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A Situational Analysis and Recommendations for Educational Policy for Addressing the Problem of Out-of-School Youth in Cabo Verde

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C.I.E. Master's Project
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Submitted by: Ondina Ferreira
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A situational analysis and recommendations for educational policy for addressing the problem of out-of-school youth in Cabo Verde.
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Purpose

The objective of this project is to examine the negative effects of the current formal educational policy in Cape Verde and to recommend to the Ministry of Education some educational alternatives in order to deal with the out-of-school youth's problem in the country.

Problem: The legal system places outside secondary school the young who are considered overage (16 years old and above) to get her/his first application.

Actually and annually approximately one thousand young people leave Middle school without possibility to pursue their secondary education. Generally speaking, the out-of-school youths belong to the socially and economically disadvantaged population in the country. The state's obligation with national educational care is only for a period of six years of schooling comprised by four years of Primary school and two years of Middle school, addressed to pupils at ages 6/14 years old.

High schools in Cabo Verde are located in the main islands, main cities and urban areas. So, due to the lack of financial support to early move from small islands and from rural areas to secondary schools, this segment of young population can not afford to pursue her/his education.

Added to this problem, the legal and the minimum age for employment by the state is 18 years old and above. The state is the major employer in the country and requires as the minimum
school's certification, the general course of High school, i.e. the first part (three years) of secondary education.

Consequently the current practice is leaving a large portion of the young population unpowered, unskilled and marginalized. It is also condemning them to poverty, illiteracy and to a unprepared emigration. Underlying the idea of creating appropriate aged programs in order to meet the needs of out-of-school youth in Cape Verde, which is the purpose of this paper, are three basic assumptions. First, the Cape Verdean's strategy of development has one of its branches in the schooling access for all. Secondly, the educational reform in place in the country is trying to formulate a comprehensive and coherent educational development program which includes improving the curriculum with specified cognitive achievement. And thirdly, this paper assumes that to create adequate models and programs for meeting the needs of out-of-school youth in Cabo Verde is a viable option and it is possible now. Actually there is an educational reform movement as well as a political reform occurring in the country.
Personal Commitment

During my work as General-Director of Education of the Ministry of Cape Verde, I have dealt with the out-of-school youth's problem without any success.

Although my department did it best, such as: (a) to have looked for legal responses to the problem through our lawyers; (b) to have regarded the problem by its human social and economical sides. I remember that the key word at that occasion was: National Reconstruction; consequently to repair educational inequalities was part of this new national and wishful social order. As a matter of fact, at that time (1984-1986) the conditions were not favorable. A substantial budget cut had drastically affected public schools, added by an insufficient number of school buildings in the country, overcrowded classrooms, lack of personal skills and experience to handle administrational issues, extended and complex bureaucratic procedures, scarcity of resources and power were factors that avoid my staff and I to attempt with solutions for the out-of-school youth phenomenon. Furthermore, other priorities required urgent attention at that particular period: to maintain the schools open with the minimum standard for the learning/teaching process addressed to pupils at the legal age, was our first concern.

In negative addition neither parents, nor the community and/or the public opinion showed up, at least, with some criticism regarding the problem. A kind of apathy and apparent acceptance of the situation then existed. However, I was aware
that we were condemning a vulnerable segment of the population—young people—to poverty, ignorance, marginalization and perhaps to the delinquency as we were leaving them unskilled and out of system. So, when I left the Central Services, actually I teach at the Teacher Trainer Center, I promised myself to commit to this problem and to take advantage of my Master's Program in the United States to come up with some useful and feasible proposal on this matter to the Ministry of Education of Cape Verde.

Schools in my country, and I assume for many places too, are workplaces of constant movement, activity, simultaneous events and tremendously diverse individuals and groups of people, especially young people. Schools are also a world of pressing practical problems such as: budget cuts, expensive tests, lack of resources, of available spaces, of skilled teachers, of open relationships, etc, etc, which need to be solved, a world in which the attempt at the problem-solving will be frequently made either with or without the aid of specific theory. Somehow, my relationship, as teacher, with my school has been like a phenomenological mode of behavior in which I compromise a lot of my feelings, actions, beliefs, and purposes. In so doing, and during a long period of time, I have to be prepared and have a much broader perspective of students' problems, parents, classroom, colleagues, administrators, community, etc, etc. In order to know how to deal with lots of different and sometimes complex situations.

Generally speaking, I consider the educational system of my
country as being very oppressive to students. So, I came from a
very autocratic workplace. My experience and my work, as a
teacher, have been done in a heavy "Magister Dixit" environment.
I hope, and I am very confident that the reform of the Cape
Verdean education system, now in course in the country, will
transform the whole system and procedures and it will help us to
create a more socially responsible atmosphere within our
teaching/learning process.
Introduction

As some fine analysts of Africa's problems have been observing, the ideological and intellectual assumptions that the post-colonial era would provide the engine of growth in the ex-colonies, were not proved. External and internal troubles proliferated for the continent, economic crisis, military coups, struggle within and between classes are contradictions which constrain the development of Africa. Furthermore, the undeveloped inheritance, (colonial past) the disappointing performance and unpromising prospects (present day) have been characterizing and justifying the African underdevelopment and dependency.

Tidiane Diakite, a West-African economist, in his book, L'Afrique malade d'elle-meme, an interesting and deep "look inside" the internal factors in the African societies, pointed out the internal factors as the biggest issue for development in many African countries, whereas Timothy Shaw, Towards a Political Economy for Africa, gives us a balanced perspective between internal and external factors in which Africa has submerged as an explanation for this underdevelopment.

Although they differ in terms of how to deal with the African crisis, both authors, Diakite and Shaw have similar viewpoints, concerning these external and internal obstacles that are viewed, among others, as:

a) Externally:

- dependence on foreign capital and subordination of
their own development;
- dependence on Western technology (know-how).

b) Internally:
- lack of basic freedoms and needs;
- dictatorial leadership;
- increased control or repression;
- increasingly bureaucratic;
- centrality of states' structures;
- conflicts between and within classes and their relationships with the established powers.

