CONNECTING THE DOTS: WHAT IS THE CURRENT PROCESS FOR REINTEGRATING CAPE VERDEAN IMMIGRANTS DEPORTED FROM THE UNITED STATES?

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Dedication

To those who have been deported, keep your heads up; to the families who have lost their loved ones to deportation, better days will come; to the families who are still fighting against the deportation system, stay strong; to the people who still believe in social justice; to my Cape Verdean people, only we can change the destiny of our global Nation; and to Amilcar Cabral, our struggle continues!
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**List of Abbreviations in Alphabetical Order** ........................................ iii

**Abstract** ........................................................................................................ iv

**Acknowledgments** ........................................................................................ v

**Introduction** ................................................................................................... 1

  - The 1996 Acts Background ........................................................................ 2
  - History of Cape Verde and Migration to the United States ..................... 3
  - Research Motives ....................................................................................... 5

**Literature Review** ........................................................................................ 7

  - Cape Verdean Immigrants: the United States Context .......................... 7
  - Cape Verdean Immigrants: the Deportation Population Context .......... 10

**Research Framework and Methodology** ....................................................... 12

  - Research: Advantages and Challenges ................................................... 12
  - Research: Framework .............................................................................. 13
  - Methodology: Island and Subject Selection ......................................... 14
  - Methodology: Island and Government Employee Interviews .............. 16

**Presentation of Data and Analysis** ................................................................. 18

  - The Trickle Down Effect of the Immigration System ............................. 18
  - General Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston .......................................... 19
  - Reintegration Program: Design and Implementation ............................ 22
  - Reintegration Program: Monitoring and Evaluation ............................. 27
  - The Cape Verdean Solidarity Foundation .............................................. 28
  - The Reintegration Process: the Deportees’ Experiences ....................... 29
  - The Reintegration Process: Islanders’ Perceptions and Experiences ....... 34

**Conclusions** .................................................................................................. 39

  - Discussions .............................................................................................. 39
  - The Myths and Facts about Deportation ............................................... 42

**Recommendations and Further Research** ..................................................... 43

  - Reintegration Program: Redefine, Reorganize, and Overcome the Geographic Disconnection ....................................................... 43
  - The Role of the Cape Verdean Community in the United States: Collaborations as a Deportation Prevention Method .......................... 45
  - Further Research ..................................................................................... 48

**Bibliography** ................................................................................................ 49

**Appendices** .................................................................................................. 52

  - Appendix A: Map of Cape Verde ............................................................ 52
  - Appendix B: Informed Consent Form, Deportees ................................... 53
  - Appendix C: Interview Questions, Deportees ........................................ 55
  - Appendix D: Interview Guidelines, Deportees ....................................... 59
  - Appendix E: Request for News Report, Cape Verde National Television ................................................................. 60
  - Appendix F: The Myths and Facts about Deportation .............................. 61
List of Abbreviations in Alphabetical Order

**AEPDA** - Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act
**AI** - Appreciative Inquiry
**CVSF** – Cape Verdean Solidarity Foundation
**DHS** – Department of Homeland Security
**HGCS** - Headquarters for General Consular Services
**HIBP** – Headquarters for Immigration and Border Patrol
**IC** - Institute of Communities
**ICE** - Immigration and Customs Enforcement
**IIRIRA** - Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act
**IRCA** - Immigration Reform and Control Act
**MFCC** - Ministry of Foreign Affairs Cooperation and Communities
**NCHRC** - National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship
**NIS** – National Institute of Statistics
**OIS** - Office of Immigrant Services
**ONIS** - Operational Nucleus for Informational Society
**PDAO** - Personalized Deportation Assistance Office
ABSTRACT

The current issue of deportation is a global concern that is demanding the attention of human rights leaders, activists and global citizens. Small island nations, such as, the Cape Verde Islands, are experiencing difficulties reintegrating deported immigrants arriving from both the United States and Europe. According to the Consulate of Cape Verde’s database, one Cape Verdean immigrant was deported in 1987. Twenty years later, 108 deportation cases are pending—the highest number of pending cases to date. This issue is a reflection of the Western countries’ immigration and human rights policies that are affecting many developing countries.

This capstone research focuses primarily on the reintegration program managed by the Cape Verdean government, the reintegration process of the deported immigrants from the United States and the islanders’ experiences throughout this process. This issue is examined through the eyes of a Cape Verdean immigrant living in the United States witnessing first hand the negative impacts these immigration policies have had, and continue to have, in the Cape Verdean community in the United States and in Cape Verde.

Research was collected through various formal and informal interviews and published documents on this topic. Analysis of the data has revealed that the government’s reintegration program is experiencing difficulties with implementation and financial sustainability. Moreover, the deportees’ reintegration experience varied based on access to government assistance and their interaction with island residents. Subsequently, it is recommended that the reintegration program be evaluated with the purpose to reorganize under new leadership.
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Introduction

Introduction: the West Factor

The significantly increasing numbers of deported immigrants is not just a United States crisis; it is also a crisis in Europe, where the post-September 11 terrorism tensions are contributing to the anti-immigrant sentiments. However, long before the September 11 attacks, the United States government main basis for immigration policies has been national security dating “as far back as the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798, and then in the early federal immigration statutes of the late 1800s” (Johnson & Trujillo, 2007). In 1986, the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) was passed by the Congress under the Reagan Administration, “giving legal permanent residency to 3 million undocumented immigrants who have continuously resided in the U.S. since Jan 1, 1982,” however, “IRCA was a trade off, also creating new employer sanctions (penalties) for employers who hired immigrants without employment authorization” (Massachusetts, 2006).

In decades to follow the immigration laws would only get more rigorous and complex, specifically in 1996, with the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEPDA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA). AEPDA and IIRIRA, also known as the 1996 Acts, redefined the grounds for deportation and since then the numbers of deported immigrants has increased drastically. Between 1981 and 1990, 213,071 immigrants were deported and by 2006 the numbers reached to over 1.4 million people (Ibid.). However, it is important to note that it is rather difficult to obtain accurate deportation statistics as the numbers vary from removal charges to legal status of the immigrants at the time of removal.
The 1996 Acts Background

The Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEPDA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) of 1996 introduced a wide range of strict provisions that had a direct affect on lawful permanent residents, illegal immigrants and immigrants seeking educational and professional opportunities. These provisions, among other things, focused on new border control regulations, new grounds of deportation for convicted criminals, working status enforcement, restrictions on sponsored immigrants, issuance of driver’s licenses, limits on F-1 students to attend public schools and new mandates for educational institutions (Historical, n.d.).

The new grounds for deportation included an extensive list of crimes considered as “aggravated felonies” and according to Nancy Morawetz (2000), “…a crime need not be either aggravated or a felony” in order to get deported. In addition to the aggravated felony crimes, other crimes, such as shop lighting, are considered as “crimes of moral turpitude.” According to the Massachusetts Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild (2002), “…there is no statutory definition of ‘moral turpitude.’ Generally, the term encompasses crimes involving fraud or evil intent.” The provisions also created mandatory detention for those who are subject to deportation due to criminal convictions. Moreover, the provisions were centered on the retroactive nature of the laws which had serious consequences in its initial stage of implementation (Morawetz, 2000). However, in 2001 the Supreme Court overruled, in a 5-4 decision, the retroactive provision of the 1996 Acts in the INS v. Enrico St. Cyr case (American, 2001).

The Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) conducts “sweeps” and raids in the immigrant communities as a method of enforcing the immigration laws of 1996. The Cape
Verdean community, in particular, experienced its first ICE “sweep” in 1999 in both Massachusetts and Rhode Island where the majority of the Cape Verdean immigrant population resides (Lima, 2007). In March of 2006, the “operation avalanche” sweep took place in Dorchester and Roxbury, Massachusetts. Sixty of the individuals arrested were citizens of Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Cape Verde, Colombia, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ghana, Greece, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, India, Jamaica, Nicaragua, St. Vincent, Trinidad, United Kingdom, and Vietnam (Holland, 2006). In March of 2007, ICE carried out a raid in Massachusetts at the Michael Bianco factory in New Bedford where 361 workers, including Cape Verdean immigrants, were arrested and later detained at several immigration detention centers across the country (“New Bedford Immigration”, 2007). The factory was raided for suspicion of employing undocumented immigrants.

**History of Cape Verde and Migration to the United States**

The Republic of Cape Verde is made up of 10 small islands of volcanic origin divided into two groups; the Barlavento (windward) islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia (*uninhabited*), São Nicolau, Sal and Boa Vista and the Sotavento (leeward) islands of Maio, Santiago, Fogo and Brava; located approximately 500 km off the west coast of Africa (*see appendix A*). The islands were uninhabited when discovered by the Portuguese navigators around 1460 (Almeida, 2003). Cape Verde’s “strategic location at the Atlantic intersection of trade winds, currents, and shipping routes to and from Europe, Africa, the Caribbean islands, and Brazil” made the islands the key point for trading off captured and enslaved Africans from the Upper Guinea Coast as well as raw materials, such as, cotton and sugar growing on the islands of Santiago and Fogo (Okpewho, Davies, & Mazrui, 1999). In addition to Africans, the settlement of the islands also included French, English, Dutch, Spanish and Jews exiled from Portugal.
Cape Verde’s current population is estimated at 496,319\(^1\) habitants and the country’s official languages are Portuguese and Kriol.

For centuries, the Cape Verde Islands were affected by poor Portuguese administration, droughts and continuous famine. Due to these and other conditions, a great number of Cape Verdeans started to migrate to Europe and the United States. During the height of the whaling industry in the late 1800’s, many Cape Verdeans from the islands of Brava\(^2\) and Fogo were recruited to work for American whaling vessels as harpooners and cooks (Ibid). This initial recruitment eventually led to a much larger number of Cape Verdeans migrating to the southern part of the New England States. Islanders from Brava and Fogo composed of approximately 60\% of the estimated 35,000 to 45,000 Cape Verdeans who migrated to the eastern part of the United States between 1820 and 1975 (Halter, 2005).

On July 5, 1975, Cape Verde won its independence from the Portugal under the leadership of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC). The PAIGC party was led by one of the greatest revolutionary leaders, Amilcar Cabral, prior to his assassination on January 20, 1973. For the next fifteen-years, Cape Verde was governed under the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde (PAICV),\(^3\) but in 1991 the islands experienced its first multi-party elections where Cape Verde began its transition as a democratic nation under the leadership of the new political party, Movement for Democracy (MpD). In the 1996 elections MpD was reelected; however, in 2001 PAICV won the elections and was reelected in 2006. In spite of Cape Verde’s independence and political changes,
migration continues. The dry climate conditions, lack of natural resources, and families wanting to be reunited with their families abroad, continues to be the main reason for constant migration.

