

11th International Metropolis Conference

Leaving Lusophone Countries: Migrants (Re)constructing Their Identities in
Destination Countries

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«Cape-verdeans believe they are better than other africans»:

APPROACHING CAPE-VERDEAN IDENTITY DYNAMICS IN DIASPORIC CONTEXTS



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1. In this lecture, I will try to depart from **multi-dimensional methodological research** on Cape-verdeans, questioning in the same time the methodologies used by us and by others and the exploratory results obtained, facing **enigmas** in the understanding of **different segments of Cape-verdeans interethnic identity strategies** in **different cultural ecologies and identity contexts**.

2. The **strategy of research** is based in a creative process of **methodology by theoretical objectives**, team work and the preference given to **fieldwork and interviews conducted by Cape-verdean anthropologists** in their process of university formation.

3. The different **methodologies** has been «classic» fieldwork and interviews, supplemented by a focus group, a **Multidimensional identity questionnaire [QIM]** and the factorial analysis of an attitudinal research tool in interethnic relations, the **Interethnic attitudinal questionnaire [IAQ]**.

4. The segments investigated in a perspective of **interethnic identity dynamics** has been:

- a sample of 121 **Cape-Verdeans living in four islands of Cape Vert** and a sample of 69 **Cape-Verdean immigrants in Lisbon and Setúbal**, answering the QIM (E. P. Correia oriented by J. Bastos, 1993);

- a focus group conducted by J. Bastos, with 20 **Cape-verdean students in different Faculties of Lisbon**, discussing in 2002 the results published in J. Bastos & S. Bastos, 1999 (J. Bastos, 2003, 2006);

- a sample of **Cape-verdeans living in Newark, USA** (Gibau oriented by J. Bastos, 2002);

- a sample of **45 Cape-Verdean immigrants working in Paris**, answering the QIM (Rodrigues conducted by J. Bastos, 2004);

- four different sub-samples, in the total of 120 **Cape-Verdean immigrants living in the Greater Lisbon** (Tavares & Costa oriented by J. Bastos & S. Bastos, 2005-06), answering the IAQ.

5. In our more recent research - «*Different Children of Different Gods*» (2006) - we created an **attitudinal research tool in interethnic relations** to reveal and **understand in comparative terms the cultural construction of the processes of differentiated social insertion** in **a fixed immigratory context**, in this case the present **postcolonial portuguese immigratory context**, departing from **six different ethnic groups** present in Portugal:

-**Portuguese Gypsies**, an old immigratory group with five centuries of presence, ethnically differentiated in a process of **antagonistic acculturation** with the autochtones, but juridically portuguese and revindicating portuguese appartenance (segmented in two sub-samples);

-**three different groups of Indian genealogical origin**, coming mainly from the East coast of Africa after the decolonisation of Mozambique, in 1975 (and that are the cases of **Ismailis, Sunnis and Hindus**, differentiated more by **the religious communities** that aggregates them in different ethno-religious identities then linked by ethno-national or juridical origins),

- **Sikhs**, another **Indian ethno-religious group** with historical conflicts with Sunnis and Hindus and with no colonial links to portuguese ecology, arriving in recent years to Portugal, directly from Pundjab or after an European periplous through German, Italy, etc.;

- and **Cape-verdeans**, another group of ex-portuguese colonials, that gained a national identity after decolonization and come to Portugal in **a diaspora of hope**, before and after decolonisation (segments in four sub-samples).

6. The exploratory **factorial analysis** done to a first sample with **N = 310**, reacting to **183 structured stimulus**, explained **55% of the variance** registered by **four independent factors**, that we named as «**religious agonistic fundamentalism**» (17.8 % of the variance), «**accusation of racism**» (more 17,1 % of the variance explained), «**religious communitarism**» (10.2% of the variance) and «**openness to inter-ethnic relations**» (the last 8.4% of the variance explained).

The mathematical space produced clearly separates Cape-verdeans from all other groups. Departing from their own reactions to a multidimensional standardized research stimulus, Cape-verdeans living in Portugal emerged as **one of the groups more opposed to the first factor, «Religious Agonistic Fundamentalism»** (but not so much as Ismaelians or Hindus) and as **the group (near the Gypsies) that presents a stronger «Accusation of Racism» against their ex-colonials**, the Portuguese, said to be «arrogants» but, in their rhetorical defensiveness, they «choose» not to act in political terms, as they say that they «*learn with the portuguese not to like politics*».

These two factors characterizes «**problematic**» **inter-ethnic relations**. And documentation and fieldwork experience tells us that in Portugal only the two groups strong in «accusation of racism» are indexed as really «problematic», departing from two indicators: **strong difficulty in school insertion and success**, and the **tax of emprisonment**, so high in both cases then social researchers cried for racism coming from portuguese judicial authorities (Semedo, 1998; Seabra, 1998).

