeted, and might not mean increased migration opportunities for Cape Verdeans. However, this could be a golden opportunity for Cape Verdean authorities to negotiate agreements with countries other than Portugal.

Prospective migrants in Cape Verde

The interest of prospective migrants in Cape Verde is to find a way to enter Europe, preferably with documents. Recommendations for this group must relate to this wish, since I have no basis for saying that they should not opt for emigration. Working abroad for some years can provide the necessary funds for such investments as constructing a house for oneself and the family. There are many success stories of migrants who have left Cape Verde, worked hard in Europe and returned to a better life in Cape Verde. Not all of them have complied with immigration regulations, but still avoided exploitation and abuse. However, since European immigration policy has generally become more restrictive over the last 25 years, increasing carefulness and ingenuity is required for circumventing regulations.

My study confirms that illegal entry by boat is can be very dangerous. People who choose to pursue this option should know that they are putting their lives at stake. The obvious recommendation for prospective migrants is to make use of provisions for family reunification or documented labour migration whenever possible. For all those who are not in a position to do this, a bogus marriage is probably the best alternative. While there is a considerable risk of being betrayed by the partner or revealed by the government, bogus marriages as a mode of migration have the advantage of avoiding undocumented residence. This requires contracting a marriage during a documented stay, usually with a tourist visa.

Obtaining a visa in the first place is difficult, especially for those who are young, unskilled and/or unemployed. However, the nature of the application process means that professional falsifications and a convincing appearance at the interview can secure a visa. Naïve attempts at fraud will easily be discovered. In general, deceiving consular officials could be more difficult in a relatively small and transparent community like São Vicente than in a capital city like Praia.

The feasibility of visa overstaying as a mode of migration depends on the opportunities for A) undocumented work and B) regularization. Undocumented work under acceptable conditions can apparently be found in countries such as Portugal, France and Luxembourg, while it is more difficult in the Netherlands and Scandinavia. Even where undocumented

employment is available, not having the right to stay in the country often leads to a precarious situation. Opportunities for regularization are therefore decisive. Once in a situation of undocumented residence, regularization is very difficult, except in Portugal.

Despite the severe difficulties, many Cape Verdeans are actually able to defy the restrictive immigration interface and enter Europe. This makes it difficult to say that it is not 'worth a try' for others. However, migrants who chose to violate immigration laws must be very cautious of their vulnerability at the hands of people smugglers, employers, marriage partners and authorities.

Awareness of differences in policy and labour markets between European countries appears to be a great advantage to prospective migrants. Obtaining tourist visas could be easier for certain countries, opportunities for non-exploitative undocumented employment certainly vary, and possibilities for regularization are greater in Portugal than elsewhere. The relative ease of movement between countries within the Schengen area thereby reduces the obstacles caused by the strengthening of the outer boundary – at least as long as there are substantial differences in policy and practice between member states.

Common interests?

I have now presented the different perspectives of European authorities, Cape Verdean authorities and prospective migrants in Cape Verde. This illustrates the elements of conflict in the contemporary migration order. Can any recommendations or ideals be set up in an attempt to unite the different interests? Apparently, all parties have an interest in promoting the security of migrants and combating exploitation. One step in this direction is to increase the level of knowledge about immigration regulations among prospective migrants. When emigrants leave Cape Verde on tourist visas with intentions to overstay and exaggerated expectations about the possibilities for regularization, this benefits no one. However, common interests might not extend very far in this respect, since immigration authorities will seek to inform about opportunities for regularization as they are stipulated by law, while potential migrants would benefit from information about the actual possibilities, including ways of circumventing regulations. Migrants must make their own judgements concerning the risks they wish to take in order to migrate, but their choices should be well informed.

In the longer run, greater opportunities for emigration, or reduced needs for it, would reduce the current frustration over involuntary immobility. It is the gap between aspiration and ability that lead to suffering and loss of life in failed attempts to migrate. It also results in a lack of local initiatives on the part of people who are only waiting for a chance to emigrate. When only a small percentage of Cape Verde's prospective migrants are able to realize their wish to emigrate, it would probably be better for everybody, including themselves, to make the most of opportunities in Cape Verde. For this to be possible however, these opportunities must expand and improve and allow for realistic dreams of creating a better life by other means than emigration.