**Research Motives**

As an immigrant who came to the United States from the Cape Verde Islands at the age of twelve, I have witnessed the repercussions of IIRIRA in my own community. In 1996, roughly nine Cape Verden immigrants were deported from the United States, by 1997 the numbers doubled to approximately eighteen immigrants and by 1998 the numbers tripled to roughly 35 immigrants. The majority of these immigrants who faced deportation resided in Boston and Brockton, Massachusetts and Providence and Pawtucket, Rhode Island. Moreover, the majority were deported for both minor and serious criminal convictions.

My experience as an inner city immigrant was the leading force behind my interest in focusing this research in the area of immigration, detention, deportation and reintegration. Furthermore, there is a potential connection between cultural assimilation of inner city immigrants and deportation, particularly those who are deported due to criminal activities (Benson, 2003). In addition, my six month practicum experience at the General Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston strengthened my motives to proceed within this field. The exposure I experienced during my practicum was vital in understanding the concept behind immigration detention, deportation proceedings and the psychological impact the process has on the detainees and their families. As the Community Liaison intern, I also had many opportunities to discuss the issue of deportation with numerous community residents and leaders. Most importantly, my interaction with the Cape Verden community reinforced my perception that our community is not up-to-date with current immigration laws, deportation proceedings and the reintegration

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4 General Consulate of Cape Verde (Boston, Massachusetts) 1987-1998 Database
process that is taking place in Cape Verde. Therefore, as a result of my personal immigration experience, community activism, practicum experience and research in Cape Verde, I developed the following research question along with sub-questions as the basis for analysis: *Connecting the Dots: What is the current process for reintegrating Cape Verdean immigrants deported from the United States?*

**Design Stage:**
1) What are the goals for the program?
2) What is the basic content of the program?
3) What methods were used to design the program?
4) How involved were the deportees in the design of the program?

**Implementation Stage:**
1) What obstacles did IC encounter in the early states of implementing the program?
2) What corrections were made and how successful were they?
3) What methods were used to encourage participation by deportees in the program?

**Monitoring & Evaluation Stage:**
1) How often is the program evaluated?
2) What are the criteria used to evaluate the program?
3) What are the future plans to better assist the incoming deportees?
Literature Review

“In the United States, Cape Verdeans became Black, which also rendered them “invisible” as a distinct ethnic group” (Lima, 2007).

Understanding the social and cultural context of the United States is particularly important in understanding the connection between the Cape Verdean immigrant experiences, the Cape Verdean immigrants at risk for deportation and the reintegration process of those being deported. It is just as important to understand the current dynamics of the overall deportee population in the Cape Verde Islands.

Cape Verdean Immigrants: the United States Context

Addressing the issue of deportation inevitably leads to discussions of identity, race, culture adaptation and assimilation experiences of immigrants. Furthermore, addressing the issue of Cape Verdean deportation leads to complex discussions of identity, race, culture adaptation and assimilation of recent Cape Verdean immigrants in urban settings. As previously stated, the Cape Verdean immigrant history dates back to the late 1800’s, therefore the ‘then and now’ experiences are rather different, especially when taking identity, race and culture into consideration. The most recent Cape Verdean immigrant experience is relatively less studied as the challenges that immigrants are facing in the twenty-first century have serious repercussions including deportation.

An immediate immigrant family can be formed with either immigrant parent(s) and immigrant child(ren), immigrant parent(s) and non-immigrant child(ren), or immigrant spouse and non-immigrant spouse. These variations of family composition may have an impact on the integration process of an entire family. For instance, when a child begins to interact with the American culture through its institutions, such as the educational system, and the parents are not
exposed to the American culture into the same degree, the cultural adaptation experience is completely different. Yolanda Quiñones-Mayo and Patricia Dempsey (2005) discussed in *Finding the Bicultural Balance: Immigrant Latino Mothers Raising "American” Adolescents*, the social context of inner cities that many immigrants are subject to:

> The world of inner-city poverty, single parent homes, poor educational systems, and family instability—prevalent even at times when two parents are present—often leads to insecurity, deprivation, helplessness, and powerlessness... (2005:10)

In May of 2007, Dr. Ambrizeth Lima presented the most recent and complete work on the Cape Verdean immigrant youth entitled, “Searching for Rainbows: Race, Ethnicity, Gender and the Socialization of Cape Verdean Immigrant Young Men within Family, School and Community Contexts.” This dissertation gives the answers to many questions about the Cape Verdean youth immigrant experience and it also brings attention to the role of family, schools and neighborhoods in the integration process. Dr. Lima describes the early Cape Verdean immigrant pattern as a stepwise pattern where “[i]nitially, men arrived alone on the United States shores. As they established themselves in the United States, they sent for their wives and children” (Lima, page 15). This pattern has not changed with Cape Verdean immigrants; however, women are now migrating in greater numbers and still sending for their children.5

Later in Dr. Lima’s dissertation, she discusses the connection between immigrant youth of color and urban culture, specifically with the hip-hop culture, as a different form of culture assimilation:

> Many immigrant youth of color gravitate toward this particular youth culture because they feel a certain affinity with African American youth, with whom they share social spaces such as neighborhoods and schools, as well as racism and discrimination as racialized males in their new country (Ibrahim, 1999) (Lima,2007).

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5 I can personally attest to this phenomenon as it happened to me, to many of my family and friends who migrated to the United States in the early 90’s in the hopes of reuniting with our mothers.
This discussion is extremely important in understanding the reintegration process of deported immigrants to Cape Verde from the United States. According to the Institute Communities (IC) in Cape Verde, the deported immigrants from the United States are much younger than those deported from Portugal in earlier decades. IC also concluded that the younger deportees are having greater difficulties with reintegrating in the society. Moreover, their behavior and personal image are more visible to the Cape Verdean society (De Barros, 2003), thus, making them more vulnerable to potential discrimination.

Part of Dr. Lima’s research was a focus group of twelve young Cape Verdean males from Boston to elaborate on theories of family, school and neighborhood as important factors of their immigrant experience. Family separation is a common trend in immigrant communities and these trends are reflected in Dr. Lima’s group study findings where all but one participant had a parent or sibling already living the United States prior to their arrival (Lima, 2007). In addition, they migrated to the United States either in the company of the other parent, sibling(s) or alone. In spite of the family unification, the many years of separation prior to the unification must be taken into account. The separation places a burden on healthy family relationships. Her findings went on to discuss particular areas of the immigrant experience and the interpretation of each of the participants who had similar experiences regarding their relationship with their parents.

Additionally, some of Dr. Lima’s group participants were also individuals at risk for deportation while on probation or were already fighting their deportation case. The majority of Cape Verdean immigrants who have been, or are currently, in deportation proceedings are long term legal permanent residents with some type of criminal record. Furthermore, many of them were not aware that being on probation would lead to deportation. During my practicum at the Consulate of Cape Verde, I interviewed a number of detainees who were on probation for
criminal convictions prior to being detained by Immigration and Customs Enforcement. The discussions on social context of an immigrant experience can go at length as Dr. Lima presented in her dissertation. Arguably, the family context is one of the most important indicators in shaping the common patterns and trends of the Cape Verdean immigrant experience, although each family’s situation is unique. Additionally, deportees’ experiences are portraying almost the same patterns as that of immigrants where families are broken up, but in the case of deportation, the family reunion factor is rather difficult.

Cape Verdeans Immigrants: the Deportation Population Context

In collaboration with the National Institute of Statistics (NIS), the Institute of Communities (IC) and City Halls, the first deportee census was conducted in March of 2002. The census estimated a population of 460 deportees from the United States and Europe living in the Cape Verde Islands (De Barros, 2002). The studies looked at the various elements, such as, host countries, age, sex and their sense of societal acceptance to determine the needs of the deportees. The results showed that 97.6% of the deportees were males in comparison to the 3.4% of females. The host countries with the highest percentage of deportees included the United States and five European Union member States, namely, France, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Portugal and Sweden. Out of the six hosting countries, Portugal, United States and France, lead in deportation numbers (De Barros, 2002). The studies also looked at the age range in relation to their feeling of acceptance by the Cape Verdean society. With an average age of 41-years-old, the older deportees felt more accepted by the society in comparison to the younger deportees who felt less accepted. IC concluded in its report that in recent years a high number of

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6 In the context of host countries, it is important to note that Cape Verdeans Diaspora population resides (in no particular order) in North and South America, West Africa (Continent) and Europe.
7 For study purposes the National Institute of Statistic defined “young” as 30-years-old and younger.
young immigrants were being deported from the United States and appeared to be more disconnected with the Cape Verdean culture and the realities of living in Cape Verde. Thus, highlighting how those particular individuals were having more difficulties with reintegrating in the society.

In December of 2006, 75 deportation cases were pending at the Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston. Forty out of the 75 cases were detainees between the ages of 21 and 30, and 45 out of the 75 cases were detainees who migrated to the United States between the ages of eleven and eighteen. Therefore, the majority of the individuals who were in deportation proceedings spent most of their lives living in the United States and many of them never went back to Cape Verde.

The age factor brings in another important aspect of the reintegration process, speaking both Cape Verde Kriol and Portuguese. Although Cape Verde now has two official languages, Portuguese is the main language used for communicating in educational institutions, government, media and other formal settings. It is important to note that according to the IC’s study analysis, the Cape Verdean government had been aware of deported immigrants, mainly from Portugal, since the late 70’s. However, it was not until the number of immigrants deported from the United States increased in the beginning of the 21st century, that the government saw the need to conduct the census with the purpose of developing a reintegration program (De Barros, 2002).

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8 Another set of ages for the detainees were younger then 11-years-old when they arrived in the United States.
9 The majority of the detainee who I interviewed during my internship stated that they had not visited Cape Verde since they left.
Research Framework and Methodology

Research: Advantages and Challenges

I was born and raised in the island of Sal until the age of twelve, and as an immigrant, I have learned to preserve my culture throughout the years. The preservation of the culture manifested through speaking Kriol at home, having the privilege of visiting the islands on a yearly basis and staying involved with the Cape Verdean community in the United States. Keeping strong ties with the culture and Cape Verde itself, contributed immensely to the process of doing research on the islands. My ability to speak, understand and articulate in both Cape Verdean Kriol and Portuguese facilitated my communication in a general sense. In addition, the practicum experience at the General Consulate of Cape Verde allowed me to better communicate with the government officials by sharing my internship experience with pre-deportation proceedings. Another advantage in doing the research was having grown up in the city of Boston, and therefore speaking English, created a space for open communication with the deportees interviewed.

