

SAPHA: A JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

A Publication of the Department of History and Diplomatic Studies,
Faculty of Arts, University of Abuja, Abuja, FCT.

Volume 3 Numbers 1

2014

History of Colonial Prison System in Okene Town

Abdussalam Umar Ahmed

The Igala and Trade/Commerce on the River Niger

Emmanuel Osewe Akubor

Frederick Lugard and the Subjugation of the Tiv 1900-1906

Jonathan D. Ndera

Language Use and Violent Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria

G.T. Teke & G.A. Ioratim-Uba

Socio-economic changes in pre-colonial Agulu

Tochukwu I. Okeke

Women and Peace/Security in Pre-Colonial Yorubaland

Victoria Kikelomo Olugbemi

Women Political Participation in Nigeria

Philip Afaha & Moshood Abdul-Wasi Babatunde

Democracy and Descent of Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic

Bilyaminu Suleiman Muhammed

The World Wars and the Traditional Market System in Lagos

Rasheed Owoyele Ajetunmobi & Oluranti Edward Ojo

The Tula Peoples and their Languages

Amos Dlibugunaya

Information Technology Infrastructure and Cyber Crime in Nigeria

Philip Akpen and Jude Azi Azhang

SAPHA: A JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL AND
MULTIDISCIPLINARY STUDIES

Volume 3 Number 1

2014

Contents

- The History of Colonial Prison System in Okene Town 1917-1940
Abdussalam Umar Ahmed 1
- The Igala and the Development of Egga (River Bank)
Trade/ Commerce in Southwestern Bank of the River Niger
Emmanuel Osewe Akubor 12
- Frederick Lugard and the Subjugation of the Tiv 1900-1906
Jonathan D. Ndera 25
- Language, Language Use and Ethnicity as Sources of Violent
Ethnic Conflicts in Nigeria: The Cases of the Middle Belt and
South-South Regions
G.T. Teke & G.A. Ioratin-Uba 34
- Continuity and Change in South Eastern Nigeria: A study of socio-
economic changes in pre-colonial Agulu, 1830-1905
Tochukwu I. Okeke 61
- The Roles of Some Selected Women in Peace and Security
during the Pre-Colonial Yorubaland
Victoria Kikelomo Olugbemi 75
- From Docility to Power: A History of Women Political
Participation in Nigeria
Philip Afaha & Moshood Abdul-Wasi Babatunde 91

Democracy and Descent of Security in Nigeria's Fourth Republic <i>Bilyaminu Suleiman Muhammed</i>	106
The Impact of the World Wars on the Traditional Market System in Lagos <i>Rasheed Owoyele Ajetunmobi & Oluranti Edward Ojo</i>	121
The 'Tula Peoples and their Languages <i>Amos Dlibugunaya</i>	136
Information Technology Infrastructure and Cyber Crime in Nigeria <i>Philip Akpen and Jude Azi Azhang</i>	142
Multilingualism and National Development in Nigeria <i>Abdulmalik Nulu</i>	151
Word-Formation in English: The Status of EICCC in the Nigerian State <i>S.I. Abochol</i>	158
Historicizing NAFDAC and Its Fight against Fake Drugs in Nigeria 1988-2012 <i>Ugbegili Igbasue Sylvester</i>	170
A Survey of the Concepts of War and Warfare in Pre-colonial Plateau Societies <i>Amango Achadick Kudu</i>	185
Yoruba Commercial Diaspora in Minna Town 1906-1960 <i>Ifeoluwu Olubusola Olukunle</i>	200
Changing Nature of Vigilantism in Nigeria in Modern Times: Perspectives on the Phenomenon among the Igbo of Southeast Nigeria <i>Kenneth Chukwuemeka Nwoko</i>	212

NIIA on Global Institutional Networks <i>Joshua Olusegun Bolarinwa</i>	228
Religion: An Instrument for Enhancing National Security and Harmonious Existence in Nigeria <i>Dawood Omolumen Egbefo</i>	245
The Artistic Director as Playwright in Action: <i>The Whirlwind Experiment</i> <i>Joe Ande</i>	264
Nigerian Cameroon Border Conflicts (1913-2002): Implications for Peace in Africa <i>Nongonan Hyacinth Apya</i>	275
Design and Theatre Practice in Nigeria: A Theoretical Survey <i>Adakole John Oklobia</i>	297
The Making of the Nigerian Constitutions: A Historical Perspective <i>Philip Akpen, William John Adams & Ahmad Dahiru Aminu</i>	307
African Cultural Transmission: The African Diaspora Role <i>Aduke Ekundayo</i>	322
Returning to <i>El-dorado</i> : Portuguese Migration and Resettlement in Postcolonial Africa <i>Rasheed Ojewole Olamiyi</i>	331
British Conquest of Bida and the Dawn of Colonisation in Nupeland in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1901 <i>Talla Ngarka Sunday & Terhamba Wuan</i>	354
Oil Subsidy Saga: Economic Implication on Public Expenditure Management in Nigeria <i>Otse Amos Egwurube</i>	372
Book Review <i>African Diaspora and the Black Experience in New World Slavery</i> by Okon E. Uya <i>Philip Afaha</i>	383

Returning to *El-dorado*: Portuguese Migration and Resettlement in Postcolonial Africa

Rasheed Oyewole Olaniyi,
Department of History,
University of Ibadan,
Ibadan, Oyo State, Nigeria.