If the first two factors give clues to the interpretation of **agonistic and problematic interethnic relations**, potentially open to social violence and marginality, the last two factors reveals **strategies of benevolent juxtaposition and of interethnic openness**, giving clues either to intraethnic problems or to problematic «solutions» to interethnicity.

Factorial Analysis

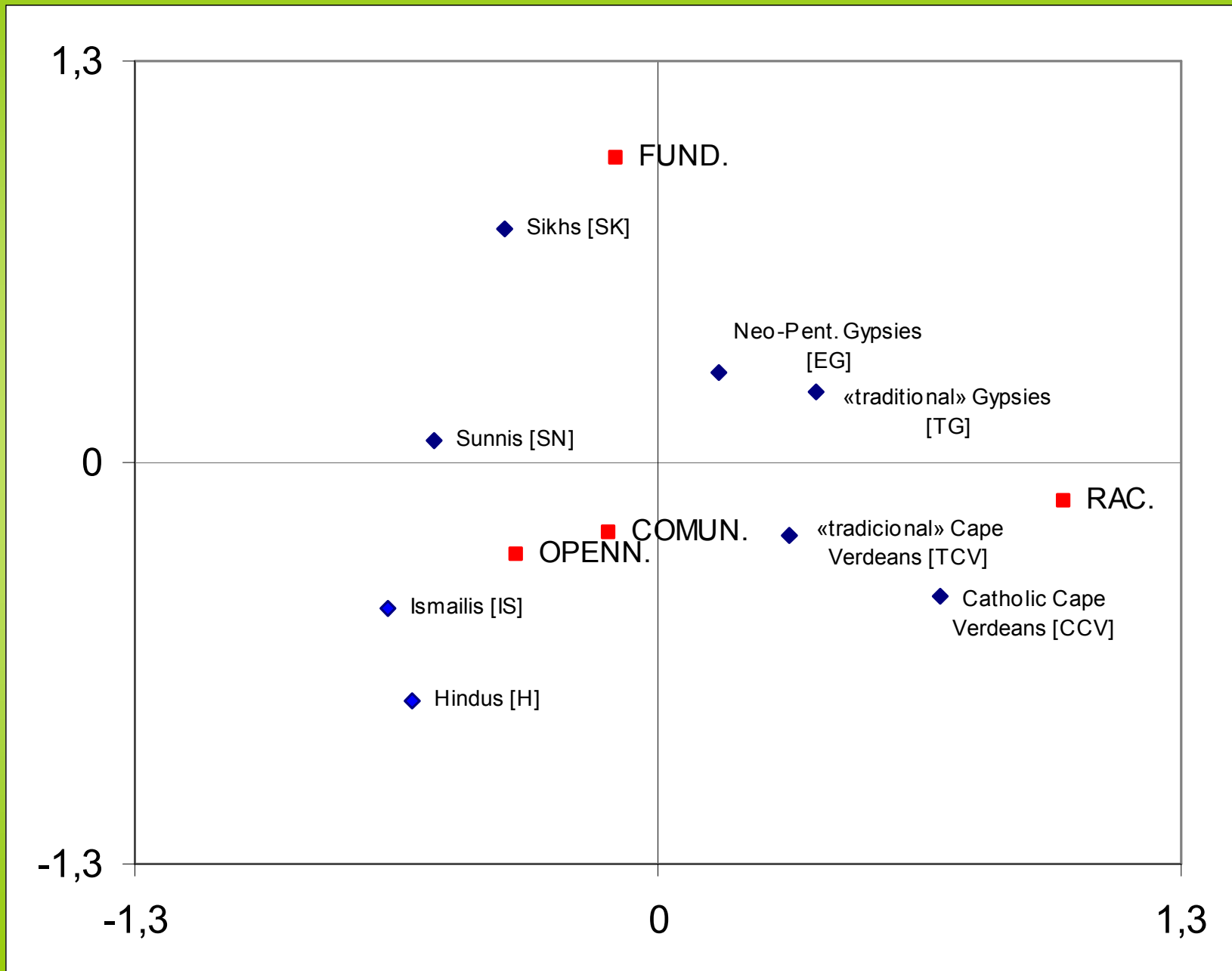


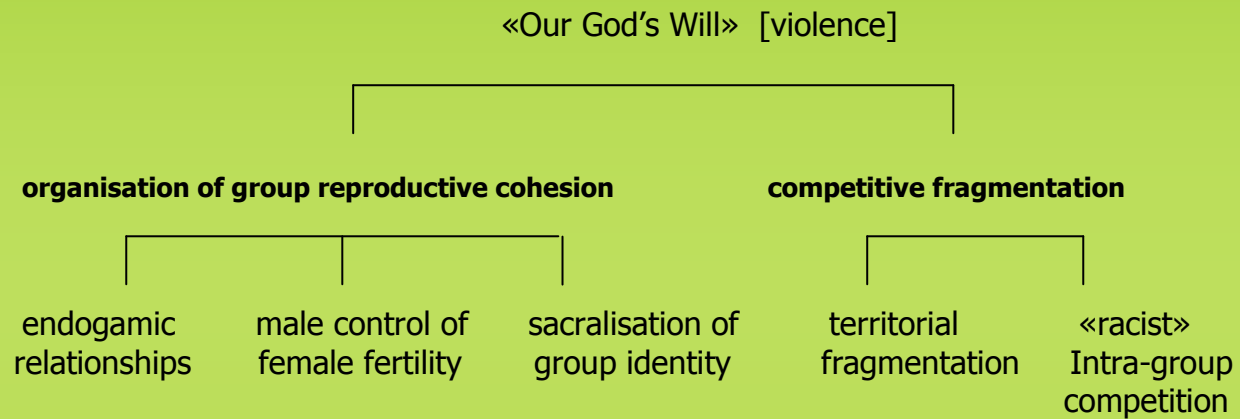
Table nº 1 A – The First Factor: «Agonistic religious fundamentalism»

ITEM											Weight
57	<i>«Women must be controlled by their fathers and husbands, to defend the honour of men, families and the community»</i>										.866
	SK 89,3	TG 81,2	EG 71,3	SN 41,9	H 17,2	NCV 16,7	IS 14,8	TCV 12,5	CCV 11,1	ECV 9,1	
99	<i>«I may have a Portuguese boyfriend / girlfriend, but I can only marry someone of my religion / race / community»</i>										.754
	TG 72,7	EG 64,6	SK 53,5	SN 50,0	CCV 21,7	ECV 18,2	NCV 12,5	TCV 11,5	H 11,5	IS 10,3	
98	<i>«If someone offends my religion, I must take revenge for the offence»</i>										.742
	SK 92,9	TG 35,3	EG 29,2	SN 28,6	H 11,5	IS + TCV 10,7		CCV 4,0	ECV + NCV 0		
163	<i>«I always defend my neighbourhood, even against someone of my race / religion»</i>										.714
	SK 96,3	TG 82,7	TCV 58,4	NCV 57,2	SN 56,5	CCV 54,6	ECV 40,0	H 29,6	IS 21,4	EG 18,7	

Table nº 1 B – The First Factor: «Agonistic religious fundamentalism»

135	<i>«Girls should marry early, therefore they must not study too long»</i>										.694
	SK 57,1	EG 56,2	TG 36,1	ECV 16,6	SN 15,7	CCV 10,0	H 7,1	IS 3,4	TCV 3,3	NCV 0	
