

The Global Classroom

Perspectives of 11th and 12th Grade Students in Praia on
Cabo Verdean Emigration, Migration Culture and
Studying Abroad



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List of Figures

Figure 3.1 — Map of the Cabo Verdean islands	13
Figure 3.2 — Map of the Cabo Verdean Diaspora in 2008	14
Figure 3.3 — Map of the dominant migration flows from the colonial period until around 1900	15
Figure 3.4 — The educational system of Cabo Verde	17
Figure 4.1 — Conceptual model	18
Figure 5.5 — Most popular key words connected to Cabo Verdean Emigration	25
Figure 5.11 —Guidebooks for migrants	26

List of Tables

Table 3.5 — Educational Statistics of Cabo Verde in 2012	29
Table 5.2 — Emigration is an important topic in school	29
Table 5.3 — Migration being discussed in school	30
Table 5.4 — Specific classes about emigration	30
Table 5.6 — Summary of the negative and positive effects of emigration for Cabo Verde	31
Table 5.10 —Number of students who consider that their school is providing information about studying abroad	32

List of Boxes

Box 5.1 — Experiences from students	34
Box 5.7 — Social pressure to bring back gifts upon return	35
Box 5.8 — Harry Potter representing the United Kingdom	37
Box 5.9 — Experiences from other relatives	38
Box 6.1 — Illusions	43

Foreword

This research is the outcome of fieldwork conducted between February and May 2014 in the city of Praia, Cabo Verde. I had the opportunity to be part of the staff of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) while conducting my own independent research. I would like to thank my local supervisor Ana Barbosa de Melo for providing this opportunity.

Special thanks go out to my other two colleagues, Suely Neves and Quelita Silves Gonçalves, for your patience, assistance and support. Without your knowledge, skills and connections I would have missed out on vital information for my research. Moreover, my stay in Cabo Verde would not have been the same if I had not met you two amazing ladies.

Furthermore, I would like to thank all the students for their dedication and time to fill out the questionnaires and participate in interviews. Without their contribution, this research would not have been possible. In addition, I also would like to thank the teachers for sharing their knowledge and assisting me in my research. Andjú Santos, you are the perfect example of what Cabo Verdean hospitality stands for.

I would also underline the contribution of Corsino Tolentino, for your wisdom and critical thinking. I am grateful for all the information you gave to me and your role in connecting me with other academics in the field of emigration. I truly appreciate your devotion for academic research. Francisco Carvalho and Ana Barros, thank you for your help in putting me in contact with key informants.

This research is also the result of the guidance of my supervisor Professor Annelies Zoomers. You managed to take my insecurity away and enlighten me with your input and feedback. Due to your effort and dedication, we managed to point out an important element within Cabo Verde that deserves further research, which is connecting emigration to education.

A final word goes out to the three most important people in my life, namely my parents and my sister. Thank you for always believing in me, supporting me in the decisions I make, and being there for me in good and bad times. "Thank you" is not enough to describe how thankful I am for the support you give to me.

Table of Contents

List of Figures	1
List of Tables	1
List of Boxes	1
Foreword	2
Executive Summary	4
CHAPTER 1: Introduction	7
CHAPTER 2: Literature Review	8
2.1 Brain Drain, Brain Gain and Brain Circulation	8
2.2 Migration and Development in High Schools and Universities Worldwide	11
CHAPTER 3: Geographical Context and Cultural Background	13
3.1 Geography and Demography	13
3.2 Historical and Cultural Background	15
3.3 The Educational System	16
CHAPTER 4: Methodology	19
4.1 Research Objectives	22
4.2 Research Questions	22
4.3 Operationalization and Conceptual Model	23
CHAPTER 5: Data Analysis	26
5.1 Students' Knowledge About the History of the Country	26
5.2 Students' Knowledge About the Host Countries	32
5.3 Studying Abroad: Perspectives of Students	34
5.4 Information Sharing About Studying Abroad	36
5.4.1 Information Provided by the Secondary Schools	36
5.4.2 Information Provided by IOM	37
5.4.3 Information Provided by CAMPO	39
5.4.4 Students Expectations Regarding Studying Abroad	41
CHAPTER 6: Discussion of Findings	42
CHAPTER 7: Conclusion	48
7.1 Policy Recommendations	49
7.2 Recommendations for Future Research	49
References	51
Appendices	54

Executive Summary

The main objective of this research is to analyze the various perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in the city of Praia, Cabo Verde, on emigration, migration culture and studying abroad. An overwhelming majority of the students who participated in this research have indicated that they are planning to study abroad after their graduation from high school. Nevertheless, the knowledge they have about the receiving country is rather limited. Many young Cabo Verdeans leave their mother country with high expectations and false perspectives which are based upon an illusion. They have a very optimistic view about the world outside of Cabo Verde. According to the 11th and 12th grade students who participated in this fieldwork, migrating to another country represents better living conditions, knowledge, opportunities, happiness, success, and improvement. Only a handful of students pointed out the downside of emigration, in which longing and sadness were the most popular key words related to Cabo Verdean emigration.

This research has indicated that the illusion is coming from (i) a lack of fundamental education about Cabo Verde's national history and its relation to emigration, (ii) a lack of critical thinking about the consequences of emigration for the development of the country, (iii) the image students get from family members who are living abroad, and (iv) the lack of preparation for studying abroad provided by the secondary schools in Praia. False perspectives of the host country and a lack of knowledge about the importance of emigration have a negative effect upon the students' educational career and their ability to adapt to the new culture and local circumstances. It is highly important to conduct research on emigration perspectives of students, since the development of the country is depending upon the benefits of migration, such as the return of highly skilled nationals. Understanding of the perspectives of young students who plan to attend tertiary education abroad is key, since they represent the next generation of Cabo Verdeans who might be able to contribute to the development of the country.

Data has been collected during a three-months study in the capital of Cabo Verde, the city of Praia. A total of 251 students (107 11th grade students and 144 12th grade students) coming from three different secondary schools participated in filling out a questionnaire. In addition, semi-structured interviews with students, teachers and school principals were organized to obtain a deeper understanding of the

context and six in-depth interviews with key informants in the field of migration were held to collect fundamental information about Cabo Verdean emigration. Moreover, so-called “emigration lectures” were organized by the author herself to discuss the content of the questionnaire in further detail.

The most important finding of this research is that students do not learn much about the history of their country. Obtaining a deep understanding of the history of the nation and about the important role that emigration plays for the development of the country would stimulate students to critically think about the various consequences of emigration. There again, history classes are primarily focused on European history, culture and architecture. The past of the nation is only being dealt with superficially and the content has not really changed compared to previous decades. Secondary schools are obliged to follow the curriculum which is designed by the Ministry of Education and that document is primarily European-focused. This phenomenon can be explained by the colonial past of the country as a former colony of Portugal. Colonization continues to leave its marks on Cabo Verde’s society.

Furthermore, students lack a critical understanding about the meaning of emigration for the development of the country. This archipelago is a nation which has a strong relationship with emigration, but secondary schools do not consider a deep understanding of this topic as a top priority for the students’ educational development. Emigration and knowledge about the countries overseas are related to each other, but many students lack sufficient information about the living conditions of Cabo Verdean communities residing abroad, or about the host country in geographical or societal terms. The image they have of the countries overseas are mainly based upon an illusion which is due to a lack of proper information.

Another important aspect is that almost every Cabo Verdean has a family member or relative residing abroad. Family connections are extremely important within Cabo Verdean society and remittances account for a large share of the total GDP (Ákesson, 2011). In the majority of the cases, family members return to Cabo Verde with a large quantity of material possessions. After many years of hard work, they managed to afford a bigger house, a nice car, and are able to support the family financially. This image of success is something that stimulates others to emigrate

as well. Unfortunately, family members tend to portray the positive side of their emigration in which they have gained financial and material success, but simultaneously they are leaving out the hard times and difficulties they had to face.

Lastly, lots of improvement can be made in the field of information sharing about studying abroad. Overall, the secondary schools that participated in this research are making an effort to inform their pupils about the possibilities of studying abroad or studying at one of the universities in Cabo Verde. However, students have indicated that the quality of this information is not sufficient enough and they would like to learn more about this topic. Governmental guidebooks about emigration, immigration, and return migration do not seem to reach the students. More and better knowledge about studying abroad and the host country will be beneficial for the students' educational career. Furthermore, it will have a positive effect on the potential to contribute to the development of the country when students return to Cabo Verde as highly skilled nationals.

1. Introduction

Emigration is a well-known topic within the context of Cabo Verde. Few countries in the world have been as profoundly shaped by emigration as this archipelago. Various academic articles have been written about Cabo Verdean emigration and immigration, dealing with topics such as the importance of remittances for the development of the country and the engagement of its worldwide Diaspora. However, one crucial aspect of Cabo Verdean emigration—until the publication of this thesis—has not been researched yet: analyzing the current perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students on Cabo Verdean emigration and migration culture and linking this to the desire to attend tertiary education abroad. Emigration plays an important role for the development of the country. However, little attention is given to the concept of emigration within the secondary level of education in order to fully comprehend the importance of this topic. The objective of this thesis is to analyze the perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in the city of Praia on emigration, migration culture and studying abroad. The main question of this thesis is: in what way are the perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in Praia on Cabo Verdean emigration and migration culture contributing to the desire to attend tertiary education abroad? In order to answer this question, various topics will be addressed. First of all, existing literature about theories of brain drain, brain gain and brain circulation will be compared and contrasted in the literature review. The current situation of the country cannot be fully understood if one does not know the context of the country. That is why the following chapter continues with a short overview of Cabo Verde's geographical context and cultural background, in which the country's geography, demography, history, culture, and the educational system will be discussed. Chapter four takes a closer look at the applied methodology of this research. Chapter five will analyze the specific data acquired throughout this research, in which knowledge about the history of Cabo Verde, knowledge about host countries, perspectives of emigration and migration culture, and studying abroad, and the provision of information by high schools, the International Organization for Migration, and governmental institutions are being discussed in detail. Chapter six will discuss the empirical data by answering each sub question systematically. The final chapter concludes with policy recommendations and recommendations for further research.

2. Literature Review

Many academic articles have been written about the concept of emigration, in which the importance of remittances for the development of the country (Åkesson, 2013; Tolentino et al, 2008; De Haas, 2005), return migration (Carling, 2004), the meanings of emigration (Carling and Åkesson 2009), and Diaspora engagement (Batalha and Carling, 2008) were amongst the most popular topics to write about. More recently, focus shifted from research about rural-urban migration and remittances to the interconnection between migration and development. Current research stresses global migration flows and the complex links between migration and the broader development process, something that goes far beyond the cash sent home (Clemens et al, 2014). Since this thesis is focused on migration perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students who, theoretically speaking, could become the future generation of highly skilled Cabo Verdeans, this chapter offers a literature review about brain drain, brain gain, and brain circulation to provide a theoretical framework for the content of this research. In addition, a short overview will be provided to show what other countries are doing to teach their pupils about migration and development as a comparison to what is being done in Cabo Verde.

2.1 Brain Drain, Brain Gain and Brain Circulation

The term brain drain designates the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital and mainly applies to the migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing to developed countries (Beine, 2004; Docquier and Marfouk, 2007). Brain gain, on the other hand, indicates the outflow of educated migrants (and the possibility of own future migration in particular) which can lead to a net increase in the origin country's stock of human capital (Batista et al, 2010). The context of brain drain and brain gain has changed substantially in the academic field throughout the last couple of decades. Whereas early writings have a rather pessimistic view about the consequences of brain drain for the sending country, since globalization and international academic mobility tends to concentrate wealth, knowledge, and power in those already possessing these elements, thereby compounding existing inequalities (Altback and Knight, 2007). Current scholars, on the other hand, tend to focus more on the possible advantages for the sending country. While it is traditionally argued that openness to international migration will cause an effective brain drain for the source country, in

the new millennium, the discussion on brain drain has clearly moved to the more optimistic and realistic discourse on brain circulation and brain gain with a positive net return on human capital (Sahay, 2014). In other words, emigration of students and highly skilled individuals could have a negative effect on the country when one is looking at the short-term consequences, but the long-term effects turned out to be highly beneficial if these young professionals return to their country of origin with a large share of human capital. In his research, Sahay (2014) stated that brain drain, which was the popular jargon of the twentieth century coming from the less developed countries, has become the jargon of the developed countries who are now complaining about their own brain drain with trained immigrant populations choosing the return option and leaving their shore (Sahay, 2014). This is where the term brain circulation comes in, which is used to describe the increasingly circular nature of migration. Skills and knowledge of the individuals are not lost but they are circulating from one country to another. An increasing percentage of migratory movement is temporary, with many migrants maintaining financial, cultural and sometimes political links with their country of origin. Sending countries may also benefit from financial remittances, technology transfer, entrepreneurial partnering, and the development of personal networks and diplomatic ties (Gribble, 2008). People are moving into a world where knowledge flows among countries and institutions, people are starting companies, creating jobs and propagating innovations—adding to the economies of many countries at once (Sahay, 2014).

Multiple articles have been written about brain gain and brain drain theories, in which the causes and consequences of these two elements remained mainly theoretical. However, Batista and others (2010) have put theory into practice by testing the brain gain hypothesis through a household survey in Cabo Verde in order to examine explicitly whether the probability of own, future migration improves individual educational attainment. Small island developing countries, such as Cabo Verde, are more open to migration and the highest brain drain rates are observed in these countries. On the contrary, the lowest rates are observed in large and landlocked developing countries (Docquier et al, 2007). This observation is also supported by earlier research conducted by Docquier and Marfouk (2006), in which they estimated that 67.5 percent of the highly educated labor force of Cabo Verde is living abroad, which is the highest percentage of brain drain within the African continent (Batista et al, 2010). **With** their empirical fieldwork, Batista and others have demonstrated that brain drain is no longer perceived to be such a serious problem as traditionally was being thought. They concluded that massive

emigration from Cabo Verde seems to have significantly encouraged the accumulation of human capital in the country (Batista et al, 2010). To be more precise, a 10 percent increase in the probability of own future migration may improve the average probability of completing intermediate secondary schooling by 8 percent for individuals who do not migrate before age 16 (Batista et al, 2010). Therefore, their fieldwork serves as a good example of brain circulation.

Other scholars as well, such as Mayr and Peri (2008), have underlined that the negative direct impact on the average human capital will be reduced when emigrants return to their home country. Current studies point out that one fourth of all emigrants will return and this proportion is even larger for the group of highly educated individuals (Mayr and Peri, 2008). In addition, Gundel and Peters (2008) showed that a much higher return rate for the highly educated is visible compared with the less educated. This return of highly skilled nationals has a beneficial outcome for the development of the country. In one of their analysis, Mayr and Peri indicated that the possibility of migrating and returning to the country of origin has two positive effects on the average human capital and wages in the sending country. In the first place, those individuals who plan to migrate and return invest more in the level of education since their return to schooling, while abroad and as returnees, is higher than if they stayed in the home country. In particular, if there is a wage and productivity premium for returnees who are able to exploit, for instance, entrepreneurial abilities and skills acquired abroad, migration and return stimulate education even more than permanent migration. Secondly, the return of workers with international experience enhances the average human capital of the sending country (Mayr and Peri, 2008). Thus again, return migration is the key driver of brain circulation and plays an important role for the development of the home country.

It is clear that the negative perception of brain drain has been replaced by the more optimistic view of brain circulation. More and more scholars emphasize the importance of return migration for the development of the sending country. Migration and development are no longer two separate concepts, but are interrelated to each other. Research about this topic is still quite limited, nevertheless, policy makers and governmental institutions start to comprehend the potential developmental impact of highly skilled returnees for the country and, therefore, research concerning this topic is being stimulated. From a policy perspective, sending countries have three main options when it comes to regulating the flow of students (Gribble, 2008). The first option is for governments to invest

more in the quality of their own educational system at a tertiary level in order to stimulate students to attend higher education within their national borders. A second alternative would be to encourage students to study abroad and then promote their return home by adopting policies that facilitate student repatriation. The last option is to acknowledge that a large share of students will not return immediately upon graduation and governmental institutions should formulate policies which will enable students to contribute to the development of their country while residing abroad (Gribble, 2008). This would also require these countries to develop an environment that will provide rewarding opportunities for those who have attained the knowledge and skills overseas (Sahay, 2014).

2.2 Migration and Development in High Schools and Universities Worldwide

The perspectives of emigration, migration culture and studying abroad of 11th and 12th grade students in the city of Praia, Cabo Verde, is the topic of this research, but what are other secondary schools and tertiary institutions worldwide doing to inform their students about migration and development? Not every country has been as strongly connected to and formed by emigration as Cabo Verde has, but in what way are other educational institutions in various countries addressing this topic? Several examples will be given in order to answer this question.

An analysis of the literature about migration education amongst secondary schools show that most high schools discuss migration in general terms. The nexus between migration and development is not firmly being analyzed within this educational level. However, secondary schools in Europe, for instance, do discuss migration and its relation with asylum seekers within the European Union. In March 2009, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM), supported by the European Commission (EC), launched an innovative educational toolkit called "*Not Just Numbers*" and is designed to inform students about the main migration and asylum issues in the European Union (EU) (UNHCR, 2009). The original version was in English, but now it has been translated into twenty different languages. The specific audience, that is being addressed by this toolkit, are students between the ages of 12 and 18. It is not just a book dealing with the various aspects of migration and asylum seekers, but it is an interactive learning tool, including a teacher's manual, a DVD containing footage about human trafficking and smuggling, creative

exercises, and group assignments. Overall, students and teachers were very pleased with the content of this toolkit in order to broaden their knowledge about current migration discussions.

At the tertiary level of education, specific courses and complete studies have been designed to analyze the link between migration and development. At the University of Oslo, for example, the course "Migration, Transnationalism and Development" is being offered, in which theories of migration and the migration-development nexus is being discussed in a global context. These topics are being dealt with from an academic perspective as well as from a policy perspective (UiO, 2014). Georgetown University, situated in the United States, offers the program "International Migration Studies" from an economic, social, cultural, ethical, security and policy perspective (Georgetown University, 2014). Furthermore, the University of London offers a Masters program called "Migration, Mobility and Development," which analyzes various topics, such as globalization, diasporas and development, policy responses to migration, and climate change-related migration (Masters Portal, 2014). Many other universities offer similar programs in which migration and development form the basis for the courses. It is clear that the link between migration and development gains more and more ground within academic institutions and its content exceeds traditional thoughts regarding brain drain and brain gain theories.

3. Geographical Context and Cultural Background

This chapter will demonstrate an overview of the most important geographical, demographical, cultural and historical aspects of the Cabo Verdean islands. The last section of this chapter will provide an overview of the educational system of Cabo Verde in which statistics are combined with empirical data.

