

Going in Circles?



An Intergenerational Approach to Circular Migration Between
the Netherlands and Cape Verde.

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**Faculty of Spatial Sciences
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Groningen, September 2005

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Photo front page: Cape Verdean Marketplace (Carlos Casteleira, 1997-98)

Abstract

Linking societies of origin and settlement together, the transnational community, is conceptualised as a social field that crosses geographic, cultural and political borders (Basch *et al*, 1992). A way of forging and maintaining transnational ties is through circular migration. Circular migrants are migrants who return to their country of origin, once or many times over a period of time (O'Neill 2003). A number of differences exist in the circular migration movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde of first and second generation Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands. Analyzing these differences can serve as a tool indicating the durability of transnational ties. Fourteen semi-structured open ended interviews, equally divided over seven first and seven second generation respondents, serves as the basis to analyse the differences in circular migration movements of first and second generation Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands.

Participating in activities that require a simultaneous presence in both the country of origin and the country of settlement is exceptional. Visiting family and enjoying a holiday are the most important activities both first and second generation respondents engage in while visiting Cape Verde. The first generation holds a stronger desire to return to Cape Verde permanently while their associations of Cape Verde centre around notions of belonging and origin. Second generation associations' centre around notions of a different way of life as opposed to elements of life in the Netherlands. Cape Verde is seen as a relaxed place with more openness in social contacts. Both the first and second generation share the ideal of living part of the year in the Netherlands and part of the year in Cape Verde. To what extent this ideal is realised is questionable. Restrictive immigration policies can lead to a situation wherein the maintenance of transnational ties through circular migration becomes a second and subsequent generation task. It is questionable how, and on what basis transnational ties will be maintained in the near future.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Five hundred Kilometres out of the coast of Senegal, West Africa, lies the republic of Cape Verde. This former Portuguese colony exists of nine inhabited, and a number of smaller uninhabited islands. In the heyday of maritime trade Cape Verde served as an important sea station by providing ships with fresh supplies and functioning as a trade hub. Over the centuries the climatic influence of the Sahel has led to a number of droughts. Infused by desertification and soil erosion, the islands arable land comprises out of barely ten percent while over eighty percent of the countries food needs to be imported (IMF 2005). The harsh natural environment and lack of economic opportunities has pushed many to migrate. Today large diaspora communities are found in Boston, Lisbon and Rotterdam, in fact the Cape Verdean diaspora population outnumbers Cape Verde's resident population.

In the early nineteen sixties Cape Verde's migration flow joined the Europe bound labour migration wave where jobs were overtly available in the flourishing post-war economy. Initially Lisbon was the primary destination from where many Cape Verdeans travelled onwards to northern Europe, especially the Harbour City of Rotterdam (Carling, March 2002). Today the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands accounts for 20.000 individuals (CBS 2005). For the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands, however, Cape Verde has not vanished under the horizon. Relationships with the islands are maintained in numerous ways.

The transnational community is conceptualised as a social field that crosses geographic, cultural and political borders strengthening co-operation between sending and receiving countries. This social field is build through a process of transnationalism in which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc Szanton 1992). In this study the transnational ties between individual Cape Verdean migrants in the Netherlands and Cape Verde are investigated. This will be done by focussing on the migratory movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde by first and second generation Cape Verdeans living in the Netherlands. These migratory movements are labelled as circular migration.

Circular migrants are defined as: 'migrants who return to their sending country, once or many times over a period of time' (O'Neill, 2003). Analysing intergenerational changes in circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde can serve as a tool to indicate the durability of transnational ties.



Map 1 The Cape Verdean Isles

1.2 Main research questions

The main *objective* of the thesis is to gain insight into intergenerational differences in the circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde of Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands. Circular migration is the primary departure point and will be at the centre of the analysis, while a range of related concepts serve to broaden the analytical perspective. To realise the research objective the following research *question* is formulated:

What are the differences between the circular migration movements of first and second generation Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands?

As an analytical result from the study, suggestions and further questions can be derived about the durability of the transnational community.

In order to tackle the main research question a number of sub-questions are formulated to approach the subject matter from a number of different angles. With

the exception of the first sub-question, all other questions will focus on intergenerational differences. The following sub-questions are formulated.

What constraints and opportunities exist in the circular migration movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde?

A number of influences may provide migrants with opportunities and constraints in their movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. Policies created by involved authorities can stimulate or prevent individual migrants in returning to Cape Verde. Besides the legislative context other opportunities and constraints may influence circular migration, e.g. the migrant's financial situation or transport possibilities.

What is the scale of circular migration?

This sub-question will look into the level of circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. This will be done by questioning how often individual migrants have been to Cape Verde. Besides the number of visits, the interval between visits and the time spent in Cape Verde is of interest. All of these questions will lead to an indication of the scale of circular migration.

What activities do circular migrants engage in when they are in Cape Verde?

This question will delve into the activities of the migrants during their visits to Cape Verde. What do they do in Cape Verde? Where do they stay? Is the reason for visiting Cape Verde professional, familial or something else?

By questioning the activities of the circular migrants it can become clear if first and second generation migrants visit Cape Verde for different reasons.

What is the personal profile of the circular migrant?

In this sub-question the profile of the interview respondents will be related to e.g. their activities in Cape Verde and the number of times they have been to the islands. How does for instance the migrant's occupation relate to their level of circular migration and the activities they engage in on the Cape Verdean isles?

What meaning do the migrants ascribe to Cape Verde?

By questioning the meaning interview respondents ascribe to Cape Verde it can

become clear what underlying motivations migrants have to circulate between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. To gain insight in the attachment first and second generation respondents experience with Cape Verde it will be questioned what associations they have with the islands and if they see it as a serious option to live on the islands permanently.

The five described sub-questions are designed to brake up the main research question into particles that individually contribute to the analysis of the main question from a different angle. An explanation of how the research questions are approached will help to understand the eventual outcome of the questions. The following paragraphs will outline the research methodology.

1.3 Methodology

In order to ground the subject matter in the running academic discussion on the concepts of transnationalism and circular migration, a selection of ideas, observations and where possible theories was made by conducting a *literature study*. The literature study will serve as the basis of the second chapter of the thesis.

A first round of interviews was conducted to provide a general picture of the situation of the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands and more specifically their migratory movements between Cape Verde and the Netherlands. Primary data was collected through a number of semi-structured *open-ended interviews* (N=14). The choice to use interviews as a tool in the collection of primary data is based on the notion that interviews give the opportunity to delve into questions related to the meaning respondents ascribe to phenomena. As Carling (Jan. 2002) states: 'by addressing the meanings of migration, it is often possible to make better sense of the more tangible variables traditionally employed in migration studies'.

Interview respondents were contacted in several ways. A number of interviewees came forward by using informants mentioned in studies about the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands. Two interviewees were brought forward by Jorgen Carling, Norwegian researcher specialised in Cape Verde and Transnationalism. Avanco, a foundation that serves as an intermediary between the city of Rotterdam and the Cape Verdean community, provided a contact list with Cape Verdean contacts. From this list individuals were contacted randomly, when respondents were willing to participate in an interview an appointment was made for a follow up

meeting. Finally, interviewees were asked to come forward with possible new interview respondents. Thus seven first and seven second generation migrants were interviewed. One respondent resides in Delfzijl, a town in the north of the Netherlands, while all other respondents reside in the city of Rotterdam.

The different ways in which respondents were selected reduced the chance of interviewing a fixed circle of respondents. However, the fact that most contacts came forward through an institutional or research contact list indicates that most of the interviewees are proactive to some extent and/or familiar with participating in a research project. A bias in the selection of interviewees is the result, reflected in the fact that none of the interviewees is unemployed.

For privacy reasons the interviewee's names have been changed, while their personal profiles are made unrecognizable. A number of interview respondents profile have not been changed, in these cases alternations would mean leaving out crucial details. These respondents were asked permission to print their profiles and quotes before the final editing of the thesis took place.

Part of the information provided in chapter three would have been hard to come by without the access granted by a traineeship at the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in The Hague. Before the thesis final editing took place, informants granted permission to be named.

1.4 Definitions

A number of concepts used throughout the report are defined as follows:

Circular Migrant: Migrants who return to their sending country, once or many times over a period of time (O'Neill, 2003)

Country of Origin: The country the migrant was born and raised in and lived in for a period of time before migrating to the country of settlement. For a number of second generation respondents the country of origin refers to the country their parents where born and raised in and lived in for a period of time. In this thesis the country of origin is usually referred to as Cape Verde or the Cape Verdean isles.

