TRANSITS "IN" CAPE VERDE ISLANDS: A LOOK ABOUT THE MIGRATIONS FROM WEST AFRICA[1]

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Abstract
This article presents some insights about the processes and migration dynamics surrounding the archipelago of Cape Verde. From its settlement to today, is made up purely as an area of migration. We can understand their size, primarily as a displacement of people in physical space. But the space of displacements also qualifies in multiple dimensions (social, political, economic, cultural ...) and a two-way (arrival / departure). That is, if we speak of migration, we can find here a good example for a reading of the Cape Verdean social complexity, to approach the historical perspective of its training (demographic, political, economic, social and cultural) and the current dynamics that have favoured mobility of people to the islands of Cape Verde. This is the pronouncement that the migrations towards this country have come significantly complex over the past two decades. Beyond the empirical interest in this new scenario in which the archipelago is announced, I try to anchor my analysis in the complex context of immigration from the West African coast countries to Cape Verde Islands. This approach seeks to broaden the debate about the notion of "immigrant". After a brief description on migration to and from Cape Verde I try to make a reflection about who the African migrants groups are identified in a postcolonial context. Furthermore, I raise some suggestions about the dynamics and the contradictories aspects that identify the creative side of the migrant subject as agent in a global imaginary world.

Keywords: Migration; Subject; Transit; Cape Verde; West Africa

Introduction

Since the last decade of last century, there has been an intensification of migrations to the archipelago of Cape Verde. This new phenomenon, overall, has been attracting increasingly more attention from the Cape Verdean authorities, either by their size, as the new challenges facing the Cape Verdean society.

In fact, the Cape Verde archipelago, from its settlement to today, is made up purely as an area of migration. We can understand their size, primarily as a displacement of people in physical space. But the space of displacements also qualifies in multiple dimensions (social, political, economic, cultural ...) and a two-way (arrival / departure). That is, if we speak of migration, we can find here a good example for a reading of the Cape Verdean social complexity, to approach the historical perspective of its training (demographic, political, economic, social and cultural) and the current dynamics that have favoured mobility of people and the islands of Cape Verde.

Today the complexity of international migration is a fact, and Cape Verde, as part of the global system, is inherently part of this dynamic. We can easily highlight a strong link between globalization and migration (intra-and international), which has contributed to greater ease of people cross-national borders and can be linked to various destinations. New possibilities of transport, communication and information, no doubt, favour closer ties between places and facilitate the movement of people. Nevertheless, we cannot leave behind the colonial factors that brought new features and new migratory dynamics, particularly, in the sub-region of the West African coast.

However, we must emphasize the other side of the technological advances that have been providing nation-states in a more rigorous control of its borders. Thus, there is a contradictory aspect of the dynamics imposed on international migration. This is because before a certain anxiety by the Nation-States with regard to immigration policies and control and selection of migrants has led many people to the use of informal routes crossing the border. Indeed, it intensifies the political and social challenges in destination countries.

This paper also attempts to rethink the notion of immigration, and at the same time let me drive by a reflection of the complexity from mobility of people considering the problem that arises in relation to the representations assigned to migrant groups. I try to bring a brief discussion on migrations, especially in order to open, a little bit, the fields of what is possible to understand in terms of human mobility from and to Cape Verde Islands.

1. West Africa a historic region of migrations

It is very difficult to define the volume of migration in the West Africa region, which involves men, women and children (Adebusoye, 2006: 8). Indeed, many studies have proclaimed the African continent as one of the spaces and greater mobility of populations in general remains to be seen this way (Curtin, 1997; IOM, 2005). Actually, what we can observe is that the vast majority of African migrants move within the continent.[2]

Specifically, the West African region characterizes' by the particularity of the impact on density and intensification of migration (Zlotnik, 2003; Bakewell and Haas, 2007). We can say that this is not a new trend. In pre-colonial period, migration resulted often based on ancient traditions of small groups of subsistence crops (hunting, gathering, farming and pastoralist practices). This lifestyle was closely linked to natural constraints, people had to move always in search of pasture in times of lack of vegetation, or looking for more fertile land (Castles and Miller, 2009: 148).