Staying on track with the research timeline was a rather daunting task to manage especially dealing with the dynamics of transportation between the Islands. The airport on the island of Brava was permanently closed a few years ago due to its geographic location and previous difficulties with landing airplanes safely on the island. As a result, one must take a cargo or fishing boat to the island. The lack of consistent boat schedules conflicted with the research timeline; consequently, making me unable to conduct research in the island of Brava.

Interviewing deportees was part of the research methodology, including the individuals I knew from growing up in Boston. Surprisingly, it was far more difficult to conduct interviews with those I knew personally, than with those I met for the very first time. Although our
friendship inevitably led to conversations in regards to growing up in the United States and their reintegration experience, their willingness to conduct a formal interview was absent. Many of them were simply tired of talking about their deportee status and just want to move on with their lives. The concept of doing research within one’s own culture was extremely difficult, as I struggled with my bias and stepping out of the box in order to conduct the research from a different perspective. Additionally, it was rather challenging to be selective of the cultural knowledge and personal experiences in the process of presenting the research. I went through a process of elimination in order to identify relevant information for my work. I used professional work from various fields and asked for guidance from a number of Cape Verdean professionals as a technique to deal with these particular challenges.

Research: Framework

I strongly believe in the importance of positive change, but most importantly, on how to deliberately go about making positive change. As a unit within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Communities, the Institute of Communities (IC) launched a government Reintegration Program in 2003. Part of my research was to look at the positive components of the Reintegration Program and to analyze the program through identification of the strengths and areas of improvement. During my academic year at the School for International Training, I took the Leadership and Change course where we studied Whitney and Trosten-Bloom’s, “The Power of Appreciative Inquiry,” as a framework for positive change. According to Whitney and Trosten-Blooms, Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is “…the study and exploration of what gives life to human systems when they function at their best” (Whitney and Trosten-Blooms, page 1). AI uses the 4-D Cycle, 1) Discovery, 2) Dream, 3) Design and 4) Destiny, as a framework that takes
into account the work that an organization has developed and uses the organization’s work as a starting point for positive change.

The strategy used to conduct a case-study of the program was to place the Reintegration Program parallel to the 4-D cycle and use the framework as a basis for analysis. As mentioned in the introduction, I developed sub-questions as tools to answer the main research question: What is the current process for reintegrating Cape Verdean immigrants deported from the United States?

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**Implementation Stage:**
1) What obstacles did IC encounter in the early states of implementing the program?
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**Monitoring & Evaluation Stage:**
1) How often is the program evaluated?
2) What are the criteria used to evaluate the program?
3) What are the future plans to better assist the incoming deportees?

**Methodology: Island and Subject Selection**

The concept behind this research methodology was linked directly with the protocols used by the Cape Verdean government in reintegrating immigrants deported from the host countries. My practicum site in Boston as the Community Liaison for the General Consulate of Cape Verde was the starting point of the research. As one of the foreign government entities responsible to help and assist its nationals (*United Nations*, 2005), the Consulate of Cape Verde is the first government institute to make contact with immigrants facing deportation. During the
practicum, I conducted interviews with detained immigrants, the detainees’ family members and maintained close contact with the officers of the Department of Homeland Security. I also prepared the official deportation notifications and forwarded the documentation to the appropriate government agencies in Cape Verde prior to the departure of the deportees. The completion of the practicum resulted in having a clear understanding of the protocols used by the Consulate of Cape Verde to assist the detainees and their families throughout the deportation proceedings.

With the data collected through the practicum, I proceeded to continue the research in Cape Verde and chose to conduct interviews as the main method of data collection. The islands selected as locations for research were based on the Institute of Communities Deportees Census Analysis of 2002. Based on the census I was able to identify four islands, including particular districts in those islands, with the highest concentration of deportees from the United States. The subjects of the research were identified based on the 2002 Institute of Communities Deportees Census Analysis and the 2003 Institute of Communities Integration Project Design for Deportees in Cape Verde. These agencies included: Institute of Communities, Headquarters for General Consular Services, Cape Verdean Solidarity Institute, Personalized Deportation Assistance Offices, City Halls, Headquarters for Immigration and Border Patrol and the National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship.

Up until June of 2006, the Amilcar Cabral International Airport in the island of Sal was the only international airport in the Cape Verde Islands. Thus, Sal was the first point of entry for all of the deportees arriving from the United States and Europe. In 2003, the Institute of Communities (IC) signed a protocol with Sal’s City Hall where an employee of the Office for Immigrant Services was assigned to work in collaboration with IC’s reintegration program
(Ministry, 2003). Due to these factors, the island of Sal was also identified as one of the islands to collect data.

**Methodology: Island and Government Employee Interviews**

I continued the research in the island of Sal where I interviewed the employee of City Hall’s Office of Immigrant Services (OIS) responsible for dealing with Cape Verdean immigrants who return to the country as visitors, permanent residents or deportees. The interview was focused on the implementation of the reintegration program from a port of entry perspective. I also interviewed the Border Patrol Commissioner to obtain statistics from the international airport and collect data on the procedures used once a deported immigrant arrives on the island.

In the capital city of Praia, I first interviewed the reintegration program national coordinator with questions based on the 2002 deportation census, the reintegration program and information obtained through the interview conducted in Sal. Once the interview with the national coordinator was completed, I proceeded to interview other government employees. The employees were selected based on their participation in the design and approval of the reintegration program and interactions with the deportees. I later proceeded to the island of Fogo where an attempt to interview Mayor São Filipe was made; however the Mayor was not available during my stay on the island. I then proceeded to interview the clinical psychologist for the Personalized Deportation Assistance (PDA) office located in the town of Monsteiros, Fogo. The clinical psychologist is also responsible for coordinating the PDA office in the island of Brava, also assisted by two City Hall employees. Through the PDA office coordinator, I was able to interview four deportees; three males and one female in Mosteiros. As a supplement for the
research not conducted on the island of Brava, I requested and obtained from the national
television a special deportation report on the island of Brava

The island of São Vicente was the last location of research, where I interviewed the City Hall employee for the Office of Immigrant Services. Institute of Communities also signed the reintegration program protocol with São Vicente’s City Hall. While in Sal, Santiago, Fogo and São Vicente, I also observed the surroundings and the culture of the islands and tried to analyze the situation from the perspective of an immigrant deported from the United States. In addition, I conducted informal interviews with island residents to get their overall perception on deportation and the reintegration process of the deported immigrants.
Presentation of Data and Analysis

The Trickle Down Effect of the Immigration System

The Department of Homeland Security (DHS) houses the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), which is part of the agency formally known as Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The Office of Deportation and Removal (DRO) was established in March of 2003 as one of ICE’s “four integrated divisions that form a 21st century law enforcement agency with broad responsibilities for a number of key homeland security priorities” (ICE, 2006). DRO was created with particular goals which are executed through a number of programs including the Criminal Alien Program (CAP). The purpose of CAP is to enforce immigration laws to its maximum by focusing particularly on immigrants who have committed any crime that is considered deportable by immigration laws:

CAP focuses on identifying criminal aliens who are incarcerated within federal, state and local facilities, thereby ensuring that they are not released into the community by securing a final order of removal prior to the termination of their sentence. In June 2006, ICE launched a central interview and processing site for criminal aliens within the federal Bureau of Prisons (BOP) called the Detention Enforcement and Processing Offenders by Remote Technology (DEPORT). Through DEPORT, ICE ensures that all criminal aliens in federal prison custody are processed for removal. Currently ICE has increased the presence of the CAP program from 30 to 119 federal prisons (ICE, 2006).

Though it states that CAP focuses on identifying immigrants who are incarcerated, ICE does not state that they also focus on immigrants who are on probation. While interning at the Consulate of Cape Verde, many of the detainees I interviewed were picked up by ICE on their last day of checking in with their probation officer.

Once an immigrant is in ICE custody, the individual is considered a federal prisoner and is subject to be detained at any of the detention centers across the nation. The majority of the Cape Verdean immigrants are detained in Massachusetts and Rhode Island but many others are also detained in New Jersey, Louisiana, Texas and Arizona, which impedes families and friends
from visiting and providing a support system. As mentioned in the introduction, the Act of 1996 provisions made detention mandatory while awaiting immigration trial. Due to this, the detention centers are becoming over populated and many immigrants end up in centers away from their state of residency. Once the order of removal is presented to the detainee, she or he can appeal the case with the Board of Appeals, which will determine if the case will be granted cancellation of removal or order removal.

**General Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston**

On April 24, 1963, the United Nations held the Vienna Convention on Consular Relations. The Convention’s mission was to reinforce United Nations’ purposes and principles “concerning the sovereign equality of States, the maintenance of international peace and security, and the promotion of friendly relations among nations” *(United Nations, 2005)*. The duties and responsibilities of a Consular office vary and they are greatly detailed in 79 Articles. Article 5 Section (a), states that the consular functions consists of “protecting in the receiving State the interest of the sending State and of its nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate, within the limits permitted by international law.” Furthermore, section (e) states that consular function also consists of “helping and assisting nationals, both individuals and bodies corporate, of the sending State.”

The Cape Verdiean government opened its first Consular office in Boston in 1976. Its jurisdiction includes both the United States and Canada where it serves the Cape Verdiean community with chancellery, cultural promotion, political, economic and deportation assistance. Between 1987 and 1998, the Consulate of Cape Verde recorded 110 deported cases, including six from Angola and one from Senegal who were not Cape Verdiean born but were Cape Verdiean
citizens, therefore were deported to Cape Verde.\textsuperscript{10} On January 14, 1999, the Boston Police Department, the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority Police and Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS) carried out Operation “Safe Streets” in the district of Dorchester. As a result, 19 Cape Verdean immigrants and Cape Verdean Americans were arrested and seven of them were later taken into INS custody (“Operation ‘Safe Streets,’” 1999). The Consulate of Cape Verde immediately took action and within a few days the Consul and Cultural Attaché met with the Boston Police Department, visited the seven immigrants detained by INS, and met with the detainees’ parents.\textsuperscript{11}

As a matter of national concern, the Consulate notified Cape Verde’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Communities (MFSCC) and raised concern regarding the increasing numbers of deportees.\textsuperscript{12} In the weeks to follow, the Consulate gathered a number of Cape Verdean community leaders to discuss the issue. As a result, the Cape Verdean Community Task Force was formed as a non-profit organization and now known as the Cape Verdean Community UNIDO. UNIDO extended its support to the community with the mission to “outreach to, inform, and organize the Cape Verdean community around issues of self-empowerment and social and economic development while advocating for and accessing resources that meet the self-identified needs of the community” (“Uniting neighbors,” n.d.).

