School of Sociology and Public Policy
Department of Political Science and Public Policy

"*Graças a Deus, não nos faltam as coisas mais importantes*": Food, Foodways and Foodscapes of a West African Creole Nation (Cabo Verde)

LAM, Ka Ian

Thesis specially presented for the fulfillment of the degree of
Doctor in African Studies

Supervisor:
Ana Catarina Larcher das Neves Santos Carvalho, PhD

December, 2019

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My colleagues in the master's and doctoral programmes in African Studies at ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon taught me a lot. In comparison, I probably know the least about Africa.

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"*Graças a Deus, não nos faltam as coisas mais importantes*": Food, Foodways and Foodscapes of a West African Creole Nation (Cabo Verde)

Abstract

Food, or rather famine, has played an important part in the history and society of Cabo Verde. Through a study of social relationships, local diets, related practices, engagements and politics, we can better understand the organisation and social, cultural and political specificities of the West African archipelago. We shall examine the changes and transformations of modern societies in general and how one particular society has endured times marked by adverse climate, consequent starvation, human out-movements, and more recent influences of globalisation. Voluminous literature points to negativism; from surveys of droughts to research on resilience, coping strategies and cultural identity, to studies of food insecurity and rural farming, the scholarship has painted a definitively grim picture of Cabo Verde. We shall probe a close food-policy-politics connection, knowing that the eradication of extreme hunger was the priority of the post-Independence State, a strong reason for its existence and the pride of the first generation of local politicians. Moreover, we shall explore food issues in relation to one of the earliest Creole societies. From the formation of the Cabo Verde island settlements centuries ago to its becoming one of the earliest examples of migration from Sub-Saharan Africa, to its having half of the population living abroad in the modern diaspora, food has accompanied most, if not all, of the transformative historical and contemporary events.

Keywords: Cabo Verde; food; foodways; foodscapes; West Africa

Resumo

A questão alimentar, ou melhor dizendo, a fome, foi importante na história da sociedade caboverdiana. Através de um estudo das relações sociais, dietas locais, práticas, compromissos e políticas públicas, pode-se compreender melhor a organização e especificidades sociais, culturais e políticas deste arquipélago da África Ocidental. É feita uma análise crítica mais abrangente das mudanças e transformações de sociedades humanas modernas, aproveitando do caso de Cabo Verde, que enfrentou tempos marcados por condições climáticas adversas, grande privação, emigração em massa e impacto da globalização. O corpo de literatura que há sobre Cabo Verde tende a ser bastante negativo, focando os desastres naturais, resiliência e estratégias de sobrevivência e abordando temas como a identidade cultural, insegurança alimentar e agricultura rural. Ficou desenhado um quadro deprimente de Cabo Verde. A alimentação é politicamente significativa em Cabo Verde, e o assunto merece mais atenção académica; a erradicação da fome extrema foi a prioridade do Estado após a Independência, foi uma razão forte da existência deste e o orgulho da primeira geração de políticos locais. É preciso ainda aprofundar o nosso conhecimento sobre a alimentação de uma das primeiras sociedades crioulas. Foram formados há séculos os primeiros povoados insulares de Cabo Verde, que passou a ser um dos primeiros exemplos da migração da África Subsaariana e ter metade da sua população a viver no estrangeiro, na diáspora. Importa-se dizer que a alimentação tem acompanhado uma grande parte, se não todos, destes acontecimentos históricos e contemporâneos transformativos.

Palavras-chave: Cabo Verde; alimentação; *foodways*; *foodscapes*; África Ocidental

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There is more than one way to spell the name of the country concerned and that of its people. For all purposes, in this manuscript, “Cabo Verde” is the country, “Cabo Verdeans” are the people, and “Cabo Verdean” is the adjective, as they appear most recently in documents published officially and internationally. No changes are made to other authors’ work, namely in direct citations and titles. The uncertainty (or diversity) of names reflects varying social perceptions of how a country should be called and how people should be addressed, especially when speakers of different languages are involved and are increasingly interacting in a globalised world. One recommendation received is to keep as closely as possible to the original in writing and in pronunciation.

Following common European practice and understanding that Portuguese, English and French are used frequently and effectively in Portuguese academia, it is felt that translations would be unnecessary, and it would suffice to italicise Portuguese and French when they appear in the midst of an English manuscript. However, expressions in Chinese (international, simplified Chinese) and Cabo Verdean Creole (or *Kabuverdianu*) are italicised and translated. Translations that appear in this manuscript are my own unless otherwise stated. Wherever possible, Creole expressions are transcribed according to dictionary and available pedagogical recommendations, but, as a foreigner, I shall not impose a system of my own on what already exists and is still in use.

The texts were written and compiled in neutral, international English. For the sake of uniformity, British English spellings and European Portuguese with *Acordo Ortográfico* were adopted, but direct citations of other authors’ works were untouched.

Names of people and places are given only when necessary in order to assure privacy protection. For this reason, some details are deliberately changed, and pseudonyms are used. Photos and illustrations that appear in the following pages are mine unless otherwise labelled.

With regards to citations and formatting, the manuscript respects institutional guidelines, and, where necessary, takes the Chicago Manual of Style as the reference.

It is important for a student of African Studies to learn about more than one nation and think comparatively. This is even more so when one cannot claim familiarity or personal tie with any of the 54 countries.

Some may consider this body of writing an "alternative format thesis" or "compilation thesis" in disguise. I duly apologise for breaking conventions and hope to have compensated a little for this *faux pas* by giving more structure to the overall discussion in the form of linking paragraphs and explanatory notes. That is to say, a substantial part of this manuscript has been sent out to different publication venues and to apply for scholarly awards during the last three years (on top of what resulted from studies for the master's degree), understanding that it is very important to engage scholars beyond the immediate surrounding in order to test ideas, receive more feedback and increase competitiveness. The latest updates can be found at this site: creolescape.com.

There were unsuccessful moments, for instance, rejections from conference panel organisers / journal editors. These were very helpful learning experiences, especially in the beginning, when one was still grasping the ins and outs of academic practices and received early suggestions on what to do alternatively so that he or she was able to overcome the weaknesses.

In accordance with *Regulamento n.º 719/2016 Normas Regulamentares Específicos do Doutoramento em Estudos Africanos, Anexo: Estrutura curricular do Doutoramento em Estudos Africanos, Observação 1,* this thesis shall be defended in the specialisation of *Estruturas e Dinâmicas Sociais*, or in English, Social Structures and Dynamics.

We hope that interests in African Studies will grow for years to come. We also look forward to applying knowledge in real work contexts. Following traditional Chinese scholarly practice, I will leave a final note of caution: Given my limited talent and incomplete knowledge, I am aware that my work presents insufficiencies, and your corrections and recommendations are very welcome. *本人才疏学浅、难免不足、恳请指教。*

INTRODUCTION

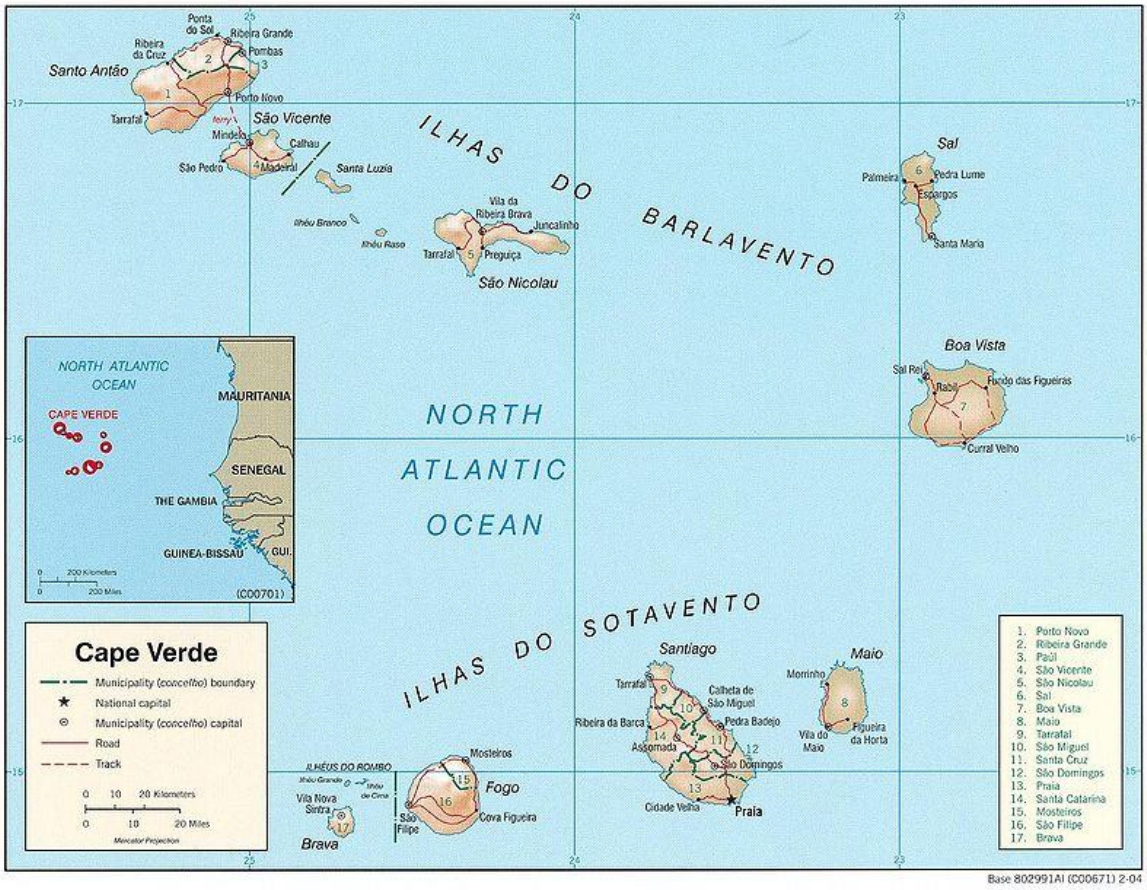

Fig. 0-1 Map of Cape Verde islands and the adjacent African coast. By Gerald J. Coleman from Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Map from CIA World Factbook 2009, Public Domain, made available by Wiki Commons (https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=64280629).

The following is taken from *Vamos Conhecer Cabo Verde*, written by João Lopes Filho e illustrated by Óscar Alves, published in 2004, that introduced very young readers to some important aspects of Cabo Verdean culture:

> *- A minha mãe costuma contar que quando era mais nova, na casa de seus pais morava muita gente. Por vezes os recursos eram escassos e então fazia-se a* ***cachupa pobre****, também* ***chamada cachupa de água e sal*** *– contou a Anita.*
> *-* ***Cachupa de água e sal****? Mas porquê? – perguntou a Miriam.*
> *- Por vezes nas ilhas de Cabo Verde, devido à sua fraca situação económica há famílias*

> *que só têm possibilidades de cozinhar milho e feijão, temperados com "água e sal", como dizem. É uma* ***cachupa*** *mais pobre, e como é preparada com aqueles ingredientes, recebe esse nome. Mas há ainda a* ***cachupa*** *com peixe e outros temperos – explicou a mãe do Pedro.* (p. 38, original emphases)

The conversation continues with mouth-watering descriptions of the food tradition of Cabo Verde. *Vamos Conhecer Cabo Verde* is special in the sense that it discusses the culture, or cultural aspects of Cabo Verde, in simple, uncomplicated language for a very young audience. It is not a typical fact-based, explicative school textbook. It is also rare because it is very different from the large corpus of solid, expansive and academic works that delve into the same subjects for a learned public. The author, João Lopes Filho, is among the earliest scholars to promote Cabo Verdean culture and study Cabo Verde from an anthropo-cultural perspective.

This research explores the food, foodways and foodscapes of Cabo Verde, a former Portuguese colony and a Creole society situated off the West Coast of Africa. Food has played an important part in Cabo Verdean history and society (M.E.M. Santos, Torrão, and Soares 2007; E.A. Silva 1995). Through a study of the human relationships, local diet, related practices, engagements and politics, we can better understand the organisation and social, cultural and political specificities of the archipelago. In the same process, we shall also be able to examine more generally the changes and transformations of modern human societies and how a certain example, Cabo Verde, has fared with centuries of famine and challenging conditions, migration and nostalgia, globalisation and diversity.[1]

The country with a widely known historical course of famine is also famous for its food. *Katxupa* (standard Cabo Verdean Creole spelling; equivalent to Cachupa, the most common Portuguese spelling) is the single dish that identifies Cabo Verdeans around the world and is said to have the potential to be world culinary heritage.[2] It is considered the national dish of

[1] Food, or the lack of it, is essential to understanding Cabo Verdean history and society. I still remember the basis on which my knowledge about Cabo Verde was assessed by a mother-of-three at the very beginning of my encounter with Cabo Verdean female migrants in Greater Lisbon: "*O que aconteceu em 1947?*" The informant was rather disappointed at the fact that I did not know 1947 was a tragic year of famine but was at the same time assured of herself for knowing her country's history.

[2] "*Nos ku nos*: Cachupa com Potencial para Património da Culinária Mundial." *A Semana*, 11 de Novembro de 2017. http://www.asemana.publ.cv/?Cachupa-com-potencial-para-patrimonio-da-culinaria-mundial.

Cabo Verde (Cusack 2000, 2004, see also T.S. de Oliveira 2013, Oliveira mainly does anthropological studies of nostalgia and "recreation of the home" among older Cabo Verdean women in Greater Lisbon[3]). It is described as *"prato tradicional cabo-verdiano, confeccionado à base de milho descascado e feijão"* (Lang 2002: 306) or, in English, traditional/typical Cabo Verdean dish cooked from maize and bean(s). Typing Cachupa in the Google search engine generated top hits such as "*Sabores de Cabo Verde*", "*Cachupa à Caboverdiana*" and "*Cachupa Rica de Cabo Verde*".[4] Cabo Verdean cafés and restaurants in Greater Lisbon serve *Cachupa Rica* with a lot of meat and other ingredients. There is a common greeting disguised as a question that researchers of Cabo Verdean culture can expect quite often, in the diaspora or on the islands: "*Já comeu cachupa?"* This question, on top of being a matter of nourishment, is also a subject of Cabo Verdean social etiquette and good manner:

> *Un chaudron, nommé « kaldêra », quelques assiettes creuses et des bois de tôle émaillée, de grandes cuillères… C'est tout…*
>
> *A votre arrivée dans une maison, la coutume veut qu'il soit offert au visiteur un siège, une boisson et pours les amis, une collation que l'on ne peut refuser.*
>
> *On sert bien chaud dans les assiettes, accompagné du bouillon dans son bol.*
>
> *Cela se mange à la grande cuillères, assis sur les marches, l'assiette sur les genoux, le bol entre ses pieds, en échangeant les dernières nouvelles… (Szpera 2015: p. 56)*

Described above is how hosts and guests should behave and how food is important in this encounter.[5]

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[3] "Recriar a Casa: Práticas Alimentares de famílias cabo-verdianas em contexto migrante," Presentation of doctoral research project by Tiago Silveiro de Oliveira at FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, 18 de Julho de 2018.

[4] "Cachupa," Google, accessed July 20, 2017.

[5] On Sal Island, in 2016, my grandmother-host insisted that I had three full meals and one light tea-break per day. One time, the youngest daughter of the host reminded me that I would have *Cachupa Guisada* the following morning and was visibly offended when she woke up late and found out that I had eaten breakfast without waiting for her to reheat yesterday's Cachupa. From the experience, it might be suggested that, as with the history of famine, one's familiarity with Cabo Verdean food was one criterion by which the quality of his or her academic encounter with Cabo Verde was popularly judged.

Like most societies, Cabo Verdeans have strong connection to food. What distinguishes Cabo Verdeans from many other groups is perhaps that this connection is often mediated by migration, separation and distance.

Fig. 0-2 Miniature houses as mailboxes. Photos taken in 2015 on the day of the inauguration of the Associação Caboverdiana em Sines, Setúbal, surrounded by a small community of Cabo Verdeans, mostly from São Nicolau Island. The mailboxes are miniatures of the respective houses that they live in.

In particular, the understanding of Cabo Verde women in Greater Lisbon about life conditions is revealing. Often doing cleaning work or performing other manual tasks and receiving little more than the legal minimum wage, they have found ways to feel content about their life conditions abroad. They may not have as much financial means to pay for leisure activities and entertainments, but food and feasting among fellow Cabo Verdeans always liven up a dull weekend. One female host said: "*Graças a Deus, não nos faltam as coisas mais importantes"*. The most important things referred to here are edible, which is food. At one birthday party of a young child, in Greater Lisbon and during the year 2017, the female host was unpleasantly shocked when an uncle of the child brought along presents for the little one as well as ready-cooked food for others. She explained that, although she was not rich, she could definitely buy and cook her own food and that, if the man would excuse her, he would have to take the bags of pre-packaged meals home. The birthday gifts, which consisted of bottles and boxes of hygiene and care products, were gladly received. On another occasion around the same time, a young independent Cabo Verdean mother-of-one – who was receiving Portuguese state unemployment benefits but was also working part-time as an office clerk clandestinely – received in the morning a parcel of fresh red *garoupa* from her mother on Sal

Island, brought to her by a travelling friend, along with some bottles of alcoholic beverages. As she generously cooked the entire fish to entertain her friends and guests, she added that the fish was very expensive in Portugal and increasingly so in Cabo Verde. By offering them fish and asking constantly if they enjoyed eating it, the young Cabo Verdean was extending and confirming a gesture of friendship.

Studies about Cabo Verde and food are "negative" and historically conditioned to be so. From surveys of droughts and famines, to research on resilience, coping strategies and cultural identity, to studies of food insecurity and rural farming, the scholarship has painted a definitively grim picture of Cabo Verde. As in the Chapter 2, we shall discuss in more detail how authors have conventionally approached the topic from a problem/disaster/challenge perspective.

It would be interesting to study Cabo Verdean society through food, trusting that the history of Mankind is also the history of Man's food:

> *L'alimentation comme sujet d'histoire est une fille de l'École des Annales qui s'est imposée dans le paysage universitaire européen, puis américain, entre les années 1960 et les années 1980 […] elle se détache d'histoire quantitative, économique, pour se faire culturelle […] L'alimentation […] est commune à tous. C'est là une caractéristique que ce domaine partage avec l'hygiène et la sexualité*. (Chastanet, Chouin, and Lima 2014: 3)

It is put forward that food, hygiene and sex shared the same historical approach and together formed the foundation of what came to be known as *l'histoire du quotidien*. In addition, food is as much about the present as is about the past:

> […] *c'est souvent par l'histoire des plantes, des paysages et des crises alimentaires qu'est abordé le thème plus général de l'histoire de l'alimentation, en particulier pour la période moderne et le début de la période contemporaine.* (p.4)

In our case, the food-policy-politics trio deserves our attention, as the eradication of extreme hunger was the priority of the post-independence government, a major reason for its existence and the pride of the first generation of local politicians. Cabo Verde was subsequently crowned the African Success Story. How policy goals and political agendas have evolved in relations to

food in Cabo Verde since then is of great academic interest, because this is an instance where the major political concern coincided exactly with popular, social demand, and where political leadership had both a broad social basis and an intellectual/cultural footing. Moreover, we shall understand food in relation to Cabo Verde as one of the earliest Creole societies. From the formation of this island settlement centuries ago to it becoming one of the earliest examples of migration from Sub-Saharan Africa, to it having half of its population living abroad in the modern diaspora, food must have accompanied most, if not all, of these social changes. From nostalgia, to memories, to nationalist movements, food features prominently in identity politics. In the case of Cabo Verde, we shall see whether food has been susceptible to political opportunism. Be it said that the modern foodscapes of Cabo Verde are at once local, national and transnational. Studying food is a way to approach topics related to urban-rural links, local-global connections, and similar processes and dynamics. We will see that the country and the city are not separate, and food is a long and strong bridge of connection between the two places, the people and their lives. The dishes on the Cabo Verdean table today are the products of many forces operating and competing in a creative field. We shall witness the adoption and appropriation of what is global, modern, industrial and foreign through an investigation of the food, foodways and foodscapes of contemporary Cabo Verde. Lastly, food practices have important implications for our understandings of biological, health, moral and environmental issues. By studying Cabo Verde and food, we raise questions about the dilemma over what some call the "democratic and ecological deficit" in twenty-first century food and environmental politics (Horstink 2017). With regards to food and democracy, Horstink defends that food production is at the heart of the many challenges of our time. For her doctoral dissertation, she proposed a food democracy which is based on rights. New concepts are popping up every year, so that besides food sovereignty, we also hear of "food justice", "food virtue", and other philosophical defence of ecological integrity or of feminist thoughts (Dieterle 2015).

This manuscript is organised around a series of substantive chapters. Through them run several related themes and concepts. Together they form arguments which underpin the whole dissertation. Chapter 1 explores current statistics in order to learn about how Cabo Verde compares to other countries around it and reviews the important historical and social facts about

the archipelago, forming a basis for later discussions. The main references are international organisation reports, history books, theses and dissertations, research publications, etc. Chapter 2 begins with literature review. It assesses the writings and published works on Cabo Verde – with a focus on famine, agriculture and food – and sums up where we currently stand and how future research can contribute, based on what we know in the fields of food and foodways studies about other places and regions. Adopting a comparative mind set, this chapter serves also as a bridge between Cabo Verde and the rest of Africa; it not only identifies common challenges but also pinpoints island specificities. The major knowledge fields of interest are history, sociology, anthropology, political science, agronomy, and interdisciplinary pursuits like African, migration and culture studies. Chapter 3 is dedicated to theories, research objectives and methods. It sets out the problem to be addressed and the questions to be answered. It justifies the importance of this research and explains how it is theoretically anchored. Reflections on the experience of fieldwork and recollection of interactions with people are also included. This chapter is concerned with concepts of "society", the place of history in the formation of a society, theories pertaining to the sociology of translation, and, importantly, the contributions of African or Africa-based theorists. Then, Chapter 4 associates current practices with history, memory and culture. It records how people presently structures their lives around their understandings of past important events; how the home and public spaces are construed; and how cultural production and reproduction are similarly conditioned. Within a household, we analyse life histories of two generations that show how changes in food customs reflect greater internal changes in Cabo Verdean society. Chapter 5 problematises several political and sociological concepts. In particular, it reopens the debate about socioeconomic distinctions and asks to what extent historical episodes, political leadership and public education have influenced people's perceptions of a collective identity in spite of differences. Chapter 6 examines the global foodscapes of Cabo Verde in an attempt to scrutinise the multiple forces at work. It specifies, on the one hand, the characteristics of an outward-looking nation and how these reflect in foodways, traditions and culture, and probes, on the other hand, the other actors, external factors and international dynamics that mediate changes on various levels. Finally, in the Conclusion, we summarise the main observations and establish the reasons for more research at the forefront of interdisciplinary inquiries.

CHAPTER I. Cabo Verde in the World

To begin with, it is important to situate Cabo Verde, for it is not obvious where it belongs, not only geographically, but also socially and culturally.

The following explains what West Africa means narrowly and broadly:

> "Western Africa" or "West Africa" means different things to different people. It is intimately associated with the word *guinea*, derived from the Berber words *aguinaw* or *gnawa* for black man. Guinea is applied to everything from country names to a native African bird, from the coastal countries together to a type of grain, even to a seventeenth-century English coin made from West African gold.
>
> To some, West Africa refers only to 11 countries along Guinea Coast from Senegal to Nigeria that have coastlines bordering the Atlantic Ocean and are part of the continent: Senegal, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. Others include Cape Verde, the cluster of volcanic islands to the west of Senegal, or the nations bordering each of these countries. Still others include the countries north of the Guinea coastal nations, which border the Sahara Desert, the Sea of Sand. These are sometimes called the Sahelian countries and, along with Mauritania are usually considered to include the semiarid countries of Mali, Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso, and the Sudan. Sometimes the Western Sahara, adjoining Morocco, is included, too. (Osseo-Asare 2005: 1-2)

Therefore, geographically defined, Cabo Verde is part of Western Africa in a broad sense.

International Agendas, Academic Research and Statistical Performance of Cabo Verde

Statistics on Cabo Verde can be found in publications of international organisations, which usually group Cabo Verde under West or Western Africa.[6] Nowadays, at a time when major,

[6] The "Big Five" of global food and agricultural institutions are the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO); Agriculture and Rural Development Department (ARD) of the World Bank; International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD); United Nations World Food Programme (WFP); and Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR).

multi-generational policies are increasingly conceived on the international stage, member states are expected to assume their roles in improving well-being, promoting security, encouraging innovation, etc. A sizeable chunk of statistical data has been prepared and published, as a result, to support these cooperative efforts. Meanwhile, the academic community is also expected to play their part, i.e., by contributing scientific knowledge that, on close reference, enables decision-makers to grasp issues and design adequate strategies and policies. In return, international institutions offer incentives in the form of research grants.

Take the example of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. Accordingly, the Sustainable Development Goals, or SDGs, set "the blueprints to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all. They address the global challenges we face, including those related to poverty, inequality, climate, environmental degradation, prosperity, and peace and justice. The Goals interconnect and in order to leave no one behind, it is important that we achieve each Goal and target by 2030."[7] These targets have been the subject of academic discussions and research.

Then, at the African Conference of the UK 2018, the stream The Political Economy of the Development in Africa: Domesticating the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) invited panel participants whose work examines the following: "the use and influence of the SDGs in African policy settings, context-based issues in the domestication process, influence of dominant international concerns and key stakeholder interests in shaping the domestication process of SDG target adoption, and papers that examine emerging or existing governance structures which act as barriers and facilitators to the adoption of the SDGs in National Development Plans".[8]

In application for research funding, potential candidates are required to indicate if their work corresponds to one of the SDGs. To take one example, the Call for PhD studentships of the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT) of Portugal 2019 had this instruction:

> In the "United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (2030 Agenda)" field you should

[7] United Nations Sustainable Development Goals homepage, as of August 12, 2019 (https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/).

[8] African Studies Association of the UK Conference, University of Birmingham, Birmingham, September 11-13, 2018 (http://www.asauk.net/stream-political-economy-of-development/).

> select one, or up to a maximum of three, of the 17 goals of the United Nations Sustainable Development Agenda, that fit in your work programme. In case [none] of the goals matches the proposed work programme, you should select the option "No framework in any of the objectives".[9]

Of the 17 goals, the second goal, to end hunger, achieve food security and improve nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture, is of relevance for this study. Some background information about food security and sustainable agriculture issues will be of great significance for a better understanding of the organisation and social, cultural and political specificities of the archipelago.

As introduction to the worthiness of the pursuit of this goal, it is indicated in the SDGs that: Sub-Saharan Africa remains the region with the highest prevalence of hunger, with the rate increasing from 20.7 per cent in 2014 to 23.2 per cent in 2017. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the number of undernourished people increased from 195 million in 2014 to 237 million in 2017.

The second goal, to end hunger, is divided into smaller targets so that we do not only care about the elimination of hunger, access to food and nutrition but also tackle problems of social injustices, productivity and technological challenges as well as inefficiency of international cooperation. Given FAO statistics that 80% of the world's food is produced by family farmers and over 90% of all farms in the world are family-run, involving them will be of vital importance for a "Zero Hunger" future.

Unfortunately, in this respect, the UN recognises that for the present the world is *off-track* to meet most of these SDG targets, as the latest report took a grim look at the current situation of food insecurity (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WEP 2019, original emphasis).

The Sustainable Development Goals, as we know, are the successors of the Millennial Development Goals, or MDGs. Of the latter, many researchers pointed up their inadequacies and associated failures with the way international organisations function and the generally inflexible approach to solving global problems. According to one review:

> *Na viragem do milénio, associado aos Objectivos de Desenvolvimento do Milénio (ODM), adoptados em 2000 pelas Nações Unidas, surge um interesse renovado pela cooperação*

[9] As of August 12, 2019, FCT Application Guide. Call for PhD Studentships – 2019 (https://www.fct.pt/apoios/bolsas/concursos/docs/Bolsas_2019_GuiaoCandidatura_ENG.pdf).

> *da parte das organizações internacionais e dos governos que levou a uma série de compromissos globais, no sentido de melhorar a qualidade da ajuda. Doadores e "parceiros" institucionais do desenvolvimento reconhecem que a ajuda não está a produzir os resultados esperados, embora adoptando perspectivas muito menos críticas que as expressas na literatura académica.* (Carvalho 2018: 40)

Moreover, as Carvalho proceeded to explain, although the MDGs did encourage a new spirit of solidarity and cooperation at the start, many authors were of the opinion that these reforms in cooperation, even as they incorporated important issues and in some cases improved the cooperation systems, were very far from producing the transformations necessary for social change (p. 41).

It is true that the trend of world hunger, as measured by the prevalence of undernourishment, had declined steadily for decades (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WEP 2019). However, it stagnated in 2015. From 2015 to 2019, it remained at a level slightly below 11 percent. While this is happening, there is a slow increase of the number of people suffering from hunger. The result is that more than 820 million are still hungry globally. Africa presents the most alarming situation. Since 2015, data indicates slight but steady increase in almost all subregions of this continent. In Middle and Eastern Africa, the figures are 26.5 percent and 30.8 percent, respectively. In Western Africa, there is also rapid deterioration in recent years. Among other reasons, droughts and economic uncertainties are some of the factors behind the recent increase in undernourishment in Sub-Saharan Africa. As shown in the lower-left corner of Figure 1.1, the current food and nutrition insecurity in Cabo Verde, the only Sahelian islands, is generally minimal, only some parts of Santiago and Santo Antão islands are under pressure.

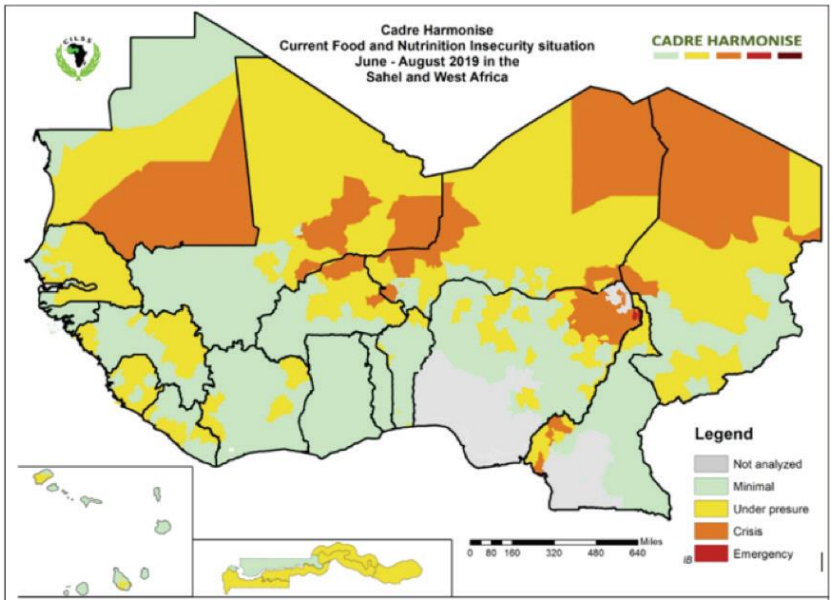

Fig. 1-1 Current food and nutrition insecurity situation in the Sahel and West Africa June-August 2019. Extracted from Technical Consultation of the Meeting of Regional System for the Prevention and Management of Food Crises (PREGEC), at Bamako, Mali, June 27 – 28, 2019, made available by CILSS - Comité Permanent Inter-États de Lutte contre la Sécheresse dans le Sahel (www.cilss.int).

It is well-known that Cabo Verde has some of the best development indicators in West Africa. Even so, in a technical report titled Global Analysis of Food and Nutrition Security Situation in Food Crisis Hotspots (EU, FAO, and WEP 2016), the dominant risk factor for Cabo Verde is "socioeconomic". This means that – different from the floods, droughts, diseases or conflicts that plagued other countries – Cabo Verde faces challenges for being a small, insular state with little to no natural resources, and the management of these challenges will be determined by a number of social and economic factors.[10] According to the joint report, of the total population of Cabo Verde, there are 2.1% in food crisis, 11.5% in stressed situation, and

[10] Cabo Verde is a member of the Alliance of Small Island States. https://www.aosis.org (accessed December 1, 2019). With 44 member-states, the functions of AOSIS are as follows: "[…] As a voice for the vulnerable, its mandate is more than amplifying marginalised voices as it also advocates for these countries' interests. In terms of size, AOSIS closely resembles the countries it represents on the global stage, but often punches far above its weight, negotiating historic global commitments to cut greenhouse gas emissions, among other achievements. […] To achieve its goals, AOSIS often draws on partnerships, including with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the European Commission, to bolster its capacity to effectively influence climate negotiations, some of the most complex and difficult in the world. AOSIS also makes vital contributions by helping its members to pool their resources and amplify their collective voice in climate talks. This goes beyond just speaking up to securing ambitious agreements with tangible benefits for vulnerable communities."

13.6% totally food insecure. However, when many African countries are faring poorly in the global fight against hunger, Cabo Verde seems to have held itself together, making sustainable improvements in the battle against food insecurity and malnutrition (FAO, IFAD, UNICEF, WEP 2019). Cabo Verde is classified as a lower-middle-income country which is simultaneously a high commodity-import and low commodity-export country. From 2010 to 2015, the Gini Index (%) of Cabo Verde has decreased from above 50% to below 50%, which means that it has reduced income inequality. It registered positive economic growth between 2011 and 2017 and negative growth in Prevalence in Undernourishment (PoU) in the same period. The major problem now is not hunger but food unreliability:

> Cabo Verde is a country extremely vulnerable from the standpoint of food, agro-climatic variations, but also external market fluctuations. In the past few years, more than 90% of cereals (corn, rice, wheat) came from abroad, both in the form of food aid and commercial imports, and the weight of the latter tends to increase with the decrease of food aid that represents about 30% of the imports, due largely to the middle-income country status and changes in official development aid modalities.
>
> In Cabo Verde, hunger is not a mass phenomenon, but food unreliability exists. According to FAO, in 2017, about 13% of the population were under-nourished. The data available indicate that 20% of rural families lived in a situation of food insecurity [13% moderate and 7% severe]. (National Directorate for Planning of the Ministry of Finance of Cabo Verde 2018: 40).

With reference to this same document, there are currently 45,399 farms with 92,322 active farmers, knowing that 40,000 people had given up farming in over a decade. If we take the numbers and calculate, more than 20% of the actual population are active farmers at this present point in time.[11] Agricultural area is only 9% of the country's total area, a slight fall of 1.9% from 2004. 82.5% of this is currently cultivated. Family farming predominates, making it difficult to achieve economy of scale. Farming is practised mostly on family properties, which are usually non-irrigated parcels of land. 95% of the cultivated land grows a combination of corn and beans as main crops. 85.3% of farms also raise livestock. Santiago is the major agricultural island as it is where 59% of all the farm parcels are situated. Agriculture accounts

[11] According to official data published by the National Statistics Institute, with information from 2017, the population of Cabo Verde is just above 537,000.

for a mere 7.3% of Gross National Product.[12] At least two out of three Cabo Verdeans now live in urban areas (or in shanty towns).

Cabo Verde is faring relatively well in Western Africa, according to an earlier report (FAO 2018). Cabo Verde had a composite Human Development Index of 0.65 in 2015, outperforming all other Western African countries. Ghana had the second-best result (0.58), followed by Mauritania (0.51). The composite human development index approximates the level of the countries' economic and social development and the quality of governance. In the same year, Cabo Verde was the Western African country with the highest rural youth per thousand hectares of agricultural land (690), i.e., the highest youth density on agricultural land. This was tailed by Benin (446) and Nigeria (359). The regional average was 170. The rural youth per thousand hectares of agricultural land was used in the report as a close approximation of the labour absorption capacity of agricultural and rural areas. Interpreting the two indicators together, Cabo Verde is classified as a country with a youth population dividend which is absorbed by adequate development momentum. This means that the national economy grows at a rate that keeps young people employed or occupied.

Based on the same FAO report, emigration is very significant in Cabo Verde for cultural and social reasons. Cabo Verde does not correspond to the typical profile of a Western African countries, where the national economy does not grow fast enough to create jobs for young people moving from the country to the city. Data from 1995 to 2015 – over 20 years – shows that Cabo Verdean emigration has increased. In 1995, the stock of international emigrants was 108,000, accounting for 28% of the total population. Intra-regional emigration was a mere 1% and intra-continental emigration stood at 11% while intercontinental emigration was an astounding 88%. In 2015, the stock of international emigrants was 223,000, accounting for 42%

[12] It will not be easy to determine the income sources of the farming population, but according to conversations and interviews in Cabo Verde, giving, sharing and exchanging are still common practices within a household and among people in a community; farmers do not always sell what they produce and so it is not possible to determine the market value of some agricultural produce; and a big part of remittances from emigrants does not come through officially but is brought by a known and trusted person, given directly or offered in kind, e.g., a vehicle, refrigerator, television, spring mattress for a bed, wooden dining table, contributions to buy bricks and cement to build another storey of a house, medicine, stationery and school supplies, food and other necessities.

of the total population. Intra-regional emigration was 0% and intra-continental emigration stood at 32% while intercontinental emigration was 68%. The above shows that even while Cabo Verde is doing increasingly well socially, economically and politically, this has not stopped Cabo Verdeans from emigrating, and emigration to other continents continues to be strong, for other reasons beyond absolute economic necessities discussed above. With 42% emigration over total population, Cabo Verde is an atypical Western African country, as the regional average is only 2%.

Bananas, papayas, potatoes, manioc, milk and derivatives are some of the major Cabo Verdean local produce studied by a report published in French by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. The following challenges to development were identified:

> *Une contrainte beaucoup plus importante à l'achat d'aliments et de boissons locaux se trouve du côté de l'offre, malgré un quart de la main-d'œuvre travaillant dans le Pays. Le défi de faire face à la réussite de l'agriculture et de la pêche, Cabo Verde ne produit pas beaucoup de nourriture sur une base commerciale. Cabo Verde importe entre 80% et 90% de tous ses besoins alimentaires*. (UNIDO 2017: 14)

Gathering information from trusted sources, the report confirmed that Cabo Verde was a major producer of bananas and papayas in productivity terms. Cabo Verde harvested 32.9 tonnes/hectare of bananas and took 6th place among 38 African countries. The country with the best productivity per hectares of cultivated bananas on the list was South Africa, at 55.39 tonnes/hectare. Then, Cabo Verde was very productive with papayas. At 91.89 tonnes/hectare, the archipelago was the top producer of papayas among 15 African countries in terms of productivity. Ghana had the second-best result (34.5 tonnes/hectare).

African countries top the list in a University of Cambridge research into the world's healthiest diets. For the analysis, researchers evaluated the consumption of 17 dietary factors, modelling two different dietary patterns:

> […] one based on relatively high consumption of ten healthy items (fruits, vegetables, beans and legumes, nuts and seeds, whole grains, milk, total polyunsaturated fatty acids, fish, plant omega-3s, and dietary fibre); and another based on relatively low consumption of seven unhealthy items (unprocessed red meats, processed meats, sugar-sweetened beverages, saturated fat, trans fat, dietary cholesterol, and sodium). (Imamura et al. 2015:

133)

To compare, the researchers modelled a third overall dietary pattern that incorporated all the 17 dietary factors. Not considering the actual amount of calorie consumed, the top 10 countries with the healthiest diet overall are: Chad, Sierra Leone, Mali, Gambia, Uganda, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Israel and Somalia. Of this list, 90% are African countries. Western Africa, where Cabo Verde is part of, is the region with some of the best diets globally.

Even with credible statistics, it should be kept in mind that there is a lot that statistics hide and do not reveal. The manners in which statistics are conceptualised, collected, interpreted and distributed are also significant.

Historical and Social Context

Cabo Verde is a singular society; it was entrusted with the great task of inventing its own order, and it ended up writing a unique history (M.E.M. Santos, Torrão, and Soares 2007: 397). It can also be confirmed that history as a discipline is popular in Cabo Verde. History as a field of knowledge in the country is equally intrusted with the mission of preserving the past and the essence of this cultural group. The pursuit of history studies in Cabo Verde is generally considered to have been greatly propelled by António Carreira, who produced some of the most widely read books on Cabo Verdean history. He influenced and trained many more scholars who chose to follow in his footsteps. He has been cited widely. From discussions with local teachers, it can be understood that the teaching of history in Cabo Verde is still debated and the country does not have a coherent idea of what history to transmit. In schools, there are the National Day for Cabo Verde Culture, subjects like "History and Geography of Cabo Verde", or "Culture of Cabo Verde". There are also teachers who were trained to teach the Cabo Verdean Creole. Amidst all this, it is not totally certain how the history of Cabo Verde relates to the history of Europe and that of Africa.

The point of departure has remained largely that Cabo Verde is fruit of *Os Descobrimentos Portugueses*, part of the "Age of Discovery", "Age of Exploration" or "Golden Age of Exploration" from the 15th to 17th centuries which expanded the European cultural and geographical reach and enabled the flaunting of the coherent European political, economic and social forces developed since Medieval times (Etkin 2009: 50-51).

According to one view, "discovery" is only one side of the story; a concept that can be understood from the perspective of men of the 15th Century, or *homens quatrocentistas, versus* the modern perspective which puts also into question the universality of Portuguese History as World History or Cabo Verdean History; this calls our attention to the contrastive experiences of Europeans and Africans, respectively, in the historical formation process of the population on the archipelago of Cabo Verde (A.G. Lima 2017). Consider the following:

> *Para o historiador das ilhas de Cabo Verde, este ponto de vista é importante, pois despido dos estereótipos formados em torno deste arquipélago nos séculos XIX-XX, terá a percepção da participação activa dos naturais na construção da sua própria história,*

> *contra a percepção de uma participação passiva, como pretendeu demonstrar aquela historiografia. Por exemplo, a caduca ideia de que o cabo-verdiano é um povo indolente é uma prova desta última percepção, o que a historiografia actual deve combater. (p. 25)*

However, according to another view, multiculturalism in Europe and Creolisation in Africa had the same origin, according to an archival research about West African pre-colonial social history from the reciprocal perspectives of international encounter (Nafafé 2007). The intermediary agents, or points of contact, were the *Lançados*, also called *Tangomãos*. They should be credited for the creation of Creole society along the rivers of Guinea-Bissau and Cabo Verde as they negotiated a place and integrated on African soil in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Compared to them, European conquests, initiatives of the Portuguese Crown and the civilising Christian missions were only secondary. Nafafé's research was one of social relations and common humanity of two continents in pre-colonial times:

> What needs to be clearly stated here is that the pre-colonial period and in consequence its human racial relations were very different from those of the colonial and post-colonial periods. The Europeans did not see the Africans as lesser beings […] The *Tangomãos* were not viewed in terms of binary oppositions, nor were they judged by the Africans on the basis of their skin colour, or by their inferior economic status, but by their willingness to acculturate to African traditions. From the *Tangomãos*' point of view, being negro was a desirable thing and offered more than retaining their Western identities. The *Tangomãos* were disillusioned with Western social structures, whereas the West African Coast offered them empowerment, pluralism, freedom and liberation. Therefore they sought to identify fully with Africans by adopting their culture, laws and religious traditions. (p. 176)

Given that the Africanisation of *Lançados* was at the origin of the emergence of Creole society along the West African coast, it was African humanity that offered them a sanctuary, protected them, having been rejected and condemned by a Portugal immersed in internal crisis and European power play. They in turn allowed themselves to be acculturalised by the local elites. The place of negotiation also transformed from within, for what occurred was circular Creolisation: "After the encounter, West African identities were greatly affected and one can no longer talk about Africa and its identities as belonging purely to Black Africans biologically" (p. 179).

The debate on Creolisation in Cabo Verde is perennial, nonetheless. Prominent scholars

have studied and debated this aspect of Cabo Verde (Rodrigues 2003; Furtado 2012; Vasconcelos 2006; Gibau 2005; Seibert 2014; Almeida 2007; Miles 1999; Laville 2000; among many others who have written on the subject). The Creole classification scheme is often compared to that of ethnicity or cultural group.

To take a geographically distant but very relevant reference, Brian Juan O'Neill (2018), an anthropologist who is dedicated to learning about the Kristang, an increasingly touristic Portuguese settlement in Malaysia, simply ignores the concept of ethnic group and adopts the more fruitful concept of Creole group, agreeing with others who avoid simplistic, essentialist and useless umbrella ethnic terms, as if Chinese, Malays, Indians were all alike and uniform. In an extended theoretical discussion of the works of James Scott on peasant resistance, he posits that the Kristang people *resist* along the centuries by simply *persisting*, and their "Portuguese food" – label for their foodways and cooking – illustrates their success. At a Catholic baptism luncheon meal, we would see dishes with an apparently "Chinese" look and the Kristang would say "'*Seng, akeli massa china, mas kuzinyá kristang! Nus sa pratu*!' (Yes, that is Chinese-style *mee*, but it's our own Kristang cooking! Our own dish!)." (p. 327). This prompts O'Neill to say that they preserved their own style of cooking by borrowing openly from the Malays, Chinese and Indians and by adding the epithet "Portuguese cooking" to appeal to tourists. The Kristang, furthermore, are an "expanding Creole group" (p. 334) ever renewing its genetic and cultural stock since the 16th century, and are, in effect, much more than just a simple mix of one Euroasian group and one indigenous group; they are a mixture of multiple mixes. The paper presentation of Juan O'Neill at a recent international conference adds to our understanding of the evolution of identity enclosure.[13] The Kristang eat and promote "traditional Portuguese cuisine", e.g. "*Cabra da Europa*" to evoke "the first colonial". Their preservation of a minority group identity is at once "anti-tropicalist" and "anti-Creolisation". For the anthropologist, in Malacca, a Creole community becomes a "relic enclave" or a "moroon community", "old-fashioned", "outdated" and "corny". No category is perfect but

[13] Brian Juan O'Neill, "Relic Enclaves and Hyper-Colonial Nostalgia." "Insularidades e Enclaves em Situações Coloniais e Pós-Coloniais: Trânsitos, Conflitos e Construções Identitárias (Séculos XV-XXI)" International Conference, December 6-7, 2018. http://www.centrodehistoria-flul.com/ciiescp.html

researchers should be able to identity the strengths and weaknesses of their choices.[14]

More generally, the problem with doing comparison and generalisation is evaluating the adequateness. If Africa is the world's most agrarian continent, that Africa is fundamentally agrarian, what we are witnessing is the de-agrarianisation of Africa, a long-time process that is explained by change of professional occupation, preference for other income sources, social identification and physical relocation (Bryceson 1997). Despite the importance of agriculture on the archipelago, a discussion of this major aspect of economic, social and cultural life in Cabo Verde will certainly not resemble one about Ethiopia, for instance, the latter being Africa's historically most productive agricultural system and, so, an excellent case study for examining the nature of long-term agricultural change in Africa, so that to study Ethiopia's modern agricultural history is to study the history of Africa's environment or the ecological history of Africa (McCann 1995).

[14] Here are some more results from personal communications: An anthropologist said that he was weary of the Creole discourse about Cabo Verde – or other places – and condemned it for being historical, exclusive and restrictive. Asking senior academics if Cabo Verdeans constitute an ethnic group, one said they do, because he thought that the concept of ethnicity can be applied to Cabo Verde as there is a clear consciousness of a nation and a distinct cultural group which tells a common story of how they were historically formed. Another scholar said that whatever category is fine so long as the theorists are cited and the evidence is given, because categories, ethnic or Creole, are constructs. They are good if they match the observed reality; they are bad and do not stand if they do not have explanatory power. Yet another scholar said Cabo Verdeans are Creoles and that is how they have always been understood and studied, and he did not see strong justifications for doing otherwise.

Fig. 1-2 A boy playing in a "Fitness Park" facing out to the Atlantic Ocean, Santo Antão Island, 2018.

But Cabo Verde is a case study *par excellence* on another level. Granted, Cabo Verde may be a negligible dot on the world map, but its history is of great relevance for African Studies, migration studies and, in effect, for the understanding of humanity. *Lusophoning Mande Studies: Perspectives from the Cape Verde Islands and Their 550-Year Diaspora* was a Mandes Studies double issue entirely dedicated to the archipelago, its history and diaspora. Observe the following introduction:

> Despite their residents' uniquely early itinerant outlook, the Cape Verde islands have remained all but invisible in much of the scholarly anglophone literature. The past thirty years of rethinking African studies from the conjoined perspectives of globalization and diaspora would seem a natural space for building on Cape Verdean scholarship, yet this has not been the case. In these essays we suggest that this surprising lacuna forms part of a silent/silenced Lusophone African Atlantic that spans historical trajectories largely ignored in much of the anglophone literature. In that sense, these essays aim to counter what we

> perceive as a peripheralization of Lusophone scholarship within mainstream anglophone scholarship. We do so by proposing Cape Verde as an island nation that ought to be front and center, at the cutting edge of contemporary scholarship of our globalized and diasporic world. (Gottlieb 2015: 2)

We are also reminded that Cabo Verde had the first Creolised population and the first African diaspora (p. 1).

Official information from Cabo Verde would suggest that, as the country has developed significantly, emigration has fallen while others are coming to Cabo Verde to work and live.[15] Nonetheless, even while the percentage of emigrated population has fallen, the absolute number of *emigrées* is still on the rise. This is not to forget the successes that are socially and culturally associated with emigration:

> *Educação é importante, mas também não podemos esquecer a emigração. O senhor não conhece… mas fulano de tal era mais pobre do que eu. O senhor sabe o que ele tem agora: casa aqui e na Praia, carros, automóvel, Hiace, os filhos todos bem vestidos, a mulher cheia de ouro. Hoje é rico porque embarcou para Holanda e depois mandou buscar os filhos: Tem muitas famílias assim. Emigração para Europa salvou muita gente. Eu não pude. Ai se eu pudesse!!!* (Furtado 2008: 104)

Different authors have discussed the nature of Cabo Verdean emigration. It should be stated from the start that Cabo Verde is a typical case for migration studies and has been studied in depth by renowned scholars internationally (Åkesson 2004; Challinor 2012; Grassi 2003; Batalha and Carling 2008; Batalha 2004b; Grassi and Évora 2007; F.B.V. Lima, n.d.). Some studies are specialised by countries of emigration, mostly to Europe and North America but also

[15] Here is a bright and optimistic description of Cabo Verdean emigration in history: "*Nos finais do séc. XVII começam os movimentos migratórios de uma população ressequida de uma dupla sede: a de conhecer novos mundos, para além dos horizontes fechados das ilhas, e a de dar asas à liberdade e cortar as amarras da ligação a um longo período de servidão."* Emigration is said to be decreasing progressively not only because the traditional receiving countries are tightening control and having unemployment problems themselves, but also because *"Cabo Verde tem vindo a tornar-se mais atrativo desde que ascendeu à condição de país de desenvolvimento médio, não só para os seus nativos, como até para estrangeiros, em especial oriundos dos países da costa ocidental africana, que veem aqui uma oportunidade de melhorar as suas vidas."* Armando Ferreira, "Emigração e Diáspora," Cabo Verde Info. http://www.caboverde-info.com/Identidade/Historia/Emigracao-e-Diaspora (accessed August 27, 2019).

down south to São Tomé (C.A. Monteiro 1997; Bento 2015b; Drotbohm 2009; Gibau 2005; Andall 1999; Nascimento 2008; Fontainhas, n.d.).