147	<i>«Men always have the last word, women should just obey »</i>										.560
	SK 81,4	TG 76,8	EG 66,7	ECV 33,3	NCV 25,0	SN 22,6	H 22,2	IS 14,3	TCV 13,4	CCV 6,8	
62	<i>«In some cases, God demands that we be violent»</i>										.550
	TG 37,5	SK 28,6	SN 27,6	H 17,8	ECV 10,0	NCV 9,1	EG 8,4	TCV 4,0	CCV + IS 3,7		
38	<i>«In my race / community, there is a lot of racism, even against our own people»</i>										.431
	ECV 77,7	TG 72,2	SK 69,2	SN 56,7	TCV 53,5	EG 52,1	NCV 50,0	H 24,1	CCV + IS 24,0		

**Table n° 2 - Structural-dynamic Interpretation of the First Factor:
«religious fundamentalism»**



RELIGIOUS AGONISTIC FUNDAMENTALISM

The first factor expresses a possible **foundation of the socio-historical «us» upon a triple violence:**

(i) of men against women within the group (**gender violence**);

(ii) of each territorialized subgroup towards others (**segmentary violence**); and

(iii) of the group as a whole towards «others», as a reaction to identity offence (**inter-ethnic «fundamentalist» religious violence**).

Built upon this triple violence, the «us» defensively closes upon itself, associates its «honour» to endogamy and control of its women and establishes diplomatic relations with the «outside», with the expectation of «offence» from that «outside».

The apparent contradiction of this project seems to reside in the **dynamics of intra-group fragmentation and competition**. These dynamics make the larger identity in-group somehow more fragile, and create a **centripetal dynamic within the group**.

