

The dynamics of migration and their impact on the country of origin:
A case study of Senegalese labour migrants on the Cape Verdean
island Boa Vista and their relatives at home

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I. Abstract

Since the beginning of the new millennium Cape Verde has become a destination for a growing number of migrants from continental West Africa, especially from other ECOWAS member states. After migrants from Guinea-Bissau, Senegalese build the second biggest community of ECOWAS migrants. This thesis addresses migration processes between Senegal and the Cape Verdean Island Boa Vista. The focus lies on migration motives, migration patterns and aspects, which influence the choice of Cape Verde as destination. Furthermore it analyses the flow of remittances and how the situation of the migrants on the island Boa Vista influences this monetary flow. Finally, the influence of these remittances on the lives of the migrants' families in Senegal is examined. Households in Senegal spend a high percentage of their income on food, and they often depend on the support of migrated household members. Families try to minimize risk of food insecurity through the diversification of income resources, and migration is one coping strategy to do so. Empirical data from research in Cape Verde and Senegal are used for the analysis of the above mentioned factors. This thesis seeks to add knowledge about remittances in the environment of intra-continental migration in West Africa, and more specifically about the relatively new and until now barely researched phenomenon of immigration to Cape Verde.

Keywords: Migration; Senegal; Cape Verde; Remittances; Food Security

II. Resumo

O crescimento económico e a extensão do sector do turismo sobretudo nos últimos vinte anos fez de Cabo Verde um destino para um número crescente de migrantes da África Ocidental, especialmente de outros estados membros da CEDEAO, desde o início do novo milénio. Senegaleses formam a segunda maior comunidade de imigrantes da CEDEAO, depois de migrantes da Guiné-Bissau. Esta tese aborda os processos de migração entre o Senegal e a ilha de Boa Vista, Cabo Verde. A tese foca na análise dos motivos da migração, padrões de migração e os aspectos que influenciam a escolha de Cabo Verde como destino. Além disso, o fluxo de remessas e como a situação dos imigrantes na ilha da Boa Vista influencia esse fluxo monetário são analisados. Por fim, examinamos a influência dessas remessas na vida das famílias dos migrantes no Senegal e como elas são gastas. Dados empíricos de pesquisas de campo em Cabo Verde e Senegal são utilizados para a análise dos factores mencionados acima. Esta tese busca agregar conhecimento sobre as remessas de dinheiro no ambiente de migração intracontinental na África Ocidental, e mais especificamente sobre o relativamente novo e até agora pouco pesquisado fenómeno de imigração para Cabo Verde.

Palavras-chave: Migração; Senegal, Cabo Verde, Remessas; Segurança Alimentar

III. Index

I.	Abstract	II
II.	Resumo	III
III.	Index.....	IV
IV.	List of figures	VI
V.	List of photos	VI
VI.	Abbreviation.....	VI
1.	FROM SENEGAL TO CAPE VERDE AND BACK: AN INTRODUCTION.....	1
2.	RESEARCH QUESTION	3
3.	METHODOLOGY	5
3.1	RESEARCH DESIGN.....	5
3.2	FIELDWORK BOA VISTA / CAPE VERDE	6
3.2.1	RESEARCH SITE AND CONDITIONS.....	6
3.2.2	DATA COLLECTION.....	6
3.3	FIELDWORK SENEGAL	12
3.3.1	RESEARCH SITE AND CONDITIONS.....	12
3.3.2	DATA COLLECTION.....	13
4.	A THEMATIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MIGRATION.....	15
4.1	MIGRATION THEORIES.....	16
4.1.1	MIGRATION AS A RESULT OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE AND PUSH AND PULL FACTORS.....	16
4.1.2	MIGRATION AS A HOUSEHOLD DECISION AND COPING STRATEGY.....	18
4.1.3	MIGRATION SYSTEMS, NETWORK APPROACHES AND TRANSNATIONAL SPACES.....	20
4.2	MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT.....	24
4.2.1	REMITTANCES, INCOME DIVERSIFICATION AND POVERTY REDUCTION.....	25
4.2.2	REMITTANCES AND INVESTMENT	28
5.	A FRAMEWORK FOR MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL TO CAPE VERDE.....	31
5.1	SENEGAL.....	31
5.1.1	ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS	31
5.1.2	MIGRATION.....	32

5.2	CAPE VERDE	34
6.	RESULTS	36
6.1	MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL TO BOA VISTA	36
6.1.1	REGION OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS.....	36
6.1.2	MIGRATION ROUTE	39
6.1.3	MIGRATION DECISION.....	40
6.1.4	MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS: AN BIOGRAPHIC OUTLINE OF THE MIGRATION CAREER OF TWO MIGRANTS	50
6.2	WORKING AND LIVING IN SAL REI: SENEGALESE IMMIGRANTS LIVING BETWEEN UNCERTAINTY AND TRANQUILLITY	52
6.3	INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND FAMILIES IN SENEGAL.....	61
6.3.1	STAYING IN CONTACT OVER DISTANCE.....	61
6.3.2	THE FLOW OF REMITTANCES	63
6.3.3	THE USAGE OF REMITTANCES	67
6.3.4	ONE HOUSEHOLD, TWO COUNTRIES.....	71
7.	CONCLUSION.....	75
	Bibliography	79
VII.	Appendix 1: Questionnaire.....	VII
VIII.	Appendix 2: List of interviewees.....	XI
IX.	Appendix 3: Foreign population by continent or country of nationality – RGPH 2010	XII
X.	Appendix 4: Total population, total foreign population and percentage of the foreign population by island – RGPH 2010.....	XIII
	Curriculum Vitae.....	XIV

IV. List of figures

Figure 3-1: Satellite image Cap-Vert Peninsula with the marked research sites.....	12
Figure 6-1: Number of migrants per region	37
Figure 6-2: Age structure	38
Figure 6-3: Number of migrants arriving in Cape Verde and year of arrival.....	39
Figure 6-4: Motives for the emigration	40
Figure 6-5: Reasons for the choice of destination	42
Figure 6-6: Number of migrants per working field	53
Figure 6-7: Satellite image Sal Rei.....	59
Figure 6-8: Value of remittances.....	64
Figure 6-9: Use of the remittances.....	67

V. List of photos

Photo 6-1: Souvenir shop in Sal Rei	55
Photo 6-2: Artist in Sal Rei.....	55
Photo 6-3: Water tank in Barraca.....	60
Photo 6-4: Street in Barraca	60
Photo 6-5: Construction of a house.....	68
Photo 6-6: A brother shows a ram paid by the migrant shortly before Tabaski.....	70

VI. Abbreviation

CVE	Cape Verdean Escudo
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EUR	Euro
FRANC CFA	FRANC Communauté Financière d'Afrique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INE	Instituto Nacional De Estatística de Cabo Verde
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
RGPH 2000	Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação 2000
RGPH 2010	Recenseamento Geral da População e Habitação 2010
RGPH III	Troisième Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat

1. FROM SENEGAL TO CAPE VERDE AND BACK: AN INTRODUCTION

While travelling from Praia to Boa Vista in 2012 it struck me that about half of the persons in the rarely filled airplane did not appear to be Cape Verdeans. Their appearance, darker skin and sometimes their clothing, suggests that they origin somewhere in West Africa. This case is exemplary for the growing presence of migrants from the African mainland, which is noticeable all over the archipelago and especially in bigger cities and touristic sites. Cape Verde is widely known for emigration and not for immigration (see e.g.: Carling & Batalha, 2008), which leads to the question why these islands, 500 km west off continental Africa are chosen as a destination. The answer is simple and complex at the same time. A steady economic growth over the last two decades and an extension of the tourism sector have put the Cape Verdean Islands on the map for labour migrants from other member states of the *Economic Community of West African States*, mainly from Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria. At the same time, an increasing militarization of southern Europe's maritime borders resulted in an increase of costs for illegal migration to Europe, which led migrants to search for new routes to Europe and new destinations, for example Southern Africa or the Gulf states. These factors are mainly responsible for West African migrants' growing interest in Cape Verde. The main destinations for migrants from the African mainland are the touristic islands Sal and Boa Vista, the archipelago's main island Santiago with its capital Praia, and São Vicente with the port city Mindelo, but they also head to the other islands.

Intra-continental labour migration is common and not only a recent phenomenon in West Africa; examples are the labour migration to the plantation economies of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire beginning in the 1950s, or to Nigeria during the years of the oil boom in the 1970s (see e.g.: Adepoju, 2004; 2006; Ramamurthy, 2003). Over the years some countries have lost their attraction as destinations while the importance of others has increased. Senegal is part of these intra-continental migration flows as destination, but above all as a source for labour migrants. Migration and high mobility are characteristic for the Senegalese society. This does not only count for the present but also for the past, when changing residence was for example already a strategy to improve living conditions by searching for new cultivable land or pastures. Senegal's history since its independence is strongly marked by population movements be it internal, for example from rural to urban areas, or international, for example to Côte d'Ivoire, Gabon or the former colonial power France. During the last 40 years the destinations of this international migration changed constantly. New ones were added and former main destinations became less important. The reasons for the growing number of Senegalese living outside their home country are manifold and range from structural problems, like high unemployment, to cultural and social aspects. At the turn

of the millennium Cape Verde became a new destination for migrants from Senegal. Until now this new intra-African migration has hardly been studied and the few existing studies focus on Cape Verde as a transit point for the migration to Europe, or the impact of immigration on the Cape Verdean society.

The presented thesis addresses migration processes between Senegal and Cape Verde. The focus lies on migration motives, migration patterns and aspects, which influence the choice of Cape Verde as destination. Furthermore it analyses the flow of remittances and how the situation of the migrants on the island Boa Vista influences this monetary flow. Finally, the usage of these remittances and their influence on the lives of the migrants' families in Senegal are examined. This thesis seeks to add both knowledge about remittances in the environment of intra-continental migration in West Africa, and more specifically about the relatively new and until now barely researched phenomenon of immigration to Cape Verde. The thesis is structured as followed: After the definition of research subject and five central research questions follows a detailed description of the applied methods and field conditions in the third chapter. The different research methods, the choice of a triangulation of methods and multiple research sites, and problems which occurred during the research are elaborate as they are important for the understanding of the empirical data. A presentation of selected theories on migration and the scientific debate on remittances is carried out in the fourth chapter and builds the theoretical frame of the research. A short description of important aspects regarding emigration from Senegal and immigration to Cape Verde serves the purpose to put the immigration of Senegalese to Boa Vista in the wider context of migration in the respective country. In chapter six the results of my fieldwork are presented, starting with a description of migrants' general characteristics and migration patterns, before different aspects regarding the migration decisions and choice of destination are examined. Finally interactions between migrants and their relatives in Senegal are described. An interpretation of the results follows in the conclusion.

2. RESEARCH QUESTION

Despite the short time span in which Cape Verde became an immigration destination for West Africa, its impact is visible on all islands. It is difficult to provide an overview, as on different islands migrants from different regions work on construction sites, as street vendors and dominate the souvenir trade at touristic places. Although the official number of Senegalese living in Cape Verde is relatively small (with around 1.600¹) compared to other emigration destinations from Senegal, their impact on the sending society should not be underestimated, partly as a result of the spatial concentration on a few regions in Senegal.

The aim of this research is to understand migration processes between Senegal and Cape Verde, with a particular focus on the most eastern island of the archipelago, Boa Vista. This research thus contributes to an enhanced understanding of intra-regional migration in West Africa. Migration processes are multifaceted and may affect and change receiving as well as sending societies in a variety of ways, including for example the transformation of population structures, social stratification or cultural meanings. Giving a complete picture of all processes and aspects of migration between Senegal and Cape Verde goes beyond the scope of this master thesis. Therefore, it seems rather important to analyse a number of selected aspects thoroughly. The interest and objective of this work aims at migration motives and decision-making processes, and conclusions they permit on migration processes between the two countries. I therefore also analyse the migrants' situation in Boa Vista, especially in regard to working and living conditions, and how these conditions affect the remittances to their families; the flow of remittances and eventually their impact on the lives of their family members in Senegal. This led to the following research questions:

1. Which aspects influence the decision to migrate, and how can they lead to an understanding of migration processes between Senegal and Cape Verde?

Migration motives can be multifaceted and the decision to migrate may be influenced by a variety of factors, be it economic, political, cultural or social ones. The aim of this question is to determine which aspects are important for the migrant's decision to migrate, for the choice of destination and also to establish how and by whom the decision is taken.

2. Are remittances a relevant component of migration processes from Senegal to Boa Vista?

¹ The official number of Senegalese living in Cape Verde is the result of the RGPH 2010 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística de Cabo Verde (INE)). The actual number is probably higher. During her presentation at the 5th European Conference on African Studies Clementina Furtado from the University of Cape Verde referred to a statement made by the Senegalese ambassador in Cape Verde, that about 5000 Senegalese live in Cape Verde. All data which is used from the RGPH 2010 were requested from the INE and can be found in annex 3 and 4.

Remittances can be a central motive for migration as part of a household strategy to diversify income. The aim of this thesis is to determine under which conditions the migrants send money and to whom. Furthermore the interest lies on different occasions in which migrants send remittances and what aspects influence the desire or obligation to remit.

3. Which impact does the situation of the migrants in Sal Rei, Boa Vista, has on the flow of remittances?

The capability to send money depends both on income and expenses. This question aims at the analysis of living and working conditions of the Senegalese immigrants, and how these influence the flow of remittances, especially in regard to frequency and the amount sent. This can help to understand more about remittances in the context of intra-regional migration in West Africa, and contributes to the debate of remittances as a promoter of development.

4. How are remittances used, and what role do they play for the alimentation of households?

This question has the objective to find out if the remittances contribute to food security, and also if they lead to general improvements of the households, for example in form of investments.

5. What kinds of interactions occur between families and migrants?

Despite the distance which migration can put between family members, migrants and families are often connected to each other through different kind of flows, including communication and economic and social activities.

Hypotheses were formulated based on observations made during my research in 2009² and on suggestions made in the literature, and focus on three key areas: migration decision, remittances and household well-being. Migration decisions are influenced by a variety of factors. The decision and the desire to support the family financially are connected. It is expected that remittances and households' well-being, especially regarding food security, are related. The impact of remittances depends, however, on both frequency and amount. If the migrant sends money frequently food security improves. Furthermore, the higher the amount the higher is food security, and probability that investments occur. Amount and frequency of

² In 2009 I visited Boa Vista for the first time in order to conduct fieldwork for my B.A. final project in African Development Studies in Geography at the University of Bayreuth. The thesis with the title "Die Bedeutung von Netzwerken für die Migration auf die Kapverdischen Inseln am Beispiel der Insel Boa Vista" (Jung, 2009) examines migration networks between Cape Verde and West Africa and their importance for migration decisions and the settlement in Boa Vista.

remittances depend on the migrant's working situation in Sal Rei. Migrants with a regular income are more likely to send money frequently to their families in Senegal.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

Migration between different countries or places is moulded by a variety of factors, which can range from economic to social to political factors. For the study of migration processes and interactions between migrants and their families, it is necessary to consider the circumstances in the destination country as well as at the place of origin. Therefore, research was conducted both in Cape Verde and Senegal during two periods of fieldwork. A qualitative case study (see e.g.: Bryman, 2004; Flick, 2004) was chosen as appropriate approach for this research. Considering the complexity of the research objective, the little knowledge available and the limited time for fieldwork, a case study of migration from Senegal to the island of Boa Vista seemed to be adequate to study this barely researched phenomenon. Different research methods were applied for the data collection, including a standardized questionnaire, problem-centred interviews and direct observation. This strategy of triangulation (Bryman, 2004, p.275) allowed to compare and validate the obtained findings. Field conditions and applied methods will be explained in more detail in the following chapter.

For the study of remittances it is important to consider that statements made by migrants and their relatives do not necessarily refer to both actual monetary value and real frequency of the transaction. In some cases they rather represent moral assumption in connection with remittances, for example the expectation that a "good" son or daughter supports the parents by sending money or that the money is used for alimentation or education and not for pleasure and material goods, which are not essential for their livelihood.

Furthermore, different methodical aspects, including the situation in which interviews and questionnaire were conducted, alone or in the presence of other persons, and dynamics between interviewee and researcher, need to be considered. The survey often took place in the presence of other persons. In some cases statements about remittances may be embellished in front of others in order to improve the reputation. At the same time complains from migrants about difficulties in Cape Verde and pressure to send money or from relatives about insufficient or declining remittances may be exaggerated in the presence of the author.

Although answers in both, questionnaire and interview may not be always accurate, they allow the identification of patterns, not only in relation with moral assumption, but also

about the actual flow and usage of remittances. The triangulation of research methods and the conducting of empirical data at both ends of the migrations systems allow the control and comparison of the obtained data. Thus answers from migrants and their relatives could be compared and statements about value and frequency of remittances could be verified. Furthermore observations confirmed findings from questionnaire and interviews and allowed conclusions about the actual flow of remittances.

3.2 FIELDWORK BOA VISTA / CAPE VERDE

3.2.1 RESEARCH SITE AND CONDITIONS

Six weeks of fieldwork were conducted in Cape Verde from May 2nd to June 8th 2012³. All empirical data were collected in Boa Vista, more precisely in Sal Rei, the main settlement of the island. Due to a high proportion of immigrants of the total population Boa Vista was especially suitable for this research. More than half of the island's population is concentrated in Sal Rei, which was therefore chosen as research site.

Access to migrants was facilitated through previously conducted research for my B.A. thesis in Sal Rei in 2009. During the fieldwork I could rely on contacts with Senegalese, which I met in 2009. Another significant facilitation was the openness of most migrants, who, with a few exceptions were willing to take time for the interviews and to answer my questions. In order to get a high degree of authenticity, all data were collected either at the migrant's place of work or at home. Doing fieldwork in an environment familiar to the migrants helped to create a comfortable situation for the interviewees. Furthermore, I spent as much time as possible within the Senegalese community. This did not only help to build up trust, but also provided an insight into migrants' lives in Sal Rei, which alone with the survey would not have been possible.

3.2.2 DATA COLLECTION

As mentioned earlier, data was collected using a triangulation of research methods. The different methods complemented each other. Observation was used simultaneously with the other methods, while the questionnaire survey preceded the accomplishment of the problem-centred interviews. This had two reasons. First, the use of a questionnaire served the purpose to gain wider systematic knowledge and an overview of migration patterns, especially with regards to migration motives, flow of remittances, and the migrants' situation in Sal Rei. The obtained findings later became the basis for the problem-centred interviews to obtain a deeper knowledge of the research subject. Second, the implementation of the

³ In some cases I will use data obtained from problem-centred interviews conducted during the fieldwork for my B.A. final project. A complete list of interviewees and interview dates can be found in appendix 2.

questionnaire helped to choose future interviewees on the basis of their relevance for my research and language skills.

Both the questionnaire and the interviews were completed in the neighbourhood Barraca, where most immigrants live, and in the centre of Sal Rei, where souvenir sellers and artists work⁴. I never paid for the migrant's participation in the survey, which in a few rare instances led to the refusal to participate. Occasionally, I paid for something to drink or eat. The applied methods will be explained in the following, starting with the questionnaire.

The standardised survey

As already mentioned, the standardized survey had the aim to gain an overview and to gather information about different aspects of migration processes. The questionnaire⁵ was developed before the research started, and can roughly be divided into three parts⁶. The first part had the purpose to collect personal data of the migrant, which included for example age, civil status, place of origin and level of education, and to discover migration patterns in regard to length of stay, migration route, migration motives and decision making processes. In addition, one question about difficulties during the migration completed the first section. The second part included questions about the migrants' current and past employment situation in Cape Verde. The third and last part aimed at the analysis of the flow of remittances in regard to recipient, frequency, value, occasion, way of transfer and usage. Although the subject of monthly income is related to part two of the questionnaire, it was only asked at the end of the questionnaire, in consideration of its sensitive matter. Against my expectations, the majority of the participants answered the question about the income, and only a few preferred not to respond.

Both open and closed questions were used depending on subject characteristics. An open phrasing was particularly appropriate for questions about migration motives and problems, in order not to exclude possible categories beforehand. The expected response categories of closed questions were partly based on the literature about the subject, for example regarding the usage of remittances. As it was expected that these categories do not include all possible answers, they were completed with the response "Other" and the possibility to clarify. In order to verify comprehensibility and relevance of the questions a pre-test with two Senegalese was conducted in Sal Rei during the first week of fieldwork. As a result some questions that were unclear or too complicated were slightly changed before starting the survey. Despite the pre-test different problems arose during the survey, which will be discussed below.

⁴ A detailed description of the living and working situation follows in chapter 6.2.

⁵ See Appendix 1.

⁶ For the construction of a questionnaire see e.g.: Diekmann, 2007

The survey using the questionnaire was completed with 68 Senegalese migrants; all but three of the respondents were men. Despite the high proportion of men in the population of Senegalese migrants in Boa Vista, it wasn't intended to interview only three female migrants. Difficulties in contacting and gaining the trust of women are reasons for the low number of female participants. Furthermore, it seemed that due to working and private obligations, time for some women was restricted. It must be assumed that with a higher female percentage within the survey some questions would have led to different results. The survey was conducted between three and seven p.m. in order to meet also migrants, who would not have been available at an earlier time during the day due to their work activities, which prevented me from only speaking to unemployed migrants, and to those who were accessible because of their work, for example salesman in a store. The questionnaire interview lasted between 10 and 15 minutes on average. During the survey, I worked closely with a Senegalese, whom I have met before in 2009. He helped me to find and contact interviewees, and when necessary, translated from French to Wolof and vice-versa.

Due to the informal character of the neighbourhood *Barraca* and uncertainty about the actual number of Senegalese living in Boa Vista, it was necessary to compromise concerning sample size and probability sampling. This had an impact on the representativeness of the survey which could not be avoided. Although official statistics about the number of migrants and their nationality exist, they do not represent the actual figure. According to the RGPH 2010 there are 125 Senegalese living on Boa Vista, but the actual number is higher. The association of the Senegalese migrants, *Association des Sénégalais de Boa Vista* has about 190 members, however, this number also only allows a rough approximation, since not all migrants are members and those who are, are not necessarily remaining on the island any longer. Conversations with Senegalese migrants led to an estimation that the actual figure lies between 200 and 250. This number, however, is also only an estimate and the actual number of Senegalese may be even higher or, although unlikely, lower. Barraca's characteristics as an informal settlement and residence for migrants of different nationalities and origins made a random sample selection very difficult, if not impossible. Instead a snowball system combined with a convenient selection (Bryman, 2004, p.100) was chosen with the aim to talk to as many persons as possible, and which itself was orientated on the willingness to participate in the survey. The sample size of 68 contains probably more than one fourth of all Senegalese living on the island and therefore helped to gain a wide understanding of the researched aspects. Data analyses were carried out using Microsoft Excel, partly back home and partly already during the fieldwork in Sal Rei.

Despite the pre-tests the survey did not run smoothly. First the question "Est-ce que c'était difficile d'immigrer au Cap-Vert?" was not phrased clearly and led to two different

perceptions regarding its meaning. Most migrants understood it in relation with the total time they spent away from Senegal in Cape Verde. For others it meant the actual travelling from Senegal to Cape Verde and the entry in the country, thus regarding the legal framework of the immigration. The actual objective of the question was to discover problems regarding the latter mentioned legal framework of the immigration to Cape Verde. However, during the completion of the first twenty questionnaires it became obvious, that for the great majority problems occur after entering the country. I decided for the rest of the survey to ask explicitly for these two aspects. Nevertheless, this must be considered for the analysis of the answers.

The second problem is not related to the survey itself, rather to its analysis. In the third part of the questionnaire I asked how often the migrant transfers money, and if he or she sends extra money in cases of emergency or on specific occasions. It remains questionable if money for emergencies or festivities is sent in addition to “regular” remittances. It seems more likely that they are sent instead of “regular” remittances, or that in these cases “regular” remittances are used to cover these expenses too, although the amount which the migrants send may increase⁷. A differentiation between the categories is therefore problematic.

Problem-centred interviews, observation and informal conversations

In addition to the questionnaire, different qualitative methods were applied in order to control, increase and complement the gained knowledge of the standardized survey. Thirteen interviews with Senegalese migrants were carried out; all of them were men. The interviews were problem-centred (Diekmann, 2007, p.542) and followed an interview guide, which was based on the questionnaire. The guide was used as a help tool, and the questions were not necessarily asked in the given order. The interviewees had a strong influence on the structure of the interviews, and often directed them as much as I did by pointing out interesting aspects, which I had not considered before, and which were not part of the previously developed guide. The open structure of the interviews facilitated to address these aspects directly, and also to delve deeper into already mentioned and interesting topics. A strong standardization of the interviews was not desired, since this could have restricted the information significantly. The duration of the interviews depended strongly on the migrant's openness and willingness to provide information and varied between 15 to 90 minutes. Some migrants only responded briefly to questions, others told a lot without the necessity to ask many questions. All interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder and transcribed afterwards.

⁷ A more profound analysis of the flow of remittances follows in chapter 6.3.

The sample selection can be seen as a combination of two forms of purposeful sampling (Patton, 2002, p.46)⁸. First, interviewees were selected regarding their “intensity of information-richness”. According to Patton (2002) *[a]n intensity sample consists of information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (but not extremely)* (p.234). The selection followed certain criteria, for example the length of stay, multiple migrations or profession. I already had at least some information about all interviewees selected earlier, because they either already completed the questionnaire or I knew them from 2009.