Concerning women migrants, some important aspects of Cabo Verde emigration and common research approaches, we have the following example:

> Cape Verde's status as an archipelago [can be used] to inform a discussion of its mainland diaspora. [Migrant women's] voices are important because "the smaller, poorer or less populated the island gets, the more likely is it that its web, textual and literary content is dictated and penned by 'others'" (Baldacchino, 2008, p. 38). For these women, emigration is, on the one hand, a part of personal development contoured by islandness in a process that strengthens "feelings of distinction and possession" (Grydehøj, 2018, p. 9) and, on the other hand, a part of the "anchorage and drift" of Cape Verdean identity (Compan, 2018). For them, 'island' is what they perform and experience; it is not merely what they represent – bearing in mind that it is possible to view islandness as a positive action and to approach place as a kind of practice (Vannini & Taggart, 2013).
>
> Cape Verdeans think about their society not just as an island society, but also as a global community, Cape Verde being the sum of the islands and the global diaspora. Therefore, their experiences also need to be understood in transnational terms. As part of a broader phenomenon of globalization, 'transnationalism' was originally used to refer to the processes by which immigrants connect their countries of origin and settlement and build social fields (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). It is open to knowledge of migration, society and culture; it is agency-oriented and acknowledges the life trajectories of individuals and families. Furthermore, engendered migration experiences are targeted (Morokvasic, 1984). The present study interprets the intercultural exposures and interactions of Caboverdianas in light of general cultural theories (Bourdieu, 1984; Williams, 1983), intercultural communication (Welsch, 1999), diasporic identities (Hall, 1996), and the positivity and creativity of everyday practices (Certeau, 1984) in a global world (Appadurai, 1996).
>
> (*apud* Lam 2019 [ahead of print])

Our discussion so far seems to suggest that Cabo Verde is a nation of paradoxes that defies common sense, popular understanding and general knowledge. The Portuguese-Speaking African Countries (PALOP), of which Cabo Verde is a member, are linguistically and ethnically very diverse. Compared with Angola or Mozambique, Cabo Verde is quite obscure to the world. Very few maps include a country as small and easily neglected as Cabo Verde. A lot of maps of Africa are in fact of continental Africa with Madagascar. In African Studies conferences, a discussion about Cabo Verde can seem strange. On the African identity issue, not all people see

eye to eye.[16] Formally and geographically, Cabo Verde is the Westernmost outstretch of West Africa; but socially and culturally, a lot can be said about the islands. This will be further developed in the following chapters.

[16] The following episode took place on Saturday, 4 July 2015, which was just one day before Cabo Verdean Independence Day. It happened in a Cabo Verdean association and concerned a choir I sang in. Asked by a retired, white, self-identified Cabo Verdean gentleman what I was studying, I answered plainly that I was pursuing African Studies with a focus on Cabo Verde. This was an immense shock for him, and he felt the urgency to avert an inexperienced foreigner from confusing Cabo Verde with Africa. It was the preview of our choir. To my surprise, John and Phillipe, my colleagues, had never been to the association. They did not know where it is. The association is quite well-known in the Cabo Verdean community (at least in the associational and political circles). It was the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the Independence of Cabo Verde, which was proclaimed on 5 July 1975. John and Phillipe thought it strange that the association celebrated this for they never liked the idea of independence for Cabo Verde. The then female Cabo Verdean ambassador in Portugal was there. She left early, saying that she needed to support other celebrations in other associations as well. The celebration began at 16:00. I left at 23:30, but the festive spirits were high and nonstop all through the night. The members of the association are mostly white-skinned. I noted some very interesting conversations. A gentleman called William said to my fellow choir friends: "My mother was from São Nicolau. My father was Portuguese… I may be more Cabo Verdean than you all." I observed that there were two women cooking and a young man helping in the kitchen. The latter may very likely be the son of one of the women. They are clearly dark, much darker than the ones feasting at the table. William asked me: "What are you studying?" I said I was pursuing African Studies. He then asked knowingly: "Cabo Verde is part of Africa?" I answered that Cabo Verde is close to Senegal. He corrected me: "Cabo Verde has nothing to do with Senegal." After some awkward moments, he decided to enlighten me on the basics, asking: "You know how Cabo Verde got its name? Is it really green, as its name suggests?" I said no. He pointed out that there is a similarly named place in Senegal. He continued, in Portuguese, with original emphasis: "*O arquipélago do Cabo Verde, o arquipélago DO Cabo Verde (Senegal).*" For my knowledge, he tried hard to distance Cabo Verde from Senegal and from the African continent. I was later told that Cabo Verdeans are socially represented as *mulattos*; however, on the island of Santiago, many people are much darker and do not easily fit in with this social representation.

Fig. 1-3 Map painted on the mural of a secondary school on Sal Island, 2016.

Island-continent relations have always interested researchers. For instance, Canada has the largest number of islands in the world, but we almost never think of Canada in island terms except that it has a greedy share of the North American continent (Pugh 2013). This shows that our understanding of a country is not totally objective, and there is more than one way to think about it. To apply this observation to Cabo Verde, it is possible that we have often isolated Cabo Verde for studies on its own, with less than satisfactory references to its close African neighbours. We have thought of Cabo Verde in island terms just as others have construed of Canada as a continental country. This, however, does not exclude the possibility of thinking alternatively and comparatively. Having said this, the Cabo Verdean identity is complex, layered and not without contestations. Islandness has enable the development of not only a sense of closure but also a sense of closeness among its people. The connection to the islands is an essential piece of their identity. Their history, sense of national unity, the Creole tongue and other cultural heritage greatly shape the ways Cabo Verdeans narrate their identity among themselves and to others. Consequently, an alternative imagining of cultural identity as in

island-continent relations is what is needed to reinvigorate historical fixity and overcome idiosyncratic debates.

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CHAPTER II. Literature Review

This chapter consists of a literature review in two stages. First, it assesses existing knowledge about famine, agriculture and food in Cabo Verde in order to summarise the general understandings of scholarly works. Then, in the second stage, we contrast these with what is currently being investigated in food and foodways studies. We will then have some ideas of what can be done in the way of applying insights from other cases to a study of Cabo Verde.

Famine, Agriculture and Food in Cabo Verde

António Leão Silva (1996) posited that little was known about the social dynamics of famine in Cabo Verde and that scholars needed to develop a real sociology of famine. At that point in time, A.L. Silva already had clear ideas about the worthiness of research on famine and history of Cabo Verde. He explained what he believed to be the research gaps:

> *É preciso avaliar, em toda a sua amplitude, o impacto das fomes sobre a sociedade escravocrata. Para nós, elas são verdadeiros agentes formativos do Cabo Verde pós-escravocrata. A sua acção corrosiva sobre a sociedade é tripla. Empobrece os escravocratas, mata escravos, além de criar forros. As secas e as fomes arruinaram a sociedade escravocrata pelo menos um século antes do decreto da abolição legal do trabalho escravo. Elas são factores que determinaram a falência precoce da escravocracia santiaguense. Sem estes acontecimentos, trágicos é certo, Cabo Verde dificilmente se podia transformar no que é. Elas constituem neste sentido formadores da identidade social, cultural e económica deste arquipélago. Por fim, como já dissemos, o impacto das fomes não é apenas local. Elas fizeram irradiar, do primeiro reduto escravocrata do Atlântico, correntes de emigrantes (escravos e forros) crioulos para a África (Rios da Guiné) e, sobretudo, para diferentes zonas da América do Sul, das Antilhas e, posteriormente, para a América do Norte. (p. 123)*

As Meintel (1984) wrote, in Cabo Verde, drought (*seca*) is an umbrella term having its own subvocabulary:

Good year – enough rainfall for an abundant harvest
Bad year – little rain falls from July to September, when it is needed for the crops
Partial drought – only some of the islands are affected
Total drought – disaster for the whole archipelago
Seca suave – drought of short duration and mild intensity
Seca extrema – drought affects the whole archipelago for a number of years in succession
Crisis – social and economic upheaval that followed *seca*

(for details, see pp. 55-56)

The human tragedies that result from droughts and crises could be very wide-ranging in effects.[17]

From experience, Cabo Verdeans do not see the change of weather in four seasons like in most places we are familiar with. For them, there are only two: the long dry months and the precious moments when it rains, with very minute distinctions in how dry it is. More generally, when there is no rain, it is "*ténpu di séka*"; and when there is rain, it is "*ténpu d'azágua"* or *"ténpu di txuba"* (also see Lang 2002 for dictionary definitions). This is the case in many African countries, where there is a dry season and a rainy season. Because of the importance of rain or water for agriculture and human sustenance, the vocabulary is very specific. It is like a form of social communication shared by the inhabitants.

Famine and crisis (mis)management is a frequent African Studies research topic (Gado 1993, 2010; Flores 2004) and in Cabo Verdean studies as well (Patterson 1988; Keese 2012; Carreira 1984; Bigman 1993). In one prominent discussion of famine prevention in Africa, Jean Drèze (1991) pointed out that countries such as Kenya, Zimbabwe, Cabo Verde and Botswana achieved key successes but were not noticed by the international community. All of them managed to rein in famine because public bodies extended support towards the population directly in times of crisis. The roles played by the government, local and national institutions, quick and responsive political actions, and effective channelling of financial and material resources were far more important than economic growth, expansion of the agricultural section or acceleration of food production in combating famine. This is why Jean Drèze highlighted the

[17] Writings about Cabo Verde present much detail as to how events of great destruction and loss cause permanent damage and leave mental scars on the people. Reading the works of António Carreira (1977a, 1977b, 1984) would reveal many synonymous expressions of "death", "to die", "disaster" and "human tragedy", etc., in Portuguese.

lessons learned in these four African countries in the second volume of *The Political Economy of Hunger* edited by himself and Amartya Sen.

Like Guiné-Bissau, Cabo Verde was largely ignored by the food self-sufficiency literature for various reasons, including being Portuguese-speaking countries surrounded by bigger, more noticeable French- and English-speaking countries (Bigman 1993). Yet, according to Bigman, studying Cabo Verde (and Guiné-Bissau) allows us to understand the historical roots of food problems in Africa. In Cabo Verde, the impact of famine on people's physical and psychological well-being and on the society might have been as dramatic as that of slavery (p. 81). Furthermore, the impact of droughts and famines on the formation of a post-slavery society was so great that

> *[a] seca, um fenómeno inscrito na identidade ecológica de Cabo Verde, portanto um factor de natureza extra-social, possui, a despeito deste facto, um impacto profundamente dissolvente sobre a estrutura escravocrata*. (A.L.C.E. Silva 1996: 107)

Cabo Verde was historically settled in a way that made it difficult to practise agriculture as we would imagine in a typical African context:

> When the archipelago was colonized, there were no communities which had adapted themselves through the years to their environment, evolving social and technical mechanisms for survival. Those who controlled how the land was used had come from southern Europe in search of fortune; those who did the labour arrived against their will from the marshy coasts of Africa. Neither group had experience with the agricultural conditions confronting them in Cape Verde. Moreover, land in Cape Verde did not have the sacred character of having been passed down by family ancestors to be kept in trust for future generations. (Bigman 1993: 95)

In a news column commentary, the winner of the *Prémio de Camões* 2018, Germano Almeida, reflected on the importance of the discovery of Brazil for Cabo Verde:

> *Descobertas, ocorre-me celebrar o descobrimento ou a descoberta ou a invenção da*

> *cachupa nossa quotidiana, como disse certa vez o Dr. Baltazar. Hoje até já podemos dizer que a cachupa é um cozido à portuguesa onde se meteu milho, porém, nem sempre foi assim. Primeiro porque chegar à cachupa deu-nos trabalho, não foi chegar, meter na panela milho, feijão, carne de porco, toucinho e chouriço e algumas verduras, encharcar em água e levar ao lume e já está. Não foi assim, não senhor! Até pela razão simples de que nem sequer tínhamos milho, o milho chegou a Cabo Verde como uma oferta do Brasil. Melhor, uma troca: mandámos para lá o coqueiro e eles, agradecidos, retribuíram com o milho!*[18]

It was not only "Brazilian generosity" that formed the basis of Cabo Verdean food. Coconut is also not originally from Cabo Verde, even when it is used so frequently to make traditional dishes like *caldo de peixe com óleo de coco, cachupa com leite de coco, xerém com cabrito guisado em panela de ferro, doces de coco, aranha, sucrinha em losangos*, etc. Like *batata doce and manguinha de terra*, coconut was brought in from India. So, with coconut "borrowed" from India, Cabo Verde got maize from Brazil in exchange:

> *Temos culturas muito importantes obtidas graças à generosidade brasileira, incluindo o feijão, a mandioca, a papaia e o ananás. Porém, em termos de hegemonia nacional, nenhuma delas se compara ao milho, ao humilde e glorioso milho da nossa cachupa, das nossas papas, cuscuz, pão de milho, funguim*.

We find much to corrobrate Germano Almeda's perspective, e.g., in a chapter titled "*O Milho, a Esperança e a Luta*". Note:

> *A descoberta da América e da sua rica flora agrícola teve um papel importante na criação da agricultura caboverdiana. E no rol das plantas trazidas das Índias Ocidentais destacamos o milho maíz, de nome botânico Zea maïs.*
>
> *Não foi a primeira planta cultivada nas ilhas, nem o primeiro cereal, produzido localmente, utilizado na alimentação dos habitantes das ilhas. No entanto, tornou-se com o tempo o símbolo do alimento do povo, da agricultura e da sobrevivência.*
>
> *(Semedo 1998: 83)*

Indeed, the Portuguese were responsible for bringing largely tropical plants from the different shores bordering the Atlantic Ocean to the islands of Cabo Verde. Compare the above accounts

[18] Germano Almeida, "À Descoberta da Cachupa," *Diário de Notícias*, 26 de Agosto 26 de 2018, https://www.dn.pt/edicao-do-dia/26-ago-2018/interior/a-descoberta-da-Cachupa-9758665.html

with the following account:

> During the first years of occupation, the Portuguese brought fruit trees from Portugal including apple, olive and pomegranate; and vegetables such as collards, lettuce, onion, carrots and squash. From West Africa came rice, beans peanuts, yam, baobab and oil palm. From Brazil, the islands got beans, cassava, tomato, green and hot peppers, pineapples, cashew and mango trees and sweet potato, as well as the staple corn. Sugar cane and grapes […] were introduced via Madeira […] In addition, of course, livestock were introduced, and some men engaged in fishing. (Bigman 1993: 102)

Bigman synthesised previous works and historical evidence relating to the agriculture of Cabo Verde and left a strong impression of how everything was put together in Cabo Verde in an imperialist Portuguese logic of convenience and taste. She did not see the charm of the poor men's Cachupa, or "corn with beans and lard"[19], for it was physically- and time-demanding for women, contained little nutritional value, and was dangerously monotonous for health, as popularly consumed in the 1950s, the best decade in terms of rainfall and crop productivity in the twentieth century. Meat and fish were still luxuries then.

The Portuguese brought wheat, rye and barley from Europe; unfortunately, these needed a lot of rain and were not practical on Cabo Verdean soil. They also imported millet and sorghum from the African continent, only that these were not palatable to the Portuguese. Finally, around 1515, corn was brought from Brazil, which the Portuguese liked.

Offering explanations, Moran (1982) judged that, for all the importance that corn gained since then, it was not the best staple for the Cabo Verdean climate; sorghum and bulrush would thrive much more easily in short rain seasons and with much less rainwater in Cabo Verde, just as it happened in Sahelian Africa. For Moran, the undisputed introduction of non-Sahelian crops for a Sahelian climate was unwise Portuguese decisions; the prioritisation of cash crops suited the colonisers, but to excuse themselves, they blame the natural elements:

> Subsistence crops lost access to the limited area of certain water supply and became subject to the uncertainties of the local climate. Periodically, dry spells extended into droughts and famines resulted […] the island's climate was blamed, thereby freeing from responsibility

[19] Another way to put it is "*feijão e milho e uma cabeça de peixe para dar sabor*", from field note.

> those in control of access to information. The policy implications of environmentally deterministic explanations have been devastating for the islands. (p. 82)

As such, if hunger meant a lack of corn traditionally, it was the Portuguese who were responsible for the European farming tradition, one that distanced Cabo Verde from its African origins – "isolated from the agrarian life of the African Sahel" – that "Africa as a source of useful knowledge relevant to the daily life of Cabo Verdeans" was blocked (p. 83). When Moran wrote this, almost all the maize that Cabo Verdeans consumed came from international donations, and, pessimistically, he foresaw famine to threaten the islands in times to come.

Concerning maize, there are certain aspects that deserve our attention before we proceed with our analysis. According to the *Encyclopedia of Food and Culture* Vol. 2, maize and corn are synonymous terms to indicate a plant of the *Gramieae* family of grasses, the world's most widely distributed food plant (Katz and Weaver 2003a: 417). When the Europeans discovered maize in South America and introduced it to the Old World in the 15th century, maize quickly dispersed to other continents. It was a plant that did not compete with rice, wheat, oats, millet or barley directly. It was suited to aridity and poor growing conditions. It had rapid returns and higher productive yield than wheat. Consider this:

> The adoption of maize in Africa and China heralded a dramatic social and cultural transformation. Maize provided a level of food surplus that permitted the exponential growth of populations. Whereas in Europe maize was seen as a substandard cereal grain, fit only for feeding the poor and hungry and livestock, in many areas of Africa and Asia maize came to dominate the agricultural economies of many nation-states. The productivity and efficiency of maize horticulture and its low production and transportation costs made it a cheap food for slaves captured and held by European and Arabic slave trades. Maize made possible the efficient and economical transport and exchange of horrific numbers of sub-Saharan Africans destined for the markets of Europe, the Middle East, and the Americas. (p. 420)

The Portuguese colonies are thought to be the first test groups of the dissemination of maize in Africa, with West Africa long considered a recipient of cuisine and culture. It is hard to exaggerate the impact of maize on African ways of living and food culture ever since:

> So profound was the impact of maize on the African economy that [...] culture and society, subsistence and settlement, political economy and gender relations, and the respective cuisines and culinary technologies [...] were rapidly transformed to accommodate the adoption of maize and those human diasporas with which it was associated. (p. 420)

Maize, a common crop, is well registered in historical documents. In many areas, maize displaced millet and changed African cuisines. It was cooked into mush or in porridge, like Europeans had done for many years, and quickly became popular foods for Africans. That was how we came to have the maize porridge - *kpekple* in Ghana, *bidia* in Zaire, *sadza* in Zimbabwe, *putu* in Zululand, mealie in South Africa, posho or ugali in East Africa (p. 420), *putu* of Zulu-speaking people, *adalu, ogi, tuwo* and *aadun* in Nigeria, *coo-coo* or *fungi* that Africans took with them to the Caribbean (p. 429). Maize thus made its way back to the New World, where the Caribbean and South African cuisines absorbed African influences initiated by the Europeans of the Old World.

Like other African countries, Cabo Verde suffers from some of the same mistakes of international aid, i.e., introduction of foreign plant species unsuited to the new environment which turned out to be aggressive and uncontrollable. Take the example of trees. In selected agricultural zones of the Sahel, *Acacia Albida* is native. In the second half of the twentieth century, it was registered that the tree was present in the highest densities in the Serer ethnic zone of Senegal and that it had major agricultural uses – a integrated part of Serer food production – and great cultural significance (Frank 1987). Frank believed the planting of the tree was a form of traditional knowledge, "one of the most important production resources in the Sahel" (p. 268); it could protect the soil, offer shade, regulate temperature, replace fertilizer and create other favourable conditions for agriculture. Yet, the tree needed to be cared for carefully by humans and the stomach of a ruminant for germination, so that what existed in that part of Senegal was a "complex interplay of tree, cultivated crop, animal germinator, and human caretaker" (p. 269).

What happened around the same time in Africa, unfortunately, resembled something of an international "implantation" of similar but foreign species without regard for local knowledge and connection with local cultures. The mesquite tree - *Prosopis Juliflora* – was originally from South America. It was brought to West Africa in the mid-19th century, slowly but gradually

turning into a dangerous, hated invasive species in North and East Africa as well.[20] As National Geographic reports, it has no natural predators. Its roots reach deep down into the ground, are difficult to unroot, and rob all the water from other useful plants. It is incredibly resistant to extreme temperatures. Moreover, the honey-producing tree pleases mosquitos, which causes the spread of diseases like malaria. Native animals like zebras die due to a lack of vegetation. Thus, the mesquite tree gained the reputation of being a "land eater" and "animal killer" in Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, etc.

In fact, this same species is called *Acácia Americana* or *Espinheiro Verde* in Cabo Verde. Here is a piece of the youthful memories of Cabo Verdean intellectual Jorge Sousa Brito:

> *Após a Independência de Cabo Verde, em 1975, o Governo defrontou-se logo com um problema candente: Energia! o Mundo sofria ainda dos efeitos do "crash" petrolífero de 1973 e o humilde camponês cabo-verdiano cozinhava cachupa com lenha (esta representava mais de 80% do combustível rural). A FAO aconselhou o Governo a desencadear uma vasta campanha de florestação tendo financiado conjuntamente com a cooperação belga a introdução maciça da acácia americana. Esta não só era resistente à seca, como também, em menos de 3 anos, iria produzir bastante lenha e vagens para as cabras e demais alimárias. E sendo assim, lá estou eu a participar nestas campanhas de florestação com saquetas de Julifloras entre as mãos![21]*

Originally introduced by FAO experts in the 1970s, the tree, a Mexican native, promised to provide firewood, charcoal and goal fodder (Willing 2017). Willing's account concords with what is said above about the extent of mesquite invasion. Some islands, such as Boa Vista and Maio, have had the landscapes completely altered as a result. This was because the pods that fell from the tree scattered all over the place. They grew in the place of date and coconut plantations and made agricultural lands turn into thickets. If rainwater was already too precious

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[20] Peter Schwartzstein, "An invasive, thorny tree is taking over Africa—can it be stopped?" *National Geographic*. April 9, 2019. https://www.nationalgeographic.com/environment/2019/04/invasive-mesquite-spreads-across-east-north-south-africa/

[21] Sousa Brito had more personal memories of the tree. He got his PhD in Arizona, where people bought mesquite honey. He has a son who suffered from asthma triggered by the pollen of Acácia Americana as a child. Jorge Sousa Brito. "Acácia Americana - A Árvore Entre a Asma e Um Sublime Mel de Abelha." *O Outro Lado do Eu*. 20 de Abril de 2008. http://jorsoubrito.blogspot.comn

to be shared, the greed of *Acácia Americana* was nothing short of disastrous. The only consolation was perhaps that the roots do hold some of the dried-up soil together.[22]

Several Francophone authors have written about Cabo Verde (M.P. de Pina 1987; N.E. Cabral 1980; Lesourd 1995; Quint 1997; I.M.-F. dos Santos, Esteves, and Rolland 2008; Barbe, n.d.). These early writings were typically broad surveys of the archipelago. Others were about certain aspects of Cabo Verdean culture, e.g., in the form of Nature encyclopaedia (Szpedra 2015) and cookbooks (V.V. Silva 1989). Lesourd (1995) proposed a French Africanist study of the state and society of Cabo Verde that is abstract in the selection of titles and subtitles, structuralist in the presentation of methods and organisation of information, and very broadly based.

The following is extracted from *Waiting for Rain: Agriculture and Ecological Imbalance in Cabo Verde*:

> This inventory of Cabo Verde's natural resource endowment does not conjure up visions of an agricultural paradise. The scarcity of land and water relative to the existing population would argue that far too many people are currently involved in farming activities, and the unpredictability of rainfall makes all agriculture, but mostly immediate, rainfed agriculture, a precarious and high-risk enterprise. Even assuming the most optimistic estimate of potential surface runoff and groundwater use, irrigated land will not be sufficient for all those who currently farm or are employed in agriculture. (Langworthy and Finan 1997: 50)

This is a grim yet accurate synthesis of the state of Cabo Verde. Many aspects of its society, culture and politics deserve our attention.

Given the limited scope of this dissertation, we shall focus on the body of literature that is at the basis of a study of the food of Cabo Verde. Despite the late imperial undertone, foundational colonial registers admittedly laid the groundwork for much of what was later published (e.g., prominently, Ilídio 1964 about Santiago Island). Some authors were more critical and judgemental:

[22] When I was on the islands of Sal and São Vicente, my eyes were dry and red. Then, locals explained to me to be careful of the dirt that the wind blows around because even locals get eye allergies quite easily when it is windy in Cabo Verde and have to apply eye drops.

> *A alimentação inveterada da população de S. Nicolau, como do resto de todo o arquipélago parece difícil de alterar, mas também nada se tem feito para o conseguir. Se lhes falta o milho e o feijão, passarão fome, embora possam ter outros alimentos que poderiam utilizar. A falta de paladar associa-se à ignorância*. (Nunes 1962: 38, concerning São Nicolau Island).

Other authors, especially those who publish more recently, tend to observe that farmers back then only had the chance to vary their diet with vegetable, some meat and very small portions of fish when it was environmentally favourable. They also tend to sympathise with the rural population that was largely neglected by the colonisers and administrators in the city. Obviously, what was popularly interpreted to be an "economic" problem is contemporarily as a social, cultural and political *problématique*.

In another seminal colonial-era contribution, the sonic memories of food are just as relevant as the visual memories of it. The pair o *pilão e o moinho* evokes the following memories:

> *Com os alvores do dia, quem prestar atenção aos ruídos das casas ainda meio adormecidas ouvirá, antes do tagarelar dos meninos, o bater cavo e monótono do pilão. Esta cadência, tão tipicamente africana, há-de prolongar-se pelas primeiras horas da manhã, enquanto se prepara o milho para a "cachupa" do dia; mas o ouvido atento poderá discernir, nos intervalos do compassado bater, outro ruído mais apagado, macio e contínuo. É uma ou outra mulher que, agachada ao pé do moinho de mão, faz a farinha para as papas e bolos*. (Ribeiro 1997: 146, first published in 1960, with regards to Fogo Island)

There are many more island-based contributions, already referencing the above foundational works, e.g., São Nicolau (A.P. de S.D. Teixeira 2004; Lopes Filho 1996), Boa Vista (A.G. Lima 2017; Kasper 1987), Santo Antão (Ferro 1998), Maio (M. de J. Silva 2018), Santiago (J.J.º. Monteiro 1974). There are also sectorial contributions on fishery (Secca 1945; Secretaria de Estado das Pescas 1985) and technical publications on plants and fruits (Simões 2016; INID, n.d., n.d.).

Within agriculture, subtle problems interest the academic community. Rural farmers rely on domestic labour, depend on kin and make use of reciprocity schemes, called *Djuda* and *Junta-mon* in Kabuverdianu (Abreu 1985), comparable to what happens among farmers in other places (Sabourin 2011). Women and intrinsic working of households have always been

fundamental (Depraetere 1983), even when women did not have equal access to land resources or equal say in a range of matters (M. Cardoso 1988). Many more have explored the economic and political problems of farming. As Langworthy and Finan rightly put it, the various pieces form an "agricultural resource-management and policy puzzle" (1997: 11). The archaic, colonial-era patterns of land use and land tenure, and the resulting inefficiencies and inequalities affecting the disadvantaged segments of Cabo Verdean society were reasons for agrarian reforms (Furtado 1993). Cabo Verdean agriculture has to do with political priorities, policy goals and public actions and international cooperation and aid (refer, for example, to Tavares 2005; Pacheco de Carvalho and Miguel Monteiro 2012; Vaia dos Reis 2000; Estêvão 1989, 1999). Many are concerned about the food security of Cabo Verde, a popular theme for master's theses in agronomy (e.g., Maicam Monteiro 2012; Manuel Fortes Monteiro 2012; Vieira 2015; J.C. Silva 2009). The definition of food security is as follows: "In its simplest form, food security means that all people have enough to eat at all times to be healthy and active, and do not have to fear that the situation will change in the future" – the concept can be applied at global, national, household and individual levels (Katz and Weaver 2003a: 12). Famine is the "worst manifestation of food insecurity" (p. 13). While the concept of "food security" has been around since the 1970s and never went out of fashion, its contextual meanings evolve, and the way we think about it swings back and forth like a pendulum (Maxwell 2001). Accordingly, there were times when "food security" was studied more at the global and national levels than at the household and individual levels, and vice versa. There is also the competition between the production and consumption perspectives on food security. Furthermore, the priority was once food *per se*, then it became a livelihood debate and later graduated to a sustainability discussion.

For the perusal of Cabo Verdean officials and other technicians on the ground, Temudo (2008) evaluated rural development on Santiago Island in Cabo Verde, situating herself between rural sociology and ethno-agronomy. Like other studies conducted in Guinea-Bissau, she gave precedence to the social actor. Note her explanation:

> *Este livro é o resultado da investigação realizada no quadro da componente etno-agronómica, área disciplinar que agrega e cria sinergias entre o saber pluridisciplinar agronómico e objectos de estudo (como o conhecimento local, os processos de selecção,*

experimentação, adopção e difusão de inovações pelos agricultores, entre outros), técnicas de investigação (observação directa e participante, biografias) e abordagens características da antropologia social (como a orientada para os actores sociais). (p. 3)

The same social and economic actor-centred approach was endorsed by Couto (2010) in his ethnographic work, also in rural parts on the Santiago Island. He criticised neoliberal modernisation theories and used economic and social development theories instead. His work was inserted in the anthropology of development. It focused on the adaptability of rural farmers and uncertainties in globalisation. Farmers, especially family chiefs, were considered by Couto to be the managers of scarce resources. He was interested in the capacity, or the lack of it, of these decision-makers to innovate and adapt to new times and challenges. One may venture to say that, for geographical proximity and shared histories at some points in the past, some studies of Cabo Verde tended to resemble the rural studies of Guinea-Bissau (Davidson 2012, 2009, 2010; Temudo 2006).

While the economic significance of agriculture for both social and economic development in Cabo Verde was long established (Murteira and Abreu 1991), the cultural worth of agricultural hard work was also known. It must be noted that a sizeable collection of studies of food (in)security advocates the social actor. They share some characteristics: they are ethnographies, they are based on rural contexts; they highlight agency and reject the "dumb farmer" approach; they observe how farmers negotiate with their traditions, family and community values; they see the culture in agriculture; they view agriculture as performance; and perhaps most importantly, they empathise with the rural farmers. In these, agriculture, and often the growing of a certain crop, appears to define the organisational structure of society. The studies of food security, or rather food insecurity, in Cabo Verde generally agree on same common challenges and are consensual on the importance of public policies and collective actions.[23]

Having discussed all these precursory works, one can suggest that the time is ripe for a solemn "cultural turn" (Steinmetz 1999; Cloke 1997; Jacobs and Spillman 2005) in Cabo

[23] Refer also to Ana Larcher Carvalho, "Agricultura e Segurança Alimentar - Referências para Cabo Verde." *Agricultura e Segurança Alimentar* (Blog). Available at https://foodsecurity.wordpress.com (Accessed December 6, 2019).

Verdean studies, paying attention to the making of social and political cultures around the food of Cabo Verde. The Lisbon-trained anthropologist João Lopes Filho (1996, 1997, 2003, 2004) constantly includes a description of food when he discussed national and regional cultures.

Indeed, an initially challenge that a researcher would have is to arouse people's interests in his or her research. People would lament that they do not know a lot about food (*comida*). They are very sensitive about famine (*fome*), the historical importance, and past sufferings and current challenges in rural parts of Cabo Verde. It would be very different if it were about migration, as people talk about migration, which is a big part of Cabo Verdean culture, society and economy, naturally.

Then, in Cabo Verdean migration studies, some of which have been highlighted in the previous chapter, even if food is not the focus, various authors observe that food for special events is a linkage in the diaspora. While many emigrants are not sure when they would visit or return to Cabo Verde, food is a recreated constant of the past and of the present in the absence of certainty about the future. Authors who study the diaspora have included some discussions on food, everyday practices and cultural activities. For example, Bento (2015b) referred to Cabo Verdeans in Brazil and traditional food and celebrations.

To take another study, in the 1950s and 1960s, Cabo Verdeans in São Tomé had to decide if they wanted to return to their homeland based on their assessment of their different chances of success, capacities to live a better life and to re-adapt in the two respective countries. There were the following difficult decisions to make:

> *Uns ficaram por não anteverem possibilidades de conseguirem em Cabo Verde mais do que tinham logrado em S. Tomé. Muitos ficaram por lá, tinham a* ***cachupa certa****... […] uma certeza que, diga-se, acabaria com o fim do colonialismo*. (Nascimento 2008: 126, original emphasis)

Nascimento goes on to report that there were small groups of Cabo Verdeans who had already settled down and engaged in petty trade of maize, potato, etc., targeting fellow Cabo Verdeans in the plantations, or *roças,* in São Tomé. It is unfortunate, however, that those who decided to stay saw their living standards worsen and, as of today, they live a worse life than their compatriots back home. What "*cachupa certa*" means, as we interpret it in its historical context,

is most likely ready access to a wide range of food ingredients and relative easiness to nourish one's family.

Around the world, there are on-going global movements which defend the rights of those who do farm work, i.e., those who "produce real food, feed the city and resist […] necro-politics".[24] If food is attributed a quality, being real or not, it is because the apparently simple act of feeding has political significance. By eating "real food", we are acknowledging the producers, who mark their place in society with their activities. Agriculture, as Juliana Luiz discussed elsewhere, is the link between the urban and the rural; a movement that unites all other movements, one of the goals being to challenge the *status quo* with regards to city living, agricultural practices and social relations.[25]

[24] Juliana Luiz, "Introdução à Mesa de Debate 'Os Desafios da Questão Alimentar no Século XXI' (Workshop: Alimentos Saudáveis para a Campo e a Cidade)," Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, RS, October 31, 2016. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CInwdl4VWsQ (Accessed August 27, 2019).

[25] Meanwhile, in Greater Lisbon, Cabo Verdeans are known to farm on previously free-zone lands, challenging city hall regulations. However, the situation can be analysed from a citizenship point of view if we allow that farming is the materialisation of social and cultural existence in the face of all forms of political and administrative control: "*[P]raticadas em diferentes áreas e em terrenos que formam um mosaico de situações sócio espaciais e estatutos de lugares, as hortas urbanas são apreendidas numa escala temática mais ampla, que envolve o espaço urbano, a constituição de direitos sociais, económicos, ambientais e culturais e as formas de reconhecimento sobre como e quem está produzindo qualidade urbana, lançam os desafios de ler e compreender a diversidade e (in)formalidade desses processos que revelam e ao mesmo tempo escondem seus verdadeiros objectivos – a possibilidade do acesso à cidade, à cidadania"* (Luiz 2010). By cultivating urban farms, Cabo Verdeans are accessing the city tentatively and navigating the legal and illegal of a former colonial metropole. As a long-time grassroots association leader once said half-jokingly to me, Cabo Verdeans, especially those from Santiago, are born to farm, and when they come to Portugal, they see a lot of land not put to good use; their natural instinct obliges them to act. As he said, with a sense of humour, it is not difficult at all; for instance, planting sugar canes requires no maintenance, and after a while, the Cabo Verdeans go back to the same spot and harvest sugar canes effortlessly, and they may make as much *grogue* as they want.

Food and Foodways Studies and African Discussions

Colonial studies tend to be very strict in categorisation (e.g., Bervoets and Lassance 1959). Very often, the presentation of the history and culture of food and drink in Africa is done rather mechanically. Given that a single staple crop from a limited selection tends to dominate, and that there are principal sources of food that characterise certain groups, we have plenty of examples of research structured in parts by plant species, geographical division, historical period (indigenous vs. foreign imports), that resemble encyclopaedic entries. These, obviously, are not enough. Contemporarily, we are talking more than just daily meals, customs, traditional practices, consumed quantities, nutritional values, diseases and deficiencies, typologies of edible fruits and plants, animal species, etc.

Hunger has moulded African history in important ways, and non-Western histories demonstrate very well how nutrition mediates Man's relationship to the environment (Curtin 1985).

The promotion of the study of food as African history has major French contributions.

> *En Afrique comme ailleurs, ceux qui sélectionnent, préparent e mangent déclinent leurs appartenances, disent leur statut, leur identité, leurs aspirations, bref s'inventent et inventent leur rapport aux autres, à travers les gestes les plus quotidiens, les choix les plus contraints, les goûts les mieux ancrés.* (Chastanet, Fauvelle-Aymar, and Juhé-Beaulaton 2002: 14)

What is more, food history has the potential of conveying scientific knowledge beyond academia and connecting with a bigger audience (Pilcher 2012).

Traditionally, in Anglophone and Lusophone traditions, there are very rare instances of the study of food per se. Food Studies, as a field of academic research, is a modern development of the 1990s, when researchers used very diverse methods to study "the historical, cultural, behavioral, biological, and socioeconomic determinants and consequences of food production and consumption"; it congregated what had already been done in traditional disciplines (Katz and Weaver 2003a). For example, the term "foodways" was popularised by Don Yoder, a folklorist, in the 1960s to refer to "the entire range of food habits, behaviors, customs, and

cultural practices associated with food consumption" (p. 16) or "the systems of knowledge and expression related to food that vary with culture" (p. 29). Foodways represent how people feel, think and behave about food (Simoons 1974). In their literature review, Mintz and Du Bois (2002) organised a list of anthropological food studies under the headings "food and social change", "food insecurity", "eating and ritual", and "eating and identities". [26] Food studies is an interdisciplinary field with cross-cutting themes; produces credible knowledge about humans and human society; and is not mere kitchen studies (Debevec and Tivadar 2006) is to no small extent promoted by anthropologists and/or neighbouring specialists who are very particular about details (Counihan and Van Esterik 2013; Ashley et al. 2004; Hamada et al. 2015; Civitello 2008), who recognise that food is an analytical lens through which researchers make social reality observations, present or historical (Maciel 2001; Perez 2012; Sobral 2007; Domingos, Sobral, and West 2014; Counihan 2004; Counihan and Kaplan 2005). The social and anthropological sides of food are very prominent in the literature. While conventional African/Africanist works continue to be largely rural-based, new research are increasingly concerned with urban realities and the story that food tells about life on the peripheries (Flynn 2005), yet others base themselves on regions or communities more generally (Highfield 2017; Gélard 2010; Edge, Engelhardt, and Ownby 2013). Jack Goody (1982, 1998), who wrote profusely about food, promoted inter-understanding between anthropologists and sociologists and between geographical regions. He asked: "Why are traditional African cultures largely lacking a differentiated cuisine, even in great states with differentiated political structures? What are the conditions for the emergence of a high and low cuisine?" (1982: 1). He felt the need to study cooking as the total process of food comparatively because he was dissatisfied

[26] According to yet another view, although discussions about food are found in many well-known anthropological works, the anthropology of food itself used to be peripheral. In the 2017 Summer Course *Comida, Cozinha e Cultura: Uma Introdução à Antropologia da Alimentação* at the NOVA University of Lisbon, Joana Lucas explained that there had not been many monographs with food-centred themes and/or approaches in the field of anthropology until the late sixties or seventies. This specific summer course ran through five days and reviewed a wide variety of themes: food and national identities; body, memories and the senses; food, heritage and tourism; food, diaspora and migrations, etc. *Comida, Cozinha e Cultura: uma introdução à Antropologia da Alimentação*. Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 10-14 de julho de 2017. http://www.fcsh.unl.pt/escola-de-verao/cursos/copy_of_comida-cozinha-e-cultura-uma-introducao-a-antropologia-da-alimentacao

with “one formal account of the ‘African cuisine’” (p. 2). Goody campaigned for a comparative sociology approach that combines the time dimension and the space dimension; brings back the use of historical and comparative data; and captures change and continuity: “Above all I am concerned with the existence and emergence of internally differentiated cuisines, which I see as related to the contrast between the ‘food-ways’ of Africa and Eurasia” (p. 38).

The economic and political sides of food also deserve our attention. For a long time, food meant agriculture, and often food was just commodities for many researchers. And so, in economic geography, the production of food was studied. The approaches were influenced by neoclassical economics. Then, scholars in agrofood studies started paying more attention to the food chain and to the side of consumption. This trend accompanied the popular rise of political economy approaches. Post-structuralism and post-modernism theories influenced the field. The “cultural turn” in social sciences made yet another impact. From there, economic geography became cultural economic geography. A problem that arises from cultural essentialism is forgetting basic socio-economic and political issues concerning inequalities and access. Therefore, some authors think that reconnections, or rather new connections, are needed (Winter 2003; see also Baldacchino and Clark 2013; Head and Atchison 2009; Cosgrove and Jackson 1987). The Food Regime approach is, for many, too structural and not easily usable. From the state to the market, to the farm, and back to the state, academic interests have bounced back and forth (Pritchard et al. 2016). In the critical review of Pritchard et al., Food Regime researchers are preoccupied with the causes of instability and the possibilities of stability; the tendency, though, is to gradually redirect the research focus from the state to the market and eventually to the field.

Scholars of Africa have been slow to recognise the opportunities of looking at food as a nexus of transformations, and historians, among others, have been wary of topics such as food consumption, which are not clearly defined, according to Jeremy Rich (2007), who re-examined the colonial encounter and tied together issues of cultural and economic change to ask how and why colonised people in the Gabon Estuary came to consume European goods and incorporated foreign consumption patterns into their own lives. In order to understand locals’ and foreigners’ expensive lifestyles, the social disdain for agriculture and rural people’s difficult livelihood, he felt the need to draw broadly articulated social meanings of the slow change of food

consumption and supply in colonial Libreville, the capital of the Central African nation, and to trace back to the French colonial neglect for agriculture. At the turn of the century, almost nothing was made in the city; over two-thirds of food came from outside Gabon, i.e., from a large region and not the immediate neighbourhood. For instance, vegetables came from Cameroon, sausages and wine were imported from France, while manioc and plantains were scarce. Rich understood that changes in the contemporary Libreville diet were part of larger urban and rural changes in the Gabon Estuary. He identified instances of appropriation, borrowing and negotiation by Gabonese townspeople. Local food customs did not disappear completely. He urged other scholars of Africa to examine foodways and food supply in normal times, observing persistent but slow transformation, and not only in times of crisis or to register how they disappeared or were eliminated. To understand why Gabonese come to eat and buy food as they do today, we shall allow that:

> […] The histories behind their meals are testimonies to the panoply of economic and cultural links to Europe and the Gabonese interior. Townspeople created a style of living that embodied local concerns and Libreville's manifold international connections. City residents of distinction have preferred to buy rather than grow or catch their own food. This decision alternately puzzled and angered generations of urban planners determined to build a workforce willing to follow the dictates of employers and officials. The daily meals and shopping habits of urban Gabonese reflected a new sensibility that gradually spread into rural areas of Gabon. The culinary practices of Gabonese people emerged from a series of struggles and negotiations among townspeople, rural producers, European entrepreneurs, and the colonial state. (xi)

Indeed, there are two approaches to studying food as a topic in African history, which is in effect world history. Every single ingredient enables the readers to travel around the world over an extended period of time (Wilk and Barbosa 2012; McCann 2005; Scott 2017; Albala 2011). The mutually dependent and constitutive relationship between local food, global trade and international gastronomy is one of continuous entanglement from the colonial to post-colonial times (Wilk 2008). In one case, by recording and gauging people's memories of food and of curries, Meneses (2009) revisited the colonial past of Mozambique, evaluated the relations between the Portuguese, Goans and Mozambicans, and assessed the exchanges of food products

in the Indian Ocean. Post-colonial theories were combined with concepts of food memories in Meneses' study.

Food is very important in contexts of development and change. "We address cultures of food production and consumption in Africa in contexts of development and change. Food is a prime locus to identify processes of reproduction and adaptation to scarcity and famine, but also to challenges of power, prestige-ranking and 'modernity' in its various developmentalist forms" – such was the short introduction to the panel "Food cultures in Africa: food production, consumption, and prestige ranking in the age of development" at the 7th European Conference on African Studies in the summer of 2017.[27] For instance, concerning Guinea-Bissau, in a discussion of food production and representation in the Bafatá and Gabu regions, Sónia Frias explained that rice is the basis of the Guinean diet, the "income culture *par excellence*". The months without rice are "months of hunger". Even when there are better irrigation techniques available to plant manioc, peanuts, peppers, chilli, and tomatoes in family gardens, traditional women do not value these as highly as they value rice or corn. What is grown in the family gardens is not considered part of a good diet and is only eaten if the women do not manage to sell them in open markets. Basing her discussion on ethnographic materials, Frias addressed the subject of the panel. She presented a socio-cultural point of view on issues around food and eating cultures, observing carefully the meanings, values and prestige attached to food. More generally, the panel promoted the rich tradition of social, ethnographic studies on food, hoping to augment the macro-pictures provided by geographers, development studies scholars or economists.

Food is not a stand-alone subject. Rather, it is good at establishing linkages, e.g., the agro-industrial food chain and the linkages to farming, environment and government in Kenya (Opondo 1997). For instance, scholars have explored the relationships between democracy, food security and climate change for our understanding of Africa's future, asking questions like:

> *[D]ans les théories du changement environnemental et du changement climatique, quelles sont les hypothèses qu'une bonne connaissance des contextes africains permet de*

[27] This panel was convened by Jon Abbink (ASC Leiden/ VU University Amsterdam) on June 30 and contained seven accepted papers relating to Ethiopia, Kenya, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea-Bissau.

> *confirmer ou d'infirmer, ou y a-t-il nécessité d'élaborer des théories africaines ? D'autre part, les réponses capitalistes à la crise environnementale et climatique en cours sont-elles les meilleures pour l'Afrique et que recouvrent vraiment ces nouveaux concepts, pour ne pas dire cette inflation de notions et approches connexes à la sémantique du développement durable : économie verte, développement endogène, développement solidaire, responsabilité sociale des entreprises, agriculture durable, économie émergente, maladaptation, pertes et dommages, approche inclusive, approche participative, genre, multi-acteurs, etc. ? (Kanté 2015: 3)*

Indeed, a plethora of instigating questions can be raised if we enlarge our conceptual frameworks.

Carvalho, Schiefer, and Dünnwald (2015) studied global dynamics, migration and food insecurity in Sub-Saharan African agrarian societies. Note:

> The relations between global dynamics and internal dynamics in African societies can be regarded from a perspective of flow analysis, as loose bundles of flows that interact with each other. These in-flows and out-flows of different origins, directions and rates are affected by bottlenecks and other interferences resulting from interaction between them, causing turmoil and other unexpected effects. These irregular, non-linear flows comprise energy, information, money, people, and material. (p. 13)

The grey confluence zone is where these forces intersect: "Research conducted at macro-level or micro-level often comes to very different conclusions and the various levels of analysis are seldom linked. The zone of confluence between the two, with its often-invisible workings, is frequently neglected. It is therefore important to try to gain a better understanding of the complex interactions between global and internal dynamics in this grey confluence zone" (p. 13). Such is their approach to understanding the interactions of local and global dynamics. Indeed, flows, directions and power relations are major elements to capture in any given process (O'Byrne and Hensby 2011).

It should be quite clear, at this stage, that most authors would recommend and themselves took an interdisciplinary approach to solving research questions. Looking at food security and the limitations of area studies, two authors put forward that the local is constituted / embodied by and constitutive of the global, and that to learn about food security requires us to take a problem-oriented approach and not an area-oriented approach (Sippel and Kemmerling 2013).

They added that, to avoid the "territorial trap" of traditional, broadly-based area studies, research should be empirically grounded. Researchers are urged to concentrate on local arenas and to explore regional social history to understand global food issues, e.g., African city food supplies, so as to understand how social and material processes play out, instead of taking mere market system, state intervention or other conventional disciplinary approaches (Guyer 1987). Coupling food with cultural studies makes food-cultural studies. The work of Ashley et al. (2004) exposes the shortcomings of structuralism, culturalism and hegemonic theory in the terrain of food and drink and blasts the supremacy of isolated disciplines and reductive understandings on a range of issues. The following is an argument for reserving a place for Philosophy in the study of food: "While philosophy does not produce bodies of qualitative or quantitative data, nor is it the aggregator of historical knowledge, the discipline's capacities for drawing distinctions, teasing out assumptions, making conceptual connections, and posing critical questions are arguably important tools to include in the interdisciplinary research projects that the study of food, by its very nature, requires" (Heldke 2014: 143). Naturally, the Heldke was referencing teachings of Western philosophers.

Whatever model a researcher uses to structure their analysis, they should bear in mind that no model is perfect:

> […] we realize that the relationship between paradigms on the one hand and individual researchers and research groups on the other is complex and problematic, with individuals or groups not always in control of their own assumptions and the theoretical and methodological implications of their work or not always willing to fully commit to one paradigm over another. Hence the need for historical understanding of our present situation. (Duranti 2003: 324)

As suggested, solid historical understanding is at the basis of a credible study, whatever model or paradigm the researcher chooses to apply.

The spatial dimension, i.e., "foodscape", will enrich the present study by giving it more perspective. "Foodscapes" is often paired with "foodways". This is the case of a collection of essays about Singaporean consumption, practices and embedded meanings (Kong and Sinha 2015). The volume includes discussions about street food, coffee shops, neighbourhood businesses, modern food production, etc. For the editors, all experiences, traditions, memories

and narratives are moulded by not only subjectivity but also spatiality.