The impacts of colonization set various internal migration routes, as well as international, towards the former colonial powers in the period after independence. This process has contributed to European colonial new migration dynamics in Africa (Brunel, 2004; Trindade, 2000), with the delineation of boundaries of modern national states (Haas, 2006), through the recruitment of labour workforce (Andrade, 1996), or by using strategies for planning and settlement as a means of political and administrative control of populations (Brunel, 2004; Trindade, 2000; Coelho, 2004).

Moreover, migration of populations across the region shows today the strength of a system consisting of the international division of labour and the strong impact of economic globalization. Currently, some groups maintain traditional ways of life including the seasonal and cyclical mobility to livestock and agriculture. Increasingly, the decision to migrate has been driven by economic changes, political, social, also climate, or may be related to individual projects or collective survival and consumption (Mafukidze, 2006; Adepoju, 2006; Haas, 2006).

It also noted the external conditions that have operated on contemporary expectations or constraints of migration as a response on the decision processes of migration. In this context, we have the constitution of contemporary migration maps, national and international, and which intersect with space inequalities, as highlighted in

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[2] On this subject see more details on Castles e Miller, 2009; Zlotnik, 2003; Bakewell e de Haas, 2007.

the analytical theory of the world system (Wallerstein, 1974) and authors who have crossed this model specifically to the field international migration (Petras, 1996; Portes and Walton, 1981). Thus, the logic of migration would explain from the periphery to the centre of the world-system, by which Elizabeth Petras (1996) points out how different modalities of movement coercive transfers, the colonization, the transplants of groups workers and the export and import of labour reserves. In this order, the highlight is a global labour market highly regulated (Petras, 1996) where, generally, the core states have more regulatory power and permeability of its borders. This logic of centre / periphery relationship favours the target market segmentation work (Baganha, 2000; 2001) focused on the very constitution of the legal space of nation states.

Moreover, this relationship presents a dichotomous correlation between migration and modernity, through the representation of a "status", while living standards in relation to developed countries (Ferguson, 2006). Consequently, this centre represents obstinately outlook towards her, extolling dreams and possibilities of life "imagined" (Appadurai, 1996). We face an important asymmetry in the geography of a post-colonial modernity, as reflected in the complex social processes and experiences of contemporary human mobility.

2. The archipelago of Cape Verde and the routes of the Atlantic

- Arrival: the starting point

Upon arrival of European navigators to the islands of Cape Verde in the second half of the fifteenth century, record the first migrations (factual) to the islands. Before the "discoveries" there was an aim to settlement, and in this process we identify generally to different groups: a) European settlers, particularly the Portuguese and some Genoese, Spanish and some Flemish; b) and slaves of the West African coast regions moved to the islands of Cape Verde. In addition, as we see with other authors (Carreira, 2000; Andrade, 1996), there were some banished Europeans, and free Africans accompanying spontaneously traders, mercenaries and masters of vessels.

The records until the late nineteenth century point to a limited number of Europeans (free immigrants) and an important contingent of forced migrants ("the damned") and still a considerable body of slaves brought from the West African coast (Carreira, 2000). The Portuguese constituted the vast majority of Europeans and were mainly in southern Portugal, the Azores and Madeira. Apart from "noble", there were a

significant number of deportees to the islands in 2433 and about 81 women (Andrade, 1996: 43). In addition, points to a residual number of Northern Europeans and Japanese (Simão Barros, s/d: 39 *apud* Andrade, 1996: 44). It should also highlight the persecution of Jews in the XVI century in which an entire colony settles in Cape Verde. Later, in the XIX century reaches the archipelago over a contingent of Jewish Moroccan origin (Andrade, 1996: 44).

Moreover, it was possible to describe the historical connection of the migratory processes of Cape Verde established with the interior of the African continent by colonial penetration (Andrade, 1996). Naturally, the flows between the islands and coastal areas of the continent are recorded before this period of Cape Verdean migration in the early decades of the nineteenth century, or the early statistical records of the colonial era. This historical relationship to the African context we find the factors of the processes of colonization advocates of pre-social, economic and infrastructure that enabled the occurrence of large-scale migration, as the specific actions of recruiting manpower forced (Haas, 2005: 21, Trindade, 2000: 201; Andrade, 1996: 182).