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LEGAL DOCUMENTS

Decreto-Leo n.º 7/1997, Cape Verde.
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 Decreto-Lei n.º 4/2001, Portugal

Appendices

A1

CAPE VERDE: HISTORICAL DATES AND COMPARATIVE STATISTICS

1455	Discovery of the uninhabited Cape Verde islands by merchant explorers sailing under the Portuguese flag
1975	Independence from Portugal, start of single-party Marxist-inspired rule by PAIGC (later PAICV)
1991	First multi-party elections, won by liberal democratic MpD
2001	MpD government and president replaced by PAICV in the third multi-party elections

	Cape Verde	Santo Antão	São Vicente
Population			
1800	56 000	12 000	100
1900	147 000	29 000	9 000
1960	200 000	34 000	21 000
1980	296 000	43 000	42 000
2000	435 000	47 000	68 000
Men per 100 women (2000)	93.9	107.3	98.4
Proportion urban (per cent, 2000)	53.3	24.1	92.8
Mean household size (1998)	6.6	7.0	6.3
Households headed by women (per cent, 1998)	40.8	28.3	34.2
Mothers having children with two or more men (per cent, 1994) ¹	39.2	51.1	45.0
Educational attainment (1998)			
None	12.2	8.9	8.8
Basic	65.0	69.5	59.6
Secondary or higher	22.3	21.2	31.4
Income group (per cent, 1998)			
Non-poor (income above two thirds of the national average)	69.0	47.2	69.6
Poor (income between half and two thirds of the national income)	16.5	23.3	17.0
Very poor (income less than half of the national average)	14.5	29.5	13.4

Sources: (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000b, Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2000c, Lobban 1995, Ministério de Saúde/FNUAP 1996, Programa das Nações Unidas para o Desenvolvimento 2000).

¹ Applies to mothers with at least two children.

	Cape Verde	Sub-Saharan Africa	Developing countries
Life expectancy at birth (years, 1999)	69.4	48.8	64.5
Children under weight for age (per cent of 0-5 age group, 1999)	14	30	27
Total fertility rate (1999)	3.6	5.8	3.1
GDP per capita (USD Purchasing power parity, 1999)	4 490	1 640	3 530
Official development assistance received (USD per capita, 1999)	319	18	7
Telephone density (mainlines per 1000 people, 1999)	112	— ¹	69

Source: (United Nations Development Programme 2001).

¹ No data available. Only South Africa is registered with a higher telephone density than Cape Verde. Values of less than 20 are common.

A2

STUDENT SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The following pages contain the original Kriol version and an English translation of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was not completed by the respondent, but used in a structured interview. Notes to the questionnaire follow in Appendix 3.

Ond'e k'el naxsé?

Já'l vivé na stranjér?

Sim →

Tont ón e k'el vivé
na stranjér?

País/ilha: _____

Nãu

_____ MKS.

Zona: _____

MKS.



El tem mas do ke quarta klass de skola? Sim

MKS. Nãu

Na kal e país (kel últim)?

_____ MKS.

10. Já bo tem fidj? Sim Nãu

11. Tont irmõ e irmã e ke bo tem? *Irmõ* *Irmã*

De mãi y pai **Dess irmõ,** _____

Só banda de mãi **tont e ke ta** _____

Só banda de pai **morá ma bo** _____

Só banda de pai **grinha-sim?** _____

12. Tont psoa e ke ta vivé na kel kaza ke bo ta morá grinha-sim? *psoa*

13. Tem empregada doméstika?

Sim (*el ta morá na kaza*)

Sim (*el ka ta morá na kaza*)

Nãu

14. Tont kumpartiment e ke
tem na kel kaza, inkluind
tud koza mens kintal?

_____ *kumpartiment*

15. Tem kaza-de-bonh?

Sim

Nãu

16. Kel kaza e rebokód?

Dent y fora

Só dent

Só fora

Nenhum

17. Bzot tem televisãu? Sim Nãu

18. Bzot tem vídeo? Sim Nãu

19. Bzot tem friguríf? Sim Nãu

20. Algém na bo kaza tem korr? Sim Nãu

21. La tem mákina de lavá ropa? Sim Nãu

22. Agora M ti ta bá mostró-b kuat opsãu pa bo futur. Bo ta indiká-m kal e ke bo tava desejá.

*Fká na ilha de
residénsia atual*

*Vivé n'ot ilha
de Kab Verd*

*Emigrá y fká
na stranjér*

*Emigrá y regressá
pa Kab Verd*

Na kal e ilha?