The use of "-scape" was popularised by globalisation studies scholars, most prominently Appadurai (1996), who had his mind set on the cultural dimensions of this impactful phenomenon. He proposed at the time five types: mediascapes, technoscapes, ethnoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes. Essentially, Appadurai examines how, in a shrinking world, people come to think and behave differently, and how the media, technology, human mobility, finance and ideas can be reimagined from a broad global perspective. He used the concept of "disjunctures" to describe the uneasy and unpredictable processes that take place in a given space. Note the following:

> The critical point is that both sides of the coin of global cultural process today are products of the indefinitely varied mutual contest of sameness and difference on a stage characterized by radical disjuntures between different sorts of global flows and the uncertain landscapes created in and through these disjunctures. (p. 43)

Foodscape was not part of Appadurai's original scheme. While it is difficult to identity the creator of this expression, we can find plenty of examples of its usages. Johnston and Baumann (2010) use the "gourmet foodscape" to mean a cultural space where people with economic means, or who are dubbed "cultural omnivores", access a range of dining experiences and try different cuisines. Another study adopts the expression "ethnic foodscape", in what is an ethnic food study in America of how the American food scene is diversified and democratised by Chinese food (X. Liu 2016). Concerning "coastal foodscape", one author uses the concept to look at the relationship between changing fisheries and community food security (Lowitt 2014). This is leveraged alongside ideas of fisheries governance and restructuring, local food system, rights to food, food sovereignty, and community capacity. The author establishes the importance of fishery as a source of protein, acknowledges the contributions of small-scale fish farms, and presents a sustainability study of the region in question. Combining the above for the purpose of this manuscript, foodscape is defined as a dynamic, interactive field that witnesses and enables the exchanges of people, things, ideas and sentiments.

Based on comprehensive literature review, Holtzman (2006) asserts that a study of food, especially in anthropology, needs to engage issues of "memory". The benefit of taking memory

into consideration for this research is that "[m]emory ties anthropology to history". This is appropriate for an interdisciplinary study. We will restrict ourselves to "food-centred forms of memory". Memory contrasts with history in the sense that it is "remembering" as opposed to objectivism and scientific empiricism. Fundamental to Holtzman's working definition for "memory" is the idea of "experience or meaning in reference to the past". Memory can also be succinctly described as follows:

> [Memory] is a confluence that is powerful, yet also in many ways is indeterminate. On one hand, we have food, which maybe construed as principally fuel, a symbol, a medium of exchange, or a sensuous object experienced by an embodied self. On the other hand, memory may be private remembrance, public displays of historically validated identity, an intense experience of an epochal historical shift, or reading the present through the imagining of a past that never was — all processes in which food is implicated. (p. 372)

Meanwhile, in Cabo Verde, the world "memory" is a very frequently used word, especially in relation to history. For instance, according to information given by librarians, the National Library of Cabo Verde has been re-organising all research and published works about Cabo Verde, giving the public project the name "*Memórias de Cabo Verde*". This is why at various field visits in the past two years, the library was moving around and reordering some of its physical collection between rooms and optimising its digital records.

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CHAPTER III. Methodology

Although wide-ranging in goals and implications, this study has Cabo Verde as both its point of departure and return. Effectively, it aims to be a "meaning-making research" on Cabo Verde, borrowing the term from the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. CODESRIA introduced the Meaning-making Research Initiative (MRI) in 2017, a major, integrated tool to fund research on Africa. Interested researchers are urged to contribute to "agendas for imagining, planning and creating African futures", to commit to "the tasks of interpretation and explanation" and observe African social realities closely so as "to grapple with the tasks of explanation, interpretation and efforts to come to terms with and surpass challenges in Africa".[28]

As such, this chapter is a continuation of the previous. It builds on what was discussed about the possible contributions of an interdisciplinary, historically oriented and socially contextualised research, not only to study what Cabo Verdeans do and eat, but also how they give meanings to their experiences and stories, how this reflects on them as a people, a culture, a nation and a state, and how they negotiate representations, i.e., who represents whom and for what purposes.

The fieldwork in Cabo Verde was completed in five excursions over several years (03-04/2016, 01/2018, 03-04/2018, 07-08/2018, 01-02/2019)[29]. Meanwhile, fieldwork in Greater Lisbon was continuous (04/2015 - 01/2019). In the entire process, many life histories – fruits of Cabo Verdean or African generosity and goodwill – were gathered.

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[28] CODESRIA, *Meaning-making Research Initiatives (MRI),* https://www.codesria.org (accessed August 30, 2019).

[29] I came to know five islands personally – Sal, Santiago, São Vicente, Santo Antão and Brava – and more islands through the collection of life histories. Most islands are organised in a similar fashion. There is a major plaza with the important buildings of public services, houses of the traditionally powerful, rich and respected now turned into restaurants, shops and other commercial outlets. There is always a church in the plaza, often but not always of the Catholic Church. I preferred staying with women, knowing that, in Africa, cooking is a particular body of gendered, oral knowledge, and even when men cook, they seldom cook creatively, and they rarely cook well (McCann 2010: 9).

Here is an account of how the research on the ground started, proceeded and ended, and what it consisted of:

First and follow-up contacts: The first contact was made in 2015 through professors at ISCSP-ULisboa, who provided names of associational leaders. The first meetings took place in a cultural event at the *Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*. There, more people were known, especially female associational leaders. Through indirect introduction and snowball sampling, the circle of acquaintances was widened. Participation in associations and home visits were uninterrupted in Greater Lisbon and lasted from 2015 to 2019. The trust gained in Portugal facilitated visits to Cabo Verde because one could then stay with host families directly.

Profiles of informants: As they were not initially chosen for a particular research purpose, they were a very diverse group. The information presented in this manuscript came from mainly two typologies: (1) working-class Cabo Verdean women who have lived in Portugal for a sustained period of time and are legally and formally integrated in this country; and (2) Cabo Verdeans on the islands who were hosts, their close families, neighbours, friends and colleagues, besides a small group of distinguished individuals in their respective professional areas in Cabo Verde who granted visits/interview time.

Arrangement of trips to Cabo Verde: The five trips to Cabo Verde were planned in a way that coincided with holidays and university recesses. The shortest trip lasted one week, and the longest trip was over one month. Except for the shortest trip, there was a different host family each time so that there would be more possibility of collecting different field materials.

Methods: Field notes were mostly taken by hand. Some mind maps and diagrams were sketched alongside them. There is a sizeable collection of photos and videos.[30] Doing participant observation meant that one had to be very involved and absorbed in what he/she did, e.g., helping to fetch, cook and taste food; one also had to take part in daily chores, discussions, gatherings and communion activities. This was thought to be the best way to collect information most of the time. However, more structured discussions, interviews and focus groups were usually done with individuals who could provide privileged information, e.g., professors, curators, artists, politicians, writers and intellectuals in general.

[30] Photo-essay titled Cape Verde: Society, Island Identity and Worldviews, published with *Visual Ethnography*.

Literature and information sources: This manuscript gathers and presents secondary data of research published in different venues, found online, in bookstores, university and public libraries and personal collections in Portugal, Cabo Verde, other European countries and Macao SAR. It also engages primary data belonging to other authors who kindly agreed to uses in this research.

An Episode in Praia and the Importance of Problem Definition

In the summer of 2018, I was honoured to have been invited to Charles' home near the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Praia. He is the father of two children, a civil servant by profession but a philosopher in his heart. After lunch and over a cup of tea, he and I had a long and heated conversation about miscellaneous topics. Charles was born in Cabo Verde, emigrated with his family and was educated up to the master's in Portugal. After great exposure to the world and several frustrated relationships, he eventually returned to his land of origin for a stable and respectable employment and a home. Charles is very scrupulous about logics. He reads a lot about Western and Eastern philosophies. At one point, he urged me to explain my research project so that we could discuss over it. I obliged him, saying that I was studying the "food culture" of Cabo Verde, that I would revisit the history and memories of famine and assess how that has affected "food culture". Charles was quite alarmed. He pointed out critically that I was not being logical and began to explain that the cause of all the problems – deaths, emigration and social ills – was the lack of food. Therefore, he thought that I should start from "famine" and not from "food culture", because that was the reality of Cabo Verde and he did not know what culture of food I was referring to. Logically, research must start with famine and the memories, not "food culture", for it was a problem, something people had to struggle with.[31] Charles also took issue with how the history of Cabo Verde is represented – and not necessarily told and retold truthfully – and how the official rhetoric is being increasingly cemented, so much so that we are less and less likely to think historically but critically.

For starters, we could talk easily about French food culture, Italian food culture, Chinese

[31] Incident recounted during an oral presentation. *Congresso Internacional Insularidades e Enclaves em Situações Coloniais e Pós-coloniais: Trânsitos, Conflitos e Construções Identitárias (séculos XV-XXI)*, FL, University of Lisbon, Lisbon. December 6-7, 2018.

food culture or Japanese food culture and there would be distinctive images of arts and exquisiteness coming immediately to our mind. Applying the same concept to Cabo Verde can be problematic. This has to do with the way Cabo Verdeans think about their culture and about their food. Effectively, most would agree that food is their tradition, but not everyone would claim that they have a food culture per se. Cabo Verde is a valuable test ground. It is an intermediate case in various aspects. On the one hand, it does not possess Italy's or France's international gastronomic reputation and creativeness; and it compares poorly with China's or Japan's ethnic food versality and mass popularity. On the other hand, it no longer faces the dire hunger problems of many other African countries; it successfully imports rather than grows a large of part of what the population consumes daily. Put this way, a large volume of food studies literature does not fit the Cabo Verdean case readily, but insights from the latter could potentially contribute new perspectives to current knowledge and theories.[32]

If I were to start my enquiry with food culture, I would be setting an agenda well above and beyond the observable reality and would run the danger of being a haughty foreign researcher. It is felt that this particular episode reminded me, again, to keep the two feet on the ground, make careful observations of the observable and verifiable, and limit myself to the central concerns of the current research.

Debate over representations

Representation is an important word for our understanding of power. For instance, African women are often neglected, and their possession of food-processing knowledge is often disregarded (Wane 2014). Being Kenyan, Wane is critical of big Western companies that evoke traditional images of maize-pounding African women exploitatively as advertisements for industrially processed production (p. 103). But then, global food habits are fast replacing local food habits in Sub-Saharan Africa, leading to rapidly increasing rates of noncommunicable diseases like diabetes, hypertension, obesity and cardiovascular diseases, so that, above all, big corporations are feeding Africans in a never-before "nutrition shift" (Raschke-Cheema 2015).

[32] Oral presentation. Session Two of the Panel "What Is Africa a Case of? Connecting General Theory and Local Contexts" organised by Elísio Macamo and Florian Stoll at the Conference of the African Studies Association in Germany, University of Leipzig, Leipzig, June 27-30, 2018.

Yet another perspective on representation reminds us that it can never be neutral. From history and past experiences, we know more about the diet of the rich and powerful than that of the common citizen (Civitello 2008). Similarly, about Brazil, the following is true:

> *[…] Nem sempre o prato considerado "típico", aquele que é selecionado e escolhido para ser o emblema alimentar da região é aquele do uso mais cotidiano. Ele pode, sim, representar o modo pelo qual as pessoas querem ser vistas e reconhecidas […] No Brasil, é o conjunto feijão-com-arroz a alimentação cotidiana […] No entanto, o "prato típico nacional", aquele que é servido aos estrangeiros, apresentado como um símbolo da cozinha nacional, […] unificador, é a feijoada. (Maciel 2001: 152)*

Maciel's observation is pertinent as it reminds us to look beyond the obvious and superficial. In some cases, we find that what is national may not be what is regular and popular. In other cases, we need to scrutinise into the discursive constructions of a particular national dish and understand the losers and winners in a struggle for representation.

As Chastanet, Fauvelle-Aymar and Juhé-Beaulaton (2002) put forward, we need to put emphasis on the human and social dimension of food problems, i.e., *l'accent sur la dimension humaine et sociale des problèmes de l'alimentation*. The research approach of Chastanet et al. combines anthropology, ethnography and history. They encourage the study of *pratiques culinaires et alimentaires* because these are believed to embody a history and represent a form of knowledge. It is, in the authors' understanding, the history of the landscape and the plants and of the economy and politics. Reflected in this history are also beliefs and representations.

Both state and private efforts contribute to shape a national cuisine (Hirsch and Tene 2013). Hummus and the consolidation of the Israeli state are inseparable. Hirsch and Tene looked at the hummus industry in Israel as a case study of the relationship between the industrial and the artisanal domains and of the decisive role of the food industry.

We also learn from the experience of a researcher interacting with rural households on Santiago Island, Cabo Verde, and how he chose to present the findings from fieldwork:

> *Ao longo deste texto, pretendi esboçar o caleidoscópio configurador do modo de existência que determina o comportamento dos agentes económicos, enquanto gestores de recursos mínimos familiares da comunidade / sociedade rural da ilha de Santiago de Cabo Verde. O "chão" (residência, família e alimentação), a água, as culturas, os animais, o mar, a*

> *moeda e o "apoio" (o modelo de acção das intervenções externas mediatizadas pelo quadro institucional) são as dimensões possíveis daquele caleidoscópio social e económico. Outras dimensões seriam possíveis, na compreensão da capacidade de auto-adaptação da comunidade / sociedade às condições estabelecidas no meio, exibindo capacidades variáveis, consoante os contextos das interioridades. Foi o caleidoscópio que pretendi construir, e não a "realidade". Esta está para além de qualquer possibilidade. (Couto 2010: 431)*

The present study is essentially a research into the exercise of power, representation and identity. One may ask how power is observable and researchable. This depends on our object, framing, theoretical and ideological orientations, and, certainly, access to information.

As a reference, Askew (2002) chose to study music in Tanzania as a means to understand nationalism free from the constraints of Eurocentric conceptions of homogeneous, contained states. She took issue with the "theoretical deafness" of conventional, text-based research, and explore the "soundscape" of the young state of Tanzania, which is the union of the Republic of Tanganyika and the People's Republic of Zanzibar, independent in 1961 and 1963, respectively. Effectively, the Tanzania we know today is "two countries in one nation". Askew presented a level field on which power is played out performatively. She joined the state and the society in one discussion and focuse on citizenship. Her ethnographically based understanding of national identities was rooted in shifting imageries; her take on national identities was fundamentally fluid and dialogic (p. 271). The contradictions found in Tanzania do not prove that it is peculiar; rather, it rightly challenges the limited explanatory power of certain Western theoretical preferences. The problem is not with Tanzania, or with any other African state, but with Academia. Note the following:

> No clear consensus on what constitutes 'Tanzania' exists nor, given the split personality of the state, should be anticipated any time soon. Having two purportedly national museums, two national arts competitions, two national archives, and two ministries of national culture raises the question of what constitutes the Tanzanian nation. From the continuing debates waged in newspapers, in poetry, in Parliament, and in song, we can see that it remains an open-minded question. Tanzania is a state engaged in an ongoing search for a national identity. The active process of continually renegotiating the national is a commonly articulated concern and a conversation engaged in by people throughout the country. (p. 292)

Some statist theorists are missing out because they are waiting for "neat, unilineal, top-down transmissions" of what Tanzania represents when in fact the Tanzanian identity is a work in progress, in "constant and continual flux", and negotiated by more members in society than just state agents, who do not always take the side of the state (p. 293).

It is, therefore, important to capture inside-out perspectives on a subject. Redy Wilson, a Cabo Verdean academic who has engaged working-class young people on Santiago Island over the decades, is of the opinion that international organisations and consultants play a decisive role in deciding what to feature agenda-wise in the global political arena. Giving an example, they largely determine what is cultural heritage and what is not; and in his words, "they arrived in Cabo Verde and said this was cultural heritage and that was not". From his point of view, the power to decide what matters and what does not is often undemocratically distributed.[33] One way to counterbalance possible institutional biases is to prioritise people's experiences and go beyond the smokescreen of generalisation.

A study of food, related practices, engagements and politics will contribute to our understanding of the intricate relationships, organisation and social, cultural and political specificities of Cabo Verde.

[33] Personal communication, Lisbon, November 2018.

Sociology of Translation, Views on Society and the Basis for a Socio-Cultural Study

The nature of "society" is of importance to this study, justifying thence the work of understanding how one conception leads to and affects research results.

The sociology of translation came into being in the 1980s in the field of science and technology. Early scholars were interested in tracing the "hows" of inventions, even if they did not stipulate the "whys" of the development. These changes and innovative disruptions were not some magical works of God or the great feats of ingenious men. The sociology of translation was initially an approach to study power, especially how power relationships were structured by science and technology (Callon 1984). Callon explained his proposal in the following details.

It traces a process of change and the settlement of controversies in phases: emergence, development and closure. It understands society as uncertain and disputable. Of the many different versions of social and natural worlds, only one will eventually win over the others. There is no prescribed grid of analysis because, essentially, the researcher follows human and non-human actors who build and explain their world. Society and Nature are intertwined. The researcher finds himself or herself in a complex web of interrelationships wherein actors with varying capacities and success engage one another.

Callon takes snapshots of new social relations in the making. "Translation" is the sum of the many moments of this busy process. There are several specific terms for the complex interactions: problemisation, *interessement*, enrolment and mobilisation. Problemisation describes how people identify an indispensable question, associate, assume an identity and know what they want. Interessement is when people are locked into place; to be interested is to be in between or interposed. Enrolment is the attribution of roles, making sure that people accept them. Mobilisation is becoming representative, speaking and acting in other people's names and silencing those who are represented. There is no guarantee of success, as controversies may end up in dissenting revolts or betrayals; on the contrary, there is much uncertainty and unpredictability.

Luckily, the researcher does the post-mortem, studying the visible and plausible relationships only after the event. As such, this approach was defined as a "methodological

choice through which society is rendered as uncertain and disputable as nature, reveals an unusual reality which is accounted for quite faithfully by the vocabulary of translation" (Callon 1984: 222). One advantage of the sociology of translation is that it does not require change of analytical framework to fit the actors; no distinction is made between micro-actors and macro-actors; macro-actors are not more difficult to deal with than micro-actors (Callon and Latour 1981). The social is a very peculiar movement of re-association and reassembling. Researchers will search for actors and actions that account for the longevity and growth of a particular association between entities. What a researcher does is to use the sociology of translation to reassemble social connections, while it is not his or her job to stabilise the social on behalf of the people he or she studies (Latour 2005, Latour prefers the terminology "Actor-Network Theory"). What we find is not a stable society but a society relationally stable, and while sociology tends to find the *whys* of events, researchers may be better positioned to find the *hows* with the approach (Law 2009; he gave the approach a different name: material semiotics). As example, Law combined two narratives to explain how the Portuguese generated a network that allowed them to control half of the world. On the one hand, there is the political and economic history, involving spices, trade, wealth, military power and Christianity. On the other hand, there is the maritime history, including technology, innovations in shipbuilding and navigation. As such, Law illustrates how two strands of explanations are complementary in explaining the Portuguese maritime dominance.

Furthermore, the case or the field should never be considered as an example which merely illustrates or applies established theoretical principles; it should tell us something new that makes application difficult or problematic (Barry 2012). The approach is a champion of qualitative research, "embedded in a tradition of empirically dense qualitative case studies, which detail how actor-networks get formed, how they are made to hold themselves together and how they fall apart over time" (Passoth and Rowland 2010: 826). The sociology of translation is particularly useful for this research in conceptualising society, identifying research questions and approaching people.

With reference to the above and incorporating afore-discussed theoretical aspects, there are human and non-human agents who deploy natural, material and discursive resources to constitute, construct and maintain their dominance. In this creative social process, there are

initial ideas, representations, debates and struggles. To succeed at translation means that a small number of representatives have been successful at making meaningful social worlds. As one pioneering research took care to clarify, Actor-Network Theory has very little to do with social network studies even if its name seems to suggest that it does; researchers who apply ANT conscientiously are most concerned with social relations among humans, or to be precise, the social relations of individual human actors, as the Theory had the original intention of offering an alternative to global concepts that over-emphasise the roles of institutions, organisations, states or nations (Latour 1996: 369). This is one more reason to stick to the original name, sociology of translation, and without capital letters. In fact, when institutions are over-emphasised and when we only care about what is in global scale or pertaining to transnational group research projects, then we run the risk of glossing over the processes of exclusion of individual farmers, their families and communities; this applies to both the Global North and the Global South (Carvalho and Schiefer 2015).

But then, there are controversies around the approach. The sociology of translation is similar to the highly regarded "entitlement approach" of Amartya Sen in that both neither form a theory nor predict when famine will happen, who will suffer from famine or when there will be a success story; both are non-theories. The concerns of Amartya Sen are, above all, if households and individuals can acquire food, and what forces determine what bundles of commodities they can acquire. When economists search hurriedly for simple, instant, overarching answers to famine, they tend to neglect dangerously the acquirement issue with all the exchanges, influences and variations in play (Sen 1990: 35).

Attempting to build on the entitlement approach, Flynn (2005) presented a study of the provincial town of Mwanza, Tanzania, based on anthropological fieldwork from 1993 to 1994. Her study enlightened us on how people fed themselves in the early 1990s, prioritising individual perspectives, personal accounts and social relations. She believed that Mwanza represented many struggling provincial cities in poor, African countries, which were urbanised but did not have grocery stores, supermarkets, delivery services or other serviceable facilities or conveniences that Americans took for granted. The stories she told were of urban survival and food provisioning, for she wanted to give a more "personal and qualitative side of the economic process" (p. 17).

Additionally, Spink and Spink (2017) reviewed the developments of research on the everyday, which they classified in "three turns". The first turn took place in the 1960s to 1980s, when researchers began to take the "lived-in world" seriously. Social psychologists, for instance, went out of their laboratories and headed for streets, communities, fairs, factories, education institutions, psychiatric hospitals and prisons (p. 593). In anthropology, there were important theoretically developments with regards to the centrality of the everyday living. The accumulation of individual scholarly efforts gradually contributed to a change in mentality:

> *O resultado desse burburinho de autores e estudos foi a concepção de um cotidiano muito mais rico em variedade e em acontecimento, mais compatível com a discussão acerca da sociedade vivida*. (p. 594)

The second turn was joined in by geography and social theories on places and territories. The added dimensions of "place" and "time" opened new academic horizons:

> *A virada para o lugar e, consequentemente, para um olhar de médio alcance, trouxe para os estudos sobre o cotidiano uma densidade de possibilidades e, em tempo, outras conexões*. (p. 596)

The third turn, which is happening now, sees the everyday as networks or associations between humans and non-humans. Two added characteristics are "heterogeneity" and "multiterritoriality", thanks to the Action-Network Theory (i.e., sociology of translation) and new insights from the field of geography. Note the following:

> *Para a Teoria Ator-Rede, a noção de rede é mais próxima à de rizoma, na acepção de Deleuze e Guattari (1995): ao invés de pensar em superfícies (bidimensionais) ou esferas (tridimensionais) propõe-se refletir em termos de nódulos que podem ter tantas dimensões quanto são suas conexões. Ou seja, são definidos por sua característica fibrosa, aramada, capilar, mais do que em termos de níveis, camadas, territórios, estruturas ou sistemas. Desfazem-se, assim, certas dicotomias típicas de "redes": longe/perto; escala grande ou pequena; dento/fora. O que resta são conexões – articulações entre elementos híbridos.* (*apud* Spink and Spink 2017: 599)

The above authors concluded that place is a fluid notion and the localities that make up a place

are linked together in equally fluid ways.

James McCann (2010) forsakes the easier, conventional approach to study daily struggle for sustenance e.g., in famine-stricken Ethiopia, Niger or Sudan, and takes another approach which views food as a creative composition, the core of all human cultural expressions. McCann is a self-named food scholar who explores the deeper meanings of food and cooking in African history, his manuscript *Stirring the Pot: A History of African Cuisine* being by far the most encompassing introduction to African cookery. McCann is of the opinion that there are cuisines among African cultures even if not all African nations have a distinctive, coherent cuisine of their own. Additionally, his book demonstrates that global contacts play a central role in forming Africa's foods over the last half millennium. Common to all the countries he is interested in – Ethiopia, southern Ghana, Senegal, southern Nigeria – he finds evidence of the adoption of world edible staples and ingredients such as bananas, maize, cassava, Asian rice, capsicum peppers, spices, herbs and fruits, which add to indigenous African grains, namely rice, sorghum, millet and teff. Coincidentally and importantly, the presentation order of McCann's work resonates with the sociology of translation of Michel Callon. The author starts with a small circle of the home, then proceeds to a bigger circle of market activities and extends to an even bigger circle of political events of power display. His observations go from the small to the big; in other words, his view is expansive. McCann, in effective, starts with what was most significant in food terms in local African contexts. This is very sensible because until relatively recently people in Africa grew their own food on family ground and raise livestock and animals close by. Their cookery followed the four seasons and the natural order of activities and things. Meanwhile, the selling of food – including restaurants and market stalls – did not exist before the twentieth century in Africa, except for Ghana (McCann 2010).

Felwine Sarr – who co-authored the report which the current French president Emmanuel Macron used to back up his calls for restitution of African heritage to their rightful places and caused a storm in Europe and major controversies around museum collections in the West[34] – regards society in the following terms:

[34] The report, in English translation, is titled "The Restitution of African Cultural Heritage. Toward a New Relational Ethics", which Felwine Sarr wrote together with Bénédicte Savoy, November 2018. For impact in Portugal, see Gustavo Costa and Christiana Martins, "Angola wants its dolls back." Originally published in *Expresso*, December 8, 2018. English translated available at *BUALA*.

> *Faire société humaine, et plus largement construire une société du vivant est le défi de notre époque. Édifier une société qui reconnaît tous ses membres en élargissant le spectre de ceux qui appartiennent à la communauté aux étrangers, aux espèces animales et végétales, aux ancêtres disparus, à la Terre-Mère, à ceux qui ne sont pas encore là. Cette notion élargie de la société nécessite de repenser les figures du semblable, mais aussi les questions de l'altérité et de l'appartenance. Elle appelle à un élargissement du politique et a pour corollaire de repenser notre manière d'habiter ce monde.* (Sarr 2017: 16)

Sarr's understanding of society deserves our attention. He is particularly interested in "human society" or "humane society". His notions are broad, for society should include also the Land, natural elements and living things; and there are the living and the dead. Following his rationale, belongingness is human and supra-human. We should enlarge and integrate our imagination of the human and the social. This definition of society is particularly suited to interpret pan-African realities and popular philosophies. It is also in unison with the sociology of translation, for both are descriptive but non-prescriptive. The former complements the latter by softening the angles of the network conception of social changes.

As in Nature and in non-human actors, the physical and geographical aspects of our object of study are not to be overlooked. If ever human culture and history are constructed and society formed, they are done so upon a certain site, solid and firm, even if this is subsequently transformed. Note the following about the processes of domestication of landscape through language and history, discussed in the book *Life as a Hunt: Thresholds of Identities and Illusions on an African Landscape*:

> ["Landscape"] reflects the broader intertwined nature of cultural and ecological processes. "Landscape" extends beyond the natural and social debates of transient outsiders to include surroundings that local people recognize, experience, extract resources from, and understand more broadly in terms of their own welfare, livelihoods, and identities. These relationships are local (*in situ*) processes, absorbed into one's being by living within particular place over time, learned through affiliation and practice […] People craft landscapes through their experiences within and engagements with the world around them. Some local residents (more so than others) know the plants, the animals and their movements, and the sources of water, building materials, and various foods as well as the "powers of place" contingent upon their roles and experiences. As they continually interact

http://www.buala.org/en/to-read/angola-wants-its-dolls-back

> with these elements, relationships become embedded in historical promptings, local lore, and meanings. (Marks 2016: 39-40)

Mark's work prizes the local view over the outsider view. He sees close and multidimensional connections between material structures and human/cultural constructs.

Research Problem, Objectives, Questions and Information Strands

At a given point in time, there are societies where the abundance of food and excess of food choices are normal; there are also societies where food scarcity is a serious problem that causes major disruptions in people's daily lives and endangers the stability of the socio-political system. How about societies in between? There are places where people no longer spend the better part of the day worrying about three meals a day but cannot still afford to waste food. How do we understand and theorise these people's relationship with food?

Fig. 3-1 Public art illustrating the Cabo Verdean flag with the addition of a woman, pestle and mortar using many plastic bottle caps, photo taken in the neighbourhood of *África 70* on Sal Island, 2016.

It is important to note that conventional studies about Cabo Verde have their limitations. Surveys of droughts and famines are historical; inquiries into resilience and coping strategies are rural; and studies of cultural identities are diasporic. Using the sociology of translation in an integrated but critical spirit will enable the present research to bridge the divide between the

past and the present; between famine and food; between the people and the government; between Nature and culture; and between Cabo Verde and the rest of the world.

The research problem is thus defined: We ask how the memories of famine and agrofood experiences have mediated the constitution, construction and maintenance of power, culture and identities in Cabo Verde, understanding that human and non-human agents deploy natural, material and discursive resources in a process that amounts to a continuous assemblage of the social.

Following this definition of research problem, the specific objectives are:

- To characterise contemporary Cabo Verde born out of a specific historical past, integrating history, memory and cultural manifestations;
- To observe how Cabo Verde developed politically and socioeconomically, which requires paying special attention to the urban-rural links and exploring how modern urban lives are organised on the islands and how urban living shapes people's relationship with food and with rurality; and
- To assess the dynamics and participation of various actors on the transnational foodscapes of Cabo Verde, investigating more broadly the construction and appropriation of Cabo Verdean identities on the one hand, and probing more closely the creativeness and frictions in the adoption and incorporation of modern industrial foodways on the other hand.

So, we put forward the following questions:

- How has Cabo Verde dealt with its history of hunger? What does this tell us about contemporary Cabo Verde? What are the memories of the past and how are they preserved? How do history and memories condition Cabo Verdean cultural production?
- How central are agricultural and food issues in political development, and what do we learn about the socioeconomic situation of Cabo Verde as a whole and of people individually? And if food has to do with these questions, what are the characteristics of Cabo Verdeans' relationship with food and with rurality, along what lines do people unite/divide, and to what extent is food susceptible to political opportunism?

- How global, modern, industrial or foreign is the food of Cabo Verde? What defines the national and transnational foodscapes of Cabo Verde and who are the principal actors making an impact? How is food appropriated to construct the Cabo Verdean identity and how uniform or diverse is this representation of Cabo Verde? What about biological, health, moral and environmental issues?

According to the general view of society postulated by the sociology of translation, we do not take for granted that people live harmoniously together. This is of relevance to Cabo Verde, which some say is a highly divided society. The chosen approach pays careful attention to details and is suitable for descriptive analysis and for incorporating life histories.

Additionally, the guiding ideas are organised in three parallel strands which transverse the entire work: In the first strand, one reviews very succinctly Cabo Verdean intellectual accounts of drought and famine for socio-cultural commonalities. This means distinguishing the most powerful portrayals of drought and famine that have been passed down, the fundamental problems of Cabo Verde, the memories enshrined in museums, schools and libraries, and the interventions of a crucial non-human actor, i.e. the rain, and its influence on Cabo Verdeans and their mentality. In the second strand, we see if politicians corroborate the views of the cultural elite. What history of Cabo Verde was written and how was it used in nation-building? Does Cabo Verdean history agree or disagree with Portuguese history? In the third strand, one asks what part food plays in the Cabo Verdean culture. One looks for Creole expressions and Creole worldviews. What do Cabo Verdean oral histories about food have in common? How do women, men and farmers behave with regards to food? One may look at the culture of agriculture of Cabo Verde. Why do Cabo Verdean dedicate the biggest part of their time, energy and resources to agriculture when they have the ocean around them? Additionally, one needs to take care to include some part of the 50% of Cabo Verde that is absent. How do Cabo Verdeans co-live with the land and the soil, be them in the mountains, in cities or abroad? Knowing that Cabo Verdeans embrace a negative idea of heritage, why do Cabo Verdeans constantly remind themselves and others of famine and deaths while celebrating their traditional food?

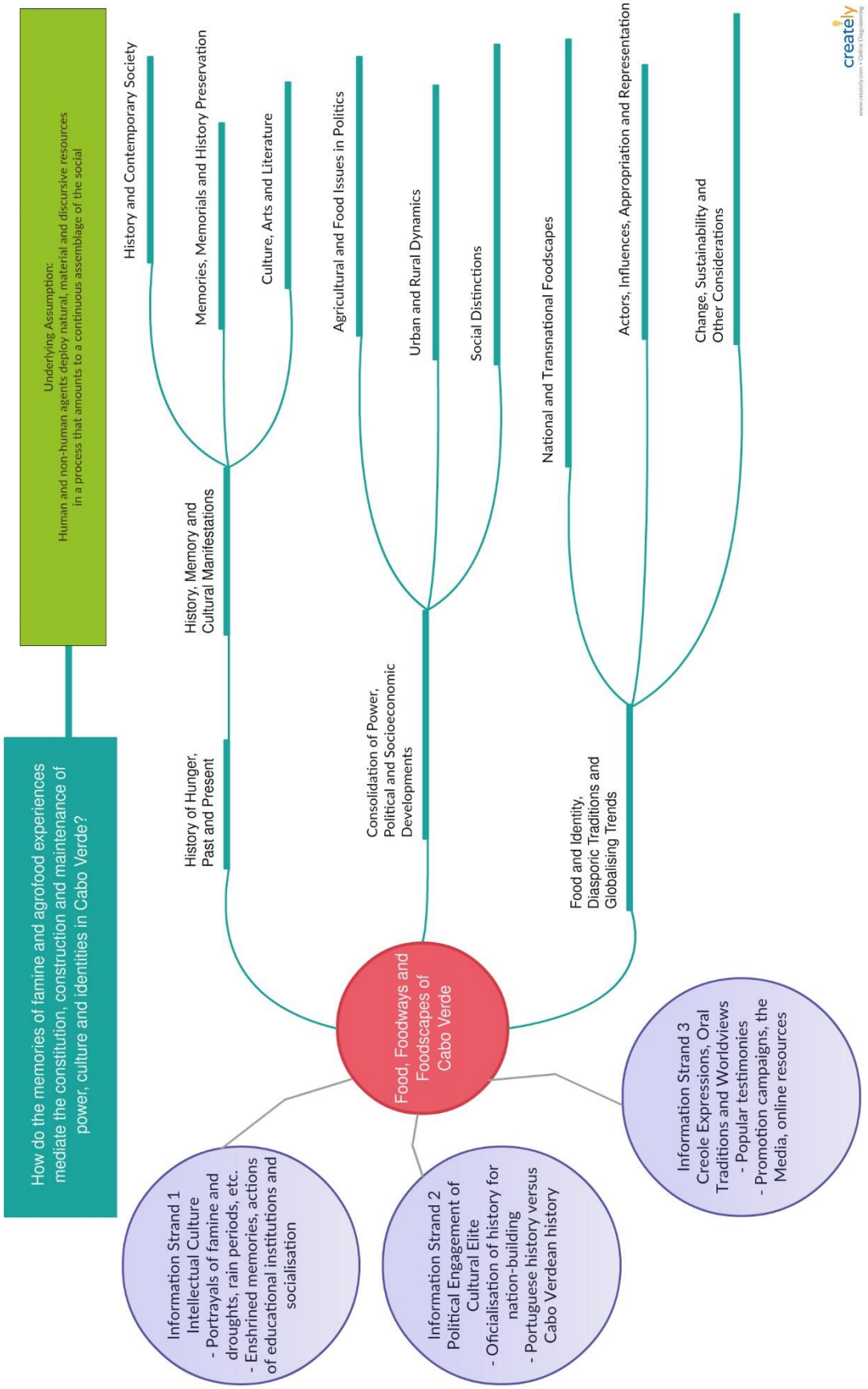

Fig. 3-2 Methodology diagram.

The specific research questions are intertwined with the three parallel strands of enquiries. They are articulated with the research problem and are explored in close association and cross references. In order to present the results effectively and coherently in a fluent text[35], the answers are not given question by question but as pieces of *one story*.

Integrating food studies (and discussions of foodways, foodscapes and memories in Chapter 2) with the above qualitative framework, the present study involves also important concepts of power, nation and state.

Sidney Mintz is widely credited for promoting the worthy research on food. His seminal work – *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* – was not only about sugar, it was also about world order, power, history and human relationships more generally. Analysing British society, the anthropologist proposed that sugar consumption resulted directly from underlying forces and the exercise of power. He explained what the nature of that power was:

> Over the course of less than two centuries, a nation most of whose citizen formerly subsisted almost exclusively on foods produced within its borders had become a prodigious consumer of imported goods. Usually these foods were new to those who consumed them, supplanting more familiar items, or they were novelties, gradually transformed from exotic treats into ordinary, everday consumables. As these changes took place, the foods acquired new meanings, but those meanings – what the foods meant to people, and what people signalled by consuming them – were associated with social differences of all sorts, including those of age, gender, class, and occupation. They were also related to the will and intent of the nation's rulers, and to the economic, social, and political destiny of the nation itself. (Mintz 1986: 151)

As such, it would be interesting to know how Cabo Verde evolved in its own history. Cabo Verde presents several contrastive aspects: the coloniser *versus* the colonised; the North *versus* the South. But then, what Mintz brought out about Britain will also be true in Cabo Verde, that is, with regards to society, politics and the nation, because food is a part of these larger, fundamental processes.

Adhering to our assumptions about the uncertain yet dynamic nature of society and of social group formations, we also understand "state" not only as state actors but also as the

[35] See *Sociedade de Bairro: Dinâmicas Sociais da Identidade Cultural* (Costa 2008).

practices that bring about stateness. This is a post-structural approach that requires a focus shift "from the action of identifiable state actors to the diverse and multiple complexes of interlinked practices that bring about the kind of stateness that we usually understand as modern statehood" (Passoth and Rowland 2010: 825), meaning that we need to simultaneously investigate relational, discursive and performative formations of entities, and sustained practices that bring about and enact stateness.

Reflections on Fieldwork: The Researcher's Double Foreign Gaze, Cultural Representations and Expectations[36]

In the past, certain journals, e.g., *Current Anthropology*, gathered the comments of readers and the replies of the author, attaching these to the end of the article itself. In one such reply, the particular author reflected on the fundamental assumptions of field research:

> […] I am not sure that 'ethnography' means the same for all of those engaged in it, especially as more and more students are encouraged to work in their own communities and engage in urban (or suburban) fieldwork that often forces them to live the contradictions of an alienated native self or of a privileged fieldworker on the way to acquiring a professional multiple-personality disorder" (Duranti 2003: 342)

We notice that this is a debate that has no right or wrong answers; rather, it shows the underlying assumptions that different academics hold dear and the common, conventional practices within a discipline, i.e. anthropology (see also Jarvie 1969).

"Indigenous anthropology", or "insider anthropology", is not without problem:

> [An] important question concerning foreign anthropology is its isolation from the "indigenous scholarly community." Richard Adams (1971) raised this issue in his article in *Current Anthropology*. However, isolationism exists among indigenous scholars and researchers as well. Anthropologists and other social science researchers trained in Western universities often feel superior to their locally trained colleagues. Because of their ability to use English and their contacts with their institutions, they are the ones who usually receive grants from foreign governments and attend international conferences. I believe that indigenous anthropology cannnot be developed unless locally trained researchers are given equal opportunities to conduct research and share the responsibilities and rewards. (Fahim 1977: 84)

Some of the challenges pointed out by Fahim in the seventies still stand today.

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[36] This chapter draws partly on a presentation/paper first written in Portuguese: "Por Outra Cultura: Representações e Expetativas Culturais no Trabalho de Campo," "In Progress 3" Seminário Internacional sobre Ciências Sociais e Desenvolvimento em África, ISEG, University of Lisbon, Lisbon, November 15-16, 2018. Seminar proceeding forthcoming.

Having said this, doing fieldwork is no longer a privilege of anthropologists. In African Studies, research on the ground is important, whatever the discipline.

One Guinean author reflected on his own experience in choosing to study an ethnic group different from his own:

> *A opção por estudar uma etnia diferente na Guiné-Bissau tem uma história que remonta há mais de duas décadas, precisamente a 1986, quando era ainda estudante na Cátedra de Etnografia na Universidade Estatal de Moscovo (Lomonossov). Quando decorria um seminário de especialidade sobre estudos africanos, o tutor do seminário, Professor Gromov, afirmou que era muito frequente os especialistas africanos que estudam África se dedicarem ao estudo das suas próprias etnias, enfatizando as vantagens e desvantagens desse tipo de estudos.*
>
> *[…] Optei pelos mancanhas como tema de investigação. Havia convivido com o grupo durante dois anos, no exercício das minhas funções de professor de ensino secundário, entre 1980 e 1982.*
>
> (Jao 2015: 27)

Jao's experience is valuable because he in effect made two decisions: first, to study his own country; second, to study a different ethnic group. In many cases, western categorisation methods cannot fully account for the diversity of Africa.

Regarding Cabo Verde, the following research spirit was noted:

> *O pesquisador que for a Cabo Verde deverá ser pessoa competente, tolerante e sem preconceitos de cor. Evitará demonstração de poder e nível de vida exuberante que afronte ou intimide o nativo. Terá a missão garantida se souber manejar qualquer instrumento musical, sobretudo violão ou rabeça e, melhormente, se aprender a língua local com relativa facilidade*.[37] (Romano 1970: 10)

Then, for foreigners like myself[38], fieldwork – or at least brief, dedicated and repeated visits – is an attempt to give more credibility to African studies and to build an African and Africanist academic community on more equal terms. The following discussion focuses on the

[37] This was part of Romano' speech originally given in the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Norte in Brazil on July 9, 1966.

[38] Some five years ago, I was new to Cabo Verde. All I knew was that it is part of the Lusophone world, taking it as one Portuguese-speaking country among several others. I first had the chance to visit one of islands in 2016. In later visits, I went further into rural areas.

intercultural aspects of fieldwork. It is based on personal episodes and highlights the issues of cultural representations and expectations.

The myth of "labour with sweat"

I remember hearing the expression "fieldwork" for the first time four and a half years ago, when I started pursuing a master's degree in African Studies at the Institute of Social and Political Sciences, University of Lisbon. The expression sounded strange to me because of the word "field", which I immediately associated with agriculture, and the term "work", which gave me the impression of sweaty labour. Together, the two words completed an exotic and romantic image of research on a distant land (cf. Amselle 2002; Hannerz 2003; Ingold 2014; Moore 1993). In fact, until today, all the sites I have visited are relatively accessible. There are other challenges, especially in terms of interpersonal relations, cultural sensitivity and knowledge of the history and society of the people in question.

Fieldwork as a research method has been democratised, and young researchers in the social sciences and humanities are trained in order to prepare them professionally for this interaction in an unpredictable human "laboratory" today. Doing research alongside a community is important, whatever the discipline. Take the example of Insa Nolte's last presidential address at the biennial conference of the African Studies Association of the UK in Birmingham in September 2018 witnessed by an international multidisciplinary academic audience. She emphasised again the importance of doing fieldwork. The field of African Studies, as Nolte (2019) explained, is not free from criticisms, and future engagements with Africa and Africans will have to be qualitatively different and more progressive if we want to make a difference. It is understood that there is a unique and close relationship between African Studies and field research, so that to fail to do one is to abandon or erase also the other. There is a feeling of anxiety and widespread concern that African Studies are losing their defining characteristics. Note the following:

> The dominance of funding based outside of Africa politicises the ostensible difference between empirical and theoretical work. Prevailing perspectives constitute those who understand the epistemological expectations of grant providers as thinkers and theorists. In the context of funding for collaborative research, this means that questions about Africa are

> framed in the context of debates relevant in those countries, but not necessarily in Africa (cf. Mamdani 1989). Once theoretical approaches are widely accepted, it is conceptually easy to conceive of empirical research as primarily confirming or illuminating aspects of such approaches. This logic encourages arrangements whereby African researchers contribute to larger research projects as research assistants or consultants who provide the relevant empirical evidence, while 'external Africanists' interpret Africa to the world, and vice versa (Olukoshi 2006, 533).
>
> (*apud* Nolte 2019: 8)

It is unclear if African Studies will be able to keep together and differentiate themselves – e.g., from the individual departments of Economics, Political Science, Sociology, Anthropology – and how "Africanists" should proceed in future decades in an increasingly competitive and divergent academic world (cf. Arowosegbe 2016; Hountondji 2009; Melber 2009; Mkandawire 1997).

African Studies and fieldwork

By studying the global dynamics and the choice of research agendas in African Studies through an analysis of the themes and panels of recent international conferences, it can be concluded that the themes of these conferences are very similar: migration, mobility, connectivity, diversity, etc. Some main observations are as follows:

> *É difícil definir Estudos Africanos, que é diferente de Antropologia, Sociologia ou Relações Internacionais.*
>
> *Por um lado, os africanistas trabalham em conjunto e juntam recursos humanos e financeiros. As conferências recebem cada vez mais comunicações e são dinâmicas. Nas mesas redondas, muitas das preocupações dos africanistas europeus são partilhadas: a importância de fazer trabalho de campo, colaborar com parceiros africanos, diversificar as fontes de financiamento, negociar com as universidades, publicar e divulgar conhecimentos duma forma ética e democrática, etc.*
>
> *Por outro lado, há agendas nacionais e outras diferenças devidos a fatores históricos, culturais e ideológicos. Na França e Alemanha, tiveram lugar duplas conferências: uma conferência geral e outra conferência paralela para jovens investigadores. Abriram mais espaços para os investigadores com menos experiência sem dúvida, mas porventura criaram uma hierarquia estrutural interna. O inglês não foi adotado como língua de condução pela Conferência de Estudos Africanos na França, mas isto foi uma exceção à tendência global de divulgar o conhecimento científico em inglês, a que alguns chamam a*

língua da ciência.[39]

Many of the concerns of European Africanists are shared: collaborating with African partners, diversifying sources of funding, negotiating with universities and schools, publishing and disseminating knowledge in a more ethical and democratic manner, the importance of doing fieldwork, etc.

Decolonisation and new epistemologies are often demanded by African scholars, Africa-based scholars, African American scholars, or foreign-based African scholars, and increasingly by Western scholars as well.[40]

Heed the following about research ethics and scholarship about Africa and for Africa:

> Ethical questions indeed arise at all levels of the research process – from question formation, resource acquisition and research design, to field methods, interpretation, analysis, and dissemination […] Perhaps the best we can do is become more conscious of the ways in which our identities, who we are, influence what we do and how we do it, so as to make more informed ethical choices—about the good and bad of what we do.
>
> […] it is in the context of profound global and systemic inequality that it seems fair to question whether studying Africa is in fact an ethical thing to do, and to consider the implications of the our identities, locations, and institutional affiliations, as well as the epistemological and methodological constraints and choices that inform such studies. What does our research and knowledge contribute to the various contexts and peoples we study? How do our research activities affect those we study? Can we develop the study of Africa so that it is more respectful toward the lives and struggles of African people and to their agendas, studies that contribute to the good of Africa?
>
> (Mama 2007: 7)

Mama points up major questions that should feature in a researcher's reflection on his/her

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[39] Oral presentation. "As dinâmicas globais e a escolha de agendas de pesquisa em Estudos Africanos: Uma análise dos temas e painéis das conferências internacionais recentes," Encontro "Os Desafios da Investigação: Questões de Método, Dilemas Éticos e Problemas Políticos", ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, Lisboa, 25-26 outubro, 2018.

[40] In France, some researchers interested in social and cultural realities in North Africa would express firm objections to the expression "African Studies" and the illusion of Africanists. As an example, Marie-Luce Gélard spoke during the *Université d'Été dédiée aux Cultures Alimentaires* in Tours in August 2018 about the legacies of colonial thinking regarding different peoples and their cultures on the continent. According to the anthropologist, Africa, African Studies, Africans and Africanists are old-fashioned European imaginaries that neither mirror nor problematise genuine local dynamics.

condition and the possible impact of his/her work.

While we cannot deny the many controversies surrounding African Studies, it is also unrealistic to dream of clean, flawless and perfect disciplines, knowing that universities serve precisely to make multidisciplinary/interdisciplinary debates possible. African Studies as a field continues to make its contributions to the dissemination of knowledge about Africa, both outside and inside Africa, more traditionally in Europe and the Americas, but increasingly in Asia as well (Li 2005). In a comparative study of research epistemologies in African Studies around the world, it is pointed out that the tradition of doing detailed and careful fieldwork and case studies is something distinctively Western, whereas in Asia, or at least in China, research tends to be cross-cutting and comparative, more oriented towards diplomatic priorities and contemporary global agendas (H. Liu 2012).

However, field research can be of limited or even exclusive access due to lack of financial resources, time, security, information, contacts, and, in some cases, motivation and courage. As it is impossible to make accurate descriptions of what field research amounts to, there are few good manuals, and these do not address all disciplinary declinations and certainly do not allay the many concerns of young researchers.[41]

Cabo Verdeans continue to be the largest African immigrant community in Portugal, inspiring significant academic studies that deepen our knowledge of community dynamics (Batalha 2004a, 2004b; Góis 2005; Évora 2011; Celeste Fortes 2011; Challinor 2015). In fact, there is a great diversity in such a Cabo Verdean community, within which there is also the presence of Angolans, Guineans and San Tomeans that hardly escapes a prolonged observation

[41] Meanwhile, there are Africanist field researchers who are neither "white" nor "black", and the literature rarely talks about them or considers their conditions. More precisely, at the moment, there are few young Chinese Africanists trained in African Studies or equivalent outside China. Yuzhou Sun, a Chinese Africanist who has recently received her doctorate in history from the University of Oxford, at the above-mentioned conference in Birmingham, confirmed the lack of Chinese experts in this respect. The few Chinese Africanists in the last few years are all young, bilingual or multilingual, who invariably give priority to field research methods. Chinese Africanists are faced with a triangle of transcontinental relations - a European research tradition, an Asian professional agenda and an African subject/object of study. It is a South-South relationship with some specificities. For example, Chinese Africanists are different from Brazilian researchers who can self-identify, given historical reasons and African American influences. It is in this spirit that the following discussion intends to focus on the intercultural aspects of fieldwork.

on the ground. One point of divergence remains to be clarified, and it is the perennial discussion that Cabo Verde is not a good African example or is a peripheral African case at best (Gilroy 1993; Fikes 1998; Laville 2000; Vasconcelos 2012). Instead of asking if Cabo Verde is Africa or not, it would be more fruitful to ask what stories Cabo Verde tells about Africa, what aspects of Africa Cabo Verde best represents, what facets of Africa Cabo Verde silences, and what the common challenges of plural Africa are.