THE CULTURAL ORGANISATION OF GENDER RELATIONS



In this «fundamentalist» factor, Cape-verdeans scores low, being **the only group where men don't «dominate» women fidelity in traditional patriarchal terms**. Young girls loses virginity early in life, can has two or more children from different fathers, helped by their mothers and female relatives and in adulthood are not necessarily committed to loyalty to their husbands or companions, and can go dance with groups of female friends in the weekend and have their erotic affairs of one night stand.

This is a pattern that ethnographic research sistematically associates with different ethnic groups having in common African ancestry (Ballard) becoming problematic because it produces downward social integration (Portes), once single mothers tends to have economic difficulties and tend to stay or to decay in a typical underclass status.

*“In the neighbourhood, there are many young women who at 14 already have children, they just show up pregnant and **we don't know who the fathers are**. Usually, it is always the woman who is branded. I think that young people just want to have sex, and don't think of the consequences. They do it and take no precautions, they end up pregnant and know that **the parents will be angry, but will not kick them out**.*

*There's young people who have children and don't care about them, they know that **the grandmother will take care of them**. I know of a woman who has around twelve grandchildren in her house, of various children.”*

*“Look, **there's always casual affairs**, the problem is that, if it's a man who is married and goes with another woman, he will be called a 'stud', and he accepts the label, he's a 'malhão', while if it's a woman cheating on a man, we all know the name everybody will call her, don't we?”*

THE CULTURAL ORGANISATION OF GENDER RELATIONS



This pattern of «search for symmetry» and of narcissistic «arrogant» war of sexes; prevailing matriarcal organization of families; parents acceptance of early and multiple motherhood without known father(s), and male absence or acting out of instable defensive strategies as machism, donjuanism, violence and more or less open polygamy came to the fore in the USA. Euclides Gibau (2002, not published), in his report of his fieldwork in Newark, USA, that he called «*Women that laugh, Men that cries*», shows that protected by USA cultural ecology - one that Margaret Mead (1948) defined as matriarcal -, Cape-verdean women learned how to stay with the ex-couple's home, with the children and with a significant portion of their ex-husbands salaries, sending them «crying», to live in the streets, relancing unstable male strategies of donjuanism and polygamy.

In this area of gender relations, answering the IAQ (2006), Cape-verdeans present a strong contradiction in factor 4, because they accept, opposing to the «fundamentalist agonistic» pattern, that «*nowadays, divorce is no longer a great problem; when couples do not get along, it is best for everyone that they should split*» (item 93), but they still retain male prerogatives when they don't accept the relevance of female religiosity in the maintenance of community and family cohesion when male hierarchised dominance fails. So, they only weakly accept the idea that «*religion has a fundamental role in [their] life*» (factor 3, item 90) and more then that, they don't agree that «*women are more religious then men*» (factor 4, item 168), a kind of female «moral» relevance in the control of sexuality that Gypsies and Hindus highly praise and is much more acceptable to practising Catholic Cape-verdeans then to «traditional» Cape-verdeans. Contradicting «openness», they also don't assert, as the groups that are really «opened» does, that «*most of [their] friends are Portuguese*» (factor 4, item 138).

FROM UNSTABLE GENDER RELATIONS TO UNORGANIZED «COMMUNITIES» AND INTRAETHNIC IDENTITY AGRESSION

Presenting a certain awareness of the peculiarities of their social organization, Cape-verdeans in Portugal affirm that «*there are no leaders in [their] community*» (Factor 4, item 23), an assertion indirectly associated to the fact that they assert that in their «*community there is a lot of racism, even against [their] own people*» (factor 1, item 38) an awareness particularly strong among one of their segments, the Evangelic Cape-verdeans, and scores high in localism, asserting that they «*always defend [their] neighbourhood, even against someone of [their] race or religion*» (factor 1, item 163).

This **agonistic form of intra-ethnic racism** assumes another form as «**envy**» and can block self-assertion, this time in a way that cannot be attributed to classic racism but to the pression of families and the community against individuation («*we did not succeed more only because we did not want to cause the envy of family and community members*», factor 3, item 14), as it is relevantly expressed by practising Catholics, the ones that scores higher in «accusation of racism» against «whites».

EXPORTING INTERNAL CONFLICT: FROM INTRAETHNIC RACISM TO THE ACCUSATION OF «OTHERS»



If we assume that «accusation of racism» is self-evident and that we know already everything about it, departing from a generalized perception of the causes and effects of Afro-American social conflict, we will not be interested in **new facts**. Namely that Cape-verdeans, always accusing history and the Portuguese, shows **a strongly vulnerable national identity**, self-divided and self-contradictory, based in **familialistic fantasies**:

- about their «white» origins and about their ancient proximity with their ex-colonialists,

- about their «not-being» Africans, about their superiority over «Africans», over «Manjacos» («that are worse than monkeys») in first place, but also over Angolans, that they once directed, as a «middlemen minority», in the name of the Portuguese.