Abstract

For a long time, migration from Africa towards Europe has been a constant phenomenon and part of its colonial and post-colonial conditions. Conversely, the accelerated economic crisis and austerity measures in Europe signaled a reversal of roles between the former colonial powers as destination havens for African migrants and former colonies as European dream and land of opportunities. Portugal was the first European power to establish a colony in Africa when it captured Ceuta in 1415; it became one of the last to disengage in 1975 and the first to embark on reverse migration from 2002 which echo an unending return to *El-dorado*. This paper argues for the relevance and importance of Appadurai's (1996) concept of ethnoscape-the global flow of people or the global flow of talent to the study of Portuguese reverse migration and resettlement in postcolonial Africa. It locates the manifestations of the postcolonial Portuguese migration to Angola and Mozambique in a particular historical context. The colonial system had developed an entrenched and entwined relationship "luso-tropicalism" between Portugal and her former colonies such that migration is acted out. Several features of imperialism have re-emerged, especially the export of "surplus population" and capital through which the former colonial power maintain influence on post-colonial Africa. How is the new migration manifesting in political, economic, visa regimes and foreign policies of the African host countries? What are the emerging power relations between decolonised societies receiving migrants from their old imperial centre?

Introduction

Portugal was the first European power to establish a colony in Africa when it captured Ceuta in 1415; it became one of the last to disengage in 1975 and the first to embark on reverse migration from 2002 which echo an unending return to *El-dorado*. This paper argues for the relevance

and importance of Appadurai's (1996) concept of ethnoscape—the global flow of people or the global flow of talent to the study of Portuguese migration and resettlement in postcolonial Africa. Appadurai's ethnoscape refers to the migration of people across cultures and borders, presenting the world and its many communities as fluid and mobile instead of static (Appadurai, 1990 and 1996). Ethnoscape implies the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential element of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.

This paper departs from the static analysis of postcolonial migration which claim that postcolonial era brought about movements of people from the formerly colonised peripheries to the colonial centre (Main *et al*, 2013; Dyer 2000; and Walter 2001). This analysis glosses over a large number of issues that have remained unanswered such as economic exploitation of the colonies and the continuation of some of the institutional linkages that promote migration from the centre to the periphery. The Portuguese post-colonial migration to Africa exemplifies new paths of shared colonial heritage and global circulation of people. It is an affirmation of historical trajectories.

In recent years, the massive European migration to Africa is changing the stereotypical notion and image of Africa as the continent of misery and backwardness to a land of opportunities and potentials for development. European migrants are resettling in Africa away from economic crisis and unemployment that beleaguered their continent. Increasing number of Europeans migrate to Angola, Morocco, Mozambique, Senegal and South Africa in search of work and new life in the old African colonies. This paper examines the contradictory experience of Europeans returning to Africa, making migration to occur simultaneously and swing on both sides of the Atlantic.

The paper locates the manifestations of the postcolonial Portuguese migration to Africa in a particular historical context. The colonial system had developed such an entrenched and entwined relationship “lusotropicalism” between Portugal and her former colonies such that migration is acted out. The Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987), describe this Portuguese policy as “lusotropicalism” racial mixing or racial toleration between colonisers and the colonised. The policy of lusotropicalism theoretically upheld equality between the Portuguese and colonial subjects. Despite its hollowness in practice, lusotropicalism has over the centuries encouraged high number of emigrated Portuguese to the former colonies.

Beyond the rhetoric of influx of Europeans to Africa, a study of Portuguese migration to Angola and Mozambique located within a historical context presents a more complex picture. From 2002, Portugal had re-established a strong presence in these two countries, especially in the post-civil wars. The intertwining of historical factor "lusotropicalism" and the need for foreign talents in the emerging economies aided the tolerance for Portuguese migrants in Angola and Mozambique.

Portuguese migration to the former colonies offers an extraordinary paradigm shift in international migration that usually takes place from the poor African countries to the rich European nations. The traditional global migration was altered by the economic recession ravaging the EU. Recession was a time of significant migration in the EU.

Within a specific historical disjuncture characterised by changes in the global economy, the Portuguese ethnoscape in Angola and Mozambique was motivated by the economic crisis in Portugal and the need for foreign talents in the reconstruction as well as economic development of Angola and Mozambique. In 2012, the Portuguese economy was projected to record a contraction of 2.8 per cent while the gross domestic product (GDP) of Angola was expected to grow by 12 per cent. As a consequence of economic crisis and anxieties over unemployment, Portugal lost many of her young University graduates to emigration. Overall unemployment rate in Portugal was 13.6 per cent by December, 2011. In the economic crisis, Portugal has been exporting her skilled workers including scientists, teachers, engineers and investors. This paper demonstrates that migrants' destinations are determined by the availability of economic opportunities and political stability. The new forms of migration are signposts of rapid global political and economic changes.