Strangeness and familiarity

As a researcher-in-training, I asked my informants or collaborators questions. However, they were also curious about me and my culture of origin. In addition to knowing something different, I ended up learning more about my own culture and gaining another perspective. Being Chinese meant I was "new" in the field – however it is defined – both in Portugal and in Cabe Verde.[42] In Portugal, I have already been told that it is rare to talk to a Chinese person outside business, but only in a fruit grocery, shop or Chinese restaurant. In the Portuguese academia, young Chinese students are concentrated in courses in Portuguese language and culture, law and management studies. They are not very active in social activities beyond the Chinese community. Most are diligent students, content with their role as students, and seldom participate in events outside the university.

Despite the strong presence of Chinese economic and commercial interests on the main islands, a Chinese researcher who walks freely with a backpack on her back and who does not belong to the Chinese Embassy or the Confucius Institute caused a great deal of surprise. In contrast, in typical Cabo Verdean places that receive continuous media, political and academic attention, the figure of a researcher is no longer strange. This is the case of Cova da Moura, one of the most well-known and emblematic working-class Cabo Verdean community in Greater

[42] Religion has been one big culture shock on both sides. Cabo Verdeans are religious. I was often asked what my religion is. I would say I do not believe in a religion. Then, people would be rather shocked and ask me rhetorically: "Don't you believe in God?" Besides this, before slaughtering a chicken, some Cabo Verdeans should say "*Cruz, Santa Cruz*" and draw the sign of the cross in the soil and ask for forgiveness. In rural parts of Santiago, older women wear the rosery around their neck. Even in cities, some older couples prayed and engaged in a range of worship activities daily and for the better part of the day.

Lisbon.[43] The privileged informants, above all, are always prepared for national and international visits and interviews, with well-structured or spontaneous speeches. As they say in Kabuverdianu, "*nuvidadi ka ten*", or "there is nothing new", and the inhabitants carry on with their lives as usual. Almost at the end of a brief experience of volunteering (02-06/2018), a woman saw me and called the attention of the neighbours that a young Chinese was lost, which was not really true.

The question of fear

When one is afraid, nothing materialises. Here is a story that suggests that the issue of fear is something that researchers in the field need to overcome. In the context of learning the Cabo Verdean language and culture, practical sessions were organised in Cova da Moura. In other words, the students would meet at the Santa Cruz / Damaia train station, climbing the hills, in order to interview the inhabitants of the Cabo Verdean quarter best known in Portugal, also called the "11th island of Cabo Verde". At one point, I was told that a few Portuguese students and guests, especially the older ones, gave up on participating because they did not want any confusion and already had a solid idea about what Cova de Moura had to offer, and therefore did not show much interest in coming at a late hour.

If making a simple visit is difficult, fieldwork is even more so. Fear can be devastating because it is not sensible. One can be equipped with all the theories and analytical frameworks, which may well happen in any social science or humanity discipline, and not have the courage to enter the field, always postponing the empirical part of the research. This has two possible implications. First, the research is highly formalistic. This is an opportunity lost to involve and contribute to society in what one does academically. This produces a strictly specialist project. Then, chances for the researcher to grow and develop as a human being and as a cultural being are lost.

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[43] The *bairro* of Cova da Moura in the Municipal of Amadora has two sides to it. On the positive side, it is very dynamic culturally and there are several associations based in it that offer a range of social services. One notices very close relationships between the older neighbours. On the negative side, in the *bairro* and the surrounding areas, there are land ownership disputes, newspaper reportage of crimes and gang activities, and the problem of petty thefts. (Examples of authors who mention this *bairro*, see T.S. de Oliveira 2013; Pardue 2012; Cidra 2011; Batalha 2004).

Cabo Verde and its diaspora: shared history?

At the beginning of my interaction with Cabo Verdeans, I was impressed by the fact that half of the Cabo Verdean population is abroad, especially in Portugal and the United States (Carreira 1977b; Gibau 2005; Batalha and Carling 2008; Lopes and Lundy 2014), and that talking about Cabo Verde without noticing the close links between the archipelago and the global diaspora is impossible. I was moved by the conviction of emigrants of being, in their own words, "*cabo verdiano com todo o orgulho*".[44]

However, I also observed a lack of direct knowledge among second generation descendants, to the point of confusing, or even equating the reality in the diaspora with the reality on the islands. It was noted elsewhere:

> In the metropolitan area of Lisbon, the schools are more and more segregated, with those offering multicultural education being also those which cater almost exclusively to the new urban underclass wherein the new immigrant minorities locate. For the children of Cape Verdean immigrant families, frequenting the school within their *bairro* means that they will be treated as "Cape Verdean." They will be given a taste of "their own" culture, which may include they history of Cape Verde, a country they will never visit and about which they do not care the least, since their "Capeverdeaness" is a *bairro* construct and oriented to it, not to the supposed Cape Verdean "nation". (Batalha 2004: 201)

It is common to find young people who have never visited Cabo Verde, for lack of economic means or clear and urgent will. They are more attracted to travelling to other countries, both in Europe and abroad.

For a researcher, it is important to make the distinction and not make the mistake I almost made: to assume that Cabo Verde is a version similar to the one I already knew here in the Portuguese diaspora. Likewise, it is not accurate to make a simple equivalence between the Afro-Brazilian experience and Luso-Brazilian experience, or between the African American

[44] National pride, or some form of patriotism, is generally observed among Cabo Verdeans. Around 2018, a businessman, owner of Viva, a diary product company, complained about government actions unfavourable to his business and said "*Infelizmente eu sou caboverdiano*", which was broadcasted in the night news. In the host family where I stayed, the reaction was roaringly negative and critical. Blaming the disagreements between the government and his business on his personal identity was an intolerable mistake.

experience and the experience of Africans residing on the black continent. The following examples illustrate the subtleties.

In Praia, Cabo Verde, adults ask me if I am a Chinese teacher or open a Chinese shop. In Greater Lisbon, when talking to Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora, they ask me if I am a student or colleague of this or that Cabo Verdean, usually domestic helpers or cleaners. Those who are more daring seek to know if I have a husband. In volunteering work, Cabo Verdean descendants, born in Portugal, young boys, in particular, want to learn to say Cristiano Ronaldo or Leonel Messi in Mandarin. When I visited the inlands of Santiago, Cabo Verde, the kids showed comparable curiosity. But, considering the more difficult economic conditions, they wanted to learn how to order food and say the names of the ingredients in Mandarin. At an analytical level, these details may present some problems. Although they are all children of the same "*terra*" in one way or another, the experiences are different and, therefore, they have world visions that may be different.

Negotiating a more egalitarian relationship

I was definitely not the one "in charge" in the field. On the contrary, I was often questioned and had to answer questions satisfactorily. There are questions about Chinese history and social organisation that go back a few thousand years. There are also severe interrogations about the present state of Chinese political and diplomatic relations. This without forgetting the responsibility to undo popular myths and neighbourhood rumours.[45] One can understand the experience on the ground as popular diplomacy. At times, informants, or better still, collaborators, feel an obligation to give me instructions. In immigrant festivals in Portugal, I helped in the Cabo Verdean booth and helped to make *pastéis de milho* with great success. I was told, however, that I must not reveal the recipe to anyone, even my professors. In Cabo Verde, knowing that I was researching on food and culture more recently, they told me what to eat there and what to take away to Portugal.

Knowledge is more often held by both sides. As I study Cabo Verdean society and culture, the others are also aware of what is Chinese or what comes from China, taking into account that

[45] One example is the claim that Chinese people never die abroad. Several people thought so because they had never seen a Chinese funeral.

the sources of information and possibilities of interaction are different depending on the location. Curiously, people's words and actions reveal what they think about others, activating their own cultural references. Unlike what I learned in conventional textbooks, I realised that the field is much more open and modern, and I needed to take in a heavy dose of humility.

Han is the largest ethnic group in China and constitutes approximately 90% of the Chinese population. In China, anthropology was a discipline that studied Chinese ethnic minorities, so there was always a hierarchy of scientific knowledge (Smart and Zhang 2006). As a Chinese Han woman researching on Cabo Verdean culture, despite not being an anthropologist, I did my best to learn to do field research. Some people believe that fieldworkers necessarily come from a "superior" culture to learn about an "inferior" one. This is an outmoded understanding of what ethnography intends to achieve. Many Cabo Verdeans do not understand why I show interest in the culture of a country that is "*só pó e terra*" and are surprised at my frank ignorance of some aspects of Chinese culture. Learning is justified whenever there is a gap in our knowledge. All the comments have increased my sensibility to my culture of origin and other cultures.

Cabo Verdeans held certain impressions of Chinese food, "*pequenino, pequenino, mas bonito*", observing what the Chinese ate. The best-known Chinese dish consists of thin noodles with thin cuts of vegetables, eggs, fish and sometimes chilli. The typical seafood and shrimps do not appear because they are expensive on the islands. The Chinese merchants in Cabo Verde hail from Beijing, Hebei, Hubei, Zhejiang (Wenzhou), Shandong (Xintai), etc. Anecdotally, when the Chinese first arrived, electricity supply was unstable. When it failed, there was no light. Then, after some time, it came back. The exclamations of the Chinese in Creole were "*Luz já bai… luz já ben!*". This translated to English as "Light was just gone… Light just came back!" This was one of the first Creole expressions that the Chinese traders learned on the islands. Cabo Verdeans recount this now because of the joy that people would feel when the light was back. Although the electricity problem is largely gone, water is still in short supply. In the worst scenarios, water supply in Cabo Verde is not always reliable and water cuts are not rare, causing households great frustration and trouble.

Biological aspects

Fieldwork is a mental and corporal process of conditioning and self-learning. Refer to the

following:

> By 'offering' my body for local codification, I intended to achieve two main objectives that are at the core of the ethnographic experience: I was putting it to work as an operative tool for the mediation between myself and the community, this is to say, between observer and observed, on the one hand; and, on the other, I was trying to be as passive as possible in the process of my hosts' identity reconfiguration in the presence of an outsider. Simultaneously, by making my body available for cultural re-mapping by the people I was living with, I was engaging in a challenging inversion of the positioning between observer and observed. Indeed, as much as I observed I was observed and critically scrutinized and sanctioned. Most often, this process led to uncomfortable biological tensions, since the body language that I had incorporated all my life as a cultural routine was now, on the contrary, exposed as culturally inappropriate if not aggressive: using my left, polluting hand to pick food and drinks or to wash my mouth after eating or for any ritual purposes was unacceptable – so I was permanently attempting to 'amputate' an otherwise central part of my body, that would try to reassert itself whenever I relinquished control over it. (Perez 2009: 37)

Being young, female and Han influences my personal experience in the field. When studying Cabo Verdean foodways, there are instances of *malaise* and intoxication. In these situations, I must leave with delicacy and good manners. The physical and biological aspects of fieldwork deserve much more attention. Once, I visited a Cabo Verdean community in the mountains with a friend, who is already a regular and well-known visitor. We were offered *cuscuz* with fresh goat's milk for a snack. My friend, accustomed to the local diet, like eating *cuscuz* with a lot of milk. He started to eat and told me to eat a lot. I was new to the milk with a particular texture, aroma and richness. However, several hours after we left, I felt the effects, and for almost two weeks. The only relief was that I fell ill after the invitation, and so I did not disappoint my hosts or Cabo Verdean friend on site.

In another case, staying in the house of a couple of very old Cabo Verdean hosts, I noticed that they were in the habit of eating "*canja de galinha*", which was a kind of mixture of leftovers *sautéed* at dinner. The lady told me that they preferred a lighter meal that did not weigh on the stomach at night. When I spoke to other local residents, however, they said that it was not a typical Cabo Verdean or Portuguese *canja*, the way the couple cooked it. They even told me quite frankly that some people did it to save money. At first, I even found the soup prepared by the owner of the house interesting and I ate, praising the hosts for her cookery. However, day

after day, I saw first-hand how the leftover ingredients from various lunches and dinners were mixed together and the pasta melted away in an indistinct mixture. It was an unfortunate situation. The female host had real economic considerations and genuine personal convictions.

Other remarks

Some anthropologists are rather scrupulously concerned about the exact words that people use to describe local realities. This is why anthropological works are full of long quotations of direct speeches and indigenous expressions, in parentheses or italicised, with remarks of individual researchers. Wordings are not fixed and can never be perfectly translated anyway. People are not, and can never be, totally coherent with their attitude, feelings, convictions and language use. On some days, they are very cooperative, enthusiastic and careful with their testimonies; on other days, they are impatient and terse; there are yet other times when they are ironic and hostile. On the same subject, their opinions can swing between the left and the right, or between the conservative and the liberal, quite drastically. This happens often when people are not socially or ethically bound by their stances. Furthermore, depending on the personal characteristics of the researcher, the results he or she obtains can also vary significantly. What can be learned from these experiences is that we should reflect on the significances of the consistency, or otherwise inconsistency, of the information we receive.

Under the given circumstances, the islanders have learned to be close to one another, to pool their resources together and maximise their advantages. This has had significance impact on relationships, family structures and community life. Basic words developed into a highly complex system of appellations and signals, and there are plenty of examples from fieldwork. For starters, *mãe* in Kabuverdianu (or Cape Verdean creole) means "mother" but may also refer to the "grandmother" who raised you up and cared for you in your childhood, depending on the context. Then, when a child calls *avó*, he or she may mean "grandmother", but it can also be a different relative who feeds him or her regularly. In one female informant's life – whom we shall call Lizzy – the "grandmother" is in reality a different wife of the grandfather, i.e., the stepmother of her mother (with all the negative connotations in the West and East), biologically unrelated but emotionally and physically the closest female family member to Lizzy. The woman combed Lizzy's hair, washed her, sang to her and told her stories, among other things.

She was kind to a lot of children and *criou muitos netos*, meaning she raised many grandchildren from the local perspective. We should not be surprised by the fact that *avó* is sometimes great-grandmother; but considering the optimal relationship between the people involved, they prefer "grandmother" to "great-grandmother". *Tia*, which usually means aunt, causes even greater confusion for outsiders. If person A is much older than person B and cares for B as if B were his or her own child, A becomes B's "aunt". For *madrinha*, it is usually correct to translate to "godmother" based on the Catholic tradition. Despite this, a woman may be called "godmother" by many more children than her baptised godchildren in a community because she always kept her doors open so that others could come in for food, tea, coffee and snacks whenever they liked.

Rearing is far more important than blood in Cape Verde, where many biological fathers are distant from their offspring. Adjectives like "half" or "quarter" are rarely used to describe children from the same mother/raised in the same house. To take a real example, a man married a woman who already had a daughter from a previous relationship, out of wedlock. Later, another girl was born of the marriage. Over two decades, however, the couple raised and educated the two girls like sisters, who call the man their "father". As the man raised the first girl like his own, he is the socially and culturally legitimate father. No one in the community would question this father-daughter relationship. The older girl grew up into a young woman, married and had a baby son. This baby became the rightful "grandson" of the man who had raised his mother. The differences are elucidated here for analytical purposes, but in Cape Verde adoption and rearing are part of the normal course of events. In the old days, when Cape Verdeans had a lot of children, elder sisters acted as "mothers" of younger sisters. In one case, the eldest sister in a family grew up and started her own family, had a job and could not care for her children adequately. She invited her youngest sister, who was single, to join her in caring for the children. In this case, the aunt became a second "mother", and there were two mothers who raised them up.

The above bears witness to the "anthropology of the everyday". The confusing use of names in Kabuverdianu testifies to the constant structuring and restructuring of relationships in Cape Verde. Anthropologists consider relationships to be active, continuous processes in "a culture of relatedness":

> […] biology does not everywhere have the kind of foundational function it has in the West, but that the boundaries between the biological and the social which […] have been so crucial in the study of kinship are in many cases distinctly blurred, if they are visible at all. […] authors […] use the term 'relatedness' in opposition to, or alongside, 'kinship' in order to signal an openness to indigenous idioms of being related rather than a reliance on pre-given definitions or previous versions. (Carsten 2000: pp. 3, 4)

Relatedness is processual. In Cape Verde, food is an important processual aspect of relatedness. This is not to say that food itself creates and maintains relationships and holds society together, but food helps to nurture and cultivate interpersonal relationships.

There are always different ways to see the same picture. In research, it is more important to know how to interpret something and alternate the interpretations than being able to give a certain answer. For instance, why do Cabo Verdeans eat Cachupa and drink coffee? Some say the combination is strong and strengthens the body ("*dar força*"). Some say eating too much Cachupa will make one bloaty, so people drink coffee or tea. As Chinese, I felt sick eating Cachupa in the beginning and continue to feel uncomfortable when the Cachupa is too dry and lean. Liliana, a mother-of-one-son and my host, who moved from Fogo to Santiago in her early adulthood, says that she now experiences gas and gas pains and wonders if it is because she is eating more rice and is less used to the high concentration of whole beans, lentils and legumes in Cachupa.

It is hoped that this discussion has contributed to a debate on the practical and cultural issues of fieldwork. In sharing these stories, there are no exhibitionist intentions. On the contrary, I believe in the exchanges of ideas and active exchanges. Moreover, in an academic world that mainly values publications (Mason and Merga 2018), namely articles in highly ranked journals, the research process has become secondary. We know that fieldwork can be painful and frustrating because it is rare to find exactly what we expect. In writing, many details must be excluded to respect the word limit, especially when it comes to peer-reviewed scientific journal articles. Is there a more democratic and less bureaucratic way to share and discuss these details via other open access platforms? As far as African Studies and fieldwork are concerned, researchers increasingly come from different cultural backgrounds, so the simple distinctions between foreign and native or between white and black is fast becoming obsolete. There is one

final note of caution. All the information provided here has necessarily gone through my analytical lenses. In other words, the information has been interpreted, organised and presented by a foreigner with a doubly foreign gaze[46] – neither Portuguese nor Cabo Verdean – who is still learning the art.

[46] For more on "foreign gaze" from an anthropological perspective, see Rabinow et al. (2008) and Ntarangwi (2010).

CHAPTER IV. "*Quando era criança, havia muita chuva*": History of Famine and Hunger and the Impacts on Contemporary Culture and Society

Given the history of famine and hunger of this country, this chapter askes: How has Cabo Verde dealt with its history of hunger? What does it tell about contemporary Cabo Verde? What are the memories of the past and how are they preserved? How do history and memories condition Cabo Verdean cultural production? To answer these related questions, the chapter juxtaposes three strands of explanations: the historical and political, the popular and nostalgic, and the cultural and literary.

We shall begin by looking at some food design and analysing one recent popular campaign. M_EIA is an international art school based in Mindelo, São Vicente. It is a private, accredited university institute of art, technology and culture founded in 2004. It is the only higher education institution of its kind in the country and trains secondary school teachers for the artistic stream.[47] M_EIA has a food design laboratory. Fig. 4-1 shows some creative designs:

At first sight, these creations are curious. All have a modern look. Food, in small quantities, is arranged in a certain shape. The ingredients, however, are common: pork, tuna fish, rice, lettuce, tomato, carrot, green and red bell peppers, cucumber, sweet potato, yam, etc. Then, the names of the dishes are the ones Cabo Verdeans are familiar with. When analysing the artistic creations of the students, one immediately notices that the creators tend to use similar ingredients in a rather congruent logic. This is apparent in the colour combinations, food portions, shapes and overall presentations of the respective final dish. It is as if the products tell a common story.

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[47] "Acerca do M_EIA" (Accessed August 25, 2019, http://meia.edu.cv/node/1). On Brava Island at the start of 2019, I talked to an arts teacher who was among the first to study at M_EIA. He explained that his colleagues quickly found work as teachers upon graduation because they were in short supply. He also pointed out that M_EIA, the first art school of its kind, was the fruit of the campaigning of prominent Cabo Verdeans, e.g., Leão Lopes, in the cultural field who had understood the importance of arts promotion and education for Cabo Verde. See also Atelier Mar (https://ateliermar.wordpress.com/).



Fig. 4-1 *Rolinho de carne*, photo by M_eia Cantina & Food Design, October 24, 2018. *Costeleta de porco com legumes salpicados*, photo by M_eia Cantina & Food Design, October 22, 2018. *Espetada de atum*, photo by M_eia Cantina & Food Design, October 23, 2018. (www.facebook.com)

In one interesting exercise initiated by *Cabo Verde e a Sua Gente* on Facebook, on September 28, 2019, netizens were urged to complete the sentence "*Si txuba bem...*" There was a shower of responses in a matter of days, which express happiness, joy and great relief. Many foresee a lot of food (especially corn) and time to go out and make a feast. Here are some responses:

> […] *ê alegria pa nôs tudo* (Lucy Luz), *Nu ta monda cedo* (Carmo Moniz), *Terra tá fica sabi* (Eduardo Nevesmartins), *Midjo ta cria* (Bruno Dos Reis), *Deus tá djoda que assim seja* (Jose Gilmete), *Nu ta vive bem* (Claudia Laiz), *Midjo ta tén* (Imp-Máfia Kapone Almeida), *Inta marca casamento* (Angela Moreira), *N ba CV kume midjo* (Oliveira Marcelina), *Fartura na terra* (João Luis Vasconcelos Djony), *Ala ta bem Deus ta da, asagua ta tem cabo verde ta bira verde cabo verde ta bira mas sabe* (Celino Cardoso), *nu ca meste governo pa maltratano* (Claudio Do Canto Correia), *Nu ta djunta mô* (Elizito Sany Santos) […]

There are many more interesting suggestions of how to complete the sentence "If it rains…" Of the few examples selected and presented above, there are descriptive words that convey relief, gratitude, joy and hope; immediate actions, celebrations and future plans involving groups; mentions of the land, God, government; and attributions to pure luck or hard work. We know that, in Cabo Verde, one hears *sakrifisiu*, *vida sakrificadu*, *vida di sakrifísiu* very often, especially in relation to Cabo Verdean women.

The following is an example of oral tradition:

> *Mudjer, nton, po tudu ramédi di ládu. E'pega na máta tudu si limária p'el da maridu so liméntus fórti, pa maridu pode fortifika fáxi, pa duénsa dexa-l. Maridu pása ta toma so káldu galinha, galinha ku másа, kárni txubára ku bodéku, pápa ku mantega, loron ku galinha, kuskus ku leti y otus kusa.* (Silva, 2004: 38)
>
> [Literal Portuguese translation: *Então, a mulher pôs todo o remédio de lado, pegou em todos os animais na mata para dar a comer ao marido só alimentos fortes, para que o marido pudesse fortalecer-se rapidamente e que a doença lhe deixasse. O marido passou a tomar só caldo de galinha, galinha com massa, carne de cabra nova com borrego, papa com manteiga, sopa de massa com galinha, cuscuz com leite, e outras coisas.*]

This is a humorous story about a couple. The husband is lazy and just wants to eat well. He pretends he is sick. His wife takes care of him and feeds him well. The husband takes advantage of his wife, who finally thinks that something is not right and asks a healer for advice. At the end of the tale, the husband is cured of laziness, but goes mad. In translating the above excerpt, one must analyse the names of the dishes. There are various corn-based, meaty recipes. Cabo Verdeans automatically understand that these strengthen the human body because they have the necessary cultural references. In this story, it is also interesting to see how the female protagonist plays an obedient and socially correct role at the beginning, but becomes smart, thinks for herself, and gains personality at the end. Such is a story that develops around food.

Cabo Verde cannot produce enough quantities of maize for national consumption due to shortage of rainfalls. Cabo Verdeans also feed maize – from local farms or South America (Argentina) – to animals. Many shops selling animal rations operate successfully because clients find these alternatives cost-effective. People make frequent suppositions: If there were rain, there would be maize surpluses; their animals would become fat and strong; and they could also save seeds for the next season. If there were rain, they would live like in the past. Even so, people do not deny that they are resorting to the cheapest and most convenient alternatives. Their faith in their traditions, nonetheless, is unbending. Cabo Verdean nostalgia and hope in this respect are very inspiring.

For instance, Manuel N. Ramos (2003) recalls a different São Vicente. He says the following about the Municipal Market in Mindelo:

> *[...] em meados do século XIX, era uma pequena horta bastante florescente, toda cercada e no centro da qual havia um poço de água potável, com que se faziam as regas. Ali, durante o ano, produzia de tudo: milho, feijões, batata doce e inglesa, mandioca, abóbora, hortaliça de todas as espécies, além de cana de açúcar, etc. A água era abundante e nunca faltava, os tempos eram outros*. (p. 141).

He also recalls other aspects of life on the island in a different time in history.

But to see the matter from another angle, instead of studying the positive, one might as well study the negative, i.e., the "negative" heritage of Cabo Verde, or at least begin with the negative (cf. Lobo 2012, to understand how this negative heritage manifests itself in Cabo Verde in literary texts).

Cabo Verdeans have been troubled by memories of harsh times; however, these were also historical episodes that proved the perseverance of their ancestors. In effect, maize is said to be the most visible face of Cabo Verde fatalism (Almada 1998). There are plenty of references to the symbolism of maize in Cabo Verde. For instance, we know that maize is central to life:

> *O milho, pois, como o epicentro do ciclo da vida do Cabo-Verdiano e vórtice da sua dimensão de engendrador do pão. E é esse ciclo a condicionante maior de todos os ciclos de todas as outras vidas do Cabo-Verdeiano. [...] Tudo tem em Cabo Verde o peso do milho, enquanto símbolo da fertilidade da terra. (p. 69)*

In one lecture in the University of Cabo Verde, Pólo Mindelo, in 2018, Dr. Celeste Fortes discussed with a class of students about a certain communication studies project and the theme "history and Cabo Verdean culture". Fortes reminded them that people forget the past to progress; in Cabo Verde, certain *histories* of history are actively forgotten so that people could move on. Memory and forgetting are one pair. Cabo Verde, according to many, was destined to fail, gaining the name "*um país inviável*". As Fortes explained, forgetting was a strategy of national viability (*esquecimento como uma estratégia de viabilidade da nação*). The professor reminded her students to always try to learn other versions of Cabo Verdean history on the political and international front and empathise with common people who "keep their bread for May" (*guardar o pão para maio*).[48]

[48] Concerning the "politics of forgetting", selective recollection of memory, and the importance of agreeing on one story and forgetting others in order to narrate (and so to construct) the common

Around the same time, in one long afternoon conversation, António Tavares, Director of *Centro Cultural do Mindelo*, was also keen on using memories to understand Cabo Verdean culture, especially music, but he understood memories as activated consciousness to connect and alert fellow Cabo Verdeans to the moral and ethical aspects of cultural expressions. Tavares believes that Cabo Verde is the academy of comparative culture studies (*academia de estudos de culturas comparadas*) in history considering all the natural and human experiments that took place on the archipelago. Even today, he believes in comparatist studies that find communication points (*fazer culturas comparadas encontrando linhas de comunicação*). For him, Cabo Verde represents non-boundaries, new expansion, new Africa and Africa in the plural (*não-fronteiras, expansão nova, África nova, África no plural)*, not resting his case before Euro-centrists who only envision one indistinguishable African land mass. Cabo Verde should never be looked at alone – *não se encontra Cabo Verde dentro mas por comparação* – and that researchers should not be afraid of the duality of Cabo Verde, referring to Mindelo and Praia. One major function of food, music, time or travel is to recall certain things. He also gave some words of encouragement, saying that studying food is to discover the boundaries of Cabo Verde (*descobrir as fronteiras de Cabo Verde na alimentação*). He gave an example: the place where we were, Centro Cultural do Mindelo, used to be a place with strong memory (*um lugar de forte memória*) where food was kept (*comida no armazém*).

Invariably, Cabo Verdeans like to comment that, when they were young (or younger), it rained a lot, and much grew on the land. It typically goes like this:

> *Quando chovia, não precisávamos de comprar comida. A terra dava tudo: milho, feijão, mandioca, batata doce, papaia… Agora não chove. Está seco. A terra não dá nada. Temos de comprar.*

One hears this very often, in Cabo Verde and in the diaspora. This may be idealist reminiscences of the past, of a better time, mingled with impressionable memories, flurry emotions, and in the case of emigrants, a tender longing for home. However, this can also be accounted for scientifically. In recent years, droughts have been particularly worrying. There has been no rain across the country, causing great angst among farmers and ordinary households. Grandmothers

identity of a community's origin, read Carsten (1995).

also lament that "*milho ta podu na kumida di porku*" (meaning maize is fed to animals) because young people prefer rice and potato, not Cachupa or Cuscuz; but livestock like chickens that eat maize gain health and strength – "*Galinha ki kume miju ta torne mais riju. Karni é mais sabe."* They would ask: *"Bu gosta di galinha di téra*?" In truth, "*galinha de terra*" tastes differently from regular meat, it is brightly textured and wholesome, but the magic is done not only by maize but also by the grandmothers who put in persistence, care and time and by the land. There are many other stories about pigs and goats, and for richer people, cows. Praying for the health of pigs is not only a religious act, Catholicism being the dominant religion of most residents on Santiago, it is also economic and cultural. Note the following:

> These animals (as in the past) are bank accounts of the urban poor turned into cash to balance the cost of living. Belem, my neighbor during my stay in Praia, blessed her animals every day beyond the commonly used "go in God's peace," *bai na paz di Deus*, to assure their growth and cash returns:
>
> If I am lucky the female pig will give birth in 12 months. Pigs are easier to raise in the city, because they eat any leftovers and like to stay around the house. Goats go everywhere and far from one's control in search of pasture. Pigs are very smart and independent and they don't bother the chickens (Belem, Praia, 2006).
>
> (Rodrigues 2008: 367)

Locals pride themselves over "*porco de terra*", "*porco de raça*" or "*porco preto*", even if they are created in pigsty. On the contrary, "*porco branco*" and "*porco holandês*" are imported species. "*Porco preto*" was originally a native, ground Cabo Verdean species. To make pig meat safe for human consumption, bleach is used to disinfect the body of the pig. Then, plastic disposable shaving razors are used to remove the pig's hair. The butchers even say that if black pigs eat animal ration, this does not affect the pigs ("*não fazem efeito*"), so all the parts of a black pig can be eaten. As for white pigs, they are only good for meat. There are other distinctions as well. "*Ovo branco*", referring to the white appearance of the eggshell, are from the soil ("*da terra*"), while "*ovo de nave*" is foreign, not from the soil and impure because they contain medicine ("*remédios*") and chemicals. What is more important, nonetheless, is where the pigs are raised, even if they are pigs that ate rations, because "*kriadu é di li, porku di tera*". It is where the pigs are raised that is important because this is what gives them quality.

Creole expressions in everyday life – especially when they are constantly repeated – are

fundamental to this study because they reveal how people conceive of reality and make sense of events. This is not an unusual finding about Cabo Verde. For example, *A Terra Está a Emagrecer, Santiago, Cabo Verde*, by Marina Padrão Temudo (2008), likely employs a lot of Creole terms and quote plenty of Creole explanations for questions asked. They add to our vocabulary or contribute new definitions to existing words:

> *Na região em estudo, os agricultores mencionam que há mais de dez anos que passou a ser rara a matança do porco para consumo caseiro. Para a maioria das famílias o porco é criado como recurso para vender em caso de necessidade ou para fazer "jogo", i.e., para salgar e para confecionar linguiças e vender com algum rendimento. "Jogo" é aqui entendido não como divertimento, mas integrando a noção de risco e do grau de incerteza que a actividade envolve: podemos ganhar, perder ou empatar. (p. 51)*

Understanding these subtilties will unable researchers to distinguish between the general and the specific, the global and the local, the temporal and the constant. There are fewer and fewer young farmers. The common explanations are that the younger generation of Cabo Verdeans are attending universities, move to cities and enjoy upward mobility, join the tertiary section and only rarely do farm or manual work. Also, the double-digit unemployment rate reflects youth idleness, or *juventude preguiçosa*". The elderly, however, gives a different and more empathising explanation. In the seventies and eighties, their children still learn to farm, but a decade from then, rainfall fell drastically, the land went dry, and so their grandchildren were not needed and did not have the chance to practise and acquire the necessary skills.

Talking to an 80-year-old Cabo Verdean grandmother in February of 2019, here are some humorous reflections on changing Cabo Verdean diet and cultural ways:

> **Author:** When you were young, did you eat more maize?
> **Grandmother:** When I was young, I ate more maize than rice, but later for my children, they ate more rice than maize, they ate little maize, it was different in my time. Maize is better for us.
> A: Why?
> G: It is better than rice for older people (*algen grandi*) like us, because it gives us more energy (*dá mais forsa*).
> A: In the old days, did you buy maize, or did you grow your own?
> G: No, we ate what we grew. In the old days, it rained a lot, we reaped maize from our lands (*di nos téra*). But now, there is not enough rain, we buy maize from other lands (*di*

otru téra), but then our maize is better (*é mais fixe*) because we do not use artificial fertilizers (*ka ten adubu*). The maize that young people like is not as good.
A: From where?
G: Guiné, Angola. The rice is foreign (*ka é di nos*). Maize that is not ours is dry, they come from outside in bags for us to buy. The maize does not have oil (*ka ten azeiti*). The maize from our land has oil (*midju di nos téra ten azeiti*). The maize from other lands does not have oil because it contains artificial fertilizer (*midju de otru téra ka ten azeiti pamodi es ta põe adubu*). Everyone now buys maize from other lands.
G: Then local farmers do not use fertilizers?
A: Yes, they use fertilizers. They put in their vegetable garden, to grow banana (es *ta põe adubu na pé di banana pa tene banana*). But they use less (*é mais poku*), but farmers from other lands use a lot (*mais txheu*) and for everything.
A: When you eat imported maize, do you feel anything?
G: Weakness, weakness in the stomach (*frakeza, N ta xinti frakeza na stômagu*).
A: What happens when you eat rice.
G: I am used to it, I am fine. I am no longer upset by rice. It is because our children are all eating rice, we are all fine. It has become normal. [Followed by rounds of laughter]

Fig. 4-2 80-year-old Cabo Verdean lady, Santiago Island, 2019.

She went on to explain that when she was young, she was always moving around; she minded the house, worked on the farm and prepared food. She was always busy and never sat down.

Now she cannot work too much but can only do some cooking, washing and feed her chickens. She has a rather full family animal farm of goats, ducks, pigs and dogs, the last of which is not for eating. She felt joy working on the farm; when there is rain, there is food, money to pay for expenses, and seeds. She likes to stay on her land, not to live in the city, where people "*ten cabesa riju*" and steal what they see, and so she would not be able to raise her chickens. On her rural property, her animals are freer also (*mais à vontadi*).

There are powerful portrayals of famine in the literary and cultural writings of Cabo Verde. The richness of the Cabo Verdean literary tradition invoking its history of famine has been called a "literary fact" based on "historical truth" (Caniato 2006). These works are like inspirations that renew themselves generation after generation.

Fig. 4-3 *Monte Graciosa*, Tarrafal, Santiago Island. *Rádio Crioula FM* https://crioulafm.cv/members/tarrafal-monte-graciosa/ (Accessed December 7, 2019)

The following consist of an original tale about Mount Graciosa of Tarrafal (or *Monte Graciosa* in Portuguese, officially the highest point of the Municipal of Tarrafal) written in early 2019 by a librarian and now a highly productive Cabo Verdean writer.[49] It had a nostalgic,

[49] I met Mário Loff through a female common friend, in Tarrafal, Santiago, in January/February 2019.

traditional and moralistic feel to it. Titled “Mito da Graciosa”, it tells the stories of Mount Graciosa in the sea, the northern lake and the southern lake. People preferred the northern lake because it was fertile and rich in food. There were only two people who stayed in the southern lake and told stories of the two lakes, of how, at all costs, the two lakes would eventually unite and become one. However, human carelessness and indulgence will take its toll:

> *Enquanto o mito não concretizasse as pessoas do vale de norte vivia como se não houvesse o amanhã, com comida a ser usada em excesso, não poupavam água, apanhavam moluscos e peixes da água doce e no mar só por prazer. Em pouco tempo aquele vale que antes era um paraíso se tornou em parte um local para vazamento de lixos de quem usava paródia. Aos poucos começaram a ouvir o som da cimboa e batuque desde outro lago do vale. Durante a noite inteira se prolongava, e cada dia que o som se fazia havia menos água nas levadas nas casas e nos nascentes. Os peixes apareciam mortos nas lagoas e no mar. No pé da rocha começou-se a sentir o cheiro de enxofre e um grande calor que se fazia todos os dias. Nas casas aos poucos se escasseou comida e água, até os restos de alimentação que estavam nos lixos foram recuperados até o dia que parou o som de batuque e cimboa.*

Then, the leaders of the community gather the people and urge them to comply with divine orders, worship and hear the music coming from the depth of Mount Graciosa and head for the Southern lake before more children and villagers die starving. When they arrived, they saw how bad it was:

> *No sul, lugar de areias brancas e de coqueiros muito altos, lamentavam algumas pessoas, nem água doce tem por aqui lamentou outro grupo. — Como é que se alimentam e bebem aqui? Perguntou Xiu Pio aos cantores idosos.*

He has had various occupations: chief librarian, part-time tourist guide and passionate writer. When we were on the beach at the foot of the mountain called Graciosa, he told me a wondrous tale. As it had a traditional, nostalgic feel to it, I initially thought that he was repeating some popular version of folk belief. He said no and that it was really fruit of his imagination. On 27 February 2019, he sent me a more polished version of his tale in Word document by email, and on 10 August 2019, he said on Messenger that he was glad to let me use it in my analysis. As far as oral tradition is concerned, *Ti Lobo* e *Chibinho* are perhaps the best-known characters of Cabo Verdean oral tradition. *Ti Lobo* is always miserable and envies others who are well fed and content. He is unhappy, greedy and anxious, and in every attempt to get what he wants, he fails. He wants to cheat small but clever and quick-witted *Chibinho*, but the former never wins. *Ti Lobo* is hungry, but tales encourage sharing and empathy, not personal gratification at all costs, even when suffering. The tales are told and retold in remembrance of the old times when people suffered from droughts and famines.

They began to worship Mount Graciosa and ask for a miracle. Meanwhile, more people collapsed and died.

> *Monte graciosa, monte imensa que tapa as nossas vistas. Monte, monte graciosa, monte que tapa as nossas visões até o horizonte. Escuta os nossos desejos. Os nossos filhos, mulheres, maridos estão a morrer de fome. Só pedimos. Não nos dê tanto, só queremos que por tudo que foi, por tudo que transformou, que também transforme essas areias em açúcar. Que as suas pedras sejam transformadas em pães e a parte do seu corpo em cuscuz! O pé de coco que se transforme em talheres, que a redonda onde todos nós nos deitamos seja transformada em colher. Que o mar seja transformado em leite. Assim, podemos ter garantido em todas as manhãs pequeno-almoço de pão com leite. Cuscuz com leite no almoço e no jantar. Até que as nossas oferendas e sonhos sejam atendidos pelos deuses que habitam atrás dos nossos olhos.*

Finally, their request was heard by the mountain and the miracle was done:

> *Levantou-se, desceu até se tocar no chão e concluiu que se tinha tocado numa imensa jazida de açúcar, olhou para a montanha e viu quantidade incalculável de pães, e rochas que se tinham formado em cuscuz. Ficou contente e gritou bem alto para o mar que se tinha transformado em leite, mas ninguém estava a acordar, todos estavam mortos.*

More than just food, there was also an abundance of rain. The two lakes joined together:

> *[…] e caíram as chuvas que se fizeram cheias e ela chorava constantemente na água daquelas chuvas que se desaguavam na ribeira em direção à lagoa do norte e de rompante começou a cantar batuque e Finason como se a magia tomasse conta do vale e os dois vales se juntassem e se tornassem como duas lagoas gêmeas.*

People began to live soberly and grateful, for after this great massacre, they realised what was most important: "*a viver dentro das regras de boa convivência e consumir aquilo que era necessário*".

The above tale contains all the important elements of life on the Cabo Verde islands. In terms of landscapes, we have oceans[50], seas, freshwaters, valleys, lakes, streams, mountains,

[50] Cabo Verdeans have special feelings for the Atlantic Ocean. "*Mar*" means a lot to them. It permeates

rocks, etc. For food ingredients, there are coconut, fish and seafood, bread, sugar as well as milk to accompany *cuscuz.* There is also precious rain and water, which is important for human consumption and for agriculture. Written for the present, it demonstrates how traditions continue to live in Cabo Verde. It is the embodiment of a modern-traditionalist frame of mind which is believed to be common among Cabo Verdeans. It is an attitude of fear or awe for the return of a terrible period wherein there would be no food and families, and close ones and neighbours would be taken away. It is also a sense of dutiful respect for natural and supranatural forces not to be doubted and challenged by humans. Lastly, generation after generation of Cabo Verdeans have been taught to be content with what they have, with food, music[51] and company. It is no surprise that there are a lot of references to famine in Cabo Verdean literature, which is sad, realistic and profound. While it is not very common to cite verses and paragraphs from a literary text in a social science research, it is undoubtably important to understand the underlying forces that drove so many people to write and create so similarly over generations.

social and cultural discourses. By contrast, in Portuguese culture, this relation seems to be much more sensical and rational. See a discussion about "*o mar de pobreza*" with reference to the Madeira and Azores islands being the poorest regions of Portugal in 2017 according to national statistics. Márcio Berenguer, "O Mar de Pobreza que Faz das Ilhas o Lugar de Maior Risco," *Público*, December 8, 2018. https://www.publico.pt/2018/12/08/sociedade/reportagem/acores-madeira-salarios-baixos-ciclo-pobreza-1854008

[51] Music is very important in Cabo Verde. While some people doubt if traditional food is a good representative of Cabo Verdean culture, everyone agrees that their music deserves UNESCO heritage status recognition. An application for *Morna*, musical practice of Cabo Verde, was submitted and favourably considered. https://ich.unesco.org/en/files-2019-under-process-00989

Fig. 4-4 "*Calerón*", 120x90cm, Kuny Mendes. Photo taken by author in Palácio Cultural Ildo Lobo, Praia, 2018.

The same subject is a very popular theme in other artistic works, for to talk of the present is to talk of the past, and vice versa, especially among people who live or grew up in rural parts of the country.

"*Rostús y Identidadi*" is a photo exhibition by Kuny Mendes, originally from Santa Cruz (Assomada, Santiago Island). The exhbits had toured the country and some pieces are now part of the Permanent Collection of Contemporary Art with the Ministry of Culture and Creative Industries of Cabe Verde. In a televised interview in Kabuverdianu, Kuny Mendes explained: "The best camera is the human eye. It is through the human eye that we create photos. I think people who want to create good photos should invest in their sight."[52] When asked what his inspirations are, Kuny Mendes did not hesitate to say that it is the Cabo Verdean rural world.

[52] Kuny Mendes is considered a professional Cabo Verdean photographer. He has exhibited in several countries. The interview was conducted in Kabuverdianu on *Show da Manhã* on August 15, 2018. (Accessed August 25, 2019, http://www.rtc.cv/index.php?paginas=47&id_cod=70981). Celebrating World Photography Day, the host asked Kuny Mendes about his experience in photography and talked about his latest exhibition "*Rostús y Identidadi*".

Starting from the home and going out to the farm, he registers the "simplicity" and "real lives of Cabo Verdeans" as they fulfil their daily, sweaty "responsibilities". Mendes thinks that it is even more important for a professional photographer to transmit his sense of identity and culture in his work for the world to see. In a way, the more urban and far away we are from the rural world, the more we yearn for it, so that the traditionalist approach of Mendes is the new modern view. In a way, Mendes captures scenes of rural living, and a lot of his artistic creations are relevant for the present discussion.

Then again, at a musical presentation of the exhibition[53] of Kuny Mendes and other activities at Centro Juvenil Katchás, on January 23, 2019, Carolos Silva, President of Câmara Municipal da Santa Cruz, said that people never stop talking of Santa Cruz, it is a "*terra sábi, terra di banana, di padeju, di funaná, di boa genti tanbén*".

Meanwhile Abraão Aníbal Barbosa Vicente, Minister for Culture and Creative Industries commented:

> I applaud the works of Santa Cruz (restorative works of an old church), it will elevate the history, memory and self-esteem of Santa Cruz, Santiago… there is nothing more intelligent than continuing to study our history. It is our tradition, for others to know. It is important to know where we come from, we really need to. If we do not rehabilitate our memory through reconstructed heritage, we also do not have material heritage.

In effect, he tried to emphasise the importance of both material and immaterial heritage.

Cabo Verde is a small society where production, consumption, governance, commerce and cultural production are closely associated. In and around Praia, commercial, formal and informal activities are burgeoning. Imagine a woman sells barbecue (*churrasco*), and next to her, another woman sells fish, then next to this woman, someone else sells Barbies and dolls.

We can see, on site, that in the main open market of Sukupira, large herds of goats would rest close to tree stumps. It is actually a public car park, at least before major public efforts to reorganise, officialise and patrol land use. People sit down and chat. Their animals are all around them. It is easy to buy water, tomatoes, and sweets from ambulant women vendors.

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[53] It is one stop of the exhibition of *Róstus y Identidadi*, after that in Praia, in a different location (https://www.santiagomagazine.cv/index.php/cultura/2319-rostus-y-ideentidadi-de-kuny-mendes-em-pedra-badejo). I recorded the opening speeches on site and translated them afterwards.

Fig. 4-5 Fruit, bread and fish vendors and a tailor under the same tree shadow, Praia, Santiago Island, 2019.

Sukupira also has a long row of open food stands. Normally, people ask: "*Tem almoço*?" Each stand would typically have an older woman and a younger one helping her. It is common to choose between meat and fish – to go with rice – with or without French fries. It is possible to order a separate serving of a sort of beans soup. Throughout much of Cabo Verde (i.e., the urban and periurban spaces), the life of people integrates ecology: there are common sights of activities under tree shadows, arid landscape, goats, chickens, cows, sheep…[54] People have open kitchens. They occupy public space to keep private vegetable garden and set up food stalls along the road. They raise animals in their house while money comes in to fund the construction of one or more stories of a house. Family-run stores sell barbecued chicken legs, chicken wings, *torrão, torresmo, chouriço de sangue de porco*, etc.

In January or February, there are many trucks going back and forth on the main roads, what locals call "*estar na roça*" (Santiago) or "*fazer a corta*" (Fogo). Mother-of-one, Liliana,

[54] Herds of cows, goats, sheep, chickens, ducks, geese, etc., pass by certain strips of main roads daily on Santiago Island.

recalls her childhood and youth on Fogo Island[55] and the cycle of agriculture that regulated the activities of her family. The cycle starts with *sementeira* (June through to July), *primeira monda*, *segunda monda* (or *remonda*) and ends with *colheita* (September). In Liliana's childhood and youth remembrances, her mother and sisters would remove a small quantity of *milho verde*, which they roasted whole to make flour for *cachupa* and *kamoka*, and to make *xerém*. Liliana's father cared a lot about the animals and plants. When he felt that his family was taking too much from the field, he would question anxiously, "*Nhos dja faze corta*?!" or in Portuguese, "*Vocês já fizeram a corta*?!"

Poetically, "*[a] sementeira... é feita, essencialmente, de esperança e de fé*", and rain is gold in Cabo Verde – "*o princípio e o fim de todo o sonho cabo-verdiano*" (Spínola 2004: 55, 57).

[55] On Fogo, volcanic eruptions are a real threat. However, people live and farm at the foot of apparently dormant volcanos. Even after eruptions and serious warnings by local authorities, they return rapidly to their places and help one another rebuild their communities on fertile soil in defiance of eminent natural hazards.

Space Use and Extension of the Home

The concept of restaurant in Cabo Verde is peculiar. It means, in everyday practice, extending the home to the outside or occupying some space in front of the house. In one instance, a paper notice is pasted on the front window of a house that says "*vendemos gelados*". Takeaways and coffee shops have colourful designs and inviting names, e.g. *Amor aos pedaços*. Fish is peddled. To advertise fresh meat and attract neighbours, a huge pork leg may be hung on a tree. Fruits, e.g. coconuts, are also sold fresh. There are fruit stores and vegetable stalls, and these are all examples of the extension of the home. If we pay attention to the names of eateries, especially on Santiago Island – *Café Bom-Tempo Niche, Restaurante Bar, Merceria Bar,* etc. – we note little distinction between commercial concepts. Names of commercial places are homely: *Bar de nós*; *Kuzas di kasa*; *Minimercado di nôs*; *Mira Mar Chez Mama*. When words fail, there are pictures: nameless outlet with mural if a nicely dressed man and an elegant woman sitting at a round table; *Restaurante "Pousada do Leitão"* (image of a roasted suckling pig); *Snack Bar Felicidade* (with a glass of wine as illustration); *Restaurante* (Drawings of a lobster). There is a "*Bar Restaurante Pizzaria Pub Music*" in Santo Antão. The mixing of concepts – bar, restaurant and pizzaria – is common to all islands. This suggests that there is a culture of drinking but not eating out in Cabo Verde.[56] Take yet another example, *Bar Restaurante Nós Amizade* is located on Brava Island. The bar section is almost bigger than the restaurant section. The kitchen is European but homely. When asked if the tuna was local (*O atum é da terra*?), the humorous answer was "*Atum não é da terra. Atum é do mar*." There is vinegar, olive oil and salt on the table, signs of Portuguese habits. The tuna fish was served with rice and French fries. They came with individual ketchups and mayo, presumably American influences. Some names are evocative, e.g., "*Boston's... pizza*" (Mindelo, São Vicente). Groceries stocking deep-frozen chicken indicate their business specialties with drawings of chicken on the wall. People also order from neighbours by making phone calls, e.g., yogurt, cakes and sweets. Sometimes

[56] A new law in Cabo Verde prohibits the sale of alcoholic drinks in kiosks and barracks, to strong opposition. Read: "Cabo Verde: Nova lei seca do álcool ameaça economia local," *A Semana*, October 6, 2019. https://www.asemana.publ.cv/?Cabo-Verde-Nova-lei-seca-do-alcool-ameaca-economia-local

a young girl helper delivers the order at the door, other times the client visits and fetches his/her order.

Fig. 4-6 Padaria Brava Pão, Brava, 2019.