And, more than that, that:

- they subdivide themselves as «**Badios**» and «**Sampadjudos**» and produce a second, intraethnic version, of their war of sexes, once:

- «**Sampadjudos**» describe «**Badios**» not only as «black Africans», the descendants of Guinea and Angolan slaves, more fitted to negotiate with Africans, but also as «really males», while

- «**Badios**» describe «**Sampadjudos**» as Portuguese descendants, more fitted to negotiate with Europeans in diplomatic terms, «arrogant» as the Portuguese, but effeminated.

Table nº 3 - Accusation of racism as a rationalisation of failure of one's project of social affluence in an inter-ethnic context [ACCUS]

ITEM											Weight
122	<i>«They will never respect us because of our skin colour»</i>										.873
	TG 60,3	EG 52,1	CCV 50,0	ECV 45,5	TCV 37,9	SN 20,0	IS 19,2	H 18,5	NCV 8,3	SK 3,6	
30	<i>«In Portugal, «white people» do not like to see us in the houses and neighbourhoods were they live»</i>										.795
	TG 87,2	EG 83,3	CCV 82,1	TCV 70,3	ECV 50,0	SK 40,7	NCV 40,0	H 20,0	IS 14,6	SN 11,5	
109	<i>«In Portugal, «white people» do not like our children to attend their schools»</i>										.740
	TG 81,8	CCV 70,8	TCV 62,9	EG 56,3	ECV 40,0	SK 14,3	SN 13,7	H 10,7	NCV 10,0	IS 0	

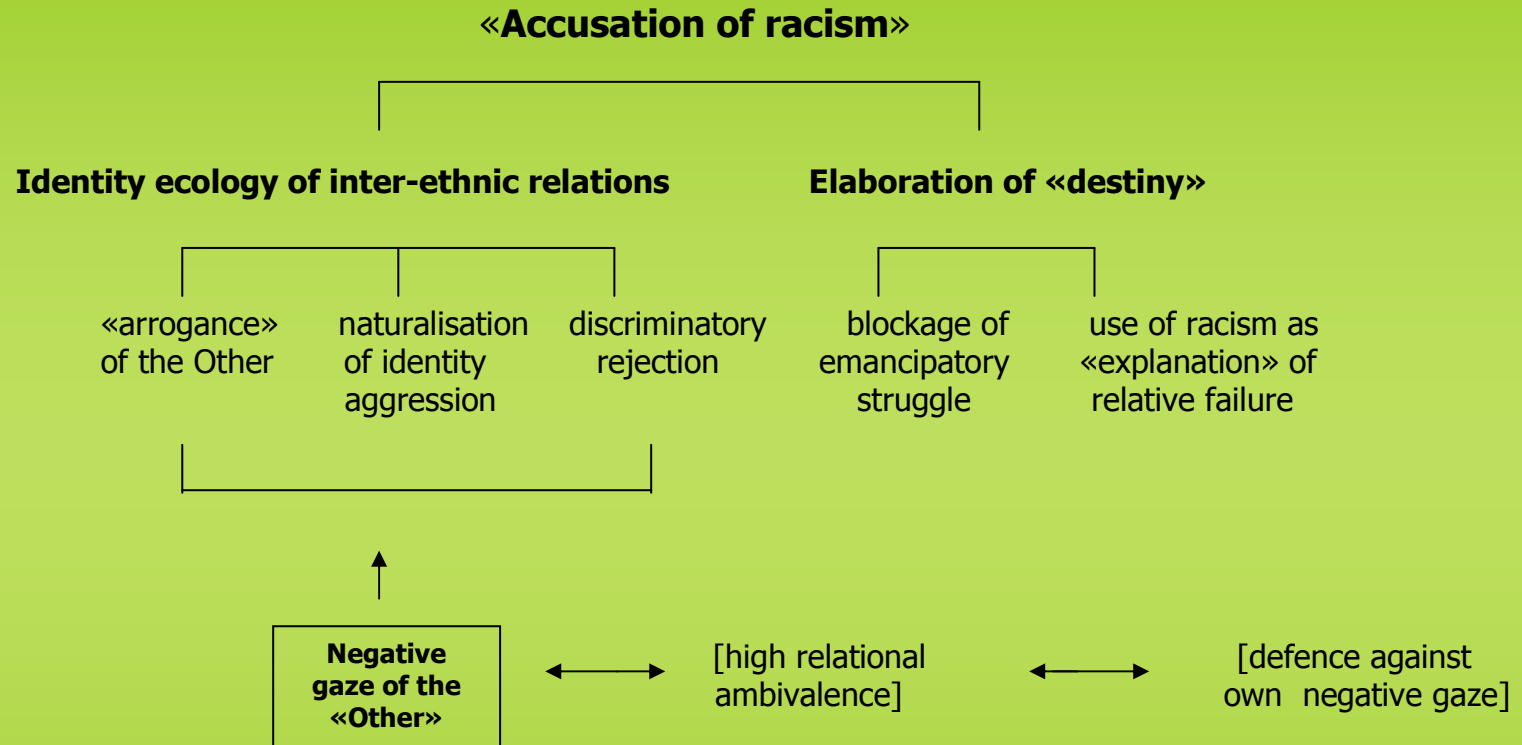
119	<i>« We did not succeed more only because «white people» keep the best opportunities for themselves »</i>										.735
	TG 83,0	EG 70,2	SK 61,6	CCV 62,9	TCV 60,0	ECV 30,0	NCV 27,3	H 15,3	SN 13,8	IS 10,0	