Country of Settlement: The country where the migrant settles, permanently or for a (undefined) period of time, after the migrant leaves the country of origin. In this thesis the country of settlement is usually referred to as the Netherlands. Often references are made to the city most of the Cape Verdean community resides in, Rotterdam, instead of referring to the country of settlement or the Netherlands.

First Generation Migrants: Individuals who were born in Cape Verde and migrated to the Netherlands after they were at least twelve years of age.

Second generation Migrants: Individuals who were born in Cape Verde and migrated to the Netherlands before they were twelve years of age or individuals who were born in the Netherlands from first generation Cape Verdean migrants.

Concepts of transnationalism and circular migration will be discussed in chapter two.

1.5 Readers Guide

The thesis is split up in five chapters. *Chapter two* describes the thesis theoretical framework. The concepts of transnationalism and circular migration are discussed. Important observations and where possible theories about circular migration and transnationalism are brought forward. Provided with a theoretical context, *Chapter three* starts with a short description of the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands. Constraints and opportunities influencing circular movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde are discussed as well as the scale of circular migration. In *chapter four* the profiles and activities of the migrants are discussed as well as the meaning they address to Cape Verde. Interviewee's citations are used as a manner of highlighting observations. *Chapter five* puts the main research findings into focus. Conclusions derived from each sub-question will lead to answering the main research question: *What are the differences between the circular migration of first and second generation Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands?* A specific answer related to the case of Cape Verde will be abstracted into more general conclusions and recommendations for further research.

Annex 1 is an overview of all respondents' personal profiles. Specifically while reading chapter four the profiles contribute in providing the reader with an idea of the person behind a specific quote or more general the people behind the general observations and analysis.

Chapter 2 Circular Migration and Transnationalism Explained

Chapter two provides a discussion on the thesis main concepts of transnationalism and circular migration. Ideas, observations, citations and theories of circular migration and transnationalism are brought forward and discussed.

2.1 Transnationalism

'When migrants settle into a new society, the world they came from does not vanish under the horizon. Relationships between the migrant and the country of origin do not cease to exist but change through time and take on different forms through distance. Thus something new comes into existence.' (Meer v.d., 2004)

Over the last decade an extensive literature has been produced on concepts as 'transnationalism', 'the transnational community' and 'transmigrants' (e.g. Cohen and Vertovec (ed.) 1999; Portes 1997, 1999; Levitt 2004). Although no consensus exists on the conceptualisation of the ideas it is clear that they are closely related to theories of international migration. Two of these theories, the new economics of migration and the social network theory, will be briefly addressed to shed some light on the mechanisms that laid the basis for the emergence of relationships across national and cultural borders.

The new economics of migration theory takes the household, and not the individual migrant, as level of analysis. From within the household the decision is made to send one or a number of members to work outside the local economy. As seen from the household-level the investment of labour in a foreign economy is a way of risk diversification. By diversifying the family income (unforeseen) constraints within the local economy can be challenged by remittances from family members outside the local economy (Massey *et al*, 1993). The new economics of migration theory implies that family members that stay behind and those that migrate stay in close contact with each other thus realising a relationship across national borders. In time the transfer of goods and capital (remittances) can stimulate other families to invest labour in a foreign economy. The reasoning behind this mechanism is that the choice to migrate does not only stem from the desire to improve the household income but is also rooted in the wish to improve the income compared to other households. The

end result can be local migration economies that rely on remittances from family members working in a foreign country (Massey, 1999). This way extensive transnational networks come into existence.

Another theory with clear implications for the realisation of the transnational community is the social network theory. Social network theory analysis the relationships between migrants in migrant communities and between the migrant communities and the country of origin. Networks are a form of social capital which possible new migrants can use to gain access to a job in a foreign economy. Through network relations the cost and risk of migrating is diminished resulting in a rise in migration, leading to a thickening of the network and once again to an increase in migration (Massey *et al* 1993). A direct implication of the social network theory is that relationships are forged between migrants and possible future migrants. Through telephone, email and mail migrants and non-migrants keep each other informed on each others situation, resulting in networks that cross national and cultural borders.

The difference between the social network theory and the new economics of migration theory is that the latter has a strong focus on why migration takes place, while the social networks theory has a stronger focus on how migration takes place. Another difference is that the new economics of migration theory has a stronger focus on a specific relational entity, namely the household. The result of both theories is a situation wherein migrants and non-migrants form and maintain relationships across national borders. In the early nineties these cross national relationships are labelled as 'transnational'.

In 1992 the anthropologists Basch, Glick Schiller, and Blanc Szanton first gave form to the concept of transnationalism. Transnationalism is defined as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement (Basch *et al* 1992). Immigrants that forge such social fields are called transmigrants. The adjective 'trans' is added to emphasize that the processes of transnationalism occur because many of the migrant's social relations cross geographic, cultural and political borders. Between the migrant communities and the country of origin, relationships and contact take place through internet, phone, mail and migratory movements. One of the essential elements as laid out by Basch *et al* (1992) is the multiplicity of involvements that the

transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. The relationships transmigrants develop are familial, economic, organizational, religious and political.

According to Alejandro Portes (1997) immigrant entrepreneurship is the driving force behind the development of the transnational community. Portes opens his 1997 essay 'Globalisation from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities' with the observation that contemporary migration is driven by twin forces; the labour needs of the first world economies, especially for low wage labour, and the penetration of peripheral areas by the productive investment, consumption standards, and popular culture of the advanced societies. Rooted in capitalist expansion countries in the North pull while the South holds the greatest intensity of push- factors. Relying on social networks individuals take a chance in migrating hoping to find some sort of economic security. Out of this group of migrant's a number of individuals will try to become self employed, these immigrant entrepreneurs often depend entirely on their social capital. The web of social ties that make the immigrant entrepreneurs activities possible expands and thickens in a cumulative process. This cumulative growth of networks and firms grounded simultaneously in two countries eventually leads to a qualitatively distinct phenomenon resulting in a situation wherein: '... increasing number of people lead dual lives. Members are at least bilingual, move easily between different cultures, frequently maintain homes in two countries, and pursue economic, political, and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both' (Portes 1997). An important observation by Portes is that not all immigrants are involved in transnational activities and not everyone in the involved countries is affected by them. A number of studies challenged the initial view of 'transnationalism from below' by pointing out that nation-states co-opt in the realisation of transnational linkages by offering dual citizenship and implementing programmes aimed at strengthening the ties with migrant communities abroad (Desipio and Pantoja, 2004). This attitude towards emigrant communities is driven by the need to secure, increase, and sustain remittance and tourist income from abroad.

For a number of years the concept of transnationalism was used for a multitude of studies and articles, becoming fashionable, without any clarity about the substance or validity of the concept and lacking a well defined theoretical frame (Cohen and Vertovec (ed.) 1999). Van Amersfoort (2003) raises the question if it is legitimate to

speak of new forms of migration and new types of migrants. According to Levitt (2004) transnational migration is not new: 'In the early part of the 1900s, European immigrants also returned to live in their home countries or remained active in the political and economic affairs of their homelands from their posts in America' (Levitt 2004). However, Levitt continues, there is reason to assume that migrants of the late 20th and early 21st century are in quite a different situation. Communication through e.g. phone and internet and the accessibility to new means of transport have made it possible for migrants to easily sustain relationships with family, friends and business or formal contacts in their country of origin or migrant communities in other countries.

In a thematic number of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, focused on the transnational community, a number of directions for further research into transnationalism and the transnational community are set out (Portes *et al*, 1999). In the introductory article Portes, Guarnizo and Landholt (1999) bring the collective forward as the main analytical entity, individuals are interesting concerning their relation with the collective, while the institutional dimension is indispensable to generate a certain level of continuity. Besides the analytical entity a diversification is made in the activities the transnational entity engages in (economic, political or cultural) and the direction, from the bottom up (individual migrant) or top down (institutions).

In the first years of the new millennium questions were raised about the durability of the phenomena. A study on second generation Tongans in Australia suggested that the transnational ties with Tonga are diminishing (Lee 2004). These conclusions were based on observations that a sharp decline exists in the second generation participation in the sending of remittances to the Tonga. Most of the authors in a collection of studies on the transnational lives of the second generation in the United States agree that only a small minority is involved in transnational activities (Levitt, Waters 2002). Ruben Gowricharn (2004) focused on the second generation Hindustani in the Netherlands to question the durability of transnational ties. He points out that second generation ties with their parents homeland may decline but that new transnational relationships come into existence. Due to changes in technological, economic, social and cultural circumstances the second generation may seek different ways of forging and maintaining ties which are less focused on the parent's homeland and more on communities in other parts of the world with a shared background (Gowricharn 2004).