3.1 Geography and Demography

The Cabo Verdean islands are located 450 kilometres off the coast of Senegal and consist of ten islands, nine of which are populated (Atchoaréna, 2008). The islands are divided into two groups: the Barlavento (windward) islands and the Sotavento (leeward) islands. Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista belong to the first group whereas Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava are part of the second group. Every island is

different in its natural environment, speaks its own dialect of Creolo, and has its own culture and history. It is interesting to notice that each island is characterized by a specific migration history. People from the Barlavento islands tend to migrate to Northern and Western Europe. People from Santo Antão and São Vicente have primarily emigrated to the Netherlands, Portugal, France and the United States due to maritime relationships with Porto Novo (Pires, 2006). Whereas São Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista perceive Italy as their main country of residence. On the other hand, people from Santiago are mostly bound for Portugal, France and Luxembourg and people from Fogo and Brava emigrated to the United States to live the American Dream. Highly educated people have primarily emigrated to Portugal, Brazil and Cuba due to the partnerships these governments have with each other (Pires, 2006). According to data collected by the World Bank in 2013, the population

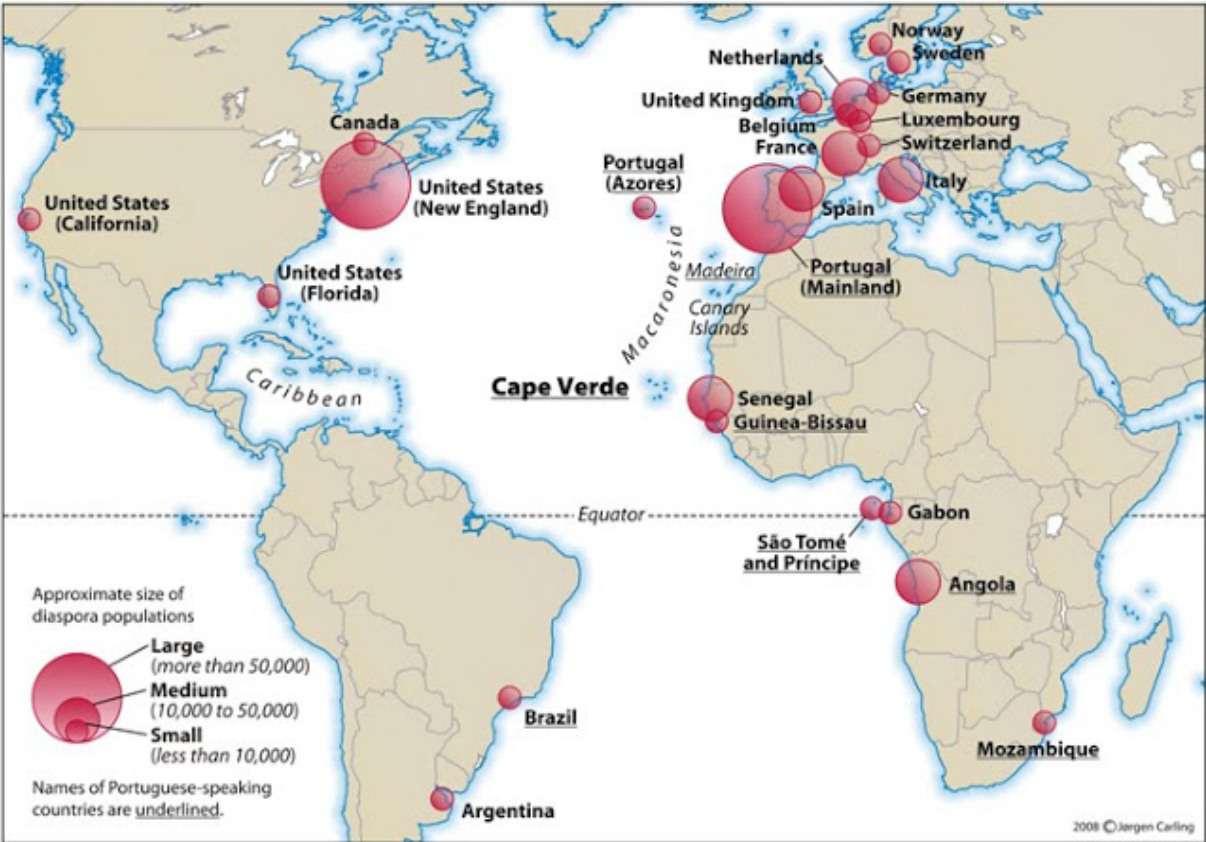
Figure 3.1 – Map of the Cabo Verdean islands



Source: CIA WBF

of Cabo Verde counts 498,897 inhabitants and is classified as a lower middle-income country (World Bank, 2013). The majority of the population lives in urban areas, namely 64.1 percent of the total population whereas 35.9 percent are residing in rural areas (World Bank, 2013). Cabo Verde has a relatively young population, since 30.2 percent of the total population is between the ages of 0 and 14 compared to 64.3 percent of the total population who are between the ages of 14 and 64 (World Bank, 2013). Due to the migration flows from Cabo Verde, the archipelago has developed a worldwide Diaspora in which the exact numbers are unknown. Some US citizens are characterized as third generation Cabo Verdeans without ever setting a foot on these islands. Others have Cabo Verdean descendants, but their grandparents or parents have a different nationality. In order to provide an indication of the size of the Diaspora, scholars are mainly working with estimations. In 2008, Jorgen Carling produced a map of the Cabo Verdean Diaspora (Figure 3.2) to give an indication about the estimated size and scale of the Diaspora. According to Carling, the largest Diaspora communities are residing in Boston, United States, and Portugal.

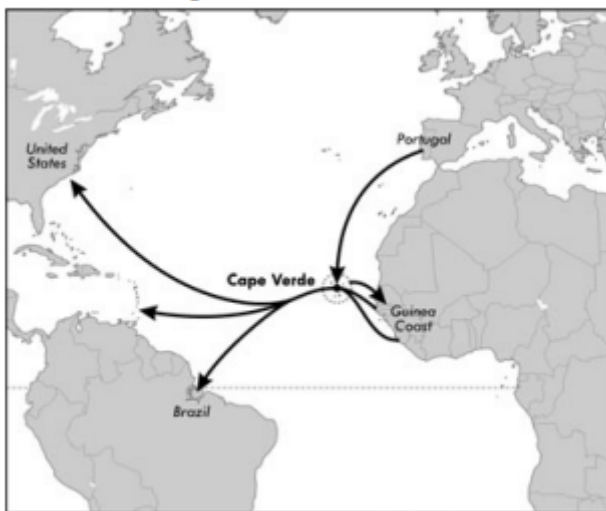
Figure 3.2 — Map of the Cabo Verdean Diaspora in 2008



3.2 Historical and Cultural Background

Cabo Verde was first populated by European settlers and West African slaves in the late 1400s and remained a Portuguese colony until 1975 (Carling, 2004). Due to its strategic geographical position, the archipelago functioned as an important transit point in the Atlantic slave trade (Carling and Åkesson, 2009). Cabo Verde has a rich history of out-migration and the main driver for migration was escaping poverty. This concept evokes painful memories and sentiments in the country. Until recent decades, people on the islands have been poor. During the 1940s, more than one

Figure 3.3 — Dominant migration flows from the colonial period until around 1900



Source: Carling and Åkesson, 2009

third of the population died in two consecutive periods of draught, and as late as 1958-1959 thousands of Cabo Verdeans died of starvation (Åkesson, 2013). The ongoing famines, draught, and other aspects that are related to poverty resulted in three main waves of migration (see figure 3.3). At the beginning of the twentieth century, Cabo Verdean migrants crossed the Atlantic to the United States, along with Southern Europeans. This constituted the first wave. A second smaller wave of emigration occurred in the 1940s, directed to Portugal, West Africa (namely Angola), and South America (namely Brazil). In the 1960s, Cabo Verdeans joined the northbound flows of labor migrants to Western Europe. This constitutes the third wave, culminating around the time of independence in 1975 (Carling, 2004).

Throughout the years, emigration played a crucial role for the development of the country in multiple ways. The country is molded by migration from the time of settlement until today (Carling and Åkesson, 2009). Whereas emigration was originally perceived as a tool to escape poverty and finding employment overseas, this began to change when individuals started to emigrate in search for higher education and to come in contact with other cultures outside of Cabo Verde. The concept of emigration is strongly linked to improvement of life and the potential for success. While visible wealth in Cabo Verde has grown steadily in recent decades, many Cabo Verdeans have already become used to classifying their country as a

place of poverty, and wealth is coming from outside (Carling and Åkesson, 2009). Extensive fieldwork conducted by Carling and Åkesson in 2009, pointed out that a well-developed migration ideology exists within the hearts of many Cabo Verdeans. They often see themselves as “experts” on migration and cultural integration (Carling and Åkesson, 2009) due to the ideas and experiences that have developed from the colonial past of the country and because of the lack of natural resources. Emigration is rather a necessity and is being perceived as something natural. For the majority of the Cabo Verdean people it is not the question *if* they will emigrate, but *when* they are planning to emigrate. Another important aspect of Cabo Verdean emigration is the point of return. In Cabo Verde, return is conceived of as the given end of the migration project (Carling and Åkesson, 2009). A lot of Cabo Verdeans return to their home country at the age of retirement to enjoy the benefits of their years of hard work, but what is more important are the highly skilled returnees who bring back a large share of human capital to contribute to the development of the country. In this way, the link between migration and development and the potential strength of brain circulation are being underlined once more.

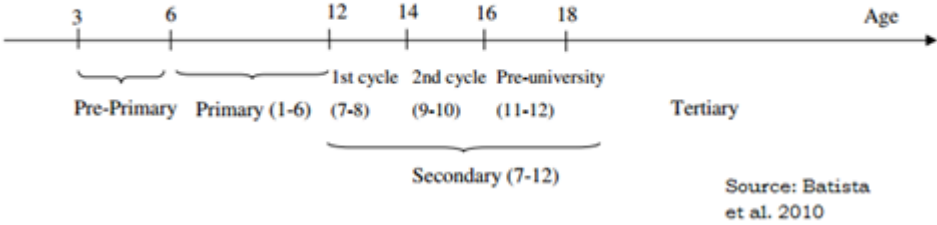
“My grandfather, my grandmother, they all migrated. So everyone knows that in some point of their lives they will go out and know the world.”

3.3 The Educational System

Establishing a fully-fledged education system and articulating primary, secondary and higher education are often difficult tasks for small states given the limited number of students. Beyond basic education, where the structure of the system needs to be diversified according to the expectations of the students and the needs of the labor market, it is difficult for small states to offer a large menu of educational opportunities such as technical and vocational education and universities (Atchoaréna, 2008). Immense progress has been made in the field of basic education, placing Cabo Verde in a very good position compared to most countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. An educational reform in the early 1990s increased the duration of primary education from four to six years, producing a strong development of the educational system (Atchoaréna, 2008). In addition, secondary schooling that accounts for six years grouped in three levels are broadly available throughout the country since there is at least one secondary school per

municipality (Batista et al, 2010). The educational reform also resulted in the investment in higher education by founding the first higher education institutions in 1995 located on Santiago island. A systematic overview of the various levels of education in Cabo Verde is portrayed in figure 3.4.

Figure 3.4 — The educational system in Cabo Verde



Furthermore, Cabo Verde scores high on the literacy rate for the youth between the ages of 15 and 24. In 2012, 97.6 percent of the male students and 99.3 percent of the female students were able to read and write (UNICEF, 2012). In addition, 95.1 percent of the male population was enrolled in primary education compared to 92.4 percent of the female population (UNICEF, 2012). Further statistics related to primary, secondary, and tertiary education in Cabo Verde can be found in table 3.5. Although Cabo Verde has made substantial progress in the availability of education, the main problem lies within quality of education, especially secondary and higher education. This view is being shared by André Corsino Tolentino, who argued that “our education is still of low quality in the way that education helps you to understand your environment and time. What we get here is a good level of literacy, a high percentage of people being able to read or to calculate, but we did not get the point of where people are aware of using those tools of literacy of calculation to help them to be critical, to be humane, to be professionally efficient”.¹ Beyond the improvement required at the primary level, Cabo Verde’s most critical educational challenge is provision at the post-primary level, since the small size of the population and its geographic dispersion create critical challenges for small island developing states (Atchoaréna, 2008).

¹ André Corsino Tolentino, interview by author, tape recording, April 14, 2014.

Table 3.5 — Educational statistics of Cabo Verde in 2012

Ratio of female to boys in primary and secondary education (%)	103,779
Ratio of female to male secondary enrolment (%)	119,051
Ratio of female to male tertiary enrolment (%)	139,222
Lower secondary completion rate, female (% of relevant age group)	101,372
Lower secondary completion rate, male (% of relevant age group)	78,688
Secondary education, pupils	61956
School enrolment, secondary, female (% gross)	100,879
School enrolment, secondary, male (% gross)	84,736
Secondary education, teachers	3689
School enrolment, tertiary, female (% gross)	24,063
School enrolment, tertiary, male (% gross)	17,284
2011 Public spending on education, total (% of GDP)	5,044
Emigration rate of tertiary educated (% of total tertiary educated population)	MISSING

Source: Author's elaboration on statistics of the World Bank, 2013

4. Methodology

Both quantitative and qualitative data has been collected by a mixed methods approach. Quantitative data is necessary to point out hard data, such as the number of students who want to study abroad, in which country they would like to study, how many students agree with the statement that their school is providing information about attending tertiary education in a foreign country and if the quality of this information is considered to be sufficient enough. In addition, qualitative data had been gathered through in-depth interviews and “emigration lectures” in order to analyze the various perspectives on Cabo Verdean emigration. Multiple areas have been researched, such as the image students have of the host country, where this image is coming from, and which institutions are playing a role in the perception of emigration.

The following methods have been applied for data collection:

- Desk research at the Migration Observatory situated in the Ministry of Communities;

The newly established Migration Observatory is collecting all sorts of documentation on migration in general and Cabo Verdean migration in specific. The Migration Observatory Project was established in December 2012 and it had been designed to serve as a basis for academic research in the field of migration. After its first year of existence, the author had the “honor” to be the first researcher who consulted the books that were stored in the Migration Observatory.

- 251 questionnaires translated into Portuguese filled out by 11th and 12th grade students;

There are six high schools situated in the capital of Praia, which are Amor de Deus High School, Césaltina Ramos High School, Pedro Gomes High School, Domingos Ramos High School, Contantino Semedo High School, and Abilio Duarte High School (Appendix 1). An official letter in Portuguese had been sent to all the school principals, in which the content of this research had been clearly described and the author requested for authorization to conduct research amongst their students. Eventually, Césaltina Ramos High School (founded in 1995; financed by the European Union), Pedro Gomes High School (founded in

1990), and Domingos Ramos High School (founded in 1960) gave their authorization to participate in this research.



- Observations and informal conversations with students, teachers and school principals;

After each session of filling out questionnaires at one of the high schools, informal conversations were held with randomly picked students in order to elaborate on the answers they had given. Moreover, history teachers were asked some questions about the content of their classes with regard to the history of the nation and the role of emigration within this context. Furthermore, English teachers were requested to answer a couple of questions related to migration since it is their responsibility to educate their students about this topic. Lastly, school principals were interviewed about the various measures they take to inform their pupils about studying abroad. Most conversations were done by the author in either English or Portuguese, others were done with the help of a bilingual assistant when the author's knowledge of Portuguese was not sufficient enough.

- Six in-depth interviews with key informants in the field of migration;

Through the snowballing method, relevant persons in the field of migration were asked to participate in in-depth interviews. With permission of the participants, interviews were recorded with a digital recorder. After the interview the records were transcribed into word documents. All participants received an electronic copy of the transcript and were given an opportunity to ensure that their words were captured faithfully. The following persons participated in the interviews: André Corsino Tolentino (Minister of Education (1984-1991), ambassador (1981-1984), and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (1975-1977)), Suely Neves (Project Officer at the International Organization of Migration and returned national from the Diaspora residing in the United States), Clementina Furtado (Professor at the University of Cabo Verde (UniCV); wrote her PhD about migration in West Africa and Cabo Verde), Eufemia Rocha (Professor at UniCV; wrote her PhD about witchcraft and mobility in West Africa), and Patrick Cereiro (student who emigrated in February, 2014 to the United States to become a commercial pilot).

- Attending a student information session organized by the Migrant Support Centre in Country of Origin (CAMPO) about studying abroad and studying in Cabo Verde;

The objective of these sessions is to inform students about the various possibilities that they have when they graduated from high school. Many students want to study abroad without thinking about the difficulties that might occur and CAMPO wants to inform the students that studying in Cabo Verde is a good alternative. CAMPO is sharing its information with students by making visits to various secondary schools within the island of Santiago. Nadir Delgado, who is the coordinator of CAMPO, was the key speaker during these sessions.

- Organizing “emigration lectures” with 11th and 12th grade students;

Several “emigration lectures” had been organized by the author to get a better insight in the perceptions of the students. Various topics have been discussed in these seminars, such as what Cabo Verdean emigration stands for, whether emigration is beneficial for the country, and what kind of image the students have of the host country. Notes were taken in order to record all the findings.

4.1 Research Objectives

This research has been designed to address the issue of student migration from various levels. First and foremost, the various perspectives on Cabo Verdean emigration, migration culture and studying abroad of 11th and 12th grade students have been collected and analyzed. Several topics were addressed, such as what key words or emotions first come to mind when students think about emigration; the way in which their perception of emigration had been shaped; whether they have family members living abroad; in which countries these family members live; and what their motivation was to migrate. Secondly, the curriculum of the several schools has been evaluated to find out what they teach their students about the unique character of Cabo Verde in regard to emigration. In addition, the role of the Ministry of Education within the process of producing and adjusting the curriculum has been analyzed as well. Thirdly, more attention was given to find out the reasons why the majority of the 11th and 12th grade students want to attend tertiary education abroad. And finally, in what way are high schools and governmental institutions preparing students to become successful young professionals in different countries with different living conditions, rules, and cultures. All these elements can be summarized as the following research objectives:

- To provide a better insight and understanding of the current perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in the city of Praia on emigration, migration culture and studying abroad;
- To produce a clear overview of the school curriculum set by the Ministry of Education in relation to the history of Cabo Verdean migration;
- To find the deeper meaning behind the desire of the majority of students in Praia to study abroad;
- To analyze the contribution of secondary schools and governmental institutions in Praia in preparing their students to attend tertiary education outside of Cabo Verde.

4.2 Research Questions

- **In what way are the perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in Praia on Cabo Verdean emigration and migration culture contributing to the desire to attend tertiary education abroad?**

- What do 11th and 12th grade students learn in high school about the history of Cabo Verde and the importance of emigration for the development of Cabo Verde?
- What do 11th and 12th grade students know about the most popular destination countries and the living conditions of Cabo Verdeans abroad?
- Through which channels do students get information about emigration, migration culture, and studying abroad?
- In what way do secondary schools prepare their students for studying in Cabo Verde and studying abroad?
- In what way are governmental institutions preparing 11th and 12th grade students for studying in Cabo Verde and studying abroad?