Second, *Snowball Sampling* was used (Merkens, 2004, p.168). This means that some of the interviewees referred me to other persons, which were of interest to the study. Four of the thirteen interviewees were met following this approach. Language skills influenced the selection process of all interviewees. All interviews could either be completed in French, English or German⁹. This had the advantage that I could conduct them without the help of an interpreter and thus accidental or intentional influence and interpretation of the interview by the interpreter could be avoided. However, this also had the disadvantage that errors regarding the interpretation and choice of words cannot be completely ruled out, since neither the interviewees nor I were native speakers. In fact, I only perceived some statements after listening repeatedly to the recordings of the interviews. This of course limited the possibility to react to the statement and ask further questions. Language as selective criterion further had the disadvantage that it limited the sample and excluded other cases beforehand, which may have been interesting for the study. In this case the advantage of working without an interpreter outweighed the disadvantages, however, it should be considered that knowing Wolof would have permitted a deeper view into or a better understanding of migration processes from Senegal to Cape Verde.

Conducting all interviews either at the migrant’s home or work place, had the advantages of creating a comfortable situation for the interviewees and it allowed me an insight into their living and working conditions. Of course it also had the side effect that interviews were sometimes interrupted, for example by customers in a shop in Barraca. This did not, however, affect the interviews negatively. A greater impact had background noises, which during the interview did not create any problems, however in some cases made it difficult to transcribe them.

⁸ Purposeful sampling describes the selection of information-rich cases from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Patton, 2002, p.46). Patton distinguishes 15 strategies for purposefully selecting information-rich cases, of which two were used during the fieldwork.

⁹ One interview was made in English with a Senegalese, who grew up partly in Gambia and did not speak French. Another one was made in German with a Senegalese, who had lived about 20 years in Germany.

The recordings of all interviews were transcribed after fieldwork was completed. A correction of grammatical and linguistic errors was not made in order to not alter sense and guarantee the authenticity. The transcriptions were analysed and compared with each other. Different categories regarding objects of interest for the research were designed for this analysis and used as a coding guide for all interviews. This helped to identify similarities and differences between the conducted interviews and finally to build types¹⁰. Some interview passages are used later to illustrate important aspects. A translation of these passages has been relinquished for the same reasons already mentioned above.

Direct observation and informal conversations were also used for data collection. The permanent stay at the research site allowed me to participate at events and different everyday situations. The degree of participation varied from active participation to a more passive role. For example, I played a passive role as observer at a meeting¹¹ addressing problems and ways of social and economic integration between the *Câmara Municipal da Boa Vista*, represented amongst others by their president José Pinto Almeida, and the different immigrant communities, represented by their respective associations. I also observed, without participating, several economic activities. I took a more active role in various forms of social activities inside the Senegalese community, starting from the simple participation in countless tea ceremonies and meals to the dominical gathering to watch the latest edition of *La Lutte*. Informal conversations with both Senegalese and Cape Verdeans helped to complement the information from the questionnaire survey and the interviews. Often, informal conversations brought my attention to aspects, which I could later address during interviews. It should also be mentioned that certain information was only shared without the recorder. Notes to both observations and informal conversations were made in a field diary.

A photographic record to document the lives of migrants in Sal Rei was created. Some of the pictures are included in this text and help to illustrate working and living conditions of Senegalese in Sal Rei. Finally, the research in Boa Vista additionally served the purpose to obtain contacts to family members in Senegal, where my second field work was conducted.

¹⁰ For the analysis of semi-structured interviews see e.g. Schmidt, 2004

¹¹ This meeting took place one month before the election of the 22 *Assembleias Municipais* of Cape Verde. Although a residence permit is mandatory for the right to vote, a requirement which at least most Senegalese cannot fulfil, the meeting was strongly influenced by the election campaign of Boa Vista's ruling party the *Movimento para a Democracia* (MpD). José Pinto Almeida repeatedly reminded the attendees to vote in the upcoming election for his party and that in return he will try to create better working conditions, new infrastructure and simplify the process of application for the residence permit.

3.3 FIELDWORK SENEGAL

3.3.1 RESEARCH SITE AND CONDITIONS

The fieldwork was conducted from September 18th to October 18th 2012 in the regions of Dakar and Diourbel¹², which were both selected because they represent main sources for the migration to Boa Vista. Research sites on the Cap-Vert Peninsula (Figure 3-1) were located in two urban outskirts of Dakar, Pikine and Thiaroye, in the *Département de Pikine*. Additionally empirical data was collected in the village Niaga and at the popular touristic site of Lac Retba, also known as Lac Rose, in rural areas of the *Département de Rufisque*. Pikine and Thiaroye are located both north of the Autoroute N1, which connects Dakar with M'Bour and the rest of the country. They are part of the greater Dakar agglomeration, where¹³ almost



one fourth of Senegal's total population live. Niaga is a village with about 6.000 inhabitants, about 25 km east of Dakar and is part of the *Communauté rurale de Sangalkam*. Lac Retba lies three km north of Niaga.

Figure 3-1: Satellite image Cap-Vert Peninsula with the marked research sites (Source: <http://earthobservatory.nasa.gov/IOTD/view.php?id=8886>)

The fieldwork locations of Niaga, Pikine and Thiaroye were chosen based on contacts obtained in Cape Verde, while the decision to do research at Lac Retba was a result of the on-going research in the Dakar region, where I spent 16 days, 11 at the beginning and five at the end of my stay in Senegal.

In order to collect data, I visited the different research sites several times, but the size of Dakar, the distance between the locations¹⁴ and endless traffic jams, however, limited the time I spent at the different sites. The fieldwork in Niaga and at Lac Retba was conducted during two visits, while I could visit Pikine various times due to the relative proximity. As in Boa Vista, all data were collected either at the relatives' home or place of work. Although a permanent stay at one of the research sites was not accomplished, I tried to spend as much

¹² A map of Senegal can be found in Chapter 6.1.1.

¹³ Depending on the source about 2.6 million (ANSD, 2013a, p.36) or 3.4 million (Diop, 2009, p.18) inhabitants live in the greater Dakar agglomeration.

¹⁴ During the fieldwork in Dakar I resided in Parcelles Assainies, a neighborhood in the Département de Dakar, where many international immigrants come from. My hope that I could also do interviews there was not fulfilled, since immigration from Parcelles Assainies is rather directed to Europe or the USA than to Cape Verde.

time as possible in addition to the formal interviews with one family in Pikine. This allowed me to witness aspects of their life and interaction with the migrant.

In Diourbel, all research was conducted in the region's capital with the same name for 11 days. The medium-sized town with about 100.000 inhabitants (ANSD, 2004, p.11) is located some 150 km east of Dakar in a groundnut growing area, known as the *Bassin arachidier*. Research sites here were located in neighbourhoods north of the railway and at the *Grand Marché de Diourbel*.

3.3.2 DATA COLLECTION

All data in Senegal was collected through problem-centred interviews, direct observation, and informal conversations. I will abstain from an elaborate description of aspects, which were already explained for the fieldwork in Boa Vista and which do not differ. As in Boa Vista, an interview guide was used as an orientation during the interviews, without creating a strong structuring and standardization. The guide included some general questions about the immigrant in Cape Verde, the decision making process, remittances and the household's situation. In cases where I knew the immigrant and already had information about him and his family, further questions were added with the objective to obtain additional information. Altogether 12 interviews, nine in Dakar and three in Diourbel, with relatives of immigrants, who are in Cape Verde and one with a Senegalese currently living in Diourbel, who was deported from Cape Verde in 2009, were conducted. Furthermore, I interviewed two households, where family members migrated to Spain. All of them were recorded with a digital voice recorder and later transcribed. The duration of the interviews varied between 15 and 50 minutes. As in Cape Verde I never paid for the participation. In one case I bought a bag of rice after the interview in order to express my gratitude.

Both in Dakar and Diourbel I could rely on some of the contacts obtained in Cape Verde. In regard to the relative small number of Senegalese migrants in Cape Verde finding households matching the only main criteria, a family member who migrated to Cape Verde, was challenging. I depended on the contacts, which served as a starting point for the research. The sample selection was therefore partly directed through these contacts and can be described as a purposeful sample of cases which were of interest to my research. I was able to meet the families of four migrants I knew from Boa Vista. One advantage of this selection was that I could compare statements made by immigrants with the ones made by their relatives. Other interviewees I met through the *snowball sampling technique*. Once I could establish contact with migrant relatives, they then helped me to meet other families with migrants in Cape Verde. The scale of the two cities and the already mentioned small number of Senegalese living in Cape Verde, however, also limited the success of this technique. In Diourbel it was especially difficult to find interviewees. I had two contacts of

families, but only managed to reach one of them. The snowball sample technique also worked poorly, partly because the interpreter did not translate the answer of one interviewee completely, who referred me to a neighbourhood, where according to him many immigrants in Cape Verde come from.

Another problem was the language barrier. I only speak a few words of Wolof and some of the interviewees did not speak any French at all. In both regions I had to work at least partly with the help of an interpreter. In Dakar this was rather the exception, three of the 12 interviews were made with an interpreter. In order to be able to communicate with the migrants' relatives in Diourbel I had to permanently rely on an interpreter, which influenced the research stronger. The only exception was the interview with the deportee mentioned earlier. Working with an interpreter can be problematic, and in this case the choice of the interpreter turned out to be a mistake. He often interpreted the interviewees' answers, summarized them and sometimes even translated them incorrectly. Although I could not control the correctness of his translation during the interviews, I could determine to a certain degree whether he was summarizing and interpreting the answers. Only the repeated request to translate the answers again and more detailed helped to approximate translation and statements made by the interviewee. In order to minimize any errors I decided to have all interviews translated again by the Senegalese, with whom I worked in Dakar.

Direct observation and informal conversations were helpful to gain further information, which were noted in a field diary. As in Boa Vista photos were taken with the objective to document and illustrate research relevant aspects.

4. A THEMATIC REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON MIGRATION

Although international migration is not a new phenomenon, the interest for it in both politics and science has grown over the past 20 years. One reason for this growing interest is based on a change in migration patterns, which before the Second World War were mostly dominated by outflows from Europe to the Americas and Oceania, while in the second part of the 20th century migration became a global phenomenon with a steadily growing number of receiving and sending countries. A shift from Europe to developing countries from the south as the main source of immigrants occurred and Europe itself became a target of international migration (Massey et al., 1998, pp.1-3).

Although the percentage of international migrants was at a similar level hundred years ago public perceptions and debates in politics in western countries about international migration are mostly characterized by a panic about the invasion of an unpredictable number of immigrants from poor countries and problems of their integration in hosting societies (De Haas, 2005, p.1270). Nevertheless the percentage of international immigrants of the world population increased from 2.5 % in 1960 to 2.9 % in 2000 (UNFPA, 2006, p.6). In 2010 there were about 215.8 million international migrants globally, about 3.2 % of the world population (The World Bank, 2011, p.18). Reasons for a growing number of south-north migrants at the end of the 20th century can be found partly in disparities in wealth and income and the desire to improve livelihoods.

In contrary to the widely spread assumption the poorest are not the ones, who migrate. The risks and costs connected to migration are often too high. De Hass (2005) writes that *rather than absolute poverty, a certain level of socioeconomic development with relative deprivation in the form of global inequality of development opportunities, seems to be the most important cause of migration* (p.1271). Furthermore Faist (2000) argues that about half of the world population constitute potential international migrants, since they do not belong to upper income echelons, and therefore are supposed to have the necessary motivation to migrate. At the same time they have the necessary resources for a migration because they are not absolutely poor (p.4). However, most of these potential migrants do not migrate at all or move only internally. Additionally, international migration is not directed predominantly from south to the north. South–South migration counts for about 74 million migrants, while about 73, 3 million migrate to high-income OECD countries (The World Bank, 2011, p.12). Although the number of people migrating from one developing country to another is slightly higher, most theories developed out of the analyses of international south-north migration. After a general overview of the scientific debate in the field of migration studies with a presentation of some major theories, a more profound consideration of concepts on the interaction of migration and development with some evidence from the literature follows.

4.1 MIGRATION THEORIES

In regard of the amount of theories in the field of migration studies, only a few, selected by their relevance for the research can be presented here. The different theories have developed partly independently from each other and in different areas, ranging from economics to sociology to geography, to name just a few, mostly since the 1950s. Considering the plurality of theories MASSEY et al. (1998) write:

At present, there is no single theory widely accepted by social scientists to account for the emergence and perpetuation of international migration throughout the world. [...] Current patterns and trends in international migration suggest, however that a full understanding of contemporary migratory processes will not be achieved by relying on the tools of one discipline alone, or by focusing on a single level of analysis or one conceptual model. Rather, their complex, multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions (p.17).

In the following, different theories about the origin and perpetuation of migration are presented, starting with approaches that focus on economic differences between countries and individuals as decision makers.

4.1.1 MIGRATION AS A RESULT OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE AND PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

Neoclassical approaches developed from neoclassical economics and were originally used to explain internal labour migration. Migration, be it internal or international, is caused by an unequal geographical distribution of labour and capital. On the macroeconomic level differences in wage level and employment conditions act as push and pull factors (Massey et al., 1998, p.18). If workers compared to capital are scarce, the wage level is high. This results in the migration of people from a region or place with a high labour supply and low wages to a region or place with high labour demand and high wages (Arrango, 2004, p.17). At the same time there is a flow of investment, capital and high skilled professionals in the opposed direction. The movement of labour would lead eventually to equilibrium between the regions and the elimination of wage differentials would lead to an end of labour migration (Massey et al., 1998, pp.18-19).

In addition to these structural factors on the macroeconomic level the neoclassical approaches developed a microeconomic model of individual, rational choice; the most well-known is the Todaro-model (De Haan, 1999, p.10). A low wage level and high unemployment does not necessarily lead to international movements, due to the high financial burden which

comes along with migration. Microeconomic approaches consider this aspect. The decision to migrate is not only influenced by macroeconomic factors, furthermore it is based on cost-benefit calculations. Potential migrants estimate cost and expected revenues which result from the migration to another location. They migrate to the place where the net income is the highest. Therefore not only differences in wages must be considered, but also costs of migration, for example travelling costs, expenditures which occur while looking for employment, but also psychological costs of leaving the familiar environment and cutting ties with family members and friends at the place of origin (Massey, et al., 1998, pp. 19-20; De Haan, 1999, p. 10).

In contrast to the macroeconomic theory, in which employment rates are rarely considered, the possibility to obtain a job is also an important factor for the migration decision in microeconomic approaches. For illegal immigrants, the likelihood of being able to avoid deportation is also part of the calculation. Therefore, if the costs of the migration decrease, whether as a result of developments in technology or due to individual characteristics in connection to human capital, which increase the presumably earnings or the probability of employment, the likelihood of international movement will increase (Massey et al., 1998, pp.20-21). . As a consequence of these individual aspects, migrations patterns can differ within the same country and even within the same community. Microeconomic approaches are therefore more suitable to explain the selectivity of migration processes.

The neoclassical theories suggest that migration does not occur without differences in wage levels and/or employment rates between regions and they have been most criticized for that assumption. The focus on economic factors as a cause of migration and exclusion of social, political, institutional and historical reasons for migration is a main criticism. Their applications are limited, and do not provide a general explanation for migration. Migration between regions with the same wage level and employment supply cannot be explained, just as the fact that countries with similar conditions can have different migration patterns. High unemployment or low wages do not automatically lead to an exodus and empirical data show that normally not the poorest are the ones who migrate most and especially not internationally. Furthermore, due to the large differences between countries the number of international migrants would be much higher.

As a consequence, these approaches have failed to provide generally applicable, predictive theories of migration that hold water in the real, complex world of human mobility, or that provide an adequate explanation of who is moving where and why (Collinson, 2009, p.5).

The classical approaches have also shortcomings at the micro-level. The assumption that structural factors alone contribute to the decision is not sufficient. Migration often requests high expenses, which would discourage potential migrants from migrating, if only economic factors would be considered. Furthermore, political aspects, for example visa restrictions, play an important role in migration decisions especially in a world in which *free circulation of workers is the exception and restriction the rule* (Arrango, 2004, p.20). Social and cultural factors also influence migration decision.

4.1.2 MIGRATION AS A HOUSEHOLD DECISION AND COPING STRATEGY

Classical theories are not able to explain migration processes which occur without wage level differences or after their disappearance, a point which was stronger taking into account by the following theory. The *new economic of labour migration* (NELM) emerged in the 1980s and 1990s in the American research context¹⁵ and challenged some of the assumptions from earlier neo-classical migration theories by adding new variables to the analyses of migration processes. According to Stark & Bloom (1985) *migration research has expanded the domain of variables that seem to impinge upon and are affected by spatial labor supply decisions; it has highlighted the role of wider social entities and interactions within them in conditioning migration behavior* (p.173). The key aspect of the NELM is that migration decisions are not made by individuals as a result of cost-benefit calculations with the aim to maximize expected incomes, but rather by larger units of related people, for example families or households. Hereby migration is not only a mean to maximize income, but also to minimize risks through the diversification of income sources (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p. 174; Massey, et al., 1998, pp. 21-22).

Income is not a homogenous good [...] the source of the income really matters, and households have significant incentives to invest family resources in activities and projects that provide access to new income sources, even if these activities do not increase total income (Massey et al., 1998, p.26).

Households can control risks, like crop failure, uncertainty of food prices, unemployment or poverty in old age better than individuals by diversifying the distribution of income resources at their disposal. In most developed countries these risks are minimized through private insurances or governmental programs. However in developing countries these mechanisms do not exist or are not available, for a big part of the population, mostly due to cost. Households can cope better with risks resulting from deterioration of economic conditions or production failure, if one or more members work at different geographical locations, provided that the economic conditions of the different labour markets are not

¹⁵ Empirical data on migration processes between Mexico and USA, but also on rural-urban migration in developing countries were an imported basis for the development of NELM.

negatively correlated. Furthermore, the costs for international migration are often so high that individuals are not able to carry them alone and are easier to bear for a household. According to moral economy approach¹⁶ the disposition to risk minimization behaviour instead of individual income maximization results from two aspects. First, the well-being of the household outweighs the individual one. Secondly the behaviour of households in risky environments tend to be rather risk-averse than risk prone (Hyden, 2001, p. 10021).

Another important aspect of NELM is the recognition that migration is not only a strategy to minimize risks, but also to gain access to investment capital and consumer credit¹⁷. In developing countries the lack of efficient banking systems and difficulties to qualify for credits hinder households to make investments, for example in the increase of agricultural productivity, human capital (for example in form of education), improvements of housing situations or simply in consumer goods like a television or a refrigerator (Massey et al., 1998, pp.24-26).

Moreover, income differences between different households in a community are an important factor for migration decision, since households compare their income with other household's income within their reference group. The comparison can lead to a feeling of relative deprivation or relative satisfaction, and the migration of one or more household members may be a way to reduce relative deprivation or to increase income compared with other groups (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p.173). Therefore the maximization of income must be considered not only absolutely, but also relatively in comparison to income of other households within the same community. According to Stark & Taylor (1989) the larger income differences are within a community, the greater the relative deprivation felt and the likelihood of migration increases¹⁸. Migration has a cumulative effect. As households improve their income through migration, it increases the relative deprivation felt by lower income households and thus the likelihood that one of their members migrate grows (Massey et al., 1998, p.27). However relative deprivation is only likely to play a significant role, if a substitution of the income reference group is unlikely (Stark & Taylor, 1991, p.1166). Similar to the neoclassical theories NELM focus on economic aspects, above all with regards to

¹⁶ The concept of moral economy was developed in the research of traditional, peasant societies (e.g.: Scott, 1976), where the social relations of production, exchange and waged labour are influenced by customs, culture, and traditions (McDowell, 2009, p.187).

¹⁷ This point will be further illustrated in chapter 4.2

¹⁸ Czaika & De Haas (2012) elaborate the connection of relative deprivation and migration. They argue that relative deprivation is not limited to communities, but also occur on an international level. Therefore they distinguish between internal and international relative deprivation. Furthermore relative deprivation does not only refer to economic, income related aspects, but rather to opportunities differentials. Here they refer to Sen's (1999) capability approach. However their analysis of data for 226 countries from the Global Migrant Origin Database suggest that the decrease of opportunity differentials across national borders not necessarily lead to an decline of international migration and that development in sending regions could actually increase of movement across borders.

income. The neglect of other important factors such as political, social and cultural ones, which may have an effect on migration, is a main criticism for NELM.

Sustainable livelihood approaches are mainly inspired and based on assumptions made by NELM. They examine household strategies for the diversification of livelihoods in order to cope with risk situation and to guarantee the survival. Migration is one of three main strategies to achieve this (McDowell & De Haan, 1997, p.3). Temporary or permanent migration of household members is especially important where other forms of livelihood diversification, for example intensification of agriculture or other productive activities are absent (Bebbington, 1999). In concordance with NELM sustainable livelihood approaches suggest, that the decision to migrate is not made individually, but by larger units, namely households. Furthermore, the decision to migrate is not always taken out of free choice, and it is necessary to differentiate between proactive and reactive migration, *where greater relative freedom in situations of proactive migration allows for greater individual and group choice* (McDowell & De Haan, 1997, p.7). Another similarity between sustainable livelihood approaches and NELM is, that it is not necessarily poverty that determine migration, but rather inequality between households in the sending region.

4.1.3 MIGRATION SYSTEMS, NETWORK APPROACHES AND TRANSNATIONAL SPACES

Since the 1980s a number of alternative approaches have been developed which have been motivated by the shortcomings of the classical theories, new empirical findings and a change in migration patterns. Migration is no longer seen as a unidirectional, one-time movement from one country to another, but as a permanent condition characterised by a frequent circulation between origin and destination country (Faist, 2000, p.8). These new approaches have in common the consideration of social aspects and emphasize *the inter-linkages between different migration streams; the importance of agency, autonomy, perceptions, cultural and historical factors and institutional constraints; the complex multi-level and transnational nature of migration; and the importance of social groups and relationships* (Collinson, 2009, p.5). In the following the concept of migration systems and the network approach will be presented.

Migration systems arise between two or more locations, regions or countries. They are characterised by an intensive exchange of information, capital, goods, services and people between certain countries and less intense exchange between others (Massey et al., 1993, p.454). The actual movement of people can be unidirectional or reciprocal and is influenced by economic, political, demographic, cultural and social aspects. Both receiving and sending countries can be part of more than one migration system. *The fundamental assumption of this theory is that migration alters the social, cultural, economic, and institutional conditions at*

both the sending and receiving ends—that is, the entire developmental space within which migration processes operate (De Haas, 2008, p.21). Therefore migration not only affects and is affected by the social environment, but changes and reconstructs it too.

The migration system approach considers migration as a dynamic process that may have self-reinforcing effects which lead to perpetuation of migration. These effects are summarized under the concept of cumulative causation¹⁹. The flow of information from the receiving to the sending country is hereby from particular importance by providing feedback about the situation of the migrant and in the case of favourable information increases the probability of further migration (De Haas, 2008, p.21). In consideration of the impact of relative deprivation on migration decision the improvement of income through remittances can lead to the desire of other households to participate in migration too. In addition to a change of the economic structure at the place of origin, migration can also lead to an alteration of values and expectations. During the migration people come in contact with different lifestyles and consumer goods, which they cannot obtain through local labour or are not available at the place of origin. The likelihood of a further migration increases once someone has migrated at the first place. Furthermore the transmission of lifestyles and consumer goods to the sending area can promote migration by creating desires (Idem, p. 22; Massey, et al., 1998, p. 47). Migration becomes part of everyday life and is expected of men and women in a particular period of life, and *those who do not attempt to elevate their status through international migration are considered as lazy, unenterprising and undesirable* (Massey et al., 1998, pp.47-48). Another cumulative effect on migration results in the creation of networks, which link sending and receiving country. Each new migrant reduces the costs of other potential migrants and more people decide to migrate. This creates new networks and the process of migration continues. A more detailed explanation of migration networks follows in the next paragraph.

Migration may start for various reasons, be it individual income gain, income diversification to minimize risk or the integration of former peripheral regions in the world market. However, after migration started and a certain number of persons migrated and settled at the destination, new forces start to affect the migration process.

[T]he conditions that initiate international movement may be quite different from those that perpetuate it across time and space. Although wage differential, relative risks, recruitment efforts, and market penetration may continue to cause

¹⁹ The cumulative effect of migration is not endless. Outmigration may create labour shortage, which would lead to a rise of wages in sending communities. When networks reach a certain level costs of migration do not fall as strongly as before. Over the long term, emigration flows follow an inverted U-shape, starting low, rising to a peak and then failing off; a phenomenon which has been widely described as migration hump (Massey et al., 1998, pp.49-50).

people to move, new conditions that arise in the course of migration come to function as independent causes themselves: migration networks spread, institutions supporting transnational movement develop, and the social meaning of work changes in receiving societies [...] and make additional movement more likely, leading to the perpetuation of international migration (Massey et al., 1998, p.42).

In contrast to classical approaches which explain migration by regarding causations at macro and micro levels, network approaches²⁰ look at what Faist (1997, 2000) calls the meso-level, social relations between migrants, former migrants and non-migrants and in how far these relations lead to a higher probability of further migration. Network approaches, however, explain less the initiation of migration, but rather how cumulative effects of migration dynamics lead to its perpetuation (Doevenspeck, 2005, p.15). Migration networks can consist of individuals, groups or organizations that are connected to each other because of kinship, friendship or other social ties. Every new migrant creates contacts for other people to the destination and once the number of migrants reaches a certain level, networks arise, expand and hereby reduce the cost and risks of migration and promote further one (Massey et al., 1998, pp.42-43). Migration networks lead to the institutionalisation of movement as social process by disconnecting it from original causations and hereby provoking the perpetuation of migration (Doevenspeck, 2005, p.15). Each migration creates social structures, which potential migrants need for their movement and ultimately can lead to chain migration²¹.