Pa kal e país ke bo kré emigrá?

_____ *M ka sabé*

Se bo ta fká na Kab
Verd, na kal e ilha
ke bo tava gosta de
morá?

_____ ←

Se bo ka ta konsegí obté kes dokument pa bo
pudé trubaiá na stranjér, bo ta preferí bem
spía traboi na Kab Verd, o fká la ta trubaiá
sem dokument?

Spía li *Fká la* *M ka sabé*

23. Pur ké e ke bo kré emigrá? / Pur ké e ke bo ka kré emigrá?

24. Agora M ti ta bá alé-b uns afirmasãu sobre Kab Verd.

Bo ta dzé-m bo opiniãu, bo ta dzé-m se bo ta konkordá o nãu.

		<i>Sim</i>	<i>Nãu</i>	<i>M ka sabé</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>Mut dzempregód na Kab Verd podia inkontrá traboi s'es kizess</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>b</i>	<i>Futur de Kab Verd ta parsé próspero.....</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>c</i>	<i>Pov kabverdián e um pov afrikán</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>d</i>	<i>Kond bos pais era jovens, ses vida era mas fásil do ke vida de jovens de grinha-sim</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>e</i>	<i>Kabverdián e mut solidár, kre dzé es ta já de kumpanher.....</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>f</i>	<i>Tava ser mdjor utilisá kriol na aula</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>g</i>	<i>Na Kab Verd tem txeu inveja entre psoa</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>h</i>	<i>Problema de Kab Verd ta torná kada dia mas grand.....</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. Na bo opiniãu, kal e k'e kes problema mas grand de Kab Verd?

26. Bo tem irmõ o irmã ke ta morá grinha-sim na stranjér, o ke já vivé na stranjér ants?

	<i>Irmõ</i>	<i>Irmã</i>	<i>Banda de...</i>		<i>El naxsé na stranjér</i>	<i>País</i>	<i>El ta morá na stranjér grinha-sim</i>	<i>Já l regressá pa Kab Verd</i>	<i>El (ti ta) studa</i>	<i>El (ti ta) trubaia</i>	<i>El ta la ku dokument</i>	<i>El ta la sem dokument</i>
<i>a</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>b</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>c</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>d</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>e</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>f</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>g</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
<i>h</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	_____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Bo tem ots familiares ke ta morá grinha-sim na stranjér? —————>

Avô/avó *Tio/tia* *Prim/prima*

28. Bo tem familiares ke emigrá e já's regressá pa Kab Verd?

Avô/avó *Tio/tia* *Prim/prima*

29. Bo t'otxá ke maioría de bos amig tava gosta de emigra?

Sim *Nãu* *M ka sabé*

30. Já bo resebé enkomenda / dnher de familiares emigrants?

Algum vez *Txeu vez*

Enkomenda o prenda

Dnher (k'es mandá pa bo)

31. Tem algém na stranjér ke ta mandá dnher pa sustentá bo família?

Sim *As vez* *Nãu*

Na kal e país k'es ta morá?

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Portugal</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Senegal</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Espanha</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Guiné-B.</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Itália</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Angola</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>França</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Argentina</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Suíça</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Brasil</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Bélgica</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Cuba</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Luxemb.</i> | <input type="checkbox"/> <i>EUA</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Holanda</i> | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Alemanha</i> | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Suécia</i> | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <i>Noruega</i> | _____ |

32. Já bo viajá pa ots país?

Nãu

Sim —————→ *Pa kal e país?*

35. Kal e k'e bo área na skola?

38. Dpos de bo terminá skola, bo kré fazé um kurs, o bo kré prokurá traboi?

Fazé kurs —————→

Prokurá traboi

Ot opsãu

M ka sabé

39. Bo t'otxá ke bo tem um bom konvivénsia ma bos kolega, o mais-o-mens, o nãu?

Sim

Mais o mens

Nãu

42. Bo t'otxá ke bo tem um vida boa, o mais-o-mens, o nãu?

Sim

Mais o mens

Nãu

M ka sabé

45. Se bo t'imajiná ke bzot na kaza tava meste de 1000\$00 pa paga um koza important ke surjí de repent, bo t'otxá ke sempr ta tem kel dnher, normalment ta tem, o as vez ta tem, as vez ka ta tem?