Padaria Brava Pão is a pastry shop. It has mouth-watering drawings as advertisement, but the shop does not sell what is depicted on the wall. Those are, according to the baker, "*perspetivas para o futuro*". He makes *pão doce, pão de sal, brindera, pão de forma, farinha de pão, bolachas, quequinhos, doces de coco, etc*. He says he is not able to sell a lot because people also make their own bread at home. The space is rented, and the drawings were commissioned by the owner of the space. Of maize, rice and bread, the baker pointed out that bread is the cheapest, every child can buy bread. In his words, "*o pão consola*". He does not bake more varieties of bread and pastries because there is no demand and the production costs are high – "*Às vezes falta farinha, às vezes faltam ovos, às vezes falta óleo. Compro no supermercado. O lucro é pouco*". A professional baker, he was originally from Mindelo, then he moved to Praia, before coming to Brava. He worked for 14 years at *Padaria Victoria*, a household name on all islands. He had taught many people to make bread, who then became bakers themselves. He was proud to have known different islands. On Brava Island, where he

baked bread, he paid the rent weekly; the equipment and the space belong to the owner, who is also the owner of a supermarket. Even the name of the bakery shop was decided by the owner. He blamed the lack of rain for Cabo Verde's dependence on importation. He was also aware that many people are unemployed and unfortunate: "*não conseguem levar panela ao lume todos os dias*." He believes in God but does not attend any church and is a *católico não praticante*. Concerning the production of bread, he could have made *pão de trança* or *barrão*. However, people on Brava Island do not know these. They stick to old habits and do not want to vary. He said that it is different in Praia because "*lá convivem mais pessoas*". In this shop, people come in and say simply, "*Pão*", or they ask matter-of-factly, "*Tem pão*?" He asks in return, "*Qual pão*?" They answer, "*Aquele de costume*". They may say, "100 *escudos*". Other times they say, "*Com sal*".

Fig. 4-7 Vendors selling *pastéis de milho* made on the spot, Santiago Island, 2018.

There is, as we see, no clear demarcation of space. Some of the peddlers or informal traders, mostly females, do not have licence to settle. They put cabbage, peppers, cucumbers, tomatoes, onions or garlics in transparent, individual plastic bags and roam the street to sell, evading fiscal

officers. On main roads, there are children who sell dried fruits in similar transparent plastic bags. They hope for *hiaces* and other vehicles to stop to buy them. When the cars pass buy, they raise the bags for the passengers to see the contents. Municipal markets, the legal place to purchase these items, are not open the entire day and have very few sellers and even fewer clients (a problem on several islands). The fish market is typically separated from the vegetable and meat market. With regards to this arrangement, Foguenses like to say jokingly that "*batatas, cenouras e tomates não se juntam com o peixe*". They are very clean but have little to offer and they sell at higher prices than the minimarkets and shops. Furthermore, the same things that are sold are also important elements of social life. As such, people exchange cakes, pastries, distribute fried pig skin (*torresmo*) and give away fruits and small treats. This raises the question of what "commerce" means in real context and how it is actually operated.

On a main road leading from Praia to other parts of Santiago Island, there is a stop-by food court contained in the lower floor of a residential building. The kitchen is decorated with sausage meat of all hues, shapes and lengths. It resembles some sort of McDonald's or Burger King drive-throughs of Cabo Verde, only that there is no placard, advertisement or more stores to make it a commercial "chain". The clients knew what they wanted – *carne de porco frito com pão*. There is a big pot of fried, marinated pork in a devilish stew. The clients can use a big fork to poke into the piece that they want. Some prefer it fatty while others prefer it with bones. The word "stew" is thought to have come from an old French word, *estuier*, which means to enclose (Katz and Weaver 2003: 341).

Importantly, commerce in Cabo Verde is not specialised. Take the example of the shop run by an aunt of one of the principle informants. She goes back and forth between Holland and Cabo Verde. Her shop, located along a main plaza in Tarrafal, Cabo Verde, sells everything: clothes and shoes for both sexes, for children and adults, branded and unbranded, for formal and informal occasions, both new and second-hand, Christmas decorations (all year round), perfumes, deodorants, lamps, toys, talking dolls, glass containers, liquor, etc. She also stocks two bottles of Dutch milkshakes (vanilla and strawberry flavours, respectively) and quite a number of *bidons*[57], some full, others empty. One time she shipped a *bidon* of Dutch coffee –

[57] Families on Brava and Fogo Islands typically receive *bidons* from the United States. They contain everything, including food, rice, sugar, packaged spaghetti, coffee, tea, chocolate power, cooking oil,

of an unknown brand but with a special aroma – which sold very well. By word of mouth, people from outside the immediate neighbourhood also came because they heard it from neighbours who tried the coffee and were satisfied. Emigrants often ship *bidons* before they themselves embark on a trip.

Like eateries, commerce in Cabo Verde is mixed and contingent. A snack bar may offer more than just snacks (*mancarra torrada, torresmo, torrão*), but a restaurant may not have a menu. Likewise, there is no clear separation between the domestic and the commercial. It is rare to put a price tag on items. What is sold can also be used personally, offered to someone else or exchanged for something equally valuable.

canned food, ketchup, butter, chicken stock cubes, etc. As per the inhabitants' explanations, many of the senders have been away for a long time and are detached from the reality of Cabo Verde. While they continue to help family on the islands, their understanding of living conditions stopped in time and their estimation of the affordability of certain food products are also out-of-date. A documentary by Celeste Fortes e Edson Silva, aptly titled "*Bidon – Nação Ilhéu*", tells the stories of how three women relate to the *bidon* that arrives from abroad, respectively. One is a daughter that receives the *bidon* from her mother in the United States as a show of motherly care. Another wants to receive a bidon but has so far received none and can only recall memories that she keeps of the time when she in the United States. The last woman is a *rabidante* seller that puts products in *bidons* and ship/fly them to Cabo Verde to sell for a living. "Documentário cabo-verdiano "Bidon – Nação Ilhéu" com ante-estreia marcada para quinta-feira em Portugal." *Inforpress-Agência Cabo-Verdiana de Notícias*, May 9, 2019 (https://www.inforpress.cv/documentario-cabo-verdiano-bidon-nacao-ilheu-com-ante-estreia-marcada-para-quinta-feira-em-portugal/).

"Agora não convida, falta café": Changing Times

One time, a Cabo Verdean friend flipped through an album in Greater Lisbon. She was in her late 30s. One photo was taken outside the Handball Club, Ribeira Fundo, Sal Island, when she was around 16 or 17 years old while she was eating Cachupa. Then, looking at the photos of her marriage a few years ago, on which day the rain did not stop pouring down, she remembered that when she was growing up in Cabo Verde, on Sal Island, people would throw rice over the heads of a couple. It was considered a symbol of abundance, having much to eat. And when it rained in a wedding, it was a blessed marriage because "*os noivos comeram na panela*". Rice was expensive up to the 1970s, it was food of the rich or Christmas food, while corn was considered food of the poor, and *comida de terra* was associated with people who raised goats, pigs, chickens, not sold but eaten and shared with other poor people. Now rice has been in Cabo Verde for a long while, and the generation of common people who grew up eating rice in Cabo Verde are parents themselves. Even today, the sentiments that people associate with rice, however, are nowhere close to maize. Rice eating is not foreign to Africa. Madagascar, Africa's biggest island, is also the biggest consumer of rice per capita.

> Agriculture, including fishing and forestry, is a mainstay of the economy, accounting for about one-third of GDP and employing 70% of the labor force. Rice is the main subsistence crop in Madagascar and it occupies an important place in the agricultural sector. About 85% of the farmers grow rice. About 2 million farming households and about 10 million people derive at least part of their economic income from the rice sector.[58]

In Madagascar, "eating" is synonymous with "eating rice" and inhabitants have several meals of rice per day. Rice, therefore, is economically and culturally part of Malagasy diet. Cabo Verde is very different in this aspect. Though rice solves food shortage issues, it is an economical choice of string-tight women who still dream of maize in their sleep.

Liliana, the mother-of-one host, had a maternal grandmother who died at 83, around 4 years after a fall. Before that, Liliana recalls that there was always coffee. The family was never

[58] "Madagascar," *Ricepedia – The Online Authority on Rice*. Available at http://ricepedia.org/madagascar (Accessed March 6, 2020).

rich. Even so, "*a casa era farta*", that there is always coffee boiling hot on wood fire. People passed by on purpose so that they would be invited to go in and drink coffee. As her grandmother did not grow coffee, Liliana wonders how her grandmother managed to buy such large quantity of coffee and now thinks it likely that her grandmother exchanged maize, beans, tobacco herbs, potatoes, cabbages, other vegetables or chicken eggs for coffee. Now the children and youngsters have all grown up, and many have emigrated to the United States. When they come to Cabo Verde to visit, they reminisce about the coffee invitation of their dear grandmother.

As testified by several informants, food sharing was common and something that richer families did in the past – the socially sanctioned display of wealth and generosity. The hosts did it by keeping the door of their house open and making sure that there was always food in the pot and coffee to heat up. People just walked in to eat. If they did not have a place to stay, they were invited to sleep through the night. Nowadays, this is being ritualised and compartmentalised – food sharing takes place in big festivals like the *Bandeirona* on Fogo Island, funded and carried on by emigrants in the United States. Elaborately prepared and exuberant in displays, it is considered one of the richest festivals in Cabo Verde and a national cultural heritage. There are big pots of traditional food on the street. No one is questioned; they are served regardless. They do not need to say in advance that they are coming. The more the people turning up, the happier it is, and the more successful the event. Nowadays, the feast runs on a smaller scale and the locals expect fewer and fewer Foguenses from America. Along with this decline is the public sharing of food and the display of generosity. The older generations are too weak to mind the stove, they depend on others and they shut their doors for security's sake amid high crime rates. Neighbours and friends are welcomed to visit, preferably on notice.[59] In conversations with young Cabo Verdeans who studied abroad, one hears about how they compare Cabo Verdean food with the food of other places. According to one who did Portuguese studies plus pedagogical training in Brazil – and now a public primary school Portuguese language teacher – the Brazilian diet is more varied and use more ingredients than

[59] While Cabo Verde is no doubt a festive nation, the exponential increase of celebrations has attracted polemics. These are broadcasted on the national television so regularly that some older inhabitants are annoyed. They feel that politicians spend uncontrollably to garner votes for elections nowadays.

the Cabo Verdean diet; Brazilians consume more salad and beans on a daily basis and eat more chicken and meat than fish, which is relatively more expensive in Brazil. But despite these differences, she thinks that Brazilians and Cabo Verdeans eat similarly. Another interviewee who completed postgraduate studies in history in Chinese in northern China - and now a public secondary school history teacher – pointed out that Chinese use less salt and cooking oil and use spicy substitutes for flavours. He also understood that the cuisine of Cabo Verde is linked to the history of the islands, especially their African heritage and the history of slavery. For him, the only dishes that are genuinely Cabo Verdean have maize as the main ingredient:

> *No nosso país o milho está na maioria dos pratos: xerém, djagasida, totoku, pastel de milho, etc. Isso deve-se ao facto de o milho ter sido no passado a comida dos escravos e dos pobres. Enquanto os portugueses comiam alimentos de dieta mais mediterrânica, os pretos alimentavam-se de pratos de milho, acompanhados de feijão e outras verduras. Cozinhamos o milho de várias formas: em grão como é o caso da cachupa; meio triturado para o xerém e a djagasida, em farinha para o pastel, cuscuz e massa e xerém na capa (este é apreciado aqui na Brava). A nossa culinária tem milho como a base principal. Outros ingredientes só vieram depois e são influências estrangeiras vindas depois da independência. Os pratos de milho são os únicos genuinamente cabo-verdianos.*

Generally speaking, the interviewees looked at food preparation, selection of ingredients and choice of flavourings.

Fig. 4-8 Two neighbours separating beans, Sal island, 2016.

How original is Cabo Verdean cuisine? Cabo Verdeans do not like that others compare their cuisine with Portuguese cuisine. For them, they have always been cooking and eating that way. They like to imagine that the Portuguese eat "*pão com carne e vinho*". It is equally interesting how the *encomendas de* terra of Cabo Verde has become a bundle of international foodstuffs: canned food[60], chilled "fresh" *Feijão Congo*, Dutch condensed milk and luncheon meat, on top of *djebe* (very concentrated *drogue*), *pontche*, *lapas* (seafood), *borbados* (a type of wild fruit). Sometimes, people make bread and pastries and send them overseas. After that, preparing a Brazilian Seara brand frozen chicken is easily an international rendezvous in the Cabo Verdean kitchen. The ingredients are tomato, onion, peppers, white wine, Portuguese olive oil, spiced tomato and garlic mixture and American Goya brand condiments

[60] To learn more about canned food and what they amounted to in island colonies, see *A Pattern of Islands* (Grimble 2010). Grimble, a former dispatched British high-rank official to the Pacific of the Crown most probably did not intend to conduct an ethnographic study of the Pacific islands, but he ended up writing an account that is half biography half ethnography about them. With regards to food, the Pacific islands provide good references for Cabo Verde. The sceneries were enchanting, but the natural elements could be hostile at times. Diseases were a great concern. The climate did not permit good agriculture. Grimble and his family depended a lot on canned food and durable staples that arrived by ship from abroad with great delay. Fresh fish and some medicine, though, came from the sea. Fluid was supplied by nuts. Food was not valued in itself in the Pacific so much as it would be in other places. The oven was important. It emitted warmth and gathered people. it was used in magic. Porpoises were food to fatten native chiefs. Who cooked and what went into food inspired several episodes. It was a time without refrigerators. It would be interesting to contrast this colonial account of the beginning of the twentieth century with more recent stories about the Pacific islands, especially if we think about tourism advertisements that promote rich local cuisines in some sort of paradise on Earth.

"Não somos muito pegados à tradição": The Traditionalism of a "Modern" Family

Cabo Verde experiences a modernity that is "not simply a procrustean emulation of Western styles sitting uneasily on an otherwise authentic traditional culture" (Rowlands 1996: 189). Rowlands discussed cases of postcolonial Cameroon and had "African modernity" in mind. He considered the new waves of Creolisation in postcolonial identity formation to be good examples of the negotiation and pursuit of new African lifestyles.[61] It should be said that Cabo Verde is more than the above; it is in its *origin* a Creole culture, it is according to emigrated

[61] With regards to eating in Cameroon, "educated and modernizing households" would do differently from traditionally minded counterparts (Rowlands 1996: 211-12). In traditionally minded households, the husband would not eat together with the wife. Before he leaves for work in the morning, he would drink Raphia wine and take a substantial morning meal consisting of plantain, beans and soup. When he returns in the evening, he would have his main meal of pounded cocoyam or corn fufu. In "educated and modernizing households", the husband would eat together with his immediate family, including the wife. "Tea" is for the morning. It means beverage plus bread. The beverage can be tea, coffee, bournvita or Ovaltine. He has at least one more meal per day, meaning that he has a light midday meal outside in a commercial outlet. We can see in the latter that there is a distinction between light and heavy meals, use of imported and processed food and the consciousness of a nuclear family. But when there is a special occasion with a lot of guests from a dozen families, the household would cook large pots of corn fufu or colocasia in an outside kitchen with woodfire, not with gas cooker in the inside kitchen. The above was used by Rowlands to exemplify how Western dualism of modernity and tradition is out of place in Africa and Westerners' expectation to find traditional/modern African identity contrast is too naïve.

Meanwhile, the grand re-opening of the Africa Museum, Tervuren, Belgium in December 2018 attracted critical attention for having incorporated a large quantity of contemporary Francophone African arts and dedicated major sections to showcase modern African interpretation and appreciation of urban living. Concerning the December 2018 grand re-opening: "Many of the artefacts remain, but there is more commentary from African people on video screens, displays by Congolese artists, one including a 120-member family tree, in a bid to centralize Africans rather than Europeans. […] Colonial history is now concentrated in one gallery, rather than dominating the whole museum, which also deals with current issues facing Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and its diaspora. […] 'We also assume our responsibility that for more than 60 years, we've diffused, we've disseminated an image of a superior, western way of thinking to African cultures,' said museum Director Guido Gryseels." Daphne Psaledakis, and Isabel Lohman, "Belgium's Africa Museum reopens to confront its colonial demons," *Reuters*, December 8, 2018. Available at https://www.reuters.com/article/us-belgium-museum-africa/belgiums-africa-museum-reopens-to-confront-its-colonial-demons-idUSKBN1O7003 (Accessed March 6, 2020).

Cabo Verdeans in France, "*une culture mi-européenne, mi-africaine*" (Blanchard 2017: 225). Even so, the observations of Rowlands concerning a different modernity rightly applies to Cabo Verde. There is no abrupt leap forward to modernity, however we may understand it. To take one instance, new, spacious, sharply coloured houses are being built on different islands. They mostly adopt Western architectural guidelines, the construction of which is supervised by qualified engineers. In more remote parts of the country, qualified engineers and architects are in short supply. People aspire to build "modern" houses everywhere. The houses of common people are of every shape, size and height. What is perhaps more interesting from a research point of view, though, is not the outside but the inside. In a visit to a new house in construct in an inland, hilly part of Santiago Island, one immediately notices that it aspires to be clean, sturdy and modern, but its emptiness also stands out. Entering the house, which is deep, one sees that dusty, dry sticks for fire-making are piled high in at least two rooms. As we can see from Figures 4-9 and 4-10, the uses that people make of available spaces and resources are highly contingent.

Fig. 4-9 Aspiring modern house in construction, Santiago, 2018.

Fig. 4-10 Firewood stored in an empty room, Santiago, 2018.

As such, old practices do not seem to have all gone away. This is true with how people make of private spaces and public spaces. On flat lands, close to main roads, one should not be surprised to see women letting out their chickens to peck the grass of a public garden or recreational park every day in the morning.

Kenneth, Liliana's current partner, is almost 39 years old. He lived with his mother and grandmother until the age of eight on Santiago Island. His mother, sadly, died in a car accident. He then went to live with his dad on Sal Island. Upon the death of his grandfather, Kenneth inherited a plot of land. His family was landed traditionally and, therefore, was considered well-to-do. Kenneth himself has worked miscellaneous jobs, always moving around. He has yet to save money to build a house on his land. He fathered a son out of wedlock. This son is living with his maternal grandmother because the mother emigrated. Kenneth visits his first son from time to time, but his current partner is Liliana. They have an eight-year old son, the only child from their relationship, who knows and likes his "half-brother" in Western understanding (which is considered his brother from his father's side, i.e., his brother, in Cabo Verde). A few months ago, Kenneth emigrated to Portugal alone. Liliana is unwillingly to marry Kenneth

because she is not yet sure. She was born on Fogo Island, the first child of the family to go to university, on Santiago Island, where she met Kenneth, but did not finish with a degree. She was pregnant while studying. She gave birth in Praia. Taking care of a baby and studying for a degree in computer sciences was difficult and she gave up, blaming partly the lack of support from Kenneth. She is around 32 years old. Liliana visits her family on Fogo regularly, usually by boat because it is cheaper than taking the plane. From there, she also receives sweet potatoes, yams, lentils and maize from her mother, also by boat. Others looking at this couple with their son would think that this is an example of a "modern nuclear family", especially if they look at how, in the morning, the parents bath and brush the teeth of the crying son, dry him and put on his shoes. However, the typical Western small families are rare in Cabo Verde. The understanding of matrimony and child rearing is very different. The strategies to cope with life are equally different. For instance, Liliana started to take Western contraceptive pills after having her first son. As her son is already in primary school, she has been wanting another child, in vain. Then she was told by neighbours and believers in local cures that she needs to clean the Western medicine thoroughly from her body and that she needs to take local herbal mixtures, just as the other young women in her situation do. Liliana was undecided. On the one hand, she also thought that the Western contraceptives from years back are impeding her from conceiving again. On the other hand, she is reluctant to take the local alternatives because these may be very strong as well for someone unused to traditional cure. Additionally, she was suspecting that the problem may not be with her but with Kenneth, who took to drinking *grogue* rather heavily since meeting some friends of bad influence. As a couple, they moved houses several times, from one city to another. Now that Kenneth is away, Liliana stays with her son in Cabo Verde. She sells artisanal jewellery made of silver, something she learnt to do while working for Moroccans in the capital city of Praia. Liliana wishes to emigrate; for her, the United States is the best destination as she has family on that side.

Before Kenneth left, Liliana stayed in the rented house a lot of the time and so she cooked. Her major concern was not to waste food. She said that the three of them were not very particular about traditions ("*não muito pegados à tradição*"), that they eat the usual food ("*comer o habitual*"). In reality, Liliana does not cook every day. She makes a big stew and a big pot of rice which sometimes lasts two or three days. To many Cabo Verdeans, to eat rice is

to economise on a small family budget. Rice, for sure, does not have the sentimental and cultural rootedness that maize has in Cabo Verde. She also makes big stews of fish to go with green banana.[62] She is also influenced by her childhood on Fogo Island, where beans and maize are consumed in big quantities. *Feijão Congo*, sweet potato, maize, manioc and peanuts (*mancarra*) arrive from Fogo, from Liliana's mother. A burlap sack of *Feijão Congo* would only last two or three days for a nuclear family. This shows that beans are consumed in great quantity. Just as is for sweet potato, it is said to be "*tudo natural, da chuva*"; it is "rainfed", not "irrigated". It is often said in Fogo que beans are always on the table, it goes with bread, rice or other food, e.g., rice with *fava* (broad beans) to go with *txicharrinho frito* (a fish). A plain stew of beans is just as good. Nothing will be wasted, and for that, the goats of the neighbours are most thankful. The shells of peas and skins of potatoes are their food.

Sharing is a part of everyday life on the islands. For instance, when the freezer in one woman's home is full, she can ask to deposit her manioc in a neighbour's freezer. When manioc is wanted, the woman's young daughter will knock on the neighbour's door and kindly ask for some manioc. The daughter will have to run errands on several days to bring back the manioc for cooking until there is no more manioc. It should be noted that almost every home has a working freezer to keep meat and fish but not every home has a refrigerator connected to electricity. Some families unplug the fridge to save on the electricity bill. Some families use the

[62] The catches of fish are apparently diminishing in Cabo Verde. *Cavala*, one of the best-known fish in Cabo Verde, is also becoming rare, smaller and more expensive. The fatter the fish, the higher the price. When the fish is small, people fry it. To know why *cavala* is a versatile ingredient, read *Livro de Receitas de Cavala: Mares de Cabo Verde* (Cunha 2014). The banana is green, local, Santiaguense. When asked what the fish was called, I got four answers: *merna*, *cola*, *atuninha* and *katxhoreta*. I was told that people in different regions have given a different name to the same fish. This confusion is not rare at all. There is very often more than one local term for a certain fish as it is for a certain bean or legume. *Feijão baixinha* (Santiago) is *feijão pedra* (Fogo). Peculiarly, depending on the size, shape and colour of something, the name is a different one. For instance, "pinto" means beans, but usually indicates fresh, green beans, not dry beans. To take yet another example, *bolachona* means "*umas bolachas grandes que satisfazem rapidamente*" or coarse big cookies. Foguenses say these are *fartu-badiu*, meaning "*o que sacia a fome do badiu*". Others say these are big cookies that are not bought in the baker's shop but made at home. All these refer to the same pastry. Similarly, colonial reports contained very detailed listings of the many varieties of plants typical in Cabo Verde and their interesting local names. Note the frequent use of adjectives, an example being different colours: "white" or "black", e.g., white maize, black maize, white potato, black potato, etc. (A.J. da S. Teixeira and Barbosa 1958).

fridge as a big tall cupboard. Liliana make beans and lentils stew and put them in rice as well. There are fresh fish. There are, of course, a lot of processed, industrial, chilled and/or canned food that Liliana stocks in her larder.

It is increasingly common on the islands to eat "*sopa de massa*", or loosely translated, noodle soup, though not to be confused with the fashionable Japanese *misu* / noodle soup or popular Chinese noodles. Sadly, right after rice, "*sopa de massa*" is probably the second most common dish in many lower-class Cabo Verdean households. Some onions, tomatoes e green/red peppers are lightly fried in oil in low temperature (just as in the case of cooking rice), then dry spaghetti or macaroni, along with unfrozen greens and beans – all foreign. Liliana is a conscious cook, and she adds more high-fibre vegetable ingredients and meat into her soup. With each meal or each serving, Liliana or another person heats up the food in a frying pan. Kenneth used to cook quite a lot also, especially when he was impatient about eating the same food over and over. He used a lot of frying oil, green and red peppers, onions, butter or margarine.

There is no particular "menu" for the three daily meals. The same food is just as good for breakfast, lunch or dinner. But if the child thinks that rice or lentils are too heavy early in the morning, he can have bread with spread and chocolate powder beverage. The adults can have boiled coffee, boiled herbs or instant tea instead to go with something else. The bitterer the coffee, the better older people like it. Farmers enjoy dark, bitter coffee and do not like Nestlé Coffee because they think it is impure.

For normal days, eating is just depleting what is inside a big cooking pot. On exceptional days or weekends, Cachupa is made. To save gas, it can be cooked in the street with three stones and collected wood sticks, only that someone has to spend hours minding the fire. It is different and exceptional when there is a big feast (*festa*) or small feast (*xintadu*). If Cachupa and other traditional stews are a must for a big feast for many people with adults and friends, chicken rice soup (*canja de galinha*) is acceptable for a small feast for the birthday party of a boy and his school friends.[63] What is *canja de galinha* is clear on a menu, but it is cooked very

[63] This does not always work. Cachupa is a must for a feast with a dozen adults or more. This tradition is also relevant in the Cabo Verdean diaspora in Greater Lisbon. When a household (always with a woman) decides to organise a feast and make Cachupa for a certain day, more people will be invited. The motto is: "*é melhor sobrar do que faltar"*. Problem comes when the woman responsible for the

spontaneously in the home, for Liliana explains: "*Precisamos de frango e temperos… sal, alho, cebola, polpas de tomate, vinagre. Há pessoas que juntam também pimentão e salsa… até caril. Todos os temperos são bem-vindos na canja. Em Santiago é possível pôr peixe e atum. No Fogo, além de bife de galinha, poem vaca enlatada, carne moída e massa*." Although Liliana remembers eating such traditional Foguense delicacies such as *escaldasa*, similar to *cuzcus* but more liquid, made with maize flour, water and salt, she has given in to modern convenience and urban lifestyle.

On different islands, due to different levels of humidity that result in maize, beans and potatoes with different water contents and cooking methods, the food has more or less gravy in it, e.g., *o molho da Cachupa*. Additionally, Cabo Verdeans are aware that the traditional ways to prepare Cachupa or *Guisada*, to cook beans or to preserve meat are fast disappearing. Island-specific delicacies like *xerém na capa (embrulhado em folha de milho), totoku*[64]*, xerenzona ("tipo cachupa mas pegada"), toucinho de porco* are becoming rarities.

The Portuguese verb "*arranjar*" means to find, to procure or to get. Liliana would say "*Se houver queijo, arranjamos pão*." Until very recently, the majority of Cabo Verdean households are not used to having fixed "menus" of when to eat meat, fish or seafood during a week. They make do with they can get their hands on. The food is "rich" if there are more ingredients; it is "poor" if there are few ingredients; it may not be prepared at all if the main ingredients are lacking. The adjective "poor" can be used in other situations: the chicken rice soup can become "*pobre*" after the first day and requires adding tuna or other saucy ingredients to enrich it.

cooking is too busy with work and finds herself unable to make the Cachupa she initially promised and cannot get help from her female Cabo Verdean neighbours. This happened once in my presence. Unfortunately, *canja de galinha* was not a good enough substitute. People, especially men, came one after another expecting to savour Cachupa; and when they realised that there was none, some sat reluctantly for a while before leaving, others left without giving an excuse. This act would have been considered very rude in most other cultural contexts. However, for Cabo Verdeans, Cachupa is a must for a decent feast or festival, and if the host is unable to fulfil her promise, people do not feel obliged to contribute music, dance, conversations and small services (e.g., in the modern sense, buying and/or carrying packs of alcoholic drinks) to the feast.

[64] Talking about their past in Mindelo in 2018, a group of adults recall how *totoku* – maize-flour finger-size/round ball – was their "currency" in childhood. There were many children and it took some time for the women to distribute the food. The first child to be served will "lend" his *totoku* to the other children, which had to be returned on other days at the table. The children would count their *totoku* and see who had the most.

Colloquially, the soup "*empobrece*" (the soup becomes poor). Women are constantly thinking of how to make the most of what they have. This also explains why Cabo Verdeans are very conscious of individual ingredients; they think in individual units. This cultural sense may explain the successes of round-the-corner Chinese stores in Cabo Verde, whose clients come to get some slices of cheese, a tub of margarine, a cabbage, or an onion separately. The above should sound familiar to many Cabo Verdean families today on the islands. Elements of both tradition and modernity are present always. They are incorporated into Cabo Verdean living without most people noticing them.

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CHAPTER V. Agrofood Order of Cabo Verde since Portuguese Administration, Promotion of Social *In*-distinction and Commodification of "Independence"

This chapter concentrates on agrofood issues that permeate major colonial and political developments, paying special attention to the urban-rural links and exploring how modern urban lives are organised on the islands and how urban living shapes people's relationship with food and with rurality. Some of the major questions are: How central are agricultural and food issues in political development, and what do we learn about the socio-economic situation of Cabo Verde as a whole and of people individually? And if food has to do with these questions, along what lines do people unite/divide, and to what extent is food susceptible to political opportunism? One unexpected finding to be presented in this chapter concerns "class". While it was not originally a research focus, this proved to be rather important in the literature review. It was finally judged that much of what was observed is to a certain extent related to the current global debate about the emerging African Middle Class.

Wind of Change: Cabo Verde Gaining New Statuses

In the process of literature view, we identify major links between food and decisions in the public domain around the world. A study showed that food provisioning and political stability was closely intertwined in Morocco traditionally and that ensuring food security was essential to prolonging reign and perpetuating control (Holden 2015). We should not underestimate the impact of food on politics.

If governments that do not manage to feed their peoples will not survive (Bigman 1993), we want to know how food materialises its impact on politics. In a recent Singaporean reportage on onions in India, we get the "ingredients" for a power study about the world's largest democracy (Ganapathy 2019). As reported, onion prices doubled or even tripled in a matter of weeks in many Indian cities, causing great dissatisfaction among Indians. The sharp increase in

prices was attributed to erratic rainfall and poor crop yield. Onion, for our information, is an Indian staple, and it is difficult to cook without onion. Narendra Modi, the Indian Prime Minister, and his cabinet have been working very actively to produce solutions and results as quickly as possible. Limiting export of onions to Nepal and Bangladesh will backlash in the long term, and meanwhile, these countries are also experiencing a price spike because of shortage. The government may also intervene in the market with subsidies, but it is difficult to please both the farmers and the consumers. Onion is fundamental for our understanding of Indian politics:

> In India, household budgets are thrown out of gear when onion prices spike, and angry consumers have been known to vote out a government solely on this issue.
> In 1998, a Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) government in Delhi was voted out because state elections coincided with a rise in onion prices.
> In 1980, while on the comeback trail, former prime minister Indira Gandhi used the price of onions, among other issues, to attack the government. She won the election.
> The current onion crisis comes at a time when the ruling BJP is going into its first set of state polls after returning to power in a general election earlier this year. The BJP is seeking to retain power in Haryana and Maharashtra, a key onion producing state, later this month. (p. A14)

Onion itself did not do the magic, of course. It is the combination of natural circumstances and human actions that whipped up a political storm around the politically sensitive issue with a cultural core. A careful analysis of this Indian reality would reveal major contemporary operations of power and motors for change around what is apparently a common, modern-day ingredient.

Researchers have also talked of "*la fonction nourricière du pouvoir"* in Russia:

> [...] *la fonction nourricière du pouvoir fut très importante aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles. L'importance de cette fonction à époque était dans sa capacité à rendre visible, de façon spectaculaire, à la fois l'abondance qui régnait à la cour et les gestes de générosité du monarque, destiné à rassurer la population. Celle-ci consentait, en accord avec ses croyances, à y voir un signe garantissant la force et la fertilité des terres gouvernées par le tsar.* (Kondratieva 2002: 197)

Indeed, food is vital to society. The soil is of utmost significance to farmers and agricultural nations in many different countries in the world throughout human history.

There is a well-known Chinese saying *min yi shi wei tian* 民以食为天 which means literally "Food is God for the People".[65] Historically, the Chinese imperial court took the task of feeding the population very seriously. Tracing back to Chinese history, food was of utmost importance; and for this, food was incorporated into the Chinese understanding of governance and livelihoods – this noble political attitude supposedly distinguished China from other places (Zhao 2014a, 2014b, 2015). Moreover, the foundation for state involvement in supplying food needs was established in early China, and long, historical, technical experiences in tackling food shortages were accumulated (Yates 1995). The art of proper seasoning and the mastery of cooking techniques stand for good government; a good cook is a good prime minister, and governance is likened to cooking, and grains are synonymous with nourishment in both ancient and modern times in China and are the modelling and centrepiece of Chinese meals (Kiple and Ornelas 2000: 1165-66).

Cabo Verde, political leadership and ideology, and the African Success Story

In Cabo Verde, the decade from 1980s to 1990s was characterised by agricultural reform, land ownership reform, public employment and job creation, and inflows of international aid and emigrant remittances, and for that, the *Partido Africano da Independência de Cabo Verde* (PAICV; African Party for the Independence of Cabo Verde) claimed to have eradicated extreme hunger and overcome the longest drought of the 20th century. Then came democracy, another political party *Movimento para a Democracia* (MpD; Movement for Democracy), tourism and neo-liberal economic development.

Discussing the role of the Agência Nacional de Segurança Alimentar (ANSA), it was noted:

> *A regulação económica é hoje um tema que deixou de estar na agenda política para passar a ser assunto essencialmente de caracter técnico. É evidente que sempre apaixonou o debate político, que continua até aos nossos dias, de qual deve ser o papel do Estado na defesa da 'causa pública' na gestão dos bens públicos e semi-públicos e ainda qual ou*

[65] The boundaries between the body, the family and the state are much more fluid in China than in the West (Brownell 2005). In understanding the functioning of institutions, there is a basic difference in the generation of trust between Western and Chinese cultures, for trust is institutional in the former and relational in the latter (Zhao and Wang 2013).

> *quais sistemas garantem uma maior eficiência económica no respeito pela liberdade dos cidadãos, que se pretende cada vez maior, mas simultaneamente garantindo a defesa do interesse colectivo*. (Pacheco de Carvalho and Miguel Monteiro 2012: 92-93)

The second author, Miguel Monteiro, was then President of the Board of Directors of ANSA. Accordingly, state intervention in the economy is best understood as technical and specialised work.

We can say with the benefit of hindsight that the lack of food never did trigger wars or large-scale riots in Cabo Verde. It differs from other parts of Africa where water and bread shortages and other material issues often led to grievances and protests, which in turn formed the foundation of the more diverse collective actions that we witness today on the continent (Waal and Ibreck 2013). Whereas environmental issues that contribute to conflicts and "livelihood" struggles – a term used by Scott Straus – are likely to increase in number and intensity on the African continent (*cifra* P. Williams 2017: 40), this seems to be a very distant reality for Cabo Verde. In effect, Cabo Verde's history is a "classical case of a social system adjusted less to its physical environment than to its political environment" (Moran 1982: 83).

If Senegal had a president-poet-philosopher who received an elite French education and subsequently put culture at the beginning and end of the entire development process, so that Senegalese politics under his leadership over two decades was essentially cultural politics (Benga 2010), Cabo Verde had Amílcar Cabral, who famously said that the anticolonial revolution was a cultural revolution. The latter was above all an agronomist, whose academic formation in Portugal served as the conflictual basis for his revolutionary ideas.

On the invitation of President Pedro Pires and the Amílcar Cabral Foundation, Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja (2013) gave a speech at the Amílcar Cabral Scientific forum in which he underlined the inspirational revolutionary work of Cabral and highlighted the aspects of democratic governance, reconstruction and development, and pan-African solidarity within the greater, renewed pan-African project for the 21st century contained in Cabral's texts. Elsewhere, it has been pointed out that, since the independence movement, one of the major cultural policy of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde (in Portuguese, *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde*, in short PAIGC) was to promote indigenous cultural heritage and the associated positive values, as the revolutionary pioneers

envisioned common people gaining conscience of the worth of their culture in a greater project of the building-up of a national cultural character (Osório, n.d.). In an international conference dedicated to him, he was upheld as the "anonymous fighter for mankind and fundamental freedoms".[66]

As for the country, Cabo Verde was the first African case of policy-induced graduation in 2008, upgraded from a low-income to a middle-income country, meaning that the key to change was governance and public policies, as opposed to resource-driven graduation (African Development Bank 2012; for critical political readings, refer to Baker 2006; A.C. e Silva 2014). The ADB report had Cabo Verde as the "African Success Story". According to the U.S. Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs, "Cabo Verde is one of Africa's success stories and an important U.S. partner in West Africa."[67]

Our discussion, however, will oblige us to go beyond the "African success story" discourse and explore the nature of the governance of Cabo Verde. What is the *raison d'être* of the Cabo Verdean state? And if we take the resolution of the food problem to be the *raison d'être* of the Cabo Verdean state, it is interesting that this is quite different from Felwine Sarr's observations about African states and their *raison d'être, or Raison d'État*:

> *Nous avons théorisé et légitimé cet état de fait, en présentant l'État comme une figure amorale qui n'a pas d'amis et qui n'a que des intérêts, qu'il défend par tous les moyens, y compris les plus abjects, s'il le faut : nous appelons cela la Raison d'État*. (Sarr 2017: 13).

The post-independence African States have become horrifying entities of power manipulation that are isolating and isolated. They are incompetent, violent and corrupt. Each holds an abject image before their own people. It is unfortunate that, as Sarr explains, we are so used to African failures that we become numbed to the catastrophic effects.

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[66] Amílcar Cabral: O "Combatente Anónimo" pelos Direitos Fundamentais da Humanidade. Conferência Internacional, Instituto de História Contemporânea da Universidade Nova de Lisboa. 1, 2 e 3 de Março de 2018. http://fcsh.unl.pt/media/eventos/20180301_AmilcarCabral_programa.pdf

[67] U.S. Department of State's Bureau of African Affairs. "U.S. Relations with Cabo Verde. Bilateral Relations Factsheet." https://www.state.gov/u-s-relations-with-cabo-verde/ (accessed August 27, 2019).

The land and the soil in a political-cultural fight

The "soil" was the subject of a Third Text double special issue titled *The Wretched Earth: Botanical Conflicts and Artistic Interventions*, gathering new research into "the cultures, politics and systems of representation, as well as their attendant desires and violences, generated through human interaction with the soil" (Gray and Sheikh 2018: 163). The editors borrowed the phrase "The Wretched Earth" from Franz Fanon to signal their ongoing engagement with anti-colonial and anti-imperialist writers like him and to highlight the urgency to reflect on the "multiple human and nonhuman cohabitations that constitute the soil" (p. 164). Within this double special issue, one contributor discussed the works and thoughts of Amílcar Cabral, including the book Agrarian Studies from 1948 to 1960, judging him to be an active "state soil scientist" and a "seeder of African liberation" at the same time (César 2018). According to César, the African revolutionary leader conceived of geology and human history as one, so that the soil is not something inert and static that simply subjects itself to human agency; rather, its relation to human social structures is dynamic, evidenced by its responses to extractivist colonial actions, e.g., Cabral witnessed the devastating drought in Cabo Verde in 1941 with a death toll of 20,000 people as a seventeen-year-old young man. To understand Cabral's inspirations and greater political campaign, we are urged to pay attention to the influence of the soil on the living. Furthermore, César concorded with the editors in convoking various counter-extractvist, anti-imperialist and anti/post-colonial knowledges to reclaim the soil and address human relations with the soil from the ground up.

There are different understandings of "culture". For Amílcar Cabral, the struggle for independence is essentially a cultural act because society is liberated from foreign control and takes its own ascending cultural path. Democracy, education, health and all public actions to promote the well-being of the population are beneficial to the acceleration of cultural progress. The political understanding of culture is possible. Drawing on the works of Amílcar Cabral, interpreted by Humberto Cardoso (1993), culture, national identity and the fight for national liberation are closely related. Cardoso believes that the opening up of the regime was essential to achieving many of the aspirations of the founding father. Cardoso, as we may expect, held important positions in MpD in the early nineties.

Contestations and alternative interpretations can never be avoided. There are certainly many ways to interpret the results achieved so far. One perspective – which the above discussion seems to corroborate – is that, in Cabo Verde, politics has incorporated culture, so that what is political is cultural, and vice versa. Moreover, since the basis for a different political arrangement in Cabo Verde in the first hand is to combat a problem of human nourishment, the political regime of Cabo Verde is a humane and cultural one.[68]

[68] On this particular perspective on Human-Nature relationship, refer to Fei (1992). Fei Xiaotong was a student of renowned LSE anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski. Fei himself is accredited to be one of the pioneers of functional anthropological and sociological studies in China in the twentieth century. His work *From the Soil: The Foundation of Chinese Society* is widely translated and cited. The soil, literally, is the foundation of Chinese society. His looks closely at Chinese rural culture, the basis of Chinese society and the fundamental aspects of life in the country. Moreover, his thesis is an integrated look at the entirety of China, in that agricultural practices (and related mentalities), families, human relationships, society, public order and political goals are one and all. Another way to understand his work is that the soil forms the Chinese character, be it individual or collective. His expression "*乡土社会*" is loosely translated as "rural society", but, in fact, "乡土" means "the country and the soil" and such a "*社会*", i.e. society, is founded on the country and the soil – if we are stringent with the translation. Therefore, the implications of Fei's work go beyond the study of rural communities and agrarian reforms. If we separate urban studies and rural studies like we conventionally do in western research, we do not acknowledge that the "rural" is the social basis of the "urban", at least in Fei's study of China. Likewise, for Cabo Verde, the rural is not separate from the urban. In fact, even as the economy develops and urbanisation rate grows stridently, one does not see a cut-off of the same social universe.

In Poverty We Will Always Stay: The Politics of Social In-distinction in Cabo Verde and the Promoters[69]

Cultural and political elitism

In the edited volume *African Studies since 1945. A Tribute to Basil Davidson*, Anthony Kirk-Greene wrote:

> For if it is unarguable that in Anglophone university circles (outside America) public administration was the Cinderella discipline up to the 1960s it is no less demonstrable that, thanks to the magic wand of its African fairy godmother, public administration today rides in a golden coach to glittering assemblies – above all those hosted by African academics – never again to return to the snubbed and despised drudgery of life below academic stairs. (1976: 125)

He believed the public administration sub-discipline elevated and was yet to elevate the prestige of African Studies to an even higher position. In the absence of European, colonial administrators, indigenous African leaders felt the necessity to pursue academic training in public administration for their own qualification and to invest in this course in African universities, build an efficient system of government, and reimagine the bureaucracy so that it is not "neutral" but politicised and sensitised to meet the needs of the respective new African states.

In the case of Cabo Verde, the change was not an abrupt one, of turning a page from the colonial past to the independent present. We shall begin with a consensual interpretation of the part they played in Cabo Verdean history:

> *Numa perspectiva histórico-sociológica, a identidade cultural, posteriormente geradora de um sentimento de unidade nacional, foi-se formando, ainda que de forma incipiente desde os séculos XV a XVII, aprofundando-se nos séculos XIX e XX no ambiente cultural dinamizado por grupos de intelectuais cabo-verdianos da época ditos* ***nativistas*** *e* ***claridosos****.* (Madeira 2018: 199, original emphases)

[69] A more developed core paper that presents the thesis (i.e. keys ideas and contributions of this manuscript) titled "In Poverty We Will Always Stay: History of Famine and Contemporary Politics of Social In-distinction in Cabo Verde" is undergoing revision.

But it is not enough to identity the important role played by a small group of learned Cabo Verdeans who were situated halfway between two worlds.

Keese (2012) engaged the predominantly African elite at the dusk of the Portuguese empire which administered an inefficient Portuguese colonial system. Based on interviews with veterans, he discussed the delicate double roles assumed by Cabo Verdean officials in the Portuguese colonial service. They were representatives of the government and campaigners for the African subjects at the same time. They cooperated with the Portuguese in action and revolted through the vehicle of critique. Some of these Cabo Verdean administrators were critical in their attitude towards the Metropole and considered themselves agents of social change back then. This formed the basis of a group identity.

The distinction between people has a lot to do with education and socially censured perceptions. Importantly, the "cultural elite" since colonial times made it that way. What we have in Cabo Verde as "*elite cultural*" is closely related to education – highly valued in Cabo Verde – and positively connotated. One common interpretation of their role in politics is that of determining the national identity, they themselves being a factor of identity (*um factor de identidade*) (Madeira 2018). The work of Madeira, to a large extent, corroborates the thesis of his supervisor, Pedro Borges Graça (2005), who used the concept of "cultural ambivalence" to assess the post-colonial attempts at nation-building in Mozambique. Meanwhile, it seems that Madeira found more definite answers in his own case of study:

> *A autenticidade do processo de formação da identidade e da construção da **nação** em Cabo Verde é um facto que resulta, assim, do encontro secular entre duas civilizações durante o período de colonização. Uma especificidade ligada à história da afirmação de um **sentimento nacional** que moldou uma cultura nacional, permitindo que, no decorrer dos tempos, se afirmasse progressivamente na esfera pública cabo-verdiana, uma **elite cultural** como defensora de uma identidade nacional, ora ambivalente no pensamento e acção discursivo-literária (a autonomia e a adjacência), ora determinada em alcançar a autodeterminação e independência da **nação** cabo-verdiana, o que viria a ocorrer nos anos setenta do século XX. É nas décadas que antecederam este período que se afirmam os percursores da independência, cujo objectivo se centrava na formação dos jovens, sensibilizando-os para a ideologia política independentista, transmitindo-lhes os valores culturais da **nação** […] (p. 196, original emphases).*

In Madeira's study, the promoters of change and the targeted audience in Cabo Verde are very clearly identified, and they are the progressive "cultural elite" and the broadly defined younger generation, respectively.

However, a discussion about "elite" very quickly slips into another discussion about "class". Quite often, they are used synonymously.

We shall begin properly by first introducing the concepts and then revisiting some historical stages of Cabo Verde.

Class concepts

To start with, class is a sociological concept. It is closely related to processes of industrialisation. Classes are formed along differences of income, education levels, professions, etc. Class divisions are becoming increasingly sophisticated. For instances, in modern Britain, seven social classes have been formally proposed for classifying people.[70] As far as academic approaches to class analysis is concerned, there are two grand schools, one tracing its origins to Marxist thoughts and the other based on Weberian ideas (Wright 2005).

In broad geographical terms, and comparing accounts of social stratification and societal organisation, it has been observed that researchers tend to reserve the elite label for Africa and use the middle-class label for other parts of the world (Lentz 2015). According to one view, the class concept fails to capture real power relations and structures of African societies, so that the "African Middle Class" is more of a discourse than observed social structure (Melber 2013, 2015, 2016). This, of course, refers especially to Sub-Saharan Africa. Like-minded sceptics argue that Africa is divided between the very rich and all the rest; placing hope in a growing African Middle Class, therefore, is little more than wishful thinking, ideological smokescreen or perhaps propaganda campaigns. This group of scholars tend to view negatively the hype that has extended the status of developmental actors to Africans who have strong but short-lived purchasing power. If it were really true that we are simply seeing a North in the South and a South in the North, a phenomenon that is ephemeral, unstable and not generalizable to the

[70] Helena Horton, "The Seven Social Classes of 21st Century Britain - Where Do You Fit In?" December 7, 2015. Available at www.telegraph.co.uk

bigger population, it would make sense to dispose of the African Middle Class category for African Studies.

At least in media and social communications and in international development studies reports, the relevance of the African Middle Class is clear. Among certain economist analysts and investment advisors, opinions are that the "African tigers" or "African lions", unlike their Asian counterparts, have not delivered the growth records expected of them (Wohlmuth 2014). They consequently judge that the African Middle Class is merely a covert and failed institutional developmental ideal.

What is also true, though, is that popular imagination is not totally unmatched by academic fervour. There are special issues specifically dedicated to the African Middle Class, one notable example being the special issue on *Les Classes Moyennes en Afrique* in the journal *Afrique Contemporaine*. Recognising the new dynamics, Pierre Jacquemot (2012), the editor of the special issue considers them to be the "*nouveaux groupes sociaux en Afrique"*. The African Middle Class, alongside the Global Middle Class, in its contemporary form, expression and manifestations, is increasingly becoming a popular subject in African Studies. The research gap in African Middle Class research is rather huge. We have yet to fully gauge the international context in which the African Middle Class emerged (Dieter and Stoll 2014). Accordingly, qualitative ethnographic methods are best at surveying the intensive international contacts that members of the African Middle Class maintain with the outside world. It is claimed that, in Africa and large parts of the Global South, there is no existing analysis of socio-cultural differentiation; on the contrary, such distinctions are perceived and studied only in terms of ethnic and religious identities.

Concerning the sites of field research, much middle-class anthropological research tends to have been carried out in places such as shopping malls, gated communities, bars and pubs, themes parts or places of festivities (Lentz 2015). This concentration of ethnographic labour in sites of consumption is partly understandable. It is where people are most comfortable and at ease and where participant observation is most welcomed and least problematic. Unfortunately, the downside is that published findings seem to support opinions, especially from sceptics, that the African Middle Class consists of no more than big consumers who yearn for western

modernity and frivolous style of living, that Africans are mere instruments for domestically-driven economic growth with little agency, autonomy or and diversity.

Then, some fundamental questios are: who counts as middle class; who does not; and how universal are the measuring yardsticks. Hart (1973) first studied the relationships between urbanity, development, slums and informality, using approximating terms such as "small-scale entrepreneurs" and "petite capitalism", in Ghana. Work can well be one of the most fascinating areas of study in the African context, including precarious work conditions, underemployment, casual work arrangement, informal economic activities, etc. In a new perspective, people who engaged in the supposedly shadow economy are viewed as informal workers, mobile actors and capable of political and collective actions (Lindell 2010). A question follows as to how to classify these African, predominantly female, social actors. Significantly, there is a clear international dimension to informal economic activities. Considering this, Darbon (2013) broke this classificatory barrier by proposing the Chinese concept of *la petite prospérité* to understand the often-invisible African Middle Class, in which category the author adamantly includes the informal African vendors and their families. The French researcher appreciates the Chinese philosophical-con-political concept and adopts it to describe Africans who are modestly middle class in income terms, largely invisible to policy makers and decision makers, but vulnerable to economic and political changes, of which they have little control. It should be pointed out Darbon himself is very cautious about over-optimism. One reason for looking farther for compatible ideas if that he is also a sceptic of African Middle Class in a way. This will be discussed in more detail below.