126	<i>« We did not succeed more only because many people are racists »</i>										.717
	TG 81,8	CCV 64,3	NCV 44,4	ECV 33,3	TCV 33,3	EG 33,3	IS 23,1	H 22,2	SK 15,4	SN 13,8	

63	<i>« The Portuguese are arrogant »</i>										.695
	TCV 69,2	NCV 58,3	TG 52,8	ECV 45,5	CCV 38,5	IS 25,0	SK 21,4	SN 20,6	H 14,8	EG 10,7	

55	<i>« In Portugal, we learned not to like politics »</i>										.611
	TG 89,1	EG 83,3	NCV 36,4	TCV 29,2	CCV 25,9	SK 19,2	ECV 18,2	SN 16,0	IS 11,5	H 7,4	

**Table n° 4 - Structural-dynamic Interpretation of Factor 2:
«Accusation of racism» [ACCUS]**



FROM NON-FUNDAMENTALISM TO ACCUSATION OF RACISM

Lower in «fundamentalist» patriarchal and hierarchised social organization (factor 1), Cape-verdeans scores high in «accusation of racism». In this Factor, Cape-verdeans score in the second place, just after gypsies, their traditional enemy in Portugal, once they **dispute the last two levels of identity hierarchies**, gypsies being seen as the Portuguese pariahs and Cape-verdeans, as «blacks», suffering the revenge of colonial defeat, translated in identity and racist terms.

Well defined in terms of negative interethnic relations but **scarcely defined as a sociocultural project**, cape-verdeans, as gypsies do, lost themselves in **internal competition** and in **antihierarchical fight for equality**, didn't obtain the gains of familial and community cohesion and economic organization, as groups of Asiatic origin are able to maintain and develop, and doesn't define an ethnic religion as the center of their «community» organization.

Reinforcing their identity by opposition, accepting or fighting against the «negative identity» imputed to them, a negative identity that they try to impute to others, inside them (as they say that *Sampadjudos* does with *Badios*), in their periphery (as they does with *Manjacos*) or outside them (against *Angolans*), **Cape-verdeans in Portugal shows difficulties in produce positive identity to themselves and to others**, as Hindus does, in terms of a specific «culture» or «civilization» they can be proud of.

*«In Cape Verde, the colonial system was unlike that of the other African countries. **The Cape-verdeans always were closer to the Portuguese, they had more opportunities for education, and they even became overseers in other colonies.**»*

“Cape Verdeans were shaped to be sent to other African countries, as leaders. They were unlike Africans.”

“Cape Verdeans believe that they are above other Africans, but this is a consequence of the colonial period, when the Portuguese taught us that we were closer to them, that we were second-class Portuguese, so the racism of the Cape verdean to other Portuguese-speaking African Countries is a Portuguese legacy. The result is that we tend to create closed groups, and that other Africans are unlikely to enter these groups.”

“In Cape Verde, all non-Cape-verdean Africans are called «Manjacos». What’s bad, is «Manjaco».

“I am ashamed of even repeating this, but since I was a child I always heard my father say, «Manjacos are worse than monkeys!”