The paper argues that the underlying forces and processes of the new wave of migration was the pursuit of national interests and national survival in both the sending and receiving countries. The new migration wave exposes the fragility of nation states in the crises of globalisation and how nation states struggle to meet the exigencies of the new economy. The paper takes as a point of departure from the sensational media reports and problematises the growing migration of Portuguese to Angola and Mozambique as part of the unsettling effects of colonialism, ethnoscaping and the aggressive drive to attract foreign talent in rebuilding post-conflict societies. Foreign talent is considered as a crucial economic player in the age of global competitive economy.

Portugal's Renewed Interest in Angola and Mozambique

The first issue was the unending search for African El-dorado and the unsettling impact of colonialism. In the 15th century, Portugal was the home of superior navigation skills but also one of Europe's poorest regions. High mortality and impoverishment in the Portuguese society made the nobles to seek resources and fame overseas. They made attempts to monopolise sea routes and establish an empire on the waters. The Portuguese established fortresses (fortalezas) at Sofala (1505) and Mozambique Island (1507). These colonies supplied the metropole with slave, gold and ivory. As noted by Ames (1998), for the Portuguese Crown, the strategic Zambezi River basin (Rios de Cuama) served as the focus of wishful speculation regarding an African El-dorado overflowing with rich mineral deposits. The illusion of African El-dorado or golden Sofala, land of fabulous wealth emanated from a myth fabricated by Arab and Persian travelers; perpetrated and vigorously pursued by the Portuguese explorers.

This fantasy allowed Portugal to hope for quantities of gold and silver to compete with the riches found by the Spanish in Mexico and Peru, with an accompanying economic boom. Portuguese obsession with uncovering the source of gold in Sofala influenced Luso-African relations for several centuries. The voyage of Vasco da Gama around the Cape of Good Hope into the Indian Ocean in 1498 marked the Portuguese entry into trade and politics in the Indian Ocean World.

By the mid-17th century, the supposed El-dorado was perceived as a cornerstone that could help re-establish the golden years of the *Estado da India* or State of India, the term for Portuguese eastern overseas empire from Mozambique to Macau, administered from Goa. In his 1656 and 1661 letters, Antonio Alvares Pereira rekindled the Portuguese Crown interest in the Rios de Cuama extolling the El-dorado or riches of the region. According to Pereira,

The Rios are very extensive lands, and abundant in minerals, as much as in copper, iron, and silver, cotton, wood for building boats, fertile land for growing wheat, rice and corn all existed there and could benefit the Crown. A link across the continent to Angola could be forged...the major problem in exploiting all these potentialities was the lack of Portuguese inhabitants (Ames, 1998: 93).

Pereira recommended that brave men were required to explore the El-dorado, men who should first be sent to Goa to acclimatize to a tropical climate before heading for the difficult environment of Mozambique, where many Portuguese soldiers and sailors had died from diseases.

The effective occupation of Mozambique El-dorado was to allow the Portuguese have a splendid treasury in India and redeem all their debts.

The colonies also served as trading posts. Textiles and other goods from India would arrive at Mozambique and thereafter be distributed to the other frontiers. While the search for El-dorado did not materialise, the colonisation scheme of the 1670s resulted in a larger population of Portuguese settlers along the Zambezi to conduct trade. Portugal embarked on settler colonialism with large-scale immigration motivated by economic interests. By 1914, Portugal had 150,000 settlers in Angola and 80,000 in Mozambique. The settlers acted as the link between the natives and the colonial hegemony by bridging the geographical and commercial gaps. In the early 20th century, Portugal was by far the European colonial power with the oldest territorial presence in Africa.

In a sense, Portuguese colonialism sought to retain the colonies as trading partners and market for its goods. Mozambique and Angola were officially not considered as colonies but part of the Portuguese pluricontinental, multiracial nation and "overseas Portugal." In fact, the Portuguese leader, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, who ruled Portugal from 1932 to 1968 observed that Portugal and her colonies constituted "only one state, one territory, one population, one citizenship, and one government."

According to Hall (1996) postcolonialism destroyed the distance between colonial powers and their extended territories. Indeed, the influx of postcolonial migrants continues to offer a constant reminder of the spaces and practices of colonial past. To understand the complexity of postcolonial migration, it is critical to explain the historical context. This could be situated in what Raghuram (2009:31) refers to as "postcolonial responsibility" or Noxolo, Raghuram and Madge (2012: 424) "post-colonial interventions." Postcolonial responsibility takes cognizance of the interconnectedness between different spaces over a period of time that stretches across colonialism and its aftermath. Postcolonial responsibility or intervention demonstrates how migration is mediated by broader structures of colonial rule and its aftermath.

Portugal's colonial rule and the subsequent independence struggle left the colonies with serious scars (Seabra and Gorjao, 2011). Plunder and exploitation characterised Portuguese colonies for several decades. As a colonial overlord, Portugal did virtually nothing to develop the human capital of the colonies. Portugal disengaged from Angola and Mozambique leaving them without doctors, engineers, scientists and adequate number of teachers. This legacy shattered the myth of a benevolent colonial power- that believed and made people believed that it existed for the good of the colonised. Following independence in

1975, the departure of Portuguese professionals who had monopolised the various sectors of the colonial economy and government was a devastating blow to the economic development of Angola and Mozambique. For many years, socialist countries of Cuba, former Soviet Union and China filled the vacuum with various aid programmes and technical support.