The impact of networks on migration decisions is widely recognized, however, whether they have a positive or negative effect is not clear. Not all ties have the same influence; strong ties at origin may have an inhibitory effect on migration, while weak ties can be a reason for it (Haug, 2000, p.39). It is widely recognised that networks are central for the flow of information between sending and receiving society and hereby have a strong influence on the decision to migrate and choice of destination through their selectivity. This transmission of information through networks does not only have advantages since the choice of the information can be selective and one-sided and migrants may find themselves confronted with a reality that differs from the information and their expectations (Bührer, 1997, pp.33-34).

²⁰ In sociology network approaches are not a recent development. Networks, their significance and impact on the behaviour of its members were already studied since the 1950s (see e.g.: Mitchell, 1969). In migration studies, however, they only gain significance since the 1980s (Massey et al., 1998, p.43).

²¹ Chain migration describes a process, in which the migration of single actors or a group of actors results in the migration of further persons, which are connected with them due ties of kinship or friendship. These ties contain commitments through which potential migrants try to gain access to jobs and support at the destination (Doevenspeck, 2005, p. 15).

The concept of social capital²² can be used to measure the resources mobilized through social bonds and concrete the impact of networks on migration processes. Social capital describes the ability of a person to gain access to certain resources on the basis of belonging to a network. Migration networks allow a person to retrieve various resources, be it in other forms of capital such as human or financial, access to information or psychological, emotional support. *Drawing on social ties to relatives and friends who have migrated before, non-migrants gain access to knowledge, assistance and other resources that facilitate movement* (Massey et al., 1998, p.43). Many authors emphasize only the positive attributes of social capital (Massey et al., 1998, p.42), although according to Portes (1995) it also can have negative influence on the individual through hidden costs or obligations (pp.14-16).

Network approaches describe the interaction between migrant and their home community and cumulative causations of migration dynamics. *Networks make international migration extremely attractive as a strategy for risk diversification or utility maximization. When migrant networks are well developed, they put destination jobs within easy reach of most community members and make immigration a reliable and secure source of income* (Massey et al., 1998, p.43). There is, however, no causal correlation between migration and networks (Doevenspeck, 2005, p.16).

Since the 1990s the linkages between immigrant groups in destination countries with their respective countries of origin and more specific their hometowns had attracted growing attention under the label of transnational migration studies. Today it is widely accepted that migrants maintain a variety of ties with their community in their country of origin and *are simultaneously embedded in the multiple sites and layers of the transnational social fields in which they live* (Levitt & Jaworsky, 2007, p.130). In addition to the conventional practice of migration, the unique, unidirectional change of residence, a new form of transnational migration is on the rise, in which the life-worlds of personal interactions are taking increasingly part across borders and span between different geographical spaces (Pries, 1997, p.16). As a consequence of migration, though not the only cause for this development, *[t]he social space comprising everyday life and the social world of people became increasingly meshed with a delimited and contiguous geographic space covering a specific surface area* (Pries, 2001, p.51).

²² For the concept of social capital see among others Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1990). Portes (1995) defines social capital as followed: *Social capital refers to the capacity of individuals to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures. [...] The resources themselves are not social capital; the concept refers instead to the individuals ability to mobilize them on demand* (p. 12). Social capital can exist in various forms, which do not necessarily exclude one another. It can be the result of shared values, bounded solidarity, reciprocity or enforceable trust (Op. cit., p. 15).

Although transnational approaches do not form a single coherent theory and lack a well-defined theoretical framework (Portes et al., 1999, p.218), they share a focus on similar aspects. First they look at dense, continuous ties of persons and organisations across national borders. *The term transnational refers to sustained and continuous pluri-local transactions crossing state borders, which consist of social and symbolic ties and their contents, positions in networks and organisations, and networks of organisations, that cut across at least two national states* (Faist, 2011, p.6). Secondly they focus on agency and changing orientation of migrants, which is increasingly orientated towards transnational structures and therefore less on the state and their object of integration (Bommes, 2000, p.8), but without assuming the demise of the nation state (Faist, 2011, p.7). According to Doevenspeck (2005) *the significance of transnational approaches lies not in their rather limited theoretical validity, but in their possibility to explain new empirical findings* (p.14).

After this presentation of theoretical approaches for migration, a more profound analyses of the link between migration and development and migration as a method of risk minimization on the basis of the literature on empirical findings and theoretical approaches is examined in the following chapter.

4.2 MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT

During the last two decades the interest, both scientific and political, in migration and its impact on development increased and with it a growing number of literatures on the subject emerged. The focus of this migration development nexus is mostly on remittances and their economic consequences, although there are many other ways in which migration can have an influence on development and can affect a wide range of other important aspects of development like health or education and on social issues like ethnic or gender relations²³ or political processes²⁴ in general (De Haas, 2007, p.1). Furthermore authors like De Haas (2007) or Faist (2011) criticise the absence of a debate in migration studies about the meaning of development, the dominance of Western models of development and along with it the tendency to focus on gross income indicators as a notion of development. Another aspect of this recent literature is that migration and development is mostly positive connected and less attention is paid to negative consequences.

The attention to the connection between migration and development, be it positive or negative has grown significantly since the beginning of the new millennium, but it is neither a recent phenomenon nor a new discovery. It has been discussed in the migration debate in its various facets since the 1950s, with changing focus on the positive and negative aspects

²³ See e.g.: Lutz, 2010; De Haas, 2006

²⁴ See e.g.: Salzbrunn, 2008; Sheffer, 2006

during the different decades (De Haas, 2007). Portes (2007) writes about these different perspectives:

The study of international migration and development has been wracked by the controversy between perspectives that see the outflow of people not only as a symptom of underdevelopment but also as a cause of its perpetuation, and those that regard migration both as a short-term safety valve and as a potential long-term instrument for sustained growth (p.74).

Arguments for positive effects on the country of origin emphasize that remittances enable households to overcome market imperfections. Even when they are solely spent for consumer goods, they may have indirect effects on development due to the creation of demand for local products and increase of local labour wages. Furthermore a transfer of skills and knowledge between the receiving and sending society takes place, for example when returnees bring home new production methods. In regard of these positive effects De Haan (1999) writes that *within development studies, migration has not received the attention it deserves* (p.1). Others see migration as a cause of underdevelopment and argue that migration destroy social structures in the sending society, for example care arrangements, lead to the depopulation of whole regions or only leaving behind the old and children. Furthermore it deprives the developing countries of their highly trained professionals, commonly referred to as *Brain Drain* (Massey et al., 1998, p.36). These different viewpoints reflect in the different migration theories, which were presented before. In consideration of the research focus remittances and their impact on the sending society will be highlighted here in the presentation of literature on the interaction between migration and development.

4.2.1 REMITTANCES, INCOME DIVERSIFICATION AND POVERTY REDUCTION

Today about 200 million people live outside their country of birth, 3% of the world's population, and the remittances, which these international migrants send to their home countries, has been seen increasingly as a mean for economic development and poverty reduction in developing countries (Zezza et al., 2011, p.1). Since the 1990s remittances increased rapidly. Officially recorded remittances to developing countries are expected to have reached \$351 billion in 2011 (Mohapatra et al., 2011, p.1). The actual figure is estimated to be higher, since migrants transfer a great part of the money through private or informal channels. As a result of this rise there has been an increased interest in international migration and remittances or as Faist (2011) calls it, *enthusiasm for international migration as a central mechanism to advance what is called the development potential of international migrants* (p. 5).

As mentioned earlier, there are many ways by which migration and development are connected. The most obvious and one of the most researched aspects is the impact of remittances on the well-being of households in the country of origin. However, remittances can also affect the development of national economies. Examples for this impact are the investment in productive activities by migrants or the importance of remittances as a source of foreign currency, which are often more stable than other capital flows, for example foreign direct investments, to developing countries (Taylor et al., 1996). The focus here will be exclusively on impacts on the household. On the international level middle and lower-income countries receive nearly half of all remittances worldwide. At the same time they tend to be more important for small and sometimes very-poor countries, which often receive more than 10% of their GDP in remittances (The World Bank, 2011). Furthermore for countries like Somalia official remittance figures are not available, but it is expected that their percentage of the GDP is very high (De Haas, 2007, p.11).

In her research on the significance of remittances for the survival of households in Hargeisa, the capital of the self-declared sovereign state of Somaliland, Lindley (2006) describes different ways in which remittances have impacts on the micro level. The majority of surveyed households use them to cover regular basic expenses, for example for food, health, education or rent. Other important forms of usage are investments, for example in land, cattle, business activities or housing, paying off debts and to finance religious or social events. Furthermore remittances help households to overcome income shocks, for example during the import ban of livestock to the Gulf States after September in the year 2000. Remittances also protect households against the inflation of the Somaliland shillings, due to the fact that they are mostly made in dollars. The survey of Lindley (2006) came to the result that half of the households which were part of her research were completely reliant on remittances.

As NELM or sustainable livelihood approaches suggest, migration is part of a household strategy to diversify the income sources and thus minimize the risk of loss of one or more sources. Hampshire (2002) shows how migration of Fulani men from the Sahel zone to cities outside of northern Burkina Faso, mainly to Abidjan in the Côte d'Ivoire, but also to Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulassou, is a strategy of mainly wealthier households not only to cope with livelihood failure, but to optimise livelihood security during the dry season. The reason why mainly wealthier households send one or more members to the cities lies in the cost of migration and loss of labour, which poorer or smaller households are less capable to bear. This conforms to the general perception, that it is usually not the poorest, who migrate most and certainly not internationally. High costs and risk and also the transmission of information have a selective impact on migration processes.

Although in most cases the poorest are not the ones who migrate, remittances can be a safety net for relatively poor people. After analysing a data set of 71 developing countries Adams & Page (2005) came to the conclusion that remittances reduce significantly level, depth, and severity of poverty in the developing world. After instrumenting for the possible endogeneity of international migration their results suggest that a 10% increase in the share of international migrants in a country population will lead to a 2.1% decline in the share of people living on less than \$1.00 per person per day and a 10% increase in per capita international remittances leads to a 3.5% decline (pp.1652-60). Other studies came to similar results. Quartey (2006) analyses the impact of remittances on households in Ghana and concludes that a 1% increase in the flow of migrant remittances will lead to 0.23% improvement in household welfare. Although the tendency to migrate is much lower than average among Mexico's poorest 5%, remittances make up a larger percentage of the total income of poor households, and the 20% poorest households are the most frequent but also the most dependent remittance receivers (Latapí, 2012).

Lacroix (2011) compares the seven Commonwealth countries India, Kenya, Zambia, Jamaica, Tonga, Sri Lanka and St. Vincent and the Grenadines and concludes that remittances are an important safety net for rural households. The remittances are mainly used for daily consumption, among other things for food purchase, and are central for assuring food security for the migrant households. However, migration also tends to increase bad food consumption habits towards the so-called "junk food" and sugar products (see also: Karamba, et al., 2011). After consumption expenditures, remittances are mostly used for education and health of children. This investment in human capital is likely to be important for the long-term development prospects of a country. Migration is also likely to increase inequalities in sending regions as a result of the selectivity of migration processes, since as a result of higher costs of travel and settlement international emigrants tend to come from wealthier households and wealthier areas. Migrants from poorer households tend to migrate internally and therefore remit less money. As a result international migration is likely to increase the income gap between internal, international and non-migrant households (Lacroix, 2011, pp.19-20).

In this context Hass (2007) writes: *The observation that remittances significantly contribute to income stability and welfare in developing countries does not necessarily imply that they contribute to poverty alleviation* (p.10). However he also suggest that migration does not necessarily lead to an increase of income inequalities and it is necessary to differentiate between different types of migration, internal and international, and also between different periods in a community's migrations history, since the selectivity of migration tends to diminish over time as a result of the development of migrant networks (De

Haas, 2007, pp. 11-12; Rapoport & Docquier, 2005, pp. 67-69). Finally by comparing migrant-sending regions as a whole with other more wealthy regions, one may find out that inequality decreased between these regions (De Haas, 2007, p.12).

Other important aspects are the indirect consequences of migration and remittances. Poorer non-migrant households can benefit from consumption and investment by migrant households. Growing expenditures by migrant-households can stimulate economic activities of other households. However it has been criticized that migrants prefer to invest in urban economies and mostly in the trade and service sectors rather than in production sectors with stronger links to raw materials, and particularly agriculture (Smith, 2007, p.124). Smith writes that certain criteria for the involvement in transnational business activities or the construction of a house are need to be fulfilled. These criteria include the skill and trustworthiness of the urban actor, his financial resources and the institutions embedding the relationship between urban actors and migrants (p.121). He concludes that generally, the most vulnerable and resource-poor respondents play no role in urban housing investments of migrants. Other possible indirect effects include an increase of wages and labour demand, from which non-migrant households may profit as a result of the outflow of possible labourers (Massey et al., 1998, pp.265-70).

Transnational ties are important for the understanding of remittances and also for their durability. Dependency or structural theories see remittances as an unreliable source of income and expect them to decline after a short period, when migrants paid back the money they borrowed for the migration, and with the growing integration in the receiving society. However, empirical findings show that the durability of these transnational ties is often higher than previous expected (De Haas, 2007, p.10). With regards to the discussion about the migration-development nexus, Faist (2011) writes: *It is a special case of the transnational social question, that is, the stark inequalities in income, access to education and health, and other life-chances, characterising different parts of an increasingly interconnected world – interconnected in this case by migration* (p.7). He further suggests, that as a consequence of this growing interconnection between the different world regions, it is necessary to see aspects like social inequalities not as a problem of the developing countries, but on a cross-border horizon (Faist, 2011, pp.7-17). Different aspects of remittances and their use for investment are analysed in the following chapter.

4.2.2 REMITTANCES AND INVESTMENT

It is often argued that the money immigrants send home is mostly used for consumption, for food, clothing or other consumer goods, or non-productive activities like the

construction of a house and therefore does not lead to sustainable development, but rather creates new forms of dependencies.

Higher living standards are achieved through the inflow of money from abroad. [...] The end result is a way of live that cannot be sustained through local labour, yielding a host of negative side effects, including income inequality, inflation, lost production, and higher unemployment (Massey et al., 1998, p.254).

Although this scepticism on migration and its effect on development need to be considered, it is criticized for its empirical weakness (Massey, et al., 1998, p. 254; De Haas, 2007, p. 14). An increasing number of empirical studies rebut this one-sided negative point of view and show a more complex picture of the impact of remittances. The spending of remittances on consumption can have positive impacts on the regional development due to the above described indirect economic effects with the result that non-migrant households may also benefit from remittances. The construction of a house can create demand for both building material and labour, and hereby may lead to employment and income for non-migrants. It is also generally not possible to distinguish between the different sources of household income for specific expenditures (De Haas, 2007, p.14). Remittances which are used for consumption may have the effect that other income sources can be used to invest. Additionally several studies suggest that remittances receiving households have a higher propensity to invest than non-migrant households (see Rapoport & Docquier, 2005, pp. 70-74; Massey, et al., 1998, pp. 260-261).

The impact of remittances on investment seems also to change over time. One reason for this change is that migrants need time to establish themselves in the new environment of the receiving society. Therefore it often takes time until remittances begin to flow (Lindley, 2006, p.16). While in the beginning they are mostly used for the payment of basic needs of the household, investments occur in most cases only at a later stage of the migration cycle.

It is often only at a later stage, when the migrant has more or less settled at the destination, found relatively secure employment and the most basic need of the household "back home" are fulfilled (such as food, health, clothing, primary education, basic household amenities, paying off debts and so on) that there is more room for investment (De Haas, 2007, p.15).

Furthermore the impact of migration of a household member is often negative in the beginning, because of the initial loss of labour. In his analysis of labour migration from southern African Countries to Mines in South Africa, Lucas (1987) shows that the crop production in the sending region decrease in the beginning due to the loss of labour, but on the long run the remittances of the miners lead to increased crop production and

accumulation of cattle. The loss of labour is offset as remittances help raise farm investments and furthermore wages at cash-crop plantations increased as a result of the recruitment of miners (pp.323-25). Investments in agriculture or other economic activities also depend on more general investment conditions, which are independent from migration, and often the same conditions which promote migration (low income and low productivity) generally discourage investment (Massey et al., 1998, p.255). Migration and remittances alone cannot remove these structural constraints to economic growth (Faist, 2011, p.11). Investment of remittances may depend on factors, like infrastructure, access to markets and agricultural resources. The lack of these factors may lead migrants to invest in other places, mainly urban or semi-urban centres (De Haas, 2006, pp.574-76).

The building, improvement and maintaining of a house is often the most common form of investment (Lacroix, 2011; De Haas, 2006; Smith, 2007 p. 94). Massey et al (1998) even write that *[t]he acquisition or improvement of a home is probably the single most important motivation for international migration prevailing in the world today* (p.26). Migrants are often criticized for this unproductive use of remittances, but the investment in housing or land is often a response to uncertain, inflationary environments, in which investment in economic activities is characterized by high risk and costs. Investments in housing are relatively safe and also offer future income sources. Furthermore investment in better housing can lead to an improvement of the health situation and well-being. In general by considering only economic activities as investment one may miss out important aspects for development. De Hass (2007) writes:

Expenditure in areas such as education, health, food, medicine and investment in housing [...] can enhance people's well-being and ability to lead the lives they have reason to value (p.17).

He continues by criticizing the idea that housing is “non-developmental”, the denial that migrants also want to live in a clean, safe and spacious house, which he calls as one of the universal aspects of human well-being. Furthermore *by suggesting that people should stay in their “mud brick houses”, social scientists and policy makers risk applying different standards to others than they would to themselves* (Idem, p. 18). After this presentation of migration theories and scientific debate on remittances, the migration from Senegal to Cape Verde is put into context by describing some selected aspects of both countries.

5. A FRAMEWORK FOR MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL TO CAPE VERDE

In the following the presentation of selected aspects is used to give an overview of general conditions, which influence migration processes from Senegal to Cape Verde.

5.1 SENEGAL

5.1.1 ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

It is not the purpose of this work to give an overview of Senegal's economic development since its independence. Two important aspects, however, need to be mentioned, due to their impact on Senegal's society. The first one is the implementation of Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP) of World Bank and IMF starting in 1983 to combat the economic crises, which afflicted Senegal since the mid-1970s²⁵. The SAPs had the purpose to reduce balance of payments deficits and strengthen economic structures, which finally should foster economic growth. The second important event was the devaluation of the *Franc CFA* in 1994. While SAPs had some success on the macroeconomic level (Weissman, 1990, pp.1624-25) and the devaluation created some sort of economic stability between 1994 and 2000 (Diop, 2008, p.16), they did not improve the situation for the greater part of the population and were largely unsuccessful in fighting poverty and inequality. In contrary the situation of a great part of Senegal's population worsened during the 1990s and the gross domestic product per head sank by 28.1 % (Gerdes, 2007, p.1). This counts especially for the urban population, where according to Weissman (1990) *poverty has clearly been aggravated by structural adjustment* (p.1628). Salary cuts in both public and private sector reduced considerable the purchasing power of those still in possession of work and at the same time unemployment increased (Ibidem). Furthermore food prices rose as a result of the devaluation. This, however, did not necessarily lead to an increase of households total food consumption expenditures, but to a decline of consumption²⁶ (Diagana & Reardon, 1999).

²⁵ The economic development of Senegal proceeded a similar path as many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Between the 1970s and 1990s the economy went through crises, resulting from developments on both global and national scale. The second oil crisis in 1979 led to a global recession resulting in a rise of international interest rates and the deterioration of terms of trade by hampering the export of agricultural products and raw materials. The fall in world phosphate prices hit Senegal strongly and created problems regarding the balance of payments. The situation got worse by a continuing drought in the seventies under which agricultural production suffered and led to a further decrease of export revenues. The expanded public sector claimed a great part of public expenditures and created a further burden. In order to cover the loss of export revenues and public spending Senegal needed more foreign loans, which led to a high level of debt. For an overview of SAPs and their impact see e.g.: Simon, et al. (1996) and Mkandawire & Soludo, (2003)

²⁶ Diagana & Reardon (1999) analysed food consumption patterns in areas of Kaolack and Tamba. There are differences between both areas and also regarding different food products. For example the expenditures for rice increased, while the consumption of rice declined. The expenditures for sorghum increased due to a growth of consumption.

Diagana & Reardon note that especially the poorest suffered from a decline in food consumption.

The second important aspect is the high population growth rate, which Senegal experienced since its independence. Its population almost sextupled during the last 60 years from 2.4 million (Land & Fourier, 2012, p.39) to 13.6 million (ANSD, 2013b). Almost half of its population lives in cities, depending on the source between 42.3% (United Nations, 2012) and 46.8% (ANSD, 2013b). In the greater Dakar agglomeration alone live between 2.6 and 3.4 million people (ANSD, 2013a, p. 36; Diop, 2009, p. 18). It is estimated that the urban population will continue to grow at a rate of 3.22 % for the period 2010–2015 (United Nations, 2012). Characteristic for Senegal's population and similar to other countries in the region is the high percentage of the young population, one out of two Senegalese is under 19 years old (ANSD, 2013a, p.32). Another major characteristic is the high illiteracy rate at 58.2 % (Idem, p. XXX).

The high population growth intensifies the difficult situation on the labour market. According to Gerdes (2007) *the chances of employment within the civil service have dwindled markedly, while development in the private sector is too weak to bring any significant relief to the labour market* (p.1). At the same time many Senegalese do not have access to a public social security system. As a result of these developments many seek their chances in the informal sector and Diop (2008) speaks from the diffusion of, what he calls, *une culture de la débrouille* (p.20). He writes:

Dans cette situation, l'un des faits majeurs est la diffusion d'une culture de la « débrouille ». Pour les jeunes, se débrouiller c'est tenter de trouver une place dans le secteur informel pour ne pas se faire « oublier ». (Diop, 2008)

In his study about poverty in the Dakar agglomeration Fall (2007) describes different strategies of the urban poor as an attempt to overcome the on-going crises. This includes different economic activities in the informal sector, as well as the reduction of daily meals and expenses and creation of different types of association for the mutual support (pp.133-71). Another characteristic is the widely spread *désir d'ailleurs*, the desire to migrate at all costs to Europe, the USA or Southern Africa (Diop, 2008, pp.20-26). Some selected aspects of migration in the Senegalese context will be described in the following.

5.1.2 MIGRATION

Mobility is an important factor and characteristic of the Senegalese society today. Internal migration is hereby the most common form of movement. In the National Population Census (RGPH III) of 2002 a distinction is made between *lifelong internal migration* and *recent internal migration*. According to the RGPH-III 15.3% of the total population lived

outside the region where they were born and can be classified as lifelong internal migrants. The most popular destination is the region of Dakar, where almost half of them (42.3%) live, followed by Diourbel (12.9%) and Thiès (11.4) (ANSD, 2008, p.47). In addition 3.4 % of the total population migrated in the last five years prior to the survey and can be classified as recent internal migrants. Dakar (35.5%), Thiès (17.5%) and Diourbel (13.2%) are also here the most common destinations (Idem, p. 50). Internal migration is mostly directed from rural to urban areas²⁷ and one reason for the already described urban growth.

Pikine was one of the major research sites and therefore some of its characteristics will be described here. Since the 1960s rural-urban migration, a high birth rate combined with a lowering of the death rate and evictions of people from central Dakar resulted in the rapid growth of Pikine, *which only 50 years ago was essentially underdeveloped land at some distance from Dakar and which is now a huge spreading suburb of Dakar* (Gaye, 1992, p.102). In 2002 the *Département de Pikine* recorded a population of approximately 800.000 (ANSD, 2004, p.9) and it is estimated that it exceeded 1.200.000 inhabitants in 2010 (Diop, 2009, p.18). A high population density²⁸ and informal settlements²⁹ are characteristics for Pikine and Thiaroye. It is not only rural-out migration to Pikine, which influences the development of the neighbourhood. Emigration has a strong impact on Pikine too, as on many other neighbourhoods in the Dakar region. As Tall (2008) writes regarding the role the Dakar agglomeration plays for the more recent, especially the clandestine, immigration to Europe, USA and South Africa:

L'agglomération de Dakar-Pikine a joué un rôle important dans ces migrations à la fois comme lieu d'investissement et comme espace de recrutement des candidats au départ. (p.44)

International migration from Senegal is directed to a variety of regions and countries. According to the World Bank about 632.000 Senegalese live abroad, an estimated 4.9 % of the total population (The World Bank, 2011, p.217). The RGPH-III registered about 177.000 immigrants, who left Senegal during the last five years before the census. Male migrants are by far the largest proportion (81.8%) of them and about one fifth (27.5%) origins from the Dakar region (ANSD, 2013a, pp.47-48), although the percentage of female migrants increased in recent times (Land & Fourier, 2012, p. 42; ANSD, 2013a, pp. 49-50). During the

²⁷ Reasons for this so called rural exodus can be found partly in the crises of the agriculture sector, especially of the groundnut production since the 1970s (Diop, 2008, pp. 16-17; Land & Fourier, 2012, p. 40).

²⁸ The *Département de Pikine* has a population density of 10,166 inhabitants / km² (Scott et al., 2013, p.60).