2.2 Circular Migration

'...it has now become a reality that circular, repeat, recurrent, revolving door, multiple, frequent, repetitive, intermittent, seasonal, sojourning, cyclical, recycling, chronic or shuttling migration is a salient trait of migration.'

(Constant and Zimmerman 2003)

The above quote indicates there are numerous labels referring to the concept of circular migration. The following paragraphs will highlight a number of ideas and applications of the concept starting with some observations of traditional forms of circular migration.

Circular migration is certainly not a new phenomenon. Traditional forms of circulation have been passed down for centuries among some of the peoples of e.g. Africa and Australia.

In Africa the circular patterns of pastoralism are linked to the rhythm of the seasons. The repetitive movements between wet and dry areas are determined by the rainy seasons (Stock 1995). Another example of a traditional form of circulation is found among the Aborigines in Australia. Circuits of migration exist between different places, wherein these places reflect different aspects of the life pattern of the indigenous Australians. Over relatively short distances a network is formed between the locations of kin, places with specific traditional associations with the land, seasonal or short term employment opportunities and the location of public and community services (Altman 1987). These patterns of circulation have stood through the erosion of the clan system and state policies aimed at resettling families.

Besides being a salient trade of the living experience of traditional cultures, circular migration was also an important feature of the 19th century European urbanisation. Urbanisation is often described as consisting of permanent moves from rural to urban areas. Net migration figures, showing a sharp rise in the population of urban areas and a decline in rural areas, hide the fact that circulation between the country and the city was quite common in 19th century Europe (Boyle *et. al.*, 1998).

Today rural-urban circular migration is common in many parts of the developing world. Urban dwellers tend to seek out employment opportunities in the city for a certain time, month's maybe years, but remain loyal to a rural home. (Boyle *et. al.*

1998). This phenomenon holds a counterpart on an international level where an extensive circular migration exists between developing and developed countries primarily driven by economic reasons, e.g. temporary employment. For many Mexican migrants recurrent movements back and forth across the United States border form a common strategy (Constant and Zimmerman 2003).

Constant and Zimmermman (2003) make a distinction between return migration, which is viewed as a one time event, and circular migration which is a way of optimising or re-optimising one's economic, social and personal situation (Constant and Zimmerman 2003). Circular migration is seen as a way of taking advantage of opportunities as they appear in both the host and home country while it reduces the risks of a long term commitment. Being multiple movers' circular migrants build a certain location-specific knowledge reducing search, relocation and psychic costs. From the point of view of the nation state circular migration is seen as beneficial since it makes it possible for host countries to react to labour market conditions. However, Constant and Zimmerman's study show how some state policies can be counter productive. A decline in return migration among guest workers in Germany since the mid-seventies was caused by tighter mobility constraints. Because of greater difficulties in re-entering many migrants decided to stay in Germany instead of returning to their country of origin or circulating between two countries.

O' Neill distinguishes between circular migration and transnational migration. Transnational migrants are 'migrants who move to migrant communities in one or more receiving countries while maintaining strong social, business, and political ties to the sending country'; circular migrants are defined as 'migrants who return to their sending country, once or many times over a period of time'(O'Neill, 2003). O'Neill continues with the observation that these types of migration do not apply to all immigrant groups. According to O'Neill these 'new paradigms of migration' hold a potential for the development of the country of origin. The country of origin can benefit from the financial, social and human capital migrants gained abroad. A precondition is that migrants maintain strong ties with the country of origin and are willing to return. Although O'Neill distinguishes circular migration from transnational migration, circular migration remains an important aspect of transnationalism. Movements between the country of origin and the country of settlement are a way of maintaining and forging transnational ties. An entrepreneur in for example clothing

may be a frequent flyer between his country of origin and his country of settlement. In his country of origin the entrepreneur can be in search of cheap suppliers of clothing materials which he can sell through his network in the country of settlement. For the entrepreneur circular migration is a way of maintaining and expanding his (transnational) network. In return an increase in the level of transnational ties can lead to an increase in movements between the country of origin and the country of settlement, this way the concepts reinforce each other.

Both O'Neill and Constant and Zimmerman's views on circular migration are primarily from a functional perspective. The difference being that Constant and Zimmerman focus on (economic) opportunities in both the country of settlement and the country of origin while O'Neill focuses on the developmental potential of the circular migrant for the country of origin. Left out by both studies, however, is the meaning individual migrant's ascribe to place. For instance; the urge to contribute to the development of the country of origin is heavily shaped by the meaning the migrant ascribes to the country of origin. It is the constructivist approach that recognizes that meaning is something which is culturally constructed (i.e. brought into existence) in the midst of interrelationships that occur between different people (Holloway and Hubbard 2001). Shared ways of looking at places are represented through a shared system of meaning, expressed through e.g. speech, behaviour, symbols and rituals. To make better sense of the functional approach towards circular migration it is of importance to look into the meaning individual migrant's ascribe to place and how such meanings are socially constructed and due to change over time.

In the forgoing paragraphs it is made clear that circular migration is no new phenomena, traditional forms of circulation have existed for centuries while circulation was an important characteristic of the 19th century European urbanisation process. Nowadays, rural - urban circulation is still a reality in parts of the developing world. On an international level circulation takes place between developed and developing countries. The migratory movements between the country of settlement and the country of origin are a way of forging and maintaining transnational ties.

Social network and new economics of migration theory show how communities come into existence that cross national borders. In the early 1990's processes through which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations linking together

their societies of origin and settlement, became known as transnationalism (Basch, et. al. 1992) Immigrants involved in transnational activities are labelled as transmigrants, while their activities give rise to transnational social fields or a transnational community. Discussions on the subject question the driving forces of transnationalism, bottom up or top down, the level of involvement, and the legitimacy of referring to a new form of migration and migrants. Over the last years questions are raised about the durability of the phenomena, often studied by focusing on the involvement of the second generation in transnational activities. Focusing on intergenerational differences in circular migration can serve as an analytical instrument in investigating the durability of transnational ties. An approach that delves into questions of meaning can help to gain insight into the more tangible variables of circular migration.

Chapter 3 Circulation between Rotterdam and Cape Verde

Chapter three will serve to provide some background information on the main target group, the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands, and their migratory movements between Cape Verde and the Netherlands. A short profile of the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands is followed by an analysis of opportunities and restrictions and the scale of circular migration.

3.1 The Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands

The Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands accounts for 19.666 individuals, from which 14.983 live in Rotterdam (see table 1). Due to the specific migration history (unskilled labour) the educational level of first generation Cape Verdeans is relatively low. The educational level of the second generation is improving and comparable to other ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. In the secondary school system an overrepresentation exist in the lower secondary professional education (VMBO), in 2001 eight per cent of students made their way into higher education (HBO or University) compared to 37 % of the Dutch native inhabitants (ISEO / COS 2003). According to rough estimates several hundred Cape Verdeans are attending higher education in Rotterdam.

Cape Verdeans position on the labour market is relatively good in comparison to other ethnic minorities. In 2002 twelve per cent of Cape Verdeans were unemployed compared to seven per cent of native Dutch inhabitants. Most of the Cape Verdeans

<i>Age</i>		<i>Generation</i>	
0-14	3.583	First Generation	8.881
15-34	3.894	Second Generation	6.102
35-44	3.650		
45-64	3.262		
65+	594		
	14.983		14.983

Table 1, Cape Verdean population in Rotterdam, age and generation¹ 01 – 01 - 04

¹ CBS definition of 2nd Generation: Person is born in the Netherlands, at least one parent is born outside the Netherlands

work as employees. The level of entrepreneurship is relatively low when compared to other ethnic minorities. Cape Verdeans take up five per cent of the Rotterdam ethnic minorities while the level of ethnic entrepreneurship is three per cent (ISEO / COS 2003). It is striking that a Dutch based website by and for 'cabo-minded'² people activated in early June 2005, accounted for over 800 active members by the end of August 2005. The greater part of the websites active members consists of second generation Cape Verdeans.

The Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands is involved in a number of transnational activities. On a yearly base an average amount of ten million Euros is sent to Cape Verde from the Netherlands (estimate Carling, J. in Meer v.d. J., 2004). A lot of this money is invested in construction work to serve the migrant's ideal of working for a number of years, build a house on Cape Verde with savings and eventually return at old age. The sending of remittances is typically a first generation phenomenon. The wish to contribute to the development of Cape Verde, to do 'something', is reflected in the number of development co-operation activities. Huub Severiens of COS Rijnmond & Midden Holland, centre for international co-operation, mentions that there are at least 20 to 25 initiatives for developmental co-operation initiated from within the Cape Verdean community. First generation activities are often localised around the community of origin while this is not necessarily the case for the second generation.

According to Severiens the second generation holds more distance which makes it possible to operate on a more structural level. First generation activities are mostly very basic, e.g. supporting schools or small-scale infrastructure and health care projects.

3.2 Constraints and Opportunities of Circular Migration

A number of constraints and opportunities exist influencing, or holding a possible influence, on the migratory movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. These influences are divided in: (1) Policies of local and national authorities in the Netherlands and Cape Verde, (2) The mode of transportation between the Netherlands and Cape Verde and the involved costs.

² Cabo is an often used abbreviation for Cabo Verde, Cape Verde

Currently the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs is working on a project document that will serve as a guideline in the bilateral co-operation between the Netherlands and Cape Verde for the period 2005 – 2008. The document is adapted to the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper, as set up by the Cape Verdean authorities with support of the United Nations. Even though Cape Verde is still strongly depended on the exterior, the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) of the United Nations graduated the country from the group of least developed countries. This decision is based on Cape Verde's achievements in democratic governance and the economic growth over the past decade (four and a half per cent in 2004, IMF). The transition of Cape Verde from least developed country to middle income county will be complete in 2008.

Within this context the Cape Verdean Consul General in the Netherlands, Mr. I. F. Rosa de Carvalho, expressed his view that the experience and knowledge of the diaspora can support Cape Verde in their transition phase. According to Carvalho temporary return programmes can contribute in the development of Cape Verde and enhance the relationships between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. In the past Cape Verde successfully organised the return of qualified emigrants in co-operation with the IOM. The (temporary) work programme Return of Qualified African Nationals resulted in 52 returns in the period 1996-2000(IOM 2001). Delegation of work was practised by 90 % of returnees; in for example management functions, while 80 % of returnees transferred new skills (IOM 2000).

The Cape Verde authorities have erected a number of organisations to stimulate Diaspora investment and the return of qualified migrants. Cape Verde Investment, CVI, supports entrepreneurs by informing them on business opportunities. As a part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs the Instituto das Comunidades (IC) is erected to actively encourage young individuals from Cape Verdean descent to make a contribution to their country of origin. On the IC website information can be found about legal procedures for investing and returning to Cape Verde. Complaint heard within the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands is that the IC website is in Portuguese, while the second generation speaks Dutch, some Creole and very rarely Portuguese.

A constraint in the circulation between Cape Verde and the Netherlands are the restrictive immigration policies designed by the Dutch authorities. Emigration aspirations of Cape Verdeans are being challenged, leading to expectations of a decline in emigration in the coming decades (Carling, Nov. 2002). Although

immigration policies do not directly affect the status of the Cape Verdean resident population in the Netherlands, they do have an impact on the communities division of the first and second generation ratio. A decline of the inflow of first generation migrants implies a relative decrease in the ratio of first generation migrants compared to the second generation. A relative decrease in first generation migrants implies a subsequent decline in the scale of the first generation's level of circular migration.

Out of the thesis interviews a number of constraints in visiting Cape Verde were expressed by the interview respondents.

The only publicly accessible mode of transportation between Cape Verde and the Netherlands is by air. The high transportation costs are mentioned by all respondents as a serious constraint in travelling to Cape Verde. Average price of an adult return ticket, Amsterdam - Sal, for a four week period vary from € 675, - in the low season to € 890, - in the high season. One reason for the high prices is that momentarily only one company flies between the Netherlands and Cape Verde. Soon a number of new international airports will open on Cape Verde. An opportunity exists that other charter companies start flying to Cape Verde, leading to a decrease in the transportation costs. To cut on the travel expenses first generation migrants opt on visiting Cape Verde during the low season without their children. Of the first generation three respondents visit throughout the year while four respondents travel during the low season. Five out of seven second generation respondents usually visit Cape Verde during the summer, whilst they were obliged to travel during their summer brake.

Other constraints mentioned are work obligations, e.g. the limited length of holidays and the influences of the downward economic trend.

3.3 Scale of Circular Migration

Undoubtedly there are a number of first or second-generation migrants who have never visited Cape Verde. However, during the research period none of the informants or interviewees of Cape Verdean origin had never been to Cape Verde. The following paragraphs give an overview of the interview results related to the scale of circular migration. No statistically significant conclusions can be drawn from the results as the number of interviewees is too low (N=14). Therefore the following

will merely serve as an indication of the scale of circular migration.

It has been pointed out that all interview respondents have visited Cape Verde at some stage; however the number of visits respondents have paid differs. As an indication: the range of visits to the Cape Verdean isles differs from 2 up to 35, with an average of 12 visits for the first generation respondent's and 6 visits for the second generation respondents (N=7 for both first and second generation). The first generation 12 visit average is skewed by one respondent's total of 35 visits, the second highest amount of visits is 15 (see table 2).

It must be taken into account that the greater frequency of visits by the first generation is influenced by the fact that this group has an average age of 46 against an average age of 30 for the second generation. Obviously the period of time the first generation has been economically active is far greater compared to the second generation, whereas the assumption is made that economic activity is a requirement in order to plan and finance a journey to Cape Verde independently.

								<i>average</i>
G1	2	5	6	8	13	15	35	12
G2	2	3	3	5	5	8	15	6

Table 2, number of visits to Cape Verde by first and second generation respondents

Besides looking at the number of visits to the Cape Verdean isles it is of interest to investigate the time-interval between each visit. Table 3 shows the time- interval between the last and fore last visit of each respondent in years. On average the time – interval between the last and for-last visit of first generation migrants is 2.2 years, whereas the average for second generation migrants is 4.7 years. The highest second generation time – interval, 10 years, is not as influential as the top skew in table 2, since three respondents gave notice of a 7 year interval between the last and for-last visit.

								<i>average</i>
G1	1/4	1	1	1	3	4	5	2.2
G2	1/4	3/4	1	7	7	7	10	4.7

Table 3, Interval between last and fore last visit by first and second generation respondents in years

Table 4 shows the average time-interval between visits. The first generation

frequency of visits is on average 1 visit in every 2 years and 10 weeks, while the average second generation frequency of visits is once in every 3 years and 5 weeks. Again it must be taken into account that the number of respondents is too low for any significant conclusions, nevertheless the results can serve as an interesting indication of the scale of circular migration by generation.

								<i>Average</i>
G1	0.7	1.5	1.6	2	2.1	3.5	3.8	2.2
G2	1.4	1.9	2.6	3.5	3.6	4.2	4.3	3.1

Table 4, Average time-interval between visits by first and second generation respondents in years

On the time spent in Cape Verde no significant differences are found between the first and second generation. Time spent in Cape Verde during the last visit differs from 3 to 5 weeks for the second generation and from 2 to 6 weeks for the first generation. The greater variances in time spent on the isles for the first generation is related to the activity undertaken during the visit. Paragraph 4.1 will look at this in closer account.

Chapter 4 Profiles and Activity, Meaning and Return

In chapter four observations derived from 14 interview respondents serve as the basis for answering the following questions: (1) What is the personal profile of the circular migrant? (2) What activities do circular migrants engage in? (3) What meaning do the migrants ascribe to Cape Verde?

In the analysis of the primary data attention is paid to the differences between the first and second generation replies. The following paragraphs are ordered sub-question by sub-question.

4.1 Personal Profile and Activity

In the following paragraphs attention will be paid to the personal profile of the migrant and the activities individuals participate in while visiting Cape Verde. A number of characteristics, e.g. occupation, are highlighted and related to the migrant's activities in Cape Verde. Annex one gives a more detailed description of respondent's personal profile.

The first section of paragraph 4.1 will pay attention to the activities and profiles of the first generation respondents, before looking into the activities and profiles of the second generation.