Since 2002 Portugal has renewed interest in Africa, especially in her former colonies as a source of opportunities to widen Portuguese global political and economic presence. In order to avoid exclusion from the emerging economics of Angola in the post civil period, Portugal skillfully positioned itself in a bid to reap the fruits of the inescapable historical bond between the two countries. Thus, the post civil war era witnessed the revitalisation of political and economic contact between Angola and Portugal. Angola is Africa's third largest economy, after South Africa and Nigeria and one of Africa's biggest oil producers, with an average output of 1.8m barrels per day since 2008. Angola is also very rich in diamond deposits.

Portuguese foreign minister, Luis Amado, expressed hope of a special relationship with Africa (Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p. 5). In October 2003, the four-day visit by the Portuguese Prime Minister Durao Barroso to Angola was considered a landmark in bilateral relations. Additionally, the three visits paid by the Portuguese Prime Minister Socrates to Angola, in 2006, 2008 and 2010 demonstrated official interest to expand economic presence. The climax of the mutual bilateral relations was reached when Portuguese President Anibal Cavaco Silva visited Angola in July 2010.

Table 1: List of Official visits between Portuguese and Angolan Dignitaries, 2002 onward

April 2002	Portuguese Foreign Minister Antonio Martins da Cruz in Luanda
June 2003	Angolan Foreign Minister Joao Miranda in Lisbon
October 2003	Portuguese Prime Minister Jose Manuel Durao Barroso in Luanda
January 2005	Portuguese Foreign Minister Antonio Monteiro in Luanda
December 2005	Portuguese Foreign Minister Diogo Freitas do Amaral in Luanda
April 2006	Portuguese Prime Minister Jose Socrates in Luanda
March 2007	Angolan Foreign Minister Joao Miranda in Lisbon
February 2008	Portuguese Foreign Minister Luis Amado in Luanda
July 2008	Portuguese Prime Minister Jose Socrates in Luanda
March 2009	Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos in Lisbon
April 2009	Portuguese Foreign Minister Luis Amado in Luanda
July 2009	Angolan Foreign Minister Assuncao dos Anjos in Lisbon
July 2010	Portuguese President Anibal Cavaco Silva, Prime Minister Jose Socrates and Foreign Minister Luis Amado in Luanda

Source: Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, pp. 13-14.

Portuguese government officials have pushed for emigration in order to address the country's growing economic problem. In December 2011, Portuguese Prime Minister, Pedro Passos Coelho publicly declared to the striking schoolteachers that they should leave the country and migrate to find job in Angola and Brazil.¹ This was an attempt to "export surplus population" and possibly prevent a European version of the "Arab Spring." It was also an undying urge to explore African "Eldorado" to overcome national economic crisis.

Table 2: Major Agreements between Portugal and Angola

1978	General Cooperation Agreement
1979	Special Cooperation Agreement for Maritime Transportation, Cultural Agreement, Trade Agreement
1982	Economic Cooperation Agreement
1995	Legal and Judicial Cooperation Agreement
1996	Technical-military Cooperation Agreement
2003	Convention on Social Security
2006	Scientific and Technological Cooperation Agreement, Cooperation Agreement in Tourism
2008	Mutual Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement, Mutual Recognition of Drivers' Licences Agreement

Source: Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p. 14.

This chart shows the continuum of interaction between Portugal and Angola in terms of diplomatic relations and bilateral agreements. The diplomatic visits has manifested in the internationalisation of Portuguese companies and served to symbolise the importance of

deepening trade and investment relations the largest former colonies in Africa.

Seabra and Gorjao (2011) observe that the status of Angolan property claims made by Portuguese citizens is unresolved. Assets belonging to many Portuguese citizens were nationalised in the wake of Angola's independence in the 1970s. In 2005, Portugal established a joint task force comprising of officials from foreign affairs, finance ministry and social security ministry. The task force was mandated to find out the problems and injustice that affect a significant number of Portuguese who were forced to return to Portugal during the decolonisation process. The property question stimulated Portuguese to return to the former colonies.

Angola's debt to Portugal increased in the post-independence period. In 1994, the debt settlement agreement included a mix package of oil exports, credit lines and rescheduling of all major deadlines. In August 2004, the debt repayment schedule was structured around an immediate reimbursement by Angola for 27 per cent of the total debt owed (\$258million). The remaining \$698 million was spread over consecutive tranches to be remitted in the next 25 years beginning in 2009, and with a 1 per cent interest rate (Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p. 7). Also, an estimated •1.5billion owed by Angola to Portuguese companies doing business in Angola, especially construction companies that participated in the post-2002 national reconstruction process (Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p. 7). Over the years, the oil for loan deals denied many Angolans of the enormous wealth that the country accrued in the post-civil war era. According to Carmody (2011), oil strengthened the corrupt and authoritarian government and opened up the possibility of large-scale inequality. The Angolan state failed in terms of providing services and employment opportunities for its population but has been successful in maintaining itself and enriching its office holders. The Transparency International ranks Angola 168th out of 178 countries in its corruption perception index. President Dos Santos of Angola has been in power since 1979, because of his overseas assets is thought to be the 6th richest person in Brazil. His daughter, Isabel has the reputation of being the first African female Billionaire and Angolan leading businesswoman. In a way, African leaders are used as agents to actualize the dream of returning to El-dorado.