4.3 Operationalization and Conceptual Model

The following definitions are taken from a glossary produced by the International Organization for Migration (2011) to provide a better understanding of the applied concepts in this research. The definitions are put in alphabetical order.

Country of destination

The country that is a destination for migratory flows (regular or irregular).

Country of origin

The country that is a source of migration flows (regular or irregular).

Development

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) defines development as the process of “creating an environment in which the people can develop their full potential and lead productive, creative lives in accordance with their needs and interests... [and] expanding the choices people have to lead lives that they value”.² This definition marks a shift away from the emphasis on economic development measured by growth or income indicators and encompasses the human dimension of the process.

² UNDP, 2014.

Diasporas

Diasporas are broadly defined as individuals and members of networks, associations and communities, who have left their country of origin, but maintain links with their homelands. This concept covers more settled expatriates with the nationality of the host country, dual nationals, and second-/third-generation migrants.

Emigrant

A person undertaking an emigration.

Emigration

The act of departing or exiting from one state with the view to settle in another.

Family reunification/reunion

Process whereby family members separated through forced or voluntary migration regroup in a country other than the one of their origin.

Migration

The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification.

Net migration

Difference between the number of persons entering the territory of a state and the number of persons who leave the territory in the same period. Also called "migratory balance." This balance is called net immigration when arrivals exceed departures, and net emigration when departures exceed arrivals.

Return

In a general sense, the act or process of going back to the point of departure. The could be within the territorial boundaries of a country, as in the case of returning internally displaced persons (IDPs) and demobilized combatants; or between a host country (either transit or destination) and a country of origin, as in the case of migrant workers, refugees, asylum-seekers, and qualified nationals. There are

subcategories of return which can describe the way the return is implemented, e.g. voluntary, forced, assisted and spontaneous return; as well as sub-categories which describe who is participating in the return, e.g. repatriation (for refugees).

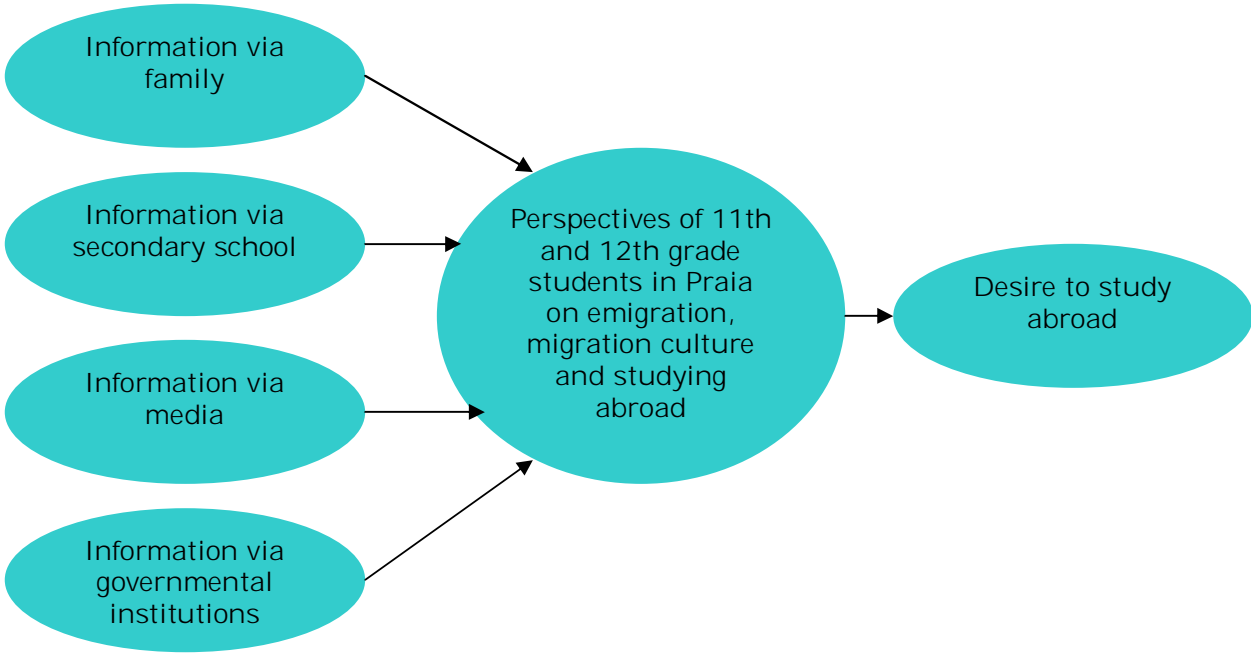
Return migration

The movement of a person returning to his or her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation.

Students

The final two grades within the secondary school system have been selected as the target group of this research, since they represent the group of people who are closest to attend tertiary education abroad.

Figure 4.1 — Conceptual model



Source: Author’s elaboration, 2014

5. Data Analysis

In this section, the most important findings of this empirical research will be analyzed in detail. Data has been collected through in-depth interviews with key informants in the field of migration, a questionnaire filled out by a total of 251 11th and 12th grade students from three different secondary schools in Praia, observations and formal conversations with students, teachers and school principals, and “migration lectures” organized by the author herself. All the outcomes that are discussed in this section are specific for the three high schools that cooperated in this research. Different outcomes are possible if this fieldwork would have been conducted outside the capital of Cabo Verde, such as rural areas or in one of the other eight islands of the archipelago.

5.1 Students’ Knowledge About the History of the Country

One of the most interesting findings was to realize how little Cabo Verdean students learn about their own history and the role that emigration played within the history of the country. History classes are primarily building around the history of Europe and European architecture. Topics, such as the English Revolution, the French Revolution, the ancient Roman Empire and Greek civilization are well-studied areas whereas the history of the nation does not get the attention it deserves. Students learn a little bit about the Independence of Cabo Verde in 1975, but not much

Box 5.1 — Experiences from students

“What I know about our nation’s history? To be truly honest, I can tell you more about the history of Europe than about my own country. What I know is that we were a Portuguese colony until 1975. Amílcar Cabral is the Father of the Nation and thanks to him we are now a free nation.”

more. Eufémia Rocha—professor in Social Sciences at the University of Cabo Verde—explained that what she learned when she was a young student is the same as what her children are being taught nowadays: “I remember in the elementary school they told us about Amílcar Cabral, just to mention him that he was the Father of the Nation. And today, my son who is eight years, they teach the same. Also my stepdaughter who is fifteen years old, and she does not know anything about, or more

profoundly about the continent, about the history and the geography of the continent. About, for example, about Amílcar Cabral. They usually say what they

told me many years ago and they continue to do this, just this.”³ History classes do not deal with the important role that emigration played in Cabo Verde, Cabo Verde’s relationship with Africa as a continent, or the significant strategic position of the archipelago during the slave trade between West Africa and America. Eufémia Rocha stated that “in our schools for example, we do not study about the African continent, even today. We usually have in our curriculum more topics about Europe: Rome, Greek civilization, Industrial Revolution, England, French Revolution, etcetera etcetera, but it is Europe. Europe has too much power and presence in our curriculums. More than Africa.”⁴ Since teachers have to follow the school’s curriculum—which is designed by the Ministry of Education—there is not much room to introduce other topics, such as the history of the African continent or the importance of emigration within this context.

The reason why history classes are primarily focusing on the history and culture of Europe is that Cabo Verde is still struggling with the effects of post-colonialism. Cabo Verde got its Independence from Portugal in 1975, but the country’s colonial past continued to influence the current situation. According to diplomat André Corsino Tolentino, “[w]e are supposed to be a sovereign country, but this kind of education we have is still deeply characterized by colonial thinking. For instance, we are in Cape Verde and we are part of the African region. But when you talk to the people here, they will most likely say: Me, African? What do you mean? Because you have the continent and you have the islands of Cape Verde. But if you push a little bit and you will say that the Cape Verdeans have some kind of partnership with European countries or with the European Union they will respond by saying that they are more European than African, or vice-versa. Are those things ridiculous? No, those attitudes are ill-informed.”⁵ Many Cabo Verdeans strongly held the belief that they are different from people of the African continent. This image is constantly being reaffirmed by the media and politicians. According to Rocha, “[...]I know some people who keep on speaking about some kind of conspiracy against Africa, but it seems to me that our politicians are not evolving too or trying to make an effort to change this, because this discourse is too strong. The construction of this discourse by our elites is continue to mark. It seems to me that this discourse can make Cabo Verdeans think that they are something better. Cabo Verdeans think that they are something special. [...]It is a kind of better

³ Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

⁴ Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

⁵ André Corsino Tolentino, interview by author, tape recording, April 14, 2014.

position what we had in the past, before our Independence when the Portuguese were always telling us that Cabo Verdeans were more intelligent, Cabo Verdeans are not like Guineans are not like Angolans. At that time, we were not considered as indigenous people, we were civilized people.”⁶ Besides the fact that Cabo Verde used to be a Portuguese colony, Europe continued to maintain links with the archipelago. Most of the primary and secondary schools were financed by either European institutions or the European Union itself. Linkages with Europe did not stop with financing primary and secondary schools, it went much deeper by regulating migration policies. Eufémia Rocha is also opinionated that “[...] we usually see immigration by the length of Europe, because we have many countries helping. We have the European Union, we have your country, we have Luxembourg or Portugal, or another European country which are all helping Cabo Verde adopt their policy to control immigration. [...] It’s okay, Cabo Verde can learn from other experiences but at the same time we have to look for our reality. And because it is, because our politicians are denying that we are African and they are always looking to Europe. It seems to me that they think that just Europe has something to share with us. That they have something to show us more than the other countries, such as the United States and Africa.”⁷

The majority of the 11th and 12th grade students of the three high schools that participated in this research considered emigration to be an important topic within their schools (see table 5.2). However, there were some differences between these high schools. Students from Domingos Ramos High School agreed the most with the statement that emigration plays an important role within their school. As many as 56.3 percent of these students agreed or completely agreed with this statement. Students from Pedro Gomes High School, on the other hand, were less in favor of this statement, since only 42.1 percent of the students considered emigration as an essential topic. Whether emigration had been discussed during classes, Domingos Ramos High School was again the most favorable high school (see table 5.3). 60.9 percent of these students pointed out that they talked about emigration related topics. Students from Pedro Gomes High School scored a lot lower, since 38.1 percent of these students indicated that they had been educated about this topic. 46 percent of the students from Césaltina Ramos High School agreed or completely agreed with this statement. To the question whether the schools were providing specific classes about Cabo Verdean emigration, all three

⁶ Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

⁷ Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

high schools gave the same answer: there are no such classes (see table 5.4). Pedro Gomes High School (50.0 percent), Césaltina Ramos High School (58.6 percent) and Domingos Ramos High School(47.1 percent) of the students disagreed or completely disagreed with the statement that their school is providing specific courses about Cabo Verdean emigration.

Table 5.2 — Emigration is an important topic in school

	Emigration is an important topic within this school.							Total
	completely disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	completely agree	not applicable	999	
Pedro Gomes	1 1,3%	11 14,5%	14 18,4%	23 30,3%	9 11,8%	7 9,2%	11 14,5%	76 100,0%
Ceseltina Ramos	3 3,4%	18 20,7%	20 23,0%	24 27,6%	16 18,4%	4 4,6%	2 2,3%	87 100,0%
Liceu Domingos Ramos	5 5,7%	12 13,8%	15 17,2%	39 44,8%	10 11,5%	2 2,3%	4 4,6%	87 100,0%
Total	9 3,6%	41 16,4%	49 19,6%	86 34,4%	35 14,0%	13 5,2%	17 6,8%	250 100,0%

Source: fieldwork conducted by author, 2014

Table 5.3 — Migration being discussed in school

	I learn a lot about migration here in school.							Total
	completely disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	completely agree	not applicable	999	
Pedro Gomes	2 2,6%	18 23,7%	9 11,8%	21 27,6%	8 10,5%	4 5,3%	14 18,4%	76 100,0%
Ceseltina Ramos	5 5,7%	22 25,3%	11 12,6%	32 36,8%	8 9,2%	6 6,9%	3 3,4%	87 100,0%
Liceu Domingos Ramos	4 4,6%	15 17,2%	12 13,8%	37 42,5%	16 18,4%	2 2,3%	1 1,1%	87 100,0%
Total	11 4,4%	55 22,0%	32 12,8%	90 36,0%	32 12,8%	12 4,8%	18 7,2%	250 100,0%

Source: fieldwork conducted by author, 2014

emotions or key words came to mind when they thought about Cabo Verdean emigration. All the key words have been collected and were transformed into a “wordcloud” (see figure 5.5). The majority of the students have a positive connotation with this subject matter and 88 percent of them answered that migration is beneficial for Cabo Verde. “Better living conditions,” “opportunities” and “happiness” were the most popular key words. When students thought of something negative with regard to migration, “longing” had been identified the most. Only a handful of students mentioned “difficulties,” “sadness” and “illusion” as a reflection of their thoughts upon emigration. If both the negative as well as the positive side of emigration would have been referred to more equally, this would demonstrate a deeper understanding of the concept as a whole. Since only a couple of students also made a link to the negative aspect of emigration, classes are lacking a critical thinking about what emigration could do for the development of the country. During the so-called “emigration lectures” organized by the author, the negative and positive effects of emigration for Cabo Verde were discussed (see table 5.6).

Table 5.6 — Summary of the negative and positive effects of emigration for Cabo Verde

Positive effects	Negative effects
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Remittances contribute to the development of the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family is no longer a unity
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International experience is beneficial for personal development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Some villages have become ghost towns since everyone has emigrated
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Knowledge and skills that are acquired through education abroad can be invested in the development of the country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Children have to grow up without the presence of their parents since they have already emigrated
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Getting to know other people and cultures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Longing for Cabo Verde and the family
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More jobs available abroad 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Emigration does not solve unemployment in Cabo Verde
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • You have family or relatives everywhere to look after you 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inequality increases since poor families will not be able to emigrate
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family members can bring back products that are not available in Cabo Verde 	

Source: fieldwork conducted by author, 2014

5.2 Students' Knowledge About the Host Countries

When students were asked to tell what they knew about the countries in which they would like to study, one particular subject returned over and over again: the images they got from family members who are living in these countries. Many Cabo Verdeans return to their country of origin in July and August to spend the holidays with their family. It is not acceptable in the Cabo Verdean society to come back empty-handed. Therefore, loads of gifts are being packed and brought to Cabo Verde. Sometimes this social pressure leads to negative consequences as being explained in box 5.7. Besides gifts, family members also bring back images of their life outside of Cabo Verde. They show pictures of their nice houses, new cars, and their busy social life. All these images are

Box 5.7 — Social pressure to bring back gifts upon return

"I lived in Portugal for seven years and during my stay abroad I only went back to my family in Cabo Verde one time. All these years I was working very hard, but I barely had enough money to support myself. When you go back home for the holidays, your family members expect that you bring them a gift from Europe. As you know, families here in Cabo Verde are very big and every one wants something nice from you. So I started thinking how much it will cost me to buy a gift for all my aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews and brothers, and then I decided it was much better to stay in Portugal than to go empty-handed. I couldn't tell my family that I didn't have the money to buy so many gifts because I needed the money to support myself."

part of a bigger picture: enjoying the fruits of success. André Corsino Tolentino described this phenomenon beautifully by stating the following: "[w]hy should we stop migrating now? We need to go, even though it's not vital. And we have this influence, this trend, between families living there and giving the impression, giving the idea that they are living much better than they really do. So you have this ongoing influence between families there and here. Other times you get real signals of improved life. All this is very important. The idea is transmitted that life can be better there. Also you get influence from television, Internet, cinema, which change behaviors. There is a difference between the well being and the image you receive or send of it. We, as people from the South, are touched by all this. On one side your relatives, who went there ten years ago, and sometimes they have a very difficult life. But you do not share your unhappiness if you are not forced to, because you made this decision to go, and it was based on an ideal of success. And if you did not get it, you do not share the reasons. You will silently wait for the time to come. In Holland as in Cape Verde, life is made of reality and dream!"⁸ As long as families

⁸ André Corsino Tolentino, interview by author, tape recording, April 14, 2014.

continue to share the beneficial side of emigration together with the material aspects of success, family members residing in Cabo Verde will be stimulated to emigrate as well since they are driven by the idea that improvement of life awaits for them. Patrick Ceirero was one of those students who had been persuaded by his parents to emigrate to the United States to follow his dream of becoming a pilot. His father emigrated to the United States when Patrick was two years old and his mother accompanied her husband when he was fourteen years old. Thus, from an early age Patrick had to understand why his parents decided to emigrate and why they left him with his older sister to be taken care of. But now time had come for Patrick to pursue his dreams and his family members abroad kept on telling him that more opportunities are possible in the United States: “[y]eah, everyone tells me. My mother, my father... it’s just saying for me that I have to go there and choose what you want to do and do it. If you do right things, and if you have the right mind, you can get your things. That’s everyone telling me. My mother and father are telling me that I have a good job in Cape Verde, you have your things right, but here you can do more. You can get more.”⁹ And with this idea in mind, Patrick and many other young Cabo Verdeans have decided to emigrate.

In addition to the images of success that family members are sharing with relatives in Cabo Verde, students have also based their ideas upon the images they got from the media. Besides the Portuguese news channel RTP (Radio and Television of Portugal), Cabo Verde is also broadcasting a couple of national news channels, such as RCV (Radio of Cabo Verde), TCV (Television of Cabo Verde), and RCV+ (Radio of Cabo Verde for the Youth). News items are primarily directed towards local development and politics, but during the “migration lectures” organized by the author, students have pointed out that the media played a significant role in the formation of ideas about other countries in the world. According to the majority of these students, the media is extremely helpful to visualize what other countries look like. Most of them were familiar with popular landmarks, such as Central Park in New York, the Big Ben in London, and the Eiffel Tower in Paris. Next to the particular landscape and environment of these countries, other elements such as the economic situation, local politics, and local circumstances crossed the minds of the students, but to a lesser extent. The overall sense during these “migration lectures” was that students tend to focus on general aspects of the country. In other words, students had some knowledge about the world outside of Cabo Verde, but perspectives were mainly based upon the physical

⁹ Patrick Ceirero, interview by author, tape recording, February 12, 2014.

landscape of the particular countries. Not entirely a scientific argument, but most definitely a humoristic argumentation by one of the female students from Domingos Ramos High School can be found in box 5.8 when she was asked to tell something about the United Kingdom. Furthermore, Cabo Verdean news channels do not focus much on the living conditions of Cabo Verdean communities abroad, therefore, students were mostly depending upon what their family members were telling them.