Closely related to work is migration. Anthropologists and ethnographers have contributed overwhelmingly and enthusiastically to migration studies. African diasporas are spread across the globe; some are considered old while others are considered new. Regardless of the classification criteria and rationale, we would not deny the relevance of diasporic research in African Studies. Diasporic communities hold essential clues to a better understanding of African societies in general. In light of this, we can sensibly argue that the African Middle Class is the production of transnational cultures and perhaps also the reproduction of diasporic communities (see Akyeampong 2000). It will not suffice to explore the phenomenon from

within, but also from without. Similar to this proposition is the idea of global African diasporas that resist both the tyranny of hegemonic world models and the romance of the local (Zeleza 2010). It reminds us to look beyond not just African insularity and nationalism but also the Francophone, Lusophone and Commonwealth divisions of the black continent. Similarly, more attention has to be directed to African diasporas in Asia, for example, and not just in the Americas. Following the same rationale, when researching the African Middle Class, we take full advantage of this consciousness of globality and we are sensitive to local experiences without losing sight of the global forces that structure these experiences. For instance, Tetteh (2016) is interested in the New African Middle Class, which she takes to mean young, educated Ghanaian professionals, who are effecting changes on urban landscape in the Accra metropolis and surrounding cities. In constructing her analytical framework, she combines, on the one hand, external forces of economic globalisation, structural changes and new international labour division, and, on the other hand, internal political and social changes. In her analysis, she explores the relationships between class formation and urban change. In another study about Ghana, Yeboah (2003) notes how return migrants are responsible for periurban residential expansion around Accra. These migrants do not only demand physical spaces, they also name these places Mandela, Israel, Middle East, Santa Maria (Spain), etc., after the respective country of settlement. The naming of places is significant for their strong symbolism and signification - an example of social distinction and class distinction.

In his philosophical but fluent and eloquent text on class and distinction in French society, Bourdieu (1984) was adamant that class differences structure society:

> Taste classifies, and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make, between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed. (p. 6)

Bourdieu, a structuralist anthropologist turned cultural sociologist, was well known for having studied the cultural forms that are expressions of the structure of the domination in society (see also Sulkunen 1982). Reading his seminal work translated into English, *Distinction: a social*

critique of the judgement of taste, it is clear that almost all human activities, from the most mundane to the most sophisticated, are "classifying" in nature and the criteria are always in favour of the dominant class. According to one view, South-North labour migration has the possibility of erasing such distinctions following a levelling effect through which immigrants from diverse backgrounds at home compete for the same jobs in a new country – western, economically and socially more developed (Akyeampong 2000). Deskilling and downward social mobility are consistently observed. In addition to that, the levelling effect is also due to people from originally different social classes mingling with one another and facing equally high costs of living in the new country (Vasta & Kandilige 2010).

We shall agree that it is important to strike a balance between unchecked optimism and outright cynicism in African Middle Class research. Referencing the estimates of African Development Bank, economists have spread the message that one in three Africans is now middle class. Indeed, the currently available literature has to be read critically.

On African Middle Class research, here is how researchers position themselves, based on Darbon's long-time research experience and in his own words with minor English corrections:

> Type 1: The first type rejects any use of the word "class" in Africa for both ideological and political reasons. However, that is not the point.
>
> Type 2: The second type believes that African Middle Class exists. I am afraid they fail to follow evidence-based rules.
>
> Type 3: The third type, which I am part of, tries to deepen knowledge of African societies: to understand how poor people scale up and down the poverty ladder; how their spending power is growing, what kind of representation they have, what are their lifestyles and how they evolve with time and possibly growing status... The interest is there. Adding up new knowledge to understand how those massive changes are happening in Africa and transforming social structures... They are certainly not African Middle Class, they are something much more important, of major interest... Discuss, describe, analyse current dynamics at work. And at the end of the day we'll see how to qualify them. (Personal communication by email, 10 March 2017)

As Darbon explained, it is clearly necessary to "deconstruct" an object of study so as to understand what is at stake. It is necessary to investigate different types of social, political and economic trends and dynamics at work. The grand term African middle class itself is little revealing unless we know how to unveil other types of transformation that are taking place in African societies (In fact, just this grouping already causes great headaches to researchers.). Darbon also reminded us that we need to follow classical social sciences methodology: take an object, analyse it, deconstruct it, get rid of common-sense knowledge, separate the wheat from the chaff, and to discover behind the wrong object the real one.

Usages of class concepts in literature about Cabo Verde

It would be very easy to point out places where classes are discussed in literature about Cabo Verde. It is rather common for "class" to be mentioned or highlighted in scholarly works about Cabo Verde, written by Cabo Verdeans or by foreigners. This makes us wonder about the usefulness of the Western concept for a study about the food, foodways and foodscapes of Cabo Verde. Moreover, from literature review, what different authors understand by class is not always clear. In the following brief discussion, we shall review what use major authors made of the concepts and then survey selectively other works that are more closely related to food and foodways.

To take one example, class in Cabo Verde is described as follows:

> *Na altura da independência, a burguesia era numericamente insignificante; a classe média ou a pequena burguesia era um pouco mais numerosa do que a primeira, mas pequena na mesma; e a massa imensa de trabalhadores rurais ou simplesmente dito o povo é que engrossava as estatísticas populacionais.* (Carreira 1977a: 59)

Carreira goes on to provide a detailed list of occupations and social conditions of people that fell under each of the categories. It is felt that Carreira used the term "class" to denominate demographic groupings.

Similarly, Lobban (1993) was one of the authors who used "classes" to signal social differences in Cabo Verde historically. His classification was largely based on occupations, a

scheme familiar to most western cultures, but he did note that the such class structure is "rather complex in its specialized occupations but simple in that it is overwhelmingly geared toward agricultural production" (p. 51).

It is not uncommon to associate class with skin colour in a discussion about power and social structure in colonial Cabo Verde. Eurídice Furtado Monteiro (2015) testifies to the disadvantaged position of women in the political field in Cabo Verde, bring together factors of identity, class and gender in a discussion of democracy, participation and representation:

> *Na verdade, a distinção social continua a suscitar um forte debate, por vezes numa articulação acrítica com o passado colonial ou até com o intuito de apropriação desse passado. Realce-se também que, na época colonial, se os significados rácios se transmutavam em diferenças sociais, tal era sinal de que a dimensão racial tinha ainda efeitos na estrutura da mentalidade. Constata-se a persistência de preconceitos rácios, embora subvertida pela transmudação semântica dos termos de classificação. (pp. 146-47)*

It is rather clear that the greater concern of E.F. Monteiro was race, which she considers to the generator and denominator of class differences in Cabo Verde with long, historical, colonial roots difficult to remove yet today.

Concerning race and class, we are told:

> The line between racial and class segregation is very difficult to trace in Cape Verde, since in most cases they mean the same, and people can always use one or the other to explain discrimination and difference. For those on top it is a question of class, for those at the bottom it is one of race. (Batalha 2014: 66)

Many authors have discussed the class issue in Cabo Verde with regards to out-movements. Among them, most recently, António Germano Lima (2017) credits emigration for the emergency of a new class, on top of what we know about Cabo Verde in the past. He writes specifically about Boa Vista:

> *Em termos de consciência de classe social, porém, é só dos meados do século XIX ao século XX que emerge ma classe forte de emigrantes, com um certo poder de intervenção e de influência na sociedade boavistense. Nesse momento, aos poucos os seus poderes económicos são os únicos capazes de tirar a ilha da miséria quase generalizada em que se encontrava, contrabalançando, assim, uma economia colonial evidentemente decadente.*

> *Neste sentido, a partir dos meados do referido século, a emigração da Boavista, em três sentidos: no aspecto social, o estatuto, não só da pessoa emigrada, mas também de todos os familiares próximos, subiu, passando, muitas vezes, de simples Zé, para o senhor (X); do anonimato, o emigrante e os seus familiares passaram a ser objecto de referência social; de ignorados, transformaram-se em motivos de concorrência para o compadrio e outras relações interpessoais e familiares. Essa nova classe viria a destronar a velha classe dos proprietários de gado, de terrenos e fazendas agrícolas, de casas comerciais e dos próprios emigrantes "mercon". (p. 233)*

Lima goes on to give examples of how a new social class of emigrants showed off their successes, with European hats, dresses and clothing, Portuguese gold and Portuguese style housing design. In extravagant display of luxury, emigrants raised horses and fed them maize and went to great extend to keep them:

> *Em certas povoações, como, por exemplo, no Rabil e nas do Norte, o cavalo, engordado à base do milho, passou a ser também um animal de luxo, portanto, de ostentação. É que, por um lado, veículos automóveis não eram ainda muito vulgarizados em Cabo Verde e, por outro, as secas prolongadas acabaram com os pastos no campo. Assim, quem não tivesse dinheiro suficiente não poderia suportar as despesas que a compra, a criação e a manutenção de um cavalo comportavam. Ora, só o emigrante bem sucedido se encontrava em condições financeiras de dar-se ao luxo de possuir um cavalo. (p. 233)*

The apparent irony of this account was how maize, with all its cultural and social symbolic value, was fed to an animal species with no clear conventional use to the local farming and food system, in a luxurious but laborious display of wealth that did not contributed to local production and yet deviated human and materials resources from it – i.e., time and care, grass and straw for other animals and livestock, use of space, petrol for the vehicles, etc.

In contrast, concerning class in migration, we are told the following about second-generation Cabo Verdeans in Portugal:

> The main social problem among the second-generation Cape Verdeans is the high number of youths who complete compulsory education without being prepared to follow any particular trade, but who have nonetheless been fed with expectations of a middle-class style. This is something that they have in common with other second generations, of which the Caribbeans in Britain and in the Netherlands are a good example. […]
>
> Second-generation Cape Verdeans have grown up watching daily the consumerism of their middle-class "neighbors." Television and other media are also aimed at increasing

> upper-middle-class and middle-class consumerism, without being concerned whether the people in the council housing projects will have the means to fulfill those consumerist ideals. Very few students in shantytowns are able to go beyond the limit of compulsory education, even if more and more of them are now able to complete secondary education. The university is still the most secure way up into a middle-class position. However, only very few second-generation Cape Verdeans are able to complete a university degree. […]
>
> (Batalha 2004: 166)

There are authors who made clear references to diets and habits of different "classes":

> *À carne e ao peixe juntavam-se os legumes e as frutas (frescas e secas), existentes em quantidade e variedade muito significativas em Portugal. Peras, maças, laranjas, limões, figos, pêssegos, ameixas e uvas, além de frutos secos, como amêndoas, avelãs ou nozes eram complementos importantes […]*
>
> *Estes produtos podiam estar presentes em "mesas abastadas" e eventualmente em "mesas campesinas", a frequência da sua presença é que era diferente. Nos escalões socais mais elevados, a alimentação era mais requintada, mais rica, mais variada […]*
>
> *Enquanto para as classes sociais elevados chegou a ser preciso refrear os excessos alimentares, através das Leis Pragmáticas de 1340, os camponeses viviam no limiar das necessidades, não tanto em quantidade, mas em qualidade e variedade dos produtos consumidos.*
>
> *[…]*
>
> *As diferenças alimentares decorrem inúmeras vezes de questões ligadas a variações geográficas e climáticas, mas é também necessário considerar que elas testemunham o estatuto social, a riqueza e a cultura dos homens que seguem os diferentes tipos de regime alimentar.*
>
> *Nesta perspectiva, Cabo Verde afigura-se-nos um caso paradigmático, na medida em que a dieta da sua população no século XV e primeira metade do XVI reflecte a estrutura económica e social estabelecida.*
>
> *(Torrão 1995: 24, 37)*

Torrão's account is perhaps the best reference for that historical period as far as food and class differences are concerned. She very distinctly characterises two diets based on the different origins of the people involved. The points she makes about food quantity, quality and frequency are pertinent. They concord with what has been studied and confirmed in other case studies, discussed in previous chapters. Torrão's work also suggests that there is a flexible range or scale on which the conditions of the people variate, i.e., improve or worsen, at a given point in time.

Meanwhile, much later, for Agostinho Rocha (1990), he uses "classes" to indicate the

differences in eating and cookery on Santo Antão island, however, he uses it more as a shorthand for a continuum of the cuisine of Cabo Verde from the simplest to the more sophisticated. Note the following:

> *No que respeita à alimentação, esta variou do frugal ao opíparo. Desde as papas e batatas com leite à simples batata cozida, mandioca, inhame, a banana verde e a fruta-pão, também cozidos, à cachupa, alimento base de todas as classes, ao cozido de carne ou peixe, ao guisado, ao refogado, ao assado, à fressura, aos enchidos como morcela, chouriço, linguiça, ao paio, às cabeças de cabra, carneiro, porco e vaca, à rica tripa de polpa assada nas brasas, ao caldo de peixe, aos ovos de tartaruga, ao dandam feito com as sardas novas - delícia do grande garfo, o simpático José Jardim, - à esplêndida canja, de galinha ou de capado, a pele de cabeça, petisco por muitos preferido, que pretendiam comê-la assada nas brasas em vez de comer a carne da cabra cozida ao préntem ou milho aliado, à camoca, ao milho verde assado e de tantos outros pratos que se confeccionavam tão bem*. (p. 55)

Referencing the experience of other places, there is no denying that people in certain backward areas have little financial means to make the same purchases that city people can afford. Therefore, rejection of poverty is not a negation of reality. Rather, it is an "attempt to influence the meanings and interpretations of particular ways of living" (Hull 2014: 65). In this study of contemporary South Africa where supermarket operations are extending their reach deeper and deeper following economic but not social rationale, Hull was clearly concerned about class issues, and she took up the discussion of class differences in the countryside with commodities from the city, when retailing is changing rural consumption habits and mentalities. What does it mean to live in the countryside these days? How do we understand the countryside in Africa today?

From a critical perspective, at a time when urbanization is happening at an ever-faster pace, food reveals much more about Cabo Verdean social organisation:

> […] in postcolonial societies such as Cape Verde where class boundaries have been historically signaled through the structure of meals and the ability to purchase certain food items, what is voiced about food abundance is often as important as what is silenced about food acquisition. (Rodrigues 2008: 342)

Rodrigues is very emphatic about upper, middle and lower-class differences in food

consumption in contemporary Cabo Verdean society as it stands today. In houses where they work, maids do not have access to the same proteins – in this case beef – that their middle-class employers enjoy.

Conversations and observations on the ground

There is no denying that the Cabo Verdean islands are richer than its neighbours on the African mainland.[71] Cabo Verdeans do say quite frequently that they are poor ("*Cabo Verde é pobre. Somos pobres*."). If some segments of the Cabo Verdean population were/are poor, it is an economic perspective. However, the social linings of class are more than just financial capacities and can be far more significant. Poverty is material when the islanders are deprived of the material comforts that people elsewhere do not give enough value to, but "poverty" can also be a collective conscience and not exactly a class conscience. Colloquially, people call private lands "*terreno de pobreza*" and public lands "*terreno do estado*". It is interesting how traditional lands in private hands are now termed, contradictorily, "land of the poor". In this instance of Creole usage, "*povo*", "*pobre*" and "*pobreza*" are equated. If the poverty discourse is common even among those whom we would classify formally as middle-class, we ask why it is so. This could be socially censured behaviour. For instance, when talking to people who seem to be doing relatively well in financial terms, they were very quick to give thanks for the observations, express their gratitude for what they have and quickly highlight the difficulties that many families and neighbours have to cope with. The conclusion is always that the country is poor and that *they* are poor.

At the end of the day, it may be unfair to label the "elite", for we are not talking about absolute economic situations wherein people fled to the mountains ("*cutelos"* or *"achadas"* in Portuguese*)* and those who were in higher-up places were poorer, as in the old days. Defining classes in Cabo Verde is tricky. Contemporarily, if we take the civil servants (who enjoy job stability and security) or the workers in large entities of public interests (who earn more than civil servants), they might be classified as the "middle class" of Cabo Verde. They are primary and secondary school teachers, town hall employees (from truck drivers to managerial ranks), librarian employees, port workers, etc. They have regular work hours. The younger they are,

[71] The Azores and Madeira archipelago, by contrast, are poorer than continental Portugal.

the more educated they tend to be. Take a real example, one Cabo Verdean from Praia in his mid-20s was allocated to a public school in Brava. He writes and is fluent in Mandarin, having obtained a master's degree in History in China, who is likely overqualified for the job. He is married and his wife lives in Praia, but he could not land a post on Santiago Island. It is not uncommon for young or newly recruited teachers in Cabo Verde to have studied for multiple years abroad, some even have PhDs. The older generation compensate for that by sending their children abroad to receive tertiary education, not unfrequently in Portugal or Brazil, or in some other country, if a scholarship is granted. They live in their own house or have somewhere they have lived for a very long time, so that they maintain a cordial and familiar relationship with the neighbours. They typically do not engage in agriculture or fishery but buy everything they consume with their salaries. Sometimes, if the salary is too tight for a minimally comfortable life, their spouse opens a grocery in the neighbourhood or take up other remunerated tasks. Nonetheless, from experience, the more privileged and educated Cabo Verdeans are, the more down-to-earth they tend to be. They are abler to discuss social, political and cultural issues from a broad perspective. They are more conscious of extended family circumstances, collective destiny and overall well-being, and arguably, more sensitive to the suffering and sacrifices of the general population. They are conscious that they were lucky in their circumstances and they felt the moral obligation, perhaps for their "privilege", to always draw others' attention to the problems and worries of the rural poor. This is to say that "middle class", a concept so feverishly used to describe African contemporary dynamics, is not an indigenous Cabo Verdean social category. Importantly, it fails to capture the social, cultural and political characteristics of the Cabo Verdean nation. Based on observations and interactions on the ground, sophisticated and well-mannered islanders are more likely to treat people as equals, and the association between behaviour and education is consistent and strong. Take the instance of the treatment of helpers, which is fairly common. Many adolescents and young people help in neighbours and other people's home for a small sum. The helper may eat at the same table. Some families hire a helper to clean the house and/or to cook. In one family, it was seen that the helper cooked and ate the same food at the same table at the same time as the family. She did the cleaning when the family retired to their rooms for a nap. In one family, the house lady did the cooking while the helper cleaned. The latter was invited to eat at the same table afterwards. In the above cases,

the helpers behaved very respectfully, they would only put more food in their plate when urged to do so, and they were urged on repeatedly. Then again, the bigger the house, the more likely it is to have a kitchen garden, even if the family has no intention of being self-sufficient. People who do not raise pigs may gather leftover for neighbours who do. Interacting with people who may be economically superior or inferior is part of daily life on Cabo Verde.

Asking people if they felt jealous of richer neighbours (especially those families with successful emigrants), they were careful to answer that they work and, with the help of God, they will succeed when it is the time for them. Also, some Cabo Verdeans go a long way to not distinguish themselves inappropriately. There is a strong discourse of common suffering and common faith. Some graffiti on Brava Island, where huge compounds of emigrants silently stand, reads, in equivalent English, "in poverty we will always stay". Even while Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora live much better than those on the archipelago, people do not think that the diaspora is a class, nor do Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora consider themselves a united entity. Rather, wherever they are, people identity themselves by family origin and migration experiences (island, destination, generation, work, etc.). As emigration becomes possible for more and more families in both the city and the country and the absolute number of emigrants keeps to a steady rising curve, we may venture to say that emigration has been democratised to the point that class is too isolating and distinguishing a concept to apply to Cabo Verde as it stands today. Gifting and sharing are common on the islands. Both the rich and the poor receive *bidons*. Some of the contents are distributed to others, and these include shoes that are one size too big, perfume that is too mature, clothes that are too sexy, chocolate powder that children adore, etc. It is possible to connect the class discussion with migration and international mobility. A major ethnographic work provides a richly informative and expressive account of how Cape Verdean *rabidantes* travel to source merchandises and sell to Cape Verdeans in the diasporas and to compatriots at home (Grassi 2003). At first thought, we are quite unlikely to classify these women as belonging to the rising African Middle Class, but if we use Darbon's in-the-middle scheme inspired by *la petit prospérité* idea of China, *rabidantes* may well be considered middle class in Cabo Verde. The irony would be that most of these women would not accept this for themselves, considering how vulnerable they are to a number of external factors which they cannot control. Furthermore, in his work about Cabo Verdeans in Greater Lisbon, Batalha

(2004b) problematised the use of term "community". He started with the abstract – the community – and ended by destroying the myth. In his fieldwork, Batalha first targeted a small but influential Cabo Verdean association where there are older people with double nationalities, paler skin, higher education level, more stable family life in Portugal, and a strong Luso-tropical rhetoric; secondly, Batalha talked with Cabo Verdean laborers at large who had arrived much later, darker in skin color, poorly educated and often estranged or separated from their family. Supplemented by an excursion to Cabo Verde, Batalha demystified the Cabo Verdean community, the usurpation of which term serves particularistic associational interests in Lisbon. He failed to find empirical support for the much-acclaimed Cabo Verdean community.

Promotion of equality and commercial strategies and interests

In Western countries, people usually think that the finance minister is a major decision maker, wield more say in financial and political matters than, for example, the education minister. In Cabo Verde, people keep their eyes on the foreigner affairs minister, as he or she is supposed to attract foreign and expatriate investments. But then, Cabo Verdeans also pay close attention to the Minister for Culture. Currently, the post is held by Abraão Vicente. Originally from Assomada, he was previously a major cultural figure in Tarrafal. He is believed to be ambitious and a likely candidate for the position of Prime Minister. Elsewhere, it would be relatively rare for a minister for culture to rise up to the top job, when there are many more ministers with a tighter grip on power and greater social and media exposure. In Cabo Verde, however, people have great respect for those active in the cultural scene, so much so that they are not surprised by the minister's ambitions. Cabo Verdeans like to project their culture internationally and, in a way, culture is also international affairs in the Cabo Verdean mentality. Nonetheless, the solemnly celebratory volume Cabo Verde: *30 Anos de Cultura 1975-2005* (Ministério da Cultura, n.d.) contains chapters on language, music, literature (fiction and poetry), "public reading", plastic arts, theatre, cinema and audiovisual, history (historical heritage, general history and historiography), etc. There is no mention of food. This shows the predominance of a certain definition of culture – especially written and erudite – in political and intellectual circles. We also need to keep in mind that, in Cabo Verde, the publications (usually books) of current/former politicians are very prominently placed on the shelves in bookstores (e.g.,

Livraria Pedro Cardoso, Livraria Nhô Eugénio) and easily found in libraries, big or small, public or private. The newer a book, the more likely it is that the writer has a political background. The most well-regarded politicians are also erudite scholars with a balanced academic background. Different from other places, Cabo Verdean historians and anthropologists have very high social status. There is proven mobility from academia to politics or from politics to academia, and this can be done rather easily and credibly.

Food issues, certainly, are reflected in *history*, which is a giant chunk of what Cabo Verde officially values and promotes as its culture. Iva Cabral, daughter of the revolutionary hero and a politically active historian, said, *"[n]ão existe cultura sem história. A cultura é filha da história, nasce com a história*" (2018: 11). What we have, therefore, are predetermined perspectives and ways to approach important subjects of social, cultural and political relevance that are fundamentally structured by history. Some years later, as presented in *Cabo Verde Criativo: Plano Estratégico Integrado Para o Desenvolvimento das Economias Criativas de Cabo Verde* (2014), the government planned to certify, commercialise, and brand the "*produtos de terra*" of Cabo Verde, targeting especially foreigners and tourists. The products the strategists had in mind were – in English translations – gastronomy and drinks, sweets and cheese, coffee, etc. A pragmatic economic approach is used to include food in the Creative Cabo Verde strategic plan. Noting the borrowing of the French term "*terroir*", refer to the following explanation:

> *Cabo Verde, enquanto país insular, possui uma diversidade geográfica interessante e fundamental para as economias criativas. Enquanto país, ao mesmo tempo cosmopolita (por ser um território historicamente de passagem, um entreposto comercial) e marcado pela riqueza de suas expressões culturais ancestrais, Cabo Verde possui uma relação profunda com a agricultura, com o plantio e a colheita, com as tradições gastronómicas oriundas do "terroir". No entanto, essas práticas alimentares e seus respectivos produtos não foram trabalhados para desenvolverem um valor agregado que contribua para uma "marca-país". Do café ao curado, do vinho aos pratos típicos cabo-verdianos, a agricultura ainda não se integrou de forma satisfatória a uma política para as economias criativas. Por isso, o "cluster do agronegócio" (assim como o "cluster do mar") precisa se conectar com um novo cluster (ainda inexistente em Cabo Verde) das Economias Criativas, capaz de transfigurar produtos em bens simbólicos do "terroir". Do vinho da ilha do Fogo (o Chã) ao café cabo-verdiano, é necessário construir um "Selo Cabo Verde Criativo" que garanta a certificação de origem desses produtos. O Ministério do Desenvolvimento Rural tem uma tarefa essencial nesse processo. Por outro lado, esses produtos necessitam ser consumidos dentro dos resorts nas ilhas com maior vocação*

turística." (p. 54)

In complementary documents, cookery was associated with identity and "cultural production" which is to be further promoted with "cultural tourism". Indeed, there is a difference between popular perception *versus* national rhetoric, daily practice *versus* touristic promotion.

The following is extracted from a feature report about the northern islands and tourist destinations and concerns São Vicente with the attractive sub-title "*Cachupa de Cevada: Diversidade Cultural*" and reads:

> *Os mindelenses reinventaram a cachupa, ao substituir um dos seus ingredientes essenciais, o milho, pela cevada. O cereal é facilmente encontrado na ilha de São Vicente, onde estão os silos da Moave. A empresa de moagem foi fundada por empresários cabo-verdianos por altura da independência. Assim, a cevada entra naturalmente na dieta dos mindelenses.*
>
> *Ultimamente há mais trigo do que cevada em São Vicente. Porém, o sabor é o mesmo – o de um prato que conta a história do povoamento das ilhas. O milho e os feijões, trazidos das Américas, juntam-se à carne de porco e aos legumes, introduzidos nas ilhas a partir do século 16. É por isso que há quem chame de "melting pot" (caldeirão de misturas) à cachupa, uma espécie de metáfora do cabo-verdiano, povo surgido do cruzamento de europeus e africanos, na encruzilhada do atlântico, a 14 graus norte da linha do equador*. (M. Dias 2015: 38)

Moave, a company that imports semi-processed grains from abroad, is associated with independence. The pot of food is associated with the American idea of melting pot. The substitution of maize with barley is said to be innovative. São Vicente, however, is most probably the island that consume the smallest quantity of Cachupa per family. Talking to inhabitants from Santiago, they are not as familiar with the barley recipe for Cachupa and do not consider it typical in Cabo Verde, especially when there is not enough rain to plant it properly (not even on the island of Fogo). There is evidence from fieldwork and from post-fieldwork discussions to suggest that Cachupa as such is a Mindelo speciality that is better known on the Barlavento islands (which islanders from Sal confirmed). Some badius suggested it is yet another proof that mindelenses are fond of Brazilian foodways and lifestyle (referring to the perennial "Little Brazil" discourse). On the whole, however, the "cultural diversity" discourse is colour-blind in that it makes pastel out of the whiteness and blackness of the Cabo Verdean people (see also Batalha 2004: 73-86). Grain was essential to human societies and

classical states; it would be no exaggeration to claim that humans were "domesticated" by grains, not vice versa (Scott 2017). Maize is not only dear to Cabo Verde, it is dear to Sub-Saharan Africa, which consumes 21% of the crop produced globally – with maize meal being hugely popular in East and southern Africa – important facts mentioned in a recent debate over the current food situation in Zambia.[72]

The current, surprisingly coherent trend is to take food as a common denominator of an equalising Cabo Verdean culture and tradition, different from Portugal and from Africa. See the following:

> *A cachupa não pode ser pensada como uma espécie de essência de identidade alimentar cabo-verdiana, algo linear e imutável, mas como resultado de um processo histórico, político, cultural e ideológico em que foi socializado, associado às condições da terra. Essa especificidade alimentar transcende a questão "cor" e "raça" dos sujeitos cabo-verdianos e de suas especificidades locais, sugerindo que o cabo-verdiano contemporâneo é herdeiro de um longo processo acumulativo de saberes, práticas e experiências de vida de inúmeras gerações que o antecederam. A manipulação adequada e criativa desse código cultural permite inovações e reinvenções de novos modos de se alimentar*. (Bento 2015a: 377)

As maize is becoming rarer and more expensive, people are eating rice but missing their

[72] Accordingly, Zambians are urged to vary their maize-based meals with more millet, sorghum, cassava and sweet potatoes – which Zambia also grows – and stop eating maize meal two or three times a day. *Nshima*, as the maize meal is called in Zambia, is not healthy and not sustainable. It is not sustainable because of the food shortages resulting from climate change and poor rainfall. It is not healthy because the maize used is highly processed and is insufficient for good skin and hair nor does it give nutrients to the brain. It is reported that Zambians rarely eat other foods, which is a reason for the food insecurity problem in Zambia and the widespread stunted growth of Zambian children. The governments are not innocent as they have been subsidising maize meal, making it popular in poor families. Now they are urged to start diverting the subsidies. On the African continent, every nation claims its staple food culturally, and people give fond names to maize: *nshima* for Zambia, *nsima* for Malawi, *sadza* for Zimbabwe, *papa* or *pap* for South Africa and Lesotho, *ugali* for Kenya, etc. It is uncertain how these people will make the "cultural turn", for we refer not only to the necessity of feeding and nourishment but also of psycho-socio-cultural changes. This must sound very familiar to Cabo Verdeans, scholars, international organisation managers, and politicians active in the last century, recalling that exaggerated repetition of maize in the diet of the largely rural population, extensive mal-nutrition, and the painful adaptations upon insistent urging. Pumza Fihlani, "Why Africa Should 'Stop Eating One of Its Favourite Foods.'" *BBC*, September18, 2019. https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-49714037.

traditional food. Politically, people are reminded of the gains of regime change and democracy, and past sufferings provide contrasts with current conditions. Cachupa represents a form of socially *in*-distinctive national unity.

In fact, as one researcher recorded about the "*modus vivendi*" of Cabo Verdeans, in particular the inhabitants of the island of Maio, certain symbolisms and cultural values have been preserved over the centuries (de J. Silva 2018). This despite fundamental changes concerning the economic structure, politics, emigration, etc. Cabo Verdean relation is characterised by mutual help and solidarity in spite of these changes:

> *Mas o sentimento de interpretação dessa realidade permaneceu no imaginário colectivo das pessoas e se elevou quase à categoria de adagio popular, que no Maio é ainda recorrente ouvir-se o aforismo: "nôs tudo é quel mé. Ninguém ca mas que quel ote = Nós somos todos iguais. Ninguém é superior a outro", uma remanescência do passado da convivência comunitária*. (p. 169)

On a final note, it has been observed elsewhere that Anglo-Saxon research frameworks sometimes tend to see division and separation when there is in fact continuation and constancy, as evidenced in a lot of traditional African societies and cultures (Kopytoff 1971). This is particularly true about human relationships as well. We have much written and popular evidence to support our claims that class concepts do not readily apply to Cabo Verde; on the contrary, there is what we may venture to say a group sentiment of "*in*-distinction" on the social and cultural levels.

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CHAPTER VI. The Expanded Foodscapes of Cabo Verde or World Domination of Industrial Food

This last chapter is the lengthiest one because of the scope of the enquiry. It aims to assess the dynamics and participation of various actors on the transnational foodscapes of Cabo Verde, investigating more broadly the construction and appropriation of Cabo Verdean identities on the one hand, and probing more closely the creativeness and frictions in the adoption and incorporation of modern industrial foodways on the other hand. So, we put forward the questions: What defines the national and transnational foodscapes of Cabo Verde and who are the principal actors making an impact? How is food appropriated to construct the Cabo Verdean identity and how uniform or diverse is this representation of Cabo Verde? What about biological, health, moral and environmental issues? The results presented here are more layered but less consensual as compared with previous chapters.

Demographics, economic development and consumption habits

Africa as a whole has the highest percentage of people living in rural areas (more than 40%), and is the most rural continent of the world, but it is simultaneously the continent with the fastest urbanisation rate and the continent recording some of the most drastic demographic changes, and many challenges arise as a result (DESA 2018). Meanwhile, more and more supermarkets are appearing in Cabo Verde (Pires 2007, preliminary study of new food consumption habits in the context of globalisation). This trend, which is most wide-spread in the southern part of Africa, is being studied so as to better understand the impact on food procurement and livelihoods of not only city dwellers but also inhabitants of informal settlements on the peripheries (concerning Namibia, see Crush, Nickanor, and Kazembe 2019; concerning South Africa, see Hull 2016). In Cabo Verde, people do not always have to buy what they need. Take the example of clothes – which are what Chinese are known for selling in Cabo Verde, before many moved on to food wholesale and retail – several young women who receive clothes from emigrants in United States in *encomendas* say that they do not need to buy clothes,

e.g., one young professional in her late thirties said the clothes and fashion accessories she receives every Christmas are more than enough to last a year, and she even manages to choose some to give away to others. They are conscious that fashion changes rapidly in the West, and although they do not necessarily know the term "quick fashion", they are aware that they receive affordable "stylish" pieces "just out of fashion", be them new or second-hand. Western styles are preferred by Cabo Verdeans; they are more easily accepted. In the same *bidons* are shoes, perfumes, cosmetics, jewelleries and other accessories. In fact, so much is received or shipped from abroad, not only from the United States but also from Europe, that *bidons* of clothes cover the streets and front gardens in Cabo Verde. They cannot all be worn and so locals choose to resell some of them to others. The *encomendas* are a huge mix and there is also food in it, especially packaged, processed and dry ingredients that last months or years: rice, sugar, oil, flour, canned products, condiments, beverage concentrates, chocolates, drops and other American delicacies (*encomendas de terra* from the American perspective). People who have ingredients from their kitchen gardens or farms do not buy the same ingredients. These are not enough for daily consumption, obviously. All these trends are related to how Chinese businesses operate on the islands. The Chinese are believed to have overtaken the Cabo Verdean fashion *boutiques* half a generation ago because the Chinese sell at lower prices. Besides clothes, they also sold (and continue to sell) toys and gifts, though the biggest Chinese investors sell construction materials. However, from testimonies and observations, the ordinary Chinese have been losing market as selling clothes become less lucrative, partly because clothes can be obtained by other means and there are more Chinese competitors on the market. This is why they branched out and began selling edible products – presumably less than a decade ago – sometimes in the same commercial spaces where they sell other non-perishable products, other times closing off and opening up entirely new supermarkets dedicated to wholesale or retail or both. This, in turn, is wiping out the smaller Cabo Verdean *lojinhas* (but not the bigger chains, usually with foreign or expatriate investments). These local traditional establishments are also called "*tavernas*". Usually there is just a high counter, behind which stands or sits the owner. The products are on the counter and behind the owner. Nowadays, in supermarkets, the customers fetch what they want themselves. They take the goods they need and put them in a basket, or sometimes in a cart, before they go to the cashier to pay.

Note the following Creole joke about a food episode:

> *Un mudjer sa ta preparaba pa poi katxupa na lumi pa janta. Nton e manda rapazinhu kunpra sal. Mudjer dja poi katxupa riba ti ki dja sta prontu, rapazinhu ka txiga nel ku sal. Di tantu xatiadu k'e staba pamodi rapazinhu k asa ta txigaba kul sal, e fla:*
>
> *- Diabu, nho! Nen pa karu da nel.*
>
> *Rapazinhu sai de tras di porta ki inda ka saiba di kasa, fla-l:*
>
> *- Mama, bu kre, N k bai go… Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah!*
>
> [A woman was getting ready to cook Cachupa for dinner. She then told her son to buy salt. She attended to her stew and saw that it was ready to be served, but her son had not yet come back with the salt. She was wondering why he took so long to fetch the salt and got irritated. She said:
>
> - To the Hell with it. As if a car ran over him. * Even that would not take so long.
>
> Her son appeared from behind the door; he has not yet left home. Before he sped ahead, he told her mother:
>
> - Mom, if this is what you want, I will go at once… Ah! Ah! Ah! Ah! *Imitating the painful cries of being run over by a car.]
>
> (O.V. Cabral 2016: 46-47, "*Katxupa sen sal*", my translation)

The above joke reminisces about a simpler style of living in Cabo Verde, wherein it is very common for older women in a household to send children to do *mandádu* or *mandôd.* It also demonstrates a certain consumption habit typical in Cabo Verde. The way ordinary people purchase food is not planned. When they need salt, they go and get it. Then, when they discover that they do not have onions, they go and get some. Later, they may find that a cabbage would be great in a stew. This may explain why Cabo Verdeans are regular clients of Chinese shops, which are many and convenient, just around the corner, in or close to the city centres (for earlier discussions on Chinese businesses in Cabo Verde, read Batalha 2006; Carling and Haugen 2004). Or else, locals purchase from municipal markets or street vendors who tend to ask for higher prices. The Continente chain, or "Meu Super" in Cabo Verde, is not a success because they tend to sell the same items as Chinese shops, often in walking distance one from the other. On observation, the perishable stocks at "Meu Super" are rather close to the expiry dates. Be it said that major brands are taking over the globe. Through marketing and effective distribution channels, they familiarise Cabo Verdeans with certain food ingredients packaged and sold in a certain way. They build up consumer trust and loyalty. Some products are not expensive, but the transportation is. Big brands, e.g., Lipton tea, produced in Holland, are priced much higher

in Cabo Verde than in Europe. Lipton and Nestlé products in Cabo Verde have multilingual labels. Similarly, we can find Heinz and its subsidiary brands on the racks.

One time, a mother-of-three emigrant transported five *bidons* of daily necessities and food from Portugal with the intention of selling the contents in Tarrafal, Santiago Island, where she was born and raised. That way, her airplane tickets would be paid for with the profits. She was confident about her selling skills because when she was young and growing up in Cabo Verde, she was good at attracting clients' attention and fetching good prices. However, that time, she was hugely disappointed. Her plan did not work out. She had a lot of merchandise left, including rice, olive oil, pasta, canned food like tuna, black beans, cowpea, red beans, Frankfurt sausages, soybean sprouts, etc. and packaged food like potato flakes (to make mashed potatoes), flour, sugar, and other basic stuff. In the end, before she took the plane to go back to Portugal to start work again, she had to distribute them for free among her known relatives and friends. She left some shoes and durable products with a trusted sister-in-law to sell. People interpreted the emigrant's failure to recoup her plane tickets in different ways. Her brother, who had worked in supermarkets, warehouses and similar trades, said that Cabo Verdeans now do not pay for brands that they do not know, e.g., MasterChef, Amanhecer (of Recheio), because they see Compal everywhere on the islands – in stores, on advertisement billboards, in the rubbish dump, as repurposed containers in neighbours' homes and plant pots in kitchen gardens – and that is what they know best. He added that Cabo Verdeans are conservative in a sense because they do not want to experiment with new things. The emigrant mostly agreed with this opinion because she was confident that the products, regardless of the brands, are just as good. In Portugal, there are more alternatives and she can name many more brands than Cabo Verdeans who rarely travel. Her sister-in-law, however, thought that there were other reasons for the unsuccessful one-time business venture. Cabo Verdeans are very sensitive to minimal price differences. As they do not know the other brands and the prices are not that low, they have no way to judge if it was worth it to take the risk. Essentially, people live according to habits and customs in Cabo Verde. She also pointed out that the Chinese shops around the corner are very competitive; if Cabo Verdeans want the best bargains, they only need to visit one of those.

In grocery trips on the main islands, one will find staples like rice, wheat flour, maize and beans are repackaged in smaller sacks. Items like cheese are sold by measure and by the *escudo*.

Coffee, milk powder and other powder-form food go in transparent plastic bags. Condi (Portuguese brand) supplies popcorn maize, cinnamon, grated coconut and manioc flour. There are also French brands that supply the same ingredients. For babies, Brazilians brands are also prominently represented in prepared rice porridge and maize meal porridge. Packaged morning cereals are Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish. In many developing Asian countries, national brands use foreign-sounding names to pretend to add an international air. In Cabo Verde, however, the brands are in truth mostly foreign. If one picks up something that says, "*O que é nacional é bom*", it is most probably Portuguese, e.g., Portuguese olive oil. When asked what African dishes they know, Cabo Verdeans almost always say "*txchebi*" in Praia. They think this Senegalese dish is delicious because of the spices. It is difficult to find African products in Cabo Verde.[73] In one big supermarket in Praia, there is only *mistura de milho* from Angola. There are many more Brazilian products, e.g., Seara frozen meat and animal parts. Refreskant, the Brazilian juice concentrate brand, is a household name in Cabo Verde. There is ketchup from China and the United Arabas Emirates. From Spain come ready-made and packaged cakes. Greens are imported from Portugal and Belgium. Milk is from Belgium, Holland, New Zealand and Malaysia. Dried fruits are Spanish. Peach comes from Bulgaria soaked in syrup in glass bottles. Pineapple slices in syrup are Belgian. There are Portuguese cooking oil, olive oil, beans and lentils. Italy contributes wheat products. Rice is Thai, Vietnamese or Brazilian. Goyaba, which is a fruit spread used a lot in Cabo Verde, come in tubs and affordable prices from Brazil. The Trevi product lines, European in origin, fill up the racks. From Cabo Verde itself, there are some fresh meat and chilled seafood, hamburger meat and wheat flour (the wheat is imported but the grinding is done in Mindelo, São Vicente). There is a small variety of bread – mostly

[73] What does not seem to be progressing is Cabo Verde's relations with the African mainland. This is a political reality that can be explained by history and culture and is a continuation of the ambiguous relations of Cabo Verde with the African continent. There is a lack of qualitative change, despite the efforts of some politicians to do differently. When asked how significant is the circulation of goods between Cabo Verde and ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States), of which Cabo Verde is a member, Prime Minister Ulisses Correia e Silva said that Cabo Verdean goods exchange with the African continent is very weak and is less than 2% of the country's external trade and that Cabo Verde needs to do more business with the entire Africa. Alain Faujas, "Cap-Vert – Ulisses Correia e Silva: Nous voulons développer l'économie privée chez nous," *Jeune Afrique*, Décembre 12, 2018. https://www.jeuneafrique.com/684740/economie/cap-vert-ulisses-correia-e-silva-nous-voulons-developper-leconomie-privee-chez-nous/

influenced by the Portuguese – and the local specialties of *pão doce* and *pão de coco*. The above is a list of typical products that we can expect to find in a business outlet. If we consider also the *encomendas* of emigrants, there are even more varieties of foreign food items. People often say that not even the sweets and desserts of Cabo Verde (that inspire ever so many published Cabo Verde recipes) contain or use Cabo Verdean ingredients. Chocolate powder, flour and sugar are pastry essentials but are imported.

Fig. 5-1 Pigs in a medium-scale family-owned animal farm, some distance from Mindelo, São Vicente, 2018

The fault line between the international economy and local cultural reproduction is great on islands. Take the example of Fogo Island, the *Foguense* make the best possible use of natural resources to practise family-scale farming. Time and time again, locals realise to their great disappointment that they are unable to sell and can only give away (*dar*; *oferecer*) what they cannot possibly consume themselves nor keep for later. Supposedly, this is because the neighbours have limited disposable income and are reluctant to buy from one another (one guess is also that people expect to be given the produce; the circulation and exchange of things among neighbours on a regular basis is a part of the social life on the islands). As a result, local products are not sellable, i.e., not integrated in the market per se. Similarly, in minimarkets, almost everything is imported. The merchandise is not sourced locally. No islander is naive enough to

expect to buy local products in groceries, except perhaps for a cabbage, some bananas, fried doughnuts or slices of coconut cake that are deposited there by local women to sell in return for a small commission for the shopkeeper. More generally, locals are accustomed to the foreignness of what they consume on a daily basis. Meanwhile, branded products, like wine and alcoholic drinks, usually from the islands of Fogo, Santo Antão e Santiago, are available at airports and exported (In fact, foreigners and expatriates are recommended by locals and officials to buy what they need only at the airport and take it onto the plane with them so that there will be no accident in the checked luggage during transit). In terms of prices, one woman was patient enough to explain her mathematical logic of buying frozen chicken. *Frango da terra*, or local chicken, are limited in supply and difficult to find on the market. For instance, one kilo and a half costs 600 CVE. Frozen chicken, however, goes for 200 escudos a kilo. Even if she did not go to school, the woman is confident that buying frozen chicken gives her at least double the value in meat.[74] Nevertheless, even if people are well aware that buying frozen chicken is the cheapest option, they also raise their own, knowing that the maintenance, maize and ration that they buy to feed the chicken, and the time and trouble added up is not worth it in economic terms. Chickens have to be raised indoor, e.g., in a sheltered balcony or on an unused storey of a house in construction (it is common to build houses over several years, sometimes several decades, in Cabo Verde). Then, people compare chickens to pork. Some reach the conclusion that raising pigs is easier because they roam around and take care of themselves[75], feeding on the rubbish around houses, playing and fighting for fun among themselves. This is not without risks, though. As the presence of large number of unidentified pigs in streets and public spaces is unhygienic, local authorities, at least in major cities, are obliged to act. For instance, pigs roam the street and make a mess in the soil behind the

[74] This reminds me of a seemingly mundane but economically significant discussion with Elisia da Cruz, Director of the Department for Promotion and Fisheries Development, National Institute for Fisheries Development, in Mindelo, São Vicente Island, who analysed why Cabo Verdeans buy frozen chicken. Small price differences count.

[75] Roaming pigs are *porcos soltos* in Portuguese. In informal conversations, the expression is also used to refer to unmarried Cabo Verdean men. From fieldnotes: In local idiomatic expressions, when people are ignorant but pretend that they know, they are said to "*manda boka*" or "*vende peixe*", which also has to do with food, i.e., fish. For some early emigrants to the United States, the passport was colloquially called "*livro de pão*".

vegetable and meat market Mercado de Bom Chão, Santiago island. There are several interpretations of this. According to some, it is advertising targeting the neighbours. On close observation, it was originally one white pig, then there were two more black pigs. This is why according to others, the pigs joined together for fun, chased after one another and dug up the soil to play. Yet other people say that it is a common sight. The owners sell pork regularly in the market. Since it is too small, they do the fasting and cleaning of the pigs behind the market. The pigs must not be allowed to eat some days before the slaughtering; otherwise, they are thought to be unsafe for human consumption. Confiscated pigs are deposited in a certain location, awaiting the owners to reclaim them. The days when the inspection officers are known to do their work are the quietest and cleanest, because the inhabitants hide their pigs away.

"A nossa vida é fora": The Food Representing an Outward-Looking Nation[76]

Fig. 5-2 Old tea kettle sent from the United States by kin, Brava Island, 2019. In one family on Brava Island, items from the United States are everywhere: teapot to make morning coffee, cooking pan to stew chicken in, cake tins in all shapes and sizes, etc. Checking the labels, some had been imported from Taiwan to the United States, which is an indication of the age of the items (now most items are imported from the People's Republic of China) and the long Cabo Verdean tradition of receiving *bidons* (at least for the islands of Fogo and Brava).

A Foguense native whom dream, like any other, is to go to America, says: "*A nossa vida é fora*." Then, a retired Santiaguense emigrant recalled: "*N ka popa korpu*". Now living in a big house, he had worked in Portugal for long decades and concluded that life in Portugal was difficult and tiring. Locals say: "*Cabo Verde, é América*" (for Foguense and Bravense in particular). They also say: "*Emigração é uma centralidade cabo-verdiana*". They pay attention to American news, especially news related to border controls, immigration policies and presidential elections. There is also the migration history of a highly independent Cabo Verdean mother in Portugal. A mother-of-one-daughter, she cooks delicious Cachupa for weekend get-togethers and to sell

[76] This is a shortened, revised version of an oral presentation. "A Crioulização da Gastronomia Mundial: A Paisagem Alimentar Cabo-Verdiana Expandida." Comunicação no 5º Fórum-Estudante em História e Culturas da Alimentação, Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra, 21 de maio de 2018.

on festive days along with her older sister in Portugal. She did not learn the art in Cabo Verde from her mother or grandmother but in Angola through the Internet. When she married and moved to Angola with her husband, she was asked to cook Cachupa by her Angolan and Portuguese friends. As she does not like beans, she does not really favour Cachupa. Nonetheless, she cooked and continues to cook for commensality and sharing. In another case, a professional now in her thirties remembers going abroad to attend university in Brazil. There, she learned to cook Cachupa for her Brazilian friends by calling her mum in Mindelo to teach her. She was not used to eating Cachupa growing up in the most cosmopolitan city of Cabo Verde. These experiences are at once similar to and different from the stories in a study about Cabo Verdean secondary immigration in Southeastern United States, concerning which the authors made a surprising observation:

> […] learning to cook dishes after moving into the secondary diaspora was surprising. We expected that as one moved away from the primary diaspora, that cultural dilution would take place. Instead, what this quote suggests is a strengthening of culture in response to greater distance from the homeland and primary diaspora. In other words, the further from a large and vibrant community one gets, the more invested the individual might be in maintaining certain cultural practices. (Lopes and Lundy 2014: 82).

This means that, contrary to what we might think about secondary diaspora and cultural dilution, it is possible that the farther away from Cabo Verde and from the primary diaspora, the stronger the incentives Cabo Verdeans have in maintaining certain cultural practices. Meanwhile, Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora are bringing their food tradition to a bigger audience, tracing their origins and making their culture known to others through social engagement[77], business

[77] *Sabura* is the name given to tourism in Cova da Moura. When I first heard of the name, I immediately asked the organisers if it had anything to do with food. While I was a volunteer tutor in the neighbourhood in 2018, I observed that, on an irregular but almost weekly basis, Cova da Moura received guests. Some were nationals, others were white, young foreign guests who did not speak Portuguese. They would tour around the area, listen to brief historical explanations, observe the daily living of the inhabitants, visit ethnic businesses and different buildings where associational work is done. They also eat there and can choose "vegetarian" Cachupa if they do not consume meat for ethical or personal reasons.

ventures, online encyclopaedia[78], recipes sharing platforms[79], international cooking contests[80], etc. Promotions are done through associations, trade cooperation and official cultural exchanges.

