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Secondary Diaspora: Cape Verdean Immigration to the Southeastern United States

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Diasporas are fluid cultural constructs that foster identity, community, and connections over time, distance, and social space. This study explores a derivative secondary diaspora to illustrate how and why diasporas are interesting social phenomena established out of complex socio-cultural, economic, and political conditions. Outside of the large Cape Verdean diaspora of New England, relatively little is known about other U.S. Cape Verdean communities. How do they maintain ties to both the primary diaspora in New England and their Cape Verdean homeland? This research examines second and third wave moves that push and pull individuals and families beyond established diasporic communities. Research on secondary diasporas is important in immigration studies in order to better understand dispersal patterns and the unique challenges facing these communities. Ethnographic methods including participant observation, informal interviews, and online surveys were used in this pilot study to identify themes related to the diaspora of Cape Verdeans of Atlanta. Our preliminary results show that a derivative Cape Verdean diaspora is found in the southeastern United States, one that both retains many of the defining features of the sending diaspora while exhibiting unique characteristics. This study informs chain migration, community development, and diaspora studies discourse by providing insights into community maintenance for a peripheral diaspora community.

Introduction

The City of Atlanta recognized July 17, 2010, as Cape Verdeans' Day, concurrent with the celebrations of the West African island nation's 550th anniversary of its founding and Cape Verde's 35 years of

independence from Portugal. In front of a crowd of 200, Atlanta city officials recognized the city's growing and prominent Cape Verdean population by presenting a plaque to the members of the Cape Verdeans Association of Atlanta (CVA), a diaspora community organization. Derivative diasporas such as this one located in the greater Atlanta area are found throughout the United States. Based on preliminary ethnographic research, this essay focuses on the development, maintenance, and characteristics of a derivative or "secondary" diaspora through the examination of a single case, the Cape Verdeans of Atlanta. The study asks, what *push* and *pull* factors are responsible for this community? How do members maintain ties to both an original homeland and the sending diasporic community? How is this offshoot community similar to and different from the original community? What characteristics define a secondary diaspora and how is this different from other forms of diaspora or population mobility more generally?

This research expands on the discussions of second and third wave movements of people and families beyond their established diasporas (Esman 2013; Frigerio 2004; Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009; Waldinger, et al. 1992), what Yoel Camayd-Freixas, Gerald Karush, and Nelly Lejter refer to as the "secondary Diaspora effect" (2006:1). Our findings suggest that secondary diaspora pull factors are largely the result of professional, economic, and educational interests related to class mobility. A decline in the knowledge and use of the native language was also shown between the first and subsequent generations with the secondary wave movement making the decline in the use of the native language even more pronounced due to a lack of exposure to first generation immigrants. We also found that as temporal and geographic distance increases from the homeland, cultural affiliations with the sending culture decreased somewhat while identification with the receiving culture increased.

The essay is organized into five sections. First, a historical background related to the Cape Verdean diaspora in the United States is provided. Second, the theoretical framing of diaspora is considered, particularly in relation to derivative diasporas. Following that section, a brief discussion of the study's methodology is provided. The fourth section presents the findings of the preliminary investigation. The paper concludes with a discussion and conclusion section that shows how the study's results both demonstrate an overlap with current conceptualizations of diaspora while simultaneously providing insights into how secondary diasporas have unique challenges and, therefore, need

to be studied further in order to appreciate their unique dynamics as a less transitional form of immigrant community.

Historical Background

Upper Guinea Coast residents knew of the Cape Verde islands and used them as temporary fishing camps, but the archipelago remained uninhabited on a permanent basis until around 1456 when Portuguese and Italian navigators first mapped them (Davidson 1989; Lobban and Saucier 2007). Strategically located in the Atlantic Ocean, these islands quickly became enmeshed in transatlantic trade (Brooks 1993, 2003, 2006; Green 2012; Mark and Horta 2011; Rodney 1970; Sweet 2003; Thornton 1998). Today, the people of Cape Verde are of European and African descent, and this mixed heritage is the foundation of their creole identity (Carter and Aulette 2009a, 2009b; da Silva Horta 2000; Green 2010; Knörr and Filho 2010; Mark 2002; McMahan 2013; Rodrigues 2003; Sánchez Gibau 2005; Sieber 2005). Droughts, famine, and poor agricultural conditions have all contributed to a long history of emigration from the islands in search of better economic opportunities abroad (Åkesson 2004; Andall 1999; Batalha and Carling 2008; Batista, Lacuesta, and Vicente 2012; Carling 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2004, 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2009; Carling and Batalha 2008; Drotbohm 2009; Fikes 2009; Halter 1993; Patterson 1988).

In the eighteenth century, men signed on with New England whalers stopping at the islands for water, salt, and additional crew. As these recruits became established in New England, they sent money home to family members. Eventually, a migration chain was formed between New England and Cape Verde through fishing and agricultural labor, particularly in the cranberry bogs of the northeast (Bigman 1995; Costa 2011; Greenfield 1976; Halter 1993; Ishemo 1995; Ludden 2010; Meintel 2002; Sánchez 1997). Consequently, a large Cape Verdean community was established in New England. Evidence of this historical phenomenon can be seen in the high remittance rates per capita sent home to family members awaiting their loved ones' returns. According to World Bank data between 2003 and 2010, remittances to Cape Verde averaged \$134,875,000 per year (Ratha, Mohapatra, and Silwal 2011). An African Development Bank study noted that in 2011 Cape Verde received the highest per capita remittance rates of any African country (ADB 2012). With U.S. immigration policy focused on family reunification, Cape Verdeans continue to send money to bring family members to the United

States. Jørgen Carling and Lisa Åkesson proposed that “Cape Verdeans often view themselves as ‘experts’ on migration and cultural integration, and maintain that their global background disposes them to easy adaptation to new sociocultural contexts” (2009: 132). This adaption process to the United States, however, often proves difficult for Cape Verdean immigrants in part due to the competing assimilationist and multicultural ideologies found there (Sánchez Gibau 2005).