Today in a context marked by the existence of several thousands of immigrants, we assume that migration to Cape Verde are, on one side, formed by a migration of attachment or, on the other hand, with a relatively permanent nature. There has been continuous migration flows, possibly with a character of transit to other regions of destination or, rather, a continuation of the migratory journey in search of accomplishments. It should be noted that there is nothing new in this situation: in other times, the emigration of many Cape Verdeans to Dakar had exactly the same purpose, running this "scale" as a point of accumulation of resources for new projects migration, particularly for United States of America and Europe (Andrade, 1996: 184).

According to Antonio Carreira (1983: 182), the earliest records of flows of Cape Verdean migration takes place in the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century, especially to the United States of America. Emigration in Cape Verde starts presenting its orientation towards the industrialized countries as result of the conditions from deprivation and lack of land (Andrade 1996: 182) and, eventually, to find a livelihood there. New forms of emigration had its expression in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, particularly for the region of Dakar, Senegal. This could provide a setting or character of traffic then. Indeed, many Cape Verdeans, especially young people, because they could not pay the travel ticket to Europe or the United States of America, journeyed to Dakar where they worked toward the time required in

order to fund the migration plan of the United States of America or Europe. Other employed as seamen in ships (Andrade, 1996: 184). Still others ended up settling. Today, with some factors that will be exposed, it's possible to identify a dynamic growing migration to the Cape Verde islands, with a certain prominence in relation to the countries of the West African Coast.

- Increased immigration to Cape Verde

Since the early 1990 has seen a new environment that mirrors the increasing number of migrants. In a brief characterization of migrants to the archipelago, it is identified groups of various origins, as we see at the table 1, which presents a generalized form of migrant populations' residents in Cape Verde.

Table 1- *Foreign people in Cape Verde Islands by nationality*

Country	Effective	%
Total	**14373**	**100%**
Africa	**10306**	**71,7%**
Guinea-Bissau	5544	38,6%
Guinea-Conakry	456	3,2%
Nigeria	740	5,1%
Senegal	1634	11,4%
Other ECOWAS	409	2,8%
Angola	409	2,8%
Mozambique	28	0,2%
São Tomé e Príncipe	772	8,4%
Other Africa	314	2,2%
Americas (North/South)	**1100**	**7,7%**
Brazil	316	2,2%
Cuba	95	0,7%
United State of America	388	2,7%
Other America	205	1,4%
Asia	**498**	**3,8%**
Europe	**2446**	**17,0%**
Germany	75	0,5%
Spain	158	1,1%
France	223	1,6%
Italy	451	3,1%
Portugal	1281	8,1%

United Kingdom	57	0,4%
Other Europe	201	1,4%
Oceania	**23**	**0,2%**

Source: INE-CV, Censo 2010

As we see, according to data presented by the National Institute of Statistics, for the year 2010, there are 14,373 people residing in Cape Verde representing other nationalities. This figure equates to about 3% of the total population. It is relevant to compare these figures with data from the Department of Foreign and Border (DEF), since this institution has the only figures for foreign holders of residence permits. Indeed, we are talking about a part of the total immigrant population in Cape Verde. Considering the information on the Residence Permit (RP) in 2009 had 6193 RP, sum equivalent to the period from 1976 to 2008. Of this total prevalence is 74% male, 26% female. The same institution (DEF) presents values considering the main nationalities represented. In this case comes first are the Guinean (19.8%) in the second the Portuguese (13.8%), followed by the Chinese (13.7%), the Nigerian (11.5%) and the Senegalese (11 3%). These five countries accounted for nearly 70.1% of RP allocated over the period under review. According to information obtained in B.O. No. 16, I SERIES April 26, 2010, the number of foreign nationals residing in Cape Verde is in good standing of 6688. Of these, 49.5% are of Guinean nationality.