Sempr ta tem

Normalment ta tem

As ves ta tem

M ka sabé

46. Bo t'otxá ke bo kaza e um kaza de boas kondisões financeiras, mais-o-mens, o pok kondisões

Boas kondisões

Mais-o-mens

Pok kondisões

M ka sabé

Nãu

As vez

Um vez / s

Txeu vez / s

47. Bo ta pratiká algum desport fora de skola?

48. Bo ta pratiká algum actividad artístika o musikal?

49. Se bo ta konsegí dá bos fidj kes mesm kondisãu ke bo tem grinha-sim, bo ta fká kontent o nãu?

Nãu

Sim, M kre dá's mas

Sim, M ta fká kontent

M ka sabé

50. Se bo tivess ke dskrevé Kab Verd t'utilizá tres palavra, kal e k'e kes palavra ke bo tava utilizá?

33. Kal e k'e kes ilha de Kab Verd ke já bo ta konxé? ()

34. Na kal e ilha ke bo tem familiares (avó, tio, prim')? ()

Santo Antão

Sal

Santiago

São Vicente

Boavista

Fogo

São Nicolau

Maio

Brava

36. Kal e ke foi bo média final na 11.º ón?

37. Já bo repetí algum ón na skola?

Nãu

Sim, _____ ón

Ond'e ke bo kré bá studá?

Kab Verd

Stranjér

M ka sabé

Bo ti ta bá kandidatá pa bolsa?

Sim

Nãu

M ka sabé

O ké e ke bo ti ta bá fazé se bo ka ta konsegí bolsa?

40. Bo ta gostá de bá pa buát, o mais-o-mens, o nãu?

Prokurá traboi

Ot opsãu

M ka sabé

41. Bos pai ta txá-b bá sempr, o as vez, o es ka ta txá-b?

Sempr

As vez

Nãu

43. Na kaza ond'e ke bo ta morá ta tem txeu briga, o as vez ta tem, o kuaz ka tem?

Sim

As vez

Nãu

M ka sabé

44. Tem algém na bo kaza ke ta frekuentá igreja o Racionalismo Cristão?

Nãu

Pess.

Pais

Irmô

Outro

Igreja ...

RC

IN CASE THE HEAD OF
HOUSEHOLD IS NEITHER
THE FATHER NOR THE
MOTHER

Where was he/she born? Has he/she lived abroad? Yes

Country/island: _____

Area: _____

No

DK.

→ For how many years did he/she live abroad?

_____ DK.

Does he/she have more than four years of school? Yes

DK. No

↓ In which country (the last)?

_____ DK.

10. Do you have children yet? Yes No

11. How many brothers/sisters do you have? Brothers Sisters

Full siblings _____ How many _____

Maternal siblings _____ of them are _____

Paternal siblings _____ living with _____

12. How many people are living in your house at the moment? people

13. Do you have a maid?

Yes (resident)

Yes (non-resident)

No

14. How many rooms are there

in the house, including everything except the backyard?

_____ rooms

15. Do you have a bathroom?

Yes

No

16. Is there plaster on the walls?

Inside and outside

Only inside

Only outside

None

17. Do you have a television? Yes No

18. Do you have a video recorder? Yes No

19. Do you have a refrigerator? Yes No

20. Does anybody in your house have a car? Yes No

21. Do you have a washing machine? Yes No

22. Now I will show you four options for your future. Please tell me which one you would prefer.

Stay on the island
of residence

Live on
another island

Emigrate and
stay abroad

Emigrate and
return to Cape Verde

↓
On which island?

↓
To which country would you like to go?

_____ Don't know

↓
If you stay in Cape Verde, on which island would you like to live? ←

↓
If you don't manage to get the necessary documents to work abroad, would you prefer to look for work in Cape Verde or stay abroad and work without documents?

Look here Stay there Don't know

23. Why do you wish to emigrate? / why don't you wish to emigrate?

24. Now I am going to read you some statements about Cape Verde. Please tell me your opinion and say whether you agree or not.