The United States is home to the largest number of Cape Verdean immigrants worldwide with concentrated communities in several parts of the country (Table 1). The 2011 American Community Survey from the U.S. Census Bureau estimates that there are 102,853 Americans living in the United States with Cape Verdean ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau 2011).

State	Population	Community	Population
Massachusetts	53,174	Brockton, MA	11,709
Rhode Island	19,490	Boston, MA	11,284
Connecticut	4,381	New Bedford, MA	10,262
Florida	2,983	Pawtucket, RI	8,720
California	2,514	Providence, RI	4,015
New Jersey	1,430	East Providence, RI	2,265
Virginia	1,059	Taunton, MA	1,852
Maryland	1,022	Fall River, MA	1,574
New York	844	Central Falls, RI	1,158
Georgia	802	Bridgeport, CT	1,080

Table 1. States and Communities with the largest Cape Verdean populations in the United States (as of 2010).

SOURCE: B01003: TOTAL POPULATION 2006-2010 American Community Survey Selected Population Tables

(<http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/nav/jsf/pages/searchresults.xhtml?refresh=t#none>)

Jørgen Carling states, “It is estimated that the number of people with Cape Verdean ancestry in the United States, including both migrants and their descendants, is higher than in any other country” (2002b). Similarly, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) affirms, “For years, Cape

Verde has been a country of emigration. The number of Cape Verdeans living abroad today is estimated to be double the number of domestic residents (700,000 Cape Verdeans live abroad, mainly in the United States (260,000) and Europe (including 100,000 people in Portugal) [*sic.*]” (2010).

Marilyn Halter also identified New England as the primary diaspora, but went further and highlighted a few secondary offshoots as well: “as of the 2000 census tabulations, 87 percent of Cape Verdean-Americans lived in New England. Outside this region, the state of California is home to clusters of Cape Verdeans in the Sacramento, San Francisco, and Los Angeles metropolitan areas, while Cape Verdeans from New England have in recent years been relocating to central Florida” (2008:39). Better understanding this relocation process is the primary target of the current pilot study.

While much has been written about the Cape Verdean diaspora in the northeast (Åkesson 2011; Carling 2004; Greenfield 1985; Halter 1993; Fisher and Model 2012; Lima-Neves 2006, 2010; Lundy 2011; Meintel 2002; Model 2013; Sánchez 1997; Sánchez Gibau 2005), far less is known about the Cape Verdean *secondary diasporas* springing up in other parts of the country, particularly in the southeastern United States (Bohme 1956; Halter 2008). More generally, derivative diasporas have been under-recognized and under-studied (Baptiste 2002; Brubaker 2005; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Lejter 2006; Frigerio 2004; Okpewho and Nzegwo 2009; Safran, Sahoo, and Lal 2008; Singleton 2010; Rynkiewich 2012).

Defining Diaspora

Conceptions of what diasporas are abound in the academic literature. For example, Ritty Lukose maintains, “Diaspora refers to the cultural productions and identity formations of migrant communities” (2007:409). In his classic essay, James Clifford (1994) defines diaspora as a separation from the homeland more like exile: a forbidden return, or delay to a far-off future, and the connection of multiple communities. Specifically, Clifford elucidates, “Diaspora is a signifier, not simply of transnationality and movement, but of political struggles to define the local, as distinctive community, in historical contexts of displacement” (1994:308). The main features of such struggles include a history of displacement, myths or memories of a homeland, alienation in the receiving country, longing for eventual return, continual support of the

home- or motherland, and a shared identity importantly defined by this relationship.

Our favorite definition comes from Paul Zeleza in his chapter “Diaspora Dialogues: Engagements between Africa and Its Diasporas”: “Diasporas are complex social and cultural communities created out of real and imagined genealogies and geographies (cultural, racial, ethnic, national, continental, transnational) of belonging, displacement, and recreation, constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland” (Zeleza 2009:33). Zeleza continues by describing the “new” African diaspora as “a process, a condition, a space and a discourse: the continuous process by which a diaspora is made, unmade, remade, the changing conditions in which it lives, expresses itself, the place where it is molded and imagined, and the contentious ways in which it is studied and discussed” (2009:32; see also Davies 2011:207-208). This paper begins to explore the changing conditions of diaspora as *belonging, displacement, and recreation constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales* by viewing the diaspora as a neolocal phenomenon.

Diaspora studies concentrate on issues of migration and population mobility, globalization, transnationalism, and the significance of culture and identity to the lives of migrants (Brubaker 2005; Bauböck and Faist 2010; Cohen 2008; Esmán 2013; Lukose 2007; Mercer, Claire, and Evans 2008; Sökefeld 2006). Key features of any diaspora include the myth of the homeland, the desire to return, and a historical displacement (Clifford 1994; Sánchez Gibau 2008). Yet within a secondary diaspora, the separation from a homeland is a distant event, in both time and space, with the move from the primary diasporic community being more immediate and ideologically significant (Brubaker 2005; Fisher and Model 2012; Portes and Hao 2002; Portes and Rumbaut 2005; Qin 2006). Members of the secondary diaspora freely move between communities within the host culture through the sharing of family and cultural events between primary and divergent diasporas (Waldinger, et al. 1992). The move to a new location is often voluntary for a variety of reasons including climate and economic opportunity (Bohme 1956; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Letjer 2006; Model 2013). Distance, both geographic and temporal, widens the gap between the homeland and the secondary diaspora, while support for the fledgling communities are multi-directional with both the homeland and the former place of residence acting as anchors and intermediaries to these cultural groups and their group identity (Carling 2003; Greenfield 1976, 1985; Halter 2008; Meintel 2002; Melo 2008; Okpewho and

Nzegwu 2009; Sánchez 1997; Sánchez Gibau 2005, 2008; Sieber 2005). Patterns of cultural identity within a secondary diaspora become fluid, flexible, and multifaceted with influences coming from several sending and receiving cultures.