An important insight about the African development was provided by Olysegun Obasanjo, ex-Nigerian head of state, in his address to the fourth African Leadership Forum Meeting, Washington, DC, September 1988. He stressed the need for a structural adjustment and economic reform program, and affirmed that the regional approach (economic integration at regional and subregional levels within the continent) to economic development was a key feature for the Continent: "Our future lies in greater economic cooperation and ultimately in integration... Now we have quietly come to accept that our inherited frontiers are a bar and not a spur to our economic development and well-being." Obasanjo cited as an example to follow, some West-African regional organizations.

Given this unpleasant picture, one may expect that education in Africa, as a social institution, suffers the negative effects
of this state of development. In fact, according to the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), "Africa may begin the next millennium with a greater proportion of its population being illiterate and unskilled than it did at the beginning of the post-independence era in the 1960's."

Generally speaking it is assumed by the African nations that skilled manpower is the way to build up the human as well as the physical capital in order to provide national leadership for the major tasks of development. However, some authors have been saying that the educational system of many developing countries act to increase rather than to decrease income inequalities, what is called the "perverse effect of formal education on income distribution." According to John Simmons, *Education for Development: Reconsidered*: "schooling, the poor quickly learn in most countries, is an escape from poverty for only a few. The poor are the first to drop out because they fall asleep in class as one result of malnourishment, and the first to fail their French and English tests because upper income children have had better opportunities at home..." The question now is could a correct educational system help to remove these contradictions in present-day Africa? An affirmative answer is assumed. I recall the first great strategic leaders in the early independence movements who postulated that to fight for the freedom was an "act of culture" (Kwame N'Krumah and Amilcar Cabral) and I also recall the widespread idea among the intellectual level in African, that we are people who lost our memory, so education can
help us to recuperate our lost cultural memory.

Paulo Freire's theory that a liberating education allows action and reflection of individuals upon their world in order to participate in its transformation, could also apply in this case. Education empowers people.

Some educators and experts on education matters talk about the big demands for education in Africa today. They point out that economic motivations are not the only motivation for this demand. They are right. There is a complex spectrum of motivation, which leads and explains this urgent need. Actually a significant number of theories are perceiving the educational phenomenon as one way of global survival.

In my opinion these statements work as a kind of foundation on which the Cape Verdean educational system could be built as part of the African Community.
CAPE VERDE ISLANDS:

People
Land
Life
and
Educational System
Cape Verde: Brief presentation

1. Historical perspective

The Republic of Cape Verde is an archipelago located on the West coast of Africa which is composed of ten islands as five islets.

Discovered by Portuguese sailors in the 15th century (1460) and later populated by slaves, brought along from West Africa by "negreiros" (ships and traders enrolled in the slavery business), and Portuguese people, Cape Verde remained a Portuguese colony until 1975 (year of independence).

First, Cape Verde Islands served as a special locale where the slaves were "ladinigados" (rudimentary knowledge of Catholic religion and Christian behaviors) before being sent to Europe, America and the West Indies. Later and due to its strategic position (located in the middle of the Atlantic Ocean, between America and Europe) the Islands served as the passageway to navigators coming from Europe to South America and vice-versa.

Early in the colonial era, the Cape Verdean "nation" was born. A strong consciousness of its own culture, based on mixed race and culture apportioned among the Portuguese and African people and customs, came up and in the 1960's, with Guinea-Bissau people under Amilcar Cabral who had founded the PAIGCV (African Party for Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde Independence leading, the Cape Verdean people began a rebellion against Portuguese colonial power, which ended successfully when Portugal (April 1974) knew a "coup d'etat" in terms of politics, turn in the direction of
democracy.

Without natural resources, even enough fresh water, the Cape Verde Islands remain one of the poorest African West countries.

The international assistance is an important resource for its growth and development.

2. **Geography**

Located in the Atlantic Ocean 300 miles off the African Coast, the Republic of Cape Verde is comprised of a group of ten islands, nine inhabited, and five islets. Seven of the main islands are volcanic in origin and very mountainous, the remaining three are flat. The islands are located in the semi-arid belt where rainfall is chronically insufficient and drought is persistent.

The climate is tropical and dry. This region has two seasons, dry season- November/June and rainy season, July/October but the rain is not always on time and often it rains away from the Islands, which have a long and "penible" background of dryness and lost harvests.

To provide potable water remains one of the biggest problems in the country. The development strategy includes highly prized rain water dike construction and tree planting efforts which are already helping to retain valuable water. Some desalinization sea water projects are working in main islands, in Santiago, (the largest island which contains half of the total resident population) in Sal (International Airport) and in S. Vincente (tourism and light industry). The costs of these projects are
very high and much of the population does not have access to
drinkable water.

3. **Economy**

The Cape Verde economy is based largely on services which account for over 60% of total value added. Commerce and transport together account for half of total gross domestic product (GDP). The main economic activity in Cape Verde is ship and aircraft servicing.

About 70% of the population is engaged in sustenance agriculture, growing beans, corn and tropical fruits. The primary agricultural export is bananas. Salt and pozzolana (a volcanic derivative) are mined and exported. The fishing sector offers the greatest potential and it has been developing with modern equipment and boats. It is the leading source of export revenue.

Over 600,000 Cape Verdiëan migrants are reported to be living abroad, and about 300,000 of them are in the United States (concentrated in New England and California). The U.S. population of the Cape Verdiëans is estimated to be almost as large as the population in Cape Verde. There is considerable dependence on immigrants' remittances and international development assistance. Foreign aids covers approximately 70% of Cape Verde's food requirements.

In the 1980's, the Cape Verde development plan undertook the expansion of tourism, light industry and the agricultural and fishing sectors. Important diplomatic agreements were made and
incentives for investment have been offered to foreigners and immigrant Cape Verdeans.