	Yes	No	Don't know
a Many unemployed could find work if they wanted to	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b Cape Verde's future seems prosperous	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c The Cape Verdean people are an African people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d When your parents were young, their lives were easier than young people's lives today	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e Cape Verdeans are very solidary, that is they help each other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f It would have been better to use Kriol in class	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g In Cape Verde there is a lot of envy between people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h Cape Verde's problems are getting bigger every day	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

25. In your opinion, what are Cape Verde's biggest problems?

26. Do you have brothers or sisters who are living abroad at the moment or lived abroad before?

	Son/daughter of my...		Born abroad	Country	Living abroad at the moment	Has returned to Cape Verde	He/she is/was studying	He/she is/was working	He/she is there with documents	He/she is there without documents
	Brother	Sister								
a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

27. Do you have other relatives who are living abroad? → In which country/countries?

Grandp. Uncles/aunts Cousins

Portugal Senegal

28. Do you have relatives who were emigrants and now live here?

Grandp. Uncles/aunts Cousins

Spain Guinea B.

29. Do you think that the majority of your friends would like to emigrate?

Yes No Don't know

Italy Angola

30. Have you received parcels / money from emigrant relatives?

Never A few times Many times

Parcels or gifts.....

Money (for you).....

France Argentina

Switzerl. Brazil

Belguim Cuba

Luxemb. USA

Netherl. _____

Germany _____

31. Is there anybody abroad who sends money to sustain your family?

Yes At times No

Sweden _____

Norway _____

32. Have you ever been abroad?

- No
- Yes —————→ Where?

35. Which is your track in school?

38. After finishing schools, do you want to pursue higher education or look for work?

- Higher education—————→
- Look for work
- Other
- Don't know

39. Do you think that you have a good companionship with your classmates?

- Yes
- More or less
- No

42. Do you think that you have a good life, or more or less, or not?

- Yes
- More or less
- No
- Don't know

45. If you imagine that in your household, you needed CVE 1000 (USD 10) for something urgent that suddenly came up, would this amount be available...

- Always
- Normally
- Sometimes
- Don't know

46. Would you say that the financial condition of the household where you live is...

- Good
- More or less
- Poor
- Don't know

47. Do you practice any sports outside school?

- No
- At times
- Weekly
- Several times/week

48. Do you practice any musical or artistic activity?

- No
- At times
- Weekly
- Several times/week

49. If, in the future, you can give your children the same standard of living as you have now, would you be satisfied? (AWAIT ANSWER)

- No
- Yes, but preferably better
- Yes

33. Which islands of Cape Verde have you visited? (□)

34. On which islands do you have relatives? (◇)

- | | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Santo Antão | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Sal | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Santiago |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ São Vicente | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Boavista | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Fogo |
| <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ São Nicolau | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Maio | <input type="checkbox"/> ◇ Brava |

36. What was your mean grade in the 11th year?

37. Have you repeated any years in school?

- No
- Yes, ___years

Where do you wish to study? Will you apply for a scholarship?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Cape Verde | <input type="checkbox"/> Yes |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Abroad | <input type="checkbox"/> No |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know | <input type="checkbox"/> Don't know |

What will you do if you don't get a scholarship?

40. Do you like to go dancing, or you like it more or less, or you don't like it?

- Likes
- More or less
- Doesn't like

41. If you want to go dancing, do your parents let you go always, some times or never?

- Always
- Some times
- Never

43. In the house where you live, are there many fights, or sometimes, or almost never?

- Yes
- At times
- No
- Don't know

44. Does anybody in your household regularly attend church or CR? Who?

- | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| | <i>Pers.</i> | <i>Parent</i> | <i>Sibling</i> | <i>Other</i> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> No | | | | |
| Church . | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| CR..... | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

50. If you were to describe Cape Verde with three words, which words would you use?

A3

QUESTIONNAIRE NOTES

The following are notes and operationalizations of individual questions in the Student Survey questionnaire. Only notes to questions that have been used in the statistical analysis are included.

Q3 Place of residence

This refers to the place of residence during the school year. In many cases, interviewees have another 'home' at which they spend their holidays, usually the parental home on another island. The relative importance of the two homes vary along a continuum, depending, among other things, on how many years the interviewee has studied away from the parental home. For the sake of consistence, all questions referring to 'the house/family in which you live at the moment' refer to the place of residence during the school year, independently of which place the interviewee regards as home. The only exception to this rule, is when the interviewee lives at a boarding house. Since many questions about house and family would be meaningless, they refer instead to the usual place of residence during holidays. Registration in the questionnaire was based on the following principles:

<i>Living arrangement</i>		<i>Registration in questionnaire</i>		
During term time	During holidays	Co-residence with parents	Question 3 and question 11–16 refer to...	Staying in current household during term time only
With parents	With parents	Yes	Parents' home	No
With relatives	With relatives	No	Relatives' home	No
With relatives	With parents	No	Relatives' home	Yes
In boarding house	With parents	Yes	Parents' home	Yes
In boarding house	With relatives	No	Relatives' home	Yes

Q4/Q6 Parent's place of birth

The question was phrased simply 'where was your mother/father born' and usually elicited an answer without hesitation. When the interviewee did not know where one of the parents was born, they were asked where the parent grew up, and this was recorded instead of the place of birth (which might have been the same place).