4.1.1 First Generation

All respondents gave notice of the importance of their family relations as a prime reason to visit Cape Verde. Spending time with family and enjoying a holiday were the main activities all respondents engaged in. While visiting Cape Verde it is unusual to stay in a hotel or pension, family relations provide accommodation. Of the seven first generation interviewees three engaged in activities other than visiting their family on their most recent visit. The following section will compare their daily activities in the Netherlands and Cape Verde with those of the respondents who visit Cape Verde mainly for a holiday and to visit family.

In the 28 years Jeronimo Raiva de Carvalho has lived in the Netherlands he has been to Cape Verde five times. All five times Jeronimo was in Cape Verde he visited his

parents who still live on the island of Maio. When he is on Maio, Jeronimo stays in his parental house where he also enjoys his meals.

'When I am on Cape Verde I take it easy, I go for walks and look up some people. I visit my family. When you go to Cape Verde you always go to visit family.'

Jeronimo (45)

In the Netherlands Jeronimo is employed in a steel factory where he works on shifts. In February 2006 he is planning on spending a six week holiday in Cape Verde. Just like Jeronimo, Alfredo Mendes and Emiel Sousa have also only been to Cape Verde on a holiday and to visit family. In the Netherlands Alfredo Mendes works as a technician. Ever since Alfredo migrated to the Netherlands in 1981 he has been back to Cape Verde twice. On both occasions he primarily went to visit his family.

'When you are in Cape Verde spending time with your family is the most important thing you do. You do everything together, you go the beach together, you go out together, you name it.'

Alfredo (42)

Unlike Jeronimo and Alfredo, Emiel Sousa has been back to Cape Verde quite a number of times. Between his first visit in 1974 and his last visit in February 2005, Emiel has visited Cape Verde 15 times. Emiel's high number of visits to Cape Verde is partly due to the fact that he has been living in the Netherlands longer than the other respondents; he entered the Netherlands in 1969. Emiel works in a beer factory in the city of Rotterdam. In February 2005 he travelled with a bunch of friends, all residing in the Netherlands but originally from the island of San Nicolau, to their island of origin. Emiel explains that San Nicolau is a very quiet island. Visiting the island is like a holiday with the only difference that you visit and spend your time with family you have not seen in a long time.

The following respondents gave notice that visiting their family is an important reason to travel to Cape Verde but that they were engaged in a number of other activities on more than one occasion while they were in Cape Verde. Because of their numerous activities these respondents visit Cape Verde more frequently than those respondents who travel to the islands only to visit family. When it is possible their family homes remain their accommodation while they are in Cape Verde.

Antonio Graça has visited Cape Verde 13 times since he entered the Netherlands in 1975. The last years he has visited the islands more frequently due his involvement in the international Cape Verdean diaspora frame, Associação dos Quadros Cabo-verdianos da Diáspora, and his work on a PhD on the transnational organisational structure of Cape Verdean organisations. When possible, Antonio stays with family while he is in Cape Verde.

Just like Antonio, Daniel Limo Rosário is another respondent who visits Cape Verde for other reasons than visiting family. Daniel's work as a tour operator and his involvement in the Dutch- Cape Verdean chamber of commerce make it necessary for him to visit Cape Verde regularly.

'The last year I was in Cape Verde a number of times. I often stay for about two weeks with my parents on the islands of San Antoa and San Vicente. Besides business there is always time for some relaxation. After meeting with someone there is time to have a drink on the terrace or in the weekends you can go to the beach for a swim'

Daniel (43)

Daniel's quote indicates that even though he visits Cape Verde for professional reasons, other activities, e.g. visiting his parents and relaxing, are part of the trip.

Another respondent who engaged in different activities besides visiting family on her last visit to Cape Verde is Maria Theresa Segredo. Since a few years Maria is active with her foundation 'Friends of Paúl'. With this foundation Maria is setting up a home for the elderly on the island where she was born and raised, San Antoa. Because of her activities with the foundation she has visited Cape Verde a couple of times over the past year. During her last visit Maria did not find time to visit family.

'On my last journey I did not have time to visit family. For three weeks I was busy meeting people on several islands to investigate the local health situation. Normally I spend a lot of time with family. This time they only saw me on the local television (laughs)'

Maria (37)

Although Maria has no plans she does expect to visit Cape Verde soon because of her activities with the foundation 'Friends of Paúl'.

Based on the interviewee's replies it can be concluded that the respondent's profession is of influence on their activities in Cape Verde and the frequency of visits. Alfredo, Jeronimo and Emiel are all employees working in the Netherlands. For their work it is not necessary for them to travel to Cape Verde. Most of their time on Cape Verde they spend with family. On the other hand Daniel, Antonio and Maria visit the islands with other reasons than just visiting family. Daniel and Antonio's professions require that they visit the islands to meet with (business) relations. Maria's voluntary work for the foundation 'friends of Paúl' makes it necessary for her to check up on the activities in Cape Verde every now and then.

All respondents made clear that they stay with their family's residencies when possible. Island of destination is usually the island of origin or the island of origin of respondent's parents. Those respondents who visit Cape Verde for other reasons than visiting family tend to visit the islands more frequently than those who only visit for family reasons. Emiel is an exception in this case since he has been to Cape Verde 15 times. However, Emiel has been in the Netherlands longer than any other respondent. No significant relations were found between other aspects of the migrant's personal profile, such as gender or level of education, and the number of visits to or activities on Cape Verde.

The following section will pay attention to some of the profiles and activities of the second generation.

4.1.2 Second Generation

All second generation respondents gave notice that they mainly visit Cape Verde to visit family and enjoy a holiday. On some occasions respondents engaged in other activities, e.g. participating in a congress or taking care of family members. However, only one respondent engaged in other activities than visiting family on more than one occasion. This respondent scored the highest number of visits (15) partially due to his profession as a musician. Generally spoken the second generation respondents spend their time in Cape Verde engaging in leisure activities such as sightseeing, going to the beach, relaxing and hanging out with family. Like the first generation no significant relations were found between the migrant's gender or educational level and the number of visits to or activities on Cape Verde. It is worthy of mention that all second generation respondents speak Creole, Cape Verde's common language, and sometimes Portuguese, Cape Verde's official language.

Born in 1977, Maria Lima migrated to the Netherlands in 1979. After finishing her study she worked as a sales representative for an energy company. Maria's father lives in Rotterdam while her mother permanently returned to Cape Verde and lives and works in the capital city of Praia. Maria has been back to Cape Verde five times.

"Usually, when I visit, I spend about four weeks on Cape Verde. The last time I went to Cape Verde I went to visit my mother. My mother is the main contact I have on the islands. But when I go there I also visit other family members, although I don't really keep in touch with all of them when I'm in Holland. I spend my time there going for walks, going to the beach, exploring. It's a time for relaxation and spending time with family"

Maria (27)

Unlike Maria, Francisco Monteiro's parents both live in Rotterdam. Francisco was born in Rotterdam in 1981. Today he still lives in Rotterdam where he studies economics. To Francisco Cape Verde is a good place to relax.

"I've been to Cape Verde three times together with my parents. Every time we went for a holiday; while we are there we stay with family. What I do when I'm there? Well basically just celebrate the holiday, laze around, go out, shopping, those kind of things."

Francisco (23)

The first time Francisco visited Cape Verde was in 1988. After that visit he has been to the isles in the summer of 1991 and 2001. Usually he and his family stay for five or six weeks.

Just like Francisco, Susan Oliveira has also been to Cape Verde three times. However Susan was born on the island of San Vicente in 1976 and didn't migrate to the Netherlands till 1986. Both Susan's parents live in Rotterdam. The last time Susan went to Cape Verde she spent three months with her grandmother.

"We celebrated Christmas and the New Year. Besides that I kind of drifted along with the way things go there. Tasting the daily life on Cape Verde. In August 2005 I'm planning on going for four weeks to visit my grandmother and other friends and family. Besides that there will be time to go to the beach and enjoy a few parties"

Susan (28)

Susan, Francisco and Maria have only been to Cape Verde to visit family and enjoy a holiday. In the following paragraphs attention will be paid to two second generation migrants who have been to Cape Verde for other reasons than enjoying a holiday and visiting family. Meet Jorge and Ellen.

Jorge is musician and plays in a reggae band. In the festival season, from May till September, Jorge often travels with fellow musicians to Cape Verde to perform.