Table 2- *Residence Permit in Cape Verde Islands between 1976 and 2008 by nationality*

Nationality	**Nº immigrants**	**%**
Total RP	6193	100.00
Guinea Bissau	1229	19.84
Portugal	856	13.82
China	850	13.73
Nigeria	710	11.46
Senegal	701	11.32
Others	1847	29.82

Source: Data from the Department of Foreign and Border worked by IOM, 2010

However, the data presented here a clearly discrepancy between the RP and the size of the immigrants who do not fit to the formal level in the Cape-Verdean State. Therefore, it is estimated a considerable national presence of "illegal" foreign (immigrants of most countries' national West African coast) living and working in the country.

Migration flows originating in the countries of West Africa, particularly in Guinea-Bissau and Senegal or Nigeria, which are more nationalities represented among migrant groups in the archipelago, are at the bottom of the socio-professional, as manual workers, especially in construction. We find many other immigrants as street vendors and some have already built their businesses and small businesses. As for their geographical distribution of this latter group are somewhat scattered throughout the islands, with higher expression in the cities of Praia and Mindelo, and on the islands of Sal and Boavista. Like the experiences of migration in several other countries, begin to raise some problems arising from immigration, with consequences that can express both individual and social.

As a country considered "transit" (Duvell, 2006), Cape Verde has already had some experience of emergency reception of migrants seeking to reach the European continent. Examples include cases like "Djondad", "Awaid II", "Kabofumo" and "Case of 130" that have challenged the government of Cape Verde, as shown by the obstacles to the resolution of situations despite international treaties ratified by the country and a set of laws nationwide. These experiences of transit have been explored in the context of the African continent, especially in studies of movement of people from the "Sub-Saharan Africa" for the Maghreb region (Duvell, 2008; Haas, 2006). Authors such as Frank Duvell (2008) and Dilip Ratha and William Shaw (2007: 3) refers to Cape Verde as one of the transit points for the migration from West Africa, trying to obtain false documents as a means of reaching Europe. The archipelago has also been mentioned as a starting point skirting the migratory routes of the centre of the Sahara towards the Canary Islands (Haas, 2006: 4). However, is this purely a problem of illegal immigration? What have been your reflexes more broadly on social and political boundaries in Cape Verde?

3. Factors of migration to Cape Verde

Some aspects may be highlighted as the main driver of migration into the archipelago of Cape Verde in the last two decades. It should be emphasized, nevertheless, that the country is far from a reversal of the index as a country of emigration, but the novelty is that the intensification of immigration to the islands and the importance that has received by the public authorities.

i) *The archipelago of Cape Verde occupies a strategic location in the Atlantic*. Its relative proximity, about 500 km from the African promontory, may be regarded as an

important factor in reducing costs of transport and communication, or even the difficulties of movement. Moreover, its geostrategic position can be seen as another element of human contribution to the circulations in the region. By this I mean that migration appear to be far more complex than the idea centred on the final destination in Europe or North America. Eventually, they may present in the regional West African coast and a dynamic level of major corridors and transit of "South-South". However, Cape Verde as the nation-state in a globalizing world cannot escape the asymmetries of modernity.[3] Consequently, as we have seen, the challenges that globalization has imposed in the contemporary world does not fail to raise the risk problem in human beings. For example, hundreds of people arriving by sea in overcrowded boats has been one of the problems the Cape Verde authorities have been facing in recent decades. So the country has experienced numerous weaknesses in terms of mastery of this situation.

ii) *Targeting strategies to global economy*. In the early nineties there were structural changes in Cape Verde that dictated its openness to the processes of economic globalization. Enrolled in a context of profound change in the essential options of the economy and society, Cape Verde, the Third National Development Plan (NDP) of the Government Program of the Second Republic was designed for an expansion of relations with foreign markets, entering thus the country in the international economy. The NDP III states that "the Government's overall economic direction based on the idea that Cape Verde should be inserted so full the global economic system and then, through the creation of dynamic competitive advantages, to situate the process of developing the country."[4] Indeed, the last two decades, Cape Verde "has become an attractive country not only as a route for migratory groups more easily reach Europe and North America, but also as a destination because it is a democratic country, economically and without conflict promising."[5] Thus, the country begins to face with the arrival of migrants from various backgrounds and with a diverse range of goals;

iii) The mobility of migrant workers, can often be determined by supply and demand of occupational groups (Petras, 1981: 57), thus directing the *professional categories and different wage* in destination countries. The country's policy towards integration of its economy in the world will highlight the attraction of foreign

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[3] For the critique of Eurocentric position in political, economic and cultural relationship see Ferguson, 2006; Escobar, 1995; Thomas, 2002; Bordonado e Pussetti, 2006.