An internal pre-deportation protocol was put into place and administered by the Consulate’s Culture Attaché. The core of the pre-deportation protocol involves:

1. Verification of Cape Verdean citizenship of the detained immigrant
2. Interview the detained immigrant

\textsuperscript{10} Contrary to other African countries such as Angola and Senegal, Cape Verde does not reject Cape Verdean citizens who are deported back to the islands.

\textsuperscript{11} As part of my practicum deportation training at the Consulate of Cape Verde, I reviewed various documents to familiarize with the office’s past procedures, including the Consulate of Cape Verde Memo addressed to Cape Verde’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Communities, January 27, 1999.

\textsuperscript{12} Consulate of Cape Verde Deportation Database: 1987-1999
3. Contact the detainee’s family and refer legal resources when applicable
4. Issuance of a travel document
5. Notification to Cape Verdean government officials once the travel document is issued

In some occasions, the Consulate’s office and the Embassy of Cape Verde in Washington D.C. receives arrest notification from the Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) once a Cape Verdean immigrant is under their custody. For the most part however, ICE notifies the Consulate’s office of a detained Cape Verdean immigrant after the detainee receives the order of removal by an immigration judge. All travel expenses are paid by the Department of Homeland Security. The detainees’, who are flying out from the city of Boston, are allowed to have their luggage and money (up to ten-thousand dollars) dropped off at the Suffolk County Jail as personal travel belongings. However, if any detainee is flying out from another city, the family has no means to send luggage and/or money with the detainee. Since 2006, many of the detainees are flown to Cape Verde via Europe given that the South African Airways no longer have direct flights to Sal and the Cape Verde’s Airline only travels once or twice a week from and to the islands. Yet, it is known that ICE has deported a number of Cape Verdonean immigrants without notifying the Consulate of Cape Verde.

In 1984, the Immigrant Support Institute (ISI) was created under the administration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and Communities with the purpose to support and protect the interest of Cape Verdean immigrants residing abroad (Ministry, 1987). However, in September of 2001, a new resolution was passed where the ISI was terminated and the Institute of Communities (IC) was created with new organizational structure, a continued focus on immigrant support and assigned staff to deal specifically with the issue of integrating deportees.

Prior to the termination of ISI, the Consulate of Cape Verde submitted deportation notifications directly to the respective delegates of ISI and the Headquarters of General Consular
Services (HGCS). With the creation of IC, and the launch of the reintegration program, all matters regarding deportation were centralized in the head-quarters of IC in the city of Praia. With the centralization of the deportation matters, new protocols were implemented where all the deportation notifications coming from the Cape Verdean Consulates or Embassies, were directed to IC, HGCS and the National Police Commissioner. Thus, IC became the institute responsible for forwarding the deportation notifications to the Personalized Deportation Assistance Offices and the City Halls’ Office for Immigrant Services. HGCS is responsible for notifying the Internal Administration, Headquarters for Immigration and Border Patrol, Judiciary Police and Ministry of Employment and Solidarity.13

The issue of deportation is delicate and of great concern for both the government of Cape Verde and the United States government. As stated in an above paragraph, a number of Cape Verdean immigrants have been deported without notification to the Consulate of Cape Verde or the Embassy of Cape Verde in Washington D.C. To prevent this matter from affecting the excellent relations between the two countries, there is an ongoing dialogue between the Consulate and Embassy of Cape Verde with the Department of Homeland Security in developing a protocol agreement regarding deportation procedures. The dialogue is still in its early stages of drafting the deportation procedure agreement to be implemented in the near future.

Reintegration Program: Design and Implementation

The reintegration program was spearheaded by the Institute of Communities (IC) and in collaboration with other government institutions and non-governmental organizations. The program elements were based on the results of the 2002 Institute of Communities Deportees

13 Interview conducted on April 3, 2007 with Isa Morais, employee of Headquarters for General Consular Services, who stated HGSC does not have instructions to forward deportation notification to any other institute and that HGSC only serves as “internal post-office.”
Census Analysis. As part of the research, I developed three sub-categories as a tool to analyze the program through design, implementation and monitoring and evaluation. Each of these categories was followed with sub-questions to foster my understanding of the effectiveness of the reintegration program. For the reintegration program design stage the following sub-questions were developed:

1) What are the goals for the program?
2) What is the basic content of the program?
3) What methods were used to design the program?
4) How involved were the deportees in the design of the program?

Upon the completion of the deportee census, the Institute of Communities identified key government institutions to take part in the design of the reintegration program. The program design Working Group was formed by the Institute of Communities, Headquarters for Social Services and National Program for the Fight against Poverty. Once the program design was complete, it was reviewed and approved by other governmental and non-governmental institutions. According to the reintegration program national coordinator, the Working Group did not use any specific method or framework to design the program.14 However, as a guide to analyze the program, I was able to draw parallels with the framework used in Appreciative Inquiry 4-D Cycle: Discovery, Dream, Design and Destiny.

Whitney and Trosten-Bloom (2003) states that “[t]he 4-D Cycle begins with the thoughtful identification of what is to be studied – Affirmative Topics,” which is the Discovery phase. The National Institute of Statistics created a census that would allow the Working Group to identify particular elements that were essential to the design of the program such as: host countries, age, gender, immediate family, acceptance by society, level of education, and profession, amongst others (Ministry, 2002). Additionally, some of the Working Group

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14 Interview conducted with the reintegration program national coordinator.
representatives visited the islands of Azores\textsuperscript{15} to observe the country’s reintegration program created in 1998 (\textit{Direcção Regional}, 1998).

Once the \textit{Discovery} phase was completed, the Working Group proceeded to analyze the findings and began determining which of the islands needed immediate attention. The analyzing of the census data is where I place the \textit{Dream} phase, “[a]n energizing exploration of what might be” (Whitney and Trosten-Bloom, 2003). Based on the census analysis, the Working Group identified the United States as the host country with the fastest growing numbers of relatively younger deportees, particularly from the islands of Fogo and Brava, who were having more difficulties with reintegration in the society. The natives of Fogo and Brava were also identified as the ones less rooted with the Cape Verdean culture.

The next phase that followed was \textit{Design}, “[a] set of Provocative Propositions which are statements describing the ideal organization or what should be” (Whitney and Trosten-Bloom, 2003). Based on the results of the census, the Working Group proceeded to design the reintegration program and presented the following headings:

1) general and specific objectives
2) intervention strategy
3) project components
4) finance
5) implementation structure
6) execution approach
7) monitoring and evaluation
8) conclusion and recommendations

The \textit{Destiny} phase, “[a] series of inspired actions that support ongoing, learning and innovation or what will be” (Whitney and Trosten-Bloom, 2003). The following \textit{implementation} stage sub-questions were developed to correlate with the \textit{Destiny} phase:

1) What obstacles did IC encounter in the early states of implementing the program?

\textsuperscript{15} The islands of Azores are a province of Portugal discovered in 1427 and have similar geographic attributes as the Cape Verde Islands.
2) What corrections were made and how successful were they?
3) What methods were used to encourage participation by deportees in the program?

Each program component reflected the needs of the deportees detected through the census:
- reception upon arrival
- personalized deportation assistance offices at four locations
- learning Portuguese language
- professional training
- leisure time occupation
- support in prisons
- insertion in the labor market

Seven districts were identified as locations to launch the reintegration program, namely, 1) Praia, Santiago, 2) Mosteiros, Fogo, 3) São Filipe, Fogo, 4) Santa Catarina, Santiago, 5) Tarrafal, Santiago, 6) São Miguel, Santiago, 7) Santa Cruz, Santiago, the island of Brava and São Vicente. Within those districts and islands, Praia, Mosteiros, São Filipe and Brava were identified as the locations to set up the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office (PDAO) and the island of Sal, as the main port of entry, to set up a Welcoming Office at the Amilcar Cabral International Airport.

Part of the implementation stage was signing protocols with City Halls, particularly with the Office of Immigrant Services (OIE), the islands of Sal and São Vicente as a collaboration effort to supplement the absence of a Personalized Deportation Assistance Office. One OIE staff was assigned to assist in the welcoming of the deportees arriving on the islands. In the island of Sal, particularly, the balancing act between City Hall duties and deportation assistance has been extremely difficult. With only one staff attending to the deportees arriving simultaneously from the United States and Europe, has led to inconsistency in providing an adequate arrival reception. In addition, no funds have been allocated for transportation to and from the airport.

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16 Interview conducted with the staff at the Office for Immigrant Services in Sal.
The PDA office plays the most important role in the implementation of the reintegration program. The district of Mosteiros and the island of Brava are currently the only two locations with a PDA office available, and although the island of Sal has its Welcoming Office, it is currently not in use due to the lack of staff and finance. The PDA office coordinates all the services provided by the program such as free health care, basic meals, and housing. In addition, the office also runs the “Life Project” program that finances small start-up businesses as a form of self-sustainability for the deportees. Since the launching of the program, 42 deportees from Mosteiros and Brava have been financed to start their own business in agriculture, fishing, barbershop, fast food café, and livestock (Institute, 2006). The sustainability of the program itself is highly dependent on other local institutions for funding. Currently, there is a freeze in financing the next wave of small businesses due to the lack of sponsors.\footnote{17 Interview with PDA Office clinical-psychologist in Mosteiros, Fogo}

The effectiveness of the program in reintegrating the deportees is at risk for two particular reasons. First, the PDA offices are only available in the town of Monsteiros, Fogo and the island of Brava even though the Working Group also identified the district of São Filipe, Fogo and Praia as the other locations for a PDA office. Without a PDA office, the government can not provide any health, housing, training services, or sponsor start-up businesses for any of the deportees arriving on the islands. The island of São Vicente is in a more complex situation as the City Hall’s Office of Immigrant Services no longer receives deportation notification from the Consulates and neither does it receive it from IC. In addition, a PDA office was not designated to the island of São Vicente, although it is the island with the third highest percentage of deportees from the United States.

Second, program participation is voluntary which implies that not all deportees are being assisted by the government. According to the PDA office records, one female and 35 males are
registered in Mosteiros program and one female and 48 males are registered in the island of Brava. Apart from the deportee census conducted in 2002, there are no other official statistics that shows how many deportees are currently in Cape Verde and how many of them are being assisted by the government.

**Reintegration Program: Monitoring and Evaluation**

The last section of the sub-questions was focused on the *monitoring* and *evaluation* stage of the reintegration program design:

1) How often is the program evaluated?  
2) What are the criteria used to evaluate the program?  
3) What are the future plans to better assist deportees?