'When I go to Cape Verde for my work I usually go to the southern islands, when I go for a holiday I often go to the northern islands, that's where my family lives and where my parents were born. When we play on a festival we usually sleep in hotels and eat out, everything is organised very professionally by the festival organisation or whomever it is that invited us over. When I go to the northern islands I stay with my family and enjoy the meals when they do'

Jorge (35)

In Cape Verde Jorge is quite a respected musician while he is relatively unknown in the Netherlands. Jorge was born in the Netherlands in 1970, both his parents have lived in Europe for over forty years and are planning to return to Cape Verde permanently in 2006. Over the years Jorge has been to Cape Verde 15 times.

Ellen Rodrigues has been back to the Cape Verdean isles five times. Both her parents live in Rotterdam. Most of Ellen's visits were to the northern islands. During these visits she stayed with family while she enjoyed a few weeks of. In 2002, however, Ellen participated in a congress for the Cape Verdean Diaspora frame residing in the exterior. During the congress the importance of programme's and policies directed towards second generation integration with out loss of own identity was emphasised.

Like the first generation, the second generation migrants mostly visit Cape Verde to spend time with their family. A difference between the first and second generation respondents is that from the seven first generation respondents three visit Cape Verde structurally (more than just the one occasion) for other reasons than visiting family. Whereas from the seven second generation respondents only Jorge has visited Cape Verde on more than one occasion for reasons other than family or a holiday.

The importance of the family visit is reflected in a tradition that was confirmed by

every respondent. When a Cape Verdean living in the exterior returns to the islands for a visit, it has become a custom to bring presents for the family.

'It is a ritual to bring some small gifts for the family in Cape Verde. Usually these are small gifts, more of a symbolic value, like clothes or something to eat. Sometimes you bring some cash for a close relative, for instance my mother. It's a tradition. You never show up empty handed.'

Emiel (48)

One respondent gave notice that this tradition is a constraint in visiting the isles.

'It is very expensive to visit Cape Verde because of all the presents you bring along. You have to save up a lot of money. Because of this I can not visit Cape Verde every year. It is relatively cheaper for me to book an all in holiday to Spain or Turkey.'

Elise (48)

Five out seven second generation respondents also gave notice of the tradition of bringing gifts when visiting Cape Verde. The two remaining respondents made clear that this is a tradition but that it was their parents who brought gifts along since they were just children or teenagers when they visited together with their parents.

In paragraphs 3.3 and 4.1 a number of observations are made about the scale of migratory movements between the Netherlands and Cape Verde by Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands, their activities in Cape Verde and personal profiles. It has become clear that on average most migrants visit Cape Verde every two or three years and that the most common reason for visiting the islands is to visit family and enjoy a holiday. Portes' (1997) observation of the migrant that leads a dual life, pursuing economic, political and cultural interests that require a simultaneous presence in both the country of origin and the country of settlement is exceptional. Paragraph 4.1 also indicated that those individuals who practice circular migration on a more structural level often do so because of their occupational achievements. A couple of studies underline this observation. Massey and Espinosa (1997) found that Mexican migrants who practice circular migration between Mexico and the United States display significantly different characteristics. Odds of circular migration increased with experience, occupational achievement and prior trips in the United States (Massey, Espinosa 1997). Portes (2004) found that participants of

transnational activities were generally not the most recent or least integrated immigrants, but those who managed to establish a more solid foothold in the receiving country. It must be taken into account that the latter study did not specifically focus on circular migration.

An influence on the relevance of the family visit can be found in the fact that Cape Verdean emigration, as paragraph 4.2 will point out, takes place with a strong ethos of return. The strong notion of returning to Cape Verde implies that the migrant is never completely emotionally detached from the country of origin. A longing to return remains and is partially fulfilled by visiting every so often. Return visits may also hold the practical value of lowering the thresholds of a permanent return. An individual who has not visited the country of origin for a certain stretch of time may experience difficulties reintegrating whilst returning for good. Other reasons for the centrality of the family upon visiting are found in the dynamics of the Cape Verdean family structure.

Carling (March 2002) describes Cape Verdean migration as individual and at the same time family oriented. The nuclear family as a co-resident entity does not have a central role in the Cape Verdean kinship structure, thus emigration rarely involves the transferral of a nuclear family to another country. Instead, Carling describes; 'relatives are connected in a sometimes complex web of linkages between individuals, especially between mother and children, and between siblings who were raised in the same family. The importance of father child relationships is highly varied' (Carling, March 2002). Were nuclear families do exist, they are often spread out geographically. Husband, wife and children may never live together in the same place, but in different combinations in different places. Despite the non-central role of the nuclear family, wider family relations are of great importance locally as well as in relation to emigration. It is very common for Cape Verdeans to have wider family relations in far away countries. Having aunts, uncles and cousins in North America or Europe is associated with a higher personal aspiration to emigrate as well as with a larger possibility of realizing this ambition (Carling, March 2002). Visiting family in Cape Verde or in another country is an important way of maintaining relationships with parents, brothers and sisters, children and wider family relations. The root causes for such a particular family structure can be traced in a cultural context, heavily influenced by a long lasting emigration tradition infused by droughts, slavery and seamanship.

4.2 Meaning and Return

In chapter 4.1 attention was drawn to the profiles of the circular migrants and their activities. The following paragraphs will focus on the meaning the respondents ascribe to Cape Verde. Quoted responses are answers to questions such as; 'What do you think of when I say Cape Verde', 'What does Cape Verde mean to you?' or 'Would you like to return to Cape Verde permanently?'. Digging into these questions is a way to address the importance of Cape Verde for the first and second generation respondents. The way interviewees reply to such questions can shine some light on the respondent's underlying motivation for visiting Cape Verde. As in chapter 4.1 this section will start with addressing the first generation before looking into replies of the second generation respondents. Chapter 4.2 ends with an analysis on the different replies of the first and second generation interviewees.

4.2.1 First Generation

Thinking of Cape Verde all respondents come up with 'warm' thoughts. Cape Verde is still very much alive in the interviewee's responses. None of the negative sides of life in Cape Verde are brought forward when an open question is asked such as: 'What do you think of when I say Cape Verde'. Strong vocabulary is used to express the relationship with the Cape Verdean isles, references are made to ideas of *origin*, the *homeland* and *blood*. Some respondents expressed the cultural influence of Cape Verde on their perception and outlook on life while others gave word to their desire to see the country develop. All first generation respondents indicated there wish to return to Cape Verde permanently at some point in time. Financial constraints and (emotional) ties are often expressed as difficulties in the realisation of the wish to return. A selection of respondent's quotes will serve to give an impression of the meaning first generation migrants ascribe to Cape Verde.

The following quotes from Alfredo and Emiel clearly express the strong emotional ties the respondents have with Cape Verde.

'Cape Verde is in my blood. Even though I have lived here (the Netherlands) for 30 years that feeling will always stay. When you arrive in Cape Verde, you straight away feel you're at home'

Emiel (52)

'That (Cape Verde) is where my roots are. It means very much to me, it's my homeland. Nothing is more important than those islands. It's impossible to express in words.'

Alfredo (42)

Like the above respondents, Maria and Antonio also expressed their strong connection to Cape Verde. However they addressed to the islands from a slightly different perspective, expressing the influence of the country's culture and the urge to contribute to the development of the country.

'My country, my country of birth. I am crazy about the country, in the future I want the country to develop. The need to do that is in my heart.'

Maria (37)

'Cape Verde is my land of origin. To me Cape Verde is a cultural reference-frame. I have lived there for an important part of my life, that has an influence on your way of thinking and your behaviour.'

Antonio (51)

It is interesting to observe that Antonio expresses the cultural influence of Cape Verde as a reference frame. This implies that he does not see Cape Verde as his only cultural reference- frame. When the same respondent's thoughts about Rotterdam are taken into account it becomes clear that he is very much aware of the two-fold influence on the formatting of his ideas and behaviour, namely from his Cape Verdean background and his residency in the Netherlands.

'The Netherlands is my second home-country. I have studied here, experienced a lot and have professionally learned a lot about citizenship and politics. To me the Netherlands is a reference frame about issues such as citizenship, how you as a citizen can contribute to society. When I'm in Cape Verde I notice the influence of the Netherlands in my discussions with the people there.'

Antonio (51)

Other responses do not express the twofold cultural influence on their being as clearly as Antonio does.