[4] III National Development Plan 1992 - 1995, General Report, Ministry of Finance and Planning in Cape Verde, 69.

[5] National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship - "The issue of illegal migration or Irregular: Recommendations". CNDHC/Rec/GTPMR/01/2006: 2.

investment and tourism. Indeed, it has driven the country, increasingly, as a point of attraction for the citizens of other countries and a growing number of tourists, entrepreneurs, traders, etc. Specifically, investment in tourism and the establishment of the hotels, as well as the rooting of construction companies, has led to the need for work force, particularly in the construction industry. This is a fact that there has been a bit all over the archipelago, perhaps with greater visibility in the eastern islands, Boavista and Sal. In fact, the discussion about the crossing of borders by migrant workers is unrelated to the context of globalization with the particularity of the division of the labour market because of the modern world system (Wallerstein, 1974). The idea for such a hierarchy in the international division of labour is important for understanding the transformation processes between the central and peripheral countries, as well as new migration courses. However, this does not imply that migration is something new - in fact, humans always have moved in search of new opportunities. But human mobilities have been given a new feature with the beginning of European expansion from the fifteenth century. Thus, they became more intense as result of political and cultural changes, as well as the development of means of transport and communications technologies (central dynamic in the processes of globalization). Therefore, given the contradictions in relation to the national reserves against certain groups and categories of migrants, once again we confront the question of migration with characteristics of transit and instances of irregularities, which have intensified their reflexes in the archipelago of Cape Verde.

iv) A relevant level is the *political and economic relations between States*. Cape Verde is a country that belongs to the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), subject to the rules of travel facilities to persons who are nationals of countries-members of this community.[6] In the specific context of the Member States of ECOWAS, the migration has been characterized by a density of mobilities, also largely facilitated by the agreement of free movement. More concrete examples that can be presented here go against two important aspects: a) The legal and economic links (such as Resolution No. 151/V/99, 28 December) approving, for purposes of ratification, the Convention on the Free Movement of Persons and Property, signed between the

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[6] The Economic Community of West African States includes 15 countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea Conakry, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo . The treaty of ECOWAS was signed on May 28, 1975 and Protocol of Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment, within the framework of ECOWAS was completed in Dakar, May 29, 1979, and validated by Cape Verde by Law No. 18/II/82.

Government of the Republic of Cape Verde and the Republic of Senegal. b) The connections based on common language serving as one of the channels in facilitating decision-making plan migrants (as in the case of Cape Verde and Guinea-Bissau). However, the Cape Verdean State has been debating for some limits on freedom of movement within ECOWAS. One of the key criteria set out is in keeping with internal security measures and access control to the foreign country, being one of the requirements for entry into the country for evidence of economic means of subsistence.[7]

v) It should also highlight the *historical importance of links on the mobility of people*, which played a key role in disseminating information and contacts between the pre-colonial societies. It should also refer to the implications of European colonial process in migration dynamics in the African continent, with the delineation of borders, through the recruitment of work force, or by using strategies for planning political and administrative control of the populations. At the level of migration of the West Coast for the African archipelago of Cape Verde two examples presented here may be expressing a very clear historical connection: a) the colonial relationship as reflected in the settlement of the islands and the establishment of historical, political and administrative very strong cultural, especially in regions of Guinea-Bissau. This was an argument that led the current government to establish a special procedure for legal permission to stay for the nationals of Guinea Bissau, through Decree-Law No. 13/2010. b) We cannot forget the flows of Cape Verdean migration to several neighbouring countries on the African continent, already since the last century. This has contributed to the formation of bridges and migratory networks as supports for deciding to migrate and in the process of fixation. For example, Cape Verdeans constituted family in emigration countries (Senegal, Guinea-Bissau, etc.), and returned after some time later. Once started this process, therefore, will most likely attend the constitution of "cumulative causation" (Massey et al. 1998: 45-46).

