

# **Emigration and the internal limits in Cape Verde and São Tomé and Príncipe**

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## **1. Migrations, level of flows, gates and impacts on developing countries**

The international migrations have an old historical origin, linked either to economic or political causes. If you define "migrant" as "someone who moves from his country for a period longer than one year", we can consider Africa with very high levels of migration. We find strong emigration in countries with political instability, armed conflicts and lack of food, this one also linked with inadequate policies of ODA. The search for new opportunities as a right of people in general causes individual mobility. This is often restricted by the laws of countries or groups of countries, despite today's global society. These protective gates make mobility and new opportunities difficult and an unbalanced world development. But, in bilateral terms, the migration policies are defined, sometimes only by the receptor country (for example USA). In multilateral terms, as the European Union, it has been difficult to define a unique policy. Now, Europe and specially the Mediterranean countries are being subjected to a new kind of migration: political refugees and clandestine migration. The proximity of North Africa, with the worsening of the political instability justifies this wave of emigration. These factors make extremely difficult the stability of the migration processes and one common policy inside the European Union.

Huge disparities concerning income and well-being between Northern and Southern countries have caused, in more recent years, illegal emigration for those regions that can provide better living standards, expecting for a better welfare not only to these migrants but also to their families who remain in their countries of origin. Their remittances either in cash or products are, in some cases, the only way to overcome the precarious living conditions of the poor people. These remittances are also very important to the balance of the Payment Balance.

However there are also many developing countries that are recipients of international migrants. The migrants go to other near countries where they think to find better jobs which permit welfare to their households. Reasons linked to the facility of dislocation and their costs justify these flows. According to the World Bank data 43% of emigrants from developing countries are living in other developing countries<sup>1</sup>. This value is larger than the emigrants from developing countries who live in high-income countries of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD):

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<sup>1</sup> WORLD BANK (2011), *Migration and Remittances, Factbook 2011*, p.12.

42,8%<sup>2</sup>. Altogether the World Bank studies refer to about 250 million people who live abroad, representing 3 percent of the world's population living outside their birth countries<sup>3</sup>.

The international migrations, especially between developing and developed countries are a phenomenon with important development implications to the sending and receiving countries. I am going to analyse only the impact in the origin countries which can be analysed through 2 point of view:

- Economics and Financial
- Social

The economics and financial consequences are various. To the sending countries they are linked to the increase of income that can permit a bigger level of consumption and a small business but also the access to better levels of health and education. The remittances of emigrants to developing countries are estimated in 307 billions of American dollars in 2009 down 5,5% from \$324,4 billions in 2008 and 325 billions in 2010<sup>4</sup>, about three times a year more than the Official Developing Aid (ODA)<sup>5</sup>. This value not includes the informal remittances in money and goods that play an important part in the reduction of poverty. The formal remittances are also very important to the balance of the Payment Balance. The remittances to Sub-Saharan Africa are also presented in the table 1.

**Table 1 - Remittances to developing countries**

		2007	2008	2009	2010	2011 <sup>a)</sup>	2012 <sup>a)</sup>
Developing countries	\$ Billion	278	324,4	306,6	325	345	373
	Growth rate (%)	22,8%	16,7%	-5,5%	6,0%	6,2%	8,1%
Sub-Saharan	\$ Billion	19	21,8	21	21,9	22,9	24,4
	Growth rate (%)	46,7%	14,9%	-3,7%	4,4%	4,5%	6,7%

Note: a) forecast of World Bank

Source: WORLD BANK (2010), «Outlook for Remittance Flows 2011-12» in *Migration and Development Brief n° 13*, Migration and remittances Unit, NY; Author calculation based in growth rate.

<sup>2</sup> World Bank (2011), *Migration and Remittances, Factbook 2011*, p.12.

<sup>3</sup> World Bank (2009), *World Development Report 2009*.

<sup>4</sup> WORLD BANK (2010), «Outlook for Remittance Flows 2011-12» in *Migration and Development Brief n° 13*

<sup>5</sup> RATA, Mohaptra, SILWALL(2010), *Outlook for Remittances Flows 2010.11* in "Migration and Development Brief, N°12, Washington, World Bank Publisher.

But either of them are characterized by a great stability, though with some variations, greater than other external capital (ODA, investments or loans), and permits a greater independence to the external financing.

According to the World Bank, data remittances to sub-Saharan Africa had growth rates until the beginning of the crisis, higher than other developing countries, despite a decline in 2009. But, according to the forecasts of the same institution the remittances flows will can have a most significant increase in 2011 and 2012.