In 2017, the world's largest Cachupa stew was made in Cabo Verde and entered the Guinness World Record.[81] The ingredients were weighty: 600 kg of corn, 100 kg of chicken and 300 kg of pork, plus a large variety of beans and vegetables. Ulisses Correia e Silva, the Cabo Verdean prime minister, said at the event:

> We expect it to be a great promotion of Cape Verdean gastronomy – and in particular the cachupa – worldwide. We hope it has a great impact and that through this event we can promote our special and traditional gastronomy that is cachupa and our country. (As cited by Guinness World Record)

The show-off was originally a business promotional initiative of beer producers and restaurant owners. The crowd of people present had their share from the gigantic pot.

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[78] Jane E Spear, "Cape Verdean Americans." Countries and their Cultures. https://www.everyculture.com/multi/Bu-Dr/Cape-Verdean-Americans.html (accessed August 27, 2019). On "Cape Verdean Americans" and their cuisine: "Whenever food is served among Cape Verdean Americans, the important factor is the coming together of family and friends, celebrating the gift of food, and sharing it with love."

[79] Nham Nham – Sabores de Cabo Verde® (https://nhamnhamsaborescaboverde.webnode.pt) is one of the best-known Cabo Verdean recipes sharing platform. The Facebook page has the same name. It is a project of Ezilda Duarte Almeida with the technical collaboration of Éder Oliveira. The former is originally from São Nicolau and the latter from Santo Antão. See also the Facebook page of one of the best-known traditional Cabo Verdean restaurants in Portugal, Restaurante O Coqueiro (Alto Cova da Moura, Amadora), https://www.facebook.com/restauranteocoqueiro/

[80] Daniel Pontes Macedo was a Cabo Verdean from Medford, MA. He made it to the 20 finalists in the MasterChef USA in 2017. Cabo Verdean sources highlighted the fact that he is the son of two Cabo Verdeans who are American citizens. See: Hermínio Silves, "The Lion Chef. Um cabo-verdiano a brilhar no Masterchef USA" *Santiago Magazine*, July 13, 2017. Then, in 2018, Crisleine Cardoso, 30-years-old, participated in the MasterChef Brazil. She was reported to be from Fogo island, went abroad to study Physiotherapy in Brazil and eventually stayed in the South American country. "*Totoku ku galinha*" was the traditional dish from her island of origin that she made to gain the jury's approval. See: MasterChef Brasil, "Parte 3 do Episódio 01 da Temporada 5 de MasterChef Brasil," Mar 7, 2018, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6Psux_HKoPk

[81] Rachel Swatman, "World's Largest Cachupa Stew Made in Cape Verde." Guinness World Records, October 2017. https://www.guinnessworldrecords.com/news/commercial/2017/10/worlds-largest-cachupa-stew-made-in-cape-verde-498689.

Fig. 5-3 *Arroz de marisco a moda das ilhas; Doce de papaia com queijo da terra, "Nossa Gastronomia, Nosso Património",* photos by Associação de Amizade Macau-Cabo Verde, October 12, 2018 (Accessed August 25, 2019, www.facebook.com)

To take yet another example of international promotion, José Olívio Brito Fernandes from the Cabo Verde Hotel and Tourism School cooked for the 10th Cultural Week of China and Portuguese-Speaking Countries[82]. Cabo Verdean cooking in Macao is typically given the label *sabores do mundo*, letting the Chinese taste world flavours in an international indoor buffet-style feast or open-air festive fun fair. A geographically miniscule nation as Cabo Verde is magnified to represent the world of tastes.

At the end of the presentation in Coimbra, in 2018, the following question was left open:

> *Seria interessante estudar até que ponto a "paisagem alimentar" (foodscape) cabo-verdiana é um campo dinâmico transnacional em que os ingredientes, ideias, memórias e criatividade se misturam e se interagem. Podemos perguntar se, na realidade, a alimentação cabo-verdiana é uma força unificadora dum povo e avaliar o seu potencial em diversificar e "crioulizar" a gastronomia mundial.*

Answering the question for the present, the foodscape, or rather foodscapes, of Cabo Verde are certainly transnational. There is no denying that Cabo Verdean cooking is a "stew" of world

[82] The event took place in Macao, from October 9-18, 2018. The main organiser was the Permanent Secretariat of the Forum for Economic and Trade Co-operation between China and Portuguese-speaking Countries (Macao). http://www.forumchinaplp.org.mo/cultural-exchanges/10th-cultural-week-of-china-and-portuguese-speaking-countries/promotional-poster-for-the-10th-cultural-week-of-china-and-portuguese-speaking-countries/?lang=pt (accessed August 25, 2019).

ingredients, ideas, memories and creativity. It is a strong, unifying force that glues the nation together. Its apparent popularity also speaks for its success.

What this response does not account for satisfactorily, however, is equity and social justice. How much control do Cabo Verdeans have over the sources of their food? How sustainable is the current mode of living and being Cabo Verdean? Are there greater forces operating on the field? Who are the other actors? How closely associated are actual practice and symbolic representation? We shall explore these important aspects in the remaining pages.

"Como para matar a fome": The Food, Foodways and Foodscapes of Cabo Verde and the Double-Edged Sword of Globalisation

"*Já vendi Kamoca food / nas ruas de New York*", are two lines from a poem with a food-themed poetry collection titled "Pão & Fonema" that evokes images of the crossovers of tradition and globalisation (Corsino Fortes 1974). But what does globalisation (Appadurai 1996, 2002, 1990; Tsing 2004) amount to? What does it mean for a small archipelago like Cabo Verde?[83]

Ilha Brava is the smallest island of Cabo Verde, the tiny dot on the left-hand side of Fogo Island. Sparsely populated, locals call it "the forgotten island". Emigration, especially to the United States, is a way of life (Åkesson 2004; Carling and Åkesson 2009). The American dream is very much alive on this Atlantic island. There are American symbols all over the place: the American flag and eagles, the clothes people wear and the way they speak Creole with English greetings and isolated words. To visit the island is to hear stories of successful and failed attempts at emigration and to empathise with almost everyone's plans – past, current or future – to "make it" abroad. Compared with the other eight inhabited islands of Cabo Verde, the inhabitants of this island feel that there is a lack of public investments and work opportunities.[84] As a result, Brava is very serene. Day after day, except for small groups of discrete, white, middle-aged European tourists and visiting emigrants, life is quiet and predictable.

The diet on Brava Island is highly monotonous and dependent on imports. As a female host says, "*como para matar a fome*", meaning, literally, she eats to kill hunger. Even the best local sauce cannot disguise some chewy and bland-tasting chicken, which is foreign, deep-frozen and packaged. It first reaches the Capital city, Praia, on Santiago Island. From there, the chicken is loaded on a ship and heads for Brava. Under the hot weather, the chicken half-thaws on the way. When it arrives and is distributed to the stores, it is frozen again. The transit damages the texture of the chicken. The host does not appreciate the white meat at all but is forced to consume it, week after week, because she is aware that meat is important for a

[83] The following section of writing is, on the whole, a version of a research article accepted by *Shima: the international journal of research into island cultures.*

[84] Eugénio Teixeira, "A "ilha esquecida" de Cabo Verde espera melhores dias," VOA, 27 de Julho de 2016. https://www.voaportugues.com/a/ilha-esquecida-cabo-verde-melhores-dias/3437218.html

balanced diet; chicken is cheap and there are not many alternatives. At the time of that particular visit, Santiago Island was preparing for a major religious celebration and the best fish were reserved for it. The fish that were shipped to Brava were bony and expensive. *Bravense*, as the island's inhabitants are called, have little control over what to bring in as far as food ingredients are concerned. In this way, eating becomes a demoralising act; it becomes combative, because people eat to overcome hunger.[85]

While there is rich body of research on the impacts of globalisation on islands with regards to food, the Pacific has received the most attention (Lockwood 2004; Huges and Lawrence 2005; Thow et al. 2010; Lauer et al. 2013; Plahe, Hawkes, and Ponnamperuma 2013; McLennan 2017), hence a case study of Cabo Verde will add to our understanding of global phenomena in local contexts.

This chapter takes issue with the globalising changes in the Cabo Verdean diet, the way food is produced and distributed, and how locals perceive and adapt to these trends. Knowing that contested dynamics of food manifest themselves in the city and in the country within a global foodscape (Domingos, Sobral, and West 2014)[86], it may be suggested that globalisation helps to create new city dynamics, may have demoralising effects on rural food culture but also mediates a whole range of *synthetic* experiences between two extremes.

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[85] Brava gets daily necessities from Praia. Some had been imported from other countries (most prominently, rice). This is why when locals say something is from Praia, they often mean foreign imports that are received at the capital city and then redistributed to other parts of Cabo Verde. Some foods are processed on other islands (e.g., wheat flour in factories in Mindelo). Vegetables are grown on Santiago island. Fogo island, just next to Brava island, supplies tomato, cucumber, carrot, etc. Brava produces small quantities of onions, tomato, cucumber, yam, carrot, peppers, cucumber, papaya, banana, etc. Locals who have their own farms, farther away, reap beans, maize, oranges and mangos at the right seasons. Local production is limited in quantity and in variety. Imports of the same produce and of more varieties are therefore needed on a regular basis. On Brava island, there are many American-style caloric, high-sugar and high-fat snacks and many different chocolate brands (at stores owned/run by emigrants to the United States). Santo Antão does not produce enough to supply the other islands; it mostly only satisfies demands from São Vicente. Famous products from Santo Antão that are found on other islands are coffee, cheese, *grogue* and *aguardente*.

[86] The SOAS editors borrowed Raymond Williams' ideas about the city and the country and the troupes about them for this volume on food and foodways. He is a major figure in English Culture Studies. "Culture is ordinary" is a phrase coined by him and based on his writings on what culture is and why we should be studying the culture of ordinary people (R. Williams 1983).

Cabo Verdeans are divided over their connection with the African continent.[87] Cabo Verde is often called 'little Brazil', just as the Caribbean is reduced to 'little Africa' or 'little England' (Pugh 2013) oversimplifying and depoliticizing the archipelago's relations with the world. Due to differences in the time of settlement, degree of miscegenation and other influences, there are issues on which islanders hold different opinions, as will be discussed later.

The islanders treasure food because they know how their ancestors and older family members suffered, maintaining to this day a close and grateful relationship with the land. They are thankful for what grows on it – meaning resistant, starchy crops that require little to no water. One hears stories concerning how food feeds interpersonal relationships from locals. On a regular basis, a mother on Fogo Island sends by ship burlap sacks of beans, manioc or sweet potatoes from her farm to her daughter living on the main island, Santiago, not because her daughter is too poor to buy her own but because this has become a habit, a form of communication between mother and daughter, an expression of care and encouragement. In another case, a father insists that a son going abroad to study – which is a common way to emigrate – to take a sack of dried maize with him as remembrance.

Cabo Verdean culture and traditions

The words "Creole" and "traditional" are used frequently to indicate anything related to Cabo Verde and are often used interchangeably. Cabo Verdeans have a strong sense of what is "ours" – or *nos* in Kabuverdianu – meaning their own. One often hears expressions like *nos tradison* (our tradition), *nos kultura* (our culture), *nos terra* (our land, meaning place of origin) and *nos raís* (our root). Throughout the country, advertisements claim a certain coffee drink is ours or a certain fruit juice is ours (e.g., *nôs sabor*), while there is a sizeable number of groceries, cafés and restaurants with "ours" in their name, e.g. *Minimercado di nôs*, *Restaurante/Bar Nós Amizade*. Sometimes, "yours" – or *bo* in Kabuverdianu – may be used in the place of *nos*, so that a luncheonette that is ours may be yours as well, e.g., *U Sabor*, a *luncheonette* in São Vicente. *Nos* or *nôs* appear frequently, e.g., "*Nôs produtos – Preserve a qualidade e divulga o*

[87] Lusophone documentary series: Joana Gorjão Henriques, "Ser Africano em Cabo Verde é Um Tabu." *Público*, 3 de janeiro de 2016. https://www.publico.pt/mundo/noticia/ser-africano-em-cabo-verde-e-um-tabu-1718673.

sabor" is printed on a van (Santo Antão). The slogan of Iogurel, a milk-product brand, is *Saúde Tudu Dia*. Emicela is a coffee brand based in Boa Vista; coffee is only produced in Fogo and Santo Antão, but the Empresa Sal Rei is based in Boa Vista. Its selling point is *café kriola*.

Fig. 5-4 "*Nôs Sabor Kriol"*. Advertisement, Santiago Island, 2019.

Locals explain that such name choice display of hospitality and express warm welcome. Paradoxically, in Mindelo, São Vicente, there is an eating outlet called *Fastfood Bô Ilha*. A good restaurant is also *bô casa*. It is a curious choice of name, not only because of the use of *nos* and *bo*, but also because fast food, an English word and a Western concept of human nourishment, is relatively new to Cabo Verde. There is no McDonald's because it is impossible to secure regular, industrial-quality ingredient supplies.[88] The burgers that are sold on the archipelago are cost prohibitive and do not satiate the stomach as well as other local alternatives. Moreover, many older people feel suspicious about the ingredients.

Cabo Verdean food tell stories of Cabo Verdeans' constant struggle to negotiate their social and cultural identity. Then, food is a prominent theme in oral tradition, an important Cabo

[88] "No McLove for Africa: Why the Whole Continent Has Fewer McDonalds than New York City Alone," *Mail & Guardian*, June 17, 2015. http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-06-17-mcdonalds-no-mclove-for-africa.

Verdean cultural heritage, understanding that

> *La mention d'une préparation donnée dans un conte ne relève pas du simple hasard, elle est fonction de l'aptitude qu'a ce plat à jouer un rôle symbolique. La tradition a effectué comme un tri systématique entre toutes les préparations possibles pour ne parler que de celles qui peuvent clairement manifester une valuer symbole.* (Roulon-Doko 2001: 356).

Oswaldo (n.d.) used a modernist discourse of "cultural resistance" and "cultural renaissance" to frame the Cabo Verdean oral tradition of farming and rural folks.

Cabo Verdean oral tradition is highly symbolic, and its contributions to literary works and national identity are significant. Note the following testimony from one of the most well-known oral tradition defenders in Cabo Verde:

> *As tradições orais de um povo são, quanto a mim, dos primeiros indicadores da sua identidade própria, da sua cultura. A escrita, que normalmente aparece muito mais tarde, vem evidenciar a consciência dessa identidade, dessa cultura, pois, de forma mais ou menos evidente ou consciente, assinalará o substrato constituído pelas tradições orais que se retratam nas atitudes, comportamentos e cosmovisão das personagens a quem as acções são atribuídas. Isso, independentemente da língua que se utilizar como veículo da escrita. (T.V. da Silva 1998: 101)*

Telling stories used to be a means to transmit information orally, enabling the young to learn from the old and the passing on of knowledge. It was a form of evening entertainment when television was not yet popularised. Some stories have clear morals; others are ironical and not unfrequently sensual and sexual. There are common threads and the stories are historically, culturally and socially situated. Food themes permeate Cabo Verdean oral tradition. For instance, the appetite of a man indicated how worthy he was as a person, meaning that work output and food consumption were relativised. A Cabo Verdean might be very hard-working; but if he was voracious, it would be difficult to satisfy him. In one folktale, a husband "*éra rei di trabadjador, más tánbe éra rei di kumidor*" (literally, works like a king, eats also like a king) (T.V. da Silva 2004: 53). He invented a story and cheated his newly wed wife to cook more food, who then exclaimed at the end, "*Trabádja, e'ta trabádja ki nen buru… Más kume, tánbe e' ta kume ki nen pó frádu!*" (literally, he does work like a donkey… but he does also eat like a friar!). In such

cases, what would a man do to pretend that he was a good, marriageable man? Once married, what excuses would he invent to make his wife cook more? He would camouflage his appetite, often in vain, hence the scandalous stories about young farmers. There are equally provocative stories about women. In one, a newly wed, home-minding wife made excuses not to prepare lunch for her farmer husband when in reality she cooked delicious food only for herself. The husband was hungry on the farm, drank water and dug up raw roots to stuff his stomach, "*tudu kel ténpu si almusu éra mandióka kru k'el ta galába*" (during all that time his lunch was raw manioc that he dug up) (T.V. da Silva 2004, pp. 41-42). Meanwhile, his wife made "*si panela di papa ku manteja*" (meaning her pot of maize meal with butter). This is a local delicacy and an example of traditional food.

Food in the diaspora

Estrela Morena. A Boa Comida Afro-Portuguesa. Café - Snack Bar - Restaurante

MENU

Bife de Atum c/ Batata Doce e Mandioca	*8€*
Polvo Estufado à Moda de Cabo Verde	*8€*
Cachupa Guisada c/ Ovo Estrelado e Linguiça	*6€*
Bifinho de Frango c/ Molho de Amendorim	*7€*
Lombinhos de Porco c/ Molho de Manga / Laranja	*7€*
SOBREMESAS	
Doce de Papaia c/ Queijo de Cabra	*3€*
Doce de Goiaba c/ Queijo de Cabra	*2.50€*
Mousse de Kamoka (Milho Torrado)	*2€*
Mousse de Lima	*2€*
Pudim de Coco	*2.50€*
Pudim de Queijo de Cabra	*2.90€*

(Estrela Morena, 2019, typed out by author)

Cabo Verdeans have emigrated in order to survive, search for a better life and reunite with family members. They form communities in the United States, Portugal, France, Italy and the Netherlands, in particular. Cabo Verdean islanders consider the global diaspora as an integral part of the Cabo Verdean nation. Their numerical, economic, social, cultural and political importance is not to be understated. Among Cabo Verdean communities in the United States, it is common to find Cabo Verdean food stores, cafés and restaurants. Some of these serve mainly

emigrants while others primarily cater to non-Cabo Verdean patrons. In other parts of the world, there are comparable examples, testifying to the liveliness of cultural practices – food, music and dance combined (Gomes 2015; Brito-Semedo 2015) – and national/diasporic pride. There are many Cabo Verdean communities in New England. In Boston, for instance, it is common to find food stores that offer "the tastes of the land."[89] Cabo Verdean cafés are visibly present in Boston and Brockton (Massachusetts) and Cabo Verdean-American restaurants such as Boston's *Restaurante Cesária* provide not only traditional food but also traditional *morna* and other types of music.

A chanced interview with Peter, an emigrant-retiree on a brief visit to Mindelo, São Vicente, to see his Cabo Verdean family (which happened to be the author's local host), provided the following individual perspective on diasporic experience. Originally from Brava island, he has lived in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, for decades with his family. Even though there are many Cabo Verdeans in the neighbourhood, he stressed that he has worked under a Chinese supervisor, befriended a Polish nurse, and had received free rides from American police. He has worked full-time or part-time in factories, hospitals, Burger King and other fast-food outlets. Many of his observations about life in America are related to food. He was adamant that he was not born for fast food (and laughed at his recollection of Americans who leave their food on the top of their car and forget it, so that when they drive off, their food flies away).[90] He cooks and eats traditionally, as if he had not left Cabo Verde a long time ago. For him, eating traditionally is eating healthily and he is glad when others appreciate it. He recalled once inviting a Polish nurse and her husband to his house for his birthday. She had helped to arrange a job for him in a hospital. He and his family only prepared Cabo Verdean food such as Cachupa, Xerém, and Cuscuz (not to be confused with Moroccan couscous). But he was worried that his guests would not feel comfortable eating strange food on their first visit so, just in case, he bought Burger

[89] See the locations listed at the *Sabor di Terra* (Boston Area) webpage.

[90] Many Cabo Verdeans emigrate to the United States and to Europe. When they compare themselves to the emigrants, they say "Americans do not eat to be healthy; they eat to fatten themselves." They also think "Americans eat processed food and canned food. They eat everything they can get their hands on." They are also used to seeing and saying Cabo Verdeans return from Europe with an extra 20 or even 30 kilos, but after a short holiday of eating "*comida de terra*", they lose weight and become healthier.

King fried chicken also. The day ended with great joy. His Polish friends liked his home-made food a lot. Nobody touched the fried chicken. Likewise, in Portugal, many emigrants consciously preserve food traditions, doing as they remember how, irrespective of the fact that they live abroad and visit the archipelago infrequently.

The above example concerns one person, but it reflects how the Cabo Verdean diet is preserved abroad; it also corroborates what Cabo Verdeans state about their visits to America and what they witnessed there. People have confidence in what they consume and feel a sense of satisfaction in being different. Cabo Verdean food is neither American food nor Portuguese food. Emigrants do not eat Cachupa because they are hungry and need a lot of calories (like their farming ancestors in the past) but because their creole food tradition enriches their modern, diasporic lifestyle. From island-bound informants' accounts, food sharing was once common and something that richer families particularly did in the past, as a socially sanctioned display of wealth and generosity. The hosts did this by keeping the door of their house open and making sure that there was always food in the pot and coffee to heat up. People just walked in to eat. If they did not have a place to stay, they were invited to sleep through the night. Nowadays, this is being ritualised and compartmentalised – food sharing takes place in big festivals like the *Bandeirona* (Flag Feast) on Fogo Island, funded and supported by emigrants in the United States. This tradition involves ritual food preparation and testifies to the strong identification of islanders with local foods. During the mid-late 20th Century it involved elaborately prepared and exuberant displays and was considered one of the richest festivals in Cabo Verde and is an important element of national cultural heritage. Big pots of traditional food are placed on the street. No one is questioned all are served regardless, they do not need to say in advance that they are coming. The more the people turning up, the happier it is, and the more successful the event. In recent years, the feast has diminished in scale and the locals expect fewer and fewer Foguenses from America in the future. Along with this decline in numbers, public sharing of food and displays of generosity have become less common. The older generations are too weak to mind their stoves, they depend on others and they shut their doors for security amid high crime rates. Neighbours and friends are welcome to visit but preferably on notice.

Cabo Verdean food is neither American food nor Portuguese food. Emigrants are not eating Cachupa because they are hungry and need a lot of calories like their farming ancestors in the

past. Rather, the Creole food tradition is for them a modern diasporic lifestyle.

Island city dynamics

Fig. 5-5 Inside a municipal market in the afternoon, Assomada, Santiago Island, 2018

Cabo Verde has developed at great strides, thanks to political and social stability, even as the country produces a small percentage of its food. The rest is received as donation or remittances. Many families grow some of their own food, which is not accounted for by statistics. People are in movement, and so is food. People come from everywhere; and food is traded all over the place, especially in Praia and Assomada, two major cities situated on the island of Santiago, Cabo Verde, understanding that island cities are being recognised as relevant research sites:

> Urban island studies offers the potential to improve our understanding of both urban and island development processes. The fact, for instance, that strategically located small islands are so disproportionately likely to host major urban centres suggests that research into the islandness of such island cities could tell us something about cities in a broader sense. Because cities on small islands tend to be exceptionally densely urbanised relative to other spaces, the extreme citynesss of island cities may make urban processes more distinct,

> thereby aiding in their study. Similarly, knowledge of centre-periphery relationships within larger islands and archipelagos may clarify the dynamics of such relationships more generally for the precise reasons why islands are often otherwise selected as laboratories and research sites. (Grydehøj et al. 2015: 9)

Praia and Assomada are towns that host dynamic marketplaces, petty trades and informal peddling. The two are connected by a highway and served by passenger vans. In and around municipal markets, entrepreneurs offer the widest possible selection of staples, including fruits, vegetables, chickens and suckling pigs, fried snacks, ready-cooked meals and iced water. Casual sellers sit waiting for customers in public squares and by roadsides. They occupy spots where vehicles stop. They wait for clients in their own front garden, under the shade of a tree, just outside a public school, etc. The intermixing of the hot and the cold, the alive and the dead, and the fresh and the preserved is present at all moments. The fish monger joins the butcher, and the fruit stall sets up next to the clothes vendor. Person A buys a fish cake from person B, and B buys a drink from A. Imported fruits are sold per unit. It is not easy to separate the urban from the rural, the producer from the consumer, the buyer from the seller, or the local from the global. There is the intermingling of people from all over the country and of foreigners. It is part of socialisation on the islands. Food is part of the human movements and activities that characterise Cabo Verdean urban living. Seen this way, the Cabo Verdean local foodscape is a generative and regenerative ecology that promotes human interactions and role shifting, bolsters community support and democratises the access to economical but healthy food and nourishment. When we pay attention to food in the city, we are in effect studying parts and pieces of how Cabo Verdeans negotiate a meaningful social and cultural life despite difficult circumstances. The organisation of spaces does not necessarily respect strict legal limits. The separation between the formal and the informal or between the public and the private is porous.

Living contradictions

Islanders attempt to incorporate tradition and modernity. In the countryside, many homes have an indoor kitchen and an outdoor kitchen, meaning that the inhabitants use gas, but they can also use firewood. People are building new houses with big kitchens, which does not prevent them from using public spaces for cooking. Even in cities, people cook in the street.

Fig. 5-6 A spacious kitchen in a new house, some distance from Mindelo, São Vicente, 2018.

One time, Liliana, a youth mother in her early thirties, was surprised that a neighbour had set up a cooking fire with three stones very close to the backdoor of her house. Liliana was angry at first because she had to sweep away the ashes and clean up. As she was not sure who the neighbour was, she did not complain. But then, a week later, Liliana missed eating *Cachupa à Lenha*. This was when she decided to use the same spot with the three stones to cook her own. She was going to mix ingredients: supermarket purchase (European carrot, deep-frozen Dutch meat and Brazilian maize), a cabbage from a local vendor, beans and sweet potatoes from her mother's farm, as well as Portuguese Chorizo presented to her (to replace the traditional *linguiça*). Before that, a group of carpenters had borrowed her pot. So, when Liliana went to their workshop to retrieve the pot, she was given a pile of wood sticks as an expression of gratitude. The story ended well as the Cachupa was delicious. Sometimes, however, cooking in the street is problematic. Hungry men may come close. They sit and wait to share your food for free. One time, Liliana was cooking Cachupa in the street. As it takes two to three hours to be

ready, wood must be replenished now and then to keep the fire burning. When Liliana was cooking, an old woman – a total stranger – saw the pot. She then picked up wood sticks from the rubbish and poked them into Liliana's fire. She disappeared at every poking and then reappeared to comment on the food and remove the pot lid to "supervise" the cooking. Liliana's husband was annoyed. He pulled out the old woman's sticks and threw them to one side. He shouted in Creole: "*Panela é privadu"*. It means the pot is private! When the old woman saw and heard this, she understood that she was not welcome and left in silence. There are many interesting, contrastive elements above. It is at once traditional (returning favours, cooking in a big pot in the public, bothering neighbours and sharing food) and modern (cooking for one's immediate family only and using modern ingredients and substitutes for gas).

Fig. 5-7 Three-stone cooking fire, Santiago Island, 2019.

As far as food is concerned, a lot of changes are underway. Peter, the Cabo Verdean with American nationality whose story we learned above, holds the firm impression that Cabo Verde is changed, and his compatriots are different from some decades ago. He is particularly

dismayed by the indifference of neighbours, increased crime rates, lack of interest in community gatherings, irresponsible attitude of today's youth, etc. He could have added food practices to his list.

Fig. 5-8 Traditional festive food, rural Santiago, 2018.

Once invited to a baptism party up on a mountain in rural Santiago, where many have emigrated to France, it was surprising to find how international the ingredients are. The host and her families have gone abroad for some decades and are considered successful emigrants by their neighbours. That time, they made a late celebration of the birthday and baptism of the host's grandson. It was a big feast, and so the neighbours prepared several pots of food simultaneously, using both gas and firewood in various spots, in front or behind their houses. It included both traditional, hot, festive food – with an abundance of maize, beans, vegetables, wheat, rice, pork, beef and chicken – served outdoors. We ate to our hearts' content. Then, we had cold, Western-style snacks, cakes and sweets indoors. It was an emotional day, not only for the young child's sake, but also because of the significance of "return" in the Cabo Verdean culture of emigration, an essential element of what some authors call a distinctive migration ideology:

> Everyday in Cape Verde is replete with references to migration in people's conversations and activities. They talk about their wishes to emigrate and about others who have left or are returning, receive phone calls and remittances from emigrant relatives, and are surrounded by emigrants' houses and other physical manifestations of migration. What emerges from extensive fieldwork in Cape Verde is that there is a well-developed migration ideology that constructs mobility as both natural and necessary. (Carling and Åkesson 2009: 132)

It is in the partaking of happiness and joy with compatriots that emigrants find the courage to persevere in the face of difficulties on foreign soil. Food plays an important part in this. This tends to confirm existing literature on the sentimental aspects of this human activity (Civitello 2008; Counihan 2009; Counihan and Van Esterik 2013). What is less studied, though, is how globalisation *mediates* manifestations of traditional practices. For instance, in the above episode, the father of the child carried a three-tiered cake up the mountain in one hand and on foot because there is not yet a way for a car to navigate the narrow curves. Together with him came the child, the mother and some friends. From a higher point, it was quite a scene to see them climb all the way up. The party took place on Santiago Island, but it reminded us of what was previously seen on a high spot on Santo Antão island.

This island is also very hilly and agriculturally productive. There, women also climb up the hills, not carrying a cream cake but deep-frozen meat in plastic bags, spoiling the beautiful picturesque countryside scene of traditional firewood cooking, trains of smoke going up the chimneys, and the apparent tranquillity and simplicity of island life. The contrastive imageries – that of globalisation and tradition – are profound. Instead of saying that globalisation is being lived in traditional ways, or that tradition is "going up in smoke", we may venture to say that tradition will not disappear in Cabo Verde, but that it will increasingly come to indicate a whole range of *synthetic* experiences mediated by globalisation. The following discussion tries to illustrate this point.

Fig. 5-9 Santo Antão, 2018.

Referring to the *Santiaguense* feast, some ingredients were from the islands, but most came from around the world. There were Argentinean maize, Thai rice, German milk, Dutch luncheon meat, Portuguese olives, French sugar, Maltese instant flavoured drink, Spanish yogurt, Moroccan sweets, etc. The host bought a lot of basic ingredients – including condiments and frying oil – in supermarket chain stores in France and put them in *bidons*, i.e., large shipping barrels. Interestingly, nobody raised questions about the foreignness of Cabo Verdean tradition. They purchase and/or consume imports so naturally and habitually that they do not even read the labels.

It is no coincidence that Europe supplies a great part of what Cabo Verde needs. Countries like Portugal, France and the Netherlands are not only popular destination of emigration but are also the origins of much of what Cabo Verdeans consume daily. On Brava and Fogo Islands, the inhabitants prefer the United States. With emigrant remittances and investments also come

American products. Frozen meat and agricultural produce hail from South / Latin America, especially Brazil and the surrounding countries. Rice comes mainly from Asia. Chinese and other traders introduce Asian and East European products at lower prices to the Cabo Verdean market. By contrast, African countries, even Lusophone African countries, fade into the background. Many times, food is not imported formally. It comes with emigrants in *bidons*.

Generally speaking, more financially stable families with higher purchasing power tend to prefer big European brands, buy more packaged products, less regularly and in bigger quantities. Some even buy directly at wholesale rates in big warehouses. They have enough storage space (refrigerator, freezer and larder), and liquid cash / credit flow. Meanwhile, families on lower incomes – with a female head working in the informal economy, for instance – will choose lesser known, alternative brands, buy loose goods, more frequently and in smaller quantities. Cabo Verdean tradition, as we see, is increasingly being sustained by modern ways.

Even so, people nurture a special connection with the soil and preserve a "culture" of "agriculture" that has remained very strong. The latter continues to be the most important economic activity. Refer to the following explanation:

> In Cabo Verde, despite the aridity of the soil and an unfavourable climate for the practice of agriculture and despite having a sea rich in fish, agriculture constitutes an essential base for the economic life of its population. Because of the strength of tradition, Cabo Verdeans continue to be persistently attached to cultivating the soil even though it is a sector which is more and more unproductive due to the lack of rainfall on the archipelago. It can be concluded therefore that agriculture in our country is, in effect, more a "cultural" act than a rational one. (Ethnographic Museum of Praia, 2018, 'Rural Life – Agriculture and Cattle Rearing')

Cabo Verdeans call their food "*comida cabo-verdiana*" or "*cozinha cabo-verdiana*", and frequently "*comida tradicional*". Doubtlessly, food is *tradition*. On São Vicente Island, however, there are some people who are not convinced that they have a distinctive food *culture*. For them, Cabo Verdeans are cosmopolitan, and so they do not follow one way of eating. To put this in perspective, São Vicente is the last inhabited island, highly Creolised, largely urbanised, and the most European. Besides fishery, it is also specialised in bread and pastry making by importing and transforming wheat. The *Badius* (*Santiaguenses*) like to joke that the

Sampadjudus (of São Vicente) care more about entertainment than about food (*não ter muito hábito de comer*) and that tea and biscuits are enough for the latter.[91] There are different ways to organise space on the islands, i.e., there are several ways to imagine food and space organisation. On São Vicente Island, people do not appreciate unauthorised street vending and wish that everyone kept to their own corner. On Brava Island, also known as the Island of Flowers, flowers are grown on good soil. People who cultivate their own vegetable gardens also plant flowers for aesthetic reasons. Sal island is practical and is serious about tourism and business. There is a row of Chinese stores on every street and at every turn, so that food is literally at one's door. Santiago Island is the most dynamic, where the formal and informal economies are continuous and complementary. This is the island on which authorities have most difficulties demarcating spaces for uses, e.g., selling and buying of fish in the fish market only and not around it or beyond it.

The Cabo Verdean identity is paradoxical, neither black nor white. Similarly, its culture is ambiguously defined. On the one hand, Cabo Verde has an intellectual and literary heritage that arguably surpasses that of bigger and richer Lusophone countries. We also know that major themes of the *Claridade* literary movement were insularity, rural agrarian life, emigration and rootedness, and the diaspora (Campbell-Badger 2009), but then many Cabo Verdeans struggle to match famous authors with their works and to explain what they wrote about and why their

[91] In one conversation with Irlando Ferreira, Director of the *Centro Nacional de Artesanato e Design*, Mindelo, at the time that Cabo Verde was busying promoting *morna* as an intangible cultural heritage to be recognised by UNESCO, the director emphasised that the islands are different. He stressed that Mindelo is a cosmopolitan city that embraces world cultures, so that Mindelo gathers but does not own these cultures. He thought that Cabo Verdeans eat like peoples in other parts of the world, which does not make them special. Food is not a differentiating factor. He also doubted if Cabo Verde has typical food and he did not feel that he needs to consume traditional food to show that he is Cabo Verdean, as in the diaspora, because he is in his own country, but he did observe that Cachupa was a "Cabo Verdean hero" that won all the wars (*hero caboverdiano que lutou todas as guerras*), which, lately, has become a luxury dish (*prato de luxo*) in Mindelo esplanade eateries. His comments must not be taken literally, for he was also trying to be critical and instigating for my benefit. Cabo Verde for him is a musical country on top of all things. Music is Cabo Verde's business card. It is not only Cabo Verdean cultural identity but also a form of consolidated heritage, global currency and positioning. In fact, music and food are often parts of the whole. No feast is perfect without both of them. No major celebration is taken seriously if one is lacking, be them in death or in life (Mendes 2012).

writings are important today. Most Cabo Verdeans are more familiar with oral tradition, dance, music, food, etc. and far more comfortable talking about these topics using a rich Creole vocabulary.

Optimistically, Cabo Verdean food is not prescriptive but incorporates ambiguity and play; it is a Creole food culture relativising European influences and African legacies on a wide, horizontal scale. What is taking place in recent decades with globalisation is comparable to the introduction of a vertical, strong influencer penetrating all local food practices.

There are many instances of globalising feeding practices gaining ground in Cabo Verde. One time, visiting a young female graduate of the University of Cabo Verde in the centre of Praia, who managed to land a job at the Bank of Cabo Verde – an enviable, administrative entry job – almost immediately, at a time when youth unemployment was very high in the Capital city, she was seen cooking and sleeping in the room she rented in a house which was still under construction and so had no roof. Removing the lid of a large pot sitting over a gas bottle, a lot of spaghetti with some canned tuna and packaged green peas and sweet corn can be seen. These were mostly likely bought, imported ingredients. The soup had completely dried up and the spaghetti had become sticky and clumpy. That pot of food would last several days. She also had bananas – small chubby ones from the islands. In another case, a young woman was living with her husband who was attending university, her child and her mother-in-law in rural Santiago. Unlike their neighbours, they seldom prepare Cachupa. When asked why, the woman explained that they could not gather all the ingredients. Due to the lack of rainfall, they could not grow the desirable variety of maize, beans and other legumes and vegetables and did not want to buy them. Occasionally, when they could have some fresh tuna from the sea, they remembered to return favours to neighbours and share the fish with older family members in the community. The part that they felt they could keep for themselves was chopped into small bits and pieces. When mixed in a big pot of spaghetti soup, it was as if the fish had melted away and disappeared. When the woman saw imported fruits sold by street vendors – sometimes already half turning bad under the hot sun – she would pick an apple or an orange preciously and discretely, only for her son. In the above two episodes, globalisation did bring benefits, namely in the supply of food. However, it may also have made eating automatic, artificial, and perhaps plastic. People ingest a certain number of calories to energise the body, and it is a rational choice to substitute

expensive food with cheaper alternatives in the same category, e.g., canned tuna from Portugal is cheaper than that from Cabo Verde.

Cabo Verde has an essentially sensual, taste-driven (food) culture. In Kabuverdianu, *sábi,* is very commonly used to express a complex feeling of liking for someone or something. For example, *Kabu Verdi é (terra) sábi*, which is used frequently in songs and in commercial and cultural promotions. *Sábi* is thought to have come from Portuguese: *saborear* (to taste), *sabor* (taste) and *saboroso* (tasty). Checking *Dicionário Prático Português Caboverdiano. Variante de Santiago* (2002), *saboroso* (in Portuguese) is *sábi* (in Kabuverdianu), which is everything to do with food or food made from sugar. Moreover, in a figurative sense, it means pleasurable, delightful, agreeable. According to *Dicionário do Crioulo da Ilha de Santiago (Cabo Verde)* (2002), as a noun, *sábi* is happiness and joy; the antonym is *kasábi*; as an adjective, *sábi* means good and agreeable; and as an adverb, it means well or agreeably. Interestingly, if one is to translate the examples given in the second dictionary into English, there is a full blossom of meanings of *sábi*. It is a culturally and socially rich Creole term. Note the examples: *Rapásis, k anhos bai strága gentis ses sábi. (Young men, don't destroy people's happiness.)*. *Ami N stába na un lugar sábi.* (I was in an agreeable place.). *Éra um mudjer sábi, ki gostába di festa.* (There was once a woman who knew how to enjoy life and went to many parties.). *N ka tene korpu sábi es dia li, N tem ki bá konsulta na dotor.* (I do not feel well. I need to go to the doctor.). *Ami N stába sábi na kel kása.* (I had an agreeable time in that house.). *Si bu kre kume sábi bu tem ki da más dinheru.* (If you want great food, you need to give more money.*). Bon, tinha un otu prétu la, má nho, tánbi e estába tántu gravatiátudu, tantu kazakiádu, ku lunéta trankáda n'odju, ta papia sábi ku brankus purtugues.* (There was a black man who wore a proper tie, a proper suit and glasses. He talked to white Portuguese eloquently.). There is a plethora of possible translations for *sábi*. Once staying with a host on Sal island who had just visited her daughter in Portugal, the host commented emphatically that Portuguese food is bland and tasteless (*kasábi*), that the Portuguese only add salt but do not marinate their fish and meat properly. Food preparation or appreciation can be a loving act.

Final remarks

Local and global food networks are intersected, and local practices are going global, which,

according to some scholars of island realities, imported industries foodways are harming not just food security and food sovereignty but also democracy (McLennan 2017). Remembering the opening story, a good sauce is often the salvation of the host on Brava Island. Her secret sauce, especially for fish, includes smashed garlic with salt, sugar, onion, green and red peppers, tomatoes, Portuguese Bom Dia olive, Compal ketchup and Dutch Cook Brand margarine. She fried the fish in Belgian Oilio soyabean oil. Unconsciously, she makes a world sauce with internationally sourced, branded ingredients.[92] Numerous changes are taking place in Cabo Verde. The experiences of islanders and the contextualised interpretation of these are important for our understanding of traditional food in the past, present and future. We explored some globalising changes in the Cabo Verdean diet, the way food is produced and distributed, and how locals perceive and adapt to these trends. We analysed the subject from multiple perspectives. In cities, globalisation seems to have fed into a generative and regenerative ecology of food processes. Nevertheless, Cabo Verdeans are far from embodying a "global culture" and embracing a "island identity" wholesomely (Fog Olwig 1996). If globalisation has created new city dynamics, it can also have homogenising and demoralising effects on rural food culture, so that the Creole food of Cabo Verde needs to be re-defined, for it is understood that food is not just a set of economic questions; rather it is a total social fact (Briand 2007). "Tradition" will increasingly come to indicate a whole range of *synthetic* experiences in between the two extremes. A traditional dish may also be modern, meaning that when "consuming" tradition, one is also "consuming" modernity, and vice versa.

[92] The international selection of daily necessities is impressive: Peruvian Congo Verde, Thai corn, Brazilian Velly cake power, Brazilian "Queen Rice" (*Arroz Rainha*), Dutch margarine, Dutch frozen chicken, German yogurt, European Trevi *feijão verde* and *feijão pedra*, Indonesian fruit juice, Turkish chocolate, Belgian pre-fried French fries, Swiss Maggi Chicken soup cubes, different flavours of fruit juice concentrates from Turkey or Malta, etc. Concerning the subtitles of socio-economic differences, we may be looking at households who normally use Brazilian margarine and others who prefer Becel cheese with herb flavours. An alarm of poverty rings when poor households eat *arrozinho* (plain white rice) com *peixinho pequenino frito* meal after meal, day after day.

Stomach-Thought: Popular Portuguese Imageries of Ethnic Food, Indirect Group Representations and the Socio-Cultural Condition of Afrodescendants of Cabo Verdean Origin

In France, cookery of islands in the Caribbean and in the Indian Ocean (e.g., Martinique, Maritius, Réunion, usually Creole, be them overseas department or not) has been used to build up a French-style multiculturalism discourse, a French cocktail of cultures; this is challenged by some, who present a view from within the respective Creole community of how food is a culturally and socially significant form of communication (compare Mathilde 1975; Félix 1988; Tibère 2009; Cohen 2000). Therefore, researchers need to look beyond beautiful cliché such as *la nourriture, la cuisine, la gastronomie, le métissage culinaire,* etc.

Even as an independent country, Cabo Verde constantly gauges and reassesses its relationship with Portugal. It is believed the attitude that some Cabo Verdeans have towards food is a Portuguese legacy, similar to how the Portuguese used to adore what the Spanish and the French had to offer and prefer to "import" these cultures instead of valuing their own:

> *[À] medida que ia conhecendo as cozinhas locais e importadas, ia fazendo a apologia dos vinhos e da cozinha portuguesa, bem como da nossa, uma filha miscigenada desta*. (A.F. de Pina 2011: 43)

Many well-known menus testify to the Portuguese Great Discovery legacy some hundreds of years ago, and Cabo Verde is one of many examples of how Portuguese explorers brought the world together in what was considered by some to be the first instances of globalisation and globalising phenomena (see, for example, Valente 1989). Then we ask, how do Cabo Verdeans re-appropriate and re-signify their food to make it distinctly Cabo Verdean and not just one among many Portuguese colonial legacies?

In one interesting historical study, *A Imagem do Cabo-Verdiano nos Textos Portugueses*, Danilo Santos (2017) reviewed historical texts from the period 1784 to 1844 to understand how Cabo Verdeans were described by Portuguese authors and what this revealed about the Portuguese attitude towards their colonial subjects. As far as eating is concerned, he found evidence of discussions of Cabo Verdeans being happy, satisfied and content with maize, beans,

manioc, *aguardente*, etc. In harsher accounts, the Cabo Verdean diet was depicted as uncomplicated, poor, deficient, not right in proportions, lacking in essential elements, among other connotations of their inferiority to European diets. Danilo Santos felt that, for an important aspect of human life, these sources Portuguese information leave us wanting of alternative understandings. Consider the following:

> *Apesar das influências dos dois grupos culturais, o regime alimentar cabo-verdiano – o que se comia e o que não se comia, a preparação do que se comia e como se comia – foi fruto da combinação, integração e adaptação perante os condicionalismos geográficos, climatéricos e sócio-económicos, das plantas e animais introduzidas nas ilhas, formas de produções e relações de trocas dos insulanos com outros homens e espaços – constituíram numa expressão da cultura material cabo-verdiana, com implicações profundas na construção e demarcação da identidade do cabo-verdiano. (p. 203)*

For Santos, as scholars of different academic disciplines are studying the Cabo Verdean identity, they should reference historiography more and get a better grasp of how historical representations impacted the construction of the Cabo Verdean identity. The following discussion focuses on indirect Afro-representations in popular Portuguese imageries of ethnic food. We shall politicise our "stomach-thought", proposing a creative way of understanding the challenges and opportunities for Afrodescendants of Cabo Verdean origin in Portugal, whose experiences form the basis of this study.[93]

[93] Much of this section of writing is inspired by an ongoing associational project to discuss issues of intercultural communication and to raise our awareness of existing cultural representations and possible discriminatory practices in Portuguese society. The project involves the Associação para a Mudança e Representação Transcultural and Graal – Associação de Caráter Social e Cultural, respectively. The overall objective of this writing is to use the food lens of analysis to present a dynamic picture of contemporary Afro-experiences in the West and more specifically in Portugal. This is a heavily changed version of a proposal for publication accepted by a special issue of *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies*. The original article, in line with the editors' instructions, considered Cabo Verdean descendants as an example of Afrodescendants. While being critical, this discussion is strictly designed to encourage collective reflections only and is not meant to offend any community or individual. And yet, to address the unspoken, the silenced and the ambiguous (Furtado 2012), it is important that we discuss what is not to be discussed, that we reveal what is not to be revealed, prior to properly suturing the open veins of the postcolonial (Galeano 1997).

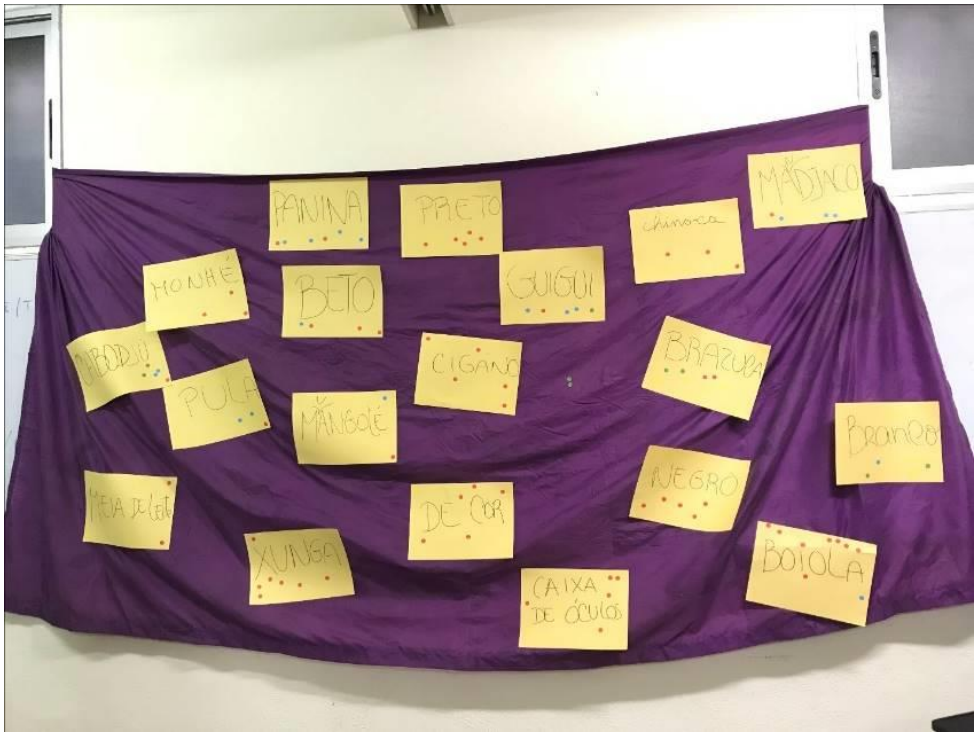


Fig. 5-10 Calling people names. Unhos, Loures, January 20, 2018.

Fig. 5-11 "*Preto*". Unhos, Loures, January 20, 2018.

This is a socio-cultural research on the stomach, which title refers to an artistic project called "Stomach-Thought. Musa Paradisiaca", or "*Pensamento-Estômago. Musa Paradisiaca*"

in Portuguese, curated by David Santos in March 2015. An introduction for the exhibition at the National Museum of Contemporary Art - Museu do Chiado says:

> Departing from the idea of a stomach-thought, as the core of the plot, the project presented in the context of the RAUM platform introduces a new dimension in this conversational and experimental process, brought by the opening, through the anonymity of its participants, to the discourse of the unknown narrator. Within the system of a non a priori controllable network of participants, dependent as it is of the natural and concrete temporality of the web reality, another stage of collaboration is opened, challenging RAUM's visitors to discuss a "thought" that will not only literally, but also in analogy, pass through the "stomach" and the "digestion" process. These "thoughts" accomplish a sort of dissection, revealed in the truth of those "guts", simultaneously obscure and transparent, especially when observed in the raw analysis of the sediment of a conversation sustained by the statement "if all may be eaten, all may be thought through the stomach". (David Santos 2015a)

Then, on the RAUM interactive platform, there were the following open dialogues: "When you say that a stomach thinks, what are you talking about?" "I am talking about a relationship with the world, more sensible, extensible and formless" (David Santos 2015b).

Using a body part to think critically about something is not new. This study also draws on the seminal book *Politics of the Womb* with regards to the contestation of powers:

> Through the politics of the womb, competing reproductive concerns and domains of power intersected and, eventually, became entangled. People, things, and ideas moved back and forth, between households and hospitals in rural areas; government offices and medical training centers in Nairobi; the Colonial Office and the House of Commons in London; and, later, between international aid offices and conferences in New York and Beijing. (Thomas 2003: 6)

Just as the womb is not devoid of politics and we have to attend to matters of the womb (Dossa 2011), we need to politicise the stomach-thought leading to popular Portuguese imageries of ethnic food, knowing that the ethnic quality of food is relative:

> In America (unlike in some cultural/historical contexts), for instance, what one eats at home is relatively unmarked – even valorized, as an enduring symbol of the melting pot – whereas in the public sphere ethnic food is a particularly palatable form of multiculturalism, in contrast with the conformity expected, demanded, or even legislated in areas such as

> language and clothing. One might, then, consider what the ubiquity of food in maintaining historically constituted identities owes not only to the properties of food itself, but also to the social and cultural conditions that allow or encourage this to be a space for resilient identities where other arenas are far more stigmatized. (Holtzman 2006: 373)

We shall adopt a food-centred perspective to understand contemporary migrant experiences. In Portugal, instead of asking if food is in fact a space for the rise of resilient identities, we ask first and foremost how stigmatising or liberating it is as a space and, further on, how this reflects on the social, cultural and political situations of the people involved more generally.