²⁹ Informal settlements account for about 42.42% of all settlements in the *Département de Pikine*. It is compared to *Rufisque* (9.57%) and *Dakar* (2.98%) the highest percentage of all three *Départements* in the Dakar region (Diop, 2009, p. 22; CitiesAlliance, 2010, p. 7). For the process of urban development and the creation of housing in Pikine see Gaye (1992).

last two decades of the 20th century emigrants from Senegal chose mostly other African countries, especially those who are member of ECOWAS and the former colonial power France as their destinations. The political and economic instability in many African states, however, resulted in a decrease of intra-African migration since the 1990s (Tall, 2008, pp.40-41). In return European countries, especially Italy and Spain, and the USA attracted a growing number of Senegalese³⁰. In 2001 46% of emigrants chose Europe as destination, while other African countries were still chosen by 44%³¹ (Land & Fourier, 2012, pp.41-42).

Reasons for migration are often reduced to economic or ecological aspects or on violent conflicts. Although, according to the RGPH-III, 76% of the emigrants left Senegal for economic reasons, a reduction on these would ignore the complexity of migration motives and also the social dimensions which influences migration. Shortage of income opportunities in Senegal and hope for better conditions abroad cannot explain alone the mobility of a part of the society. Access and possession of social and financial capital often determine migration processes (Diop, 2008, p.22). It is estimated that at least 70% of all Senegalese households have one or more family members who migrated (Land & Fourier, 2012, p.42). Remittances are for many households an important income source. According to the World Bank the flow of remittances has more than doubled between 2003 and 2010 from 511 million US\$ to over 1.1 billion US\$ (The World Bank, 2011, p.217). It is estimated that in 2011 remittances counted for about 10.3% of the GDP (ANSD, 2013a, p.57). After this short summary of some aspects regarding emigration from Senegal and the environment in which they take place, an analysis in relation with immigration to Cape Verde follows.

5.2 CAPE VERDE

Without doubt Cape Verde is more known as a country of origin than as a destination of migration. Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of the Cape Verdean diaspora, it is estimated that people with Cape Verdean origins outnumber the total population of the archipelago of roughly 500.000 (Carling & Batalha, 2008, pp.19-20). In recent years, however, immigration to the islands increased, resulting in a transformation of the Cape Verdean society (Marcelino, 2011). Official statistics about immigration in Cape Verde vary and need to be treated with caution³². The INE suggests that about 14.300 foreigners lived on the archipelago in 2010³³. 10.300 of them emigrated from other African countries and with around 8.800 migrants the ECOWAS member states are by far the most

³⁰ For an overview of destination countries and reasons for the change of destinations over the years see for example: Tall (2008) and Flahaux et al. (2010).

³¹ This number, however, also includes transit countries in the Maghreb, where many wait for an opportunity to go to Europe by crossing the Mediterranean.

³² For an overview of different statistics, its sources and problems see: (IOM, 2010)

³³ All numbers are the result of the RGPH 2010 and are available at the Instituto Nacional De Estatística de Cabo Verde (INE).

important region of origin, and here about two thirds are from Guinea-Bissau (5.544), followed by Senegalese (1.634) and Nigerians (740). Furthermore there are about 1.200 migrants from São Tomé e Príncipe and Angola. The Global Migrant Origin Database from the Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalisation and Poverty (Migration DRC), which uses data from the RGP 2000, records 206 immigrants from Senegal (DRC, 2007). This would suggest that the number of Senegalese in Cape Verde increased about eight times between 2000 and 2010. According to the United Nations the total number of emigrants on the islands increased between 1990 and 2010 from around 9.000 to little more than 12.000 (UN-ESA, 2011). According to Marcelino (2011) it seems very unlikely that in this period, which was characterised by a steady economic growth, only such a small number moved additional into the country *in spite of empirical and circumstantial evidence that strongly suggests otherwise* (p.46). Additional to these legal international residents an undefined number of illegal immigrants, who either enter the country through its permeable borders without registration or outstay their legal permanence, stay on the islands. Additional semi-temporary residents, who leave the country from time to time, lead to a further variation of the number (Idem, p. 45).

The economic growth³⁴, partly caused by the development of the tourism sector but also through remittances send by the Cape Verdean diaspora³⁵, a relative proximity to the continent and Cape Verdes status as an ECOWAS member state with the agreement for free circulation³⁶ have attracted nationals from the African mainland to the archipelago. Especially the construction industry³⁷ and tourism³⁸ flourished in the last decade, resulting in a growing demand for labour. Another aspect that is often mentioned in connection with emigration to Cape Verde is the country's position as a transit country for (illegal) migration to Europe (Marcelino, 2011, pp.54,119-120). There are no statistics for this available and it seems that the importance of Cape Verde in this context, at least in the case of Senegalese migrants in Boa Vista (c.f. chapter 6) diminished. Main destinations for the emigration to Cape Verde are the islands Santiago, Sal, Boa Vista and São Vicente.

Since all fieldwork was conducted in Boa Vista, some of the islands characteristics are presented here. Boa Vista is the third biggest island of the archipelago, but only has a total

³⁴ The GDP increased at a yearly rate of 6.5 % between 2000 and 2008 (INE, 2008).

³⁵ The flow of official remittances to Cape Verde increased from 109 million US\$ in 2003 to 144 million US\$ in 2010 (The World Bank, 2011, p.87).

³⁶ The agreement for a free circulation permits nationals of the fifteen ECOWAS member states the free movement in the ECOWAS area (ECOWAS-SWAC / OECD, 2006)

³⁷ In 2006 construction counted for 15.7% of the GDP (Ministério da Qualificação e Emprego, 2008).

³⁸ The capacity of accommodation increased from 3.874 in 1999 to over 17.000 in 2011. The number of tourist entries increased from 145.000 to over 475.000 in the first decade of the 21th century. Official employment in the tourism sector almost quadrupled from 1.561 to 5.178 between 1999 and 2011 (INE, 2012).

population of 9.126 (INE, 2011). However, the population of Boa Vista doubled in the period between 2000 and 2010 with annual growth rate of 11.8%, the highest of all islands³⁹. One reason for this growth is the influx of both internal and international migrants. According to the RGPH 2010, 1733 foreign nationals account for 18, 9% of the total population⁴⁰ (RGPH 2010, INE).

Boa Vista is besides Sal the island with the highest number of tourist accommodations⁴¹. The extension of the tourism sector on the island with the construction of big hotel complexes and an international airport created demand for cheap labour and attracted both migrants from other Cape Verdean islands, mainly from Santiago, and from mainland Africa. The number of employees, who work officially in tourism increased from 110 in the year 1999 to 1.776 in 2011 (INE, 2012), but the actual number of people, who earn their living with tourism is probably higher, since the official number excludes work in the informal sector, for example artists who produce souvenirs and street vendors, both areas in which especially Senegalese operate. In the following chapter results of the fieldwork in Cape Verde and Senegal will be presented.

6. RESULTS

6.1 MIGRATION FROM SENEGAL TO BOA VISTA

In the following chapter important aspects regarding the process of migration from Senegal to Boa Vista and migration patterns are presented, starting with the region of origin and social characteristics of the migrants, continuing with a description of different migration routes, aspects of the migration decision-making processes and ending with an analysis of two cases of multiple migrations.

6.1.1 REGION OF ORIGIN AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS

The aim of this chapter is to show the variety of regions of origin for the immigration to Boa Vista from Senegal. Furthermore data, mostly resulting from the standardized survey, regarding some characteristics of the migrants will be presented⁴². As already mentioned the RGPH 2010 registered 125 Senegalese living in Boa Vista, but the actual number lies

³⁹ The annual population growth rate of Cape Verde for the same time period was 1.2% (INE, 2011).

⁴⁰ Only in Santiago (7767) and Sal (2650) live more foreigners, but the percentage of the island population is lower at 2.8% and 10.3%, respectively (RGPH 2010, INE).

⁴¹ In 2011 Boa Vista replaced for the first time Sal as the island with the most tourist entries and overnight stays. The number of tourist entries on the island increased from 9.402 in 2000 to 184.878 in 2011 and the number of overnight stays from 63.161 to 1.334.108 in the same period of time. Since 2007 with the opening of the *Aeroporto Internacional Aristides Pereira* in Rabil, different air companies offer flights from several destinations in Europe.

⁴² In regard to the low percentage of female participants in the survey I won't make a distinction regarding the gender of the migrants. In some cases I will emphasize the answers of the three women.

probably between 200 and 250⁴³. Figure 6-1 shows the region of origin, more precisely the region where the migrants were born, in Senegal and the number of migrants from the different regions.

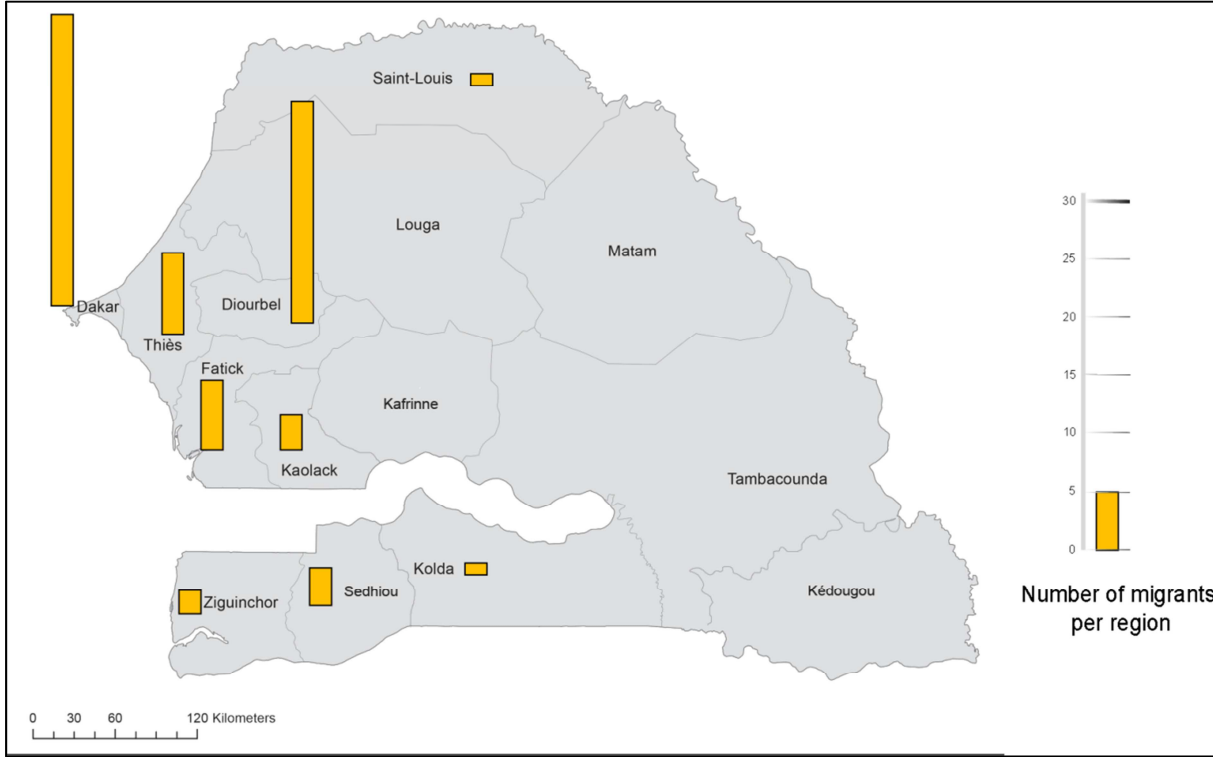


Figure 6-1: Number of migrants per region (Enquiry & Graphic P. Jung)

The analysis of the questionnaire shows that Senegalese from nine of the fourteen administrative regions reside in Sal Rei. They are, however, not evenly spread over the nine regions. Out of the sixty-eight questioned Senegalese, about 65% were born in either Dakar or Diourbel. In regard of the sample selection it cannot be excluded that immigrants from other regions also live in Boa Vista and that the importance of the different regions differ in reality from the results of the survey. Nevertheless, I would argue that the high number of migrants from Dakar and Diourbel suggest that the two regions are major sources for the migration to Boa Vista. As suggested by the literature⁴⁴ the two are also main regions for emigration from Senegal in general. The analysis of the last place of residence shows that ten Senegalese already moved from their birth place to Dakar before immigrating to Cape Verde. Internal migration of the other fifty-eight cannot be excluded either, since I only asked about the last residence and not about further changes of residence during their course of life.

⁴³ It is important to notice that the number of Senegalese on Boa Vista, and the same probably counts for the rest of Cape Verde, is constantly changing, due to the fact that migrants are regularly going back to Senegal to spend some time with their family or to another island in order to look for work or better working conditions. Some aspects of visiting Senegal will be described in chapter 6.3.1.

⁴⁴ See chapter 5.1.2

The illustration of the age structure of the questioned Senegalese (Figure 6-2) shows that by far the largest part of the migrants is, as expected, either younger than 30 (49%) or under 40 (41%). The average age is 31. This confirms suggestions found in the literature that mostly young men under 35 years emigrate from Senegal (see e.g.: Land & Fourier, 2012, p. 42), but in the investigated case they are not as suggested mostly unmarried. Married and celibate migrants are almost equally distributed in the survey, the former count for 51.5% of the surveyed persons. A distinction between polygamous and monogamous forms of marriage was not made. All three female participants are married and two of them live with their husband on the island. Furthermore five male migrants stated that their wives are also on Boa Vista.

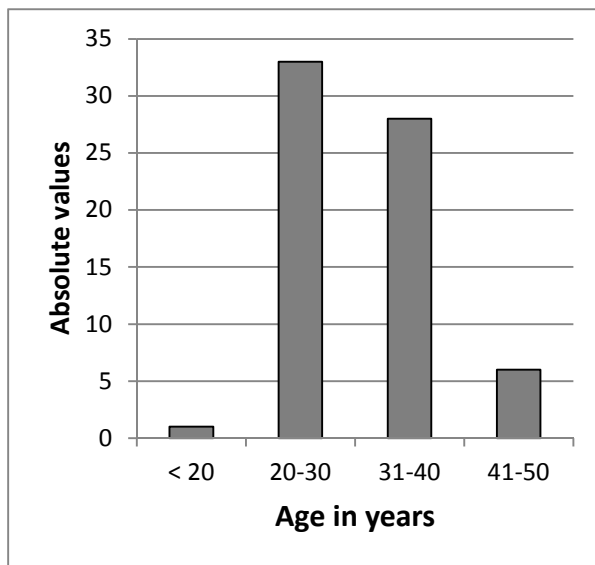


Figure 6-2: Age structure (N = 68) (Enquiry & Graphic P. Jung)

As mentioned before female migrants only count for a small part of the Senegalese community in Sal Rei, but the comparison of observations made in 2009 and 2012 suggests that the number of women increased over this period. In some known cases spouses followed their husbands, who organised work for them in one of the hotels. There are also an increasing number of women who sell typical Senegalese food and drinks, either in small informal restaurants or as street vendors.

Four men and one woman said that respectively one sister lives currently with them in Cape Verde. The majority of the migrants visited at least for some years a school⁴⁵. Only 12 of the questioned persons stated that they never attended any kind of educational activity. Out of the 40, who went at least for some years to a primary school, 34 finished the latter. 23 continued their education at a secondary school, however only four of them completed it, and out of the four, two started to study at a university without finishing it. Furthermore, 15 male migrants went to a Qur'anic school. Western Senegal, and in particular the regions of Dakar and Diourbel, could be identified as main sources for the migration to Boa Vista. In next chapter migration route and point of arrival will be examined.

⁴⁵ In this case n= 67, since one of the participants did not want to answer this question.

6.1.2 MIGRATION ROUTE

The point of departure for all questioned migrants was Dakar, where they took a plane to go to Cape Verde⁴⁶. There are no direct flights from Senegal to Boa Vista. All migrants have to go first to Praia and then continue either by boat or plane. Boa Vista was for the majority (61%) the destination of their migration to Cape Verde, while 15 Senegalese stayed first in Praia and seven in Santa Maria, Sal. One went first to Mindelo to find work. It is interesting, that all but one of the migrants who stayed first in Praia or on another island arrived between 2001 and 2006 and that out of the 45 who went directly to Boa Vista, only five arrived during the same period. An explanation for this could be the increase of employment opportunities resulting from development of the touristic infrastructure and growth of tourism in Boa Vista since 2005⁴⁷.

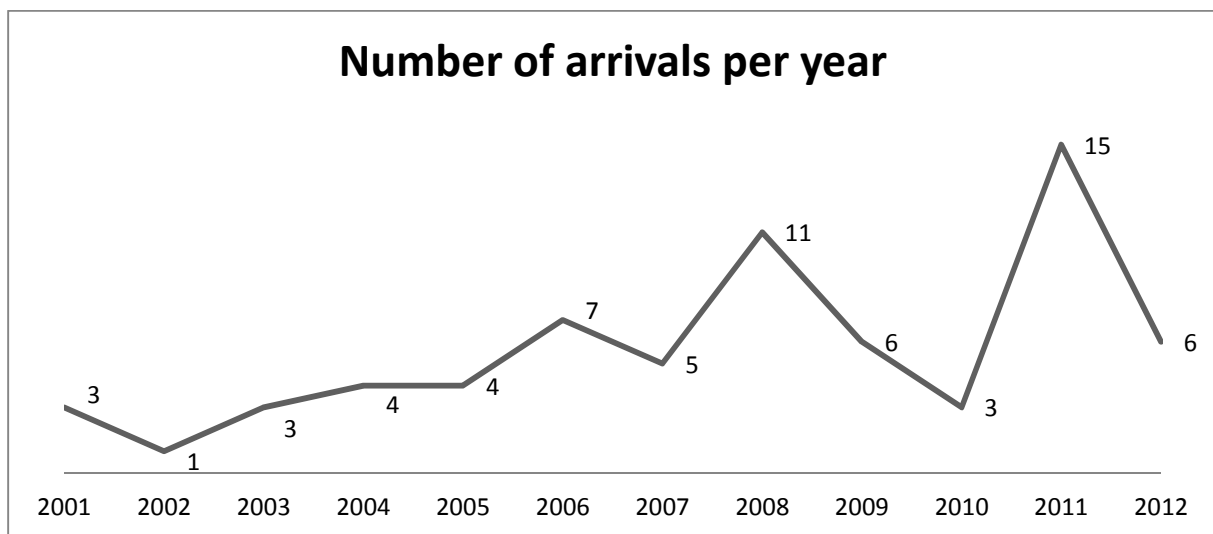


Figure 6-3: Number of migrants arriving in Cape Verde and year of arrival (N=68) (Enquiry & Graphic P.Jung)

Figure 6-3 shows the number of migrants and the year in which they first arrived in Cape Verde. In the case of the surveyed Senegalese it is possible to determine an increase of arrivals since 2006 with a peak in 2008 and 2011. This, however, does not permit to draw conclusions about an increasing number of Senegalese living in Boa Vista since migrants who arrived earlier are not necessarily remaining on the island any longer or did not participate in the survey. There is also no data available which could confirm this. Most

⁴⁶ At the moment there is no ferry connecting Dakar and Cap Vert. Cape Verdeans told me that plans exist to connect Praia with Dakar and Bissau by ferry. Reports about illegal migrants arriving in Cape Verde by boat exist. Regarding the sensitive character of this topic, it would not be surprising that a migrant, who arrived with a *piroque*, would deny that in my presence. Asked about illegal migration between Senegal and Cap Verde, Senegalese always told me that mostly people from other African countries arrive by *piroque*. Some Senegalese laughed and said that these are people, who wanted to go to the Canaries, but instead arrived in Cape Verde. Since there is no entry restriction besides the holding of a valid passport and proof of having enough funds for the stay, the Cape Verdean border authorities asked all immigrants to provide 1.000 EUR as a proof for their capability to sustain themselves, the majority of Senegalese in Boa Vista prefers to take a plane instead of risking the dangerous see-crossing by *piroque*.

⁴⁷ For a detailed description of the development of the touristic sector in Boa Vista see: INE, 2012

Senegalese immigrate legally to Cape Verde. Many of them, however, overstay the legal permit and become illegal immigrants⁴⁸. In the next chapter reasons for the migration and aspects of the decision making process are presented.

6.1.3 MIGRATION DECISION

The literature presented earlier suggests that income diversification and access to capital are among the main motives for migration. Both, the motives for the departure from Senegal and choice of Cape Verde as destination are presented here, based on the results of the questionnaire survey. The responses are summarised in categories and exemplified with expressions used by the questioned Senegalese⁴⁹. Additionally, I have used extracts of the problem-centred interviews to analyse and illustrate individual differences in decision-making processes.

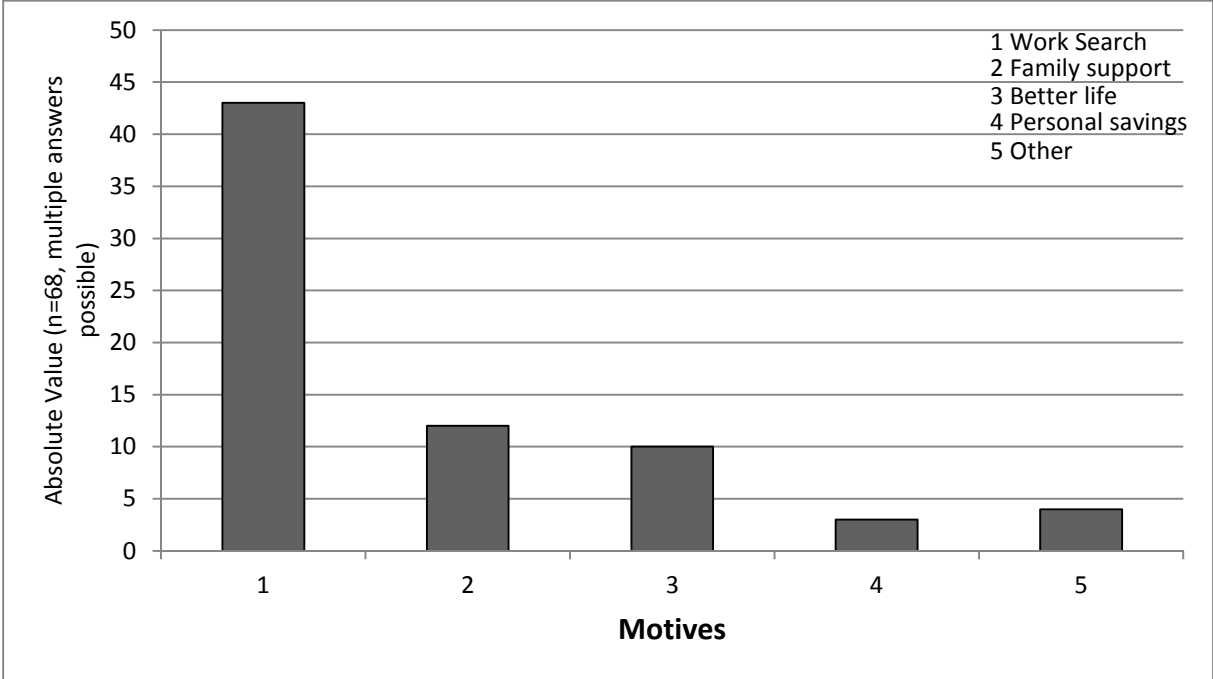


Figure 6-4: Motives for the emigration (Enquiry & Graphic: P.Jung)

As motive for the emigration (Figure 6-4) the great majority stated that they left Senegal for economic reasons. In consideration of some aspects described in chapter 5.1.2 it is not surprising that migrants perceive the absence of employment opportunities and problems to earn money in Senegal as pressure and main reason to emigrate. Under the category *Job*

⁴⁸ After entering the country migrants from ECOWAS countries can stay one year in Cape Verde, during this period they have to go twice to the police and get their passport stamped. After one year they need to leave the archipelago or gain a residence permit. Many Senegalese complained about the complicated and expensive process to gain the permit and only a few Senegalese which I met had one. If migrants overstay the length of the legal stay, they need pay a fee when leaving the country and it is possible that a new entry in Cape Verde is refused, if they try to return to the islands.

⁴⁹ All quotes are translated from French to English without correcting possible grammatical errors.

search, which is by far the most stated reason (63%), answers of the following type were summarised.

“To seek for work” – “To look for work as an artist. I already travelled to Mali and Burkina Faso for that” – “It is difficult to find work in Senegal” – “There is no work in Senegal” – “Working with tourists does not work well in Senegal. There is not much work with tourists” – “The salaries are lower in Senegal than in Cape Verde”

The category *In search of a better life* (14%) is often, but not solely connected with economic conditions. Considering economic factors the improvement of the living conditions can be understood as satisfaction of basic needs as well as the acquisition of consumer goods. Both are difficult to satisfy due to lack of revenues, but also as a result of obligations. In the case of unmarried men, the improvement of living conditions, for example the building of an own house, is sometimes required before they can marry.

“Life is hard in Senegal” – “To seek better conditions” – “To earn a living” – “To search for a future” – “We all have the same disease. We search a life” – “I did not see any hope in Senegal”

Another important reason is the will or in some cases the obligation to support the family (18%). Migration is here not only a means for the family to minimize risk, but more in general to cope with the risk of, for example food insecurity.

“I need to help my mother and the children” – “There were problems in the family. I left to help my family” – “To search money for the alimentation of the family and the four children” – “I’m the oldest. I need to help the family” – “The difficulties of the life in Senegal. I need to nourish my family”

In some cases the support of the family is not the motive for the departure, rather it is the desire to gain some financial independence and ability to save some money as the following answers summarised under the category *Personal savings* (4%) show.