In all developing countries are noted a greater persistence of remittances when compared with other flows: private debt, ODA and foreign direct investment. This is justified for they are cumulative, and not only by the new emigrants. If the new emigrants stop the remittance, flows persist because they are being sent by the older emigrants. In that case the remittance may stop growing but it doesn't disappear. When the emigrants prospected to return to the origin country or when appears anti-immigrants sentiments, more common during the crises and in the countries with high unemployment rates, the restrictive measure implemented imposes the return and these flows are very important for their survival in the countries of origin and to realize economic activities (investment for example) permitting the increase of their income and as well as their well-being.

But the Diaspora, mainly when it is constituted by qualified workers, can play an important role creating links between developed countries and international organizations. These contacts turn the creation of nets easier, permitting the access to the global markets of goods, capitals and services, but also to attract foreign investment to the home country. In economic terms, the return of the trained Diaspora or only the regular contacts with the people who live abroad, through their experience and knowledge, can improve new technology and the modernization of the institutions of the country. However it has a negative effect: deprives the country of the more qualified workers, including physicians, nurses and engineers.

In social terms the emigration can contribute to the growth of human capital because a great part of the financial resources of remittances is applied in education and training. However, when the family cannot go together, when the children stay in the origin country without the parents, the stress will cause social disintegration, bad educational results and sometimes delinquent activities (drugs, alcohol, and robbery). These aspects cannot be compensated by material gifts

or the welfare result of remittances. The integration of all the family in the receiving countries is better for all, but requires integrated policies between the sending and the receiving countries. It is yet rare in practice<sup>6</sup>.

On the other hand, the remittances could strengthen the links between the other family members (brothers, parents) permitting better welfare through consumerism or through technology knowledge transference and the local investment, permitting the income increase of the families and the GDP of the country. This investment can also determine the drop of dependence from the exterior through the replacement of importation and the growth of goods and services exportations.

The emigration to other developing countries also presented some problems. The integration policies are not very well structured; the governments have inability to integrate the newcomers, creating a great human suffering. Most of the immigrants installed in urban areas, the most of them, get the employment in informal sector of services, transports and crafts. Some, with greater training, are working in activities with greater value as computing activities or other where they have the abilities to perform. These ones obtain greater incomes, but many times haven't a good social integration. This depends on the ability of local authorities but many times the immigrants live in slum areas in the outskirts of the cities, without water or sanitation. They are not entered to the health or any social support. The integration with social, political and economic rights is also important to prevent the risk of violence. But the migration does not only imply movements of people but also of their culture<sup>7</sup>. Success of integration on the reception country requires migrant interaction with the new society, creating a multicultural identity, without abdicating their own culture but giving its deserved value.

In conclusion, the migrations (emigrations and immigrations) can have important implications for domestic policies in developing countries. Besides the remittances, very important in countries where the foreign balance is sustainable by them, the emigrants can spread democratic attitudes, through visits, migrant returns and cross-border communication, preventing the increase of corruption, so typical in many developing countries. It is important to do the balance between all these aspects. It is easier to quantify the economic effects the same does not happen with the social and the policies effects. The statistics on remittances and migrations in developing countries are very poor, many times the process of data collection is very imperfect and different from country to country and the data are obtained getting estimates. It is a difficult study to do with rigor.

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<sup>6</sup> UNDP (2009), *Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development*, NY UNDP, p.82.

<sup>7</sup> CASTLES & MILLER (2009), *The Age of Migration*, N.Y Guilford Press, p.41.

According to the World Bank data remittances to sub-Saharan Africa had growth rates until the beginning of the crisis, higher than other developing countries, having been a very great decline in 2009. But, according to the estimate of the same source, a resume from that year and according to forecasts they will have a most significant increase in 2011 and 2012. In all developing countries there was a certain resilience of remittances. This is justified for they are cumulative, aiming always the return to the origin country.