Box 5.8 — Harry Potter representing the United Kingdom

“When I think of the United Kingdom, two words come to my mind: Harry Potter. He is the perfect example of what this country stands for, which is ancient universities, good manners, and a mystical history.”

Another important source of information was the Internet. A total of 61.4 percent of the 251 students who participated in the questionnaire have pointed out that they have looked up information on the Internet in order to learn more about foreign countries. Popular subjects were cultural activities, information about universities, music festivals, and job opportunities. Only a handful of students indicated that they went deep into the available material by searching for information about the region where family

members are living or cities in which they would like to live, looking up historical facts of the country, reading more about political debates within a certain region, and the socio-economic situation of the country. The majority of the students underlined that their knowledge of foreign countries is not sufficient enough to be able to integrate successfully if they decided to emigrate. Out of 251 students, 28.7 percent indicated to know enough about the host country, 35.1 percent of the students claimed that they do not know enough at the moment but they will know enough when they leave Cabo Verde, and 17.1 percent fully agreed with the statement that they do not have enough knowledge.

5.3 Studying Abroad: Perspectives of Students

Another important finding of this research was the number of 11th and 12th grade students who are planning to study abroad after graduating from high school: out of 251 students who have been asked to fill out a questionnaire, 84.4 percent of them pointed out that they are planning to study abroad. The most popular countries to study were: United States (25.0%), Portugal (21.6%), Brazil (19.7%), and France (12.3%). Other countries that were mentioned were China (6.2%), the Netherlands (4.3%), and the United Kingdom (3.1%). Only 12.4 percent of the

students indicated that they wanted to stay in Cabo Verde to be enrolled in the University of Cabo Verde (UniCV) or in one of the other tertiary institutions.

What aspects played a role in the selection of the country to study abroad? This research has indicated that family members residing abroad play a critical role in the decision-making process. The majority of the students (39.8%) who are planning to study abroad pointed out they had selected a specific country because their family members are living there. This statement is also reaffirmed by an analysis of the countries in which family members are residing. From the 211 students who indicated that they want to study abroad, 84.4% of these students had family members living in Portugal, 51.7% in France, 62.1% in the United States, and 17.5% in Brazil. Furthermore, 21.3% of the students had relatives living in the Netherlands, 11.8% in Spain, and 11.8% in Angola. These families abroad tend to emigrate to the same city and area, leading to huge Cabo Verdean communities in the city of Boston, United States and the city of Rotterdam, the Netherlands. The family structure functioned as some sort of safety net for the young students (see box 5.9). They can count on their family's support, since Cabo Verdeans have very strong family ties. Usually, students move in with their family abroad or their family is assisting them in finding accommodation.

Box 5.9 — Experiences from other relatives

"My older sister studied in Portugal and returned to Cabo Verde last summer. She spend one year there and she lived with our aunt and her three daughters. She was so happy to be with her family again. They already knew where to go, what to see and what to do best. I want to go there too."

Besides family connections, other interesting arguments for the decision for a specific country crossed students' minds. Some students wanted to go to China, since this country has a good reputation as an expert in the field of engineering and architecture. Other students choose Portugal and Brazil since the people there speak Portuguese. Several students have based their decision upon the images they get from the media. An 18-year old student from Pedro Gomes explained that she wanted to go to the United Kingdom because of what she had seen on television: "England is a very modern country. I really like English movies, fashion and music and I would love to be part of that society. That's why I want to go there and live my dream."¹⁰ Others wanted to go to the United States, because the quality of education is much better and these universities offer courses that are not available

¹⁰ Interview by author, April 21, 2014.

in Cabo Verde. A commonly held belief of many students is that an international certificate will increase the chances of finding a good job in their home country.

And what about the students who wanted to stay in Cabo Verde to study? It is not just because of financial restrictions that these students do not leave Cabo Verde, but it is because of their love for the country. António, a 20-year old student from Césaltina Ramos High School, wanted to be enrolled at UniCV after graduation. "I love my country, it's perfect here. We do not have any wars, no earthquakes, no nothing. We have a stable government and our economy is growing. Why should I want to study in a country far away from my friends and family? UniCV offers good courses as well."¹¹ His friend Paulo continued that "it is a privilege to be able to study here. When my parents were younger, there was no such thing as UniCV. But now more and more institutions for higher education are being founded in Cabo Verde. And if I want to contribute to the development of my country, I should do that by being part of the educational system here, not in Portugal or the United States."¹²

5.4 Information Sharing About Studying Abroad

A fourth finding of this research is the need for more information about studying abroad. 60.8 percent of the students agreed that their school is providing information about this topic and 60.2 percent of them noted that the quality of the provided information is all right, but they would like to have more knowledge. Merely 14.3 percent of the participants specified that the quality of the information is sufficient. Most of them pointed out that they will talk to other people who studied abroad or they are planning to make use of the Internet to get more information in order to prepare themselves for studying in a different country. Therefore, the secondary schools in Praia should do something with this urge for more knowledge about studying abroad. Acknowledging that there is a need for more and better information about studying abroad would be a first step in the right direction.

5.4.1 Information Provided by the Secondary Schools

The school principals of the three high schools that participated in this research, stated that they are providing some sort of information about studying abroad. Pedro Gomes High School, for instance, had invited representatives of other foreign

¹¹ Interview by author, April 22, 2014.

¹² Interview by author, April 22, 2014.

universities to inform the students about their university and the specific courses and programs which they offer. Last year, representatives from Portugal, China, South Africa, and Brazil paid a visit to this high school to give seminars about their university. The sub-director of Pedro Gomes High School, Sandra Querido, explained that only 11th and 12th grade students are being informed about studying abroad, but it would be better to start providing information about this topic as early as 7th grade. She observed that many of her students are dreaming about an educational career abroad and informing students from an earlier age would improve the level of knowledge. Not all the students of these three high schools, however, agree with the statement that information about studying abroad is being provided at their schools (see table 5.10). Overall, the majority of the students confirm that information is being shared, but it is not an overwhelming majority.

Table 5.10 — Number of students who consider that their school is providing information about studying abroad

	Yes		No		Missing		Total	
Pedro Gomes	50	65.8%	24	31.6%	2	2.6%	76	100.0%
Cesaltina Ramos	45	51.7%	41	47.1%	1	1.1%	87	100.0%
Liceu Domingos Ramos	57	65.5%	28	32.2%	2	2.3%	87	100.0%
Total	152	60.8%	93	37.2%	5	2.0%	250	100.0%

Source: author’s elaboration, 2014

5.4.2 Information Provided by IOM

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) is an expert in the field migration-related topics, but this organization does not perceive students to be a specific target group. Suely Neves, Project Officer at IOM Praia, claimed that “students, if we look at it in terms of a project perspective, [are] not a specific thing. Maybe it has not been explored. It’s not because IOM doesn’t want to do it, it’s because they have not been really thought about it in this sense. Students have been perceived as part as a whole, within a group of people, but not as the only group to target.”¹³ However, this does not mean that IOM does not have the capacity to include students within their projects and programs. In collaboration with the Centre for Migration Support in the Origin Country (CAMPO), IOM is currently working on a project related to pre-departure orientation for emigrants bound to the United States and students are considered to be part of the whole picture. This

¹³ Suely Neves, interview by author, tape recording, April 16, 2014.

project was designed to improve existing pre-departure orientation services of CAMPO by training its staff about USA-specific themes, such as immigration law, the educational system, the health system, as well as cultural and social aspects.¹⁴ Once CAMPO staff is properly trained in all these different areas, they will be able to pass on their knowledge to students who would like to study in the United States.

Figure 5.11–Guidebooks for migrants



Source: Photo by author, 2014

mean? How effective can it be here in Cabo Verde? Would it fit here in Cabo Verde?”¹⁵ Thus, students could be integrated within projects of IOM as a specific target group and the PDO proposal has the potential of considering students as a target group. However, at the moment, this did not happen yet.

Besides the PDO proposal, various migration guidebooks have been produced by IOM in collaboration with other institutions, such as the Ministry of Communities, the Unity of Coordination of Immigration (UCI), CAMPO, and the United States Department of Education (see figure 5.11). *Immigrant Guide* (2013), for example, is a manual for migrants who are planning to settle in Cabo Verde. A variety of topics are being discussed in this document, such as a short overview of the geography and culture of the islands, its economy, the type of visa one needs when entering the country, how to start a business, how to get access to education, health services, housing and transportation. In addition, practical information is provided about immigrant associations and Embassies in Cabo Verde. Other guidebooks were designed to inform Cabo Verdeans who are planning to emigrate to the United States. Both documents, *Welcome to the United States* (2007) and *Viver*

¹⁴ IOM, PDO proposal, 2014.

¹⁵ Suely Neves, interview by author, tape recording, April 16, 2014.

nos Estados Unidos da America (2009), are providing practical information about the emigrants' rights and responsibilities as a permanent resident, the educational system, childcare, and emergencies. More importantly, these guidebooks offer key elements of the nation's cultural and historical context. These elements are essential when emigrants want to integrate successfully into a country that is new to them. More recently, the government of Cabo Verde started to focus on the developmental impact of return migrants. *Return to Cape Verde with Success* (2013) is a guidebook in which Cabo Verdeans living abroad will find useful information on the current situation of Cabo Verde's economic, social and political situation, and the available incentives to Cabo Verde for the implementation of business projects (IOM et al, 2013). The guidebook provides useful information about how to create and license a company, tax benefits, and the types of institutional support that are available. This document contains a clear overview of useful contacts, including addresses and phone numbers.

All these guidebooks contain important information that could be useful for students who would like to study abroad. It is clearly being explained how primary, secondary, and higher educational system are organized and how students can be enrolled in schools. Moreover, information about grants and students loans is provided as well. The manual listed several websites and phone numbers for additional information. Unfortunately, not many students were aware that these documents exist. When students were asked if they were familiar with these guidebooks, it remained silent in almost every classroom. According to the results of the questionnaire, 68.9 percent of the students answered "no" to the question if they would consult relevant institutions dealing with studying abroad, such as CAMPO or Embassies. Another 81.7 percent of the students disagreed with the statement that they will make use of governmental documents that are dealing with pre-departure orientation. This number might be that high due to the fact that students were not aware that these documents are available.

5.4.3 Information Provided by CAMPO

The type of information that CAMPO shared with students during student information sessions about studying abroad and studying at a national university is lacking essential details. At first sight, it seemed like a good initiative to inform students about the possibilities they have when they graduate from high school. However, the quality of these student information sessions was rather poor. These

sessions were primarily focusing on the different types of school systems that exist in various countries, such as the United States, Portugal or France. Moreover, CAMPO gave a rough estimation about school tuition fees. No further information was given about the kind of documents students might need when they want to apply for a certain university, the possible difficulties that students might face when they migrate to a different country, how they could prepare themselves for the transition between their home country and the host country, or the various study programs that are available at foreign universities. The key speaker of CAMPO even claimed that it is a myth that students who graduated from a foreign university are better qualified than students who finalized their studies at one of the universities in Cabo Verde. She stated that universities here provide the same level of education as foreign universities. However, various articles about the educational system in Cabo Verde and the interviewees who participated in this research—who were all experts in the field of either migration or education—confirmed that Cabo Verdean higher and superior education are still lagging behind European or American universities.

The effectiveness of CAMPO's information sessions could be better if an information system would have been in place. In this way, CAMPO staff would be able to look up information that is relevant for students who would like to study abroad, in which universities previous students had been enrolled, the type of studies that previous students had chosen, and how many students did return after graduation. André Corsino Tolentino—former Minister of Education—underlined the importance of such an information system by stating the following: "I think that we need more consistency in organizing and using information. Before the government started organizing something in this area, it will be hard for the civil society to get informed and organized in this. Once again, meaning the State, has to take initiative and stimulate other people to do more. We have not had a real information system, because we have to define what is an information system for emigration or for migration."¹⁶ Once an information system is in place, one can identify where people are going, what their capacity is to invest in the development of Cabo Verde, and in which way they could contribute to the needs of the country. For example, if the country needs qualified engineers, the information system could keep track of students who went to China to study technical engineering. When these students graduate, business people in Cabo Verde could employ them.

¹⁶ André Corsino Tolentino, interview by author, tape recording, April 14, 2014.

5.4.4 Students Expectations Regarding Studying Abroad

After all the information that has been provided by the high schools, IOM, CAMPO, and family members residing abroad, what are the expectations of students with regard to studying abroad? During the “emigration lectures,” it became clear that the majority of the students were very optimistic about the opportunities they will have when they attend tertiary education abroad. According to 19-year old Ana from Césaltina Ramos High School, “I can follow my dreams in France of becoming a philosopher, because this country is the best in philosophy. And I also love the French language, its culture, and the architecture. I hope to go to a university in Paris to pursue my dreams.”¹⁷ Other students shared the notion that opportunities await for them at a foreign university. There is a bigger variety in the courses that they can choose from at foreign universities compared to the courses available at UniCV, but the students who participated in this research tend to choose similar programs. When students were asked what course they would like to study, the majority selected a degree in business administration or tourism. When they were asked what their motivation was for this decision, they were unable to explain the deeper meaning behind the selected program. Furthermore, it also became clear that students do not have enough knowledge about the administrative side of studying abroad, what other courses are available at the different universities, the rights and duties one has as a student, and the local circumstances in the selected country. Thus, there is still a lot of ground to gain when it comes down to the provision of information about studying abroad to make students fully prepared for their experience abroad.

¹⁷ Interview by author, April 22, 2014.

6. Discussion of Findings

Based on the findings that were discussed in the previous chapter, this section will provide a clear answer to the main research question and the five sub questions. In addition, some of the findings of this research will be linked to the theoretical framework.

- **In what way are the perspectives of 11th and 12th grade students in Praia on Cabo Verdean emigration and migration culture contributing to the desire to attend tertiary education abroad?**

The most important link of this research is between the meaning and significance of Cabo Verdean emigration with the desire to study abroad. If students would learn more about their own history and the relation it has with emigration, they would think more critically about their own decision to emigrate; whether it is short-term, long-term or permanently. The Cabo Verdeans in general, and students more specifically, should have a deeper understanding of why many generations decided to start a new life in a foreign country and how this has an impact on the country itself. They should be knowledgeable about the different motivations for emigration throughout the years and what the consequences are for the country and its inhabitants. This generation of Cabo Verdeans and others yet to come should learn more about the importance of emigration, since the majority of the people are affected by it. Critical thinking pushes people to go beyond the mentality of “my family members have emigrated, so why shouldn’t I do the same?” Students should be educated about the effects of brain drain, brain gain, and brain circulation, in order to transform the knowledge that they have obtained abroad into the potential to contribute to the development of the country. That is why education plays an important role, since schools have the authority to educate their students about the history of Cabo Verde and the position that emigration has within the historical context. Nonetheless, this authority is depending upon the Ministry of Education since this institution is responsible for the content of the school curriculum. Unfortunately, the Cabo Verdean government still has strong ties with Europe, and Portugal in particular. Most secondary schools are funded by European governments, which could be a reason why history classes are very European driven.

Why does the majority of the students want to study outside of Cabo Verde? A large share of this question can be answered by one word: illusion (see box 6.1). Most students have an unrealistic view of the world outside of their own community. They think that there are more and better opportunities in other countries, such as Portugal and the United States. It is easier to be employed, wages are a lot higher than in Cabo Verde and people have access to better education. This image is reaffirmed by what they see in the media, what their family members abroad are telling them and what people who returned to Cabo Verde are bringing back with them. Materialism is one of the key drivers of success. People who emigrated have sent money back home to support the family who stayed behind. Some of them are investing their money in real estate. The island is full of houses that are under construction; patiently waiting for their owners to return from a foreign country after many years of hard work. Others are driving in fancy cars or possess the latest technology, such as mobile phones and computers. What is important to keep in mind is that gaining success is one of the main factors for emigration. In Cabo Verde, it is a commonly held belief that one returns when success has been reached. Returning unsuccessful or empty handed is not an option. One of the interviewees explained that she was really struggling with the humiliation of being unsuccessful when she returned from Portugal: "I left Praia as a young girl with big dreams. I moved to my cousin's place in Lisbon and I was looking for a job. But the circumstances were difficult and I could not find a good job. I could not afford to stay in Lisbon and the only option was to go back to my family in Praia. My family was expecting me to come back with a lot of money so I could support them, but now they had to support me."¹⁸

Box 6.1 — Illusions

'It is not just students who have illusions about the foreign countries. It is a nationwide dreamland. For example, when you have family members living in Europe, you can see that they have a better life. They have a nice house, a nice car, and they show this to the family and friends who are still living in Cabo Verde. When they are coming back to Cabo Verde to spend the holidays, they bring back a lot of gifts and other nice products to share with the family. Other people can see that this family member has a wealthy life and successful in Europe, and therefore they are also interested to go there. But when they decided to go to Europe as well, they realize it is not the paradise which they had imagined for themselves. Living conditions are hard and people sometimes have to work under difficult circumstances. If you want something, you really have to fight and work hard for it.'

¹⁸ Ana Dos Santos, interview by author, February 18, 2014.

- What do 11th and 12th grade students learn in high school about the history of Cabo Verde and the importance of emigration for the development of Cabo Verde?

The history of Cabo Verde is being discussed in class, but only superficially. It is lacking depth and critical thinking. There are no specific courses about emigration, although the majority of Cabo Verdean people are somehow connected to it. Emigration plays an important role in the lives of Cabo Verdeans and students were aware of the positive and negative side of emigration. According to Patrick Ceirero, "I think it has two sides. It has a positive side for who is going to migrate, and a negative side for who is staying. I see that, because I was living in a village in Fogo and now when you would go there, you feel that my village is empty. When I was living there sixteen years ago, there were a lot of people, a lot of movement, a lot of things. It was a dynamic village. It was beautiful, it was great to live. So now when you go there, you will feel lonely and you have no one to talk to, because everyone has migrated to find a better life. They only came back for vacations, for one month or two months. I think that is the negative side of migration, because you loose a lot of things. You loose a spirit from village, and families. But migration has a good side too for people who is going to migrate. People find better jobs, better conditions to raise their families, make their dreams come true, so I think that is the positive side of migration. It is good for the people who are migrating, but it is bad for Cabo Verde."¹⁹ Knowledge about the importance of emigration exists, since the majority of the Cabo Verdeans are affected by it. The next step is for the educational system to devote more time to the effects of brain circulation and what it could mean for the development of the country. According to data from the questionnaire, 68.5 percent of the students who want to attend tertiary education abroad indicated to return to Cabo Verde. From these students, 11.6 percent will return immediately after graduation from university, 39.4 percent will return after having some working experience, and only 2.0 percent are planning to return at the age of retirement. 25.1 percent had indicated not to know when they will return. These numbers specify that a large share of highly skilled nationals are planning to return to Cabo Verde. They will bring back human capital that can be invested in the development of the country. Thus, secondary schools should spend more time the effects of brain circulation.