In view of Angola's reconstruction efforts, Portugal increased the value of development aid to its former colony. Through the Indicative Cooperation Programmes (ICPs), Portuguese aid rose from •13.262million in 2001 to •15.325 million in 2002 and to •17.249million in 2003. Portugal also implemented a multi-year framework for 2004-

2006, with a total budget of •42million. This included assistance in the health and educational sectors, institutional strengthening, human resources training, social reintegration and employment promotion in key sectors. The ICP for 2007-2010 timeframe allocated •65 million covering two issues –good governance, participation and democracy, and sustainable development and the fight against poverty. By 2009, Portugal had sent about 200 teachers to Angola in aid of educational development. There was also cooperation in higher education which allowed over 3,500 Angolan students to attend courses in Portuguese universities in 2008/2009. Under the 1996 Comprehensive Defense Cooperation Agreement, Portugal supported Angola in technical-military cooperation.

The “visa issue” was similarly at the forefront of each political agenda to facilitate mobility between the two countries. The subject remained politically relevant with the increasing numbers of Portuguese and Angolan nationals moving between the two countries. Angola and Portugal signed an agreement to fast-track the processing of visas for travel between the two countries, bypass bureaucracy and strengthen economic ties. The deal allow for issuing of two, 90-day business visas per year with multiple entries, while work permits last up to three years.

More importantly, the pursuit of bilateral trade and transnational business became crucial. In 2009, Portuguese customs estimates ranked Angolans as the fifth-largest group in Portugal’s foreign population. Angola migrants represented 6 per cent of the total, with 26, 557 resident citizens. Portuguese emigration to Angola also increased. According to the Portuguese Emigration Observatory, Portuguese migration to Angola increased from 21,000 in 2003 to 91,900 in 2010 (Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p. 6). By 2011, Portuguese migrants in Angola increased to over 100,000.

In 2009, Angola became the fourth-largest consumer of Portuguese goods. Angola accounted for about •2.2billion in bilateral exchange and became Portugal’s biggest commercial partner outside the EU. Portuguese Foreign Direct Investment also increased. Angola was Portugal’s 11th destination for FDI in 2002, with •50million. This increased to •775million in 2008 but declined to •226 million in 2020 due to Portuguese economic crisis.

Table 3: Trade Balance Percentages, 2002-2010

	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Portuguese exports to Angola	2.00	2.23	2.17	2.58	3.40	4.40	5.81	7.06	5.20
Portuguese imports from Angola	0.16	0.01	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.62	0.64	0.29	0.99

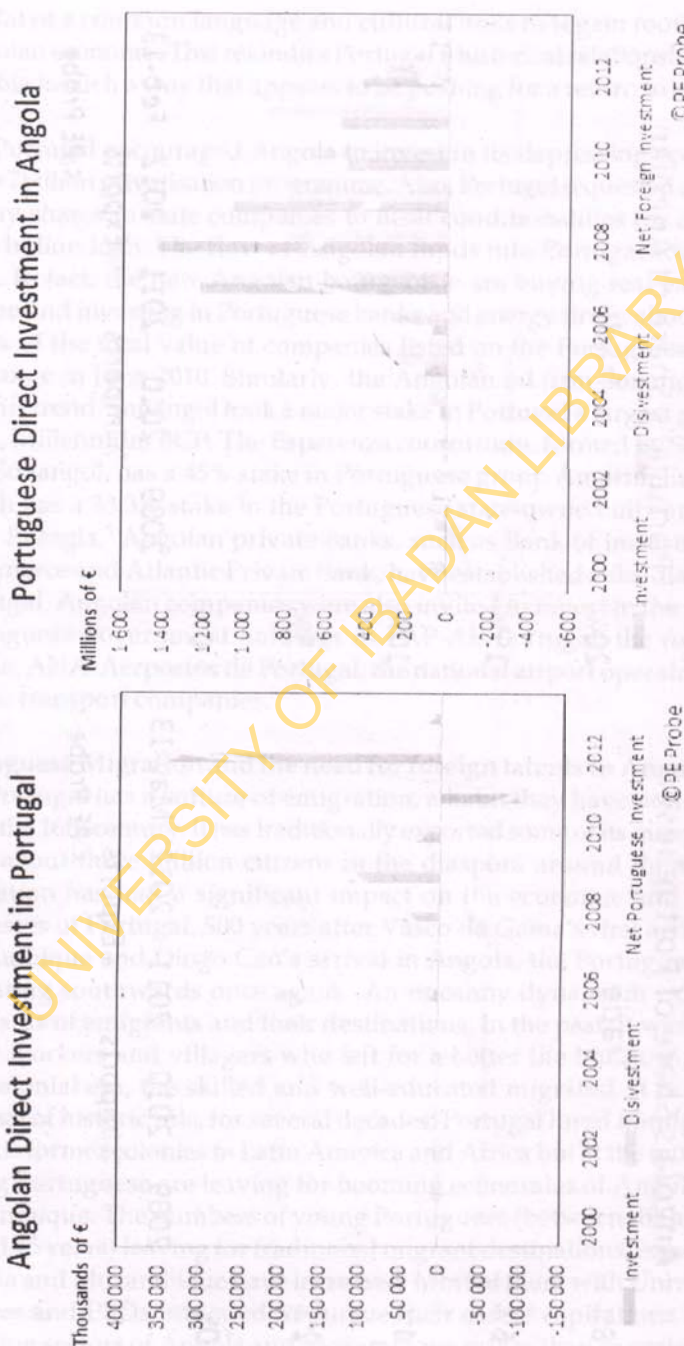
Source: Seabra and Gorjao, 2011, p.14.