Q4/Q6 Parents' place of residence and migration history

The parent's place of residence is defined as the place at which they usually spend most of the year. Many interviewees have fathers who work at sea for two thirds of the year or more, and these fathers are registered as living abroad. Parents are not registered as having emigrated if they have only studied abroad. The *length* of their stay abroad, however, might include some years of studying. Parents who have worked or are working at sea are recorded as living in the country of the shipping company. For this reason, a small number of fathers who have sailed abroad on *Cape Verdean* ships are not recorded as having emigrated.

Q5/Q7 Parent's education

Parents are registered as having secondary education if they have completed more than four years of school, which was previously the legal minimum. Especially among the parents born on Santo Antão, those who don't have secondary education often didn't go to school at all, and some can not read and write.

Q11-12 Number of siblings, co-residence with siblings and number of household members

The number of siblings living with the interviewee will depend on his or her own definition of belonging to the household. Many people lead lives that include several households. Consequently, some brothers or sisters might live elsewhere but eat at the interviewee's household or the other way around. For the present purpose, the interviewee's own perception of who lives in the household seems more appropriate than a strict definition focusing on one specific aspect of belonging.

Q22 Preferred migration strategy

The interviewees were told that *Now I will show you four options for your future, and you should indicate which one you prefer* and then shown a sheet of paper looking like this (in the case of São Vicente):

Q: *I will now show you four options for your future. Please tell me which one you would prefer.*

Stay in São Vicente ¹	Move to another island in Cape Verde
Emigrate and stay abroad	Emigrate and return to Cape Verde

¹ 'São Vicente' was replaced with 'Santo Antão' for interviews on that island.

The interviewees often pointed to the option *Emigrate and return to Cape Verde* but later said that they only wanted to study abroad and return immediately. In this case, 'staying in São Vicente' (or Santo Antão) was recorded as their preferred migration strategy. If, however, they said that they preferred place of residence in Cape Verde was another island, *Live on another island in Cape Verde* was recorded as their preferred strategy. In this way, the final registration of a strategy depended not only on the interviewee's first indication, but also on their subsequent answers.

Q30 Parcels/money from emigrant relatives

There is considerable variation in the interviewee's perception of what is many times and what is a few times. For instance, getting parcels regularly once a year was regarded as *many times* by some interviewees and *a few times* by others. When respondents specified what they meant, once a year was recorded as *a few times*. A question about letters was dropped in the final version of the questionnaire. There were two reasons for this. First, there was ambiguity related to letters sent to the whole family rather than to the interviewee personally. Second, many interviewees also commented that they had frequent contact with relatives abroad, but through phonecalls rather than letters.

Q38 Intention to pursue higher education

As with *Preferred migration strategy* above, there was a problem with conditionality. Some respondents said that they would like to study if a possibility appeared, but otherwise look for work. In order to ensure consistence, the preferred option was always recorded. However, it is certain that the majority of those wishing to pursue higher education will not be able to do so. Regarding the place to study, this refers to their preference given today's possibilities to study in Cape Verde. Many interviewees said that they would like to study in Cape Verde if there were better conditions than at present.