¹⁹ Patrick Ceirero, interview by author, tape recording, February 12, 2014.

- What do 11th and 12th grade students know about the most popular destination countries and the living conditions of Cabo Verdeans abroad?

The knowledge of 11th and 12th grade students about the most popular destination countries could be improved. The majority of the students based their perspectives upon what family members who are residing abroad were telling and showing them. The positive side of living abroad had been underlined, in which material success was amongst the popular topics to share with the rest of the family. Hard living conditions, difficulties, and discrimination were not commonly discussed. Most of the students knew what the destination countries looked like, but more knowledge about the social, political, and economic situation could be possible. Most of their knowledge is based on the experience of family members, which leads to a one-side perspective. The Cabo Verdean media, for example, does not spend a lot of time towards living conditions of the Diaspora.

- Through which channels do students get information about emigration, migration culture, and studying abroad?

Overall, students have obtained their knowledge about emigration, migration culture, and studying abroad through four main channels: information via family members (in Cabo Verde and abroad), information via secondary schools, information via the media, and information via governmental institutions. Out of these four channels, family members were considered to be the most important source of information. Current students can learn from the experience of their family members who had already emigrate or studied abroad. They can assist them when students decide to emigrate as well, and the family structure functions as a safety net due to strong family ties. Governmental institutions should find a way to reach the students and get their message regarding emigration and studying abroad out. These institutions already have a lot of useful information in place, but students do not seem to be aware of these documents.

- In what way do secondary schools prepare their students for studying in Cabo Verde and studying abroad?

The need for more and better information about studying abroad can also be linked to providing a more realistic view of the host country. Some schools, such as Pedro Gomes High School in Praia, invites representatives of foreign universities to give a presentation on the education system of their university. Instead of telling the students how they could apply for a seat in their university, representatives could

also give background information about their country, their culture, and the local circumstances. Students have indicated that this has been missing in most of the cases. Some interviewees pointed out that schools are not doing anything to prepare their students. Eufemiá Rocha, who is a university teacher herself, claimed that “there is not enough information about studying abroad for the students. They do not know enough. It seems to me that they are doing nothing to prepare the students.”²⁰ Thus, what students need is a complete overview of all the different facets relevant for attending tertiary education abroad, including the difficulties that students might face. Once a student is well prepared, this will have a positive effect on their educational career. It will be easier for them to adapt to the local circumstances and to finalize their studies successfully.

- In what way are governmental institutions preparing 11th and 12th grade students for studying in Cabo Verde and studying abroad?

CAMPO should redefine the content of its student information sessions. CAMPO is a project that had been transmitted to the Ministry of Communities in January 2015 and became part of the governmental structure of Cabo Verde. Its main objective is to encourage legal mobility between Cabo Verde, Europe and the United States. During my internship, CAMPO staff were going round the island of Santiago to pay visits to a small number of high schools. CAMPO could accomplish much more with its sessions if it focused less on the type of education system that exists within the various countries and more on information that is relevant for the students. The key speaker of CAMPO spent most of her time defining whether universities in Portugal were technical or private schools, but the students were more interested in the application procedure, what university would be best for their future career, the different study programs that are available, and in what circumstances they will be living when they go study at a specific country. The pupils paid attention to what the key speaker had to say and there were a lot of questions during the session. Unfortunately, most questions could not be fully answered; leaving the students with more questions in the end.

Once a clear guideline for the type of information for students about studying abroad is made, an information system about emigration should be developed as well. If the Cabo Verdean government starts to collect and organize data about this topic, essential knowledge will be preserved. Cabo Verde does not have a tradition of collecting records in an electronic database and using this information for research.

²⁰ Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

According to André Corsino Tolentino, such an information system should be considered a top priority: "this has been identified as a basic need long time ago, but still we have not been able to do it. This is a question for the Ministry of Communities, I mean, to look if there is a group working on this. Defining the different information we need and how to manage this. This will be important for economic needs, cultural needs. It is important to keep track of where people are, what is it that they do, and so and so. If you are talking about migration investment in different sectors of the economy, tourism, banking, and other activities. You need to have information about Cabo Verdean people and having a certain capacity of investing in Cabo Verde. That is why you need information about these people."²¹

²¹ André Corsino Tolentino, interview by author, tape recording, April 14, 2014.

7. Conclusion

Emigration and Cabo Verde are two components that will remain interconnected with each other. Even though Europe currently has stricter migration policies, the number of emigrants is just modestly declining. Many Cabo Verdeans have this deep desire of leaving the island, meeting other cultures, be reunited with their family members and see more of the world. This desire is being enforced by the illusion that living conditions are much better in Europe and the United States and that success is waiting for them. Many emigrants leave their mother country unprepared for the new situation in which they will have to find a way to keep their head above the water. In the case of student migration, these young adults are not prepared enough to deal with all the different aspects that come along with studying abroad. This has negative consequences for the educational career of the students. Eufémia Rocha provided an example of the current situation: "today I heard some news from the university that I went to in Portugal and it was not good news. The news was that Cabo Verdeans who are going to Portugal, they do not study, they are just there drinking alcohol, committing some kind of violence, they usually do not go to classes. They just go to discos and enjoy life. They just want to enjoy life. It seems like our life is going to end today and we have to do everything today. Consequently, they are losing their scholarships. I know one boy who lost his scholarship and he lost the opportunity to get papers from Portugal, the residence permit, and he stayed there. So he is illegal in Portugal. He does not work, he does not study, nothing, nothing, nothing. We have a lot of Cabo Verdeans going to Portugal to study, but they stop and put themselves in a bad situation."²² This situation could be changed when secondary schools start educating their students more about the importance of emigration for the development of the country by critically discuss the effects of brain circulation. Moreover, investing in the quality of information about studying abroad would be beneficial for the students. However, teachers themselves only have a limited amount of freedom to differ from the school curriculum and introduce new topics. Thus, change has to come from a governmental level since the Ministry of Education has the authority to design and adjust the school curriculum. The history of the nation, the importance of emigration and the desire to attend tertiary education in a foreign country should be put on the political agenda. Moreover, the Ministry of Education could also

²² Eufémia Rocha, interview by author, tape recording, May 2, 2014.

invest in the quality of tertiary education in Cabo Verde itself. National universities do not have the same level of education as European or American universities and the number of courses are rather limited. When the quality of national education is being improved, the number of students who are studying abroad might diminish.

7.1 Policy Recommendations

What this research has tried to underline is the importance of critical thinking about Cabo Verde's national history and the unique relationship it has with the concept of emigration. For a country where emigration is one of the key drivers for development, research and knowledge about this area has not been considered as a top priority for the Ministry of Education and secondary schools in Praia. This could be changed if the Ministry of Education revises and readjust its curriculum to reflect the country's history, reality and needs. In doing so, secondary schools will follow the Ministry's curriculum and more attention will be given to Cabo Verde's history rather than focusing on the history of Europe. Having knowledge about the historical context of the country increases the level of critical thinking with regard to the impact of emigration. It is a fact that the majority of the Cabo Verdean students are leaving the country to attend tertiary education at a foreign university and figures show that students will continue to do this the following decades. That is why students should have more knowledge about the developmental impact of emigration, because they are the future generation who could make a difference in the development of the country.

7.2 Recommendations for Future Research

This research has been conducted in the capital of Cabo Verde, where students have access to institutions such as CAMPO, IOM, Ministries or Embassies to request for information about studying abroad and emigration. These institutions do not have specific departments in smaller communities or on the other islands. It would be interesting to conduct research in rural areas and on the other eight islands to analyze whether there are differences in the perspectives of these students on emigration, migration culture, and studying abroad. As mentioned earlier, there are cultural, historical, as well as, migration trajectory differences between the nine islands. It might be logical to think that these differences could also translate into different perspectives on emigration, migration culture and studying abroad. Further research on this topic could point out whether this notion

is true. In addition, making use of the Internet as a tool for sharing information has not been developed in Cabo Verde to such an extent that it has proved to be effective. The students residing in Praia pointed out to make use of the Internet to look up information about studying abroad. However, many communities, especially in rural areas, do not have proper access to Internet which makes them dependent upon other resources intelligence, such as experiences from other people who studied abroad.

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Appendix 1

Geographical Context



Source: Author's elaboration based on data from GoogleMaps and The New York Times, 2014

Appendix 2

The Questionnaire

Utrecht University [The Netherlands]
Faculty of Geosciences
Department of Social Geography



Universiteit Utrecht

Perspectives of Secondary Students in Praia on Emigration, Migration Culture and Studying Abroad

Dear student,

This survey has been designed as part of a masters research from a student of Utrecht University, the Netherlands. The objective of this survey is to obtain a better insight in the current perspectives upon migration amongst students attending secondary education in Praia. It is important to conduct research upon this topic, since migration is deeply embedded within Cabo Verdean society and this generation of students might become the next generation of emigrants. A good understanding of the receiving country and a proper pre-departure orientation are key elements for integrating successfully into the host country. This survey will mainly focus on analyzing the way perspectives upon migration are being shaped. Since not much data is available on the current perspectives amongst students on migration, this survey will help to understand why students want to migrate or stay after finishing high school and how their perspectives of the host country are being shaped.

The survey consists of 28 questions and will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to be filled out. Please note that for every question only one answer is allowed, unless the question explicitly indicates that multiple answers are allowed.

The specific data that will be collected from this survey will be strictly confidential.

Thank you for your willingness to participate in this survey.

Survey number:

Date and time of survey:

General information

Question 1

What is your age?
..... years

Question 2

What is your sex?
 Male
 Female

Question 3

What is the name of your school?
.....

Question 4

In what grade are you currently enrolled?
 11th grade
 12th grade

Your family members and migration.

Question 5

Do you currently have any family member(s) living abroad?
 Yes
 No (proceed to question 10)

Question 6

How many members of your family are currently living abroad?
..... family member(s)

Question 7

Who of your family is currently living abroad? (multiple answers are possible)

- Father
- Mother
- Brother(s)
- Sister(s)
- Uncle(s)
- Aunt(s)
- Cousin(s)
- Grandfather(s)
- Grandmother(s)
- Others, namely.....

Question 8

In which country/countries is/are your family member(s) currently living? (multiple answers are possible)

- Portugal
- France
- The Netherlands
- Spain
- Germany
- Italy
- The United States
- Brazil
- Argentina
- Senegal
- Angola
- Sao Tomé and Príncipe
- Other European country, namely.....
- Other African country, namely.....
- Other Latin American country, namely.....
- Other, namely.....

Question 9

What was the most important reason for your family member(s) to decide to migrate?

- Work
- Study
- Family reunification
- Other, namely.....
- I do not know

Question 10

Do you have any family member(s) who used to live abroad, but have returned to Cabo Verde?

- Yes
- No (proceed to question 14)

Question 11

How many members of your family have returned to Cabo Verde?

..... family member(s)

Question 12

Which family member(s) has/have returned to Cabo Verde? (multiple answers are possible)

- Father
- Mother
- Brother(s)
- Sister(s)
- Uncle(s)
- Aunt(s)
- Cousin(s)
- Grandfather(s)
- Grandmother(s)
- Others, namely.....

Question 13

What was the most important reason for him/her to return to Cabo Verde?

- Family reunification
- He/she could not find a job
- There are more jobs available in Cabo Verde
- He/she saved enough money for retirement
- He/she felt homesick
- He/she finished his/her education abroad
- He/she wants to start up a business in Cabo Verde
- He/she could not adjust to the living conditions within the host country
- He/she was deported from the host country
- Other, namely.....
- I do not know

Migration in Cabo Verde

Question 14

Please identify five key words and/or emotions when you think of what migration means for Cabo Verdeans.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Question 15

Is migration beneficial for Cabo Verde?

- Yes
- No

Question 16

Do you think that more Cabo Verdeans will go abroad compared to the current situation?

- More Cabo Verdeans will emigrate compared to the current situation
- Less Cabo Verdeans will emigrate compared to the current situation
- The situation will remain the same

Question 17

Do you think that the number of return migrants will increase compared to the current situation?

- More Cabo Verdeans will return to their home country
- Less Cabo Verdeans will return to their home country
- The situation will remain the same

Question 18

Please indicate if you agree or disagree on the following statements:

	Completely disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Completely agree	Not applicable
Emigration is deeply rooted in the history of Cabo Verde.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Every Cabo Verdean has the need to emigrate.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigration plays an important role in my life.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigration is a tool to escape poverty.	0	0	0	0	0	0
There are more opportunities abroad than in Cabo Verde.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Every Cabo Verdean migrant will eventually return.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigration is an important topic within this school.	0	0	0	0	0	0
I learn a lot about migration here in school.	0	0	0	0	0	0
I have specific classes about Cabo Verdean emigration.	0	0	0	0	0	0

Studying abroad

Question 19

When you finished high school, are you planning to study abroad?

- Yes, I want to study abroad
- No, I want to study in Cabo Verde (proceed to question 22)
- No, I do not want to continue studying after finishing high school (proceed to question 22)

Question 20

In which country would you like to study?

.....

Question 21

Why do you want to study in this country?

- Cabo Verde has a partnership with this country
- My family is living in this country
- I know other people who also went to study in this country
- Other students in my class also want to study in this country
- Other, namely
-
-

Question 22

Does your school provide information about studying abroad?

- Yes
- No (proceed to question 24)

Question 23

Is the information good enough to be well-prepared for studying abroad?

- The information about studying abroad is sufficient
- The quality is good, but I would like to have more information
- The information is not good enough

Question 24

Where else do you go to get information about studying abroad? (multiple answers are possible)

- I talk to other people who already studied abroad
 - I ask my family who are living abroad for information
 - I will consult relevant institutions dealing with studying abroad, such as CAMPO or Embassies
 - I will use the Internet to look up information
 - I do not need more information about studying abroad
 - Other, namely.....
-

Question 25

Do you think that you have enough knowledge about the host country to be able to integrate successfully?

- Yes, I know enough
- No, not right now, but I will know enough when I leave Cabo Verde
- No, not I do not know enough
- I do not want to study abroad

Question 26

How do you prepare yourself to study in a different country? (multiple answers are possible)

- I ask my family members who are living in this country
- I will look up information on the Internet
- I will read books about the host country
- I will watch movies which are filmed in the host country
- I will make use of governmental documents dealing with pre-departure orientation
- I do not feel the need to prepare myself
- I do not want to study abroad

Question 27

Do you want to return to Cabo Verde after graduating from university?

- Yes
- No
- I do not want to study abroad

Question 28

When do think you will return to Cabo Verde?

- I will return immediately after graduating from university
 - I will return after having some working experience
 - I will return at the age of retirement
 - I do not know yet
 - I do not want to study abroad
 - Other, namely.....
-
-

**This is the end of the survey.
Thank you for your collaboration!**

Appendix 3

The Questionnaire in Portuguese

Utrecht University [Holanda]
Faculdade de Geociências
Departamento de Geografia Social



Universiteit Utrecht

Perspectivas dos alunos do Ensino Secundário na Praia sobre a Emigração, a Cultura de Migração e Migração de Retorno

Caro/a estudante,

Este levantamento foi concebido como parte de uma pesquisa de mestrado de um estudante da Universidade de Utrecht na Holanda. O objectivo deste estudo é obter uma melhor compreensão das perspectivas actuais sobre a migração entre os estudantes que frequentam o ensino secundário na cidade da Praia. É importante a realização das pesquisas sobre este tema, uma vez que a migração está profundamente enraizado na sociedade Cabo-verdiana e esta geração de estudantes pode se tornar a próxima geração de emigrantes. Uma boa compreensão do país de acolhimento e uma orientação pré-partida adequada são elementos-chave para uma boa integração no país de acolhimento. Esta pesquisa vai se concentrar principalmente em analisar a forma como estão sendo moldadas perspectivas sobre a migração. Uma vez que nem a quantidade de dados disponíveis sobre as perspectivas actuais entre os estudantes sobre a migração, esta pesquisa vai ajudar a entender porquê que os alunos querem migrar ou permanecer depois de terminar o ensino secundário e como estão sendo moldadas as suas perspectivas do país de acolhimento.

O inquérito consiste de 28 perguntas e terá uma duração de aproximadamente 10 a 15 minutos para ser preenchido. Por favor, note que para cada pergunta é permitida apenas uma resposta, a não ser que a questão indica explicitamente que múltiplas respostas são permitidas.

Os dados específicos que serão colecionadas a partir deste levantamento será **estritamente confidencial**.

Obrigado por seu interesse em participar nesta pesquisa.

Número do inquérito:

Data e hora do inquérito:

Informação Geral

Pergunta 1

Qual é a sua idade?

..... anos

Pergunta 2

Qual é o seu sexo?

Masculino

Feminino

Pergunta 3

Qual é o nome da sua escola?

.....

Pergunta 4

Em que ano estas actualmente matriculado?

11º ano

12º ano

Os membros da sua família e migração.

Pergunta 5

Actualmente tens algum membro(s) da família que vive fora de Cabo Verde?

Sim

Não (vá para Pergunta 10)

Pergunta 6

Quantos membros de sua família estão actualmente a viver fora de Cabo Verde?

..... membro(s) da família

Pergunta 7

Quem da sua família está a viver fora de Cabo Verde? (múltiplas respostas são possíveis)

Pai

Mãe

Irmão(s)

Irmã(s)

Tio(s)

Tia(s)

Primo/a(s)

Avô

Avó

Outros, especificar.....

Pergunta 8

Em que país(es) os seu(s) familiares vive actualmente? (múltiplas respostas são possíveis)

- Portugal
- França
- Holanda
- Espanha
- Alemanha
- Itália
- Estados Unidos da América (EUA)
- Brasil
- Argentina
- Senegal
- Angola
- São Tomé e Príncipe
- Outro país europeus, especificar.....
- Outro país africano, especificar
- Outro país latino-americano, especificar.....
- Outro, especificar.....

Pergunta 9

Qual foi a principal razão que levou o membro(s) da sua família a decidir para migrar?

- Trabalho
- Estudos
- Reunir com a família (reagrupamento familiar)
- Outro, especificar
- Não sei

Pergunta 10

Tens algum membro(s) da família que morava fora de Cabo Verde, mas regressaram para Cabo Verde?

- Sim
- Não (vá para Pergunta 14)

Pergunta 11

Quantos membros de sua família regressaram para Cabo Verde?

.....Membro(s) da família

Pergunta 12

Qual membro(s) família regressou/regressaram para Cabo Verde? (múltiplas respostas são possíveis)

- Pai
- Mãe
- Irmão(s)
- Irmã(s)
- Tio(s)
- Tia(s)
- Primo/a(s)
- Avô
- Avó
- Outros, especificar.....

Pergunta 13

Qual foi a principal razão que ele/ela regressou para Cabo Verde?