*“In Cape-Verde, there was no distancing, **Portugal was a protective father**. When they come to Portugal, Cape-verdeans are disappointed because things are not as they imagined, they do not work that way; **Portugal becomes a bit of a stepmother**, there never were any integration policies.”*

«The Sampadjudos should interact more with the Europeans, the Badios with Africans» [former government member, quoted in the paper Horizonte]

«The Sampadjudos have much lighter skin than the Badios, and their hair is straighter, so they're often selected to work at the [Embassy] reception, while we are not.» [housewife, 46]

«The Sampadjudos think they have better behavior and etiquette than us, the Badios.» [Badia cleaning lady, 26]

«The Sampadjudos like to slight the Badios, they try to picture themselves as superior, as more intelligent than the Badios...» [Badio construction worker]

«Sampadjudo students don't look for Badios to share accommodation, they'd rather share with the Portuguese, because otherwise they think they're living with inferior people, they're also a bit racist, when they get here...» [Badio student]

«As to language, our Creole and theirs are different, in the way we speak. They think we open our mouths wide, as though we wanted to scare someone, that the Badios use foul language and are very aggressive, unlike them, because if they want to threaten someone, they will speak softly, so as to demand respect.» [Badio university student]

«The Badios are full of complexes, and they're very conservative, while we are more liberal and sociable.» [Sampadjuda housewife]

«The Badios accuse Sampadjudo men of being rascals and faggots and the women of being whores.» [Sampadjudo carpenter]

Table nº 5 - Factor 3: «Religious Communitarism» [COMMUN]

ITEM											Weight
105	<i>« When someone compliments someone from my race / religion, I feel happy »</i>										.781
	SK + EG + NCV + TCV 100		TG 98,2	IS 96,6	H 96,4	SN 93,5	CCV 93,1	ECV 92,3			
137	<i>« Our community should attempt to elect local and national representatives to stand for our interests »</i>										.756
	NCV 100	TG 94,1	EG 89,6	SK 88,4	H 84,0	CCV 81,5	ECV 80,0	TCV 75,8	SN 64,0	IS 36,0	
90	<i>« Religion has a fundamental role in my life »</i>										.674
	EG 97,9	SK 96,4	ECV 91,6	NCV 90,0	IS 89,3	SN 83,4	H 82,1	CCV 79,3	TCV 69,3	TG 66,1	
14	<i>« We did not succeed more only because we did not want to cause the envy of family and community members »</i>										.532
	SK 60,7	TG 40,9	CCV 33,3	H 28,6	SN 12,0	EG 10,4	TCV 8,6	IS 4,5	NCV + ECV 0		

**Table n° 6 - Structural-dynamic Interpretation of Factor 3:
«Religious communitarism» [COMMUN]**

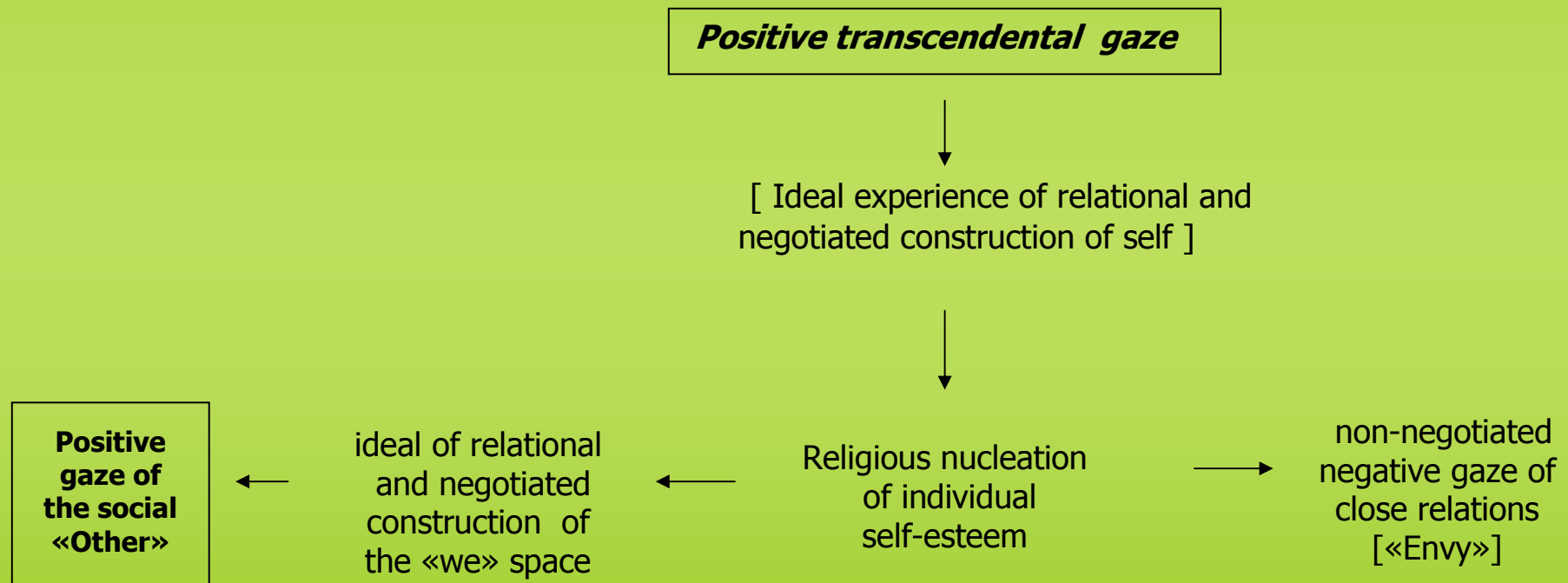


Table nº 7 - Factor 4: «Social and inter-ethnic openness » [OPENN]