This essay explores the economic and cultural forces affecting the little known Cape Verdean immigrants in the southeastern United States, particularly in the greater metro Atlanta area. Questions that guided this pilot study included the following: Why do they move and what factors influence their decisions? What do these Cape Verdean community clusters look like? How do members of these secondary diaspora identify? How do they maintain links to both the primary diaspora, in this case New England, and their Cape Verdean homeland?

Methodology

The data for this pilot study was collected firsthand using an ethnographic methodology among the Cape Verdeans Association of Atlanta (CVA) during the fall of 2010. This study began in August 2010 with an invitation to attend a CVA meeting. The CVA group reached out to us when they heard about a proposed study abroad trip to Cape Verde for the summer of 2011 through Kennesaw State University. Surprised that the local university was developing such a program, they invited interested parties to join the group. The resulting preliminary study researched the socio-cultural, economic, and political issues facing these Cape Verdean immigrants to the southeastern United States.

For the purposes of this study, the southeastern United States includes the following twelve states: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. While this broader geographic area comprises the frame for our work, the study participants came from the CVA membership located in Georgia, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. Of the 21 study participants purposefully selected on the basis of their CVA affiliation, seven were first generation immigrants, while fourteen were second, third, or fourth generation.

Prior to the start of research, Kennesaw State University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) approved our project. Ethnographic methods including participant observation, unstructured interviews, and anonymous online surveys were used to identify important themes related to the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora of the southeast. It also allowed us to identify opportunities for further investigation. Initial qualitative

data was collected from three unstructured interviews and two instances of participant observation at CVA meetings. The interviewees were purposefully selected from the CVA leadership since they were identified as particularly knowledgeable about the Cape Verdean diaspora located in the southeastern United States. The interviews were conducted in locations that were convenient to the interviewees such as their homes and local coffee shops. The resulting conversations were digitally recorded and transcribed to assist in thematic analysis. Transcriptions from the interviews and participant observation sessions were aggregated using NVivo qualitative software for coding and analysis.

Additional data came from an online survey that was distributed to the entire CVA membership. The survey went out through the CVA Facebook page with 419 friends and by email to a CVA listserv. The survey did not collect any personal data, including IP addresses, making it anonymous. Of the 29 responses, 17 met the study criteria: 18+ years of age and currently living in the previously defined southeastern United States. The survey contained general demographic questions such as age, sex, income, and profession as well as questions related to language, cultural traditions, and cultural identity. We asked the participants to check all the languages spoken fluently and asked about their Cape Verdean customs and traditions still being practiced. We also asked about citizenship status. Questions about place of birth and previous residency were used to determine patterns of migration. Language fluency and place of birth were used to discern whether Cape Verdean immigrants in the southeast have similar immigration patterns concerning generational language loss. Citizenship and immigration status results were used to determine the linkages between the sending and receiving cultures. Questions regarding profession and salary established an economic profile. Finally, questions related to culture and identity provided data on the characteristics of the new secondary diaspora.

Results

The Cape Verdean diaspora is unique and observable. For example, the literature shows how these migrants maintain a strong ideology of return (Brandão and Zoomers 2010; Carter and Aulette 2009b; Drotbohm 2009; Esteves and Caldeira 2001). This longing or homesickness toward the homeland is known as *sodade* in Capeverdean Creole. This sentiment has seeped into much of the literature, poetry, pop culture, and music coming out of both the islands and diasporic

communities (Cidra 2008; Ferreira 2010; McMahon 2013; Sieber 2005). Cultural features such as sodade alongside many others such as shared origins and language help create a bounded diaspora when Cape Verdeans find themselves crossing borders into new territories and cultural domains. As a result, the Cape Verdean diaspora in general shares a colonial past, a collective idea of predestined mobility, and assertions of a distinct creole identity (Åkesson 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2009; Sánchez Gibau 2008; Halter 2008).

Further, Cape Verdean immigrants to the United States have faced specific forms of racism while struggling to define a cultural identity that sets them apart from other African Americans. They have challenged racial boundaries by defining themselves as an ethnicity distinct from the larger African American community (Carling and Batalha 2008; Clifford 1994; Sánchez Gibau 2008; Halter 2008; Thomas 2009). In trying to identify the cultural heritage of Cape Verdeans, three historical shifts that seem to have occurred. The first immigrants, migrant laborers in the New England cranberry bogs and crew of their whaling vessels, mostly identified as Portuguese. Then, around the Civil Rights movement and the release of Alex Haley's *Roots*, some within the Cape Verdean diaspora began to identify collectively as African-American. More recently, although part of the African diaspora, Cape Verdean-Americans have seen themselves as set apart because of their unique history and culture. "Various political, economic, and other social pressures that would mold collective identities based on ethnicity, race, language, and place are in reality contested and confounded by peoples' abilities to juggle multiple, often contradictory, identities" (Hill and Wilson 2003:3-4). Cape Verdeans in the diaspora today are American, Cape Verdean, Cape Verdean American, African American, African, Creole, Lusophone, and Patriots fans—in addition to many other identity patterns and permutations that fit the situation and circumstance.