A4

OME SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

The following pages contain the original Portuguese version of the questionnaire. The questions used in the statistical analysis translate as follows:

3. What is your age?
4. Gender
6. Place of birth (Country/island/municipality)
8. Education (None/Less than 4th grade/4th grade/6th grade/9th grade/12th grade/Higher education)
9. Employment situation (last week)
 1. Had paid work for at least one hour
 2. Employed but did not work (due to illness, holidays, etc)
 3. Did not work and is not employed
 4. Student, pensioner or housewife
 5. Other
11. What activity did you perform? (if searching for new job, describe previous job)
12. Are you searching for a job?
 1. Yes, I am searching for a new job
 2. Yes, I am searching for my first job
 3. No
13. In the last four weeks, what did you do to obtain a job?
 1. Contacted municipal authorities
 2. Contacted employment centres
 3. Contacted companies or organizations
 4. Other contacts
 5. Nothing
14. If you were to find a job, would you be able to start working within 7 days? (Yes/No)
17. Do you wish to emigrate? (Yes/No)
18. Where to?
20. Do you have emigrant relatives? (Yes/No)
21. List emigrant relatives, specifying type of relation, duration of emigration, and country of residence
22. Do you receive remittances from your emigrant relatives? (Yes/No)

INSTITUTO DO EMPREGO E FORMAÇÃO PROFISSIONAL
= OBSERVATÓRIO DE MIGRAÇÕES E EMPREGO =

Trimestre/ano

Entrevista n°

Local da entrevista

Entrevistador

1. Já alguma vez respondeu a este inquérito?

1.1. Sim

1.2. Não ⇒ 3

2. Quantas vezes

3. Qual e a sua idade

4. Sexo

5. Residência actual

5.1. País _____

5.2. Ilha _____

5.3. Concelho _____

6. Local de nascimento

6.1. País _____

6.2. Ilha _____

6.3. Concelho _____

(SE A ILHA/CONCELHO OU PAÍS DE RESIDÊNCIA ACTUAL COINCIDE COM O LOCAL DE NASCIMENTO, PASSE À QUESTÃO 8)

7. Motivo porque mudou país/ilha/concelho

8. Habilitações

8.1. Sem habilitações

8.2. Inferior a 4ª classe

8.3. 4ª classe

8.4. 6ª classe

8.5. 9º ano

8.6. 12º ano

8.7. Ensino superior

9. Situação perante o emprego (semana passada)

9.1. Teve trabalho remunerado de pelo menos uma hora durante a semana passada (salário, lucro ou género)

9.2. Tem emprego mas não trabalhou (por motivo de doença, férias, etc.)

9.3. Não trabalhou nem 1 hora e nem tem emprego ⇒ 11

9.4. É estudante, reformado, domestica, ⇒ 17

9.5. Outra situação _____ ⇒ 17

⇒ 10

10. O seu trabalho é exercido de forma

- 10.1. Permanente
- 10.2. Ocasional
- 10.3. Temporário

11. Que actividade exerceu (se procura novo emprego indique a do último emprego)

12. Procura emprego?

- 12.1. Sim, procuro novo emprego
- 12.2. Sim, procuro primeiro emprego
- 12.3. Não ⇒ 17

13. Nas últimas 4 semanas o que fez para arranjar emprego?

- 13.1. Contactou as Câmaras Municipais
- 13.2. Contactou os Serviços de Emprego
- 13.3. Contactou Empresas ou outros Organismos
- 13.4. Outros contactos
- 13.5. Não fez nada ⇒ 17

14. Se encontrasse um emprego poderia começar a trabalhar imediatamente (7 dias)

- Sim
- Não ⇒ 17

15. Há quanto tempo não trabalha e procura emprego

- 15.1. Menos de 1 mês
- 15.2. 1 a 6 meses
- 15.3. 7 meses a 1 ano
- 15.4. Mais de 1 ano

16. Qual é a razão porque está desempregado / procura 1º emprego

- 16.1. Encerramento da empresa
- 16.2. Privatização/reestruturação da empresa/sector público
- 16.3. Fim do contrato/trabalho
- 16.4. Doméstica e quer trabalhar
- 16.5. Terminou estudos/serviço militar obrigatório
- 16.6. Necessita ganhar dinheiro
- 16.7. Outros _____
(indique)

17. Deseja emigrar?

- 17.1. Sim
- 17.2. Não ⇒ 20

18. Para que local?

19. Porque motivo deseja emigrar?

- 19.1. Por esta desempregado
- 19.2. Por ter emprego mas ganhar pouco
- 19.3. Por ter emprego mas deseja exercer outra profissão
- 19.4. Ir ter com a família
- 19.5. Por outro motivo
Indique qual:

20. *Tem familiares emigrantes?*

(SE NÃO, PASSE A QUESTÃO 23)

21. *Familiares emigrantes*

<i>Parentesco</i>	<i>Portugal</i>	<i>França</i>	<i>Itália</i>	<i>Holanda</i>	<i>Luxemb.</i>	<i>Outro U.E.</i>	<i>EUA</i>	<i>Outro (qual)</i>

(Indicar o parentesco, a duração da emigração e, se necessário, o país)

22. *Recebe remessas dos familiares emigrantes?*

23. *Nos próximos 3 meses prevê estar*
 23.1. *Empregado?*
 23.2. *Desempregado?*
 23.3. *Inactivo?*

A5

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES (SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS)

The interviewees listed below are those that were recruited through the Student Survey. Details about emigration aspirations, parents, material household standard and opinions about Cape Verde are copied from the Student Survey questionnaires.