The country also has considerable tourism potential. The islands offer a healthy climate with low humidity. The seashore extends all along the coast which is accessible and has attractive and non-polluted beaches.

4. People

More than two-thirds are creoles of mixed African and Portuguese descent. There is also a small European population in Cape Verde. Ninety percent of the population is Roman Catholic.

Portuguese is the official and scholarly language; the language most widely spoken is "Crioulo", a creole Portuguese which is influenced by African vocabulary, syntax and pronunciation.

The story of the Cape Verdean people begins a long time ago—no one is exactly sure just how long ago.

Some historians believe that the first people who lived on this string of small islands were Africans from the nearby coast of West Africa. The story has it that small groups of Wolof had taken refuge from their tribal enemies on the coast. If this was so they probably took advantage of the rich fishing grounds around Cape Verde. Early visitors may have come to the Islands to gather salt. For many centuries "white gold", as salt was sometimes called in this part of the world, had been used as part of the currency for intertribal trade in West Africa. Even today Cape Verde has an active salt mining industry. Arabian sailors
may have known about the Cape Verde Islands in early times, too.

Whatever the true story of Cape Verde's earliest people is, the population must not have been large enough to prevent the next visitors from taking complete control.

In the 15th century Portuguese and other European adventurers, criminals, a few nobles, Jews fleeing the persecution of "Spanish Inquisition" and peasants escaping the poverty of Portugal's countryside were the typical settlers and outcasts coming to the islands and establishing small settlements. Portugal made Cape Verde a colony in 1456.

The dangers and difficulties of life in the islands made it hard to attract settlers. Other Europeans also settled in the islands included small numbers of French, English, Italians, and Germans. These included pirates and ordinary seamen who had jumped ship, as well as traders and fortune-seekers. But the Europeans were soon out-numbered by the African slaves they imported.

As the demand for slave labor increased in the New World, the Islands became a "Crossroads of the sea". Goods from the world over were exchanged for slaves along the coast of West Africa. In the 17th century alone, Cape Verdes were the first stop in the "middle passage" for at least some 28,000 Africans on their voyage to the New World. Many would not survive, few would ever return.

The "Cape Verdean people" was born after generations of contact between these and the West African people they imported
as slaves.

Within the confines of these isolated islands the population of Cape Verde developed as a multi-racial people, a people of many faces but one people. Most of these early colonists were European men who took wives among the larger slave population or form among the growing population of "mestico" people (mixed African and European). Today, few of the 1,000,000 people of Cape Verde are of either pure African or pure European origin. However, they all share the same unique culture, customs, folklore, music and literature. The Cape Verdean language, Crioulo is also unique. Crioulo has its roots in the medieval Portuguese language and several West African languages. Equally as important is the fact that Cape Verdeans share a common history of 500 years of colonial rule. Cape Verde did not become an independent nation until 1975.

Many Cape Verdeans celebrate the same religious feasts as the Portuguese, but their drumming, singing, and dancing have deep roots in their African heritage.

They grew corn, an import from the Americas (Brazil) using African methods but laid out their small fields using traditional Portuguese terrace farming practices. The people sometimes use a stone mill to grind corn the way Portuguese peasants once did, but they also use the mortar and pestle found throughout Africa.

Whether a Cape Verdean appears black, white or mixed racial background, he or she feels part of this culture. Even Cape Verdeans living in immigrant communities in the United States and
other countries can belong to the Cape Verdean culture, as well as their new one.

Returning to the cultural identity of Cape Verdean people it should be said that no comprehensive understanding of Portuguese colonialism is really possible without an appreciation of the relationship between assimilation and colonial process.

Assimilation is the process by which selected members of the colonized group were brought into the institutions and "the World View" of the ruling group.

Already in the fifteenth century, Cape Verdeans of mixed blood had been given some rights black Cape Verdeans didn't have, such as the right to inherit land. Assimilating themselves into the landowning population (becoming absorbed in their culture) some Cape Verdeans were able to improve their situations. However, only a very special few people of pure African origin ever owned land until the mid-1800's, some 400 years later. Another way to become assimilated was to marry into the landowning class.

Along the Guine coast as well as in Angola and in Mozambique, the Portuguese colonial government established laws strictly defining the rights of persons of mixed blood which regulated their position in colonial society. Although these laws were never officially enacted in the colony of Cape Verde, a social class system developed very early in the history of the islands. It was always better to have some European blood. It was generally better to be of mixed European and African
parentage than it was to be born of African slave parents. Even so, as early as the 17th century social status was not as rigidly determined in Cape Verde solely on the basis of skin color as was the case in other African colonies of Portugal.

One way of understanding the social system in colonial Cape Verde would be to say that a person only had a chance of "getting ahead" if she shared the values and beliefs and manner approximated those of the Portuguese, the more likely that individual was to get ahead in Cape Verde society. The system was designed to produce people of mixed European and African background who, after having adopted a "more European world view", would act as the means of political and cultural control of the colony's population. Those assimilated individuals who demonstrated the highest identification with the values and institutions of the Portuguese colonies could even rise to the top of colonial government administration in the Islands or one of the other colonies of Portugal.

In the opposite, what alternatives were open to those people in colonial Cape Verde who could not achieve the status of this very special class of assimilated individuals? ...emigration was a way out of the system...

For almost two centuries Cape Verdeans have been faced with the decision of whether to remain in a land continually afflicted by years of drought and human suffering or to try to emigrate to a new land with the hope of making a new life. The decision was usually quite painful. Leaving meant saying "good-bye" to loved
ones, maybe forever. Leaving also meant new opportunities to work and earn enough money to enable the family left behind in the Islands to survive. The immigrant work had to endure the pain of separation from his family and developed the skills to resist the discrimination he so often found in the "new country". If he was successful in creating this "new life" he could also change the social status of his family back in the Islands.