Following economic liberalisation in 1993, Angola's banking sector was a preferential target of Portuguese investment. By 2010, major Portuguese banks including Caixa Geral de Depositos, Santander Totta, Banco Portugues de Investimento (BPI), Banco Espirito Santo and Banco Commercial Portugues (BCP) held a minority or joint venture operation in Angola through several financial companies. The companies were interested in the massive infrastructure construction bids. Also, Cement-maker SECIL and telecommunication companies, Portugal Telecom (PT), Zon Multimedia and Visabeira invested in local projects. In the oil sector, Portugal competes with the USA, Brazil and China. This manifests the 'new scramble' for African resources among global powers and emerging economies. While Angola serves as China's largest supplier of oil, the USA is its main export market.

By 2009, Portugal invests massively (about •557 million) in its biggest market outside the EU, and 800 companies has established presence in Angola. "Angola is the lifeline for the Portuguese economy!" says Lisbon businessman José Calp.² The Angolan mobile phone company Intutel, of which Isabel dos Santos is majority shareholder enjoyed spectacular growth due to its partnership with Portuguese telecoms companies, and claimed 6 million subscribers in 2010. As competition got stiffer in Brazil, another Portuguese former colony and traditional trading partner, Portugal focused more on Angola for foreign investment. Out of the 532 foreign companies operating in Angola and controlling 40 per cent of its gross domestic product, 38 per cent are Portuguese while 18.8 per cent are Chinese. This is mirrored in global competition for influence over the Angolan state.

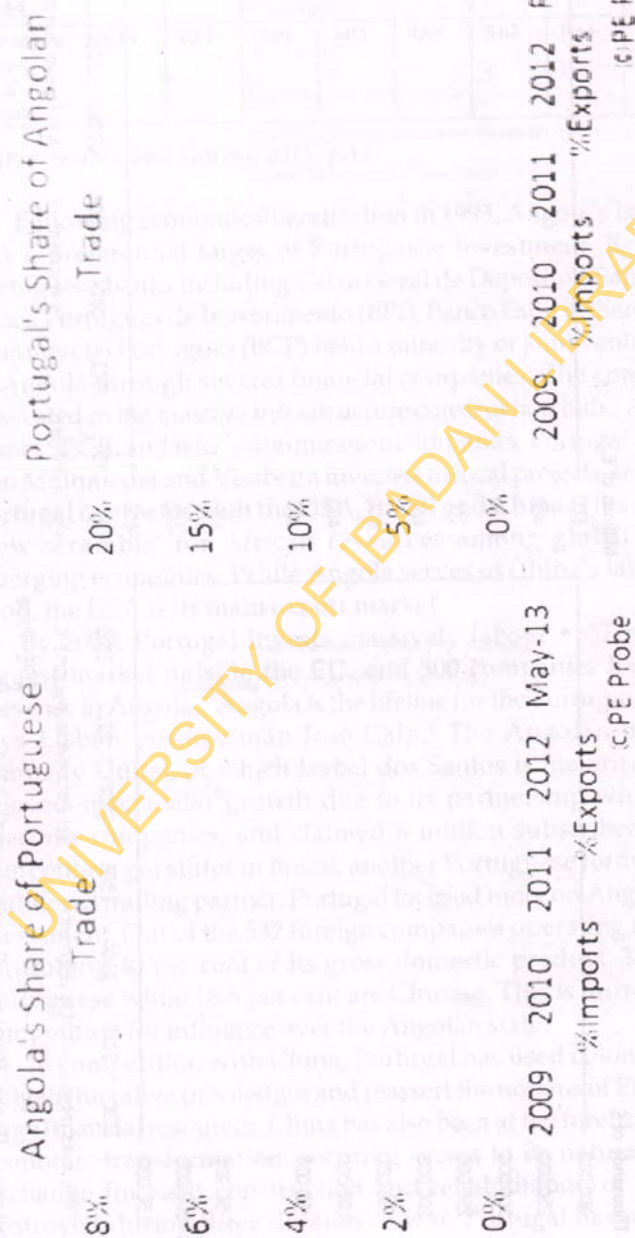
In competition with China, Portugal has used colonial heritage to (re)gain lucrative privileges and reassert the notions of El-dorado. With huge financial resources, China has also been at the forefront of Angola's economic transformation, securing access to its natural resources in exchange for road construction and rehabilitation of infrastructure destroyed during three decades of war. Portugal has used the social

Table 4: Two-Way Flow of Investments to Portugal and Angola



Source: Press Review: Economy Minister visits Angola and Mozambique, shows importance of ties (<http://www.peprobe.com/library/news-a-facts/8303-economy-minister-visits-angola-and-mozambique>).