ITEM											Weight
22	<i>« You don't need to go to the temple to be religious »</i>										.655
	TCV 86,6	TG 81,2	H 80,0	CCV 68,9	NCV 66,7	SN 63,3	IS 62,1	SK 57,1	EG 42,5	ECV 25,0	
168	<i>« Women are more religious than men »</i>										.619
	EG 93,7	TG 88,9	H 85,7	SK 55,5	CCV 64,3	NCV 60,0	IS 44,8	TCV 44,0	SN 39,3	ECV 33,3	
93	<i>« Nowadays, divorce is no longer a great problem; when couples do not get along, it is best for everyone that they should split »</i>										.597
	IS 89,6	TCV 83,9	SN 83,4	TG 80,3	CCV 80,0	SK 75,0	EG 62,6	H 59,2	NCV 58,3	ECV 53,9	
23	<i>« There are no leaders in our community »</i>										.577
	TG 71,2	TCV 69,3	SN 61,6	ECV 55,5	SK 46,4	ECV 43,8	CCV 38,0	NCV 33,3	H 31,0	IS 14,3	
138	<i>« Most of my friends are Portuguese »</i>										,546
	SN 79,3	IS 75,9	NCV 72,8	H 71,4	TG 66,0	SK 65,4	EG 43,7	TCV 25,9	CCV 16,7	ECV 9,1	

**Table n° 8 - Structural-dynamic Interpretation of Factor 4:
«Social and inter-ethnic openness» [OPENN]**

Positive transcendental gaze



[Ideal experience of relational and negotiated construction of self]



individualising and de-hierarchising twist

opening to inter-ethnicity

Individualisation of religious experience in the construction of «self»

female superiority in usage of «spiritual» resources

primacy of individualisation over matrimonial bond in case of conflict

Refusal of male hierarchiation

inter-ethnic openness maximised with no identity loss

FOUR DIFFERENT WAYS OF BEING CAPE-VERDEAN IN PORTUGAL



One research strategy used to understand Cape-verdeans identity strategies has been the **segmentation** of our sample of «Cape-verdeans in Portugal» **in four sub-samples**.

The strategy of internal segmentation of the sample, departing from different attitudes facing «religion», creates some relevant hypothesis for future research, based in more representative sub-samples and in more fieldwork, **about diversity strategies** among the «same» collective national identity, in the context of interethnic relations. In this first step of research,

- **traditional» cape-verdeans** excel in the assertion that they don't accept male hierarchisation (factor 4, item «*There are no leaders in our community*»),

- **practising Catholics** shows themselves as more conservative («*girls should marry early, therefore they must not study too long*»), but not «fundamentalist», and more accusative of racism but significantly less «localists» than their «traditionalist» cape-verdean fellows;

- **Nazarenean** shows much less direct «accusation of racism» but are the more salient in the indirect affirmation that the «*Portuguese are arrogant*»; opposing to all others, Nazarenean Cape-Verdeans shows the more complete openness to the Portuguese; they strongly assert that «*the larger part of their friends are Portuguese*» and that they «*learn in Portugal not to like politics*»;

- more than the others, **Evangelic followers** shows a more developed «machismo», based in the Bible («*men always have the last word, women should just obey*») and feel much more the pression of other Cape-verdeans to conform to the pression of inter-ethnic racism («*In my race / community, there is a lot of racism, even against our own people*»).

FROM LISBON TO PARIS

Finally, if I have the double of the time, and departing from the use of QIM to obtain **multidimensional identity representations in interethnic contexts, I would show how disturbed representation of self and «others» in Portugal, using the same strategy of central opposition and accusation of the recipient group, comes to find identities between Cape-verdeans and Portuguese that in Cape-Vert and in Lisbon were not «seen».**

More than that, I would show how Cape-verdean identity in Paris suffers a radical twist from a «childish» and «female-like» collective self representations, typical of Portuguese identity ecology in the world system, to a male-like and «adult» new representation of Cape-verdeanness.

It will be done in a future occasion.