“The Senegal is not good for the work. And all the money is for the family. If you earn 100 EUR, these 100 EUR are for the family” – “In order to safe a little bit of money. There (in Senegal) everything which you earn is used for nutrition” – “In Senegal, all the money you earn remains with the family, no money remains for yourself”

Distance can also signify the loss of control over the migrant by his parents and not only regarding the above mentioned economic aspect. Although this aspect was not mentioned by any of the surveyed persons, it occurred sometimes in informal conversations. In Senegal one man, who lived many years as a migrant in France, said that young Senegalese migrate for three reasons: *Femmes, fêtes et alcool*. Two migrants in Boa Vista

complained about some of the younger migrants consuming alcohol, which according to them could lead to the expulsion from their family, if this behaviour was known at home.

The category *Other* includes statements like the death of family members or the desire to discover another country or culture. Economic aspects, like the lack of employment opportunities or low salaries can be identified as main reasons, but not as the only ones, for emigrating. Emigration is perceived as a possibility to fulfil the desire to support the family, make a living or to gain some money for oneself.

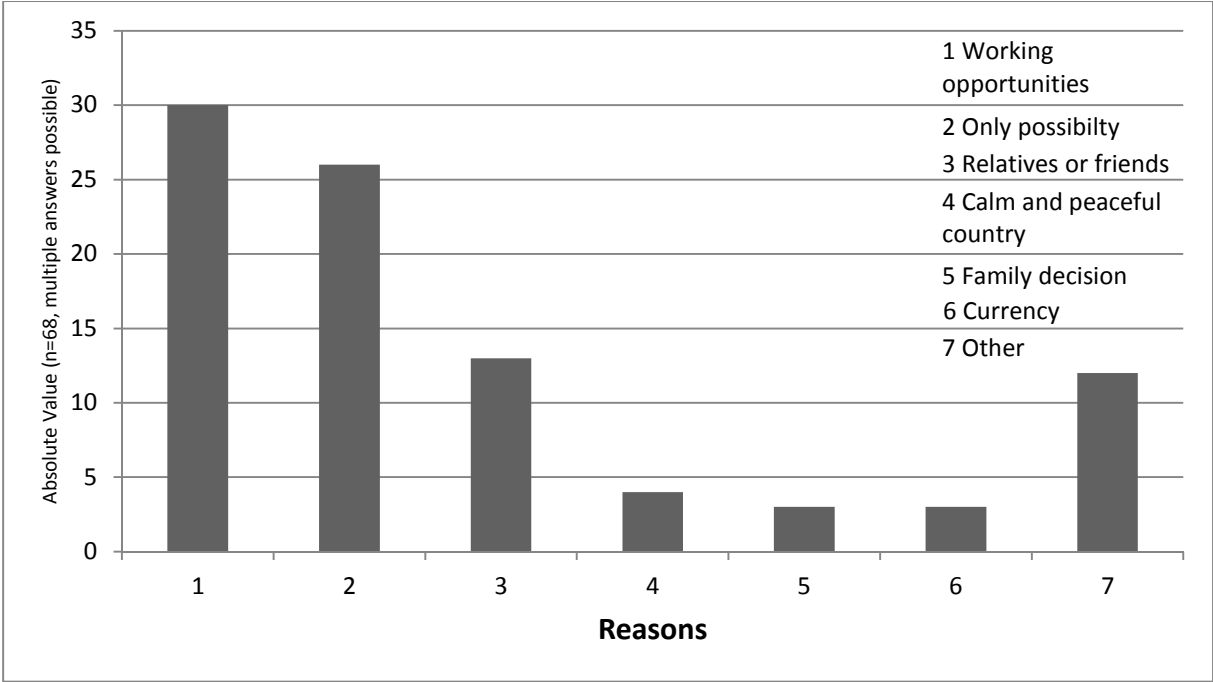


Figure 6-5: Reasons for the choice of destination (Enquiry & Graphic: P. Jung)

The reasons for choosing Cape Verde as the destination (Figure 6-5) show a more differentiated picture and in addition to economic aspects, political, social and financial ones gain in importance. Answers related to employment opportunities are still the most stated (44%), but in comparison to job search as a motive to leave Senegal they become less important. As two of the following examples for this category show, the image of a better job supply is not always met. Many migrants expressed their disappointment about the situation in Boa Vista and the difficulties to find work.

“The development of Cape Verde offers working opportunities” – “It is easier to find work here” – “My older brother told me that there is work here” – “Cape Verde is a tourist destination. There is work for the artists here” – “There is more work here than in Senegal” – “I thought that there is work here. My older brother told me that it is good here. But these times already passed” – “The salary is much higher here” – “I believed that there is work here, but it is not like that”

Of similar importance for the decision to migrate to Cape Verde is the political dimension. Cape Verde as a member of ECOWAS does not restrict the entry of citizens from other member states with visa regulations. Furthermore is it cheaper to migrate to Cape Verde than to Europe and thus the financial burden also plays an important role. The answers summarized under the category *Only Possibility* (38%) show these aspects.

“It is much easier to immigrate to Cape Verde than to Europe” – “It is cheaper to immigrate here” – “I did not have a choice. It is easy to immigrate to Cape Verde” – “I only had the means to go to Cape Verde, not for another destination” – “Cape Verde is close. Europe is difficult” – “It is not too far away. There are no problems with the visa” – “I went to Libya, but it was problematic there. After that I came here”

The existence of relatives or friends on the islands is also important for the choice of destination. The importance of networks for migration processes and how they can lead to the perpetuation of migration itself was described in chapter 4.1.3. Networks offer the migrant or the potential one access to social capital and are central for the transmission of information. Under the label *Relatives or friends* are answers regarding networks summarized (19%).

“I knew people here. They told me that there is work here” – “I have a relative here” – “My little brother told me to come here to work” – “My uncle was here” – “I have a friend. He told me, that it is better to work here”

Other motives mentioned are: The decision to migrate to Cape Verde was made by parents or siblings and not by the migrant himself (4%), the in comparison to the FRANC CFA stronger currency of the CVE⁵⁰ (4%) and the peaceful and calm situation on the archipelago (6%).

“My older brother decided that I have to come here” – “My parents decided that” – “Because the CVE is much stronger than the Franc CFA” – “It is calm here. The life is good” – “I saw that it is a calm and quiet country to go to”

Finally different answers were summarised under the category *Others*; including the desire to get to know Cape Verde, to make new experiences, destiny or the hope to continue to Europe. Cape Verde as possible transition place for the migration to Europe, as suggested for example by Marcelino (2011), was only mentioned once. Although only a few Senegalese named this aspect as a reason for their choice of destination in 2009, it was mentioned more often during both informal conversations and interviews than in 2012. Some migrants said that it was easier to get a visa for European countries from Cape Verde. The following quote

⁵⁰ 1 CVE = 5,57987 XOF (Franc CFA). Both currencies are linked by a fixed exchange rate to the EUR.

is from an interview with a Senegalese, who managed to get a visa for Denmark, but was stopped in Spain and deported to Senegal.

Parce que j'ai eu le visa pour le Danemark. Mais ce visa, j'ai reçu ici en Cap-Vert. À ce moment-là, c'était plus facile, parce qu'à ce moment, quand j'ai demandé le visa, il n'y avait pas beaucoup de papier, qu'ils demandent pour pouvoir aller. Mais ici, il n'y a pas un vol pour aller directement au Danemark. J'ai eu besoin faire escale en Espagne. Après tu quittes l'Espagne, tu vas au Danemark. Mais quand je suis allé embarquer en Sénégal, je suis arrivé à l'aéroport d'Espagne. Bon, le responsable il me n'a pas laissé partir. C'est ce responsable que j'ai rencontré à l'aéroport. C'est lui-même, qui me fait retourner. [...] A ce moment j'ai pas l'idée d'aller, parce que c'est trop risqué que tu perds de l'argent que tu finances comme j'ai passé. (ABbv)⁵¹

Asked if the migrant would try it again, he answered that the risk is too high to lose the invested money. This is one of two known cases, where Senegalese obtained Visas for Denmark, but did not arrive there and lost several thousand EUR. Most Senegalese in Boa Vista have the dream to migrate one day to Europe or the USA, however they do not necessarily see Cape Verde as a transition point on the way to fulfil this dream. The next quote is from a conversation with a Senegalese, who arrived in 2001, about the possibility of Cape Verde as a transition point. He first referred to the aspect mentioned before, that it was easier to get a visa to European countries from Cape Verde. According to him, immigration to Cape Verde was influenced stronger by this fact in the beginning than it is today.

[...] au début les gens viennent ici pour pouvoir passer à l'Europe. Donc, c'était plus facile d'avoir le visa ici, donc il y a beaucoup de Sénégalais aussi et beaucoup d'étrangers qui sont transités au Cap-Vert pour aller à l'Europe. (LABv)

He continued talking about clandestine ways. According to him the only possible way is by travelling as stowaways on one of the ships from Cape Verde to Europe, which however is difficult and depends on contacts to someone on the ship. For a migration of great numbers of persons passages by piroque would be necessary, but according to him do not occur from Cape Verde.

Bon, les gens pensent un peu ça, mais c'est presque une chose impossible. Parce que les bateaux qui viennent ici, c'est les bateaux européens. C'est pas facile. Les clandestines qui vont prendre la pirogue de Sénégal, de la Gambie ou de la Maurétanie. Ici, les pirogues qui sont là, sont trop petites. En plus, les navigateurs qui sont là, ils sont pas très, très bon pour pouvoir faire cette traversée. Donc, ici, c'est pas possible de faire ce voyage à la pirogue. C'est trop difficile. [...] C'est des bateaux européens et tu n'as

⁵¹ In order to guarantee the anonymity of the interviewees a code, composed of the first letters of the interviewees name and the place where the interview was conducted, is used for all interview segments. The list of interviewees can be found in the appendix (Appendix 2)

pas...il faut vraiment quelqu'un qui soit là-dedans pour pouvoir le faire. Et s'il le fait c'est 2-3 personnes qu'il amène. Pour les masses, il faut les pirogues et les Capverdiens sont pas des grands navigateurs. Donc ils peuvent pas. (LAbv)

As with illegal migration to Cape Verde, it must be assumed that clandestine migration routes to Europe are not necessarily mentioned during the interviews and in my presence. The examination of reasons for the choice of a destination, however, suggests that Cape Verde as a transition point is only of marginal importance. There is also no proof, which would suggest the contrary.

Analysis of motives for both, emigration from Senegal and immigration to Cape Verde shows that decisions to migrate are strongly based on economic aspects. This includes existing ones, but also expected economic advantages of Cape Verde. In this context Diop (2008, pp.25-26) speaks from an *économie symbolique* or a *géographie mentale* which can influence migration decisions as strong as actual economic conditions. In addition to economic aspects, legal processes and expenses of the migration have strong impact on the choice of destination. Furthermore, the presence of family members or friends plays a role. A total of 85% of the respondents named political, social or cultural reasons for their choice of destination. The reduction of migration as a result of push and pull factors caused by economic conditions is therefore not useful. It also must be considered that the different factors influence each other and thus a clear distinction between them is only limited possible.

It is important to consider that the conducted listing does not necessarily mean that other categories or aspects, not mentioned by the particular migrant, did not have an impact on the decision to migrate and where to. Furthermore, it must be assumed that not all motives were included in the survey. None of the respondents mentioned, at least not directly⁵², personal problems or conflicts within the family or community as reasons for the migration⁵³. This, however, does neither mean that they do not influence the decision to migrate nor that they are not relevant for the questioned migrants. It is more likely that social conflicts were not mentioned in my presence.

Some of the previously presented results already show that the decision to migrate was either made with family members or by them alone. When asked who was involved in the

⁵² It is possible that the answers summarized under the category *Personal savings* refer partly to problems in the family. The migrant could perceived it as pressure and injustice that all the money he or she earns remains with the family, while he or she is not able to economise or spend it in a preferred way. When asked about his reasons for the choice of Cape Verde as destination one Senegalese stated that he is more independent in Cape Verde from his family and family obligations.

⁵³ In his study about Rural-rural migration in Benin Doevenspeck (2005) shows for example how the fear to be a victim of sorcery or sorcery accusations can be a reason for emigration.

decision making, 65% of the questioned Senegalese stated that they took the decision by themselves, and only 16% involved their families. For the remaining 19% of the interviewees, parents or siblings decided on the migration to Cape Verde. It could be expected that circumstances under which the decision was taken, by the migrant alone, together with or solely by his family, is related to the migrants' age or his civil status, but the results of the survey do not show such correlations. The result of this question is surprising as it contradicts the prevalent image of migration as a household decision, as suggested for example by NELM and sustainable livelihood approaches.

The analysis of the problem-centred interviews confirms previously identified motives, but also shows that the emphasis on motives differs individually. They are rather uniformly distributed and a ranking of motives makes therefore little sense. The following selected quotes illustrate exemplary the individual motives for migration and choice of destination.

Je suis venu ici à Cap-Vert pour travailler, parce que là-bas c'est un peu difficile. C'est pour cela que je suis venu ici. Ici je gagne ma vie tranquille. Parfois c'est dur, parfois c'est...c'est comme ou tu vas. Parfois il y a le travail, que marche, parfois ça marche pas. Et nous, on travaille dans le tourisme. Le tourisme ici c'est comme ça, il y a le période ça marche, il y a le période aussi quand il y a rien de tous. [...] C'est pour le travail. Avant j'ai été au Sénégal, mais j'avais des amis, qui travaillent ici. Ils m'ont dit toujours : *Abdou vient ici, parce qu'à ce moment le tourisme en Sénégal est mort. C'était eux qui m'ont donné la confiance de venir ici.* (NAbv)

The differences of working conditions, especially in connection with tourism, between Senegal and Cape Verde were the reason for this young Senegalese from the region of Thiès, to leave his country and migrate to Boa Vista. He lived in Dakar before moving to Cape Verde, where he tried to make a living by working in different areas, notably as construction worker and souvenir vendor at touristic beaches. According to him it was important that some of his friends were already present in Boa Vista. In concordance with the network theory, they were crucial for his decision by not only providing information about conditions, but also in their supportive function⁵⁴. He also mentioned that the success of working with tourists in Boa Vista depends on the season. This aspect will be analysed in more detail in chapter 6.2. The following quote of a Senegalese from Niaga in the Dakar region shows how differences in connection with work are central for his motivation to emigrate. Although he had work in Senegal, he decided to look for better conditions abroad.

⁵⁴ The presence of relatives or friends can help to resolve possible doubts and give the migrant the necessary confidence to risk the migration. Furthermore they can be important for migrants in the beginning, when they need to adapt to an unknown and strange environment. Newcomers can benefit from the experience and knowledge of migrants, who arrived before them. For a more profound analysis of migration networks and their impact on the migration to Boa Vista see Jung (2009).

He emphasised that it was his own decision. The second quote is from an interview done with his older brother in Niaga and confirms these details.

Oui, bon, là-bas j'ai eu le travail, mais je me suis saisi travailler en immigré. C'est ça, c'est moi qui est décidée même d'aller travailler en émigré. Mais si je reste au Sénégal aussi, je peux travailler. Mais c'est un peu mal pour trouver la bonne condition pour rester là-bas. (MAGbv)

Oui, avant Mohamed est allé au Cap Vert, premièrement il a travaillé à l'école. Après l'école, lorsqu'il a quitté l'école, il a appris à dessiner, dessiner les tableaux d'art. Il a bien compris comment on dessine. Il était là-bas au Lac Rose. Il y a un grand marché artisanal ou on vend les objectifs d'art. [...] C'est là où il a été entraîné de vendre là-bas, dessiner, vendre, jusque a il a reçu un peu d'argent. Là il a dit que : Vraiment je vais essayer un autre solution. Je vais quitter le pays, chercher un autre pays. Je veux essayer découvrir là-bas pour gagner quelque chose de plus. Comme ici il n'y a pas tellement de tourisme. En général le tourisme est pendant 2 mois, 3 mois il y a tellement et après le reste c'est la saison morte. Il n'y a pas tellement de touristes. Après cela il a préparé son billet et il est parti au Cap-Vert. C'est là où il continue son travail. (BAda)

While in the questionnaire survey only 4% named the higher purchasing power of the CVE compared to the FRANC CFA as a reason for their choice of Cape Verde as destination, it was frequently mentioned in interviews and informal conversations. The next excerpt exemplifies the importance of this currency difference. It also shows that often several factors play a role for the decision. In this case the fact that the migrant only needs a valid passport was crucial in addition to the stronger currency in Cape Verde.

Premièrement j'ai choisi le Cap-Vert parce qu'il y a une évaluation de l'argent. Parce que au Sénégal il y a le CFA, ici il y a le Escudo, c'est six fois plus grand comme le CFA, c'est plus forte comme le CFA. C'est pourquoi je choisis le Cap-Vert, parce que le Cap-Vert ne demande pas le visa. On demande seulement votre passeport pour venir ici. (MANbv)

The "simplicity" could be already identified as one of the main factors influencing the immigration to Cape Verde. The following example confirms the findings of the questionnaire and shows that this does not only refer to the absence of entry restriction, but also to the costs of the migration. The migrant from Diourbel, whom I met in 2009, preferred to go to Europe, but his means only permitted a migration to Cape Verde. In the meantime, he has married an Italian, whom he met in Boa Vista and lives with her in Italy.

Non, ici c'est facile pour les gens sénégalaises venir ici, parce qu'il n'y a pas le visa, il n'y a pas les difficultés pour venir, pour entrer ce pays-là. Comme Cap-Vert c'est pas Europe. Europe c'est difficile. Mais moi je préfère Europe, parce que en Europe il y a

beaucoup de travail la bas, pas ici..... Mais Cap-Vert c'est moins cher, c'est facile pour venir ici encore. Il y a les gens sénégalaises qui préfèrent partir en Europe, mais ils n'ont pas les moyens pour partir à Europe, (ils) viennent ici et travaillent un peu. (MUbv)

The desire to support his family motivated the next Senegalese from the region of Kolda in the Casamance to seek his advantage, as he called it, and migrate to Cape Verde ten years ago. The husband and father of one child was selling agricultural products prior to the migration, which according to him worked well. It was his notion that it could be better at another place, which prompted not only him to emigrate, but animated, according to him, Senegalese in general to leave their country.

Je suis venu ici pour chercher mon avantage de ma vie. Encore pour voir comme je peux aider ma famille. Parce que même si je suis ici, le travail que je fais, l'argent que je gagne, je veux aider ma famille. [...] Non. Ça marche. Mais c'était moi qui voulais avec la destination. Parce que la destination. Souvent tu penses là ou que tu vas, peut-être c'est là-bas, que tu vas être mieux, plus d' ou que tu as quitté. C'est ça que nous animons. C'est comme ça. Là-bas aussi tout le travail va bien. (MObv)

In Cape Verde, he worked in construction, but was unemployed at the moment of the fieldwork. He said that he would return to Senegal if he had the means. The distance between him and his family did not affect his willingness to help them. The next example of a thirty year old Senegalese born in Dakar shows how distance to the family can be perceived as a necessity to be able to save some money for oneself. Although he is married with a Cape Verdean and has two daughters with her, he still intends wanted to return to Senegal after saving enough money to build his life back home.

Le Sénégal, j'ai quitté là-bas, parce que j'étais au travail chaque jour, je n'ai jamais resté sans travail. Mais avec ta famille tu peux pas garder l'argent, parce que à chaque fois la famille a besoin de quelque chose. Tu dois les soutenir de cela, c'est pour cela que tu ne peux pas réaliser rien de ta vie. [...] J'ai émigré pour ça, essayer de réagir petit chose pour aller travailler avec elle. [...] De fois si tu as le travail tu peux garder un peu dans ton compte de banque. Mais au ce moment c'est un peu difficile pour garder, parce qu'il y a pas de boulot. Mais quand nous avons le travail, nous pouvons garder à chaque mois, tu peux garder 10.000 Escudos, pendant 2-3 ans ça peut faire quelque chose. Si j'ai eu quelque chose, que peut faire me rester dans mon pays, même je ne sors pas. Je préfère de rester là-bas, le travail. (ABbv)

It is important to note that the desire to gain some financial independence and ability to save money does not exclude the wish to support the family. The same is valid the other way around. Often, migration is perceived as a means to accomplish both at the same time. Some of the interview extracts suggest that work conditions are currently worse than before

or not as good as expected. The latter stays in connection with, to use the words of Diop (2008), the *désir d'ailleurs* and the *géographie mentale* of many young Senegalese. It is expected that conditions abroad are better than in Senegal and it is easier there to earn a living. In the next quote of an interview, a 38 year old Senegalese from the region of Ziguinchor refers to both aspects and how the success of one migrant creates desires and sometimes wrong images about migration.

Mais aujourd'hui, à nous jour, les gens immigrerent ici parce qu'ils trouvent que c'est d'autre côte, il va toujours mieux que chez lui. C'est illusoire, parce que la réalité ça correspond pas à ce qu'ils viennent chercher. [...] C'est un peu fausse effectivement, parce que comme moi, lorsque j'ai été au Sénégal, j'ai eu beaucoup d'argent, parce que je suis parti en vacance. J'avais même beaucoup d'argent. Mais les gens n'ont pas comprît comme moi, j'ai gagné cet argent. Donc, quand tu vois ce que tu fais, automatiquement tu dis : Il faut que moi, j'aïlle aussi, parce qu'il est parti là. Tu fais ça, donc si je vais, je vais gagner. Et c'est bien, moi je les dis : Il faut que tu demandes. Comment tu as pu gagner tout ça. Et comment tu fais ? Donc, il faut comprendre combien de temps j'ai pu garder ça et quel sacrifice. Est-ce que je mange ou ai faim ? Donc, c'est tout ça, c'est les choses que vont passer au gens qui volent immigrer. (LAbv)

The results of both, the questionnaire survey and the problem-centred interviews suggest that the labour situation and other economic factors are predominant as motives for migration. A closer analysis, however, showed that it is too limited to explain migration only with economic problems in Senegal and economic advantages in Cape Verde. Especially in regard with the choice of destination it became clear that migration networks and the ECOWAS protocol on the *Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment* shape the migration process as well and sometimes even stronger than economic aspects. Furthermore social and cultural aspects, for example conflicts, but also the common perception of migrants and migration in Senegal, which are often connected with positive attributes, can be further motives for a migration. In the following chapter I will show that for some migrants the search for better conditions at different places is not an exception or one time occasion, but rather a central part of their lives.

6.1.4 MULTIPLE MIGRATIONS: AN BIOGRAPHIC OUTLINE OF THE MIGRATION CAREER OF TWO MIGRANTS

The lives of many migrants in Boa Vista show a high degree of mobility, even before their migration to Cape Verde. It was mentioned that some of the Senegalese already migrated internally, mostly to Dakar, and some moved between different islands of the archipelago. Some also migrated internationally. In the following the examples of two Senegalese are used to demonstrate how mobility can be a livelihood strategy.

The first example is the most elaborated one. Mbaye is a 40 year old Senegalese who was born in Dakar. His family originates from the Saloum-delta in the region of Fatick. His father migrated probably sometime in the 1970s to Dakar and bought some land in Pikine, where he built a house in which the family still lives today. Mbaye's father worked for a company, which closed down in 1990. At that time Mbaye still went to school. His father's loss of income forced him to leave the school at the age of 18 and look for opportunities to earn money. He went to the Casamance, where he worked as a fisherman with some of his brothers.

A Casamance j'étais là-bas pour travailler dans la pirogue. J'étais là-bas, j'ai appris la pêche là-bas avec mes frères. Après je suis retourné à Dakar. Mon père a me dit de chercher la carte marine pour le bateau. J'ai mon carte marine pour le bateau. Je suis resté en Dakar un an, dois ans et j'ai pas trouvé le travail de bateau. Je me suis obligé de partir à Mali. J'ai été au Mali dans la mine d'or, là où on explore l'or, Sadiola, 90 km de Kayes. (MAbv)

After two years he returned to Dakar, where he obtained a licence to navigate boats, following his father's suggestion. He did not find work on a boat and left Senegal to work in goldmines in the region of Kayes in Western Mali in 1995. Until then he only knew how to fish, but the distance to the sea forced him to look for other types of work. So he learned the profession of a painter during his one year stay in Mali. A work which he would later perform successfully in Boa Vista. According to him 1995 was a good year with a lot of work and he was able to earn well. He returned to Dakar where he continued practicing to paint. Out of reasons which he did not name, he went back to Casamance in order to work as a fisherman. After returning again to Dakar he found once work on a Spanish fishing trawler. At the same time his paternal half-brother, who lives in Spain, promised to arrange him a contract there. Mbaye waited for two years. The hope that his half-brother will help him to go to Spain, in his own words, forced him to stay in Senegal. In the meantime the half-brother helped one of his maternal brothers to go to Spain. The disappointment over his half-brother favouritism for his maternal brother and the continuously difficult working conditions in Dakar made him search for other opportunities.

Donc, j'ai attendu pendant 2 ans. [...] Je me suis obligé, bon, rester au Sénégal. J'ai pas de travail. La peinture fonctionné plus, tu travailles, on te paye pas. Tu travailles pour le salaire difficile. Bon, pour trouver la navigation était difficile. Ça me suis obligé de parler avec un de mes amis. Il m'a dit de venir à Cap-Vert. (MABv)

Mbaye saved money for the plane ticket and in 2004 left Dakar for Cape Verde. In the beginning he did not find work in Praia and tried to make some money by working as a street vendor. After some time he was hired as a painter and sent to Boa Vista in 2005. During the boom years of the building industry Mbaye worked in the construction of many big hotels until he had problems with his Italian employer in 2010. He is currently working as a photographer in one of the hotels. Over the course of the past 20 years Mbaye has constantly changed his place of residence in order to find better life conditions and employment opportunities. He migrated both internal and international for this purpose.