Table 5: Angola-Portuguese Trade



Source: Press Review: Economy. Minister visits Angola and Mozambique, shows importance of ties (<http://www.peprobe.com/library/we-suggest/news-a-facts/8303-economy-minister-visits-angola-and-mozambique>).

capital of a common language and cultural links to regain foothold in Angolan economy. This rekindles Portugal's historical relationship with Angola in such a way that appears to be pushing for a return to colonial era.

Portugal encouraged Angola to invest in its depressing economy and •7billion privatisation programme. Also, Portugal requested Angola to buy shares in state companies to meet conditionalities for an IMF \$107 billion loan. The flow of Angolan funds into Portugal soared in 2008. In fact, the new Angolan bourgeoisie are buying real estate in Lisbon and investing in Portuguese banks and energy firms: about \$2bn or 4% of the total value of companies listed on the Portuguese stock exchange in June 2010. Similarly, the Angolan oil firm Sonangol has led this trend. Sonangol took a major stake in Portugal's largest private bank, Millennium BCP. The Esperanza consortium, formed by Santoro and Sonangol, has a 45% stake in Portuguese group Amorim Energia, which has a 33.3% stake in the Portuguese state-owned oil company Galp Energia.³ Angolan private banks, such as Bank of Industry and Commerce and Atlantic Private Bank, have established subsidiaries in Portugal. Angolan companies were also invited to invest in the sale of Portuguese government holdings in TAP-Air Portugal, the national airline, ANA-Aerportos de Portugal, the national airport operator, and public transport companies.

Portuguese Migration and the need for foreign talents in Angola

Portugal has a culture of emigration, a habit they have nourished since the 16th century. It has traditionally exported some of its manpower with about three million citizens in the diaspora around the world. Migration has had a significant impact on the economic and social processes of Portugal. 500 years after Vasco da Gama's first arrival in Mozambique and Diogo Cao's arrival in Angola, the Portuguese are migrating southwards once again. An uncanny dynamism exists in the status of emigrants and their destinations. In the past, it was blue-collar workers and villagers who left for a better life but now in the postcolonial era, the skilled and well-educated migrated. It is also a reversal of historic role, for several decades, Portugal lured immigrants from its former colonies in Latin America and Africa but at the moment, young Portuguese are leaving for booming economies of Angola and Mozambique. The numbers of young Portuguese (between the ages of 20 and 45 years) leaving for traditional migrant destinations, especially Angola and Mozambique have increased. Most of them with University degrees and PhDs migrated to pursue their career aspirations in the booming sectors of Angola and Mozambique rather than experiencing

frustration in the deteriorating economy of Portugal. In Portugal, a civil engineer earning •900 per month could earn four times as much in Angola.

The new Portuguese migration reminded Angolans of vulnerabilities during the painful colonial past. The Angolan government has been welcoming skilled, young Portuguese immigrants with open arms. This emanated from the need for "foreign talents" to boost the economic transformations. Following the thirty years of civil war (1975-2002), Angola was short of specialists, while Portugal suffers from a surplus of skilled labour and youth unemployment.

After independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola descent into three decades of civil war which ended with the signing of the 2002 Luena Memorandum of Understanding that laid the foundations for peace, reconciliation and development in Angola (IOM, 2010). Angola has transformed into an immigration country receiving labour migrants, asylum-seekers, irregular migrants and trafficked victims. Several numbers of IDPs and refugees returned home from Congo, Lesotho, South Africa and elsewhere. Indeed, Angola's political stability and economic growth created favourable environment for increased cross border trade and migration.

Angola is currently the seventh largest and fastest growing economies in Africa. Its gross domestic product (GDP) rose considerably from \$9billion in 2000 to \$69 billion in 2009 due to increasing oil production and export of natural resources. Angola became attractive to migrants seeking economic opportunities and/or protection. Oil production and offshore oil exploration provided opportunities for the growth of the construction industry, especially the liquefied natural gas (LNG) project in Soyo (Zaire Province) which started in early 2007 (ACP 14, 2010). The LNG sector employed more than 7,000 workers, 50 per cent of which were nationals from Angola and of which half were from Zaire province.

The Portuguese are not the only migrants moving to Angola. Following the end of the civil war and the need to rehabilitate the country, Angola signed bilateral agreements with different countries to fill shortages of highly skilled workers. Such agreements included South-South cooperation. There were also agreements with the Russian Federation, Bulgaria, Viet Nam, Northern Korea, Egypt and Cuba to attract foreign doctors to work in Angola (IOM, 2005). Several Chinese workers migrated to work for Chinese companies financed by an oil-backed loan China granted to Angola.