Illustrating the struggle to both identify with and in opposition to other African Americans, at a meeting of the CVA in 2010, the membership discussed the Africa Policy Forum titled "A Vision for the 21st Century" that was to be held in Atlanta from September 24-28, 2010. The program was dedicated to establishing bridges economically, educationally, and philanthropically between the citizens of the United States and Africa. As part of this event, there was a dinner program with the theme "Let's see what you're made of, African Ancestry Revealed." In discussing this event and theme with the CVA, the president said to the group:

You've got to remember that the DNA testing is for people who don't know where they're from and fortunately for us we do know where we're from. . . . You don't want to rub it in people's faces you know, but we're lucky we know where we're from . . . so many people were being real haters because that's a history that we do not share with other black people. . . . I said, "I don't have a problem with who I am. I'm solid of who I am." And she [an African American woman interested in getting DNA testing] said, "You don't know what it is to be black." . . . If you really want to get technical, go back 550 years. We came from somewhere because the islands were uninhabited. That's what I tell people. We might not have come to the Americas as slaves, but we came from the continent to Cape Verde to a certain extent as slaves. . . . Just like you have British master names, we have the Portuguese master names. [Fieldnotes, 9-18-2010]

This discussion demonstrates the first theme found related to the Cape Verdean diaspora in general. While the Cape Verdean diaspora is integrated into American and African-American mainstream society, they also see themselves as set apart due to their unique history and culture. Dawna Thomas (2009) claims, "Cape Verdeans, like many other multiethnic groups, highlight the flaws of how race is socially constructed, with all of its implications towards group identities and social hierarchies. More importantly it illustrates how Cape Verdeans as a group continue to be *socially invisible*" (181, italics ours). In other words, our findings suggest that the Cape Verdean diaspora remains a truly hyphenated (i.e., Cape-Verdean-American) or bicultural group that does not quite feel at home among the African-American mainstream in which they are often placed by American society. This expressed isolation and misidentification seems to increase the further they get from the primary diaspora.

The secondary Cape Verdean diaspora is both similar to and different from the primary communities of the northeast. For example, the southeastern Cape Verdean diaspora does not have a centralized community, unlike the affluent Rhode Island neighborhoods or ghetto-like Brockton neighborhoods (Bluestone and Stevenson 2000; Halter 1993; Lundy 2011; Saucier 2008). Instead, many within the community maintain

links through social media and cultural organizations such as the CVA. This secondary diaspora encompasses more than three generations of immigrants. These immigrants maintain cultural connections through direct links to their homeland and through an intermediary—the previously established diaspora.

Beyond the two themes just mentioned, the accumulated data from this pilot study identified the following additional themes: culture, place, economics, identity, language, generations, life cycle, and maintaining connections. For this study, we identified culture as information related to language, food, music, clubs, newspapers, and social institutions. Culture is the largest thematic category that emerged from the data.

Culture

The culture theme was found to be largely rooted in discussions surrounding schooling and language. These normally took the form of reminiscences about the primary diaspora. For example, born in Massachusetts to Cape Verdean immigrants, Paula responded:

P: I didn't like school. We never spoke English. I didn't know how to speak English when I went to school.

B: Did they have any programs to help with language problems?

P: No, not back then.

B: So how long did that last?

P: Not long, because we weren't allowed to speak English.

[Interview, 10-06-2010]¹⁸

Filomena moved to Massachusetts from Cape Verde when she was 12 years old. She had a similar experience in school:

B: Did you speak English before you came here?

F: No.

B: What happened when you went to school?

F: They put me in the back of the class until I was of age to go to work.

B: No special assistance?

F: No, back then there was none. [Interview 10-10-2010]

¹⁸ Pseudonyms are used throughout to maintain confidentiality.

Gomes had a very different experience. He moved to Rhode Island from Cape Verde when he was seven years old. He said:

G: School was pretty tough. You know I didn't speak English; I got put in the special ed. class. They took me back out of there. There were no English Second Language classes back then. Over the summer, since I was seven, I picked up the language really quick and went right into mainstream.

B: How did you pick up English so fast?

G: You're forced to. You go to school and there was TV. TV fascinated me; I'd never seen it before. I couldn't get enough of it. [Interview 11-03-2010]

These three examples demonstrate the typical immigrant experience for newcomers to the United States. Reminiscing about these hardships shows that many first and even second-generation immigrants share these common experiences. Gomes clearly illustrates the challenges faced in these communities regarding assimilative pressures through both the social pressures (i.e., placing him in special education classes) and the effects of television that allowed him to learn English in a single year. At the same time, the scholarly literature has done a good job showing that since Cape Verdean independence in 1975, there has been an ongoing ethnic revival among third- and fourth-generation Cape Verdean-Americans (Carling and Batalha 2008). This revival is having a tremendous effect on the (re)construction of Cape Verdean identity throughout the United States (Sánchez Gibau 2008).

School and language are not the only important cultural aspects of Cape Verdean identity. Ethnic food and foodways are also prioritized within this community. According to the surveys, 12 of the 17 respondents' listed food as an important Cape Verdean custom or tradition that they continue to practice. Of the 12 responses to this question, 8 listed food as the primary tradition or custom identified. Food was also important to two of our interviewees. Paula said:

P: Cook, cook, cook, I will cook for everybody.

B: What do you like to cook?

P: Everything.

B: What is your favorite?

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P: *Jagaçida* [literally, “a mixture”, in this case referring to a rice dish with many other handy ingredients thrown in].