Program *monitoring* and *evaluation* are key factors in the productivity and success of any program. The design of the reintegration program presented the following *monitoring* and *evaluation* strategies:

- consecutive meetings
- data analyses
- island visitations for follow-up on implementation and periodic reports

Since the program was launched in 2003, the monitoring and evaluation strategies have not been put into practice.\(^{18}\) The employees of the Institute of Communities and Office of Immigrant Services are concerned with the implementation process that is currently in place.\(^{19}\) With the islands being physically disconnected, the obstacles for implementing a successful program are significant. The clinical psychologist for the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office (PDAO) works between the islands of Fogo and Brava as she must travel by sea to the island of Brava every 15 days to assist the deportees. The absence of monitoring and evaluating the program through consistent local and national meetings are also affecting the program. Without

\(^{18}\) Interview with the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office Clinical-Psychologist  
\(^{19}\) I made this assessment based on all the interviews I conducted.
an adequate evaluation of the program, the issues with finance, transportation, and communication will not be resolved.

**The Cape Verdean Solidarity Foundation**

The reintegration program led by the Institute of Communities is not the only institute with a reintegration program designed to serve the deportee population in the Cape Verde Islands. The Cape Verdean Institute of Solidarity (CVIS) was created by the government in 1976 as a public institute with “the primary objective to manage aid provided by the international community” (Fundação, 2006) and eventually expanded its services in the social sector. Between 1984 and 1991, CVIS experienced drastic administrative and statute changes which had a negative impact in the institute’s programming (Ibid). After many years deteriorating, CVIS went under review, and in February of 2006, the government terminated CVIS. As an alternative solution, the government opted towards “the creation of a private foundation” (Ibid) to reclaim CVIS’s original purpose, hence the creation of the Cape Verdean Solidarity Foundation (CVSF). Furthermore, the core services provided continued through assisting infants, adolescents and the elderly in different social areas and the addition of the ‘Social Integration and Reintegration Project for Deported Youth.’

Part of my research also included an interview with the reintegration project coordinator. According to CVSF statistics, approximately 1,000 Cape Verdiean immigrants were deported between 1990 and 2000. Based on their statistics, a reintegration program was designed in 2005 with the plan to launch the program in the same year. CVSF opted to first recruit deported immigrants from the United State, which according to the President of CVSF’s, they are the ones having more difficulties in reintegrating in the society (A Semana, 2005). With the highest concentration of deported immigrants from the United States residing on the islands of Fogo and
Brava, CVSF staff visited the islands to recruit potential program beneficiaries. The program’s location was centralized in the city of Praia. Therefore, all of the deportees residing in other islands interested in participating in the program would have to relocate to the city of Praia. The program was focused primarily on the deportees already residing on the islands and not necessarily those in deportation proceedings. Thus, the program was not structured to receive deportation notifications or to recruit deportees upon their arrivals. In spite of the fact that the Prime Minister’s Office is the main sponsor of this project, CVSF has not been able to secure enough funds to launch and guarantee the maintenance of the program.20

Looking onward, if CVSF does launch its reintegration program, could conflicts emerge with the existent program at the Institute of Communities? In the interviews conducted with the program coordinator for the Institute of Communities and CVSF, it was stated that the institutions have not been able to reach an agreement of collaboration. Thus, it is important to ask, how can two organizations of the same servitude co-exist in the city of Praia without collaboration?

**The Reintegration Process: the Deportees’ Experiences**

Small island nations such as Cape Verde can not escape the immediate shock of deportation when looking from the perspective of the country’s population. According to Cape Verde’s National Institute of Statistic (NIS), the current population is estimated at 496,319 habitants. Focusing on the islands with the highest concentration of deportees from the United States, the population statistics go as follows: Mosteiros is estimated at 9,853, São Filipe, Fogo is estimated at 23,465; Brava is estimated at 6,333, the capital city of Praia is estimated at 121,844

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20 Interview conducted with program coordinator
and the island of São Vicente is estimated at 77,353. The population statistics do not specify on the number of deportees per island.

In 2006, a new international airport was inaugurated in Praia, Santiago and since then the deportees’ port of entry has been either through the city of Praia or the island of Sal. Currently, the international airport of Praia does not have a deportation border patrol system in place as it does for the island of Sal. Therefore, a deportation database for the new international airport is yet to be created.\textsuperscript{21} Between 2001 and May of 2007, 202 deportees from the United States entered the country through Sal’s international airport (Ministry, 2007). Those who arrive through the island of Sal must follow border protocol procedures\textsuperscript{22} which include:

1) Photo 
2) Digital fingerprint 
3) Basic personal information 
4) Seize travel document 

Every deportee who arrives at the international airport is accompanied by an Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) officer; however, the officer does not accompany the deportee to the final island destination. In the past, the deportees were handcuffed once they arrived on the island\textsuperscript{23}; yet, that is no longer the case. Although Cape Verde signed an Open Skies Agreement\textsuperscript{24} with the United States in 2002, no U.S. Marshall Aircrafts have transported deportees to Cape Verde which is contrary to other small island nations such as Haiti.\textsuperscript{25} Additionally, the Cape Verdean authorities do not incarcerate deportees upon their arrival as it is a violation of the

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{21} Though I was not able to interview the director of the Headquarters for Immigration and Border Patrol in Praia, I was informed by a staff at the Headquarters that no border statistic database for the new international airport has been created.
\footnote{22} Information obtained in the interview with Sal’s Border Patrol Commissioner.
\footnote{23} The handcuffs were used depending on the criminal charges of the deportee.
\footnote{24} “Open Skies agreements set liberal ground rules for international aviation markets and minimize government intervention. Provisions apply to passenger, all-cargo and combination air transportation and encompass both scheduled and charter services” \textit{(U.S. Department of State, 2002)}.
\footnote{25} “For Haitian criminal deportees, most are dropped off in Port-au-Prince by specially chartered U.S. Marshals planes…Yet whichever way they arrive and despite the fact that each one has fully served his or her sentence in a U.S. prison, nearly every criminal deportee is taken straight to a Haitian jail cell” \textit{(Fernandes, 2007)}.
\end{footnotes}
declaration of universal human rights to arbitrarily arrest, detain or exile an individual (*United Nations*, 1948).

The Institute of Communities Deportee Census Analysis stated that the island of Brava has the least tolerance in accepting deported immigrants. In September of 2002, the National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship (NCHRC) visited Brava on a human rights mission which included a meeting with the residents to discuss the issues of the island. NCHRC also concluded on their visit report that one of the main concerns addressed by the residents was the stigma attached to the deportees and the lack of government support to assist them. There are many issues with the island of Brava as it is one of the least developed islands in infrastructure—53.8% of its population is considered poor and 36.2% (*National*, 2002) of the population is below the poverty line. With a combination of the deportees’ stigma and Brava’s overall developmental concerns, the reintegration process is far more complex.

In April of 2007, Cape Verde’s national television broadcasted a report on the reintegration process of deportees on the island of Brava. One female and two males were interviewed along with the coordinator for the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office. “I don’t have anyone here, where can I go?,” asked the woman who left the island of Brava at the age of five and now is in her mid forties. The two males, who are now in their mid twenties, left the island at the age of six and five. All three reported to have been discriminated against by the residents and that finding a job was extremely difficult as they were considered untrustworthy. The news report also brought attention to the current trend of associating violence with particular groups of young people being referred to as “thugs” by the island residents. Moreover, the “thugs” were identified by their loose style of clothing, which is also the same style of clothing used by deportees from the United States. Due to this association, many deportees are being
discriminated against and are being blamed for every crime that happens on the island—the residents are accusing the deportees of “destroying Brava.” However, the crimes that were investigated by the authorities proved that the “locals” were the ones committing the crimes and yet “we don’t even get an apology,” stated one of the males interviewed.

As previously mentioned, I interviewed three males and one female in Mosteiros, Fogo through the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office (PDAO). Prior to starting the one-on-one interview sessions, an informed consent form, explaining their rights as voluntary participants, was presented to each participant (see appendix B). Two of the deportees chose to be digitally audio recorded and the other two preferred answering the written questionnaire. The digitally audio recorded interviews were based on the written questionnaire which was divided into four sections: 1) primary information, 2) detention and deportation proceedings, 3) entry and reintegration process, and 4) future plans, with a total of 26 questions (see appendix C). All four interviewees had a number of the similar responses:

- migrated to the United States under the age of 13
- immediate family residing in the United States
- legal permanent resident in the U.S. prior to deportation
- entered through Sal’s international airport
- not assisted by government official at the point of entry or final destination
- feels either somewhat-accepted or rarely-accepted by society
- having difficulty-adapting to the culture or somewhat-adapting to the culture

The interview conducted with the female deportee was one of the most intense interviews I conducted. In a one-hour-and-seventeen-minute interview, much was said as I gave her room to express the emotions that were building up since her deportation. A mix of emotions ranging from denial, to frustration, disappointment, regrets, nostalgia, cope, acceptance and now to hope for better days to come, all manifested through her story. She migrated to the United States at the age of six and now is a 45-year-old mother of two teenagers who returned for the first time to Cape Verde in 2005 without her kids. One of her many challenges, she said, is dealing with a
society that is not sympathetic towards female deportees and does not share her pain of not being with her children and the rest of her family.

The district of São Filipe on the island of Fogo also has a high number of deportees; however, no formal interview was conducted given that the PDA office is yet to be set-up. Nonetheless, I was still able to conduct informal interviews with three of my male friends who were deported between 1999 and 2002. Their reintegration process is relatively different as their United States educational background has a direct impact to their reintegration process. One of the two, who has a higher education background, is currently teaching English at the local high school and the other one started his own business, as well as, teaching at the local high school. As for the other friend, who has a high school education background, is having a difficult time in finding a job and relies on family remittances as a means of sustainability.

The presence of a PDA Office in Praia, Santiago would have facilitated the deportee data collection in the city, given that, the capital city is one of the largest cities on the island. Other than the people whom I knew personally, there was no other way of identifying the deportees in a formal setting. Thus, the data collected in Praia was not formally recorded given that my friends were not willing to grant me a formal interview for various reasons. Whenever I was able to bring up the subject, I was told that getting a job was extremely difficult and they depended on family remittances as a means of survival. It was also mentioned that the majority of the residents do not trust them, and at various times, were judgmental.