## **2. Migratory process in Cape Verde: emigration and Immigration**

In Cape Verde the migration process is already old. The dry climate and the successive famines are the main causes for the emigration. First, to Sao Tome and Principe, in the historical time of II colonization, where they worked in coffee and cocoa plantations, property of the Portuguese enterprises, named “roças”, with a particular social and economic structure. More recently, until the beginning of the XX century the USA and some European countries were the main destinations of the emigrants from Cape Verde. Between 1900 and 1920 the USA absorbed the most part of emigrants from Cape Verde (about 62%)<sup>8</sup>. The remittances have allowed the monetising of the economy and an improvement in the external accounts. However, the economic crisis of 1929, restrictive policies imposed by the USA and the effects of the II World War determined, in the period 1920-1950, a decline of emigrants and the destinations was Latina America (Brazil and Argentine) and other African countries. From the end of World War there was a new growth of flows but to new destinations: Europe, and in particular to the Netherlands, Italy and Portugal, Luxemburg and France, staying the USA at some distance. Between 1967 and 1972 the official remittances increased from 89 to 169 millions escudos of Cape Verde, representing an increase of 90%<sup>9</sup>. Nowadays the remittances give an important contribution to the Current Account Balance and also allow the improvement of the living conditions of their families who remain in the country, increasing the level of consumerism or the creation of small family businesses, generating incomes.

The fragile productive structure in Cape Verde, despite Government efforts to support investment, determines that the remittances, together with external assistance, have been the major boosters of the Cape Verdean economy. This one has a great third sector where the services (including

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<sup>8</sup> ESTÊVÃO, João (2001), «A emigração e seus efeitos na economia cabo-verdiana», in *Janus online* (2001).

<sup>9</sup> ESTÊVÃO, João (2001), «A emigração e seus efeitos na economia cabo-verdiana», in *Janus online* (2001).

tourism) represent approximately 30% of GDP<sup>10</sup>. Its political stability, good governance, inclusion in Macaronesian, its strategic position between Europe and South America, are factors that have allowed elevated tourist investments. However, it is important the attention to the great volatility of the tourism.

Most Cape Verdean emigrants in Europe have a low training, having found jobs in construction and household services, what determines low incomes and also difficulties of integration in the receptors countries. This situation leads to getting accommodation in peripheral areas, far from workplaces, getting children and youths delivered their own destiny. The lack of monitoring of their education often leads to their involvement in illegal activities and integration in criminal groups, which also perpetuates the failure of social integration of new generations.

The emigration, when there isn't familiar reunification, can be a factor of remittance increasing but can also induce some social unbalance. There are positive and negative factors.

**Table 2 - Remittances to Cape Verde**  
**% of GDP**

<b>Years</b>	<b>% GDP</b>
1991	15,2
1992	15,6
1993	15,9
1994	15,6
1995	15,5
1996	14,7
1997	12,2
1998	13,9
1999	12,0
2000	11,9
2005*	13,1
2006*	11,0
2007*	10,0
2008*	9,4
2009*	9,3

Sources: Author calculation based in statistics of Bank of Cape Verde Bank and Bank of Portugal; BVC (2009), Annual Report.

<sup>10</sup> REIS, Victor (2010), *Desenvolvimento em Cabo Verde*, Aveiro, Mimographus, p.271.

If the development of the country has been linked, for a long time, to the strength of its people and its Diaspora that represents more than the resident population, it is necessary to pay attention to some factors that can increase its importance: the good training of its people, the support to its culture in which music has an important role, the creation of migration political together the reception countries directed to a better training and social integration of emigrants and their descendants. The qualified migrants are an important potential in relations with other countries, creating social and political networks, transferring technology, promoting foreign investment and advantageous trade relationships.

The return of qualified migrants, especially when coming from countries, who speak a different language, can increase the investment, in particular tourism, serving as guides, interpreters, or just working in these companies, but also when acquired training in other areas such as medicine, management, technology and education are very important to the country development.

Cape Verde has made a great effort to educate internally their people, while the Diaspora of students continues to be high. The creation of partnerships with other universities turns possible the exchange of teachers, knowledge and the increase of population with an average level of training. This factor permitted a superior position of the country between the other developing countries of this region. We highlight partnerships with Portuguese and Brazilian universities have allowed the existence of post-graduate education in the country, but also the financing of studies (graduated and post-graduate) abroad. In more recent years there has been a certain return of emigrants to the country, namely deportees, with few qualifications, who can hardly find employment and constitute a factor of social instability and the increase of the criminality. The USA is the leader of deportations with more than 50% in 2007 according to data of Ministry of Émigré Communities.

How it has already been mentioned the migration movement had different phases but always with a great emigration tradition. Nonetheless, considering the net rates there has been a decrease since 1970-1975 when it was less 19,1 migrants per thousand inhabitants until 2005-2010 when it was 5,1 per thousand. It is expected their reduction to 4,7 per thousand to the period 2010-2105<sup>11</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> OIM //IOM (2010), *Migração em Cabo Verde (2009)*, *Perfil Nacional*, Genebra, Ed. OIM, p.21.