4. Rethinking the idea of immigrant

Another issue worthy of a careful exploration has to do with stereotyping flows from West Africa and their association with adverse effects, rather prominently in the media

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[7] See Legislative Decree No. 6 / 97, 5 May - regulates the legal situation of the alien in national territory; Regulatory Decree No. 10/99 of 9 August - defines the nature and quantity of sufficient financial resources for entry and temporary stay of the foreigner in the country, cases of exemption and the manner of proof of ownership.

reflecting the common sense. Often, and more generally, the representation of migrant groups is linked to images of conflict, violence, poverty or even groups with no active intervention policy in the country of residence. This could be referred to the assumption of space-time national state, as defined in the political obligation for citizens of the state and citizens (Santos, 2006). As the space-time national state links with cultural values, the devices will establish the identity scheme owned and legitimate standards that reference the social relations contained within the national territory. Then, the frictions are reinforced by the situation of segregation that legitimizes certain social hierarchies.

Studies on international migration, primarily, have shown differences in relation to internal migration, as many migrants pass through the situation, reduction of duties (Baganha, 2001: 135; Zolberg, 1989: 405; Pires, 2003: 63). That is, access to the rights of national states is mediated by citizenship through the nationality. The designation of "foreigner", due to certain migrant groups, refers to a system territorially delimited by a set of macro-rules of membership (Pires, 2003: 59). Generally, the exercise of sovereignty, which implies control who can enter, remain and belong to the nation-state boundaries gives the nature of primordial symbols of expression of the sovereignty of nations, with their control of a critical affirmation of the legitimacy of state power (Castles and Miller, 2009: 41-43; Baganha, 2001:141-142). In this sense, the adoption of restrictive measures by the receiving countries in order to curb and discourage immigration, the border does prevail as a barrier, thus marking the prospects for the interior and exterior. So here we find a contradictory element (Akokpari, 2000: 73) and may be the key to understanding the continued growth of informality in migratory pathways.

- The problem of the definition of "immigrant"

The phenomenon of migration in Cape Verde is particularly interesting, especially because it implies, namely talk of a whole. However, think of the "immigrant", the way we see it now in a normative view, involves talking about the way we conceptualize the junction or crossing the borders. And the complexity of the formation of Cape Verdean society, in a very incisive leads us to ask on this context, what is an immigrant? A temporary workforce? A subject on transit? It seems that in general the notion bound for the immigrant brings us immediately to think of an individual entirely subjugated to work as reason to be accorded to it. And we're not talking about any one work, but the work and the place that the market assigns to the

immigrant, that is, jobs that require immigrants. However, as we know the reality of immigration is something very old but, on the other hand, as a social problem is relatively recent. Moreover, the framework of the academic highlights the fact that immigration constitutes as a social problem. This concern falls in considering the imposition of the problem defining the immigrant and thinking in relation to a series of social problems (employment / unemployment, housing, integration, return to origin, migrant women, control and regulation of migration "illegal"...). Indeed, this has been one of the challenges encountered within the social sciences on this issue.

From a sociological reflection, we admit that the emergence of migration may point to dimensions beyond the control and the definition of who enters by the nation states. No doubt that this attention to immigration is one of the greatest challenges for governments and for international order, especially given the controversies that can not fail to be generated around the issue of "illegal" immigration management (Levinson, 2005: 5). However, beyond the issue of border control, it also puts the national question. The framework presented here involves the embarrassment of admitting responsibility and accountability of the host. Considering the successive international flows of men and women throughout the historical process of the last five centuries the "immigrant" constitutes the way that we recognize today in a post-colonial, as the product of a peculiar construction, which has been based on around the idea of national identity (Sayyid, 2006).

Indeed, Lowe (2006 *apud* Hesse and Sayyid, 2006: 13) argues that "immigrant" is a product of the law but symbolizing the margin, however, is at the same time, the critique of the universality of the body politic of the nation homogenized defined by the Westphalia's framework. Essentially, there is depicted as a product for a particular construction that has been based around the idea of national identity.