The second example presented here is the one of Abdoulaye, a 35 year old married Senegalese and father of a daughter from Diourbel. He has a secondary school degree and after finishing school decided to leave Senegal in order to support his parents in 2001. At the age of 24 he migrated to Abidjan, the economic capital of Côte d'Ivoire. He stayed for seven years in Abidjan and worked mostly as a tailor. He visited his family in Diourbel three times during this period. The aggravation of the political conflict forced him to leave the country in 2008 and to return to Senegal.

Mais après, bon, à cause de la guerre, je suis venu ici. [...] Je n'ai jamais eu une idée pour venir ici. Mais avec la guerre, bon, je me suis dit que je ne peux plus rester là-bas. Bien, aussi comme mon oncle est là-bas, mais moi je ne pouvais plus travailler. [...] Lui, il est là-bas. Mais même-moi, il faut que je trouve un autre pays pour immigrer et gagner ma vie. Et c'est à ce moment qu'un de mes amis, qui était ici, m'a appelé pour me dire que...pour me proposer le Cap-Vert. Donc, ce lui que m'a facilité, parce que, bon, je n'ai connais personne ici. Il m'a acquis. Il m'a donné le travail dans la boutique. Je l'ai pris et bon. Ça va. Depuis la, je suis dedans. (IBbv)

After leaving the Côte d'Ivoire it was natural for Abdoulaye to search for another country where he could immigrate to. It was the recommendation of a friend, who already stayed in Boa Vista, which brought Cape Verde to his attention. The same friend provided him later with work in his shop in Barraca, according to Abdoulaye one of the first shops in the settlement. He only stayed for a short period in Senegal until he had enough money to pay for the flight and provide the 1.000 EUR, which are asked by the Cape Verdean border authorities. In May 2008 he took the plane to Praia, where he stayed for two days before taking the ferry to Boa Vista. Emigration, both to Côte d'Ivoire and Cape Verde, offered Abdoulaye with an opportunity to *make a living*, and in both cases he was part of migration

networks, which provided him with social capital and simplified his migration. After leaving Abidjan he did not hesitate to migrate to another country, suggesting his high mobility. When asked if he would return to Côte d'Ivoire since the situation calmed down, he said that he would like to see his friends, but working conditions in Cape Verde and Côte d'Ivoire are similar and thus there is no reason to do so. His wish is to return to Senegal, open a shop and live with his family. However, at the moment he does not expect this to happen in the immediate future.

The two examples show how mobility, here in form of multiple migrations, can be part of livelihood strategies. Migration, be it internal or international, is perceived by both Senegalese as a possibility and even a necessity to earn a living and support their family. The two cases are exemplary for many Senegalese in Boa Vista, who show a similar high degree of mobility. It is likely that the probability of further migration increases after someone has migrated once before (Massey et al., 1998, p.47), an aspect that needs to be considered regarding migration decision and motives and is also important in order to understand migration from Senegal to Cape Verde.

6.2 WORKING AND LIVING IN SAL REI: SENEGALESE IMMIGRANTS LIVING BETWEEN UNCERTAINTY AND TRANQUILLITY

Une vie tranquille. Mais la vie est difficile aussi. Ici c'est vraiment difficile. (MAGbv)

This phrase originates from an interview with a young Senegalese, who worked as an artist in Sal Rei, and describes his perception of the daily life in Cape Verde. A life, which is characterised by both the tranquillity of the life in the small town of Sal Rei on a small island in the Atlantic, and the difficulties to make a living in an environment of uncertainty. In this chapter a description of some aspects of the daily life of Senegalese in Sal Rei will be carried out. I will start by giving an overview of different working activities Senegalese practise, before an examination of living conditions follows. Both are important in order to understand the flow of remittances, which will be described in chapter 6.3.

As the analysis of migration motives in chapter 6.1.3 shows the emigration to Boa Vista is above all a labour migration. Senegalese leave their country and immigrate to Cape Verde in order to find employment or better working conditions. Figure 6-6 shows the different working fields in which Senegalese are active, on the basis of the analysis of the standardized survey. The presented results do not represent a ranking, but rather demonstrate the variety of employment activities. A change in the survey sample, would probably lead to a different picture, for example a higher percentage of female migrants in the survey could result in a greater importance of formal employment in tourism and informal Senegalese gastronomies. Nevertheless it is possible to identify some of the most important

employment sectors. The result shows that a great part of the Senegalese work in an area related to tourism (Category 1, 2, 3, 5 and 9).

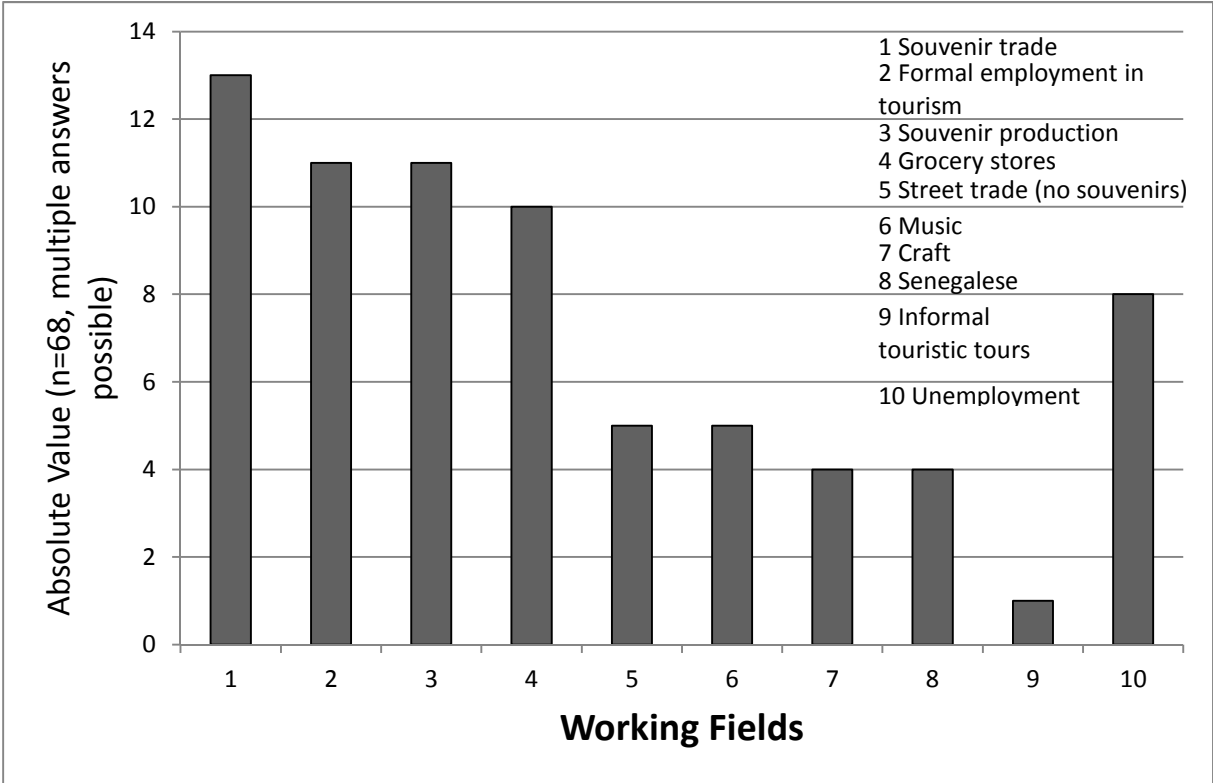


Figure 6-6: Number of migrants per working field (Enquiry & Graphic: P. Jung)

The category souvenir trade includes both Senegalese, who sell the products in a shop and those who sell them on the street. Six out of the 13 Senegalese who named souvenir trade as their work, are owner of one or more shops in the centre of Sal Rei. These are formal shops and owners pay taxes to the Cape Verdean state for their operation. The number of shops increased strongly between 2009 and 2012 and concentrated on a few central areas of Sal Rei. Often two or three Senegalese work together in one shop. They regularly approach potential customers on the street and try to persuade them to visit their shop. The second type of souvenir trader is the mobile one, who tries to sell products on the streets of Sal Rei and on the beaches located south of the city, on which a number of big hotel complexes are located. Many of the shop owners started as a street vendor until they earned the necessary financial resources and probably contacts to the Cape Verdean authorities are also a factor here.

It is difficult to estimate the income for both types of souvenir traders as this strongly depends on the season, with probably the best time between June and September. Most souvenir traders said that their income varies during the year and did not want to name any amount. Only a few said that they gain roughly between 150 and 300 EUR per month. Two shop owners with big shops in the center of Sal Rei stated that in a good month they can

earn about 1.000 EUR. The two souvenir traders are both at least 4 years in Cape Verde and well established. It must be assumed that earnings from the high-season need to cover expenses incurred in the low-season. Nevertheless a temporary migration in the sense that souvenir traders only come to Boa Vista for the high-season is not common. Only one case is known, in which the migrant returns every year for three months shortly after the high-season ends. It was often mentioned that regarding the sales of souvenirs the last two years were not as good as before. Explanations for this possible decline are diverse, but most have in common that they are not related to the number of tourists on the island. Many see a problem in the characteristic of the tourism, which focuses on a few club hotels, which the tourist do not need or want to leave.

Mais ici, tu vois, le problème de ce pays est que tu ne peux pas dire chaque mois, si ça va bien, parce que on sait pas. Parfois il y a beaucoup de touristes et le marché n'est pas favorable. Parfois il y a moins touristes et le marché est bon. Ça dépend des touristes, parce qu'il y a beaucoup, qui sont ici sur les hôtels et ne sortent pas. Ils restent là-bas pendant une semaine, 2 semaine, après partent. Donc, nous sommes pas le problème, parce qu'ils ne veulent pas sortir ici. Donc, s'ils ne sortent pas, on peut pas vendre. Parce que comme vendre c'est eux qui achètent. Mais ce période, le mois de mai, c'est le mois plus difficile en Cap-Vert. Ça fait depuis 2008, que je suis ici et tous le mois de mai c'est comme ça. Il y a rien. (NAbv)

This migrant named one aspect which needs to be considered. The field work was conducted in May and the beginning of June, which according to the migrant is the worst time of the year, shortly before the high-season starts. It is likely that a different timing of the research would also lead to different results, for example that in August less souvenir traders would complain about difficulties regarding their work.

No, now the work doesn't depend on the tourists. Now the white people only come for the hotels. Here in three years, in four years back the business was very good. It was good, because the tourist people, they came and when they bought. [...] No, it's not about more or less. Sometime you can see 1.000 tourist people, they come here for this week and 95% of them, they don't buy. Sometime you can see 500 tourists. They come this week. And 450 of them buy. So it doesn't mean that more or less people buy more or less. But people also leaving for the hotels. They spoil the business. So the tourists coming to Sal Rei, don't buy anything, because the hotels say, what they sell it's not from Cape Verde, it's from Senegal and when you go to Sal Rei they make you stress and they rob your money. (ILbv)

Some souvenir traders even accuse the hotels for advising their clients not to buy from migrants, as the example above shows⁵⁵. One aspect, which is rarely considered, is that the growing number of souvenir shops and traders also lead to increasing competition between them, and could be one reason for a decrease in sales. Finally, many explain their difficulties by referring to the global economic crises. “*C’est la crise*” was an often used expression to explain current difficulties, not only by souvenir traders but in general by the majority of migrants in Sal Rei. Nevertheless souvenir trade with tourists offers a source of income for many Senegalese, not only through the trade itself, but also through the production of souvenirs (Category 3). Almost 40% of the surveyed Senegalese work either in the trade or production of souvenirs. Some souvenirs, like masks or drums, are imported from the African mainland⁵⁶, while others, for example paintings, are produced locally. Artists sell their products mostly to shops or street vendors and only seldom directly to tourists.

The same aspect which leads to income fluctuation of souvenir traders, affects of course also artists. One artist, who spends only a few months of the year in Cape Verde, stated that he earns about 50 to 80 EUR a day. He is, however, a rare exception.



Photo 6-1 (left): Souvenir shop in Sal Rei (Photo P. Jung, Sal Rei, May 2012)

Photo 6-2 (right): Artist in Sal Rei (Photo P. Jung, Sal Rei, May 2012)

Formal employment, for example as cook, launderer or concierge in hotels, is another important employment field for Senegalese migrants. Two of the eleven migrants, who are employed in a hotel or restaurant, did not want to name their income, the rest stated that they earn from 160 up to 380 EUR per month. The average salary lies between 200 and 250 EUR

⁵⁵ I did not try to confirm this accusation. The fact that some souvenirs are not from Cape Verde and have no relation to Cape Verdean culture cannot be denied. In informal conversations Cape Verdeans also told that hotels recommend to avoid lonely beaches and some areas of Sal Rei as a consequence of an increase in crime.

⁵⁶ The importation of souvenirs from Senegal occurs often with the help of a family member. The souvenir trader orders products, which a family member buys in Senegal. In most cases he or she sends them by plane in packets, which are paid per kilo. One souvenir trader also told that there are women who import the products and then sell them to the shops.

per month, an amount which both Cape Verdeans and Senegalese also named during informal conversations⁵⁷. Formal employment has certainly the advantage of a certain security, some souvenir traders, however, stated that they prefer their work due to a possible higher income.

34% of the participants in the questionnaire work in a different area than tourism. The most important is hereby the sale of different products, for example groceries, clothes or different kinds of household products, in little shops in the neighbourhood of Barraca. These shops meet the needs of approximately 3.000 inhabitants which live in Barraca (Marcelino, 2011, p.80). In the case of the Senegalese community they also provide them with Senegalese products and are an important meeting point, where Senegalese can watch the latest music videos or transmission of *la lutte*. Most employees in a shop, but also shop owners, did not name an amount for their monthly income. The few who did, named an income between 100 and 200 EUR, but the majority stated that their income is irregular. Their income is affected indirectly by developments in tourism, since many of their customers make their living in this sector. The following interview extract with an employee in a shop addresses this aspect.

Actuellement c'est pas trop, parce que ici est un pays de touristes. Actuellement il n'y a pas les touristes. C'est dans le mois de juin. [...] Mais mon client, qui travaille avec les touristes. Donc, si eux n'ont pas travail, donc si ça ne marche pas avec eux, nous aussi ne pouvons pas gagner. C'est vrai. Il faut qu'eux aussi gagnent et que nous aussi gagnons. (IBbv)

As it was mentioned, some of the products sold in grocery stores are imported from Senegal. These products include typical clothing, for example *boubous*, beverages and food products, but also CDs and DVDs. The supply meets the demand of a growing Senegalese community for typical products from Senegal. This example shows how the existence of a large population of immigrants can create a demand for specialized cultural products and ethnic services (Massey et al., 1998, pp.31-32). Immigrant entrepreneurs are especially qualified to meet these demands and so called ethnic enterprises develop. Portes (1995) describes ethnic enterprises as businesses which serve the cultural needs of a certain group (p.27). Senegalese gastronomies fall in the same category of businesses. These informal businesses are almost exclusively operated by female migrants, sometimes in a small hut in Barraca or as a sort of mobile restaurant⁵⁸, which serves many Senegalese working in the

⁵⁷ Until now there is no official minimum wage for employees in the private sector. The Cape Verdean government discusses currently a minimum wage roughly between 100 and 120 EUR. See e.g.: <http://jornaldigital.com/noticias.php?noticia=36795>

⁵⁸ The term mobile restaurant should not lead to delusions. These are mostly women, who cook the food at home and then transport it in big bowls to a place with a high number of customers.

centre of Sal Rei. These restaurants are also among the cheapest places to eat in Sal Rei with prices under two EUR, which is also a reason why they are chosen by Senegalese and migrants other nationalities. There are a number of Senegalese, both men and women, who sell drinks, for example typical Senegalese juices or *Café Touba* on the streets. It is not surprising that revenues in the area of Senegalese gastronomy also vary. One Senegalese woman, who is employed in one of the restaurants in Barraca, said that she earns between 90 and 130 EUR per month.

Only five of the 68 questioned migrants work as a craftsman. There may be several reasons for this low percentage. First, the time of the big construction boom in Boa Vista is probably over. Most big projects finished and a few stopped before their completion due to financial problems. Most investors in Sal Rei came either from Spain or Italy, and considering the current economic problems, under which both countries suffer, new investment on a big scale seem unlikely. These developments result in a lower demand of construction workers. Four of the eight Senegalese who stated that they are currently unemployed, worked before in construction. Furthermore nine migrants worked in the building industry at an earlier moment. It is however, not known, if the change of profession is in general a consequence of unemployment in this working field. Only a few cases are known, where Senegalese were forced to look for a different kind of work, mostly trade, because they lost their work as masons. Second, it is possible that Senegalese are in general more active in other working fields, and here especially in trade, be it with souvenirs or other kind of products. The few Senegalese in the survey who had previously worked in construction could be an indication for that. The salaries named by the five craftsman lies between 130 and 230 EUR per month.

The economic situation of many Senegalese in Sal Rei is characterised by a certain degree of irregularity and insecurity. The following interview extracts refer to this insecurity, which is considered as a main problem by the migrants.

Le problème plus grave pour moi...si j'ai pas de boulot, ça c'est dangereux pour moi. Parce que si j'ai pas un travail que est sûr, si le fin de mois vient et je paye pas loyer, on va me faire sortir. (MABv)

Ici, plusieurs problèmes. Ici toujours...en l'étranger toujours est problème. [...] Oui, mais si le travail marche pas, c'est un problème. Si la fin de mois, tu n'as pas d'argent pour payer le loyer, c'est un problème. Si tu dois payer quelqu'un, que tu peux pas payer, tu n'as pas l'argent pour le payer, c'est un problème. C'est ça, que sont les problèmes ici. (SABv)

Both migrants talk about difficulties to cover expenses, for example rent, if they do not earn any or not enough money. In many cases migrants miss their families, which support

them in difficult situations and can absorb income losses better than a person alone. The next quote picks up this aspect.

Mais de toute façon mon problème est que je n'ai rien, parce que le travail ne marche pas au ce moment. À ce moment j'ai les problèmes comme au Sénégal. Non, c'est pas les mêmes. Ici c'est plus grave qu' au Sénégal, parce qu'au Sénégal si tu ne travailles pas, les gens et la famille savent ça, parce que tu ne travailles pas. Et les amis aussi. Et les gens t' aident, parce qu'au Sénégal tout le monde est le même. Mais ici personne n'est que par personne. Personnes qu'ont travail ici, parce que nous sommes de Sénégalaises ici, ensemble social ici, mais chaque personne s'occupe de sa personne. Il n'y a pas de l'aide ici. Si tu travailles tu gagnes l'argent, c'est ça que tu cherches, si tu ne gagnes pas l'argent c'est ton problème. (MBbv)

According to the migrant, you are on your own if you have financial problems, and there is no help on the island. The migrant ignores that the support between Senegalese is quite common in the community in Sal Rei. When asked how another Senegalese copes with his unemployment and difficulties, he told that he receives help from friends and relatives.

Actuellement je suis ici. Temps en temps, si tu gagnes une journée. Ok. Tu es avec tes amis, parents aussi, avec d'autre compagnons. Ils peuvent s'aider entre eux. C'est ça. C'est ça comme on reste ici. (MObv)

Considering the general situation of most Senegalese in Sal Rei, it must be assumed that they can only support each other to a certain degree. The different Senegalese Muslim brotherhoods, which are present on the island, offer, at least for a certain period of time, support for their members in form of food and habitation. The financial means of the *Association des Sénégalais De Boa Vista* are limited and they only support their members in case of illness and/or death⁵⁹. Many migrants, who were unemployed or unsatisfied with their revenues, want to return Senegal as soon as possible, but don't have the finances to pay for the flight. They are stranded on the island and wait for possibilities to gain the necessary money. Especially young men, who only arrived shortly before my fieldwork started, were disappointed with their situation and sometimes shocked by the unexpected difficulties they met in Cape Verde. They said that they would return immediately if they could.

The economic problems not only have an impact on the migrants' lives in Sal Rei, but also on the ones of their relatives at home, since they affect the flow of remittances. The described irregularity of the amount of revenues needs to be considered in the analysis of

⁵⁹ During the fieldwork a young Senegalese in his twenties died. In this case not only the Association of Boa Vista, but also the ones of other islands collected money in order to transport the body to the family in Senegal.

remittances, which follows in chapter 6.3.2. This chapter will end with a short description of the housing situation of Senegalese living in Boa Vista.



Figure 6-7: Satellite image Sal Rei (Own creation. Source image: Google earth)

By far the greatest part of immigrants, internal and international, in Sal Rei lives in the neighbourhood Barraca. This also counts for the Senegalese community. Barraca, an informal settlement was and is still build on former salt evaporation ponds just outside of Sal Rei. The differences between Barraca and the rest of Sal Rei are striking and can be easily seen on the satellite image (Figure 6-7). It is the most densely populated part of the town, where infrastructural problems⁶⁰, poverty and criminality⁶¹ are widespread. Land owners can charge high rents due to a scarcity of affordable houses for most migrants⁶². The rental prices vary and in cases, which I was aware of, Senegalese pay from 80 EUR up to 120 EUR

⁶⁰ There is no running water or sanitation, electricity is provided by a number of big generators. Water is transported by tank vehicles to the neighbourhood and stored in big water tanks, often in front of the house (see Photo 6-3)

⁶¹ In 2009 the police was completely absent in the neighbourhood, while during the fieldwork in 2012 daily police patrols occurred in the daytime, but a constant presence is still not the case. Petty crimes are common, but there are also cases of murder and rape. Drug traffic and abuse create further problems in Barraca.

⁶² Investments from Europeans in the construction of vacations homes and hotels led to high real estate prices in Boa Vista. Many of the vacations homes are untenanted for most of the year, but due to high prices not available for most migrants. Migrants also invest in the construction of houses in Barraca and besides the insecurity of the investment, a consequence of the informal character of the settlement they see it as a relative secure income source.

per month for one room in Barraca. Most Senegalese reside in Barraca, and often three to five migrants live together in one room or house in order to share the high costs for housing. They prefer to live under poor conditions and save a little bit, which enables them to send money home, which otherwise would be difficult due to the low income of most migrants. Only a handful of Senegalese live in the centre of Sal Rei, mostly families who prefer the better living conditions and higher security of the town, if they can afford the prices. Asked about his experience of living in Barraca, one Senegalese in Diourbel answered that he was shocked by the poor conditions, which he did not know from Senegal.

Lorsque je suis arrivé ... non, donc, je ne disais rien, mais lorsque je suis arrivé jusque à Barraca, c'était, c'était un peu incroyable. [...] Les gens vivent mal. La mode de vie là-bas n'est pas bonne, parce que ... moi je n'ai connu pas ça. (TAdi)



Photo 6-3 (left): Water tank in Barraca (Photo P. Jung, Sal Rei, May 2012)

Photo 6-4 (right): Street in Barraca (Photo P. Jung, Sal Rei, August 2009)

High food prices are a further burden on the island, where almost everything needs to be imported and costs of living are among the highest of Cape Verde. Many migrants spend a great part of their income to cover their basic needs. High living costs were mentioned by most migrants as one of their main problems, besides the above described insecurity of income and employment. Racism and xenophobia and the difficulties to gain a permanent residence card were also regularly mentioned during the questionnaire survey and problem-centred interviews, but should not be further examined at this point⁶³.

Most migrants perceive their migration from Senegal to Cape Verde as temporary and all but one Senegalese said that they want to return to Senegal at some point, although in most cases they did not name as specific time limit for their stay. The satisfaction with the

⁶³ For a deeper analysis of the transformation of the Cape Verdean society as a consequence of immigration and problems of integration, which come along it, see Marcelino, 2011. He describes how the perception of continental Africans is affected by widespread stereotypical images, which see them as persons who steal jobs, lead to low salaries and are responsible for the increase of criminal activities on the islands.

present situation is hereby an important criterion as described before. This temporary character as well as the desire or obligation to support the family at home are important for the understanding of the migrants' life in Boa Vista and their activities. Suffering and constraints are accepted in order to be able to send remittances. Senegalese maintain a variety of ties with their community in Senegal, which seldom cease during their temporary stay in Cape Verde. In the following chapter I will analyse some of these ties with a special focus on the flow of remittances.

6.3 INTERACTIONS BETWEEN MIGRANTS AND FAMILIES IN SENEGAL

Transnational approaches suggest that personal interactions are taking increasingly part across borders and life worlds of migrants often span between different geographical spaces. Some findings of the fieldwork in both Cape Verde and Senegal confirm this suggestion. Despite the spatial distance between Senegalese migrants in Cape Verde and their families in Senegal, the both are connected with each other and different kind of flows take place in this transnational space. In the following chapter some of the interactions between the migrants and their relatives will be described.

6.3.1 STAYING IN CONTACT OVER DISTANCE

Developments in communication technology over the last two decades facilitated the communication between families and migrants. A variety of Cyber Cafes in the centre of Sal Rei and phone cards with special tariffs offer the migrants the possibility to stay in contact with their relatives at low charges. Additionally most migrants own a cell phone and few a notebook. All this enables family members to talk regularly, although they live in two different countries. The regularity and frequency of contact differs from case to case and are not only influenced by financial resources. A married Senegalese and father of children has probably a stronger desire to talk regularly with his wife and children in Senegal, when an unmarried man or a husband whose wife lives with him in Boa Vista. Besides the exchange of information, conversations also can serve for the encouragement and strengthen of family bonds. The following quote is from a married Senegalese, whose wife and daughter live at the house of his mother in Diourbel and demonstrate this aspect.