B: Do you make *cachupa*?

P: Yes, I only learned two years ago; my husband’s sister taught me how to cook it. [Interview 10-06-2010]

Filomena also expressed her fondness for cooking Cape Verdean food:

I had to learn to make *gufones* [fried dough] after I moved to Georgia. It was always there for me in New England. And I moved here and had to learn to make *cachupa* and all of this. I started to learn because I missed my culture, my food, and I missed my people. [Interview 10-10-2010]

This comment about 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.

Place and Economics

When asked why they moved to Georgia, our interviews had much to say about the emergent theme of country/place. For example, Paula explained, “When my husband retired we moved to Florida. Then my niece moved to Atlanta and was emailing us houses and prices and we started looking into it. We wanted a change in the weather; the hurricanes were too horrible” (Interview, 10-06-2010). Filomena and Gomes moved to Atlanta for economic reasons. Filomena relocated to the Southeast due to her husband’s job. “My husband’s job transferred him here. I waited one year for my daughter to graduate high school and then I moved down here” (Interview, 10-10-2010). Gomes moved because of both his job and family. He stated, “My offices were in Manhattan and it was too expensive after 9/11. We were going to build a platform [for radio and television] in the Southeast. My daughter lived here and my son went to school here. So having two kids here, it made sense to move to Atlanta” (Interview, 11-03-2010). These interviews make it clear that jobs and

retirement have played a role in secondary migration to the Southeast, which is supported by the literature (Bohme 1956; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Letjer 2006; Model 2013).

The examination of the survey data also brought about further insights. The leading reason for moving to the Southeast was listed as job/profession (economics), followed by school, weather, and then family. Nine of the survey respondents cited that a job brought them to the region. These respondents listed the following professions: Emergency City Manager, Electronic Engineer, Recruiter, Broadcaster, Banker, Attorney, Entrepreneur, Social Worker, and retiree from the Automobile Industry. It is obvious that most of these professions fall within highly specialized and technical fields. Income levels illustrate this professionalization even further. More than half the respondents were making between \$45,000 and \$60,000 annually with one quarter making more than \$90,000 per year. It is likely that these Cape Verdean immigrants are in the Southeast to stay because they are economically successful here. Notably, 20 of the 21 respondents have previously lived in the northeastern United States.

Therefore, the data suggests that the interviewees and respondents see economics as a key variable, but two out of the three interviewees also suggested that family played a key role in their decision to move. Respondents to the survey identified family as an important pull factor. Study participants may have ended up in the southeast for economic reasons, but they are not solely pursuing economic advancement. They seem to be finding work in places where they have familial (and diasporic) connections. These two factors, economic success and community building, seem to support and strengthen one another and merit further study. In addition, cultural attachments beyond immediate family members within the secondary diaspora are actively sought out before and after settlement. Economic security is established by remaining in constant contact with members of the primary and secondary diasporas through social media, cultural clubs and institutions, and social and networking events.

Identity, Language, and Generations

Cape Verdeans in the diaspora are unusual in that they can apply for dual citizenship allowing members of the diaspora to vote in Cape Verdean national elections (Baker 2006). Cape Verde's official policy when it comes to granting dual citizenship recognizes citizens by virtue of one of four criteria: (1) Birth: born in Cape Verde or Cape Verdean

territory; (2) Descent: a child, at least one of whose parents is a citizen of Cape Verde, is granted citizenship regardless of the country of birth; (3) Naturalization: Cape Verdean citizenship may be acquired upon fulfillment of one of the following two conditions: (a) Person must have resided in the country for at least five years, (b) Persons who make a sizeable investment in Cape Verde may also be granted citizenship without the residency requirement; and (4) Marriage: Persons who marry a citizen of Cape Verde are automatically eligible for citizenship upon request. The survey asked people if they were U.S. citizens, Cape Verdean citizens, or both. Of the 17 survey responses, 11 respondents had only U.S. citizenship, three had only Cape Verdean citizenship, and three had both U.S. and Cape Verdean dual citizenship. One Cape-Verdean American responded by writing in, "Never stopped being Cape Verdean in practice." Regarding the interviewees, Gomes had recently applied for dual citizenship, while both Paula and Filomena were U.S. citizens only. Filomena identifies as Cape Verdean only and writes in "Cape Verdean" on the U.S. census forms, while Paula identifies as Cape Verdean American. These findings suggest that identity in the Cape Verdean diaspora is a complex mix of both national politics and culture. We suggest that this might be a particularly fruitful area of further investigation regarding the Cape Verdean diaspora in relation to both dual citizenship and identity patterns related to the hyphenated American.

Next, we evaluated the generation of Cape Verdean immigrants that we found moving to the Southeast. For example, we asked our survey respondents, "What generation of your family first immigrated to the United States?" The possible responses were "1st generation (self)", "2nd generation (parents)", "3rd generation (grandparents)", and "other, please explain." Combining both the survey and interview data, there were 21 total responses: six were first generation, seven were second generation, six were third generation, and two were fourth generation. In sum, 71 percent of the Cape Verdean immigrants sampled from the southeastern United States were not first generation.

Further, we were interested in examining language retention rates (Figure 1). Among the survey respondents, all of the first generation immigrants spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole. In the second generation, one-third spoke English only, one-third spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole, and one-third spoke English and Creole. By the third generation, half spoke English only, two spoke English, Portuguese, and Creole, and one spoke English and Creole. Our one fourth generation respondent spoke English only.