- Reunir com a família (reagrupamento familiar)
- Ele/ela não conseguiu encontrar trabalho
- Há mais empregos disponíveis em Cabo Verde
- Ele/ela economizou dinheiro suficiente para a aposentadoria
- Ele/ela sentiu saudades de casa
- Ele/ela terminou seu estudo
- Ele/ela quer iniciar um negócio em Cabo Verde
- Ele/ela não poderia ajustar-se às condições de vida no país de acolhimento
- Ele/ela foi deportado do país de acolhimento
- Outro, especificar
- Não sei

<i>Migração em Cabo Verde</i>

Pergunta 14

Por favor identifique cinco palavras e/ou emoções marcantes quando pensas sobre o que significa a migração para os Cabo-verdianos.

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.

Pergunta 15

A migração é benéfica para Cabo Verde?

- Sim
- Não

Pergunta 16

Achas que mais Cabo-verdianos irão para o exterior em comparação com à situação actual?

- Mais Cabo-verdianos irão emigrar em relação à situação actual
- Menos Cabo-verdianos irão emigrar em relação à situação actual
- A situação continuará na mesma

Pergunta 17

Achas que o número de migrantes que regressam vai aumentar em relação à situação actual?

- Mais Cabo-verdianos voltará ao seu país de origem
- Menos Cabo-verdianos voltará ao seu país de origem
- A situação continuará a mesma

Pergunta 18

Por favor, indique se concorda ou discorda com as seguintes afirmações:

	Discordo completamente	Discordo	Neutro	Concordo	Concordo completamente	Não aplicável
Emigração é profundamente enraizada na história de Cabo Verde.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Todos os Cabo-verdianos têm a necessidade de emigrar.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigração desempenha um papel importante na minha vida.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigração é uma ferramenta para escapar da pobreza.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Há mais oportunidades no exterior do que em Cabo Verde.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Todo o emigrante Cabo-verdiano acabará por voltar.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Emigração é um tema importante dentro desta escola.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Aprendo muito sobre a migração aqui na escola.	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tenho aulas específicas sobre a emigração Cabo-verdiana.	0	0	0	0	0	0

Estudar no estrangeiro

Pergunta 19

Quando terminares o liceu, pretendes estudar no exterior?

- Sim, eu quero estudar no exterior
- Não, eu quero estudar em Cabo Verde (vá para a Pergunta 22)
- Não, eu não quero estudar depois de terminar o liceu (vá para a Pergunta 22)

Pergunta 20

Em que país gostarias de estudar?

.....

Pergunta 21

Porquê que gostarias de estudar neste país?

- Cabo Verde tem uma parceria com este país
 - A minha família está a viver neste país
 - Conheço outras pessoas que também foram estudar neste país
 - Outros alunos da minha turma também querem estudar neste país
 - Outro, especificar
-
-

Pergunta 22

A sua escola fornecer informações sobre estudar no exterior?

- Sim
- Não (vá para Pergunta 24)

Pergunta 23

A informação é suficiente para estar bem preparado para estudar no exterior?

- As informações sobre estudar no exterior são suficientes
- A qualidade é boa, mas eu gostaria de ter mais informações
- A informação não é boa o suficiente

Pergunta 24

Onde mais podes obter informações sobre como estudar no exterior? (múltiplas respostas são possíveis)

- Eu falo com outras pessoas que já estudaram no exterior
- Peço a minha família que estão vivendo no exterior para obter informações
- Consulto instituições relevantes que tratam de estudar no estrangeiro, como CAMPO ou Embaixadas.
- Vou utilizar a Internet para procurar informações
- Não preciso de mais informações sobre estudar no exterior
- Outro, especificar.....
.....

Pergunta 25

Achas que tens bastante conhecimento sobre o país de acolhimento para ser capaz de integrar com sucesso?

- Sim, eu sei o suficiente
- Não, não agora, mas vou saber o suficiente quando eu sair de Cabo Verde
- Não, não eu não sei o suficiente
- Eu não quero para estudar no exterior

Pergunta 26

Como você se prepara para estudar em um país diferente? (múltiplas respostas são possíveis)

- Peço meus familiares que vivem neste país
- Vou procurar informações na Internet
- Vou ler livros sobre o país de acolhimento
- Vou assistir filmes que são filmadas no país de acolhimento
- Farei uso dos documentos governamentais que lidam com a orientação pré-partida
- Eu não sinto a necessidade de me preparar
- Eu não quero para estudar no exterior

Pergunta 27

Queres voltar para Cabo Verde depois de se formar na universidade?

- Sim
- Não
- Eu não quero para estudar no exterior

Pergunta 28

Quando é que vais regressar para Cabo Verde?

- Voltarei logo após se formar na universidade
- Voltarei depois de ter alguma experiência de trabalho
- Voltarei com a idade de aposentadoria
- Eu não sei ainda
- Eu não quero para estudar no exterior
- Outro, especificar.....
.....

Este é o fim do inquérito.

Obrigada pela sua colaboração!

Appendix 4

Interview with Patrick Ceirero

Interview with Patrick Ceirero **February 12, 2014**

Patrick will migrate to Boston, USA on February 20, 2014. His father migrated to the US when he was two years old and his mother migrated to the US when he was fourteen years old. He moved from the island Fogo to Praia to live with his 21 year-old sister who took care of him. At the age of 20, Patrick spend six years in Brazil to follow an education at a university. He is currently working at the hotel of his uncle.

Have you ever lived outside of Cabo Verde?

Yes, I was living in Brazil for six, no five years. I was 20 years old, I was studying. It was a good experience for studying, it is a beautiful country.

Why did you pick Brazil to study?

I do not know why. In that time, a lot of Cabo Verdeans were going there. Brazil has a partnership with the Cabo Verdean government. They facilitate the visa and the school. It was a great opportunity.

Did language also play a role in your decision?

Yes, the language too. And I think that the life is not too expensive too.

You told me that your family is living in the US. Do you also have other family members living somewhere else in the world?

I have cousins, uncles, they are living in Portugal. I have my parents in the United States. I have a few cousins in Angola too. I have a lot of family all over the world.

Is that the main reason why you have picked the US, instead of Portugal or Angola, because your parents live there?

Yes, maybe. Because of my mother. I want to stay with her for some years, I don't know. Because being alone all the time, I did not see my mother. When I was 15 years, I had to change Fogo for Praia to study. And when I was in Brazil, my mother was in the United States. I have been separated from my mother from when I was 14 years old. So that is why I want to go to the US, and also for a better life.

What is missing in Cabo Verde which does exist in the US?

I think in the US you have a better opportunity for work, for schools. And I think that there you have a lot of opportunity. In Cabo Verde you have some opportunity, but not as much. You have to work hard, you have to know people. Connect with people who can provide you a job. It is very difficult to make money. In the United States I think it is more easy... I don't know.

What kind of image do you have about the US? What do you think it looks like?

I do not know what it looks like. I have been watching a lot of films, a lot of movies. Normally, I do not want to image the place I want to be. The first words on my mind about the US is "opportunity." You have a lot of things that you can do there. I just want to go there and make sure that I am doing the right thing.

What do your parents tell about the US? Is it better than Cabo Verde?

Yeah, everyone tells me. My mother, my father...it's just saying for me that I have to go there and choose what you want to do and do it. If you do right things, and if you have the right mind, you can get your things. That's everyone telling me. My mother and father are telling me that I have a good job in Cape Verde, you have your things right, but here you can do more. You can get more.

What do your parents do for a living?

My mother is working in a hotel too and my father is working in a hospital as a nurse.

Did they also obtain their education in the US or Brazil?

No, my mother never studied there, and my father yes, he studied in the United States. He has a degree and other things.

Did you know that there were specific guide books for Cabo Verdeans who want to migrate to the United States?

No, I did not know about this.

What do you think about the type of information that the government of Cabo Verde provide to people who want to migrate?

I think we do not have a lot of information. The information I got just came from friends, family, or other people around me. But from the government, I do not have any information. The basic information, you do not have it from the government. I did not know about these kind of guide books. I think it is an important things, but the government is not doing this for us.

Where do you usually go when you need information about migration. Do you just ask your family?

Yes, that is basically it. But you can also go to the US embassy. If you want to go, you just do something different. You will just have to ask around, someone who already did it. But from some institutions, you cannot get the right information.

The following questions are more about the general perspectives of migration in Cabo Verde. What role does migration play in your daily life?

I think in Cabo Verde, and especially in Fogo, my island, everyone wants to go out and migrate. In Fogo, everyone has someone who is living in the United States. And they see that person as a role model of life. When they go to the United States, they can have a good life, they can go on vacation, they have houses in Fogo, they have a good life. In Fogo, you can get those things. Everyone has this dream to migrate to the United States. I think in Cabo Verde, in general, everyone has this feeling, this desire to migrate and getting to know the real world. I think that all these things came from our history, because Cabo Verdean people like to go outside and migrate. My grandfather, my grandmother, they all migrated. So everyone knows that in some point of their lives they will go out and know the world.

Is that the most important reason for Cabo Verdeans why they decide to migrate? That they want to get to know the world, or get a better life, or finding a better job.

The most important reason for me to migrate is that I just want to follow my dream. I cannot see myself doing this work for the rest of my life. I want to go out. I always wanted to become a pilot, and I think this is the opportunity to go there and do that. And make it. For me, personally, I just want to go there and make my dreams come true. I want to take this opportunity and make my dreams real.

Would you consider migration to be a more negative or more positive event?

I think it has two sides. It has a positive side for who is going to migrate, and a negative side for who is staying. I see that, because I was living in a village in Fogo and now when you would go there, you feel that my village is empty. When I was living there sixteen years ago, there were a lot of people, a lot of movement, a lot of things. It was a dynamic village. It was beautiful, it was great to live. So now when you go there, you will feel lonely and you have no one to talk to, because everyone has migrated to find a better life. They only came back for vacations, for one month or two months. I think that is the negative side of migration, because you lose a lot of things. You lose a spirit from village, and families. But migration has a good side too for people who is going to migrate. People find better jobs, better conditions to raise their families, make their dreams come true, so I think that is the positive side of migration. It is good for the people who are migrating, but it is bad for Cabo Verde.

In your opinion, what could be the reason for some Cabo Verdeans to stay here rather than being a migrant?

We have a group of people who want to stay. They have a good job, or good conditions to stay, they love Cabo Verde, but there are also some groups who cannot migrate. This group does not have the money to pay for a visa, to pay for the passage, the embassy is not going to give them the visa to go. So that is the group who is staying. However, I think that every Cabo Verdean has this dream to migrate. It is in our blood to go out. In some point of your life, you have this feeling, this necessity to go.

How come that this urge for migration is so deeply embedded within every Cabo Verdean?

I think you can see this in society. Everything that I know about migration is something that my family or my mother is telling me. You can see it. It is part of society, because everyone has to do this. You have to understand why people had to migrate. Why did my father had to leave me, my four brothers, my sister, and my mother when I was only two years old? Why did our father had to abandon us? I was a child, but I had to understand why he was going to the United States and to get a better life for us. My mother had to go there to find a better job and a better life for us. I was growing up with this idea. That is the point, you are growing up with this idea. When my uncles and cousins are coming back to Cabo Verde for the holidays, they show you these pictures. You can go there and get your things. You can raise your family under good conditions. So, you are growing up with this idea. Every Cabo Verdean has a family member or someone close to them, who migrated.

What did you learn in primary and secondary school about migration and the unique character of Cabo Verde with regard to migration? Were there any specific courses dealing with migration?

In school, you do not learn a lot of things about migration, just the basics. There are no disciplines about the Cabo Verdean migration and why people had to go to Europe, why they had choose Portugal, France or other communities. These things are not in school. We only have the general migration history of Cabo Verde, not any specific details.

Would it be useful if for children to learn about the specific relation that Cabo Verde has with migration?

Sure, because it is part of the history of many families here in Cabo Verde. So we have to know why some people, some families do that, why they choose specific

places to migrate to. I think that we really should have this kind of information about migration in school.

Do you consider the majority of this generation of school children will become emigrants as well when they are adults?

I do not know, but I think that Cabo Verdeans will continue to migrate. You can see this in the university, for example, in my time, there was just one university in Cabo Verde if I want to study in university. But now, you have six or seven universities. But still, Cabo Verdeans have to go to Portugal, the United States, Brazil, to study because you have this feeling to go out and see the world. I think Cabo Verdeans will continue for a long time.

Do you want to return to Cape Verde eventually?

Maybe, maybe... It will be a long time, but I will return, because this is my country... I love my country a lot. I do not want to stay here with this condition. When you go out and migrate, you can become a lot of things. I can learn more, you get to know other cultures, and you can come back with some baggage. Something to speak about, something to translate for other people. That is the condition I will try to do when I am coming back. And also for a better life, for sure. I want to return at the age of retirement and build a nice house and relax and enjoy the sun.

Appendix 5

Interview with André Corsino Tolentino

Interview with André Corsino Tolentino

April 14, 2014

As an expert in the field of migration, what side of migration interests you the most?

I'm really not an expert on migration, but I am very concerned, and I made some work with Dr. Carlos Rocha, Nancy Tolentino, and many young colleagues, who are making the difference in the area of study and action. I think that, as a citizen, I have been, and as a diplomatic agent, we have to have a genuine interest in migration as a national issue or just as a world phenomenon. Because the State of Cape Verde is sort of Janus, who looks at the same time inside and outside, to every island and to the relatively big Diasporas. That is why I am concerned, and I was happy when you told me that you would be here and listen to the people and talking to them, finding out information about what Cape Verdeans think about migration beyond financial, material or social remittance.

Is it because as a Cape Verdean, you are almost obliged to do something with migration?

Yes, it's right. I have been fighting for the Independence of Cape Verde, the best thing that happened to me until now, and I'm aware about the potentiality of the people, and about the obstacles we face. This is part of the whole thing, part of the national issue. Excuse me, but I'm proud of three things: one as a member of the National Liberation Movement, I have worked in some countries such as Belgium, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and so on. That experience was one block of my national consciousness and openness to the world. By the way, Amílcar Cabral used to tell us that a revolution without foreign friends was a dead one. The second was when I was working in Portugal, and at that time between 2000 and 2006, the Portuguese government asked me to make a research about the impact of Cape Verdean migrants and remittances from Portugal, their impact on the development of my country. Finally, I can't forget that I'm a freedom fighter. This has to guide my steps. If not, I'll be lost.

Most of the academic articles that have been written so far about Cape Verde deal with remittances and Diaspora engagement. Why are these two topics so important?

Usually people speak about financial and material remittances, because of the conservative approaches and the fact that our country is more known as a poor one than for its fights and victories. We have had this for a long time, since the beginning of Cape Verdean nationhood up to now. From the last ten years, we dealt with immigration, which is another aspect of this reality. But almost everybody has some kind of interest or feeling about migration movements. The symbolic importance is very high and for almost everybody. I don't know whether you agree with me on this. I'm curious about your findings. And the material impact of migration on Cape Verdean families is very important. I do not know how many families took some kind of benefit from this, but what I know is that the number is high. The United States, Latin America, African continent, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Asia are very influential. So people are aware, and even though you do not have a systematic channel of information, you will get it in the society, this kind of information and the sensitivity of the financial or material remittances.

Another thing, is social remittances; human capital, which is very important. From July 1975 up to 1991, we had a one-party political regime. There was some kind of practical democracy, there was some popular participation. It's not nostalgia, but truthful memory. We are a small nation, dispersed into small islands, and trying to get surviving together in poor conditions. The fact that we have been formed and we had to involve as much people we could in such hard circumstances, transmitted to us the idea of deep need of living through interaction. This is very subjective and very hard to explain. Another influence we got from the migration movement was this: you usually migrate from one situation in which you can see the inferior, less favorable than the country that you are willing to go to. Let's say that you migrate from the South to the North, even though we have to change those words and concepts, simply because there are more and more rich persons in South and poor families in North hemispheres. In any case, you want to go, you desire to migrate to the places you represent as richer. And that means that we had people mainly in the US, the Netherlands, in Portugal, France, Italy, Brazil or Argentina, Senegal, etc. And being linked to people in Cape Verde and willing to visit the country, finding information, and finally having some kind of influence, economic, cultural, political, or what so ever. Our islands were a bit isolated from the world by water and other obstacles, but at the same time you are linked to these different communities. This is a very important aspect of the phenomenon. The fact that we have been surviving and improving life in Cape Verde since the Independence, being sovereign, has an influence on the efforts made here. That's why I keep on thinking that remittances in the broad sense of financial, material, and social, has and will have a relatively big influence on the whole nation.

Besides remittances and Diasporas, what are other aspects of migration that need more research or special attention?

Research, organization and information are not developed in Cape Verde. We have to do much better. It's true that we have been doing well in using information and resources linked to migration movement in order to solve day-by-day problems, but we did not organize ourselves in terms of using planning and information system as a tool for national development and consistent contribution to reasonable solutions of world migration problems. That is one. A second aspect is that as a small country with small resources we tend to undermine our capabilities. We should promote the gathering of all researchers on Cape Verdean migration, make the point, and look at how to improve what we do well and innovate. Beyond remittances and effective linkages between the nation and its two parts – Residents and Diaspora - I see three priorities: make the point of international studies on Cape Verdean migration, organize research in the national universities, set up an information system.

Why almost every Cape Verdean does have this desire to migrate?

The questions are when and where to go. I like your way of putting it: almost every one. Eugenio Tavares, a founding Poet, used to say that *Si ka badu ka ta biradu* (in order to come back you need to go). I migrated and I came back in 2007, to stay. Many others did or think to do the same. However, it's true. Traditionally, migration is vital. In the colonial times, Cape Verdean used two strategies of survival and social promotion: Education and Migration. Fortunately, the broad economic, political and social circumstances changed, and nowadays people migrate to get a job, improve life, and see the world. The causes of this evasion attitude are social and historical. The desire is good, but we need more research and discussion of the topic, which is part of us.

But why is this desire still so strong? Currently, the government of Cape Verde is very stable, the economy is growing, and the touristic sector is doing well. Why does the majority of Cape Verdeans still want to migrate?

You have this basic need which is also translated and reinforced by the tradition. Insular has a natural curiosity to go to the continent just as most continentals would like to visit one island. It's mystic in both directions. In addition, we have the weight of history which makes us sort of natural migrants, and, finally, there are the social problems like unemployment. Why should we stop migrating now? We need to go, even though it's not vital. And we have this influence, this trend, between families living there and giving the impression, giving the idea that they are living much better than they really do. So you have this ongoing influence between families there and here. Other times you get real signals of improved life. All this is very important. The idea is transmitted that life can be better there. Also you get influence from television, internet, cinema, which change behaviors. There is a difference between the well-being and the image you receive or send of it. We, as people from the South, are touched by all this. On one side your relatives, who went there ten years ago, and sometimes they have a very difficult life. But you do not share your unhappiness if you are not forced to, because you made this decision to go, and it was based on an ideal of success. And if you did not get it, you do not share the reasons. You will silently wait for the time to come. In Holland as in Cape Verde, life is made of reality and dream!