In Sal, I conducted an informal interview with a male deportee in his late twenties, who although he was born in Brava, chose to reside in Sal when he first arrived. Upon his arrival, he was greeted by a friend of the family and not by a government employee. Having left the island at three months old with his family, he no longer had any family ties in Brava and saw no
purpose in returning there. Moreover, he was well aware that there were no job opportunities, and heard stories about residents not being sympathetic toward the deportees. For those reasons, he opted to stay on the island of Sal where he saw the opportunity to use his English and Spanish language skills to work in the tourism business. Although he barely spoke Kriol when he first arrived, he is now perfecting his Kriol language skills in addition to learning Dutch and Italian.²⁶

It is important to note that I did not conduct any research with incarcerated deported immigrants. However, it is known that in the capital city of Praia, in particular, there has been and continues to be an elevated number of deportees incarcerated for minor and serious criminal charges. In 2005, deportees from the United States made the news for quite sometime when three men went on trial accused of committing a number of premeditated homicides in Praia and having possession of firearms (A Semana, 2005). One of the accused was also believed to be leading a number of other violent crimes occurring in the capital city, which unleashed a wave of fear throughout Praia. In 2006, two of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to 19 years in prison, while the third accused was found not guilty (A Semana, 2006).²⁷ In many of the informal interviews with deportees, residents and government employees in Praia, it was stated after the sentencing of the two individuals, the violent crimes in Praia dropped significantly.

The Reintegration Process: Islanders’ Perceptions and Experiences

An important part of the research dealt with informal conversations with the island residents. Everyone with whom I spoke, were very open to discuss the issue of deportation and even more interested in learning more about the outcomes of the research. The island residents’ perceptions and experiences with regard to the deportees’ and their reintegration process varied

²⁶ He was a legal permanent resident while living in the United States. He currently works for one of the biggest hotels in Sal and has been promoted since he started working there.
²⁷ Cape Verde’s laws are against death penalty and life sentences.
from island to island. However, all across the islands, the residents were surprised to hear the deportee statistics I provided based on the deportee census. Many presumed that the numbers of deportees in the Cape Verde Islands were higher than 460 deportees. Moreover, many found it hard to believe that the average age of deportees in Cape Verde is 41-years-old and not in the mid-twenties.

Compared to other islands, the residents of Sal had relatively different experiences with the deportees who arrived on the island. As the main port of entry until 2006, many of the residents who work at the airport, or travel frequently, came in contact with a deportee at one point or another. I had my first deportee encounter experience back in the summer of 1999, when my sister and I went to Sal on vacation. While at the airport waiting for my third sister arriving on South African Airways, we saw a friend from Boston approaching the exit gate along with two other Cape Verdeans males and a Caucasian man. As he came closer, my sister and I said hi to him and he waived back but barely looking in our direction. His reaction was rather odd since back in Boston he always greeted us more warmly. As they passed us, we noticed that one of the Cape Verdean men was handcuffed and the Caucasian man stood next to him. At first, we were confused and shocked to see someone arrive in Sal with handcuffs and wondered what was going on. Later on, we found out that our friend and the two Cape Verdean men were deported.

For the past 26 years, my father has been working as a Traffic Officer for South African Airs’ (SAA) office in Sal. In one of our many conversations regarding deportation, he said he had lost track of the number of deportees arriving from the United States through SAA. He also told me the case of a particular young man who arrived in Sal through SAA a few years ago. As

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28 In 2006, a new international airport was inaugurated in the capital city of Praia, therefore, deportees are entering the country through Praia or Sal.
my father boarded the plane to obtain some documentation from the flight crew, a young man called my father by his name and went on to ask “do you remember me?” However, my father did not realize who he was until the young man mentioned his parents’ name. Not making much of the situation, my father went about finishing his work. Later on as he was getting off his shift, my father found the young man sitting right outside SAA’s office. Surprised to see him there, my father inquired as to why he was still at the airport. The young man went on to tell my father that he was deported from the United States and had not been able get in touch with his parents before leaving the United States. Given that neither his parents nor the government official was at the airport waiting for his arrival, he asked my father if he would help him get in touch with his family.

In a conversation with a family friend, I was told about another situation involving a young man whose final destination was the island of Fogo. While sitting at the TACV’s office at the airport in Sal, a young man in his mid twenties caught her attention as she overheard his conversation with a TACV agent. The agent informed the young man that his ticket’s final destination was the city of Praia, and if he wanted to switch his final destination to Fogo, he had to pay more. The young man left without purchasing his ticket, and according to this woman, he seemed disoriented at that moment. While waiting for her flight to Praia, she kept an eye on the young man, especially since he struggled to communicate with the TACV agent in Kriol. When she arrived in Praia, she noticed that he was even more disoriented and made the decision to approach him to find out how she could help. She explained her motives for approaching him and asked if he needed help with purchasing his ticket. At first, the young man was hesitant, but later told her that he was deported and had no family in Praia. He was born in Fogo and although had no family there, he could probably manage if he went to Fogo. Without any

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29 Cape Verde’s national airline company.
hesitation, the lady purchased his ticket to Fogo and was shocked by the young man’s reaction, “I had never seen a grown man cry the way he did after I bought him the ticket, as if he was a baby crying, and until this day I wonder about him.”

In the capital city of Praia, when referring to the deportees, the majority of the residents’ refer to those deported from the United States and not necessarily from Europe. According to the residents, those deported from the United States are more visible because of their physical appearance, particularly, because of their “hip-hopish” clothing style. Moreover, the majority of the residents are under the impression that all of those who are deported are serious criminals who did not serve time before being deported. They believe that many of the deportees from the United States are having negative influences over the youth and also believe that they ought to be blamed for the increasing numbers of crimes in the recent years. Nonetheless, there are those who are more tolerant and seek to analyze the situation of a deportee, while trying to understand why they get deported. Additionally, they try to understand the main reasons why so many have difficulties in reintegrating in the society.

In São Filipe, Fogo, I came across a high school friend whom I had not seen since I graduated from high school in 2000. To my surprise, he had been living in São Filipe for almost four years. Inevitably, we had a few conversations about deportation and our experiences growing in Boston. Although American born, many São Filipe residents have found it hard to believe that he was not deported and willingly moved to the island when most people are trying to leave. He experienced first hand prejudice from the residents, and not until recently, that some of the residents began to believe that he was not deported.

In the island of São Vicente the situation is particular. According to the reintegration program national coordinator, based on the deportee census conducted, the deportees on the

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30 Loose jeans, hats, hoodies, etc.
island of São Vicente are more accepted by the society when compared to the other islands. As
told by a friend from the island, the deportees were having more difficulties in securing a job as
their major reintegration issue. The lack of employment led some to leave the island and look
for jobs elsewhere in the country. The unemployment percentage in the island of São Vicente is
23.3%, which is much higher than the national unemployment percentage, which is set at 17.4%
(São Vicente City Hall, 2007).
Conclusions

Discussions

What is the current process for reintegrating Cape Verden immigrants deported from the United States?

This research was focused primarily on the reintegration process of Cape Verden immigrants deported from the United States, although, the government reintegration program assists immigrants deported from Europe as well. As a relatively new research field, there is a great deal of study that still needs to take place. The factors of family ties, social and cultural context of the host country, economic status and educational and professional background, must be taken into consideration in the process of understanding the phenomenon of deportation and the reintegration process of the deportees.

The deportee census conducted on March 14-25, 2002 was a crucial factor in the design and implementation of the reintegration program. The detailed 39 page deportee census manual served as a training handbook and guide in the completion of the census. The deportee statistics available in Cape Verde vary a great deal and for the most are not consistent. The deportee census identified 460 deportees from both the United States and Europe. According to the president of the Institute of Communities, “between 1996 and 2001, approximately 300 immigrants were deported from the United States” (Ministry, 2002). The border patrol statistics at the international airport of Sal shows that between 2001 and May of 2007, 202 deportees from the United States entered the country. The Cape Verden Solidarity Foundation statistic is of approximately 1,000 deportees on the islands. When comparing these statistics, it raises questions and concerns about the actual numbers of deportees currently residing in Cape Verde.

With the launching of the reintegration program in 2003, the Institute of Communities (IC) took temporary leadership in implementing the program, with the ultimate goal to shift the
program’s leadership to the Ministry of Employment and Solidarity. As a Ministry focused on employment and social services, it is better equipped with social services professional staff.\textsuperscript{31}

The reintegration program was an initiative with great potential for growth and efficiency. However, in the four years since it was launched, a number of program elements have not been implemented or evaluated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designed Program Components</th>
<th>Fully Implemented</th>
<th>Partially Implemented</th>
<th>Not Implemented</th>
<th>Not Evaluated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Reception upon arrival</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 4 Personalized Deportation Assistance Office</td>
<td>✓ (only 2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Learning Portuguese language</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Professional training</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Leisure time occupation</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Support in Prisons</td>
<td>No research was conducted in this area</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Insertion in the Labor Market</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Elaboration of the deportation study</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Follow-up on goals and objectives</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Specific timeline for staff meetings</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Updated deportee census</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Financial sustainability</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I must underline the fact that I did not conduct an intensive research in all of the ten islands or nor did I interview large groups of island residents. In addition, due to time constrains, the islands of Brava and São Vicente did not receive much research time as did the islands of Sal, Santiago and Fogo. In spite of the fact that the deportee census analysis report concluded that deportees are more accepted in the island of São Vicente, this conclusion can be argued. Out of 460 deportees reported on the census, 17 were identified on the island of São Vicente. With the Office of Immigrant Services not receiving deportee notifications with consistency, it is

\textsuperscript{31} In the interview with the program’s national coordinator.
rather challenging to develop accurate statistics, provide assistance and do follow-up with the deportees.

Cape Verde is a young nation in transition, with only 32 years of independence and 16 years as a democratic country. The citizens are no longer facing political persecution, or any other life threatening situations, that could prevent deported immigrants from reintegrating in the society. The post-deportation factor is a matter of human rights as it involves individuals who are, to a certain degree, vulnerable to human rights violations. In fact, Cape Verde’s National Commission for Human Rights and Citizenship included in its 2007 National Action Plan for Human Rights and Citizenship the following statements (National, 2007):

1) Strengthen consular representation and the Cape Verdean associations in host countries, as a technique to collectively develop prevention methods along with the immigrant community (where there are immigrants at risk for deportation), inform the community of their rights and responsibilities, and in the case of involvement with deportation proceedings, to provide support

2) Implement strong diplomatic actions with the host countries with the purpose to prevent illegal deportation or unfavorable conditions that deems the respect and dignity of which the deportee deserves

3) Reinforce the methods of assistance upon arrival and follow-up procedures

4) Develop and support reintegration programs, professional training and schooling of deportees

A travel document can be issued by the Consulate of Cape Verde to any individual who is a citizen of Cape Verde which, for whatever reasons, does not have possession of hers/his

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32During the struggle for independence, many Cape Verdeans went into exile due to political persecution by the Portuguese. After independence, and prior to country’s first multi-party elections in 1991, Cape Verde was under one political regime for fifteen years and there are many accounts of political persecution and torture during that time as well.
passport at the time of travel. Once in Cape Verde, the travel document is seized by a border patrol officer. The majority of deportees departing from the United States are only in the possession of a travel document, mainly because they transported to the airport directly from the immigration detention centers. From a self identification perspective, it is important to ask, what happens with those who are not assisted upon their arrival and do not have family on the islands for guidance?