The simple fact of life was that relatives who regularly received the support of responsible emigrant workers were able to eat better. The formula went something like this: those who ate better were always, at least, one step ahead of suffering and hardships which continually befell those families who occupied the bottom of this complicated system in colonial Cape Verde.

Today there are hundreds of thousands of Cape Verdiem immigrants scattered in communities throughout the world. The largest of these communities is in the United States, so the vast majority of the Cape Verdiem emigrants to America have always been from the village and rural poor communities. Cape Verdiem migration started at the beginning of the eighteenth century via the American whaling ships which came to the waters of the Archipelago in search of cetaceans. The entry of Cape Verdeans into the United States was facilitated by the need for local labor.

In the late 1860's, post Civil War industrialization in the northeastern United States was depleting the labor supply of other sectors, such as whaling and farming, and it was niches
such as these that Cape Verdeans were able to occupy. Yankee whalers had long made the Cape Verdes a victualling stop and now they began to count on the crew members they could pick up there, as well as in the Azores.

The movement started timorously with small numbers, but later developed into a flood. No statistics are available making it possible to determine the extent of this emigration, but a report dated 1874 dealing with Brava Island states that "a large proportion of the male population was yielding to the dominating passion (of embarking) on whaling ships so as to obtain a better livelihood, so that an average of no less than 100 men leave the island every year", tempted by whaling. Yet the people of Brava were certainly not the only ones to emigrate. Those from Fogo, and later those from S. Nicolau, followed the same route. Whaling was a certain means of getting into the United States. Living conditions on board the whalers were pretty harsh. Several members of the crew managed to desert and look for work ashore as soon as they arrived at an American port. It is known that some of the Cape Verdean deserters from whalers took part in the California gold rush, while others signed on with Coast-Guard sailing ships, Fall River coasters and so on. Others again, from being sailors turned to agriculture and grew strawberries, or tilled the soil for farmers in the marshy country of Cape Cod and on the cotton plantations. As the textile industry was developing in the New Bedford area and there was a shortage of labor, hundreds and thousands of them found work in the mills.
Others found jobs as drivers and stokers with the Pacific railways. Cape Verdeans left a society characterized by an Iberian system of race relations, and then had to adapt themselves to an Anglo racial system, that of the United States. It suggests that the similarities between the two types of systems allowed for a certain continuity of experience, but one that was not readily apparent; this continuity, and its somewhat hidden quality, had, it is generally accepted, important effects on how Cape Verdean community developed in the United States. Quite naturally, it is the contrasts between American society and one they left that are paramount in the perceptions of most immigrants.

Certain broad themes bridge the history of Cape Verde and that of Cape Verdeans in the United States. The social invisibility Cape Verdean-Americans experience as a small Afro-American ethnic group, is nothing new to them. Time and again the insignificance of the archipelago in Portugal's empire has made clear the indifference of the Portuguese government to the plight of the Islands during droughts. Colonial development were oriented to the larger, more economically valuable, mainland colonies, such as Angola, Mozambique, etc.

The marginal position of Cape Verdeans as exploited and dominated, but yet traditionally identifying with their exploiters, had it equivalent in the United States. Cape Verdeans who were accepted in the ethnic community in New England and who identified themselves with it, tended to slum association
with American blacks, even while they themselves suffered racial discrimination. In both cases, the exploitation suffered by Cape Verdeans was viewed as aberrant. In Cabo Verde it was lamented that Portugal did not trust Cape Verdeans, that the Portuguese didn't understand that Cape Verdeans were "just as Portuguese as they"; in the United States, mistreatment by whites was viewed as a mistake: "they don't know that we are not the same as Negroes". From the perspective of colonial Cape Verde, Cape Verdean-Americans' marginality vis-a-vis both blacks and whites seems to replicate their experience as colonized "asimilados". In general, when Cape Verdeans entered societies whose dominant ideologies pertaining to race were similar to the one that prevailed in Cape Verde, they were likely to retain the notions of race that were dominant under Portuguese colonialism, and to become a marginal category neither fully Portuguese nor fully African. Cape Verdeans in the Netherlands offer a case of contrast. There Cape Verdeans had opportunities to acquire a new perspective on race and on colonialism, since Dutch government tolerated the presence of African revolutionary movements whose associations and publications flourished in the immigrant community. Also important was the relative lack of racism Cape Verdeans experienced there, as recounted by emigrants on their visits back to Cabo Verde.

In some ways, the alienation produced by the colonial racist ideology and the ambiguity of Cape Verdeans' position in the empire served the immigrants in the American context.
In Cabo Verde it was, and still is, supposedly, not "race" (phenotype and ancestry) that accounted for disparities of political power and economic status, but "background" or "culture" (in the double sense of customs, values, and refinement, learning, etc, etc). These attributes, were adduced to explain the social position of darker categories of persons. Culture, in the sense of norms, customs, language became an arm for defending Cape Veredian distinctiveness on both a racial and a cultural level.

In America, the Cape Veredian-American community has been relatively a successful one from the point of view of the wider American society and from that of the immigrants as well.

Generally speaking, they avoided welfare, became homeowners, and gained a reputation for hard work and dependability. However, the costs of success have been extremely high if we consider the many Cape Verdeans excluded from the community in the early days on the basis of color, notably the darker immigrants from Fogo and Santiago; and later because of marriage to American blacks.

The independence of Cabo Verde with its strong message that we belong to the great African Community presented a new set of opportunities to Cape Veredian-Americans. Some who have been long removed from the community because of their identification with American blacks have found in Cape Veredian independence an occasion for reintegration into the community, and have become involved in its organizations and publications.
The increase in immigration from Cape Verde and other countries led the United States to introduce legislation limiting the number of entries, thus diverting the current in the direction to Dakar, Portugal and other parts of Europe.

EMIGRATION

I. Causes
- Consecutive droughts
- Survival's reasons
- Aid to the family left in the Islands
- Colonial politics
- Uncertainty of the post-independence
- Hope for better life.