The West African region has been amply highlighted by the phenomenon of forced migration. Usually, is reported through the media by "illegal" immigration, the victimization, the clichés… The exploitation of such categorizations steals a broader reflection of the experiences in origin. Indeed, such approaches can sustain the argument of an ambivalence in the dominant discourse on migration, pointing to an epistemological persistence of the colonial past on the contemporary national states (Hesse and Sayyid, 2006; Sarró and Mapril, 2009).[8]

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[8] On the issue of border thinking and global coloniality, see a more detailed analysis on the work of Walter Mignolo (2000).

Thus, immigration has been, at first, a radical process of structural change, where the culture that people carry with them is not relevant, but the structural positions they will occupy in countries of immigration (Wolf, 1982). So stand clear indicators of social marginality, such as space in the labour market, along with the status of citizenship to migrants who have access (Mapril, 2008: 35), or even its anchorage to the conceptualization of "immigrant" as an "imaginary" (Hesse and Sayyid, 2006), as a product of a spatial ex-colony ethnically marked by the colonizer. From an imagination of the centre, the dominance of Western values always define the border, specifically when we speak of "Africa" as a radical "Other" on the conventions of civilization, enlightenment, progress, development, modernity, and, indeed, history (Ferguson, 2006: 2). Hence, the uniqueness of the table records the milestones urging migrants to return to the origin. In other cases, multiples the decontextualizations by the amalgamation of experiences only perpetuate the barriers caused by silences.

- Refocusing on the subject

The context of the Cape Verde archipelago presents an interesting condition because it combines a number of different factors that drive migration dynamics. These dynamics must be examined in their chronological complexity, but also by its plurality is not only the various representations of a common national origin, but also shows us the angles that reveal the creativity of its staff. I speak of cultural creativity, economic, social, but also from the standpoint of the dynamics represented in human mobility from one region to another, from one country to another. This creative ability of these migrants opens an immense space of reflection. This is because the level of migration dynamics (and the case of migration in the region of the West Coast across the African archipelago of Cape Verde) constitutes a new imaginary. Specifically, is the reappropriation of the networks and the benefits are not confined to the limits border constituency, not subject to the condition attributed to the strong mark of migrant labour.

Indeed, on the vast majority, the work is linked to migration. Nonetheless, we can also find a strong relationship between labour and migration plan while the plan of implementation and because of happiness. By Michel Wieviorka suggestion (2010:23), introducing the perspective of the subject in the analysis of labour cannot be confined to the face alienation and destruction of the individual. It should also be examined through the dimensions of personal achievement and creativity represented in how the personal

experiences are built. Admittedly, sometimes this factor of creativity in terms of migration is associated with the condition of survival. However, we must underline its capacity in the migration decision as well as a participatory action in modern life. Indeed, its action involves, in addition to personal accomplishment, the reflection of their status as citizens. Therefore, we find the tension in the "imaginary" fuelled by globalization (Appadurai, 1996) and generalization rooted in the everyday practice of national consumption without anchors.

Conclusion: general considerations

Some insights about the processes and migratory dynamics surrounding the archipelago of Cape Verde pronounce that the migration towards this country has come significantly complex over the past two decades. Therefore, several challenges that the State and Cape Verdean society face now confront with the characteristics of contemporary migration in a game of continuity, persistence and flexibility of the borders. However, with these strengths that Cape Verde is facing in this era of globalization, it is indeed essential to work profoundly in order to have answers for the new and complex challenges. It should be interesting to understand the migrants' practices and the decisions to migrate, confronting the issues to the view of regulation the migratory flows. Indeed, the normative approaches may sustain the argument of the ambivalence in the dominant discourse on migration, pointing to an epistemological persistence of the colonial past on the contemporary national states.

Furthermore, I try to create a line of analyse concerning the subjective side of action representing the construction of personal experiences. I underline the creative capacity of migrant people to take decision and to participate in the complex world created by the globalization and, at the same time, contradictory within a dimension of migrations' control.

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