All first generation respondents have very clear notions of the possibility to return to Cape Verde in the future. Migrating to the Netherlands is mainly seen as something temporary. The ideal exists of working and saving in the Netherlands to eventually spend an old age pension on the Cape Verdean isles. Results from a survey of students about to graduate from secondary school held in Cape Verde, showed that almost 90 per cent of those wishing to emigrate said that they wanted to come back to Cape Verde (Carling, Jan. 2002). While living and working in the Netherlands most migrants gradually see themselves confronted with a situation wherein permanent return becomes questionable.

'Cape Verde means everything to Cape Verdeans. Everybody who came here thinks about returning. The situation that is formed while you are here is the stumbling block. When you settle in and start a family that is something you have to take care of. After a while you are part of a different society, it becomes questionable if you will return. That's why it is so fantastic to go there on a holiday, just to be there for a while.'

Emiel (52)

Different stumbling blocks prevent the migrant from returning to Cape Verde. First of all there is the question if the migrant has enough savings to return to Cape Verde to spend an old age pension. If the migrant is still working the security and obligation of work in the Netherlands, while chances of work in Cape Verde are questionable, prevents a permanent return. Another strong threshold in returning are the strong emotional ties with the migrants children who, born and raised in the Netherlands, see there future living and working in the Netherlands.

'Yes I would like to return, but there are a number of constraints. When you return there are a number of crucial decisions you have to make. I have to think about my work, my environment and my family. My son is still very young. Another point is that you have to make sure you have something worked out for your reintegration, what activities will you be involved in when you're their?'

Antonio (51)

The phenomenon of the eventual uprooting of the migrant's initial purpose to return to their country of origin is widely recognised in migration literature and has become known as the 'myth of return' (King 2000).

Some migrants see transnational commuting, spending a part of the year in Cape Verde and the rest in the Netherlands, as an ideal solution. This way it is possible to experience the best of both worlds.

'When I am there I have the urge to go to the Netherlands. My ideal is to live here (the Netherlands) and there (Cape Verde). There are a couple of things I would miss if I wouldn't live in the Netherlands anymore. Here I have children and in a few years maybe grandchildren. Then I would like to be here.'

Elise (48)

It has become clear that all first generation respondents hold great importance to Cape Verde. Cape Verde is expressed as the country of origin or the homeland. Every respondent holds the wish to return to Cape Verde at some point in time. While living in the Netherlands migrants find themselves in a new situation wherein the issue of permanently returning becomes questionable. Some respondents expressed their wish to live both here, the Netherlands, and there, Cape Verde.

4.2.2 Second Generation

Like the first generation the second generation has very positive associations with Cape Verde. Generally spoken however the second generation expresses their ideas and feelings for Cape Verde in quite different terms. Only once Cape Verde is explicitly addressed to as home-country. A number of times a reference was made to Cape Verde as the 'home-country of my parents' or once to Cape Verde as 'my second home-country'. A couple of reactions took on very 'light' associations with Cape Verde referring to the sunny beaches and the relaxed environment even though problems such as poverty and the lack of rain are not entirely forgotten. Three of the second generation respondents are investigating on possibilities for a permanent residency in Cape Verde. A number of respondents referred to the different way of life in Cape Verde. When Cape Verde is compared to Rotterdam, place of residence to all second generation respondents, it is often expressed that life in Cape Verde is a lot more relaxed than life in Rotterdam. The construct of Cape Verde as a 'relaxed' place is not only due to the islands sunny climate. Often references are made to the pace of life, less hasty or stressed than in the Netherlands, and the way in which people socialise, people take more time for one

and other. The following quotes give an impression of the associations the second generation respondents have when thinking of Cape Verde.

'Sun, sea, beaches, enjoying good times, relaxed way of living. I know life isn't always easy on Cape Verde but people make the best out of what they have. The door is always open; people take more time for each other. There is less stress and more peace.'

Maria (27)

'Relaxing, no stress, a good social life, contact with more people and a nice climate'

Ellen (34)

For one respondent the different social climate in Cape Verde is an important reason to investigate on options of permanently migrating to Cape Verde.

'I would like to move to Cape Verde. The last few years the longing for my home-country has become a lot stronger. The way people react to each other in Cape Verde is a strong reason for me; people take more time for one and other. That is not just an image I have from my holidays, I lived in Cape Verde for quite a while so I know the culture.'

Raquel (33)

Like Raquel, Maria also expressed the intention of living in Cape Verde permanently. Maria decided to spend half a year on Cape Verde, living with her mother in the capital city of Praia. By living and working in Cape Verde Maria hopes to discover what it's like to actually live in Cape Verde permanently.

'I want to taste and feel the live in Cape Verde. I find it to much to move to Cape Verde at once, that's why I want to discover what's it like to live their by working and living their for half a year. Emotionally I am related to two places, Cape Verde and the Netherlands'

Maria (27)

Maria thinks that it is quite exceptional when second generation migrants decide to permanently move to Cape Verde. According to her most second generation Cape Verdeans enjoy spending time in Cape Verde during holidays. For most of them

however the islands are too isolated to live permanently. This view is reflected in a number of responses.

'No, I don't want to move there now. Maybe in the future. I have a job and all of that in the Netherlands. In Cape Verde those things are less easy. I know the Netherlands so well by now that it would be hard to go and live in Cape Verde.'

Félix (25)

'I would like to have a house there, but I would never live there longer than four or five months. Therefore the islands are too isolated.' Francisco (23)

Those who have no concrete intentions to move to Cape Verde see it as an interesting option for the future. The idea of living a part of the year in the Netherlands and a part of the year in Cape Verde is also seen as a desirable living situation.

'I want to spend more time in Cape Verde. I want to become more active in organising things there, but I will always stay in contact with Rotterdam. I want to be a frequent flyer, live my life here and there.' Jorge (35)

The first and second-generation responses show that Cape Verde is seen as a very important place by both. First generation respondents hold the intention to return to Cape Verde at some point in time, usually for their old age pension. The realisation of this wish strongly depends on the migrant's financial situation. The second generation is more divided in their intentions to live in Cape Verde. Some of them see Cape Verde more as a relaxing place to spend the summer or holidays, while a couple of others are seriously contemplating to move to Cape Verde permanently. In almost every case, first and second generation, moving to Cape Verde permanently does not imply giving up all ties in Rotterdam. The first generation is often emotionally tied to Rotterdam by their children, sometimes their grandchildren. Thus returning to Cape Verde is not only a matter of finance but also of crossing an emotional threshold. Spending part of the year in Cape Verde and part of the year in the Netherlands is seen as a plausible solution. It must be taken into account that the first as well as the second generation intentions of returning permanently or spending a part of the year in the Netherlands and a part in Cape Verde are often

expressions of a wish or desire to do so. To what extent individuals are capable of realizing their future intentions is questionable.

It is interesting to observe the differences in the way first and second generation migrants express the meaning they ascribe to Cape Verde. The first generation uses references of homeland, origin, belonging and a desire to return, while the second generation generally expresses their relationship with Cape Verde in 'lighter' terms referring to the relaxed pace and way of life. Taking notions of Cape Verdean non - migrants into account can serve to show how socially constructed images and meanings of Cape Verde as a place are due to change over time, especially in a new environment.

Carling (Jan. 2002) states that in Cape Verde the question of emigration must be understood in relation to the way people *think* about poverty. The way Cape Verde residents talk about Cape Verde is embedded in notions of an almost deterministic poverty consciousness related to the lack of rain. In the past excessive droughts have led to a number of famines. According to Carling the lack of rain has become a powerful symbol of the unchangeable lack of opportunities in Cape Verde, which can only be escaped by leaving the country (Carling, Jan. 2002). Being born and raised in Cape Verde the first generation migrants are formed by experiences and cultural notions of the downside of life in Cape Verde. In the meaning they ascribe to Cape Verde, however, hardly any references are made to the lack of rain or poverty. Their ideas express a sense of belonging and a desire to return to a place they call their home. According to Carling (March 2002) the strong notion of return is due to the Cape Verdean construct of migration, which sees migration as a project including an eventual return, implying that Cape Verdeans living abroad are expected to wish to return.

The meaning second generation migrants ascribe to Cape Verde is less shaped by notions of poverty, lack of rain and a desire to return. Associations centre around notions of a different way of life, often referred to as relaxing with a slower daily pace and more room for social contacts. It is important to realise that these notions are strongly formed by experiences and ideas of life in the Netherlands. Cape Verde is seen as relaxed as opposed to elements of life in the Netherlands which are imagined as stressed and individualistic.