The conclusion of my research is clear; the dots are not connected and the missing links lie between the Cape Verdean government, the Cape Verdean global nation and the deportees themselves. Cape Verdeans are too familiar with the pain and struggle that immigration brings with family separation. But now we are experiencing a much different type of family separation, and with deportation, the possibility of family reunification is a rather difficult mission to accomplish. It is mothers, fathers, daughters, sons, aunts, uncles, nephews, nieces and cousins being separated once again, but under more excruciating circumstances. We, as a whole society, need to be more compassionate in order to better understand the root causes of deportation and the impact it is having on a global level. Perhaps, it is time for Cape Verdeans, as a global society, to be bold enough to find practical ways in solving the issue of deportation and of the reintegration process of those deported.

The Myths and Facts about Deportation

While reflecting on the overall research experience, I came to the conclusion that the information available in the community regarding deportation is, for the most part, inaccurate. As a result, I identified common statements made in the United States and in Cape Verde. Moreover, I collaborated with the Boston College Post-Deportation Human Rights Project in compiling a list of the myths and facts about deportation (see appendix F).
Recommendations and Further Research

"In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations"

The Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy.

The recommendations that I provide are all possibilities subject for further research.

Reintegration Program: Redefine, Reorganize and Overcome the Geographic Disconnection

The Clinical-Psychologist for the Personalized Deportation Assistance Office said it best; the strategies for the reintegration program simply need to be revisited. With the foundation already in place; the program needs new leadership, strong collaboration, and urgent solutions to the problems that the program is currently facing. The two main obstacles facing the reintegration program are the financial and leadership factors. Moreover, the goals and objectives must be evaluated in order to identify the program’s strengths and limitations. There is a great deal of limitation on eligibility and access to national and international funds. The lack of funds is placing a great deal of constraints in delivering program elements such as the “Life Project” 33, which allow the deportees to become self-sustainable.

The reintegration program design Working Group recommended that, after the launching, the program be under the leadership and financing of the Ministry of Employment and Solidarity (Institute, 2003), particularly, because of the Ministry’s greater professional competency in the social sector. Since it was launched however, no decision has been in this regard and IC’s leadership commitment is currently at stake. In April of the current year, the national

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33 The “Life Project” program is primarily funded by the Ministry of Employment and Solidarity and the Institute of Communities, but due to the lack of funds available, a freeze has been placed in implementation of the projects
coordinator’s position is under interim status until further notice. The inconsistency and uncertainty of leadership, program structure, and finance can potentially have more serious consequences.

Cape Verde is currently building two new international airports on the islands of São Vicente and Boa Vista. Therefore, the reintegration program will need to expand its services and staff at the new ports of entry. At Sal’s international airport, there is a border patrol deportee protocol in place which can be used as a model at the other ports of entry to guarantee consistency in data gathering. Therefore, while I recommend that the program is handed over to a non-governmental organization; further research is needed in this matter. Under a non-governmental organization, the program could potentially expand its financial support base. Additionally, with a change of status the program can avoid any risk of termination due to the lack of government funding. There are a number of program structures and elements that need immediate attention and must be reevaluated:

1) the deportation notification procedures
2) the role of the border patrol in Sal and Praia
3) arrival reception protocols at the ports of entry and final destinations
4) the establishment of other personalized deportation assistance office
5) the number of staffs per personalized deportation assistance office

Partnerships between the governmental institutions, including Consulates and Embassies, and the proposed NGO leadership, would be essential in the evaluation of the program. A strategic plan would need to be developed to clarify the role and relations between the NGO and the selected governmental institutions, since it is still the government’s responsibility to guarantee the social and economic stability of its citizens:

To promote the well-being and the quality of life of the Cape Verdean people, namely of the layers of society more in need, and to remove, progressively, the

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34 Interview conducted with the current national coordinator interim, who was once the coordinator for the personalized deportation assistance office on the island of Fogo and Brava.
obstacles of an economic, social, cultural and political nature which impede a real equal opportunity of all citizens (Constitution, 1994).

Overcoming the geographic disconnection between the host countries and Cape Verde, and within the islands themselves, is a tremendous challenge. Cape Verde is currently at its height of technological development. In 2003, the Operational Nucleus for Informational Society, also known as NOSi, was created as a government entity under the direct leadership of the Prime Minister’s Office. Investing in technology through a partnership with NOSi can contribute immensely to solving the communication issues that is currently affecting the efficiency of the program. Furthermore, it can increase the capacity of effective communication between Cape Verde and the foreign government agencies (i.e. Consulates and Embassies).

**The Role of the Cape Verdean Community in the United States: Collaborations as a Deportation Prevention Method**

While the reintegration work in Cape Verde needs to continue, a new line of work needs to be initiated in the United States. The Cape Verdean community in the United States has a lot of potential for solving part of the deportation issues through preventative educational initiatives. Cape Verdeans in the United States have a long history of civic engagement dating back to 1916 with the foundation of the Cape Verdean Beneficent Association in New Bedford, Massachusetts (Okpewho, Davies, & Mazrui, 1999). The civic engagement prevails until this day as there are numerous registered Cape Verdean organizations throughout the United States.

In 2005, the Institute of Communities, the Cape Verdean Association of Brockton and the Cape Verdean Providers Group met in Brockton, Massachusetts. The purpose of the meeting was to address the general concerns of the integration of Cape Verdeans in the United States, which is particularly linked to the issue of deportation. As a result of the meeting, it was
suggested to design and implement the ‘New Immigrant Orientation (NIO) Project’ as a collaborative effort under the leadership of the Cape Verdean Community Unido. Furthermore, a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was signed by the parties involved with the following commitments (Memo, 2005):

1) Exchange information and expertise
2) Develop joint projects whenever possible
3) Maintain consistent and clear communication
4) Meet within one year of April 20, 2005 for evaluation

Unfortunately, the NIO Project has not been fully designed and the above mentioned organizations have not reconvened since 2005. This initiative needs to be revisited, as it can benefit the community a great deal and be a potential tool to decrease the number of deportees. A high percentage of the immigrants deported from the United States since 1996 were lawful permanent residents, therefore, potentially eligible for citizenship.

Between January and October of 2007, 45 Cape Verdean immigrants have been deported. 35 Currently, there are 108 pending cases at the Consulate of Cape Verde, the highest pending numbers to date. Fifty-three of the cases were received in 2007, and 55 are pending cases from a few years back, as they continue to fight for cancellation of removal. Between 1996 and 2006, 7,738 immigrant visas, also known as lawful permanent resident visas, were issued at the United States Embassy in the capital city of Praia (Bureau, 1992-2006). In 2006 alone, 850 immigrant visas were issued, which simply means that 850 immigrants who are eligible for citizenship as well 850 immigrants at-risk for deportation, if the legal status is not changed in due time.

College students have also been very active for many years and have contributed a great deal to the development and empowerment of the Cape Verdean community. The University of

35 Consulate of Cape Verde 2007 files.
Massachusetts at Amherst houses the oldest Cape Verdean student organization in the United States founded in 1982. Following the footsteps of the Cape Verdean Student Alliance (CVSA) at University of Massachusetts at Amherst, nine other CVSA’s from Massachusetts and Rhode Island colleges and universities were since created. In 2004, I was part of a group of college graduates from the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth and Northeastern University that founded the Cape Verdean Alumni Network (CVAN). As an emerging non-profit organization, part of CVAN’s mission is to serve as the liaison to help develop values and skills to strengthen the mind of the Cape Verdean Youth to pursue higher education. CVAN has the capacity to bring together the CVSA’s all across the States and collaborate in the delivery of community projects.

Prior to my internship in the post-deportation division in the Consulate’s office, the Culture Attaché was the only Consulate staff working closely with the deportation cases. Although a social worker was hired, shortly after the completion of my internship, to assist the Culture Attaché; it is still not sufficient staff to allow the Consulate to support the detainees and their families. I would recommend the Consulate’s office to develop an undergraduate and graduate student internship recruitment program to work in the deportation division. This internship program would then recruit students to intern during the summer and winter vacation. Lastly, there is a need for a publication of deportation statistics from the Consulate of Cape Verde, which could serve as an educational tool in educational and professional settings, to discuss potential solutions to the issue. The Consulate of Cape Verde plays an important role in the Cape Verdean community here in the United States and it is an accessible link between the community and the Government of Cape Verde.

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36 I was the president of the Cape Verdean Student Alliance from 2002-2003.
Although, I recommend the leaders in our communities to reach out collectively and simultaneously to the community at large, it is just as important for the families to participate in the effort to bring change in our community. The community is not solely defined by the community centers and its leaders; it also defined the families who reside in it. Therefore, it is through our common connections in educational institutions and community centers, that we will have a stronger impact and an impact at a larger scale. Lastly, as an immigrant community it is crucial that we strengthen our political presence. However, we must first take our legal permanent residency status a step further by becoming United States citizens in order to exercise our right to vote and make our voices be heard.

Further Research

The ramifications of deportation are far more complex than what is apparent. The research that I conducted has only scratched the surface of an issue that needs a great deal of attention. The focus of my research was limited to those deported from the United States, which inevitably excluded those deported from Europe. I have compiled a short list of potential topics within the context of deportation to be considered by other professionals for further research:

1) The post-deportation trajectory of the deportees’ families still residing in the United States
2) The reintegration process of Cape Verdean immigrants deported from Europe
3) The incarcerated population of deported immigrants in Cape Verde
4) The reintegration process of deported immigrants in all nine islands
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Appendices

Appendix A: Map of Cape Verde
Appendix B: Informed Consent Form, Deportees

Informed Consent Form to Participate in a Research Study
Adult Participants

Primary Researcher: Suely Ramos Neves
Degree: Master of Arts in Intercultural Service, Leadership and Management (candidate)
Research Subject: Detention and Reintegration process of Cape Verdean immigrants deported from the United States
Email Address: neves5@mail.com
Phone Number: 9865482

IMPORTANT NOTICE

You are being asked to take part in a research study. To join the study is voluntary.
You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty.

Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. You may not receive any direct benefit from being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies.

Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study.
You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask any questions you have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of the research study?
The purpose of this research study is to learn about the detention and reintegration experience of the participant as an immigrant deported from the United States.