In 2005, the International Migration Organization under the proposal of The European Union has begun one project of creation of the Migration Profile to 32 countries of the World, between them 10 of the Central and West Africa. The “Migration Profile 2009” of Cape Verde published in the end of 2010 wants to show the gaps and weaknesses in data collection. Some estimates pointed to the existence on Cape Verde Diaspora between fewer than 200,000 (DRC/ Development Research Centre on Migration Globalization and Poverty) to over 518,000 persons (IAPE/ Emigrant Aid Institute). This difference of data has been the main factor that justifies the choice of Cape Verde between the ten others in this region where this problem was studied. This country is one with the highest emigration rates in relation to the size of its population – the value is very difficult to define. Although more than three quarters of all its emigrants are low or medium skilled, Cape Verde loses a large percentage of its highly skilled people (about 70%) to the developed countries, namely to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and USA. Between them the medicine area is the most affected with an emigration of 51% of the physicians and 41% of the nurses born in the country<sup>12</sup>. Among the students who left Cape Verde to attend higher education during the period 1997/98 and 2002/03 it is estimated that 77% did not return<sup>13</sup>. It is an investment with lower returns to the country despite the remittance and the links with the foreign countries.

This difference of data within the institutions which made it turned very difficult to draw this “Profile” is based on three factors: the suspension of statistic registration and processing of boarding pass since 1996; the fact of the first Census who included the theme of migrations was the 2000 Census which didn’t make the distinction between migrants who return, the tourists and other foreigners; the last difficulty is the inexistence of some statistic about the Cape-Verdeans emigrants who lives abroad. These problems also make it impossible to quantify and to characterize the immigrant community.

In spite of these difficulties we can say that the remittances have been very important to the balance of Payment Balance and to the increase of the Human Development Index. Cape Verde left the countries of low development, positioning itself into the countries with medium level of development.

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<sup>12</sup> WORLD BANK (2011), Migration and Remittances, Factbook 2011, p.87.

<sup>13</sup> OIM/IOM (2010), *Migração em Cabo Verde (2009)*, Perfil Nacional, Genebra, Ed.OIM, p22.



**Table 3 - Human Development Index  
Cape Verde**

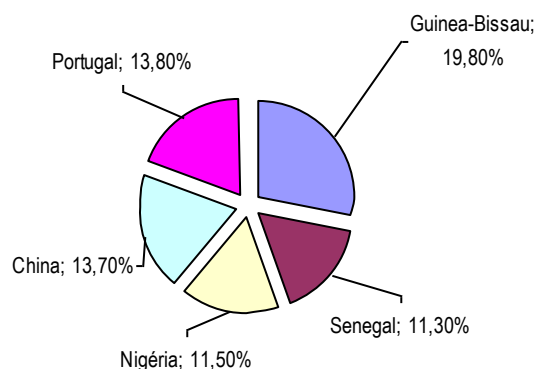
Year	Index
1992	0,474
1995	0,591
2000	0,500
2005	0,519
2009	0,531
2010	0,534

Sources: Human Development Reports to 2000  
Human Development Report (2010) with recalculation  
of all the values since 2000 using a new formula.

In spite of the different calculation and the recalculation since 2000 with the new method we can conclude that Cape Verde had a good evolution. There were other factors, besides the remittance and the level of incomes that will have contributed to this evolution.

Recently Cape Verde was confronted with a new problem: the increase of immigration. Now, Cape Verde is not only a sending country of workers but also a receptor country. According to data available in the "Cape Verde: Migration Profile 2009", in particular those which concern the residence visa given by DEF (Directorate of Aliens and Borders) the number of immigrants have increased significantly and have the origin indicated in Figure 1. There seems to have some connection between the economic development and immigration. But there is a lack of a coherent integration policy.

**Figure 1 - Residence Visa: main countries  
1976-2008**



Source: IOM (2010) Cape Verde, Migration Profile 2009, p.32.

However the Global Migrant Origin Database created by the Development Research Centre of Migration, Globalization and Poverty (2007) of Sussex University (DRC) presents another origin to the immigrants: 35% from São Tomé and Príncipe, 22% from Angola, 16% from Portugal, 8% from Guinea-Bissau and 3% from Italy<sup>14</sup>.