While studies of ethic food in the United States often approach the food question not only gastronomically but also socially, so that what began as an ethnic food study is also a modern sociological study of relationships and power (X. Liu 2016; Modan 2008), research in Portugal tend to be gastronomical, traditional or nostalgic (T.S. de Oliveira 2013). This study politicises our "stomach-thought", acknowledging that what is seemingly harmless, recreational and ubiquitous among them today can be traced back to a complex European imperial history of rule and control (Akyeampong 2000).

Gibau (2005) presented one of the most elucidating studies on the onerous manoeuvring of the Cabo Verdean identity in the United States, the implications of which are highly relevant for Portugal as well:

> Since Cape Verdeans are of African and Portuguese descent, their experiences have been one of constant negotiation of identity along racially ascribed and culturally defined lines. Other Black immigrants, from the Caribbean and Africa, have undergone similar experiences once confronted with the United States system of racial classification based on physical appearance and the demarcation of identity "boxes." However, Cape Verdeans who are comfortable with asserting multiple identities actively challenge ideas of racial categorization. The Cape Verdean diaspora community of Boston can be accurately described as being in a constant state of transformation, where identities are contingent upon the community's task of defining and redefining itself internally and to outgroup members. The individual and collective identities proffered by Cape Verdeans can be interpreted as identities of resistance in relation to the United States system of racial classification and its attendant ideology of racial hierarchy. (p. 433)

Other authors have also contributed to our understanding of the subtleties of navigating a treacherous sea of possible and plausible identities in the Cabo Verdean case (Challinor 2012;

Almeida 2007; Furtado 2012). We shall immerse in the angst of Afrodescendants of Cabo Verdean origin in a bewilderingly diverse global African diaspora with "complex threads of connections, convergences, and commonalities", knowing that the coloured, black and white "American-style regimes of racialization" may not apply to the majority of Africans on the move in contemporary history (Zeleza 2010: 2, 9). The analytical process revolved around three elements: food, people and environment. For coherence, they are presented here in an integrated manner.

Cabo Verdean food is appreciated for being traditional in Portugal and is still largely unaffected by what may be called fusion food, a seemingly recent concept. In Portugal, cooks are not expected to innovate but to preserve tradition. This may be contradictory if we think about Cabo Verdean cuisine, which is a Creole cuisine of a Creole people whose past and present histories have been a constant struggle to negotiate their social and cultural identity (Rodrigues 2003). Creole means mixture. A study of Africa's Gold Coast in the Atlantic Era, for instance, showed how creativity and innovation, integral to fusion foodways, are old and African (La Fleur 2012). Meanwhile, Cachupa is the quintessential Creole stew of edible, nutritious, locally sourced ingredients. Put this way, Cabo Verdean food is creativity; it is human ingenuity. In Portugal, on the contrary, Cabo Verdeans are encouraged to maintain tradition, denying the essence of that very tradition. From fieldwork, it can be observed that the Cachupa that is consumed on the Cabo Verde islands is more modern than that eaten in Portugal. As the most recognisable dish of the country, Cabo Verdeans explain and demonstrate what preparing such a stew really means in their cultural context. Gathering ingredients, or *juntar ingredientes* in Portuguese*,* is an active experience that is at once practical and emotional. It is practical because there is no definitive list of ingredients and what goes into the stew depends on the day, season, personal taste and, certainly, purchasing power. It is emotional because foreign ingredients are often used, not only because people can easily buy canned, semi-prepared ingredients in Chinese shops, but also because they are glad to use what others send or bring. For instance, a homely preparation of Cachupa I enjoyed on a weekend in Tarrafal (northernmost city of Santiago, Cabo Verde) included imported European carrot, deep-frozen Dutch meat and Brazilian maize the hosts bought in Praia (Capital city, southernmost city of Santiago); a cabbage purchased in the small municipal market in front of the house; beans and

sweet potatoes which arrived in a boat and were compliments from family living and cultivating on the island of Fogo; and *Chouriço Alentejano* that I brought with me from Portugal as *encomenda*, i.e., present. The combination is rich because "*a cachupa leva tudo"*, meaning everything goes into the making of a Cachupa.

Words such as "*gastronomia*", "*culinária*", "*tradição*" and "*cultura*" are frequently used interchangeably in cookbooks written by Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora (see, for example, Y. dos Santos 2003). Not rarely, "*receitas tradicionais*" are equated with "*alimentação popular*" with little historical reference to the actual conditions of the rural population and the rarity of many of the printed colourful meal suggestions. There are also many older, archival cookbooks edited by Cabo Verdean women who adopt a neutral attitude, in the sense that they do not seem to assume any significant position aside from indicating their wish to preserve Cabo Verdean cookery and traditions (J.P.C. de Oliveira 1996; Chantre 1993). While new menus are more personal or familial in style, they are equally diplomatic (Duarte 2015; E. Tavares 2014).

Afrodescendants are constantly compared with first generation immigrants. The latter group of individuals tend to be docile, hard-working, poorly educated and so rarely fight for their rights (refer to Batalha 2004). Importantly, they are very traditional, conservative, and family-oriented and resigned in their attitude. Afrodescendants are burdened with the social expectations to preserve these first-generation immigrant qualities, just as the Portuguese wish to enjoy traditional food as they first knew it. White middle-class consumers can afford to be omnivorous and enjoy a very broad range of food options (Johnston and Baumann 2007). They eat rich and poor, high and low. Ethnic specialties are good for gathering and for weekend socialisation. Sometimes, these dietary alternatives are dubbed "green", "pure", "natural" or "healthy", not unrelated to the transnational pursuit of African superfood[94], which are common African food or drink ingredients "rediscovered" by Western scientists and health specialists because of their abilities to remove toxins from the human body.

Cuisines are to no small extent promoted by cookbooks, a means of elevating a culinary culture (Appadurai 1988). When travelling to other countries, tourists like to purchase cookbooks, which are not rarely officially published by a Western editing house. These recipes

[94] Lauren Said-Moorhouse, "Cooking up a Storm: The Rise of African Superfoods," *CNN*, April 27, 2016. https://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/12/africa/african-superfoods-gastronomy-cuisine/index.html.

are often sold in touristic places and are in great demand in high seasons. From experience, when visiting the homes of local people, however, it is very rare to find the same cookbooks on the shelves. They almost always only have Portuguese recipes, especially healthy Portuguese recipes, neglected or for mere decoration. When demanding for an explanation why local people do not buy their own cookbooks, it was explained that Cabo Verdean, Angolan, Mozambican recipes, etc., are very difficult to cook; the ingredients are not readily available, there are too many steps, and most recipes are desserts. The locals suggested that there are many simpler, practical Brazilian recipes online for reference, needing only minor adjustments.

From a cultural anthropological perspective, what is not pure is dangerous, and from a young age people learn to rid themselves of impurity and dirt, personally and socially (Douglas 2003). This explains why food consumption is sanctioned by taboos in all cultures. Cabo Verdean cooking is somehow still thought to be closer to Nature, more ecologically friendly, that people are more likely to plant, raise animals and produce their own food, and that the diet is less industrialised and contains less chemical. Interestingly, elsewhere, similar understanding was also registered among busy migrants who live abroad and idealise the mass-produced and mass-packaged food from their land of origin:

> The raw materials used to produce the canned or packaged item may also be illustrated, as in can labels of Ruker Cream of Palm Fruits, which depict the palm nut fruits themselves (from which palm oil is made) and a large cook pot overflowing with palm nut soup. Yet despite the authenticating imagery of traditional technologies and labor-intensive production process used in the packaging of foodstuffs sold in West African grocery stores, their preparation represents new concerns about time and health. (Renne 2007: 619)

Accordingly, tradition is merely exploitative sentimental marketing, has more to do with industries, economics and commerce than with culture, whether this is to appeal to Westerners or emigrants.[95] Upon analysis, knowing that more than half of the world population is urbanised, including in Africa, living and feeding have become increasingly challenging, if not dangerous, in shanty towns and on the peripheries, i.e., in between the city and the country. There is little chance to go foraging in the open, little space and soil to grow food and the

[95] Small packs of *milho branco* and *milho amarelo* is branded "*Sabi Sabi*". They are produced/packaged by Empresa Lin & Lin in Cacém (Portugal) and are sold in Loja Supermercado Chen in Martim Moniz.

temptation to fatten chickens and pigs unnaturally with grower rations. By assuming that Cabo Verdean cooking is closer to the source, there is also the sensation that the people are the guardians of something past. While the Portuguese can easily access the Cabo Verdean world for all types of experiences – dining, tourism, lifestyle changes, and business opportunities – Cabo Verdeans rarely enjoy the same privilege when trying to be part of the Portuguese world.

More generally, Western appreciation of African "cuisines" – not just food customs and diets – is rather new. It may be described as a post-colonial rediscovery of the food and culture of its former colonial subjects. The long-time association of Africa with hunger is still strong, remembering quintessentially the images of starving Ethiopian children transmitted by English media (M.J. Ramos 2018). As a result, African food is still in the process of gaining recognition from a wider public.[96] Anecdotally, the meaty version of Cachupa, or *Cachupa Rica*, is said to be a copy of *Cozido à portuguesa*.[97] When Cabo Verdeans arrived *en masse* in Portugal in the

[96] It is rare to find African food items on the shelves, except perhaps for the celebration of the African Week perhaps in Lidl supermarkets. I once brought two bottles of spicy sauce, one labelled "Angolan" and the other "Cabo Verdean", and was disappointed to find out later that they had been produced by a Portuguese company for the Portuguese market. To add to my dismay, I was told by my Cabo Verdean female friends that these products were specific for the African Week and not regular products.

[97] Dr. Moacyr Rodrigues in personal communication, Mindelo, São Vicente, March/April 2018. He said that "*cachupa rica foi uma invenção dos caboverdianos em Lisboa por complexo, complexo do branco*". The immigrants in Lisbon imitated *cozida à portuguesa* to make a better Cachupa when they were asked by the Portuguese to prepare traditional food because they were ashamed of what they had. Beginning around the 1970s or 1980s, Cachupa Guisada was sold as "*comida da casa/comida doméstica*" in Café Real on Rua de Lisboa. In discussing about food influences, M. Rodrigues pointed out that there is much room yet to understand Cabo Verde and its relations with Africa. Accordingly, even as maize is commonly consumed in many parts of Africa, including in Cabo Verde, the maize of Cabo Verde came from Brazil, and along with the plant, history and symbolism ("*O milho cabo-verdiano vem mais do Brazil do que da África*."). Moreover, a lot of African cultural practices spread to Cabo Verde not directly, but through Portugal, which is the case of Mindelo, and hence the perceived inter-island diversities in Cabo Verde (*A cultura africana que chega ao Mindelo vem através de Lisboa"*.). The Portuguese medium gone; the nature of the island-continent contact will have changed. The experience of Portuguese introduction of edible species and farm animals in Cabo Verde was one of experimentation (*Era o que podia ou funcionava*.). He was undecided if imitation or innovation was a better word for the whole Cabo Verdean experience with food. He said emphatically that "*caboverdianos não têm consciência das diferenças*" and that the Creole identity is neither black nor white, it is ambiguous, and is the opposite of purity or certainty. What encouraged the growth of the language, food, music or religion among Cabo Verdeans abroad is living in small

last century, they were constantly asked by the Portuguese to prepare typical food from their land. The Cabo Verdeans began to worry because their food was too "poor", not at all presentable. So, they enriched the Cachupa, borrowing ingredients from a popular Portuguese dish, i.e., *Cozido à Portuguesa,* and the Portuguese were satisfied. This is how *Cachupa Rica* came about, according to anecdotes. Presently, the Cachupa eaten in Lisbon is almost always the rich, high-animal-protein and elaborate version, and so is the Cachupa eaten on especial occasions and in restaurants on the islands due to external influences. Then, another instance of change is Cachupa served with rice, like how food is commonly served in Portuguese restaurants. This is becoming a norm in some relatively well known, traditionally branded Cabo Verdean cafés and restaurants in Portugal. On the islands, this would be totally unthinkable. Combining Cachupa, a maize-based stew, with rice is an obvious redundancy.

Fig. 5-12 Cachupa with rice, Alto da Cova da Moura, May 2018.

Cachupa is a stew which is itself complete – a common feature of African food traditions (McCann 2010). Similarly, one time a cook in such an eating outlet said "*Prova nos sabor*," and the Cachupa had beef in it. A curious development is preparing Muslim-friendly Cachupa

enclaves, which provides favourable conditions for cultural reproduction.

for children whose parents converted to Islam and "vegetarian" Cachupa for young European tourists who tour typical Cabo Verdean neighbourhoods.

Once dining at Cantinho do Aziz in Mouraria, part of the Lisbon historical centre, and reading the menu with fellow colleagues, among them Mozambicans and Angolans, one understands what a Mozambican, or African, menu is expected to look like in Portugal. It is structured like any other European menu, with many choices, and people order the right portion for themselves. Concerning menu, a seminal work about India explains:

> What suggests that what is emerging is more than an arbitrary hodgepodge of regional recipes is the increasingly widespread invoking of the menu idea. Many recent cookbooks have suggested menus, based on a series of slots […] which are then filled with items from different regional or ethnic traditions. The interesting thing about this process is that while, in European and some other cuisines, the idea of a menu is associated with a succession of courses, Indian meals do not normally have a significant sequential dimension. Everything arrives more or less at once in the most everyday contexts… the idea of a menu is clearly a way to organize the proliferation of specialized regional and ethnic traditions and to subordinate them to the counterweight of an Indian culinary idiom. (Appadurai 1988: 20).

Introducing its other restaurant in Leeds, England, Cantinho do Azis is said to offer "a Portuguese menu with some Mozambican influences".[98] This is exemplary of African cuisine success but also of the necessary commercial compromises. For Afrodescendants, there is the dilemma of opening up to others or closing on themselves. One known Angolan mothers who declare that they only prepare Angolan food and São Tomense women who are adamant that they would never be tempted to eat like the Portuguese. This closure upon themselves explains why immigrants tend to glue to their respective communities and that their food is not sufficiently promoted and commercialised externally, in Portugal. For Afrodescendants, this is not realistic because they necessarily incorporate more than one culture. Afrodescendants of Cabo Verdean origin struggle daily to maintain the right balance of living a multidimensional identity. The difficulties in doing the above is processing the social structuring of the Afro-experience in Portugal, where the Portuguese have internalised a certain way of appreciating *other* cultural manifestations. Furthermore, by means of education and other institutions of

[98] As of April 1, 2019, Cantinho do Aziz. http://cantinhodoaziz.com/en/

socialisation, they promote Portuguese ways of approaching, understanding, experiencing and preserving the exotic. The creation and promotion of categories for the others is not an innocent act. On the contrary, as Edward Said (1978) has eloquently explained, it is a Western power game with the ultimate goal of fixing positional superiority and championing Western hegemony.

The locations of Cabo Verdean restaurants may be historical. Some have established themselves at a certain location, almost always at an elevated point of a locality. Reaching the place is a "ritual" and requires not only willingness but physical aptness. Cova de Moura is the best-known, self-formed Cabo Verdean immigrant neighbourhood in Portugal, where there are several well-established, traditional restaurants. It is also known among Portuguese for perennial social problems, administrative control challenges and ownership right disputes since the last century. In a highly ritualised act, Portuguese clients, in a group, must go up a hill and pass by the many houses and spontaneous barbecues stalls that border a windy road-cum-walkway leading to the destination. Not rarely, the residents inspect the Portuguese with inquisitive expressions. It is often a lively ritual because of the Creole conversations of neighbours and the marathon of popular African music along the way. Eating is a ritualised encounter. The cooking process is also gendered (Counihan and Kaplan 2005). In Cabo Verde, "eating out" is not yet widespread, especially beyond the major cities; cooks are women, at home and on the street. Additionally, in Portugal, the simpler the Cabo Verdean restaurant, the more likely the cook is a woman. Imagine a woman in her fifties or sixties in an apron quietly labouring away in a clean, well-kept kitchen, helped sometimes by an adult daughter or son. Her clients congratulate her on her cooking skills, and she comes out, thanks them humbly in simple but cordial Portuguese and returns promptly to mind her stoves. These are the constant visual and mental images registered. Cooking is a female performance all over the world, as anthropologists analyse how it affects women's lives and how gendered notions of household responsibilities persist through generations (Perez 2012). For women, cooking is not only a homely task, it is also their livelihood. They sell home-cooked food on the street in order to feed their children and sometimes even their husbands. Therefore, cooking is also their profession, be it in the formal or informal economies. When women emigrate, they continue cooking and, in the case of cafés or restaurants, cooking for non-family members, for:

> Women always work. They are not in and out of economic activity, but at various stages of their life cycle they are either paid for their work or not and their work is either recognized as economic activity or not. (Morokvasic 1984: 888)

The food a Cabo Verdean cook prepares has a motherly touch to it; the clients are like her "sons and daughters" in the heart-warming moment of food appreciation and enjoyment. There are many life histories of women who proudly claim to be Cabo Verdean (and African) and who demonstrate a unique relationship with cooking. For some, cooking is their pride, knowing that they cook much better than Portuguese women. For others, they feel awkward speaking in public, especially in an adopted colonial language too cold for their expressive nature. They are highly successful at cooking and selling food in festivals and fairs. For Afrodescendants who aspire to be chefs, not merely cooks, they feel the urge to recreate their food heritage. Even beyond cooking, gender has major implications. Even while accepting the shared visions and struggles of Afrodescendants, we shall admit that male and female Afrodescendants do not have totally identical experiences. What was true about white and black feminism is also true here. Female Afrodescendants are probably the most vocal in defending collective interests, explaining why there are constantly more female participants than male ones in workshops and academic meetings that discuss racism, minority rights and social problems. They are highly participative, they gather broad support, and their organisations are more democratically run. Understood this way, female Afrodescendants are media of intercultural communication and of social consensus. Figuratively, they make the chorus in singing. Mobility is a distinct and constant characteristic of human society and we are plural, hybrid beings. Hanif Kureishi (2011), Stuart Hall (1993, 1996) and others with multicultural backgrounds would agree that people have bits and pieces of various cultures in them. They would concord that identity is always constructed across differences and we do not live by one stable identity. It is doubly difficult to discuss the situation of Afrodescendants. In a way, the Afrodescendant consciousness symbolises a sense of unity and common destiny. By taking a few steps back and reviewing the case from a different angle, some of the challenges and opportunities for Afrodescendants became clear.

CONCLUSION

Fig. 6-1 "*Lunchonete sem vaidade*", Santo Antão, 2018. There are many of these moveable food stalls on the islands. They have no placard but go by the name of the woman in charge.

Having discussed a broad range of topics spread over three main chapters, in the Conclusion we shall finish by recapping the major observations derived from an interdisciplinary methodological approach and highlighting several contributions of our elaborative work.

According to information collected and presented by international organisation more recently, Cabo Verde has some of the best development indicators in West Africa. The country's dominant risk factor is "socio-economic" ("Global Analysis of Food and Nutrition Security Situation in Food Crisis Hotspots", report by EU, FAO, and WEP 2016). This means that Cabo Verde faces challenges as a small island developing state with few natural resources and that the management of these challenges is conditioned by a number of socio-economic factors. Then, as a report presented in 2018 by the National Directorate for Planning of the Ministry of

Finance of the country attempts to explain, Cabo Verde is extremely vulnerable from a food security point of view due to agroclimatic variations and foreign market fluctuations. In recent years, over 90% of staples (maize, rice, wheat, etc.) have come from abroad in the form of food aid and commercial imports, and their weight increases with the decrease in food aid because of the lower-middle-income country status and the changes in international aid criteria. Combining the two perspectives, it can be said that Cabo Verde continues to face the same long-standing structural environmental challenges, but contemporary socio-economic policies and actions have apparently made a positive impact, gaining recognition from the international community.

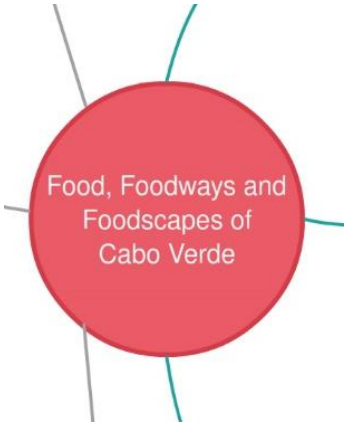
Cabo Verde has an "ecological identity", as historian António Leão Silva (1996) said. In fact, Cabo Verde has never been an agricultural paradise, as Langworthy and Finan (1997) told us. In practical terms, there was no justification for continuing with subsistence farming, which was and still is on the whole a precarious, high-risk family enterprise. The apparent "stubbornness" of Cabo Verdeans irritated Mateus Nunes (1962), whose record stated that if maize and beans were missing at home, families would not eat anything and would starve. More empathetic account by Orlando Ribeiro (1997) spoke of the activities, warmth and sounds of neighbourhoods, witnessing how a rich social life developed in the countryside, on the street, in the front garden, inside the kitchen and around the table. These are examples of studies conducted at different times with marks of the perceptions and ideologies of the time.

Presently, how can we understand the "starvation" and "stubbornness" of Cabo Verdeans with regards to an unprofitable practice? The writing of this manuscript was an immersion exercise, studying food not only from an economic and political point of view, but also from a historical and cultural perspective. "Praise the Lord, we do not lack the most important things," a Cabo Verdean woman currently living in Greater Lisbon once exclaimed. She was referring to food. This exclamation can be understood on various levels, material, symbolic, cultural and political. Cabo Verdeans in the diaspora tend to live more comfortably than their island-bound compatriots and so food is important for them not so much on a material level but on a convivial, group-conscious and symbolic level. Some observers may say that the public discourse of "poverty" in Cabo Verde is political and detached from "reality". Some concession has to be made here, that, as the present writing has been trying to make clear, actors and their actions

induce social changes. However, we should also understand this as an instance of politically-oriented culture, that Cabo Verde has a culture that is politically sensitive, that this once again prove our point that Cabo Verdean "society" is really the currently visible picture of all the power plays and social interactions that congregate and conjugate in complex processes.

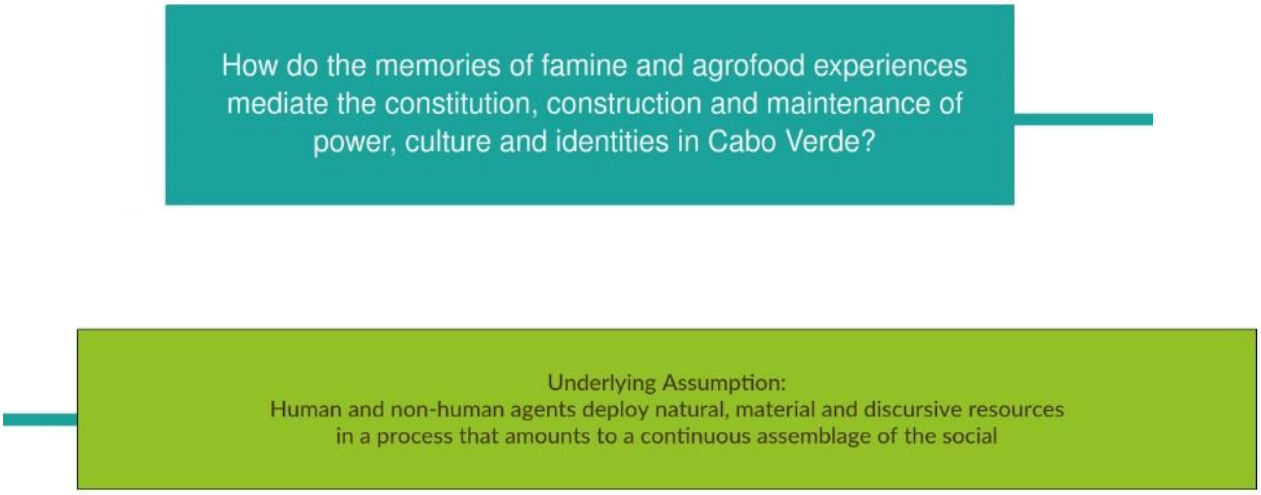
In all societies, food is fundamental. What distinguishes Cabo Verde from the rest is that food has largely defined and structured Cabo Verde's social relationships and is found literally on every page of the archipelago's history, from discovery to settlement, to colonial administration, migration, social, political and cultural development. For Cabo Verde, the history of famine and the study of rural realities have laid the foundational stones for further studies of not just the economic production of food but also the cultural consumption of it. Knowledge of Cabo Verdean history is important because it gives us a broad vision of this society and enables us to think wiser and plan better for its future (de J. Silva 2018). Nonetheless, the present research integrated previous knowledge, went beyond that, and explored new horizons. This dissertation took an interdisciplinary approach to study the food, foodways and foodscapes of Cabo Verde. It meshed history, anthropology, sociology, policy economy, environmental science, etc., and adopted a cultural perspective to compliment current knowledge on global market dynamics, public policy and international aid.

Reutilising the Methodology Diagram in separate parts, we shall revise major concepts, the problem, objectives and results.



According to the "French School" proposal of Chastanet, Fauvelle-Aymar and Juhé-Beaulaton (2002), we need to put emphasis on the human and social dimension of food

problems. As Simoons (1974) tells us, foodways represent how people feel, think and behave about food. James McCann (2010) is of the opinion that there are cuisines among African cultures even if not all African nations have a distinctive, coherent cuisine of their own. On the whole, scholars of Africa have been slow to recognise the opportunities of looking at food as a nexus of transformations, explains Jeremy Rich (2007). Foodscapes is often discussed alongside foodways and adds a spatial dimension to our discussion. A study of food, especially in anthropology, needs to engage issues of memory. According to the anthropologist Holtzman (2006), a study of food has to discuss memory because it contrasts with historical objectivism and prizes experience and meaning with reference to the past. Done in a conceptually comparative frame of mind as proposed by Jacky Goody (1982, 1998), it is hoped that this study has followed the spirit of "meaning-making research" promoted by the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa since 2017.



From the perspective of a researcher, it is difficult to do a total / comprehensive study of African or Creole realities in rapid and constant change (Garine 1991). This perhaps explains why the literature on food in Africa is often situated on two extremes, the anthropological and rural *versus* the urban, modernist and diasporic. Following a literature review of the state-of-the-art, we noticed some limitations in current studies about Cabo Verde. Namely, back-dated investigative work of droughts and famines is historical and needs updating. Then, research on

resilience and survival strategies tends to focus on rural areas. Also, a large part of studies on Cabo Verdean cultural identities are more concerned with the diaspora, in Europe or in North America. In this way, the present research builds a bridge between the past and the present; between famine and food; between people and the government; between nature and culture; and between the archipelago and the rest of the world.

The research problem is thus defined: We ask how memories of famine and agri-food experiences have mediated the constitution, construction and maintenance of power, culture and identities in Cabo Verde, assuming that human and non-human agents use natural, material and discursive resources in a continuous assemblage of the social. The methodological framework is based broadly on the sociological studies of Michel Callon, Bruno Latour, John Law, etc. In their conception of society, of social networks and connections, all changes are promoted by actors, that can be human or non-human. Most importantly, there is no given, pre-existing "society". The society we see and know is uncertain and unstable, having resulted from rich competing dynamics, social mobilisation and the translation of these influences into power, into change.

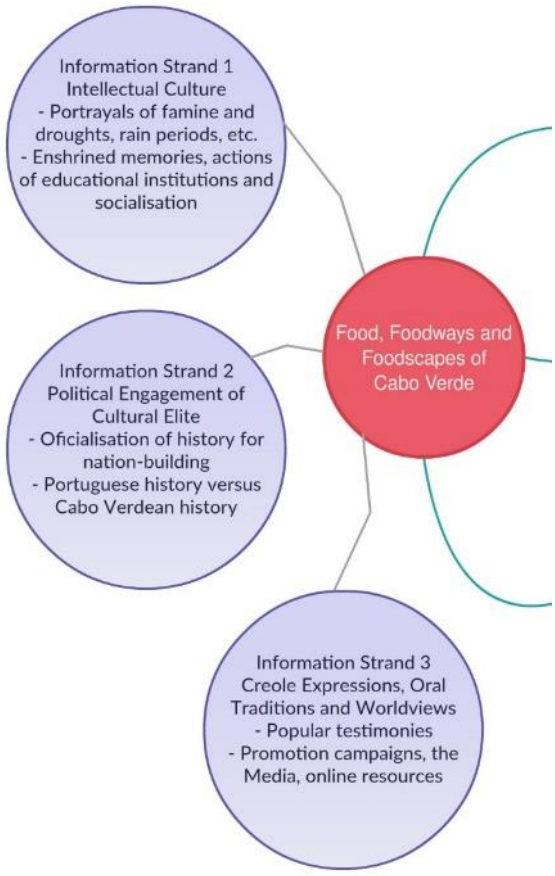
Other African and Africanist perspectives are likely incorporated. The idea of "humane society" of Felwine Sarr (2017), for instance, encompasses the Earth and other elements of Nature. In our study, we cannot afford to neglect the personal and qualitative side of the economic process, reminds Karen Flynn (2005). Furthermore, in Africa more generally speaking, there are close and multidimensional connections between material structures and human/cultural constructs, and the domestication of landscape is done with language and history-telling, believes Stuart Marks (2016). Succinctly, an integrated theoretical framework structures the discussion of food, foodways and foodscapes in the case of Cabo Verde.

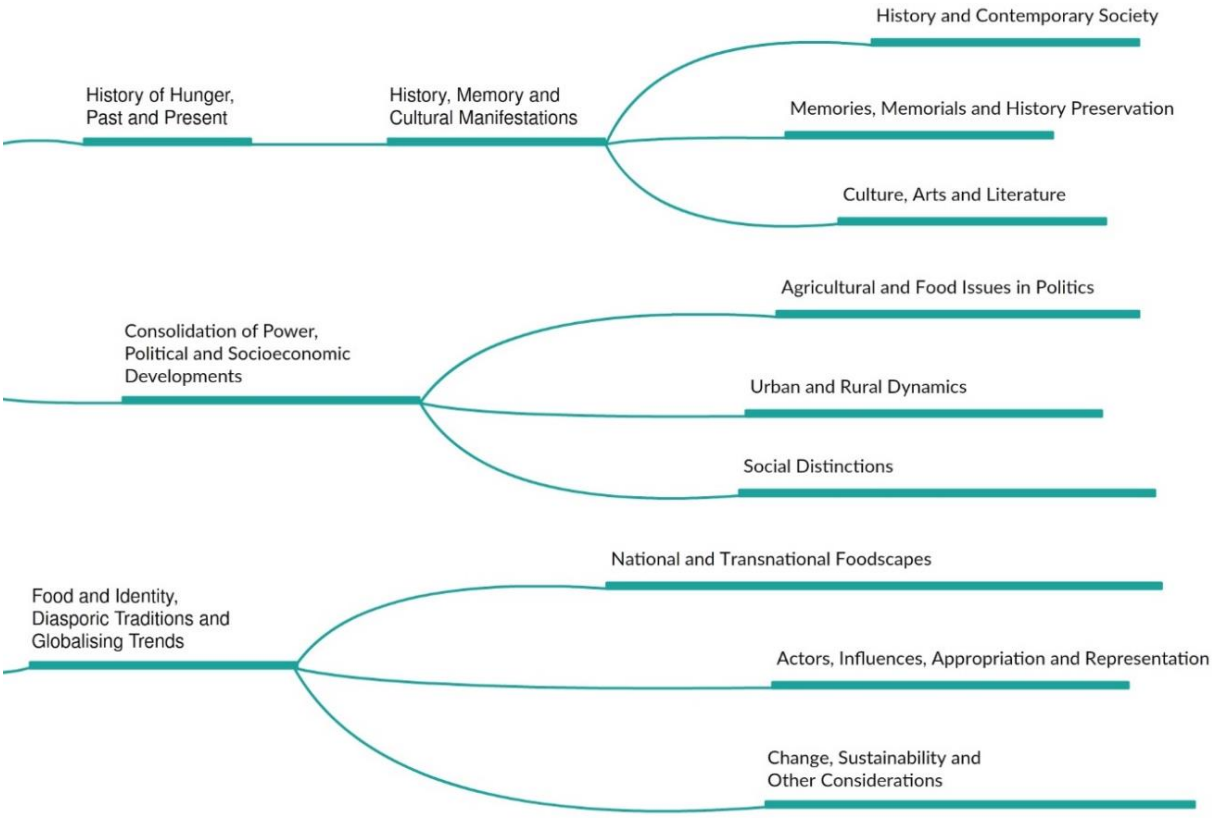
The theoretical construct (sociological translation theory plus African and Africanist perspectives) is intentionally used to structure the rest (food, foodways and foodscapes). It is also meant to sew up the individual chapters so that we can tell one story of Cabo Verde that is not only ethnographically interesting but also scientifically rigorous. Essentially, the theoretical construct was what gave rise to the research question. Then, the research question was asked respecting the theoretical assumptions. On top of this, what made the main research question develop into smaller/more specific questions were the insights of existing and foreseen interests

of food studies. Everything is interlinked.

Effectively, pairing the respective objectives and questions, in order to characterise Cabo Verde today with respect to the past, we ask how people have dealt with history in different aspects of social life; in order to evaluate political and socio-economic development, we ask how important agri-food issues and rural interventions are in the present time; and in order to study transnational dynamics, we ask what the newest changes and social and political representations are.

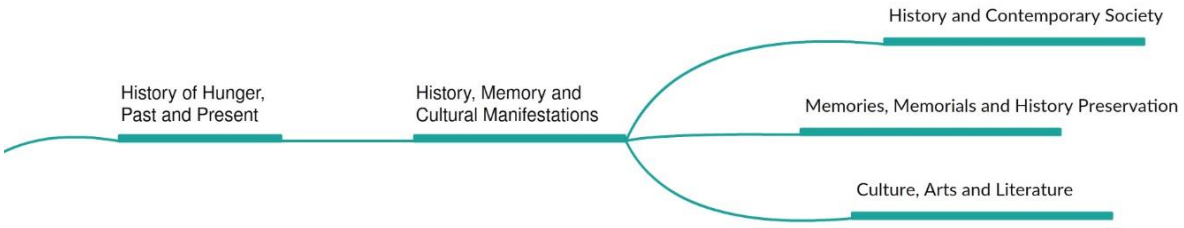
The sources of information are diverse, shared, and can be categorised in three major strands: intellectual culture; political engagement of the cultural elite; and creole expressions, oral traditions and worldviews.





The results are consolidated and presented in three central chapters.

In the following, we revise scientific contributions of the thesis in theoretical and practical terms in more detail.



According to a secondary school teacher in an interview, "*O cabo-verdiano é cameleão*". He or she is an opportunist and changes colours depending on the context. The teacher used this to describe two situations. One concerns himself, who has "*sangue sampadjudu mas valores badius*". Although his parentage was *sampadjudu* (more European), his ideas are *badiu* (more

African). But then, when there are competitions or matches, say between Guineans and Portuguese, *badius* will most certainly wear the T-shirts of the Portuguese team and cheer for them. The teacher is confident that this is not a contradiction but a question of personal choice. Elsewhere, researchers have been recommended to:

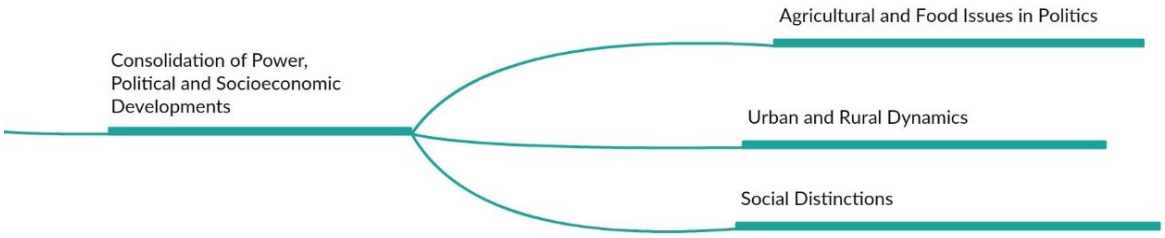
> *ver e pensar o cabo-verdiano como homem de cultura e identidade flexível (fruto da sua própria formação), não estáticas, situados numa espécie de frentes, entre vários mundos, fazendo a ponte entre as várias civilizações*. (Danilo Santos 2017: 233)

This is a reason why it is difficult to fit Cabo Verde or its people in one single category. On the one hand, the islands that make up Cabo Verde are very different. This is reflected in their living conditions and access to resources. This also affected the inhabitants' attitude towards others and their general worldviews. On the other hand, the islands have met very similar challenges over the decades; they have been transformed by actions and decisions of major players – including international organisations, politicians, community leaders, social and cultural figures, managers of media and commercial outlets, etc – who engaged all/most islands simultaneously. Note this explanation:

> *As ligações internas entre as várias ilhas estabelecem-se, intensificam-se, institucionalizam-se. […] que Cabo Verde se vai converter de simples conjunto de ilhas em arquipélago, num processo ainda experimental, mas que havia de se revelar irreversível. Até agora, cada ilha ou cada grupo de ilhas fizera a sua evolução com poucos pontos de contacto. Daqui para diante escuta-se o pulsar do arquipélago. Não poderemos mais compreender o que se passa em Santiago, sem indagar o que se verifica em Santo Antão, S. Nicolau, Boa Vista e nas outras ilhas, pela mesma época, em circunstâncias e com actores semelhantes. (M.E.M. Santos, Torrão, and Soares 2007: 393).*

Cabo Verde was an "unviable country", according to a broadly-known and accepted institutional condemnation of the last century. For much of its history, that archipelago was divided, between white- and darker-skinned individuals/communities, between the colonisers and the colonized, between the Administration and the poor rural population. With this conflictual past in mind, we need an approach that is neutral. We cannot assume that there is a Cabo Verdean "society" to begin with, but we try to understand the actors and the resources

they used to shape and cement the Cabo Verde society of today. Locals and emigrants celebrate their food and foodways, but this does not mean that they have really forgotten the devastating episodes of drought and famine, as discussed by anthropologists, namely with regards to the "politics of forgetting". Additionally, concerning Cabo Verde, Celeste Fortes has proposed in her university seminars that people forget the past to progress; in this country, certain histories of history are actively forgotten so that people could move on, and so, memory and forgetting are one pair. Even the richness of the Cabo Verdean literary tradition invoking its history of famine is a "literary fact" based on "historical truth", recalls Benilde Justo Caniato (2006). For all the frequent laments and disproportional joy that people express around simple events of rain, abundance of food, good yields in the farm and good catches out at sea, instead of understanding this as simple negativism, we would propose that Cabo Verde has a "negative heritage" that, despite the development of the decades, continues to regulate social life. It is this negative heritage that Cabo Verde simultaneously condemns and celebrates. Moreover, from observation, the more urban and distant we are from the rural world, the more we long for it, so that certain Cabo Verdean artistic professionals' traditionalist approach may actually be the new "modern" vision.



Politically speaking, food is a central, decisive, reality-shaping public-policy issue, something that extensive studies from India, Russia, China, etc., have confirmed. Cabo Verde as an African Success Story is already very well known. How Cabo Verde achieved the lower-middle income country status is also widely discussed. Even so, Cabo Verde contributes to class debates because it points to the general inability of class theories to explain a certain collective feeling of *in*-distinction. The consolidation of power and political and socio-economic development does not necessarily imply a worsening of differences between people. In Cabo

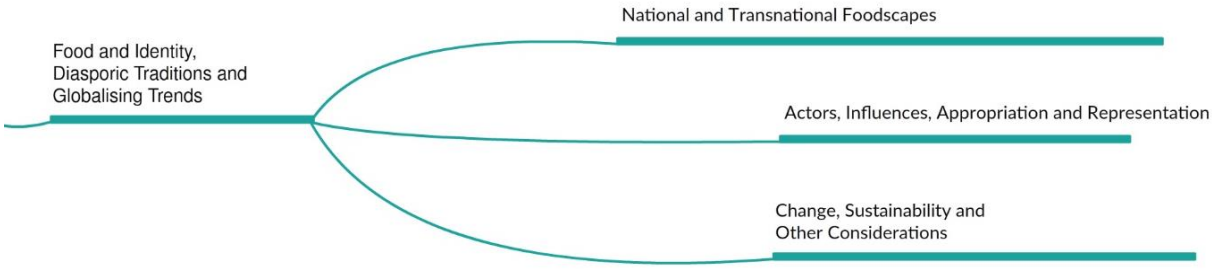
Verde, it can be said that there is a clear appreciation of culture, of intellectuality, and of the merits of immigrants, but this is not equivalent to class stratification. What is noticeable in Cabo Verde is a broad social understanding of a shared version of one national history to which everyone contributes. It is based on this understanding that today's Cabo Verdean social relationships have been edified.

Theoretically, the rain, a non-human actor has intervened decidedly in the construction of Cabo Verdean society. The Earth, another non-human author, has also made a great impact. Nonetheless, we must not forget the farmers, cooks, street vendors who every day work to sustain the city. Furthermore, teachers, professionals of culture and the arts, oral tradition tellers are just the more prominent examples of actors who performed in the construction of the Cabo Verdean society with visible and traceable effects.

Formally, it was foreign-trained, learned historians who wrote the history, but the written history had to conjugate well with the political ambitions of the leaders of the new independent State, and the first generations of youthful politicians did a rather successful job of convincing the general population, promoting the established version and reiterating its institutionalisation through all possible means. As the anthropologist Kopytoff (1971) commented, Anglo-Saxon research frameworks sometimes tend to see division and separation when there is really continuity and constancy, especially in traditional African societies. By studying Cabo Verde and its agri-food experiences, we have come to more nuanced conclusion about rigid class theories.

And so, rather successfully, the following view on Cabo Verde has been well solidified: The identification of Cabo Verde as an archipelago is unmistakable, and with this, what is written about it is also the history of one nation and State effectively. Amid this, food could be a strong linking force, a glue of human relationships, a solidifying public image arched over a common discourse of solidarity, unity, equality and democracy despite material differences. Granted, the archipelago of Cabo Verde is not included in most commercial maps of the African continent. If we read a world map, our attention is seized by major countries, and the tiny nation pales into insignificance. On the islands, the inhabitants had to harness available resources (e.g., rain, soil, mountains and oceans) and follow a frugal but ingenious diet. Collectively, they triumphed over natural forces, western colonialism and deterministic forecasts. The country

achieved key successes and managed to rein in famine because public bodies extended direct support to the population in times of crisis. As pointed out by experts, the roles played by the government, local and national institutions, quick and responsive political actions, and effective channelling of financial and material resources proved to be far more effective than economic growth, expansion of the agricultural section or acceleration of food production in combating famine. Consequently, studying Cabo Verde has allowed us to comprehend the practical challenges in Africa and apply possible solutions.



We agree with Virginie Briand, so far as food is not just a set of economic issues, but a total social fact. However, there is no pure "tradition", nor is there pure "modernity", the reality experienced is mixed and paradoxical. Tradition as we understand is not ancient or old; on the contrary, it is modern and synthetic. Both our theoretical approach and our object of study tend to support a dynamic and complex perspective of social change.

Cachupa, despite its humble origin, is increasingly considered the national dish. Up to this point, we traced the history of Cabo Verde along the line of agri-food issues. Our aim was not to provide an exhaustive account, but rather to illustrate how the memories of famine and agri-food experiences have mediated the constitution, construction and maintenance of power, culture and identities in Cabo Verde, knowing that natural, material and discursive resources are actively deployed in the continuous assemblage of the social. Cabo Verde, essentially an island culture, has yet to be studied in depth.

Academics who adhere to the "spatial turn" of social sciences understand the processes that form and transform islands very differently from typical continental historians and researchers: islands are not second-rate copies of something original, older and grander; instead,

islands are inventive sites revealing linguistic, cultural and social dynamics (Pugh 2013), and islands could be re-imagined as social, cultural, emotional geographies without compromising the serious, formalist dimensions of territory and sovereignty (Stratford, Farbotko, and Lazrus 2013) and while paying more attention to individuals than to groups, and looking at people more than anything else (Peake 2011).

If we think like these proponents, we ask if we have been too conservative with some of our ideas about history, modernity, development and so on. Furthermore, as researchers, we can possibly broaden our academic scope to make ourselves more responsive to society's needs and concerns. Only the test of time will tell if a study conducted in a context of rapid social and economic change still stands some years from now. Granted, it is difficult to study traditional food and foodways, as a scholar who undertook to do so in Western Sahara confessed (Baya 2004). In preparing her thesis *El Sahara Occidental: alimentación y cocina tradicional. Aspectos culturales, lingüísticos y etnobotánicos*, Baya realised that the information she needed was mostly contained in documents pertaining to history and geography, and these were mostly about flora and fauna. Even so, written sources were hugely insufficient for her purposes, and so she harnessed oral information, which in her opinion constituted the most valuable information source for food history in the area where her study was situated. In collecting oral evidence – sensibly of two to three generations – she also noted how nomads interacted with new communities and quickly substituted traditional diet with new cooking. Therefore, Baya's research ended up being both a study of traditional foodways as well as a reflection on modern changes and food trends. Similarly, as Mintz has said, it is paradoxical to deny "the way the world has changed and continues changing, as well as our ability – responsibility, even – to contribute to a broad understanding of the changes" (1986: 213).

Cabo Verdeans use its distinct language as a complex encounter (Pardue 2012). They possess and instrumentalise more than just the language, as they also produce and reproduce particular historical, social and cultural discourses about navigating two worlds – European and African. To continue Pardue's rationale, Cabo Verdeans create their own world in the process, i.e., they are "worlding", forming a Creole-socio-cultural world with distinct meanings, for those within and without.

Looking at food, memories and related experiences, this research tried to demonstrate how

power, culture and identity are all dynamically meshed in constituting, constructing and maintaining Cabo Verde. Food is dear to Cabo Verde. People who grew up in the last century revere food. Memories of food shortages continue to haunt them and determine their attitude towards food. Famine is the "keyword" (R. Williams 1983). Young Cabo Verdeans no longer experience dire food shortages, but they are obliged to learn about those times in textbooks and in public institutions as part of the country's history and culture. All this makes clear that food marked Cabo Verde and its people. Food is not something to be taken lightly. The way Cabo Verdeans talks about Nature is more than just curious – it could range from teeth-grinding bitterness to the simplest form of joy. The force of Nature is put up against the force of God and against the strength of Cabo Verdean work ethic and religiosity when one farmer said: "*... não é a chuva que dá comida, é o trabalho e a fé em Deus*" (Temudo 2008: 52). From stories of tormenting sacrifices, struggles and sufferings to reassuring accounts of survival, exploits and satisfaction, typical foods were born out of local solutions for local problems and then developed into recipes for national identity construction. Food forms a personal identity; food also builds a national identity. This despite our discussions in the last chapter, that identity construction plays out in argumentative, active and reactive processes on a transnational field, i.e., the global Cabo Verdean foodscape. Cabo Verde is a hot, pot-food culture, and each stirring evokes memories; every chat over the ingredients reaffirms solidarity; every tasting redoubles the remembrances of Cabo Verde. Foreigners may find it difficult to understand why Cabe Verdeans love apparently heavy vegetarian mixtures, only because they themselves have never had the chance to taste the food and have no memory to evoke and no tie to activate. In fieldwork on Cabe Verde islands, people tended to present their food in units of food, knowing by heart long lists of food ingredients in all colours and shapes, from the land and the sea, from the high mountains and from the deep valleys. This is to say that Cabe Verdeans give great importance to individual units, so that any food is the result of a certain combination of these. The particularity with minute differences and details is something well noted.

On the one hand, stories of food of Cabo Verde are popularly told (see Highfield 2017 on African and colonial storytellers). Oral tradition introduces the reader to the bright side of the story, the perseverance of a nation, and the hope that never dies. These folktales contain valuable references to food and interpersonal relationships. They are imbued with emotions and

wisdom; they counsel and console. On the other hand, some interpretations of these happenings are intellectually and academically promoted, officially endorsed and politically instrumentalised. In the case of Cabo Verde, hunger and colonial injustice was not silenced; on the contrary, they were taken on ceaselessly as one of the principal socio-literary-political causes championed and guarded by those in power (cf. Korthals 2012 on hunger and lack of representation). However, it would not be accurate to say that the Cabo Verdean experience was something of relevance for the past or that this study revisits only its history. Rather, Cabo Verde is a living example of how human societies have overcome difficulties and challenges. Carreira (1984) reminded us that many people had learned about great famines, shared heart-wrenching memories of deaths and human deprivation; and not uncommonly, these disasters tended to strike and affect multiple regions at the same time. The 20th-century droughts and famines of Ceará, a Brazilian state with immense semi-desert territory, coincided in time with those that took heavy tolls in Cabo Verde, prompting Carreira to cite the Portuguese proverb "*cá e lá, más fadas há*" (p. 94). Scholars will find it fruitful to analyse how communities come up with strategies to cope with natural (and administrative) disasters, why some are successful and others are not, and what general lessons can be learned from this. In reality, more should be done to understand Creole foods, changes and their global connections, and bring together Creole cultures spread around the world to understand their uniqueness in comparative and modern terms (Poulain and Tibère 2000). What has been taking place in Cabo Verde is a continuous assemblage of the social, meaning that people contribute to make Cabo Verde what it is. In that way, Cabo Verde is more than just a given territory, the total of 10 islands and 16 islets and maritime territory, the recognition of which was gained at Independence in 1975, but Cabo Verde is also a signified and signifying place. Cabo Verde was imagined and written specially, or academically speaking, Cabo Verde is a "legible geography" (Grydehøj 2018). This is more than just the result of external and formal representations as such, but the consequence of Cabo Verdeans, among themselves and engaging one another in socially, culturally and politically effective ways, representing their home and country and "doing islandness" (Vannini and Taggart 2013) by the mobilisation of available natural, material and discursive resources. The food, foodways and foodscapes of Cabo Verde involve the unfolding of many intertwined processes.

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