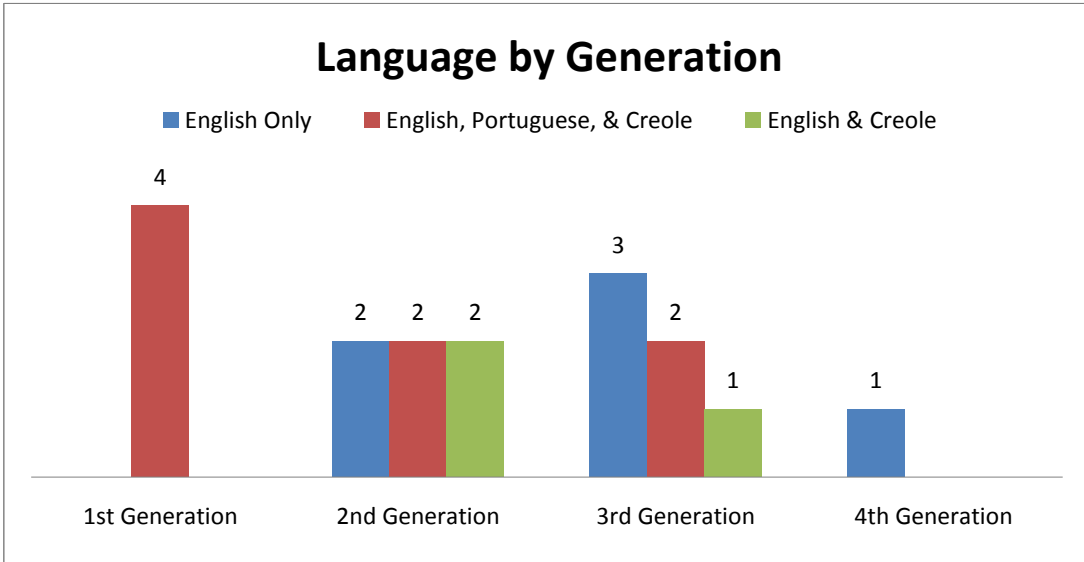


Figure 1. Multilingualism in the Cape Verdean secondary diaspora of the southeastern United States

These results are suggestive of the general trend in language loss seen elsewhere, but are not obviously exacerbated by residence in the secondary diaspora. Increasing distance from the primary diaspora does not seem to have compounded or sped up linguistic decline within the community. In fact, three of six speakers retained their native language proficiency by the third generation. It is important to recognize, however, that such small numbers make it hard to generalize based on these numerical distributions.

Maintaining Connections

Related to issues of culture, Gomes retained strong connections to the primary diaspora of New England through his long history developing the community there. He helped to publish the first edition of the second Cape Verdean newspaper in the northeastern United States called *Cape Verdean-American News* (CVN). He started the first Cape Verdean radio program in the United States with the first broadcast Cape Verdean language program, *Labanta ku Nos* (Rise with Us). His family had the first

Cape Verdean restaurant and grocery in Rhode Island. When asked if he noticed similar strong Cape Verdean community linkages and development in Atlanta, Gomes said:

Because in order for it [the Atlanta Cape Verdean diaspora] to grow, you have to have a lot of immigrant Cape Verdeans who still have a strong hold with what's going on in Cape Verde, and here the majority of the population is second, third, or fourth generation. I'm thrilled because I've seen the evolution. When we first came, like all immigrants, there was the pressure to assimilate. The American born Cape Verdeans separated themselves somewhat from the immigrant community. I came at such a young age so I could live in both worlds so to speak. But now, after independence [1975], it started to change. And then I would say around the mid-'80s or so, all of a sudden, when the Cape Verdean government started getting more active and especially after 1990 when democracy really fell on Cape Verde that group of people became even more active in the Cape Verdean community and people started to feel more pride. You would see more Cape Verdean Americans attending festivals and things of that nature, so then it comes full circle to where now they're really embracing their heritage. So now, when we came, you were forced to learn how to speak English. Now, people from Cape Verde come, they don't have to learn how to speak English. They go to Pawtucket or Brockton, or go to Boston or Providence, and live in Cape Verdean communities. They can go to work and their supervisor might be Cape Verdean so they can communicate. The stores they go to are Cape Verdean so they can buy their food. We had a hard time finding our food. There was only one grocery store in Fox Point that carried some of the things, so that's where we would have to go. And when we'd go to New Bedford there were a couple of stores there in New Bedford. You'd have to stock up. Now there's a store on every street corner. [Interview, 11-03-2010]

This excerpt from Gomes's interview is illustrative of many of the findings discussed above. He suggests that language loss is going to be

more pronounced in the Southeast due to isolation, but that the community is growing. He highlights the cultural revival that is taking place within the Cape Verdean community, especially since independence. And, he touches on several of the community development and cultural aspects of community building and identity maintenance that are so important within a diasporic population.

We now move away from language to present the ties/connections between the primary and secondary Cape Verdean diasporas. Filomena moved to the Southeast in the early 1990s and was a co-founder of the CVA group. Illustrating how the secondary diaspora preserves their culture and supports the diasporic community, she revealed to us during her interview:

My cousin started the whole Cape Verdean annual picnic. But he didn't want all Cape Verde people, he wanted those just from New Bedford. My husband and I said no. New Bedford does not consist of all Cape Verdeans. That's how we started, how we made it. A few people from New Bedford came down for the picnic. Now that people know we're here, a lot of them come. [Interview, 10-10-2010]

These ongoing relationships bind the Cape Verdean immigrants in Atlanta to the larger communities found throughout New England. The strength of the bonds is important. Paula suggested:

We always go to the Cape Verdean Festival in Onset, Mass. Last year it was estimated that 18,000 people attended. People come from all over, even from California. This year they said more attended. We couldn't find a place to sit. People come from Cape Verde to do dancing as well as musicians. We've been going every year. We went up for a month because you can't see everyone in a week or two. [Interview, 10-06-2010]

These ties to New England are a stepping stone or intermediate step to Cape Verde. New England has become an important node of contact for the secondary diaspora.