**Table 4 - Immigration stock in Cape Verde**  
(%)

Origin Country	%
São Tomé and Príncipe	35
Angola	22
Portugal	16
Guinea-Bissau	8
Italy	3
others	16
TOTAL	100

Source DRC Sussex University (2007), Global Migrant Origin Database

According this source the majority of immigrants in Cape Verde (82%) come from the Portuguese-speaking African Countries – PALOP- (66%) and from Portugal (16%). Through the empirical research, during the fieldwork in Cape Verde in 2011, it seems that the data of DEF are more realists. But many other Immigrants are not in regular situation and it is very difficult to know their number. Some of them have entered legally but after the end of their residence visa they stay in the country in irregular situation. However the estimates point to a number about 15 -20 thousands of irregular immigrants<sup>15</sup>

The latest data indicate that the immigrant population has risen by around 20 per cent between 1991 and 2005<sup>16</sup>. Some of them already have obtained the Cape Verdean nationality.

<sup>14</sup> OIM/IOM (2010), *Migração em Cabo Verde (2009), Perfil Nacional*, Genebra, Ed.OIM, pag.32.

<sup>15</sup> INTERNATIONAL CENTRE FOR MIGRATION POLICY DEVELOPMENT (2009), *Cabo Verde, avaliação de necessidades em matéria de asilo*, Viena, Ed. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros da Holanda.

<sup>16</sup> OIM/IOM (2010), *Migração em Cabo Verde (2009), Perfil Nacional*, Genebra, Ed.OIM, pag.17.

The immigrants have different abilities. The people from Guinea-Bissau have low schooling and low abilities. These are employed in civil construction, resulting from the increase of tourism and the need of new hotels, mainly on the islands of Sal and Boavista. The immigrants from Nigeria have greater abilities, are employed in the services sector, linked to the electronic equipment. The immigrants from Senegal are hawkers and from China are shopkeepers. The scientific and intellectual professionals as well as the managers of international enterprises and high workers of public administration represent 33% of the immigrants<sup>17</sup>. This shows the degree of attractiveness of the economy and the needs for Cape Verde to have qualified workers.

The table 5 presents the distribution of legal immigrants by activities sectors.

**Table 5 - Distribution of residence visa by professions**

Professions	%
Services workers and sellers	39
Scientific workers, executives of enterprises and superior workers of public administration	33
Factory and administrative workers and middle-level technicians	17
Workers without abilities	9
Machine operators	1
Agricultures	1
TOTAL	100

Source: Author calculation based on the DEF data.

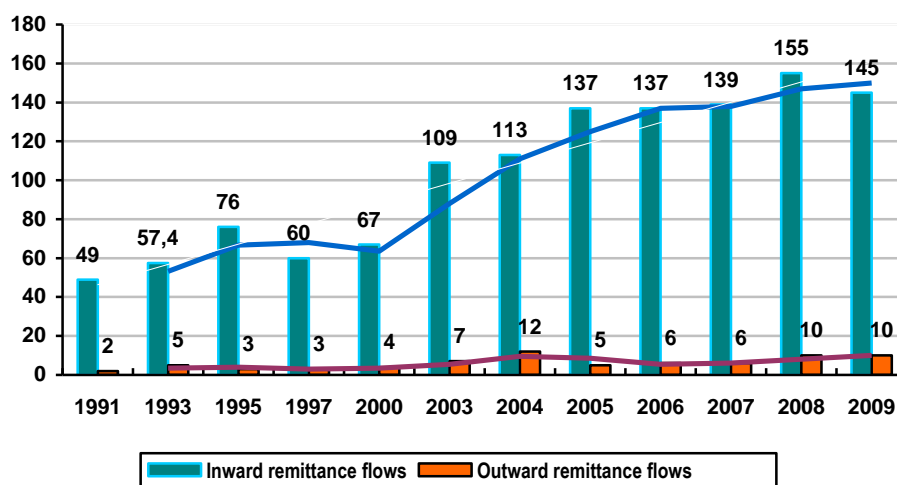
The figure 2 shows the evolution of remittance to Cape Verde and from Cape Verde, presenting values very positive to the country.

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<sup>17</sup> Data Base of DEF (2009)

US\$ millions

**Figure 2 - Inward and outward remittance flows  
Cape Verde**



Sources: World Bank (2011), Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, Washington; World Bank (2009), Migrant Remittances Inflows, Washington; Author calculation based on Cape Verde Bank.

But in Cape Verde there are also migrations between islands. The main sending islands are Santo Antão and Fogo. The migrants go to the city of Mindelo in S.Vicente Island and to the capital of the country, Praia city in Santiago Island, but also to the Sal Island to work in touristic services.