Is this something very typical for the Cape Verdean community that people do not share their problems or the difficulties which they are facing with other people?

No, that is not singular or typical, but part of your privacy, of your personal life. I think it is universal, humane, more or less underlined. You migrate to get better life, and you do not know when you will get it. And if you did not get it, you do not share the reasons in public. So, that is as cutting between those who migrate and those who stay here. And the unbalance is still in favor of those who are already there. Another thing is that life is slowly but consistently improving in the islands. We have the tradition of going, but the whole migrant environment, calling upon you, attracting you, with the help of world communication. This is on one side. On the other side, people have the material, social and personal need to go. You know, for good reasons, I can't imagine Cape Verde without migration!

What do you think of this element, that people base their perspectives upon movies, what they see on television, what they read on the Internet, without paying attention to the difficulties and problems that might occur?

I think two things about this. First, it is part of our time, and we have to deal with it as well as we can. I mean that having better perspectives than realities of life is common. We need it. That is one point, so if today you have all those virtual realities contrasting with your day-by-day realities, you choose to live in between. It's not special for Cape Verde. I think that even in the Netherlands, this phenomenon is coming. At the university, with your friends and family, your daily life is in between real and virtual. The second thought, you better deal with this duality—perspectives and reality — in a more balanced way if you have a high level of education and if you have the will and available information. So you improve your critical mind and you look at one mainstream and another, and you find your way. A good choice is facilitated by Education and Information. If you do not have a very high level of education and information, you are much more vulnerable. I mean, the average Cape Verdean is more vulnerable to this unbalanced world than the Netherlands. Our education is still of low quality in the way that education helps you to understand your environment and time. What we get here is a good

level of literacy, a high percentage of people being able to read or to calculate, but we did not get the point of where people are aware of using those tools of literacy of calculation to help them to be critical, to be humane, to be professionally efficient. And this is, I think, a result of another unbalance between sovereignty, and living in freedom. We are supposed to be a sovereign country, but this kind of education we have is still deeply characterized by colonial thinking. For instance, we are in Cape Verde and we are part of the African continent. But when you talk to the people here, they will most likely say: "Me, African? What do you mean?" Because you have the continent and you have the islands of Cape Verde. But if you push a little bit and you will say that the Cape Verdeans have some kind of partnership with European countries or with the European Union they will respond by saying that they are more European than African, or vice-versa. Are those things ridiculous? No, those attitudes are ill-informed.

We are in the so-called post-colonial times. During the colonial times, Cape Verde has always been a small country without important natural resources, if we think human capital is not a natural resource. But Cape Verde has to make some life in the colonial period. So we got some formal education, in order to become an administrative agent during the imperial order. So we have been circulated a little bit among those colonies as part of their administration. So, you see that we have been trained to be somewhere in the system. It's history or culture. If you look around, you will not see an industrial landscape. If you do not have industries, you do not have to deal with machines, if you get your means for life come from outside, from aid or remittance, your relationship with realities are strange, artificial. That is one of the reasons why we have this behavior. Another is that, since longtime, these fails of colonial system have been complemented by migration. You go to the United States, Angola, Mozambique, the Netherlands or other countries, and you have a very hard life, but you save some money to send home, and improve life. It's natural, if my relative or friends have sent some money, this means that he or she has much more. But sometimes, that is not true. Our life is very dependent upon the outside and this can explain very complex strategies.

The government has the information available to migrants to prepare them for their migration, but most of the times, this information does not trickle down to the people. What can be done to improve this situation?

The national community needs more consistency in organizing and using information. Some information is being created and sent. However, our strategies are bureaucratic and poor. We are not allowed to talk about a marketing and friendly system. This is one point. Before the government started organizing something in this area, it will be hard for the migrants and civil society to participate. Once again, meaning the state has to take initiative and stimulate other people to do more. We have had an institute which used to be governmentally more autonomous and used to be able to organize and manage certain information. We have not had a real information system, because we have to define what an information system for emigration or for migration is. I think we do not have it yet. To eliminate the Migration Institute instead of improving it was a very bad idea.

Why is this information system not yet in place? Is it because of financial reasons or is it something which is not high at the political agenda?

Neither financial nor priority problems. The cause of this emptiness is worst. There are a lack of dialogue and a dangerous trend of minimizing critical analysis. This has been identified as a basic need long time ago, but still we have not been able to do it. Is there is a group working on it. I do not know. Defining the different information we need and how to manage it is of great importance for economic,

cultural and political needs. How to keep track of where people are, what they do, what are their living conditions are key-questions. The same, if you are talking about migration investment in different sectors of the economy, tourism, banking, and other activities. That is why you need information about the people in the territorial heritage. If you are talking to people about preparing of success in foreign countries, you have to organize your education system in an inclusive way; you have to teach languages and technical skills for them to be inserted into different societies. If you have citizens being aware of their situation, of their potentials and needs, so you have to train them, you have to teach them, what is the history and culture of Cape Verde. Why we have people in different parts of the world. Which factors have determined this. You have to introduce the migration element in your education plan. If you are talking about education plan, you are talking about training teachers to be able to deal with those different matters. The same when you are talking about reducing the expenses of sending money to Cape Verde in order to increase the impact of the money coming from the outside. So you need to compare different systems and organizations in many other countries. You have to see where the information is and try to come up with a solution. We need to start at the beginning and at the basics and to set what we could call a technical system of information about migration. And of course, we would define different fields and go and search the information and put it in, and organize the management of all this. So depending on what we are talking about, we would be able to go and bring this information. The Ministry of Communities has to leave a kind of mark or print, and an information system would be the one. Another point, Rebecca is, we need a transformed institute but I tend to believe that an institute having this trend of researching, putting together, managing, meaningful information. I would prefer an independent institute, because bureaucracy is always slow and expensive. Bureaucracies are very difficult and complex, so I would prefer something very concentrated, very specialized in migration since it means at least half of our reality. A good policy would create something very specialized and very fast. But I am talking about a kind of elite, very well selected, very focused on the mission, and working for objectives. This year, in 2014, we are going to do what? And we have to present, be accountable for our actions. And what is the first thing to do, after creating this something, would be to gather the specialists on migration, on Cape Verde. We have some, not only in the islands, but specialists on Cape Verdean migration. We can sit down with many others, living here and around the world, and, twenty or thirty of us, with an agenda well-defined, put thing together, understand processes and facts, in a pragmatic way. To create an Internet tool where you put everything new, manage, and bring from there the things that are useful for us to put in practice. That would be this tool, kind of network. It would be something that we are able to do, and get advantage from. Another thing would be go around and you will not need a multitude of people, you can do it with three to five people. Go around the islands, and see the typical things or defects or relationships between different communities outside and communities within the island. And get the thing which you could try to expand or to generalize or nationalize, if you wish. To try very honestly, not because it is kind a fashion but because it seems to be useful, it seems to be effective. So you could some, a few, because you do not need a big number, of good practices. You could get the good practices, analyze them, and bring them together. Deeply analyze them. So I think that going around the islands, being able to interact with the people, and knowing that the fact that you have a diploma, middle, higher, or whatsoever, will give you the exclusivity of knowledge. The knowledge you can get from everybody from everywhere, and you need to have a kind of humane capacity and communication skills to get those practices and those behaviors and those suggestions around the islands. And put something together in which everybody would be supposed to feel

comfortable. That would be one of those things, and finally to get all this and to try to set in a very democratic direction to get very important inputs for the system. All this would probably increase the self esteem and would make people think that they can get something from migration, they can improve their lives. But it is possible, also, to not migrate, to do the same things here and get a better life. That they can learn from all this, and also teach from their own experiences. They can teach other people. We Cape Verdeans, have to be able to convince others to get better from life here or elsewhere. I mean, we have been able to kill this idea of being always dependent upon Portuguese colonialism, or dependent from nature. If we get rain it is okay, if we do not get it it's finished. I think the best thing we could from the Independence was this kind of self fulfillment, self esteem, and we are responsible for our own destiny. That was, for me, the most important thing we got from that up to now. But we still have this ambiguous relationship with migration. We have to learn how to deal with this in a more comfortable and efficient way. I apologize for the long answer. In fact you provide me with the chance to explain something that bothers me: the information, the agenda and the practice.

Would you say that migration is beneficial for Cape Verde or does it affect the nation in a negative way?

I may chock you, but my answer is clear: migration has been, is and will be beneficial for Cape Verde. Our real problem is how to make it more culturally, economically, and socially more efficient. It is almost like everything in life, you both find advantages and disadvantages at the same time. But let me be honest with you and our reader, that if I have to respond to you, about migration being a good thing or a bad thing for Cape Verde, it is a good one, in different ways. First of all, we live circulating in the world. Emigration and immigration are in the nature of our nation. A second reason is that the advantages are much bigger. It is not easy to calculate them, but if I would have to choose, I would not do different than the previous generations who emigrated. The main inconvenience is the separation between body and spirit. You are here, but you are not really here to do a life and to make a better life. You are here, but you are dreaming to do this in a foreign country. And that is something you cannot calculate. Another point is that when you get one hundred people, trained and highly educated people, most of them go abroad if they can. Of course, they are not creating a dynamic for development in the country and they are wasting part of their externalities they could produce here. The inconveniences are big, the advantages are bigger, and can be much bigger in the future.

Appendix 6

Interview with Clementina Furtado

Interview with Clementina Furtado

April 15, 2014

In what way do you deal with migration?

When I was doing my master degree, I decided to specialize in migration. It was not the first thing that I wanted to write about, but when I started read about it, I realized that I was affected by it. This was the time that I decided to study it. What fascinated me the most, was not only migration in general, but moreover the impact of the migrants who returned to Cabo Verde. I wanted to analyze in what way they could contribute to the development of Cabo Verde.

What does migration mean for Cabo Verde?

Migration means a lot of things for Cabo Verde. Before it was a matter of survival, the Cabo Verdean people were facing a lot of difficulties, such as famine and draughts. So people decided to migrate in order to find better conditions of life. Currently, it includes many more elements. It stands for development, progress, attending higher education and opportunities. But at the same time, we also need to fight against unemployment within Cabo Verde. The Cabo Verdeans have various motivations nowadays, to decide to emigrate. And a lot of these decisions are based upon illusions, fake images of the other country.

When I talked to students about the perspectives they have on the world outside Cabo Verde and the countries to which they would like to emigrate to, it became clear to me that they base their ideas upon movies, what they see on the Internet or what other people tell them it looks like. What would be an important reason why the students have a false or unrealistic perception of foreign countries?

It is not just students who have illusions about the foreign countries. It is a nationwide dreamland. For example, when you have family members living in Europe, you can see that they have a better life. They have a nice house, a nice car, and they show this to the family and friends who are still living in Cabo Verde. When they are coming back to Cabo Verde to spend the holidays, they bring back a lot of gifts and other nice products to share with the family. Other people can see that this family member has a wealthy life and successful in Europe, and therefore they are also interested to go there. But when they decided to go to Europe as well, they realize it is not the paradise which they had imagined for themselves. Living conditions are hard and people sometimes have to work under difficult circumstances. If you want something, you really have to fight and work hard for it.

Appendix 7

Interview with Suely Neves

Interview with Suely Neves, Project Officer of IOM
April 16, 2014

Are students perceived to be an important target group for IOM Praia?

"Uhm, that's a good question. Students, if we look at it in terms of a project perspective; students.... not as a specific thing. Maybe it has not been explored. It's not because IOM doesn't want to do it, it's because there has not been really thought about it in this sense. Students have been perceived as part as a whole, within a group of people, but not as the only group to target. Right now, looking at the PDO proposal, students are considered part as the group. They will benefit from a project like that, a project for pre-departure orientation. But to say that there is a specific project for students, I don't think that we did any type of these projects. It's not out of the question that we will not do it either, but it is just a matter of exploring. What does it mean? How effective can it be here in Cabo Verde? Would it fit here in Cabo Verde?"

Many students are unprepared for studying abroad. They have unrealistic expectations about the host country and the life they will live while studying abroad. In what way would IOM be able to improve this situation?

IOM is already an expert in pre-departure orientation, so we can definitely contribute to that. Those types of projects can be implemented in Cabo Verde, it's a matter of.... The question is would IOM be in partnership with the government in implementing with some of these projects. So if the government already has some ongoing projects linked to students. So right now, it's already happening with CAMPO and IOM had a little bit of input, but it wasn't the one managing the project. But it had some type of assistance and we ended up in contributing towards that... For IOM to do all that stuff, there has to be an agreement with the government in presenting these types of projects.

Which other institutions should be addressed to solve the problem of "unprepared students?"

The Ministry of Education, point blank, period, should be doing something like this. Because I think a big thing that is missing in Cabo Verde is statistics about how many students are really leaving these schools because of migrating. You have two types of students going: right after high school as expected. I do not know if the school is keeping track of how many students are actually going. Or the Ministry of Education. I do not know if these students are under the Ministry of Education. They might have statistics, I don't know.

Other scholars have pointed out that it is important to have a good information system. What could be the reason why such an action has not been taken yet? Is it because of funding? Do they not see the need? Why?

For me, here in Cabo Verde, and especially with public administrations, they will always say that there is no money for anything. But the question is, have you tried to look for funding? Imagine if you will try to get funding for different types of organizations or foundations to fund a project for information management for students, and then you say we actually went after money and we didn't get it, that is one thing. But if you,.... Here we have the tendency to of the bet saying we have no money when you haven't even tried to ask for money for a particular project. Other institutions that are really big on this, is municipalities themselves. Because

here in Cabo Verde, a lot of students study outside the country, you have to look at it from a scholarship perspective. How do these students get scholarships? Do they get scholarships through academics? I do not know exactly if they get these scholarships through funding, but there is academic scholarships a lot of times. And sometimes the municipalities provide scholarships for students and not the Ministry of Education. So maybe the municipality of Praia may be a good thing for you to ask how do they deal with the students. I mean, do they have information about how many students do they give scholarships to go study abroad. I am sure that they don't have this information systematically collected. Someone probably has to go and look for it. They probably have it somewhere, but it is not systematic. So yeah, you have the central government and the municipalities that are dealing with students going to study abroad. It's a lot of stuff at the same time. There is also, there is the Department of Higher Education. So within the Ministry, there is also a general office for higher education, and they actually have a website. They post a lot of scholarships available for bachelors and masters degree and they put it on the website for kids to apply.

There are a lot of institutions working with students all at the same time, but the information is not systematically collected or maintained. The government has to think about the students that are coming back to Cabo Verde, that you have to give them a job. So you have to prepare for that.

Nowadays, there are so many students with a degree but there are not enough jobs available for them. What can the government do to improve this situation?

There are different things that you have to ask yourself. What are the type of degrees that the students are coming back with? There are many students coming back with a degree in business administration, but then you have to start looking what are the needs of the country that are not being met. Imagine if 20 students come back with business administration and there is actually a need for 10 students with a degree in technical engineering. How come none of these students do not have a degree in technical engineering? Every island here in Cabo Verde has its own needs, like in San Vicente every kid has the tendency to study something that has to do with arts and culture, because that island is known as the capital of arts of Cabo Verde. In Sal almost everything is about tourism. The question is, how many students are coming back with a degree in tourism? But Sal also has to offer other things, such as environmental problems. How many students are coming back with a degree in environmental related studies? I do not believe that the central or local government is really thinking about how do you get students motivated to study something that is really relevant for the country and not having them to choose a study that everyone is doing. What is being done to prepare these kids? It's not only about preparing them to go, it's about starting to have this conversation before they are making this decision to go and when they are going and coming back. I do not believe that enough of this is being done. The government has to make people think about other options that students can pick.

Is there a better way than giving presentations about studying abroad to get the message out?

I think the Ministry of Education would have to sit down with the Ministry of Communities, to understand what is it that they are doing first? What is the school doing to inform their students about studying abroad, about getting your higher education outside of the country? What is the Ministry of Education doing, because that is first and foremost their job, not the Ministry of Communities job. Technically, the Ministry of Communities should help kids who are studying abroad

through family unification, because they will become part of the Diaspora; they are supposed to go permanently. From when does the Ministry of Education start to inform the students that they have the possibility of studying abroad? Do they provide the information through schools, do they organize some fairs about studying abroad? So when it is clear who is doing what, then the Ministry of Communities can step in to see how they can assist the Ministry of Education in informing the students about studying abroad.

Would there be a need for IOM to include reaching students within their projects?

It has to do with the type of projects that are being implemented and the type of ministry that you are working with. Like right now, we are mainly working with the Ministry of Communities which is the reason why we are primarily focused towards reaching the Diaspora through municipalities. So it is not really focussed towards reaching students. But if we continue with the Pre-Departure Orientation for migrants driven to the United States, we might be able to include students within this project. It could be something for IOM to look at if we are working with the Ministry of Education. I think it's a fair game, because IOM does so many types of work that students might be interesting to look at. It's a matter of coming up with an idea.

Appendix 8

Interview with Eúfemia Rocha

Interview with Eúfemia Rocha

May 2, 2014

What role does migration play for Cabo Verde in general and students in specific?

I do not agree, for example, with this vision that migration is a new thing in Cabo Verde. We know that traditionally, Cabo Verde is an emigration country, but what we are doing, for example, we look into immigration with the perspective of emigration with this point. I think that we should not look just at migration in a global way just with this dichotomy: immigration and emigration. When I started writing my PhD, I noted that it is complicated to look into this phenomenon divided. And usually, what I saw is that immigration, the politics, the public policy that we are constructing is too much linked to our experience of emigration. And I think too that, we usually see immigration by the length of Europe, because we have many countries helping. We have the European Union, we have your country, we have Luxembourg or Portugal, or another European country which are all helping Cabo Verde adopt their policy to control immigration.

What do you think of this phenomenon that Europe is trying control Cabo Verde with regard to immigration policies?