Finally, besides direct travel to the northeast, there are a variety of other ways Cape Verdeans in the secondary diaspora stay connected with larger, more established communities and their homeland (Figure 2).

While two survey respondents indicated that they do not stay connected, the majority of respondents stay connected via family. They also associate through Skype/email/internet, followed by visits to Cape Verde, and other forms of communication with friends. Gomes illustrates:

Fortunately today with the internet, you can connect with other Cape Verdeans, and I think there is double the number of Cape Verdeans in Atlanta than CVA is aware of. People come all the time, and if they're not internet savvy, it's tough to find them. There's quite a few second generation or third generation Cape Verdeans in this area—and fourth generation. [Interview, 11-03-2010]

Our surveys demonstrate that relationships between the secondary diaspora and the Cape Verdean community *writ large* are maintained through family, the internet, trips to the homeland, music, phone calls, newspapers, television and news programs, festivals, cultural traditions, and joining Cape Verdean organizations such as the CVA.

Connecting to the Cape Verdean Diaspora

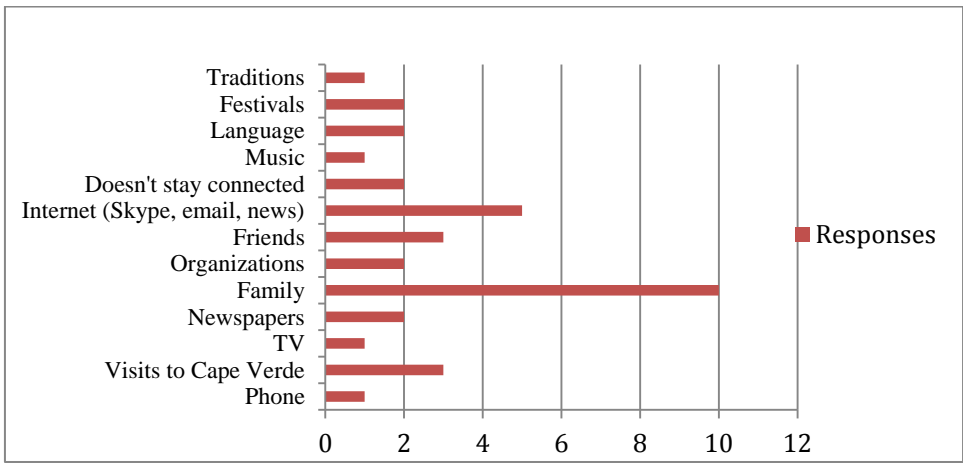


Figure 2. Ways survey respondents maintain connections with the Cape Verdean homeland and larger diaspora.

Discussion

Cape Verdeans have a strong sense of pride in their diaspora. According to Mitchell, “The diaspora is becoming an increasingly significant group of stakeholders as tourists, as investors and as a group of people who could bring scarce skills and knowledge from international markets back to Cape Verde” (2008:36; see also Mitchell 2008). Tourism, the internet, and remittances keep the diaspora connected. Sónia Melo advises, “Cape Verdean migrants have further stimulated the creation of a diasporic public” (2008:166). The Cape Verdean secondary diaspora in the southeastern United States is lengthening the migration chain. With most of our study participants having previously lived in the Northeast, there is now an additional link in the migration chain between New England and the Southeast as well as many direct links back to the Cape Verde islands themselves.

A review of the literature on immigration and diaspora studies show that there are some predictable normative patterns (Brettell 2003; Foner, Rumbaut, and Gold 2003; Vertovec and Cohen 1999; Vertovec 2013). For example, these migration and settlement processes suggest that Cape Verdean immigrant interests in their language and cultural heritage should diminish over time and distance as a result of assimilationist pressures and enculturation (Massey 2008; Ong et al. 1996; Schiller, Basch, and Szanton-Blanc 1995). Therefore, we should find fluency in Cape Verdean Creole and Portuguese declining between the second and third generations, which it does (Figure 1). A decreased interest in visiting and staying connected with Cape Verde should also be noticeable in the data. Finally, the decline in ties to the diaspora should be compounded as people move away from previously established communities because of personal reasons and familial obligations including educational pursuits and professional aspirations.

The results of this pilot study, however, are mixed and sometimes even contradict or defy expectations. This preliminary research indicates that the Cape Verdean immigrants in the secondary diaspora are helping to redefine the immigrant experience in the United States. Cape Verdeans in the Southeast are made up of multiple generations. Instead of a diminishing interest in cultural heritage over time and distance, however, this study found some strengthening of ties present in survey responses and interviews including the writing in of “Cape Verdean” on U.S. census forms as a way of challenging the prescribed identity categories, particularly that of “African American.”

Transcribed interviews provided key themes emergent in the findings including emphases on culture, country/place, identity, family,

and profession/economics. These themes are revealing because they provide suggestive evidence about the motives, incentives, and makeup of the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora. Taken holistically, these findings both help define the edges of the diasporic community and show how the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora, while smaller than the New England one, is not as diluted or fading as initially thought. Secondary diasporas, then, more closely resemble Zaleza's definition as both "complex" and "constructed and conceived at multiple temporal and spatial scales, at different moments and distances from the putative homeland" (2009:33). While economics, education, weather, and family are all important push and pull factors leading Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean-Americans away from the Northeast and the primary diaspora located there, once situated in the Southeast, many Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean-Americans work hard to help develop a new and vibrant secondary diaspora by building socio-cultural bridges that cross states and nations.