II. Traditional points of destination have been:
- United States
- Portugal
- Holland
- France
- Italy
- Luxembourg
- Brazil
- Argentina
- Senegal (Dakar)

The other ex-Portuguese colonies such as Guinea-Bissao, Angola, S. Tomae and Principe and Mozambique have also been points of attraction for Cape Verdeans. During the colonial era, educated Cape Verdeans were encouraged by the Portuguese government to move to the above mentioned territories and enter the colonial service.

In 1863 a new form of emigration started developing in Cape Verde: the forced departure to the plantations of S. Tonae and Principe, (which has always been considered, in Cape Verde, a form of condemnation to exile without having committed a crime and for this reason it ended with Independence in 1975).
While the Islands have an estimated population of 350,000 persons, it is believed that there are about one million Cape Verdeans including emigrants in the Americas, Europe and Africa.

Today approximately 350,000 persons of Cape Verden descent live in the United States, mainly in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and California.

In the USA some Cape Verdeans took part in the California gold rush while others signed on the Coast Guard sailing ships, Fall River coasters and so on. Those who chose to work ashore became:

- Strawberry growers
- Farmers on Cape Cod
- Textile workers in the New Bedford mills
- Drivers and stockers with the Pacific Railways
- Cooks in restaurants

Today, Cape Verdeans are found in all walks of life and in all professions in the USA:

- Factory workers
- Construction workers
- Sailors
- Industrials/Constructors
- Business owners/managers
- Teachers/college professors
- Lawyers and physicians
- Engineers and architects

In Europe as in the USA Cape Verdeans are found to practice all sorts of professions and activities. Formerly, Cape Verden men were mainly employed as crews of the ocean-going merchant ships and tankers while Cape Verden women found jobs in domestic labor, especially in Portugal and Italy.

In Africa most Cape Verden emigrants are merchant or work as business managers or government officers.
III. Effects

A. Worker remittances from abroad are estimated at $18 to $20 million a year when combined with external assistance represents 65% of Cape Verde's GDP. These remittances from abroad constitute part of the foreign exchange earnings.

B. The Cape Verdean culture is enriched with elements from several cultures. Elements of the Cape Verdean culture such as language, music, costumes, and cuisine are made known to communities of people in other parts of the world where they become appreciated.

There is no doubt that emigration's life has been inspired many Cape Verdean writers, poets, and musicians. In fact Cape Verdean literature and folk music have been substantially influenced by emigration topics for many years.

C. Some young Cape Verdéans have the opportunity to pursue their education, which is not available for most of them if they stay in their homeland.

D. The Archipelago is being drained of some competent minds and professionals. The Islands continue to lose certain segments of the population, especially young people, and as time passes all Cape Verdean communities around the world will change due to intermarriage and integration into other societies.

Important characteristics of the Cape Verdean people such as social costumes and family relations are
disappearing and Cape Verdan language is drastically changing on certain Islands.

5. Educational System in Cape Verde

Without education, development will not occur. Only an educated people can command the skills necessary for sustainable economic growth and for a better quality of life. Recognizing this, Cape Verdan government has placed heavy emphasis on expanding educational opportunities from primary school through post secondary, tertiary, or higher-level education.

The number of students enrolled in Cape Verdan schools at all levels has more than tripled since 1975 (year of independence). Indeed, the spread of educational access may be the single most significant developmental achievement of the Cape Verde Islands.

Even so, education in Cape Verde is in crisis today, and some contradictions still remain. Rapid population growth, democratization of the access to school, without consequent counterparts, such as increased budget, trained teachers, and enough school buildings, have resulted in more children than ever seeking places in schools. As a result, the quality of education has dropped as classrooms become overcrowded and teaching materials increasing scarce. Another phenomenon that has been a source of concern inside the educational system is the student who leaves school before graduating. The abandonment and/or dropout problem has lead the Ministry of Education of Cape Verde
to find valid alternatives to keep young people inside the educational system. Furthermore, and in a negative addition, due to the lack of available space and other problems, the legal system places outside schools, the young who are considered overage to get his/her first application in the secondary school (16 years old and above). However, actually many educators, teachers, and administrators in the country are aware of how important is the student's attitude towards school and school subjects.

Measures for improving quality are key factors for the Cape Verdean educational policy. So, the special importance of the preparation of teachers, scholars, and managers for the education sector. Those people are the core of national capacity to adjust the educational system to the need for development and changing circumstances.

Cape Verdean educational policy, as a general plan for guiding decisions regarding means of attaining educational objectives, comes directly from the Ministry of Education a centralized structure which establishes and leads all orientations, rules, and ultimate goals of national schooling. Headed by a Minister, political figure, representative of Central Government and nominated by the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Education is composed of the following departments:
The set of general directions coming from this national educational policy including school programs and mandatory book is implemented during five years (quinquennial plan). After this period, the Department of Studies Plan and Curricula should propose to the Minister, if it is necessary, a general or a partial reform of the current educational system.

However and due to the present political situation in the country: multi-political parties system, the educational policy may by changed and will know new different procedures and negotiations called by the diverse social forces, now empowered by the democratic process.

As colony, the educational system in Cape Verde Islands (until independence) was very close to the metropolis model (Portugal). In spite of this, due to the fact that we were dominated by a colonial power where education was not considered as it should be, our heritage in educational terms:
we had to struggle with a lot of weakness and gaps. It should be remarked that when we started to reform and/or to bridge the post-independence educational system, the international assistance such as UNESCO, World Bank, African Bank for Development, USAID and other international agencies were important sources of help for the essential moment, as well as the international and national expertise. The national institution in charge of the reform project and legislation is the Ministry of Education, which has subdivided and delegated the work to three committees:

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION --> Decision Making

Committee of Coordination --> Allocates Resources and Personal

Committee of Administrative Reform

Committee of Curriculum Reform

Committee of School Community Reform

*The Committee of Curriculum reform has been working closely with the Teacher Trainer Center.