It's okay, Cabo Verde can learn from other experiences but at the same time we have to look for our reality. And because it is, because our politicians are denying that we are African and they are always looking to Europe. It seems to me that they think that just Europe has something to share with us. That they have something to show us more than the other countries, such as the United States and Africa. For example, these are our neighbouring countries, because the discourse is the same. We are invading for example Europe. Or now, Cabo Verde is the same discourse from Europe. These immigrants, they are invading Cabo Verde. We have no conditions to receive these people from West Africa, but before we had here Italians, Portuguese, etcetera etcetera, but this discourse never appeared. This discourse started to appear in the 1990s, because they said that the presence of these immigrants are growing and we do not have conditions to receive them. We do not have conditions to give them a kind of condition of dignity. Then I started to think that we have to look to this reality, but within this context of West Africa. Okay, we know that Cabo Verde is an island, we are small, but at the same time, the idea is that Cabo Verdeans usually leave Cabo Verde, go abroad, to help to give to their families, to develop Cabo Verde and to give their families a better condition of life. But they usually do not think about these immigrants, for example in same way. Because Europeans they stay here too, to contribute to the development of Cabo Verde, but these immigrants of West Africa they do not bring anything to Cabo Verde. The media has this idea, politicians have this idea, it is the same and if we talk about this question about anybody out there, they usually reduce this discourse. They say they are not the same. Cabo Verdeans are different from these immigrants, because we are not the same. It is more or less like, that we do not have much to do. In my PhD I try to understand the perception of these immigrants from West Africa about their migratory trajectory, about their presentation about Cabo Verdeans and about Cabo Verde. Cabo Verdeans think that they are more from Europe; their way of life is more European than African. To them, they are not the same. This perception can change if we start at the basis. When I started to

read where your research is about, it made me aware of something important. It seems to me that we do not know a lot, or even nothing, about the African continent or about our history too. In the official discourse of our identity, they tend to pick up our connection with Europe. Just this connection with Europe is better known. The other side, we do not know because in our schools for example, we do not study about the African continent, even today. We usually have in our curriculum more topics about Europe: Rome, Greek civilization, Industrial Revolution, England, French Revolution, etcetera etcetera, but it is Europe. Europe has too much power and presence in our curriculums. More than Africa.

What do you learn about your own culture, your own history, your relation to migration in school?

For example, when I studied I did not have a lot about Africa. I remember in the elementary school they told us about Amílcar Cabral, just to mention him that he was the Father of the Nation. And today, my son who is eight years, they teach the same. Also my stepdaughter who is fifteen years old, and she does not know anything about, or more profoundly about the continent, about the history and the geography of the continent. About, for example, about Amílcar Cabral. They usually say what they told me many years ago and they continue to do this, just this.

What is the reason why this has not changed yet?

It seems to me that it is a kind of.... I know some people who keep on speaking about some kind of conspiracy against Africa, but it seems to me that our politicians are not evolving too or trying to make an effort to change this, because this discourse is too strong. The construction of this discourse by our elites is continue to mark. It seems to me that this discourse can make Cabo Verdeans think that they are something better. Cabo Verdeans think that they are something special, peculiar, for example. To maintain Cabo Verde and Cabo Verdeans in a better position, we can protect Cabo Verde in this better position. We compare Cabo Verde with others. Cabo Verde is always fighting to stay in a better position. Always... It is a kind of better position what we had in the past, before our Independence when the Portuguese were always telling us that Cabo Verdeans were more intelligent, Cabo Verdeans are not like Guineans are not like Angolans. At that time, we were not considered as indigenous people, we were civilized people.

Where is this image coming from?

It is something that stayed strongly today. In the media, in the education system, in the discourses of our politicians, in the public policies, in everything. It seems to me that we have to work in the bottom and in the top. For example, in the education system we know that these politicians construct our curriculums. But at the same time, when I am working with this curriculum, if I do not have this sensibility to include other topics of our history, for example, our curriculum will remain the same. Then we can start with the top, with our politicians, trying to adjust our education system and the public policies for our education. To start to working with kids since the pre-scholar education until university. We can look for the curriculum of this university and other ones in Cabo Verde, and you will not find these topics. We have the course of history, we have some disciplines that talk about the history of Africa, but then we go to Social Sciences, we go to education, we go to many other courses of my department, we will not find any discipline talking about Africa, or something related to Africa. We can look through the geographic references that we are using, they are always from people such as Americans. We do not know about Africans writing about these questions, for example. And even when we discover that we have a Nigerian working with this thematic, it is not interesting.

How much freedom as a professor do you have at your university? Can you still teach your students something that is not listed in the curriculum?

In this moment, for example, in my course we have much liberty to change, because the responsibility to design the program was ours, the teachers. Since last year, we started to reformulate our curriculum and then we started some commissions, for example in Social Sciences, Political Sciences and Anthropology. I worked with Anthropology, but at the same time I was working with other professors that had sensibility for these questions and we include for Anthropology the discipline "Introduction to acknowledge Sub Saharan Africa." Even when we had changes in our curriculum, it still continues to be our responsibility to select the topics that we give in class. It is our responsibility to select the references, the authors and the theories, etcetera etcetera. If we have this sensibility, we can include more things and I usually include topics about the possibility to learn a little bit more about Africa, about the continent.

How do your students react to these topics? Are they always interested?

We have big discussion, because always they bring this question about Cabo Verde and Cabo Verdeans that we do not have anything to do with Africa. That we are islands, that we are different. They always are saying that we look more like the Portuguese people, more to the Europeans, we are more educated, we are less violent. That we have peace in Cabo Verde and these other people from the continent have a lot of violence and civil wars. This image is what we have about Africa from the global media. Just that about Africa. In our media, we have *RTP Africa* from Portugal that tried to pass that we have some kind of problems, but usually, our national TV it is just that. In Africa, you cannot find anything good. These images are what my students bring to me. That Africa is a lost continent, it is a dark continent and we cannot do anything for Africa, that we have nothing to do with Africa. It is lost for ever. And Cabo Verde is different. This discourse is what students usually bring to me. When I start to ask some things they do not know anything about Africa, but this image is that what resists.

Besides the contribution of the media, where is this image coming from that Africa is a lost continent?

It seems to me that the media is too much, again, connected to Europe. These professionals from our media, like many professionals from other areas in Cabo Verde study in Portugal, in France, in the United States and our background came from these European countries.

Now we have this scenario that many Cabo Verdeans are staying in the islands to study, because the economic situation is not good to go to study abroad. When you ask a student that is studying at the University of Cabo Verde, they usually will say that they tried to go or that they wanted to go, that studying in Cabo Verde is not good. We do not have scholarships here in Cabo Verde. It is more complicated. Now we have some, but the amount that they give is usually small. The government are trying now to finance some. Of course, they do not finance all students. But a large amount of students are now supported for the monthly fee. I know it is more complicated because of the economic situation.

Many Cabo Verdeans are insisting to go to Portugal, for example, to study. They go there and usually they have to stop, because they have a rent to pay, a monthly fee, and they usually spend more money there than if they decided to stay here in Cabo Verde. Living here in Praia in a house of close relatives or family is much cheaper. Our country is very small and we do not have a lot of resources, but we have to look

for other ways to develop ourselves instead of just going abroad and to think that there our certificate from Europe is better than a certificate from an African country. It is a idea that exists among our students that a diploma from Europe is much better, that they can have a job more easier.

What is your opinion about the level of knowledge amongst the students about studying abroad? What do they know about the other culture, about the costs of living and the educational system?

There is not enough information about studying abroad for the students. They do not know enough. It seems to me that they are doing nothing to prepare the students. When they enter university, they seem a little disoriented. This feeling of not caring about anything. It is more difficult for teacher in superior education to work with students of the first year, because they enter university with the same attitude from the secondary school. Some ideas like that the teacher has to do everything for them. The teacher has to do everything, the teacher has all the responsibilities. They do not have to make an effort. They are looking at the teacher instead of trying to do it themselves, to learn, to contribute to their education and training. They are very lazy. They are just sitting here and the teacher does the rest. When I studied, for example, my last level, it was a level that was not included in secondary school. We called that level *Ano Zero*. It was a year to prepare students to university. They tried to reproduce what it means to be student at university. The way that classes were organized, the level of exercises, the disciplines.... Everything was organized to give us that sensation that we were in university. It was a very usual tool, although I also found differences. It was not like, or equally to university, but I felt like more prepared. This *Ano Zero* does not exists anymore, because they reformulate the educational system. Now we have the 12th grade included in secondary school.

Today I heard some news from the university that I went to in Portugal and it was not good news. The news was that Cabo Verdeans who are going to Portugal, they do not study, they are just there drinking alcohol, committing some kind of violence, they usually do not go to classes. They just go to discos and enjoy life. They just want to enjoy life. It seems like our life is going to end today and we have to do everything today. Consequently, they are losing their scholarships. I know one boy who lost his scholarship and he lost the opportunity to get papers from Portugal, the residence permit, and he even today, he stayed there. So he is illegal in Portugal. He does not work, he does not study, nothing, nothing, nothing. We have a lot of Cabo Verdean going to Portugal to study, but they stop and put themselves in a bad situation. Some of them, their parents, have more conditions of life, economic conditions, and give them another change, another opportunity to go to, for example, Brazil. They return to Cabo Verde and try to get another scholarship for Brazil. The Brazilian government usually give us a scholarship. So they will try again. We have many cases that the same thing happened again.

How could my research make a difference in the current situation?

I think that, for example, that knowing the African history, our students will know better this phenomenon of emigration. They will know better about mobility, many questions that are so important to our world and Africa too. It seems to me that each time we do research, we are trying to show another perspective about many questions. We are trying to show that we can arrange a better condition to think about, for example, about migration or to think about our education system. In my opinion, that is fundamental. We do not have, what you are doing, connecting migration and education system. And if we have these research, we can open our

eyes to our education system and to our students. We have many institutions, such as the Ministry of Communities, where we can put our research on the table, so to say. There are many options to share the results.

Appendix 9

Follow up interview with André Corsino Tolentino

Follow up interview with André Corsino Tolentino

May 5, 2014

Since the Independence of Cape Verde the Ministry of Education has had many names, such as the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Education of Secondary and Higher Education, and the Ministry of Higher Education, Science and Innovation. As a former Minister of Education, could you explain why the Ministry of Education changed its name and content so often?

In 1984, I started as the Minister of Education and I stayed there until the end of the PACV Government, which was in 1991. Let's see two things. One is: why it changed so much and two, what we can consider the marks of these changes. It changed a lot, because first we were trying to find the best organization for the development of the country and we had to change the structure of the government many times. Probably, we had more changes in the education, culture, science and information, and so on. In there you have, on one side, we have something that had been stable during the fifteen years of Pedro Pires' government as Prime Minister. The stable thing was that everybody has considered education as fundamental for the future of the country. That was constant. Otherwise we have been trying to find the structure or the organization that could work better. We did not finish changing on this. Now, for instance, we have two Ministries. We have the Ministry of Education and Sports, meaning basically primary and secondary education, and sports for almost everybody. And we have the Ministry of Higher Education and Science. I am not sure that is the good or the best organization. That means that we are trying again and again. What did make the difference at that time; I think that adult literacy was one. We tried to develop this concept of basic education for everyone and that did work. Other thing was to upgrade the primary education which was of four years. We upgraded it up to six years and we had to change the curriculum. That also worked, at least in quantitative terms. We expanded the secondary education to make it accessible on all the nine islands. And at that time we established the basics for the first university in Cape Verde. We did not get the university, but we set a commission to work on it. In quantitative terms, education changed a lot in Cabo Verde and we got very good indicators from inside, from outside, and, especially from local communities. Also, we got very good satisfaction for this, but we also accumulated problems. What we are dealing with right now is the quality of education. And this can be explained in three areas. First of all, we have a kind of big drama in linguistic terms. As you have observed we live in Cape Verdean Criolo. People feel really comfortable in Creole, but we need both, the Portuguese and Cape Verdean Languages. So we have to deal with this. We have to go to the bilingual status and that is much more difficult than we thought. This is the linguistic dilemma. I think that our capability in maths and other matters for the access to a scientific thinking is of poor quality, I would say. We need to learn much more of maths, physics and chemistry, and so and so. Our level is too low in these fields. So we have Creole and Portuguese as basic languages, and we have to slowly develop the Creole language, and use with more determination the Portuguese language. Second, is the university established to prepare youths and other people in the matters that give access to science? And finally, I do not know how to deal with that, but we need to have more and more English and other international languages. That means that our education is going well in general if we compare ourselves with developing countries, we are doing well but it is not

enough. I mean that probably, beyond the budget side, education is not having all the attention it could have if we think about the long future. Another issue you raised is the need to establish structures and persist. Changing all the time is bad for education. You are right.

The Ministry of Education establishes the curriculum for all the primary, secondary and higher education in Cape Verde. For example, some schools are very European focussed and their curriculum is constructed according to this preference. Could you explain how this process is developed?

Yes, that is one of the biggest problems that we and other nations face. We talk about post-colonialism, about neo-colonialism, and this kind of things. That is easy to speak about. What is really difficult is to have trained masters or teachers, to have adjusted curriculums, to have methodologies that are suitable for the sovereign nations. That is really difficult. All those problems, all those linguistic and cultural problems we have. We have been trying to adjust the Portuguese curriculum and I really do not know if we could do otherwise. I mean, it is easy to think that what we are having is not good, but fixing or adjusting colonial thinking and rules to national identity and education are difficult tasks. Suppose we get a government willing to change everything. With whom, you add. What kind of assistance, and financial means? What we have tried to reform before, meaning we get what we have and we fix it and improve it step by step. And we are doing this, but I think that it is possible to sit down, to bring different people together and make good decisions to implement step by step. I am not saying that it is impossible to do better. I am saying that a radical change is not convenient. You have to deal with people and that is what we get.

Could you say that the curriculum has remained the same within the last twenty years?

No, it changed. If you get the curriculum from first up to the six or seven grades, you get material changes, but the sense, the substance and trend of that did not change enough. I mean, you can find texts or problems more or less adjusted to the environment and time. However, if you go deeper and look at what you get, the trend and the sense and pace were not radical. That gives us the information or the feeling that are not clear, for instance, that Cabo Verde is not Africa nor Europe, or whatsoever. There is something mixed in Cabo Verdean which is universal and singular. However, it's coherent to feel African and, at the same time, just human being, African and inter-regional...

How often does the Ministry of Education revise or try to update its curriculum to the current situation?

We tried too much, too frequently. This created a mental instability. We have people, teachers especially, between a rigid structure and that are the kind of education we have and this is a mark from the old colonial times. You have a program, the program is quite rigid, centralized and you have to teach the content. We would have this kind of unique manual, books, all the same and so, and so. But, I think that we have to craft that and to keep a certain centrality or concentration. Why? Because we do not have a set of very well-prepared teachers, so we could say that you have those guidelines that you are free to prepare your classes with your students and get them prepared for national examination. You have teachers who would like to have more freedom to enrich their work with the students and that is fine. But probably most of them would not be able to do the same by lack of preparation. They would not be able to use the freedom in favour of the students. I mean, many teachers would like to be free of course, but I am not sure if that would be in the good of the students and the education system.

Changes are slow, but Cape Verdeans were able to keep the system moving forward and globally coherent.

Why do you think that?

Why? Especially because if I get the training of those people and their objective quality I could measure by years of schooling, by their performance, by their general capabilities, I would not think that letting them go we would get better. What I mean is that we need a kind of mix in between common rules for everybody and freedom in order to complement the programs. The pace of change increases with knowledge and time. But all this has to be considered in a very complex situation, and in this complexity we can identify social differences between families here in Palmarajo, where I live, and in Plateau, or around the city, or in rural areas. You have social differences which are considerable. Another aspect that we could consider is the access to school materials. Even though we are changing the environment with more and more access to computers, internet and so on, we still have a lot of families and students who do not have those possibilities. So we have to take this into consideration. A third element is that libraries are rare in Cabo Verde and we do not have a good tradition of access to libraries or to readings. What I mean is that our learning environment is poor. The exercise of freedom in such circumstances has to be watched with attention. Other aspect that we have to consider, in my opinion, is that we have a centralized system of education. Education in Cape Verde has almost always been public, and centralized. I mean that education is and has been a state business. When it was not a state business, it was a church business. But in colonial times, we now live the consequences of this. Church meaning Catholic religion and state was meaning almost the same. In the Portuguese colonial system, they were almost the same. At least Government and Church had a general agreement. And that makes a big difference. For instance, when we take a country where the education has always been a kind of civil society business, is different. But now we have more and more private or civil society education. I think that we need a public guidance on this. In Cabo Verde, in order to have a good system of education, or at least a gradually improved system of education, you have to have a government playing a key role.

What kind of scholarships does the Cape Verdean government offer to their students?

First of all, the family contribution has always been very important. This is not a rich country. This is important when sending people to foreign countries for studying. So, there are not many families being able to do it. We live in a state of general poverty. The second point is this centralized system of education. It is changing, but very slowly. People are looking at the government being responsible for the education. So, the state has the duty to build schools, equip them and assist or help students. And this help to students is, for instance, after the secondary school. University in Cabo Verde is a very new reality and it is still in an experimental stage. We had the tradition of sending students from one island to another or from Cape Verde to other countries. We got a very good improvement of people who are studying at different levels, namely at the higher education level. And that used to be supported by different governing political parties. And now, one characteristic of the country is that the support for the development is reducing. Even though you get many students in Portugal, Brazil, and a dozen of other countries. For the Cape Verdean State the people is the main natural resource. That is why education is fundamental.

Why is international assistance to development reducing?

The trend of the assistance from other countries, especially the most developed, is being reduced due to the deep financial and economic crisis. The real trend is that you get less and less help for development programs. In this situation you get an absolute reduction of the number of students to go to Portugal, Brazil and others. Or you get more and more private students going back. So now the government of Cabo Verde has this two tasks. One is to negotiate agreements with those countries in order to have seats in the universities. And we are trying to develop alternatives and complements in Cabo Verde, that is why we have the University of Cabo Verde and other institutions doing their best, but it is not enough in the country to give terms. In this, you have to consider that we are islands, we have nine islands and the opportunities have different costs for people. For instance, if you live in Praia and you choose to be inscribed in one training in the university is one thing. If you are in Fogo, in Bravo, in Saõ Antaõ and you come here to live here has a lot of costs here. So, this is a kind of new problem we have to deal with. In spite of this, Cape Verde will achieve the Millennium Development Goals for 2015, and face the new challenges.

How can the students apply for scholarships?

Usually the government of Cabo Verde asks the government of the Netherlands, for instance. One of the ways to assist Cabo Verdean development is helping it to train the youth. The government of Cabo Verde will negotiate with the government of the Netherlands to send ten students in 2014, and the double or triple in the following year. That is one possibility and once it is established, we have ten scholarships for the Netherlands for the year X. There is a kind of competition and we would publically choose the most adjusted to the profile. For instance in this case, you would have a certain level of operation and you would have to consider the language proficiency. Typically, we would choose through a public mechanism. In Cabo Verde itself, there is a certain number of scholarships to allow people to come from one island to another. But of course it is not enough, it is a minimum compared to the number of students willing to come or to go. This is one of the biggest problem we have, because the government would like to be able to take education as a public business. In financing and guiding, and so and so, but of course the financing depends on the resources the country can have and those are not enough.

Does the government keep track of the students who went to study abroad and those who were given a scholarship?

Theoretically, yes. But I have doubts about the efficiency of those mechanisms. I mean, we have to work much better in order to get some kind of picture at times that we need information about the students. I mean, the basic information about students, we are not talking about the individual or personal preferences. But the objective information about the evolution of the students. Theoretically, we can say that we have X number of students in Portugal being trained in specific areas. We can do the same for Brazil. So basically yes, we try to keep record of the students.