Name (fictious)	Age	Gender	Island of residence	Wishes to emigrae	Parents' migration history		Co-residence with parents		Material household standard ²	Cape Verde's problems are getting bigger every day	Cape Verde's future appears prosperous
					Mother	Father	Mother	Father			
Djina	19	F	SV	No	—	—	—	—	7.5	Agrees	Agrees
Filóca	18	F	SA	No	—	Return	Yes	Yes	7.5	?	Agrees
Ilda	18	F	SV	No	—	—	Yes	—	7.3	Agrees	Disagrees
Naiss	20	M	SV	Yes	Emigrant	Emigrant	—	—	7.0	Agrees	Disagrees
Vera	18	F	SV	Yes	Return	—	Yes	Yes	6.5	Agrees	Disagrees
Bia	18	F	SV	Yes	—	Emigrant	Yes	—	6.3	Disagrees	?
Nita	20	F	SV	Yes	—	—	Yes	Yes	5.5	Agrees	Agrees
Eloisa	17	F	SV	Yes	—	Return	Yes	Yes	5.3	Disagrees	Agrees
Calú	21	M	SV	No	—	Return	Yes	—	5.3	Disagrees	Agrees
Eneida	19	F	SV	Yes	Emigrant	—	—	—	5.2	?	Agrees
Tina	19	F	SV	Yes	Emigrant	—	—	—	4.9	Agrees	Agrees
Ira	19	F	SV	No	—	Emigrant	Yes	—	4.6	Agrees	Agrees
Djoni	19	M	SA	No	—	—	Yes	Yes	2.9	Agrees	Agrees
Sú	18	F	SV	Yes	—	—	Yes	—	2.6	Agrees	Disagrees
Lú	18	F	SV	No	Emigrant	Emigrant	—	—	2.4	Agrees	Disagrees

¹ This index is calculated on the basis of several questions on crowding and household utility, ranging from 0 (minimum) to 10 (maximum). See chapter four for details.

In addition *recorded* interviews were conducted with **Toi, Nelson, Tony, Jorge** and **Bitim**, all of whom were unskilled men in their twenties, living in São Vicente's suburbs. Most of them were born in Santo Antão and moved to São Vicente as children, and they all wished to emigrate. Other semi-structured interviews were unrecorded conversations that blended into participant observation (described in chapter four).

A6

NODES USED IN THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

Node is the term used in the *NVivo* software for qualitative research for the analytical concepts to which text segments can be linked. The codes are not necessarily self-explanatory, but indicate the primary concepts used in the data analysis. The listed items were grouped in eight categories in addition to the unclassified 'free nodes'.

Free nodes

Causal chain
Family details
Methods
Quote
Zonas

In vivo

Adventurá
Bilhet de identidade
Dokument
Esperansa
Fazé nha/se vida
Féria
Iluzãu
Kabverdian
Kaza
Nha terra
Papel
Sort
Spiá vida
Vida lév
Vida mdjor
Vida stável

Demographic

Age
Gender
Parenthood

Emigration

Betrayal
Choice of mode
Different ability
Emigration as social practice
Family in migration
Ideas about life abroad
Illegality in migration
Immobility
Prospective migrants
Return
Sacrifice
Spirit of adventure
Transnational practices
Wanting to stay

Strategies

Documented labour migration
Marriage
Marriage payment
Marriage problems
Migration strategy
Money as problem
People smuggling
People smuggling danger
Regularization
Visa

Migrants

Current migrants
Return migrants

Society

Education
Family
Inter-island contrasts
Padrinhagem and bribery
Prostitution
Sexual relations
Work

Social mobility

Choice of trajectory
João's statement
Social stratification
Two groups

Defining CV

General description
Isolation
Poverty
Txuva