Generally speaking, education is free, universal and compulsory in Cape Verde for seven years between the ages 6 and 14, but compulsory attendance is not enforced. The enrollment rate is high at the first level (because of the presence of repeaters and over-age children), but only 11% at the second level. Females make up 48% at first and 49% at the second level.

Schooling consists of four years of primary school, two years of middle school and either a three-year general course or a three-year pre-university course for a total of 12 years. The school year runs from September through July. The medium
of instruction is Portuguese.

The school system consists of 500 primary schools, 17 middle schools, and 6 high schools. There are also three Teacher Training Centers and three Industrial and Commercial schools. The national teacher pupil ratios are 1:40 at the primary level and 1:23 at the secondary level. Cape Verde has no institutions of higher education.

In 1989 the educational budget was 405.4 million escudos, representing 9.5% of the GNP and 12% of the national budget.

Educational enrollment in Cape Verde, 1989:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Pupils</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First level</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>61,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second level</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>1,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Training</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Following are the general structure, and the size and the distribution of the student population and the public education in Cape Verde.

1989

Size and distribution of the school population in Cape Verde

Total: 70,000 students
ages 6-17
- elementary school - 4 years
  50,000 students
- middle school - 2 years
  14,000 students
- secondary school - 6 years
  6,000 students

-out of school
-dropout
-abandon
-non existence of high schools in rural areas and small islands
-lack of financial resources to move to the main islands
General Structure of Public Education in Cape Verde

Kindergarten (ages 4-6)
2 years

Elementary Level
6 years
-Primary School (ages 6-10)
-Middle School (ages 10-12)

Secondary Level
-High School --General Education (ages 12-15)
-Technical School --Complementary Education (ages 15-18) --Colleges and Universities Abroad*

Post-Secondary Education
--Teacher Trainer Center
3 years of Training
--School of Agriculture and Rural Development
--Nursery School
--Nautical School
--School of Public Administration and Account

* Annually the government of Cape Verde sends approximately three hundred students after completed secondary school, to foreign countries to do their undergraduate studies. Usually the students have a scholarship provided by the national government and/or international agencies, and the obligation to be back once finished their studies.
Post-Secondary Training in Cape Verde

Actually, much higher learning for Cape Verdean students, college and university, is completed abroad. Annually hundreds of students are sent to foreign countries, especially to European countries, to pursue their higher studies. In Cape Verde there is no university institution. However we have some centers which, since the independence of the country, have been doing what is called the post-secondary training. One of them, the Teacher Trainer Center started to work in 1978, three years after the independence of Cape Verde. With few resources, a small number of students, half of whom already worked as teachers who want to improve their skills as professionals. Without national expertise, it operated, during the first five years, with foreign professors, most of them from Portugal, some from France and a few from East Germany. According to the protocols signed between their governments and the government of Cape Verde, those teachers, were called Cooperative Professors.

The objective from the government's point of view and the Ministry of Education, was to prepare the future teachers inside the country with the knowledge of the local environment and the national needs in terms of education. It was also expected to get more young people into education. So, instead of sending them to foreign countries to accomplish their professional skills, as prior to independence, teacher training would be done now in Cape Verde.
Following is the general structure of courses offered by the Teacher Trainer Center:

1) A set of disciplines of pedagogical and psychological science; educational administration—common branch for all future teachers.


Three years for academic matters (regular courses). One year of training in the school where the future teacher will work, supervised and oriented by the Center's professors. A final dissertation. The required theme must be related to the school where he/she is working. Other optional themes for the thesis must be concerned with educational improvements in Cape Verde.

3) Continuing education for teachers in the field. Periodical seminars and courses addressed to teachers working on the national territory. Since the beginning, approximately 500 teachers have been trained at the center.

The Center remains the single structure belonging to the Ministry of Education in terms of post-secondary education. The other units of post-secondary training belong to different ministries. The School of Agriculture and Rural Development belongs to Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Nursery School to Ministry of Health and Welfare, Nautical
School to the Secretary of State of Marine, etc, etc. Each school works by its own without either interaction or coordination among them. The only thing they have in common is the length or the duration of the courses, four (4) years.

In my opinion it should exist among these units in charge of post secondary training a common project in terms of policy and defined steps to pursue their educational objectives. So far it does not happen. The policy depends on immediate interest and only regards separately to one school. Just to have an idea: I can give some examples of what seems to me a sort of wasting of resources and energies in a country like Cabo Verde: the Ministry of Education (through Gulbemkian Foundation) contracted Portuguese experts to help with the reform of the Teacher Trainer Center; on the other hand, the Ministry of Internal Administration hired Brazilian experts to organize the rules of the School of Administration and separately, the Ministry of Agriculture has American experts to orient the School of Agriculture's structure. Consequently, each unit is running a kind of self-life without interaction or even dialogue with other schools. As a consequence, ten years later, Cabo Verde does not have yet one university, and it seems as remote as we were at the beginning of the national life. These centers did not produce a significant national expertise; and finally, it has been a lot of public criticism regarding the amounts of money annually expended on these schools. Since the maintenance of the centers ultimately lies
on foreign experts and foreign assistance (professors, advisors, materials, etc, etc) problems become more complex due to:
- Contract requirements
- Economic factors
- Political tendencies of international assistance
- International agreements or disagreements etc, etc

So, these divergent strategies and diverse work for the accomplishment of the post-secondary training should be really re-evaluate and the whole process of national training reconstructed according to the needs of the country in terms of formation.

In my opinion, to have a national committee on a congenial basis whose members would represent each unit of training, would bring them together and it would define an agenda for a common work of these training centers. This national commission, headed by a member or a representative of the central government could state, among other important matters: (a) the general objectives of higher training, the national needs in terms of formation, as well as the peculiar goals of each unit of training; (b) a policy of retention of young people; (c) a uniform procedure for admissions to orient potential candidates to any of the associated schools; etc, etc (d) a set of fundamental rules to be followed by the associated schools.