How many people will take part in this study?
If you decide to be in this study, you will be one of approximately 15-20 people in this research study.

How long will your part in this study last?
In this study your part will last for approximately three hours within a 24-hour timeline; taking into consideration the procedures that must be followed to conduct the study.

What will happen if you take part in the study?
During this study, the participant will have the option to participate in the following forms:

- Written questionnaire
- Individual audio OR video recording interview
- Group audio OR video recording discussion/interview
- Group discussion/interview (notes will be taken)
- Photography session (capturing a day-to-day life style)
If the participant chooses to be taped and/or video recorded, the information will be destroyed upon completion of this research project; **PLEASE NOTE:** if chosen to be photographed, the pictures will be publicly displayed in the research study presentation or any other presentation led by the primary researcher, please inform the researcher if you wish to have your identity (face and/or name) concealed.

**What are the possible benefits from being in this study?**
Research is designed to benefit society by gaining new knowledge. You may not benefit personally from being in this research study.

**What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?**
There may be uncommon or previously unknown risks. You should report any problems to the researcher.

**Will you receive anything for being in this study?**
You will not receive anything for taking part in this study.

**Will it cost you anything to be in this study?**
There will be no costs for being in the study.

**How will your privacy be protected?**
Any information provided by the participant through the written questionnaire, audio and video recordings will only be reviewed by the primary researcher. The only exception is the photographic component of this study, which is subject to be publicly displayed locally and/or internationally.

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**Participant’s Agreement:**

I have read the information provided above. I have asked all the questions I have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

_________________________________________   _________________
Signature of Research Participant     Date

_________________________________________
Printed Name of Research Participant

_________________________________________   _________________
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent     Date

_________________________________________
Printed Name of Person Obtaining Consent
Appendix C: Interview Questionnaire, Deportees

Personal & Confidential Questionnaire

Please take a moment to answer the following questions to the best of your ability and feel free to ask any questions. Thank you for your time and consideration!

Primary Information

1. In what year were you born? ________

2. At what age did you migrate to the United States? ________

3. Which member of your immediate family still resides in the United States? (circle all that applies)
   - Child/Children
   - Mother
   - Father
   - Sister/s
   - Brother/s

4. What level of education did you complete in the United States?
   - a) High School-Incomplete
   - b) High School-Graduate
   - c) College-Incomplete
   - d) College-Graduate
   - e) Other (specify): _______________________________

5. What profession did you have in the United States?

6. Were you a Lawful Permanent Resident (“green card holder”) before you were deported to Cape Verde?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not Sure

7. While residing in the United States, were you aware of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996 (which redefined the grounds for deportation)?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not Sure

Detention & Deportation Proceedings

1. While detained, did the Immigration Customs Enforcement (ICE) inform you of your right to speak with the General Consulate of Cape Verde in Boston, Massachusetts?
   - Yes
   - No
   - Not Sure
2. Were you interviewed by the General Consulate of Cape Verde while detained?
   Yes       No       Not Sure

3. Who represented you during your immigration proceedings?
   Self-representation       Immigration Lawyer       No-Representation

4. In what year were you deported from the United States? ________________

5. With which status were you deported from the United States?
   a) Voluntary Deportation       b) Removal Order       c) Not Sure

Entry & Reintegration Process

1. Which airport was your point of entry in Cape Verde?
   a) Sal International Airport       b) Praia International Airport

2. Were you assisted by a government official employee at the point of entry in Cape Verde?
   Yes       No       Not Sure

   If yes, please state which government institution
   ______________________________________

3. Which island was your final destination?
   Santo-Antão   São-Vicente   São-Nicolau   Sal   Boa-Vista   Maio   Santiago   Fogo   Brava

4. Were you assisted by a government official employee at your final island destination?
   Yes       No       Not Sure

   If yes, please state which government institution
   ______________________________________

5. Which island do you currently reside in?
   Santo-Antão   São-Vicente   São-Nicolau   Sal   Boa-Vista   Maio   Santiago   Fogo   Brava
6. Are you currently being assisted by the Cape Verdean government?

   Yes  No

*If yes, How? (check all that apply):

☐ Health
☐ Food
☐ Housing
☐ Start-up Business
☐ Education
☐ Professional Training
☐ Other (specify): _________________________

7. How do you feel accepted by the Cape Verdean society?

   a) Well Accepted  b) Somewhat-Accepted  c) Rarely-Accepted  d) Not-Accepted

8. What is your means for sustainability? (*circle all that apply*)

   a) Self-Employed  b) Employed  c) Family Remittances  d) No Sustainability

9. Is the Cape Verdean language an obstacle in your reintegration process?

   Always  Sometimes  Rarely  Not-at-all

10. Have any of your documents acquired in the United States (i.e. school diploma, medical forms, reference letter, etc) been translated and authentic?

   Yes  No  Not-Sure

11. From a general cultural perspective, how do you rate your re-adaptation?

   a) Adapting  b) Somewhat-adapting  c) Difficulty-adapting  d) Not-adapting

_Future Plans_

1. Do you plan on relocating to another island within Cape Verde?

   Yes  No  Not-Sure

   If yes, which island: _________________________
2. Do you plan to move to another country?

   Yes          No          Not-Sure

   If yes, which country: _______________________

3. If there is a possibility to petition for reentry to the United States, will you petition?

   Why?

   Why Not?
Appendix D: Interview Guidelines, Deportees

RESEARCH STUDY INTERVIEW GUIDELINES

**Written Questionnaire:** as a participant you have the right not to answer any question in which you do not feel conformation with. The questionnaire is divided into four sections: Primary Information”, “Detention & Deportation Proceedings”, “Entry & Reintegration Process”, and “Future Plans”.

**Audio Recording:** the participant has the right not to self-identify; the right not to answer any question; can withdrawn from participation at any time or ask that the tape be turned off

**Video Recording:** the participant may request to have his/her identity concealed; may use a fictitious name;

**Group Interview:** the participant may use a fictitious name; must agree not to reveal anything that is discussed in the group

**Photos:** if chosen to be photographed, the pictures will be publicly displayed in the research study presentation or any other presentation lead by the primary researcher, inform the research if you wish to have your identity (face and/or name) concealed

**IMPORTANT NOTE:** the audio or video recordings will be kept private and only accessible to the primary researcher; the recording will be destroyed upon the completion of the research project, which may take up to one year from the day it was recorded.
Appendix E: Request for News Report, Cape Verde National Television

26 de Abril de 2007

Radiotelevisão Caboverdiana
ATT: Sr. João Pires
Produção e Programas

CC: Sra. Margarida Moreira
Directora da TCV

Venho por este meio solicitar a VEXAS o obséquio de me cederem por empréstimo as reportagens relativas aos repatriados dos E.U.A. que tenciono utilizar para fins académicos e educacionais, designadamente para a realização de um workshop sobre essa mesma matéria.

Esclareço ainda que este meu pedido se enquadra nas pesquisas que venho empreendendo no sentido de concluir um mestrado na área de “justiça social internacional” na School for International Training, Vermont, E.U.A.

Antecipadamente grata, apresento a VEXAS os melhores cumprimentos.

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Appendix F: The Myths and Facts about Deportation

The following statements pertain to United States Legal Permanent Residents and/or United States Citizens (born or naturalized)

1. **I CAN get deported if I am United States citizen through birth or naturalization.**

   Only non-citizens can be ordered removed. In certain very limited circumstances, a naturalized United States Citizen can be “denaturalized” and lose citizenship, for example if the person misrepresented certain facts during the naturalization process.

2. **I CAN NOT get deported if I am a Legal Permanent Resident.**

   Legal Permanent Residents can get deported if they commit certain crimes or otherwise fall under deportability grounds.

3. **I CAN NOT get deported if am a hard working immigrant.**

   Hard-working immigrants can get deported if they commit certain crimes or otherwise fall under deportability grounds.

4. **I CAN NOT get deported if I pay my taxes.**

   Tax-paying immigrants can get deported if they commit certain crimes or otherwise fall under deportability grounds.

5. **I CAN NOT get deported if I serve one year probation as a Legal Permanent Resident.**

   The Immigration and Nationality Act has its own definition of what constitutes of a “conviction” under the immigration laws. It is possible to be deported for certain convictions even if you do not serve any time in jail.

6. **I CAN get deported **WITHOUT** serving time for any criminal case.**

   This is true. There are many grounds of deportability that apply regardless of whether you have served time.

7. **I CAN get deported **WITHOUT** serving time as a convicted murderer.**

   This is true. There are many grounds of deportability.

8. **I CAN NOT get deported if I do community service hours as a probation punishment.**

   The Immigration and Nationality Act has its own definition of what constitutes of a “conviction” under the immigration laws. It is possible to be deported for certain convictions even if you do not serve any time in jail.
9. While I am in the immigration process of changing my legal status, I CAN NOT get deported if I change my address and I DO NOT notify the Citizenship and Immigration Services.

You are required to notify Citizenship and Immigration Services of any address change, and to notify the Immigration Court of any address change if you are in removal proceedings.

10. I CAN only get deported if it’s a serious crime.

The Immigration and Nationality Act has its own definition of what constitutes of a “conviction” under the immigration laws. It is possible to be deported for certain convictions even if the crime does not seem “serious.”

11. I CAN NOT get deported if I am charged as an accomplice in a criminal case.

The Immigration and Nationality Act has its own definition of what constitutes of a “conviction” under the immigration laws. It is possible to be deported for certain convictions even if you were convicted as an accomplice.

12. I CAN NOT get deported if I am married to a United States citizen.

Marriage to a United States Citizen does not stop you from being deportable. There may be certain forms of relief available in some situations based on marriage to a United States Citizen or hardship to a United States Citizen or Legal Permanent Resident spouse.

13. I CAN NOT get deported if my children are United States Citizens at birth.

Having United States Citizens children does not stop you from being deportable. There may be certain forms of relief available in some situations based on extreme hardship to a child who is United States Citizen or Legal Permanent Resident.

14. I CAN come back to the United States after 5 years of being deported.

There are various bars that apply (including lifetime bars) depending on the grounds on which you were removed. In some cases, waivers are available to overcome these bars.

15. I CAN come back to the country in less then 5 years if I leave the country as a voluntary deportee.

If you leave the U.S. under a grant of “voluntary departure,” you do not have the inadmissibility bar that result from having an order of removal. However, you may still be inadmissible on other grounds.

Note: This list was developed by the researcher, Suely Ramos Neves, based on information obtained from the staff at the Post-Deportation Human Rights Project, Center for Human Rights and International Justice at Boston College, in October of 2007.