Three different stages can be identified in the social construct of Cape Verde as a place. First, the Cape Verdean residents' strong notion of poverty related to the lack

of rain which can only be escaped by migrating. Second, the first generation migrant's ideas of belonging related to the desire of an eventual return, and third, the second generation associations of an ideal way of life as opposed to elements of life in the Netherlands. Thus socially constructed images and meanings of Cape Verde as a place are due to change over time, especially in a different environment that gives new notions of an 'old' place. In the case of Cape Verde the lack of rain is no longer a problem but turns into bliss.

Chapter 5 Primary Findings and Research Conclusions

In the forgoing chapters, findings from the literature study and the primary data collection have been presented. The following chapter will bring the presented information back into the focus of the main research question.

5.1 Differences in circular migration

In chapter one, the main objective of the thesis was described as gaining insight into the intergenerational differences in circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde of Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands. In order to realize the research objective the following research *question* was brought forward: *What are the differences between circular migration of first and second generation Cape Verdeans residing in the Netherlands?*

To tackle the main research question a number of sub-questions were derived from the main question, all but one focusing on the differences between first and second-generation migrants. In the following section the primary findings are ordered sub-question by sub-question.

What constraints and opportunities exist in the circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde?

Constraints influencing circular migration are the high costs of travelling between the Netherlands and Cape Verde, work obligations, the downward economic trend, restrictive immigration policies designed by Dutch authorities, communication problems between Cape Verde based organisations and the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands.

Possibilities exist for the Cape Verdean communities in the exterior to contribute to Cape Verde's development by sharing knowledge and experience through (temporary) return programmes. The opening of a number of international airports on Cape Verde may lead to an increase in charter companies flying to the islands, leading to a possible decrease in the prices of flying.

What is the scale of circular migration?

Due to the number of respondents (N=14), findings merely serve as an indication of the scale of circular migration. None of the respondents or informants from Cape Verdean origin had never been to Cape Verde. The range of visits to the Cape Verdean isles differed from 2 up to 35, with an average of 12 visits for the first generation respondent's and 6 visits for the second generation respondents. However, this figure is influenced by the higher average age of first generation migrants. On average the time – interval between the last and for-last visit of first generation migrants is 2.2 years, whereas the average for second generation migrants is 4.7 years. The first generation frequency of visits is on average 1 visit in every 2 years and 10 weeks, while the average second generation frequency of visits is once in every 3 years and 5 weeks. On the time spend in Cape Verde no significant differences are found between the first and second generation.

What activities do circular migrants engage in when they are in Cape Verde?

All respondents gave notice of the importance of their family relations as a prime reason to visit Cape Verde. Respondents spend their time in Cape Verde engaging in leisure activities such as sightseeing, going to the beach, relaxing and hanging out with family. While visiting Cape Verde it is unusual to stay in a hotel or pension, family relations provide accommodation. Island of destination is usually the island of origin or the island of origin of respondent's parents. Three first generation respondents gave notice that visiting their family is an important reason to travel to Cape Verde but that they were engaged in a number of other activities such as meeting with (business) relations on more than one occasion while they were in Cape Verde. Only one second generation respondent engaged in other activities than visiting family on more than one occasion. In this specific case the respondent performed with a music group during a number of festivals.

What is the personal profile of the circular migrant?

Based on the interviewee's replies it can be concluded that the respondent's profession is of influence on their activities in Cape Verde and the frequency of visits. Respondents who do not need to visit Cape Verde for their work spend most of their time in Cape Verde with family. Four respondents, three first and one second generation, visit the islands because of their profession or their involvement with a foundation. Because of their numerous activities these respondents visit Cape Verde

more frequently than those respondents who travel to the islands only to visit family. No significant relations were found between other aspects of the migrant's personal profile, such as gender or level of education, and the number of visits to or activities on Cape Verde.

What meaning do the migrants ascribe to Cape Verde?

The first and second-generation responses show that Cape Verde is imagined as a very important place by both. First generation references centre around ideas of origin, the homeland and return. All first generation respondents hold the intention to return to Cape Verde at some point in time, usually for their old age pension. The realisation of this wish strongly depends on the migrant's financial situation and emotional ties in the Netherlands.

Second generation associations often centre around the notion of a different way of life. As opposed to life in the Netherlands, Cape Verde is seen as relaxed, meaning there is less stress and more time for social contacts. The second generation is more divided in their intentions to live in Cape Verde, three of the second generation respondents are investigating on possibilities for a permanent residency in Cape Verde.

5.2 Discussion

In chapter two circular migration was described as a form of forging and maintaining transnational ties. In the following discussion the thesis primary findings are emphasized and related to ideas concerning the durability of transnational ties.

The study gives an indication that the first generation is more frequently involved in circular migration than the second generation. Both first and second generation respondents gave notice that visiting family and enjoying a holiday are the most important activities they engaged in while visiting Cape Verde. Four out of fourteen respondents were engaged in extra familial activities, three being first and one a second generation migrant. Individuals who practice circular migration on a more structural level often do so because of their occupational achievements. Dual lives or a multiplicity of economic, organizational and political involvements in both the country of origin and the country of settlement, however, are the exceptional. Reasons for the centrality of the family upon visiting can be found in the specific

dynamics of the Cape Verdean family structure. Nuclear families are often spread out geographically, implying that the maintenance of relations requires a long distance journey to Cape Verde or another country. Another reason for the importance of family ties is that Cape Verdean migration takes place with a strong ethos of return. The desire to return implies that the Cape Verdean migrant is never completely (emotionally) detached from Cape Verde. The first generation holds a stronger intention to return permanently. Often the intention to return is replaced by a desire to live here *and* there. Frequently circulating between Cape Verde and the Netherlands is seen as an optimal way of enjoying life in Cape Verde while maintaining (emotional) ties in the Netherlands. This view is shared by the second generation respondents. To what extent ideals of permanently returning or living both in the Netherlands and Cape Verde are realized is questionable.

The meaning addressed to Cape Verde is expressed in quite different terms by first and second generation Cape Verdeans. The first generation places more emphasis on notions of belonging and return, while the second generation makes more explicit references to the different way of life in Cape Verde. As opposed to life in the Netherlands associations of Cape Verde centre around notions of a society that is less individualistic with a relaxed pace and sunny weather all year round.

In the context of the downward economic trend and the restrictive immigration policies it is not likely that the scale of circular migration will increase in the coming years. Restrictive immigration policies can result in a relative decline of first generation migratory movements, implying that the maintenance of transnational ties through circular migration will become a second and subsequent generation task. Given the fact that most visits to Cape Verde are family related it is questionable how, and on what basis, relationships with Cape Verde will be maintained in the future. A decline in first generation migrants may result in a situation wherein social (familial) relations become more and more embedded in Dutch society. Circular migration between the Netherlands and Cape Verde may proceed, with a strong leisure dimension, but to what extent these movements will contribute to a dynamic transnational social field with a multitude of different relationships (economic, political, organizational) is highly questionable. To what extent relationships will be maintained with Cape Verde is to be examined in the coming decades by observing if, how and why successive migrant generations maintain ties with their (great) (grand) parent's county of origin.

Circular migration is one of a number of elements that give rise to the fabric of the transnational community. A number of other options for further research into the durability of transnational ties exist. A possibility is to research migratory movements between the Cape Verdean community in the Netherlands and other Cape Verdean migrant communities throughout the diaspora. Another option is to investigate to what extent the desire to return or the ideal of living part of the year in the Netherlands and a part of the year in Cape Verde are realized. Further research can also concentrate on the question to what extent the strong concentration of the Cape Verdean community in Rotterdam may help the community to maintain intra - community ties rooted in a strong awareness of 'Cape-Verdeanity'.

The second generation often uses other means to communicate or express their Cape Verdean identities, such as internet sites specifically aimed at Cape Verdean target groups or virtual chat rooms that give individuals the opportunity to easily communicate with relatives or individuals from a shared background. Second generation migrants find new ways to express their Cape Verdean identity through for example Cabo ringtones, Cape Verdean tunes for on a mobile phone, or parties with exclusively Cape Verdean artists and music. Influenced by elements of Dutch society the second generation gives rise to new hybrid forms of expressing their 'Ducabo' (Dutch / Cape Verdean) identity. These observations give rise to the notion that transnational ties are not so much disappearing but are due to change over time leading to new ways and new expressions of transnationalism. It is important, however, to question if it is legitimate to label such activities as transnational. An interesting question to take into account then is if new expressions of identity contribute to the forging and maintenance of relationships that cross geographic, cultural and political borders.

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