I strongly believe that in so doing, these schools would
provide better service, get more prestige within the country, among parents, students and the community, and finally the training centers would become aware of the quality of the service they deliver to the students and to the community.

As earlier said, Cape Verde does not yet possess a university structure, it remains a wishful project to be done, maybe before the end of this decade. The centers of post-secondary education were supposed to prepare the terrain for the university. In order to make it possible, several steps have to be taken.

Higher education is of paramount importance for Cape Verde's future. The country requires both highly trained people and top quality research in order to be able to formulate the policies, plan the programs and implement the projects that are essential to economic growth and development. Preparing individuals for positions of responsibility—in government, in business, and in the professions—is a central role of the existent schools of post-secondary and the future country's university; supporting these individuals in their work—with research, advice, and consultancy—is another equally important role.

The leadership of Africa's institutions of higher learning has spoken forcefully and eloquently at meetings in Mbabane in 1985 and Harare in 1988 about the urgent need for those institutions to exist and to produce graduates who can tackle the complex problems that confront the continent.
Out-of-School Youth: Statement of the Problem

Returning to the main purpose of this paper, i.e. out-of-school youth in Cape Verde, it should be said that the rapid growth in the number of young people in school has been noted; so too have the acceleration in the building of schools and the massive input of teachers to them. Independence and the phasing in of national education came at the same time, but they are not coincidental and unrelated. Independence was an appropriate time to bring in a fresh approach to education, to make it more relevant, to relate it to the needs of the young community. There were sound pedagogic as well as philosophic reasons for the stress of a new education in a new nation. However, in a country like Cabo Verde which, besides other problems, its geomorphology is archipelagical, i.e. territorial discontinuity. How to talk about equal opportunity if schools, secondary schools are located in urban areas of the main

islands where few of young boys and girls from rural areas and small islands can afford to go? Reasons: (1) far from home. Problems of accommodations; (2) insufficient financial capacity to pursue their education away from home; (3) slow-learners and older to be in the public high school.
Out-of-School Youth

Definition and Present Conditions

Looking for the meanings of the concept of out-of-school youth, I found, in a report coming from UNESCO (1977), five main categories of out-of-school youth groups. Regarding the case in appreciation: Out-of-school youth in Cape Verde, its definition is comprised by the following two categories:

1. Those who have completed primary education but who have not entered secondary school. Many countries can only provide places for primary school attenders and a large percentage can not go on the next level, because of the lack of places. Keeping with Cape Verde's case, the limitation of the number of the secondary schools and its location, the problem grows worse.

2. Those who have entered secondary education but have dropped out before completing this level. This category comprises those youth who leave school due to failure and they are withdrawn by the system if they have failed twice at the same level of secondary education.

Actually, these two situations above described, are occurring in the Islands. Annually, approximately one thousand adolescents leave middle school without opportunity to pursue their secondary education.

There is an urgent need to find a solution for the problem. Serious social troubles are now visible among this segment of young population. Some of those unskilled youth
escape from rural to urban zones looking for means to survive. However due to the scarcity of positions and decent jobs, the rate of youth delinquency is now increasing in the Archipelago. Others try to leave the country. The emigration seems to be an alternative. Some cultural and historical reasons can explain this apparently easy farewell to the homeland: (a) It is commonly accepted that one way for the young males to become adults is to go overseas looking for a good job. (b) almost every young person has someone from his/her relatives living as immigrants somewhere abroad. So, this situation belongs to his/her cultural environment.
Present Conditions

In Cape Verde the subjects related to youth have been mainly controlled by two structures:
1. The Ministry of Education for formal education.
2. The youth organization - J.A.C.C.V. (Juventude Africana Amilcar Cabral de Cabo Verde) - for the general juvenile issues. JACCV is a youth branch belonging to the only legal political party in the country.

As a matter of fact the state does not definitively declare a policy for youth. So far the problems regarding the youth sector are delegated by the government to this juvenile branch of the only political party in power, P.A.I.C.V. (Partido Africano para a Independencia de Cabo Verde). Although particularly this youth organization receives financial aid from the state.

The main purpose of JACCV is to prepare adherents for acceptance of the ideology of the Party, (PAICV) rather than to help or to build the well-being of those young people who are affiliated.

Generally speaking, the public opinion in Cape Verde considers the work done by JACCV as being deficient and inadequate for the needs of youth level. In fact, unemployment, prostitution, and vagabondage are among other social troubles, rising problems within youth Cape Verdean community.

The actual turning into democracy in course inside the
country will entail "de facto" the government to a youth policy, since this party's youth organization will lose its relevance in a multi-parties context. The hopes are now centered on the state's Secretary of Youth Affairs—a recent governmental structure created in order to answer the pressure put by the growing governmental opposition. This new official agency is in charge with the formulation of fundamentals of the national youth policy.
A UNESCO report (1980) makes a note that the youth of the 1980's are the children of the youth of the 1960's. In the third world, today's parents are those who participated in the struggles for national liberation and for self-reliant development programs.

The new generation faces a challenge in carrying their parents' hopes and dreams into and economically bleak future.

Many countries, Cabo Verde included, are now realizing that there is indeed a generation gap that is beginning to emerge. Youth are becoming a distinct community with their own demands and rights. Adults continue to regard youth as "awaiting admission into society", but do not give any rights to that period of young adulthood. This generation gap is emerging as a gap in age as well as in moral values and intellectual perceptions.