Oui. De téléphone. Chaque semaine on peut parler deux fois. 2 fois dans la semaine. C'est très important pour le réconfort. C'est très difficile de vivre le cas que nous sommes à vivre. Donc, il faut que je l'appelle souvent, donne du courage, qu'elle puis attendre. C'est difficile. (IBbv)

Visiting the family is another form to strengthen bonds. As before regularity and frequency of visits differ from case to case. Some migrants did not go back once since they

came to Cape Verde. In one case a Senegalese lived on the archipelago for eight years without returning and another only returned once during his stay of eleven years. In other cases migrants try to return at least every one or two years for a one to two month period, in some cases for the participation in festivities like *Tabaski*.⁶⁴ The social embeddedness on the island, for example if spouse and children also stay in Cape Verde, can influence the desire to visit the country of origin, but is not necessarily decisive. It depends of course also on the financial possibilities of the migrant. Expenses for a visit can include other costs than just the plane ticket.

Nous, quand on va là-bas, il y a les gens qui viennent te dire *Bon jour*. A chaque fois quelqu'un vient de te dire Bonjour, tu dois donner quelque chose. C'est pas une obligation. C'est une façon de montrer aux gens : Voilà, je suis parti, j'ai réussi. (LAbv)

This statement shows how a returning migrant is confronted with certain expectations. Obligations to buy presents and spend large amounts of money in order to demonstrate success as a migrant can be a burden and in some cases hinder the migrant to return, as the following interview extract shows.

I don't have chance to, because here to get back is not easy. First of all you have to get money. You have to prepare it by yourself. You have to pay the ticket. And the ticket sometimes cost 400 EUR, sometimes 450 EUR. And you need to have pocket money, almost like 3000 EUR. Sometimes less than that. At least you can have 2000 EUR. Because if you travel and you stay a long time, when you come back, you know, and the family and the friends, the brothers and the sisters everybody just expect that you can help them. Because they can say, this man travelled and he was our friend before, he was our brother before. It's African system. That's why it is not easy. Sometimes people stay here about 8 years and they don't go back, because they don't have money. They have money to buy the ticket, but they have problems when they see the family. They don't feel happy. (ILbv)

The migrant did not return once in five years as he could not bear the expected expenses. His statement may be exaggerated and he later complemented it by saying that you can return without anything, if it is too hard abroad. Although he only refers to the financial burden as a reason for not returning, it is likely that there are other important aspects. Unsuccessful migrants may also feel shame for their "personal failure", that they did not gain enough or in their own words, that they did not make it. Most migrants, however, did not mention such kind of feelings and said that their relatives show understanding for their situation.

⁶⁴ Tabaski is an important Muslim holiday. It commemorates the willingness of the prophet Abraham to sacrifice his first-born son.

6.3.2 THE FLOW OF REMITTANCES

Different aspects which are related to remittances were already discussed before. The desire to support the family could be identified as an important motive for the emigration. Irregular revenues and their impact on remittances were mentioned, but not further elaborated. In the following some characteristics of the flow of remittances are presented, beginning with their frequency and then followed by the monetary value of the transfer. As before the presented data is the result of the semi-standardised questionnaire, while interview extract are used to emphasise important aspects or differences.

Out of the 68 migrants, who participated in the survey, only five did not send money once to a person in Senegal, as a result of unemployment, low revenues or due to their short time span in Cape Verde. Out of the 63 who remit, 41 do so once a month, seven every two to three months and five more than once a month. The other ten persons stated that they send money irregularly. There seems to be no specific pattern or link between the kind of work or salary which the migrant receives in regard to the frequency. For example the ten person who remit irregular show different characteristics regarding these aspects. All of them stated that the frequency depends on the success at work. Three of them were without job at the moment, three worked in one of the big hotel complexes and received a fixed salary every month and four worked in the informal economy with changing monthly earnings. This suggests that besides income and the type of work other aspects influence the willingness to remit. These may include the satisfaction of own needs and desires, for example consumer goods like a computer, mp3-player or new clothes, but also social and familial situation on the island, if the migrant is alone or if he lives with his wife and children. Although more than half of the migrants stated that they send money once a month, whether all of them send exactly each month of the year remains questionable. Considering the irregularity of revenues it is likely that sometimes a migrant needs more than one month to earn enough. In some cases there are also discrepancies between the frequency named by the migrants and the one named by his relatives in Senegal.

The analyses of the amount of the remittances (Figure 6-8) not only shows a great variety, but also that about one third of the surveyed Senegalese send different amounts each time⁶⁵. As reason for the irregularity all but one migrant stated that the amount depends on their work and how much they earn. One Senegalese gave the following example: *"It depends on the work. 50 EUR if the work is going well, 20 EUR if the work is not going well"*. In one case the amount of remittances is adapted to the needs of the family in Senegal: *"It depends on how much money my parents need"*.

⁶⁵ The amount of the remittances stated here is in no correlation with the frequency. It needs to be considered that a person may send fewer times, but a higher amount each time. The list of the different amounts of the transaction only shall indicate the variety of amounts, which migrants send.

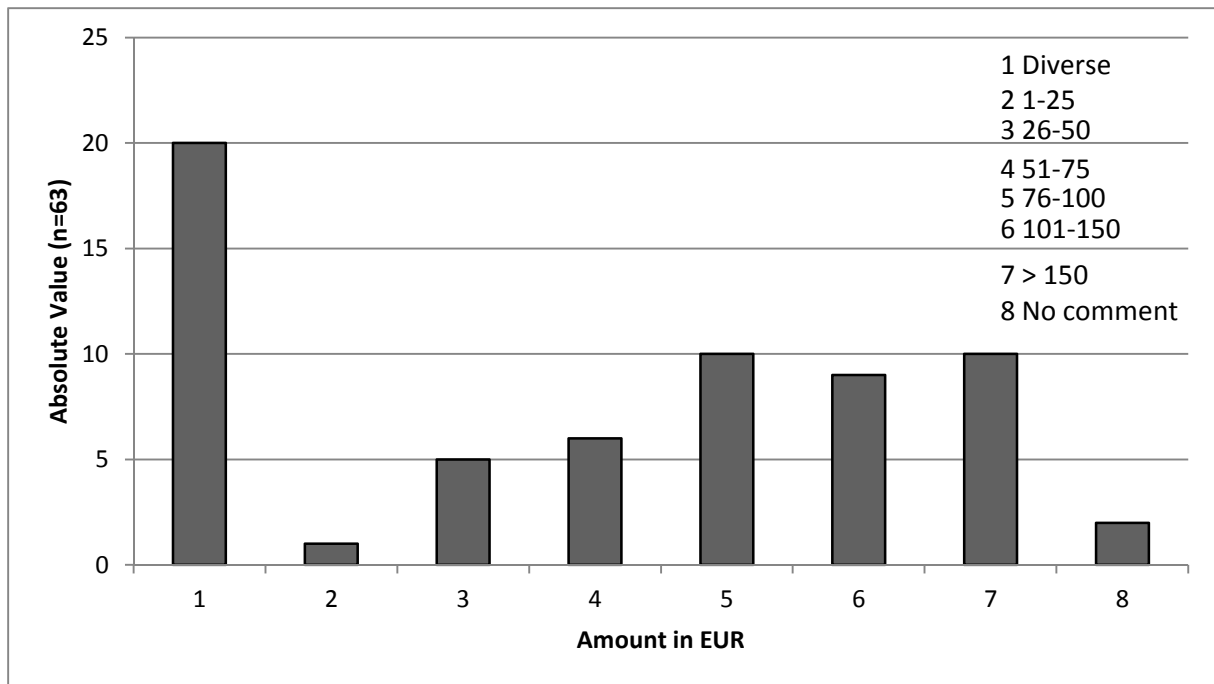


Figure 6-8: Value of remittances (Enquiry & Graphic: P. Jung)

The reason for this is not known. It could be interpreted that the family depends less on remittances and has other sources of income or that the migrant has a relative high income and thus is able to adapt the remittances according to the demand of his parents. The father of one migrant⁶⁶ in Diourbel also said that his or the families financial needs determine the amount his son sends every end of the month. In this case the father and another son work as electricians, but their income is irregular. It is an example for migration as part of a household strategy to diversify income sources. The remittances of the son can compensate the losing of revenues. According to the father the decision to emigrate was taken by his son alone and he was motivated by the desire to help the family. The family accumulated the necessary amount to pay for his passage to Cape Verde.

One third of the questioned Senegalese stated that the amount they send differs from time to time. When asked if the amount changed generally over the last two years, if it became less or more, 37 out of the 63 migrants who send remittances confirmed the question. Eight of the 37 said that it changes all the time, over the year depending on how much they earn. It is no surprise that with a great part of the Senegalese community on Boa Vista working in the informal economy and in the tourism sector with its cyclic characteristic, both amount and frequency are not constant. A decline as a consequence of growing difficulties or a higher concurrence was declared by 19 migrants, while one stopped completely to send money. Six Senegalese stated that they send currently more, partly

⁶⁶ It could be actually the father of the migrant who stated that the amount he sends depends on his father's demands, but there is no certainty.

because they earn more than before or as a response to an increase of prices or other difficulties in Senegal. Three did not want to elaborate if they send more or less. A decline of amount and frequency of remittances was mentioned by most families I met in Senegal. Two families said that they did not receive any money in the last six to nine months. Both migrants work as street vendor on the island of Santiago and according to their families their work does not go well currently. It was mentioned before that other aspects than the income may influence the frequency of remittances. The same counts for the amount. It is likely that a family father tries to send a higher amount regularly in order to support his wife and children, than a single man or a migrant whose family lives with him in Cape Verde. Nevertheless a sufficient income is still a condition for being capable to do so.

The flow of remittances is clearly directed to family members. 55 of the 63 Senegalese send money to their parents. A distinction between father and mother was not made, although in some cases the migrants named especially one parent. 25 husbands transfer money to their spouses and five named their children as recipient. Brothers (14) and sisters (5) are further recipients of remittances. Only two migrants stated that a person outside their family receives money from them. In 33 cases the migrant sends money to more than one of the stated categories. Remittances are sent out of a desire to help the family, but also out of a feeling of obligation. The following quotes of interviews can serve as an example for this.

Je suis né en 1987. Jusqu'à 2012, c'est le plus important, chaque jour je pense à ça, est aider mes parents. Oui, parce que les temps quand j'ai été à l'école, l'école première, à l'âge de 10 ans, je allais travailler aussi. S'il y avait les vacances je suis allé à la maison de mon oncle pour rester là-bas, pour faire les vacances. Non, j'ai travaillé. J'ai travaillé avec mon frère ou bien j'ai travaillé moi seul pour donner à mes parents. Parce que mes parents ont souffert et ça me fait mal. C'est ça que je veux guérir chaque jour, pour aider mes parents, pour donner un bon remerciement à mes parents. [...] Je travaille pour ça. C'est ça que me fait courage chaque jour. [...] C'est obligatoire, c'est une bonne chose à faire et c'est une chose très importante aussi, parce que si tu as les parents tu dois remercier de tes parents. (MBbv)

Oui, c'est obligatoire. Si tu as de l'argent, c'est obligatoire. Mais si tu n'as pas, c'est pas obligé. [...] Si je gagne, j'envoie. C'est important pour moi. Ça fait part de la vie, aider la famille. Pour nous Africains il faut obligatoirement aider la famille. (MAGbv)

Il y a mes frères, mes sœurs, ma mère, mon père n'est plus vivant et il y a mes aïeux aussi à la maison. C'est une grande famille. Je suis obligé à chaque fois, même si je dois ne manger pas, mais il faut que je dois envoyer quelque chose pour la famille. C'est une obligation. (LAbv)

All three statements have in common that the migrants feel an obligation to support their families. Two of them see it also as a good and important thing to do for themselves. The last quote indicates that some migrants are willing to suffer and set own needs behind the ones of the family, at least to a certain degree. As the next migrant said himself, there is a limit as it is impossible to satisfy everyone. He needs to support three persons at the same time, while he also needs to bear the high cost of living in Sal Rei. Although he likes to help his family, the remittances also symbolize a great burden for him. Remittances can also lead to tension between different family members. Some migrants said that if they send money to one sister, they also need to send some to the others, who otherwise would be offended. Family members who do not receive any money from the migrant can perceive this behaviour as bad and egoistic.

Il y a une limite. Tout le monde veut que tu aides, mais tu pas satisfaire tout le monde quand même tu fais ton maximum. Ça c'est notre culture, c'est un peu la tradition africaine. C'est au même temps un mal nécessaire, c'est positive, c'est négative en même temps, parce que tu aides Papa, tout le monde, si tu aides pas tout le monde, tu vois comme tu es mauvais, égoïste. [...] C'est pas facile. C'est même pas possible. Moi, j'ai une nièce, chaque mois je lui paye son éducation scolaire, l'information informatique. Chaque mois je l'envoie 50 EUR, 30.000 CFA. Oui, c'est beaucoup. Je dois donner à madame, je dois donner à ma famille. Et 3 fois pour seul personne, toi (aussi) dois payer, c'est la vie qu'est chère. Tu as besoin payer le loyer, tout et tout. (DDbv)

The most popular way of transferring money to Senegal is through Western Union, which is used by 56 Senegalese for the remittances. Only nine migrants send money through informal money transfer systems like Hawala. The fast transfer and reliability were mentioned as main reasons for the preference of the formal but expensive way to transfer money. Furthermore some migrants stated that Western Union is the only system available in the region, where their relatives live. Another possibility is to give the amount to a private person, a friend or relative, who leaves for Senegal. Six persons stated that they use this strongly on trust based way of sending money to their relatives. When asked about his preference for Western Union, one migrant gave the following answer, in which he emphasizes how the lack of trust determines his choice.

Parfois aussi, tu donnes à quelqu'un, il arrive, tu le connais ici, il est ton ami ici, mais au Sénégal tu sais pas où il habite. Tu lui donnes, quand il est dans l'aéroport, il part. Tu sais pas chez qui il est, tu connais ici. Donc moi, c'est mieux d'envoyer ça avec Western Union. (SAbv)

The description of the flow of remittances showed that remittances are a major aspect in the lives of most Senegalese living in Sal Rei. In next chapter an analysis of the usage of remittances by their relatives in Senegal follows.

6.3.3 THE USAGE OF REMITTANCES

Finally it should be analysed how the receivers of the remittances use the money. The presented data is both the result of the fieldwork in Cape Verde and Senegal. Therefore it needs to be mentioned that a great part of the data relates to the migrants' perception of how their relatives use the remittances. The literature presented before suggests that remittances are used to cover regular basic expenses, make investment and optimise livelihood security, especially in regard to food security. The findings of the fieldwork in Sal Rei and Senegal confirm these suggestions partly.

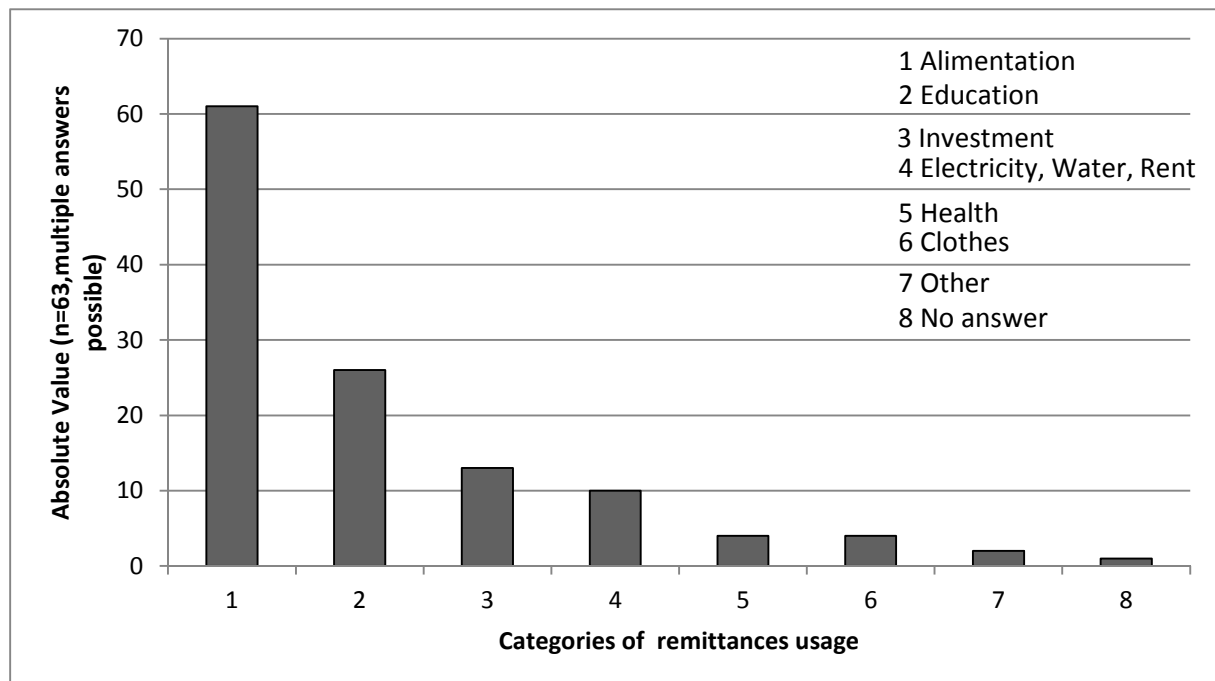


Figure 6-9: Use of the remittances (Enquiry & Graphic: P. Jung)

As shown in Figure 6-9 the greatest part of the remittances is used for alimentation. Considering the great percentage of household income which is used to buy food in Senegal, this is no surprise. According to Smith & Subandoro (2007) households spend on average 61% of their income on food in Senegal. In urban areas the average is slightly lower with 55%, compared to 66% in rural areas (p.84). Other regular expenses covered at least partly by remittances are education costs and payments of rent, electricity or water. One of the interview quotes cited before already showed how remittances are used to pay for education, in this case of a niece. In the following chapter two further examples for this kind of usage will be examined.

Only 13 migrants stated that the remittances are partly used for investment and here all but one invest in housing/land. Investment in housing does not only serve the improvement of living conditions, it is also a possibility to demonstrate the success of the migration. The following interview extract refers to the reputation as one reason for investment. According to the migrant all Senegalese who live abroad are preoccupied with the building of a house which would increase their reputation in the community.

J'étais parti pour voir la famille. En même temps comme le monsieur disait tout de suite: *Essayez d'investir un peu le peu que j'ai gagné ici. Construire sa maison, parce que ça c'est essentiel. Le Sénégalais, quand tu le sors, sa préoccupation d'abord c'est d'avoir une maison, qu'on dise: Voilà, ça s'appelle un Monsieur, c'est pour le monsieur qui a été dans un autre pays.* (LAbv)

Most other surveyed persons would like to invest, and also here the construction of a house is the priority, but they stated that their income is not sufficient. In this context and in general in regard to the characteristics of remittances by Senegalese it is important to consider the medium range of the migration and already described irregularity of revenues in Sal Rei. Although higher salaries, a stronger currency and more developed tourism sector permit higher revenues in comparison to Senegal, they are not that high to allow the migrants remit big amounts. In addition to limited revenues high costs of living hinder migrants to send bigger amounts or economize for greater investments.



The construction of a house often occurs over a long period of time. Investments in the construction are often sporadic as they depend on the migrant's ability to save money for this extra expense. The photo on the left shows an unfinished building, which a migrant builds for him and his family in Diourbel. According to the family he did not send money for the construction during

Photo 6-5: Construction of a house (Photo P. Jung, the last two years. Diourbel, October 2012)

Four people indicated that the money is used for health care expenses. Besides regular remittances, 53 out of the 63 migrants stated that they send money in the situation of crises. Here the distribution of the use of the remittances shows a different picture. Health problems and the related medical expenses, like medicine or hospital visits, are the main reasons and were mentioned by 47 migrants as a case of emergency in which they send money home. Furthermore, 11 Senegalese said that they send money in cases of food

insecurity. Other cases of emergency were connected to basic needs, named by six, and financial problems, named by five migrants. The described developments in communication technologies and fast transfer system of Western Union allow the migrants to react without great delay in cases of emergency, in which the family needs the financial support of the migrant fast.

Quand elle a problème, elle m'appelle et je cherche la solution. Oui, elle appelle, chaque fois. Elle dit que l'argent que j'ai envoyé n'est pas complet et si je peux envoyer un peu plus. [...] Si par exemple ma petite sœur a un problème, pour aller à l'hôpital. Et un petit frère, il faut que tu envoies, parce qu'elle compte sur toi. Et c'est moi, qui payé l'école pour mon petit frère. (SAbv)

The interview extract above is an example for interaction between the migrant and his family in the case of illness. The migrant tries to send some extra money, if someone needs to go to the hospital. As it was mentioned in the methodology, a distinction between regular remittances and those who are send in cases of emergency is, if at all, only partly possible. The analyses of the interviews show that remittances are often used for a variety of expenses at the same time, mainly to cover basic expenses of the household, above all for alimentation and electricity or water bills.

Bon, l'argent, ça le serve de manger et de payer peut-être l'électricité, le téléphone et l'eau. Parce qu'il paye pas le loyer. Donc, c'est pour les besoins alimentaire. C'est juste pour ça. (LAbv)

Cet argent est pour nourrir. Parce que souvent quand il envoie ça, donc, le papa achète 2 sacs de riz, 2 sacs de 50 kilo. Ça fait 40.000 les 2 sacs. [...] Aussi il achète 2 cartons d'huile. Ou il achète du lait, du beurre. On achète du chocolat. On achète ça. Tous qu'il faut. (OUda)

Mais en CFA presque on peut à 40.000, 50.000. Oui, il nous donne beaucoup d'argent, a 40.000, 50.000 jusque à 100.000 Franc. Là, comme ça, on peut acheter tous que nous voulons, de riz, d'huile, les cahiers pour les enfants et des habits pour tous les enfants. (BAda)

Households in Senegal confirmed that a high percentage of remittances is used to buy food. Remittances are especially used to buy the basic food rice. The impact of remittances on food security differs, which of course not only depends on the remittances, but also on other income sources of the household. When a household strongly depends on the money a migrant sends, the contribution of remittances for the alimentation is high. However, these households also suffer the most if they do not receive any or less money from the migrant.

Parfois il nous envoie pendant un mois et dix et quelque jours, plus d'un mois, parfois chaque 2 mois. C'est l'intervalle pour envoyer. Avant il envoyé presque que le mois finissait. Mais actuellement les tranches pendant les 2 mois. Le plus grand montant qu'il envoie c'est 100.000 CFA⁶⁷ ou 50.000 CFA. Il peut me mettre en rapport avec sa femme pour qu'elle me donne l'argent. Pour faire comme ça⁶⁸ et le reste est pour sa femme. Si on a, on mange, si on n'a pas, on reste comme ça. (FAdi)

According to the mother of a souvenir trader in Sal Rei the remittances which her son sends became less. While before her son sent money every month, she receives now only every two months with a maximum of roughly 75 EUR. In the case that the money is not sufficient, the family needs to reduce the number of meals. Also the second example shows how the discontinuation of remittances can lead to a reduction of meals. In the past the mother received money from her son, who works as a street vendor in Salvador, and from her son-in-law, who lives in Italy. Currently both do not send any money. While before the mother could buy one sack of rice every month, she needs now to calculate everyday how much money she has and buys a small amount of rice on a daily basis.

Avant il a envoyé, mais actuellement non. (Pendant) son premier voyage, c'était très bien, vraiment. Chaque fin de mois il m'a envoyé. Ça change beaucoup. [...] À chaque fin de mois j'ai acheté un sac de riz, mais maintenant je ne peux plus. J'achète au détail. (MAda)



The dependency of households will be further examined in the following chapter with two households as examples. Remittances are not only used to cover basic needs and cope with crises. 42 Senegalese, who participated in the questionnaire survey are also sending money for festivities. Muslims holidays like *Tabaski* are the most important cause to remit, stated by 38 migrants, followed by marriages (14) and baptisms (11). Remittances for *Tabaski* have a special significance for migrant and receiving relatives and were often emphasized by both.

Photo 6-6: A brother shows a ram paid by the migrant shortly before Tabaski (Photo: P. Jung, Dakar September 2012)

⁶⁷ 100.000 Franc CFA = 152.45 EUR

⁶⁸ While she said *Pour faire comme ça* she made a movement with their hand to her mouth as a sign for eating.

The following statements from interviews show exemplarily this significance and highlight the importance of remittances for Tabaski.

Pour la fête de Tabaski. Voilà, il on envoie beaucoup d'argent. Tabaski, oui, c'est plus fort, parce que c'est la fête national pour tous les Sénégalais. Chaque père de famille doit acheter un mouton, même le petit s'il y a il doit acheter. Ici nous tuons 5 moutons à cette maison. C'est pour cela qu'il envoie beaucoup d'argent au mois de fête de Tabaski. Là c'est la plus grande fête. (BA_{da})

La fête de la Tabaski, la fête de Tamkarit, la fête de Korité, tout ça je envoie d'argent à ma famille pour acheter un mouton, pour elle fait quelque chose avec la famille et ils sont tous contents et ensemble. C'est ça. (MOS_{bv})

Migrants often send larger amounts for Tabaski than they usually send. This demonstrates the cultural and social importance of remittances in addition to its economical. Like the building of a house, remittances are important for the reputation of the migrant. It was mentioned in this chapter that the impact of remittances on food security differs from household to household. The same applies for the importance of remittances as an income source and household's dependency on the money a migrant sends. In the next chapter two households are used as examples to describe these differences.