This study of the second- and third-wave moves of Cape Verdeans and Cape Verdean Americans to the southeastern United States leads us to conclude that the term *diaspora* needs to be problematized further. The secondary diaspora as an offshoot of traditional diasporas comprises a population that continues to strive to preserve their cultural heritage, sometimes more rigorously than other immigrant populations (Bhatia 2002; Moore and Whelan 2012; Orser 2007). While we feel that our findings are quite suggestive and reveal something novel related to the nature of diasporas, there is still much work that needs to be done in order to better conceptualize secondary or divergent diasporas as a social phenomenon that seems to be observable in some diasporic communities while not in others (Baptiste 2002; Bohme 1956; Brubaker 2005; Camayd-Freixas, Karush, and Lejter 2006; Esman 2013; Frigerio 2004; Halter 2008; Okpewho and Nzegwu 2009; Rynkiewich 2012; Safran, Sahoo, and Lal 2008; Singleton 2010; Waldinger, et al. 1992). What we can say is that the secondary Cape Verdean diaspora, as it specifically relates to the CVA, seems to be thriving. For example, a look at language retention from the survey data shows that while there is a predictable loss of native language between the generations, half of the third generation respondents still speak both Portuguese and Creole—a higher rate of language retention that is commonly found among some other immigrant groups (Alba et al. 2002; Fillmore 2000; Portes and Hao 1998, 2002; Portes and Schauflier 1994). What needs to be better understood is if this linguistic and cultural retention among the Cape Verdean diaspora of the Southeast is similar to patterns found among other tertiary diasporic communities

within the United States or if these observed patterns are somehow unique. Therefore, further comparative analysis between different diasporic communities is crucial.

Conclusion

This study contributes to Cape Verdean diaspora studies by extending the scope beyond the northeastern United States. In this pilot study we have found a secondary diaspora that has expanded the boundaries of established communities as a result of various push and pull factors. We acknowledge that the findings are interesting and suggestive, but we would need additional data over time to be able to make more definitive claims about the nature of the secondary diaspora. What seems to be happening is that this secondary diaspora is extending the migration chain by creating connections to an intermediary, the primary diaspora of New England, which is the new cultural focal point for the secondary diaspora, more so than even the Cape Verde homeland itself.

Unlike the established and more concentrated communities of the Northeast, the secondary diaspora is spread throughout the southeastern United States making community building through technology and community organizations even more important. Factors that influence the moves southward are economic in nature, such as jobs and education, while family also seems to play a significant part in the decision-making process about when to move and where to settle. Education, income levels, and the highly professional and technical fields that the respondents occupy are indicators that this secondary diaspora is flourishing and will likely remain vibrant in the Southeast. This seems to contradict the well-established “immigration paradox” where second generation immigrants are less successful than their parents (Burgoon, Coster, and Egmond 2012; Coll and Marks 2012; Rumbaut and Portes 2001). Related to this success, there seems to be an emphasis on community building such as the development of cultural organizations (e.g., CVA) and cultural events (e.g., annual picnics).

Immigration studies often focus on the sending and the receiving culture. However, with the second and third wave moves of the Cape Verdean diaspora being represented in the southeastern United States as a unified community, we introduce a more complicated picture of immigration, population circulation, and settlement patterns. Already recognizing this expansive and resource rich diaspora in the United States, including the members of the secondary diaspora who are rapidly

becoming part of the emerging middle class, the Cape Verdean government has sought out collaborative ventures (Baker 2006; Carling 2008; Carling and Åkesson 2008; Carling and Batalha 2008; Meintel 2002; Meyns 2002). This suggests that the emphasis on cultural heritage over time may become even more pronounced within the Cape Verdean diasporas as the Cape Verdean government itself promotes ongoing and mutual partnerships.

Cultural traditions are being strengthened, and an embrace of Cape Verdean heritage is growing. The secondary diaspora is multicultural, adapting to mainstream society as necessary, but also encouraging continued ties to the broader Cape Verdean world. Schiller et al. point out “that the growth and intensification of global interconnection of economic processes, peoples, and ideas is accompanied by a resurgence in the politics of differentiation” (1995: 50). The Cape Verdean secondary diaspora is an excellent example of this type of politics of differentiation since its members identify as both separate from and part of the larger mainstream American society. It privileges aspects of Cape Verdean-ness such as food, family, and language, while discarding or assimilating other cultural practices.

This research is a preliminary study into secondary migration. It needs to be expanded outside of the greater metro Atlanta area and even beyond the southeastern region to areas like Colorado and California where other Cape Verdean secondary diasporas are established. In addition, the examination of secondary diasporas more broadly needs to be advanced within other prominent diasporas found within the United States. This will help to either corroborate or refute the findings we have provided here. Beyond economics, gender differences can also be looked at as diasporic experiences while linguistic proficiencies and familial relations are also important next steps to consider (Clifford 1994; Meintel 2002; Portes and Hao 2002; Qin 2006; Tannenbaum and Berkovich 2005). Prominent research on the Cape Verdean diaspora remains largely situated in New England. Schiller (1995) suggests we move “to examine the contributions organizations make to the growth of social and political spaces and cultural practices that go beyond the boundaries of the nation-state, including the implications of transnational organizational connections to use immigrant organizations as agents of the social and political incorporation of immigrants into the receiving society” (56). Future research ought to look closely at the role organizations like CVA play in connecting immigrants in the southeastern United States to their broader diasporas and homelands.

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