According to the International Labor Organization, 45% of the population in Africa is under 15 years of age and needs care. Of the working population more than 45% are affected by unemployment and underemployment. According to projections made by the UN Economic Commission for Africa, only half of the people joining the work force between now and the year 2000 will find employment. Most of those new entrants into the work force are youth who either have just completed primary school, or have no education at all. Youth between the ages of 15 and
make up 40% of Cape Verde's population of 350,000 and the most important labor force inside the country. More than 50% of all youths reside in the rural area. Consequently the migrant population moving from rural to urban areas is composed primarily of the youth sector. Likewise, emigration is not the solution for those young people. In fact for most of them the deception, the frustration and cultural shock seem to be the common feelings that they carried out when they moved from a small and known space (countryside and small communities) to a large, foreign and urban space. This exposure to an unknown and sometimes hostile environment make them feel socially vulnerable and it brings to them some fears of insecurity added by language problems and by fear of being expatriated by emigration officers. Indeed when the country's educational system denies care towards youth, the "fresh blood" and the nation's future, they have to look for other means of surviving. One of them is to migrate. The Cape Verdean people have a long tradition of emigration. So, they are "migrants" by behavior, by philosophy of life. Then, when the homeland does not offer any alternative they start to plan to go overseas. In fact there is a need for a productive forum to discuss the frustrations of alienation, due to societal changes and rising expectations. The "generation gap" and the lack of control they have over their lives are realities among the new generation.

It is important for youth to have access to information
about their strengths and weaknesses, about occupation on the urban and rural areas and in traditional and modern informal sectors. It is also important for them to be aware of their role in the family, in the community, to feel part of, and to be a productive and an active member. It is imperative for the solving of this negative question to have in Cape Verde structures to meet these needs and help the youth community to develop the awareness and positive attitudes towards their environment and make them feel accepted and welcome to the community.
Recommendations

Keeping with my personal commitment as stated on the beginning of this work, I would like to state here, and address to the Ministry of Education of my country, some recommendations which I consider useful regarding the out-of-school problem. I assume that some of it can be fairly done in the country, even though the existent limitations and scarcity in terms of material resources.

In my opinion to allocate resources for creating adequate programs for aged groups through educational budget or even international assistance should be the first step. Following this, it could be defined which programs to have for each case. Whatever strategy we choose to decrease the out-of-school phenomenon, it has to be realistically organized, according to the real country we have.

Following are some operational alternatives to formal education which could help to solve this educational preoccupation.

1. Cooperative-extension of education
2. Distance education programs
3. National service to teach out-of-school youth
4. Night secondary schools
RECOMMENDATIONS:

To create appropriated educational programs to aged groups

Cooperative-extension of education

Distance Education program

National Service to teach out-of-school youth

Radio Correspondence

Night secondary schools
1. **Cooperative extension of education**

In Cape Verde, a cooperative system already exists in the agricultural and fishing sectors as an economical alternative for the rural development and addressed to the lowest income rural people to increase their level and the quality of life. Although, since the early beginning, heavy emphasis seemed to be put on economical side, balance was required with the social objective in this trade.

The training for peasants and fishermen is occurring in the country with the counterpart obligation in terms of work in the sector, and the sharing of the revenues.

The I.N.C. (National Institute of Cooperative) is the central services which formulates the policy and gives general directions to local cooperatives. For example, the I.N.C. opens the credit lines for fishermen to equip their boats and establishes advantageous credits for peasants to develop their farms.

However, in the educational sector it does not exist yet. A cooperative way of teaching/learning process, still so far, a "virginal terrain".

Cooperative education can be part of the solution for the out-of-school youth in Cape Verde, but we have realistically to analyze its constraints and limitations in an environment of scarcity like the Archipelago. As stated before, the country has few natural resources, the industrial sector does not offer
much potential. There are few available employers. The state is the major employer. Anyway to involve students in productive work seems to be more complex and requires the involvement of other sectors, such as: The Ministry of Development, Plan and Economy, the Ministry of Labor, public and private economical institutions: business, industry, governmental agencies, etc, etc in order to provide workplaces and salaries for the young employees.

According to James W. Wilson, Developing and expanding cooperative education: "Cooperative education is an educational strategy that involves students in productive work as an element of curriculum". This definition contains three important assertions: (1) cooperative education is an educational strategy; (2) it involves students in productive work; and (3) it is an element of the curriculum. To be an educational strategy depends almost entirely on the educational policy lead or intend to be lead by the Ministry of Education, to be with the second part of the definition, i.e. to involve students in productive work requires and calls for other business and economic sectors and, finally regarding to the third factor: "an element of the curriculum" it has to be consistent and help students to achieve the educational goals.

As stated before, a cooperative extension of education for this young population supported by the Ministry of Education budget and/or other financial partners public and private business sector can be an important help to this particular
case. Added to this form of extensive education, the vocational guidance, carefully prepared in the context of a developing country like Cabo Verde can be used as a tool for meeting the needs of the out-of-school youth population. These school outsiders need to have access to skills which not only give them work, but to help to prepare them for the world of work.

2. **Distance Education Programs**

Thinking about the territorial discontinuity, which makes the administrational procedures and prompt communication very difficult, the distance education programs seem to be a reasonable form to surpass this constraint. Educational orientations sent by Radio and/or by correspondence to each participant on a different island, can be organized and supervised by a center equipped with human and material resources for this programmatic response to the educational needs of out-of-school youth.

3. **National Service**

The Ministry of Education conjointly with the Secretary of Youth Affairs can determine that students who have finished their secondary studies and are waiting for the scholarship to go abroad to do their undergraduate studies should teach those out-of-school youth as part of the national service.

4. To have as many as possible night secondary schools addressed to aged groups seems to be another possibility for meeting the educational needs of the out-of-school youth.
5. The out-of-school phenomenon can also be an agenda for Cape Verdean representatives to explore together with other West African countries in regional meetings about education in order to find regionally effective ways for addressing the problem.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<tr>
<td>Wilson, B. Wooock and Dwyer, P.</td>
<td>Confronting School and Work: Youth and Class Cultures in Australia. Winchester, MA 1984.</td>
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<th>Article</th>
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Education in Sub-Saharan Africa—Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization, and Expansion

National Strategy of Education Report

UNESCO Report

A World Bank Policy Studies