6.3.4 ONE HOUSEHOLD, TWO COUNTRIES

The significance of remittances varies from household to household. The higher the degree of income diversification, the lower is the dependency on one of them. In the following two households from the Dakar metropolitan area will serve as examples to demonstrate the different degree of dependency on remittances.

The first example is the family of Mbaye, whose migration career was described in chapter 6.1.4. As it was mentioned the family origins from the region of Fatick, from there the father migrated to Dakar sometime in the 1970s. His father married three women, but only one is still alive. The father, his wife and some of the children from his three marriages live together in Pikine, there the father bought land and built the two family houses. According to Mbaye's brother the household composes between 18 and 21 persons. It is impossible to indicate a precise number, but also would not make sense as the households size varies with the time. Mbaye's uncle lives in the same neighbourhood and it is common that members of one household went to the other to eat. The family can rely on a variety of income sources, which however are not constantly the same. Most of Mbaye's brothers work as craftsman, for example as mason or carpenter, but also without constant revenues. One brother who works

as a mason gets contracted by the CDE⁶⁹ for a defined period of time, for example for the construction of the airport of N'Djamena in Tchad, and after that stays some time without employment. Another brother works also as a mason, but mainly on small informal construction sites in Pikine. The father, who worked for SOTIBA⁷⁰, receives a small pension, but also does petty trade. One sister works in a hairdresser's shop and another one as tailor. Other family members also do some petty trade. The expenses of the household are divided between the family members or as Mbaye's brother expressed it: *Chaque personne qui gagne, il vient, donne ce tant.* (FOda)

Mbaye lives in Cape Verde since 2004 and returned three times to visit his family. His wife went to Boa Vista for the first time in 2009, but returned during her pregnancy to Senegal, before she moved again to Sal Rei in December 2011. Their only son stays with Mbaye's mother in Pikine. Mbaye sends every month about 50 EUR for the nutrition of his son to his parents. He also sends irregularly money for the rest of his family. Mbaye and one of his brothers also pay for the private school of one nephew, whose father died. According to both Mbaye and his brother the amount of the remittances diminished strongly since 2010, the year in which Mbaye had problems with his Italian employer and lost his work as painter. He currently works in a hotel and receives a salary of roughly 300 EUR.

Je travaille par contrat. On me paye 30.000 Escudo, 300 EUR. 300 EUR. Je paye ici 10.000 Escudo par mois, je paye l'eau avec la petite chose de déjeuner, cigarette, ça va prend 50 EUR. Ça me reste 150 EUR. De 150 EUR je téléphone avec mon fils, je donne à mon fils 50 EUR pour sa nourriture, ses vêtements. (MAbv)

His wife also receives a salary of 350 EUR, but it is not known if she also sends money to the son. Mbaye said that his wife does not know that she earns more than him. Furthermore two other family members migrated to Europe and are currently in France. One of them also sends occasionally remittances between 100 and 300 EUR. When asked about the importance of the money Mbaye sends, his brother answered that it is very important in situations of crises and referred to the obligation to help the family.

Ça a beaucoup d'utilement pour la famille. Ça aide beaucoup. Vraiment si la famille a besoin, automatiquement on le fait. Si un problème surgit, on le fait. Rien de problème comme ça, s'il garde quelque chose, il envoie et nous réglons le problème. Même ses oncles, qui sont ici, s'ils ont les problèmes, ils l'appellent. Nous les Africains, nous sommes une grande famille. Il y a des parents qui sont dans le village. Quand ils ont un problème, lorsque dans l'extérieur, il m'appelle pour débayer le problème. Tu es obligé de régler le problème aussi. (FOda)

⁶⁹ Entreprise Générale de Bâtiments et des Travaux Publics

⁷⁰ Société de Teinture, Blanchiment, Apretis et d'Impressions Africaines (SOTIBA-SIMPAFRIC)

The decline of the amount which Mbaye's sends, affects the household. It is a problem for the family if he does not send any money at all, but the many different incomes sources enables the household to cope better with the loss of revenues through remittances.

Oui, certainement. Ce serait un problème. On se débrouille toujours. Même lorsque les choses sont dur là-bas pour lui et qu'il ne peut pas envoyer. [...] Parfois si certain choses ne sont pas bouché, lui (le père) il est oublié de boucher, il est obligé de compléter ce que reste. Il contribue toujours. Lui aussi, il contribue toujours. Toute la famille contribue. (FOda)

The example of Mbaye's family shows how a high degree of income diversification can improve the households' capability to react to losses of income. Through the different income sources they are less dependent on the money Mbaye sends.

The second example, which will be examined here, is a household with a high dependency on the remittances from Cape Verde. It is the family of Demba, a thirty year old mason from Dakar, who migrated to Cape Verde in 2005. Demba is the oldest of eight children. His father died and his mother lives alone with Demba's three brothers and four sisters, who all still go to school, in the neighbourhood of Thiaroye. Demba's father was married to another wife, but this family lives in a different quarter of Dakar. During the boom years of the building industry in Boa Vista, Demba found plenty of work as a mason and as such contributed to the construction of many hotels and the airport. He is married with a Cape Verdean and has two daughters. At the moment of the fieldwork he was not working as a mason, which according to him is a consequence of the absence of construction sites in Boa Vista. He worked in a small shop in the centre of Barraca, which belongs to his wife and him. Dembas mother and the older siblings try to earn occasionally some money, but no one has a more or less constant income. They receive some support for the children from charity organisations, but they depend on the remittances in order to pay for the household's alimentation, the rent and school fees.

C'est important, parce que ma mère ne travaille pas. Moi, je suis un élève. Et compris mon frère, mes sœurs, nous ne faisons pratiquement rien à part des études. La somme, qu'il envoie, ça peut épauler un peu la famille dans diverses activités. Par exemple, j'ai vous dit que avec cette somme ma mère payer le loyer, l'électricité et chose pour les gosses. Tout ça a grâce de son appui. La famille dépend de cette somme. Notre survie de fois dépende de cette somme. Les a part ... par fois la charité, que les gens, les bonne volontaires, nous donnent pour les enfants (FABda)

His mother receives money from Demba, but both amount and frequency diminished during the last years. The following two interview extracts address the decline. The first is from an interview with Demba. He states that his current difficulties do not allow him to send

remittances every month. It must be considered that he also needs to take care of his own children in Boa Vista. The little grocery shop, he and his wife own, does not yield enough to support sufficiently two families at the same time.

Oui, si j'ai le bon travail, a chaque mois j'envoie à ma famille 10.000 Escudo⁷¹. Mais comme ce moment ici, il n'y a pas de travail, ce mois si je l'envoie 10.000, l'autre mois je ne peux pas envoyer. Je dois rester jusque à l'autre mois et j'envoie autre fois. [...] A chaque fois que j'ai l'argent, je vais donner à ma mère. Ma mère, elle fait avec cet argent, la nourriture de cette maison et le loyer et le paiement des études. (ABbv)

Il envoie. Mais ce temps il dit que le travail là-bas c'est un peu difficile. Raison pour laquelle ... il fait chaque mois qu'il envoie certaine somme. Mais maintenant reste deux mois sans envoyer. [...] Comme Maman disait. Il envoie 50.000 franc. Mais les dernier temps, il a envoyé de 30.000 franc, 20.000 franc. Jusque à présent rien. (FABda)

Also his brother and mother refer to Demba's difficult situation in Sal Rei and stated that his remittances declined and they did not receive anything during the last two month. If they do not receive money from Demba, the mother tries to borrow money from friends in order to cover the basic needs of the family.

Ecoute, des fois ma mère comme est la connaissance un peu dans cette localité, par exemple, elle peut aller chez un ami, emprunter une somme et cas elle recevra la somme de Demba, elle paye là. (FABda)

Si je n'envoie pas, elle va...un peu difficile c'est elle-même. Elle-même ne peut pas aller dire aux autres personnes ses besoins. Mais si je n'envoie pas cet argent, elle a besoin de faire ça. Elle est obligée de faire ça, demander d'autres personnes pour l'aider avec la nourriture, les études des enfants. Elle doit faire, parce qu'elle n'a pas aucun personne, qui elle soutient. Sauf moi, qui peut la soutenir. C'est pour ça que chaque fois que j'ai de l'argent, je dois l'envoyer. (ABbv)

According to Demba and his little brother borrowing is the only option if the family does not receive remittances. This case demonstrates on one side how remittances can improve the living situation of a household and families depend on them. On the other side it shows that remittances are often inconstant and therefore not a secure source of revenues, especially in regard to remittances from labour migrants in Cape Verde. They alone cannot guarantee the wellbeing of a household.

⁷¹ 10.000 CVE = 91 EUR

7. CONCLUSION

My research contributes to the understanding of migration processes between Senegal and Cape Verde, with a particular focus on the island Boa Vista. The focus was on decision making processes in connection with the emigration from Senegal and the choice of Cape Verde as destination, the connection between the situation of the migrants in Boa Vista and the flow of remittances. Furthermore the impact of the remittances on households' wellbeing in Senegal was examined. As expected, the results show a complex image of all three areas, which are connected with each other and therefore cannot be examined separated.

Difficult working conditions, lacking employment and income opportunities are relevant problems in Senegal, and are main motives for most migrants to leave their country. Economic problems can lead to food insecurity in a country where households often spend more than half of their income for food. Many households do not have sufficient revenue to buy enough food and to supply nutrition for its members. Emigration is one strategy to cope with those risks of food insecurity, as suggested by NELM and sustainable livelihood approaches. The success of this strategy however varies, as it is influenced by a variety of factors. Nevertheless, the improvement of the household's alimentation is another important motive for emigration. The result suggest that in addition to economic factors, cultural and social aspects play also an important role for the decision to migrate and *chercher la vie*, words used by many migrants, abroad. Household structures are related to the desire or obligation to support the family. Young men are obliged to support their parents. Migration can be both a means to fulfil or to escape this obligation. As some of the examined cases show, these two aspects do not necessarily exclude each other. A young Senegalese may emigrate in order to gain economic independence and to save some money, but at the same it is important for him to show respect to his parents by sending money. Although not often stated by the surveyed migrants, the aspect of economic independence may be more important as the results suggest. It is possible that the migrants preferred to present themselves rather as supporter of the family than as a person who searches for his own profit. In this context I argue, that especially the migration of young unmarried men to Boa Vista, is neither solely for individual income maximisation, nor solely a household decision to minimize risks, but rather a combination of both. The results also suggest that the decision to migrate is often taken by the migrant alone, and not by the household in contradiction to suggestions made by NELM or sustainable livelihood approaches. This seems unlikely considering family structures in Senegal, but was sometimes confirmed by statements of fathers who do not want their son to migrate. Further research is necessary to validate this finding.

The results show that a multitude of motives for emigration exist. The same applies to the reasons for choosing Cape Verde as destination. Employment opportunities are a main reason for the choice of destination. However, the results show that this includes also expected economic advantages of Cape Verde, which sometimes do not reflect the reality. Migrants are often disappointed and do not meet the conditions they expected. Of similar importance for the choice of destination is the political framework and financial costs of the migration. Senegal and Cape Verde are member states of ECOWAS and therefore part of a free circulation area covering fifteen countries. This has to be considered for the analysis of migration processes between the two countries and the results identify it as one of the main factors, which influences the choice of destination. Furthermore lower expenditures in comparison to the migration to Europe also impact strongly the decision. According to many migrants Cape Verde was their only option. As suggested by network approaches, the presence of relatives or friends at the destination influences the migration decisions. This can be confirmed for the migration to Boa Vista, where networks based on kinship are important for the transmission of information about conditions in Cape Verde. Furthermore, networks can resolve possible doubts and give the migrant the necessary confidence to risk the migration. Evidence for Cape Verde as an important transit point for the migration to Europe was not found. Although there are cases of migrants, who try the passage to Europe from Cape Verde, the results suggests that they are an exception. Despite the obvious differences between Cape Verde and other countries in West Africa and its character as an archipelago in the middle of the Atlantic, I argue that in the case of Senegalese migrants, immigration to Boa Vista is mostly a labour migration similar to other forms of intra-regional labour movement in West Africa.

Remittances are an important aspect of the migration and influence the lives of the migrants and their families. The results of this research are complex. The flow of remittances is strongly influenced by working conditions, more precisely by an irregularity of income, which shapes the life of many migrants. This applies especially for souvenir traders and workers in the informal sector. Revenues are often connected directly or indirectly to tourism with its seasonal fluctuation, and in many cases are not only irregular but also low. A great number of migrants receive a regular salary, but even in those cases income is limited. Irregularity and relatively low income combined with high living costs, have a strong impact on the flow of remittances. Although most migrants try to send money every month, the result of my fieldwork suggests that not only the amount but also the frequency varies. Furthermore, both migrants and family members stated that remittances declined since 2009/10. The flow of remittances is not solely influenced, be it in a positive or negative way, by economic aspects. The satisfaction of the migrants own desires and needs, but also social aspects for example the reputation of the migrant in his home community influences

the flow. Many see it as their obligation to send money and if they do not do so, they may be perceived as selfish or bad by their relatives. Parents and spouses are the main receivers of remittances, but also other relatives receive money. Remittances to persons outside the family are rare exceptions.

By far the greatest part of remittances is used for alimentation, which is considering both the small amount which most migrants send and the great share of the household income which is used to buy food in Senegal, no surprise. Furthermore, remittances are regularly used to cover expenses for education, housing or to pay electricity and water bills. Remittances can improve the food security of a household, however, fast conclusion or generalisations cannot be made about this relation. In this context the irregularity of income, which results in an irregularity of both frequency and amount of remittances must be considered. An increase of food security is difficult to achieve if the source of income, in that case the money migrants send, is itself not secure. If migrants send money to their families more or less frequently, it may improve food security. Moreover, other income sources have to be considered. The examples given in previous chapters show that households with a high diversification of income sources are able to cope better with losses of revenues in general and in this case more specific with the irregularity of remittances, which they receive from Cape Verde.

The results suggest that remittances are an important safety net in situation of crises, mostly related to illness. Migrants can act fast if relatives need money to cover medical bills or pay for medicine and transfer money via Western Union, which is also the most common form of sending money. Remittances have a specific significance in relation to Muslim holidays, above all for Tabaski. Migrants send larger amounts than normal for this occasion, which suggest that they are from high prestige. This shows again the social and cultural character of remittances, besides its economic. The construction of a house is also for many migrants in Boa Vista a desire and the main area of investment, but only a few are able to do so. Investment in housing serves not only the improvement of living conditions, but is also a way for the migrant to show his success and can lead to a good reputation in the community. In the literature section some aspects regarding remittances as promoter of economic development were described. The empirical data suggests that in the case of labour migration from Senegal to Boa Vista direct impacts of remittances on economic development, in form of investments in economic activities, are insignificant. A relative low income and the necessity to satisfy basic needs first, may impede investments. Regardless to this, positive economic effects of remittances cannot be excluded due to a possible increase in consumption and its accompanying indirect impacts, which may create income for non-migrant households or in general households who provide the migrant-households

with the goods and services. An analysis of these indirect effects was, however, not part of the research.

The investment in housing at the place of origin and the flow of remittances are two aspects which show how the life worlds of the migrants span across border and transnational spaces evolve. Migrants and relatives are regularly in contact with each other and different kinds of flows occur in this space. This includes not only remittances, but also the transmission of information in both directions, the importation of goods from Senegal, both for the tourism market and the Senegalese community. The presented study took place at a time of structural changes and provides an analysis of the current situation. Developments of migration processes between Senegal and Cape Verde and the flow of remittances are difficult to predict for the future, as they are influenced by a variety of factors that must be taken into consideration.

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VII. Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Philipp Jung

Questionnaire : Enquête auprès des immigrants au Cap-Vert

Localité : Date : No. : Sexe : féminine masculin

1. Migration

1.1	Nationalité	
1.2	Région d'origine/Département	
1.3	Dernière résidence avant d'arriver au Cap-Vert	
1.4	Point de départ de la migration / du voyage	
1.5	Date d'arrivée au Cap-Vert	
1.6	Lieu d'arrivée au Cap-Vert	
1.7	Résidence au Cap-Vert	
1.8	État Civil	
1.9	Âge	
1.10	Formation scolaire	
1.11	Profession	

1.12 Pourquoi avez-vous quitté l'endroit où vous habitiez auparavant ?

1.13 Pourquoi avez-vous choisi le Cap-Vert comme destination ?

1.14 Qui a pris la décision de votre migration ? (Réponses multiples possibles)

moi-même parents famille/femme autres ► 1.15 pas de réponse

1.15 Si « autres », veuillez spécifier ici :

1.16 Est-ce que quelqu'un de votre famille (femme/enfant(s)) est présentement au Cap-Vert ?

oui non ► 1.18 pas de réponse ► 1.18

1.17 Si « oui », veuillez spécifier ici?

1.18 Est-ce que c'était difficile d'immigrer au Cap-Vert ?

1.19 Est-ce que vous voulez retourner au Sénégal ?

oui non pas de réponse

1.20 Combien de temps voulez-vous rester au Cap-Vert ?

2. Travail

2.1 Est-ce que vous travaillez maintenant ?

oui non ► 2.3 pas de réponse ► 2.3

2.2 Quel travail faites-vous ?

2.3 Est-ce que vous avez travaillé autre chose avant ?

oui non ► 3.1 pas de réponse ► 3.1

2.4 Quel sorte de travail avez-vous faites au Cap-Vert ?

3. Transferts financiers

3.1 Envoyez-vous de l'argent à quelqu'un (dans votre lieu d'origine) ?

oui non ► Fin pas de réponse ► Fin

3.2 Si vous envoyez l'argent, à qui vous envoyez le ? (Réponses multiples possibles)

parent(s) femme frère(s) sœur(s) ami(s) autres ► 3.3 pas de réponse

3.3 Si « autres », veuillez spécifier ici :

3.4 Combien de fois par année envoyez-vous de l'argent ?

1x par mois tous les 2-3 mois tous les 6 mois 1x par année irrégulier ► 3.5
 autre ► 3.5 pas de réponse

3.5 Si « autres » ou « irrégulier », veuillez spécifier ici :

3.6 Combien de l'argent vous envoyez chaque fois ?

0-25 Euro (2700 cve) 26 – 50 Euro (5500cve) 51 – 75 Euro (8260cve) 76 - 100 Euro
(11026cve) 101 – 150 Euro (16540cve) plus de 150 Euro divers ► 3.7 pas de réponse

3.7 Si « divers » veuillez spécifier ici pourquoi et comment :

3.8 Comment envoyez-vous cet argent ?

Western Union Hawala Virement bancaire personne privée autre ► 3.9
pas de réponse

3.9 Si « autres », veuillez spécifier ici :

3.10 Avez-vous eu des problèmes avec l'envoi de l'argent ?

oui non ► 3.12 pas de réponse ► 3.12

3.11 Si « oui », veuillez spécifier ici ?

3.12 Comment cet argent est utilisé ? (Réponses multiples possibles)

alimentation éducation/formation scolaire santé habitation investissement ►
3.13 autre chose ► 3.14 pas de réponse

3.13 Si « investissement », veuillez spécifier ici :

3.14 Si « autres », veuillez spécifier ici :

**3.15 Est-ce que vous envoyez de l'argent pour occasions spécial ?
(Réponses multiples possibles)**

oui non ► 3.18

3.16 Si « oui », veuillez spécifier ici pour quelles occasions :

mariage naissance baptême enterrement autre ► 3.17 pas de réponse

3.17 Si « autres », veuillez spécifier ici :

**3.18 Est-ce que vous envoyez de l'argent si votre famille est en temps de
crise au Sénégal ?**

oui non ► 3.20 pas de réponse ► 3.20

3.19 Si « oui », veuillez spécifier ici ?

**3.20 Est-ce que le montant d'argent que vous avez envoyé changeait
pendant les dernières années ?**

oui non ► 3.22 pas de réponse ► 3.22

3.21 Si « oui », veuillez spécifier ici pourquoi et comment :

3.22 Combien gagnez-vous ici par mois ?

Merci beaucoup

VIII. Appendix 2: List of interviewees

Interviewee	Date/Year	Place where the interview was conducted	Region of origin
ABbv	30.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Dakar
BAda	22.09.2012	Dakar, Senegal	Dakar
DDbv	29.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Dakar
FAdi	02.10.2012	Diourbel, Senegal	Diourbel
FABda	26.09.2012	Dakar, Senegal	Dakar
FOda	24.09.2012	Dakar, Senegal	Dakar
IBbv	30.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Diourbel
ILbv	31.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Kaolack
LAbv	01.06.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Ziguinchor
MUbv	24.07.2009	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Diourbel
MAbv	01.08 & 03.08.2009 28.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Dakar
MAda	29.09.2012	Dakar, Senegal	unknown
MAGbv	30.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Dakar
MANbv	24.07.2009	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Thiès
MBbv	22.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Diourbel
MObv	01.06.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Kolda
NAbv	31.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Thiès
MOSbv	02.06.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Diourbel
OUda	15.10.2012	Dakar, Senegal	Dakar
SAbv	31.05.2012	Boa Vista, Cape Verde	Fatick
TAdi	04.10.2012	Diourbel, Senegal	Kaolack

IX. Appendix 3: Foreign population by continent or country of nationality - RGPH 2010

CONTINENTE/PAIS	EFFECTIVO	%
AFRICA	10.306	71,7
- CEDEAO	8.783	61,1
GUINE-BISSAU	5.544	38,6
SENEGAL	1.634	11,4
NIGERIA	740	5,1
GUINE-CONAKRY	456	3,2
OUTROS CEDEAO	409	2,8
- PALOP, SEM G-B	1.209	8,4
SAO TOME E PRINCIPE	772	5,4
ANGOLA	409	2,8
MOCAMBIQUE	28	0,2
- OUTROS AFRICA	314	2,2
AMERICA	1.100	7,7
ESTADOS-UNIDOS	388	2,7
BRASIL	316	2,2
ANTILHAS HOLANDESAS	96	0,7
CUBA	95	0,7
ILHAS VIRGENS AMERICANAS	78	0,5
ILHAS MENORES LONGINQUAS (EUA)	32	0,2
OUTROS AMERICA	95	0,7
ASIA	498	3,5
EUROPA	2.446	17
PORTUGAL	1.281	8,9
ITALIA	451	3,1
FRANCA	223	1,6
ESPANHA	158	1,1
ALEMANHA	75	0,5
REINO UNIDO	57	0,4
OUTROS EUROPA	201	1,4
OCEANIA	23	0,2
TOTAL	14.373	100

Source: INE, RGPH 2010

X. Appendix 4: Total population, total foreign population and percentage of the foreign population by island - RGPH 2010

Ilha	Efectivo	Estangeiros	% Estrangeiros
Santo Antão	43915	353	0,8
S. Vicente	76107	1231	1,6
S. Nicolau	12817	181	1,4
Sal	25765	2650	10,3
Boavista	9162	1733	18,9
Maio	6952	142	2,0
Santiago	273919	7667	2,8
Fogo	37051	342	0,9
Brava	5995	74	1,2
Total	491683	14373	2,9

Source: INE, RGPH 2010

Curriculum Vitae

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FORMAÇÃO

- 02/2011 – 07/2013** **ISCTE - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa – Portugal**
Mestrado em Estudos Africanos - Estado, Política e Relações Internacionais.
- 10/2006 – 11/2009** **Universidade Bayreuth – Alemanha**
Bacharelado em African Development Studies in Geography
Disciplina secundária: Línguas (Suaíli, Português)
Trabalho final: Die Bedeutung von Netzwerken für die Migration auf die Kapverdischen Inseln am Beispiel der Insel Boa Vista.

EXPERIÊNCIA PROFESSIONAL

- 07/2011 – 03/2013** **Bolsista no projeto de investigação “Sociedades africanas face a dinâmicas globais: turbulências entre intervenções externas, migrações e insegurança alimentar”, Centro de Estudos Africanos (CEA/ISCTE), Portugal..**
- 03/2010 – 08/2010** **Estágio Sênior na GTZ Brasil, Escritório da GTZ – Agência Alemã de Cooperação Técnica (hoje GIZ), Brasília.**
- 08/2004 – 02/2005** **Trabalho voluntário / Professor de Inglês, Escola de Professores do Futuro/ ADPP em Chimoio (Moçambique).**

LÍNGUAS & INFORMÁTICA

- Línguas** Alemão (língua maternal), Português (Fluente), Inglês (Fluente), Francês (Avançado), Suaíli (Básico)
- Informática** Microsoft Office, Adobe Illustrator, ArcGIS, WaveLab

CONFERÊNCIAS

5th European Conference on African Studies (ECAS 2013)

Migration decisions, remittances and their usage in the context of labour migration from Senegal to Cape Verde, Painel 63 – When food is short: rural and urban household strategies sustaining

livelihoods; ISCTE-IUL, Lisboa, 27-29 de Juno 2013.

8° Congresso Ibérico de Estudos Africanos (CIEA8)

The interaction between migration & development: a review of literature, Painel 9 – Peasants on the move. African migration and peasant population under global conditions; UAM, Madrid, 14-16 de Juno 2012.

1° Encontro de Mestrados em Estudos Africanos (EMEA20)

The dynamics of migration and their impact on the country of origin: A case study of Senegalese labour migrants on the Cape Verdean island Boa Vista and their places of origin, ISCTE-IUL, Lisboa, 26-27 de Outubro 2012