### 3. Migrations in São Tomé and Príncipe

Sao Tomé and Príncipe has different characteristics. In historical terms it was more a country of immigrants (Cape Verde, Angola, and West Africa but also from European origin). These people during the colonial period worked in great private enterprises named “roças” that during the Second Colonization produced cacao and coffee. These workers also live in these enterprises. It was a period of strong immigration to this Portuguese colony.

More recently and as result of the structural changes in the economy and social system there has been an increase in emigration, especially of young people who will complete their studies abroad and not coming back home. Family ties are also less intense and consequently also the levels of remittances.

It is very difficult to obtain data for the number of migrants (emigrants and immigrants) because the services don't have the organized data. The only data obtained are those that are included on

the Migration and Remittances, Factbook 2011 of the World Bank. It is estimated that 21,9% of the population is emigrated. Emigration rate of tertiary education is 22%, but the greater problem lies to the medical workers: 61% of physicians and 46,4% of the nurses born in the country are emigrated<sup>18</sup>.

The main destinations of the emigrants are presented in table 6.

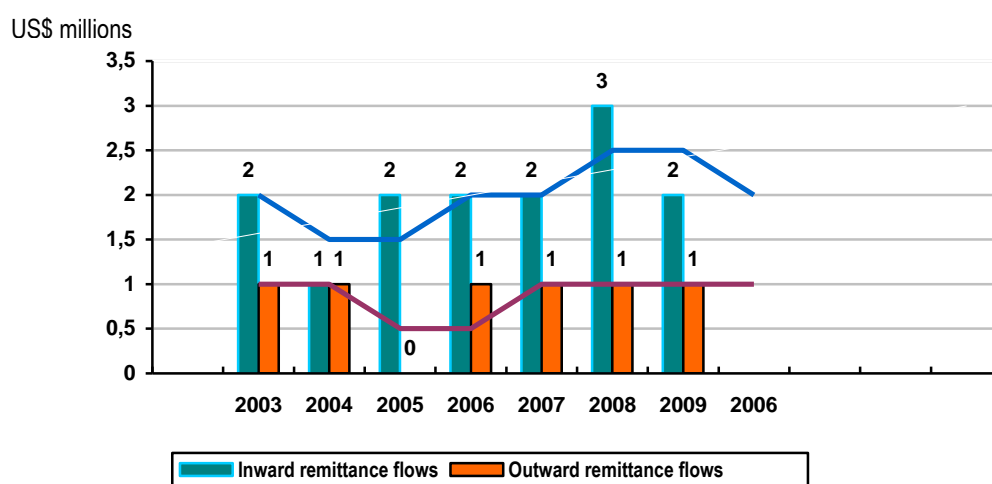
**Table 6 - Destination countries of emigration - São Tomé and Príncipe**

Portugal
Cape Verde
Angola
Spain
France
Italia
United Kingdom
Netherlands
Germany

Source: World Bank (2011), Migration and remittances, Factbook 2011, p.215

The figure 3 shows the evolution of remittance to and from São Tomé and Príncipe, very lower than in Cape Verde as the result of the factors indicated.

**Figure 3 - Inward and outward remittance flows  
São Tomé and Príncipe**



Sources: World Bank (2011), Migration and Remittances Factbook 2011, Washington.

<sup>18</sup> World Bank (2011), Migration and remittances, Factbook 2011, p.215.

There is a small stock of immigrants in São Tomé and Príncipe. It only represents 3,2% of the population of the country. The sending countries are Angola, Cape Verde, Portugal, Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Russian Federation, France and Republic of Congo. However the percentage or the number of people coming from each one is not known.

## **Conclusion:**

There are many omissions in the data of these two countries. However the statistic services are very well structured in Cape Verde. Also, in Cape Verde, the local universities researchers are doing a good work, some of them with the aim to understand the local migratory dynamics. The strong identity, characterized by their culture, the links with the families who stay in the country, the sentiment of Cape Verdeans who think to return to their country some day, are factors that justify the high level of remittances.

São Tomé and Príncipe have a political instability, a public administration not well organized where the statistics services are not a priority. With the economy unstructured in agriculture and business terms it is not attractive from the people to stay in the country. Many people go to other countries (developed or developing), trying greater incomes and better welfare. The lack of a strong identity, together with the other factors, determines that the people who leave the country don't think coming back, thus justifying the low level of remittances from the exterior.

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