Immigration to Angola was motivated by the enormous wealth of precious minerals. In addition owing to the colonial past, historic

bond and language link, many Portuguese youths have migrated to Angola following anxieties over economic crisis and unemployment in their country. In the former colonies, there is absence of language barrier and cultural adaptation was easier. Portuguese migrants are feeling at home in Angola. Many of the migrants dismissed the claim of a new "European invasion," "new Eldorado," or "thrill-seeking expedition." According to Mr. Gois, "...there's no reason to talk about another colonisation. Rather, we are witnessing the birth of a new global class of migrants who will never settle permanently anywhere..."⁴⁴ "Emigration: Indignado Generation Finds Happiness Abroad" Polityka, Warsaw 19 April, 2012

Their "bi-locality" and multiple belongings allow them to exercise what Aihwa Ong (1998) considers "flexible citizenship" the social positioning of foreign talents in relation to citizenship, homeland and national identity. According to Ong (1998, 136), flexible citizenship implies "the strategies and effects of mobile managers, technocrats, and professionals who seek to circumvent and benefit from different nation-state regimes by selecting different sites for investments, work and family location." These transnational migrants are guided by economic calculation and a capitalist rationality when they decide to relocate geographically (KOH, 2003, 244).

There were two categories of Portuguese moving to southern Africa: the older people whose desire was to save their money and the highly qualified university graduates who were seeking for professional development. For the older people, it was strategic to move from recession in a developed country to relatively cheaper locations in developing country where investments could yield returns.

Highly qualified Portuguese migrated to the Southern Africa country in search of a new life and employment opportunities. They established wine companies in Angola. About 3,000 Portuguese companies operate throughout the country building roads, railroads, bridges, skyscrapers and pipelines. Some of these companies belong to Antonio Bagal, a 32-year-old entrepreneur from Lisbon, Portugal.

Portuguese in Mozambique

Portugal considers Mozambique, its area of commercial influence since the early 16th century as a huge potential for its economic growth. For historical reasons, Mozambique became one of the African countries where Portuguese companies conduct business. Over the years, the Mozambican corporate law maintains a striking resemblance to Portuguese legislation, which makes it easier for multinational companies to invest in Mozambique via Portugal.

In exploring this potential, Portuguese investment and export of her talented or skilled citizens have been encouraged. Portugal maintains productive relationship with Mozambique though common language, direct transport links, shared legal framework and commercial ties. Portugal serves as a "gateway" for companies seeking business opportunities in the emerging market.

Portugal joined other countries especially The Netherlands, Cuba, Vietnam, Japan and South Korea in granting aid in the fields of education, science, technology, agriculture, natural gas pipelines and management training to Mozambique. Portugal sought cooperation with Mozambican authorities over the employment of foreign talents in the key sectors. In February 2006 an •80 million contract was signed for the construction by a Portuguese consortium of a 2.3km (1.4m) bridge over the Zambezi River, linking towns of Caia in Sofala province and Chimuara in Zambesia province. Funded by the European Union, Sweden and Italy, the bridge was expected to boost agricultural production and export as well as tourism in Mozambique.⁵ By 2011, Portugal had over 250 investment projects and significant Portuguese investment capital exist in 28 out the top 100 Mozambique companies. In 2012, the National Roads Administration of Mozambique awarded Portuguese Construction Company Soares da Coasta contract worth •21.7million to design and build bridges in Mozambique.

Portuguese exports to Mozambique grew by ten per cent during the first half of 2013, and the number of Mozambican companies exporting to Portugal doubled from 1,316 in 2008 to 2,675 in 2012.⁶ Portuguese oil group Galp Energia gained a new Chinese partner in Mozambique, the China National Petroleum Corporation (CNPC). The Portuguese-Chinese partnership includes exploration consortiums that would have 14 new floating production, storage and offloading (FPSO) units, capable of processing between 120,000 and 150,000 barrels of oil per day and construction of which would cost \$21billion.⁷ By 2013, Portuguese power grid company Redes Engerticas Nacionais (REN) has a 14 per cent stake in the consortium that would build power transmission lines linking central Mozambique to the south of the country.

The internationalization of Portuguese companies and the growing economy in Mozambique attracted young Portuguese graduates and entrepreneurs. Mozambique post-conflict resource boom and development created more opportunities for Portuguese migrants. After the devastating civil war, Mozambique economy expanded by 6.7 per cent in the third quarter of 2011. There was a transition from agrarian economy to industrial mining.

As the Portuguese economy shrunk and businesses collapsed many young people migrated to Mozambique due to economic opportunities, language and cultural similarities. Compared to Angola, many of the young Portuguese preferred to settle in Mozambique where security was relatively better and the indigenous population more open to Portuguese. According to the Mozambique Labour Ministry, about 4,355 Portuguese lived in the country in 2011. However, the *International Business Times* reported that as many as 120,000 unemployed Portuguese graduates and entrepreneurs reached Mozambique in 2011.⁸ The demand for Visa was so high that the Mozambican Migration Office (DNM) stopped issuing visa at the border. This led to strict application of entry requirements for foreigners to Mozambique. Many Portuguese would arrive on the pretext of a tourist visit in order to request for a visa on arrival in Maputo. Some Portuguese were left stranded upon arrival or had to return home.

It has been claimed that while many Mozambicans fear they would encounter competition for scarce jobs, the new wave of migrants is creating employment opportunities.⁹ The new migrants did not arrive empty handed. They reached Mozambique with capital for investment and technical knowledge to boost the economy and transfer skills. Mozambican labour stipulates only 5 per cent of the workforce could be allocated to foreign migrants, especially in the large companies. The labour law also allocates 8 to 10 per cent employment to foreign migrants in smaller firms. In essence, Portuguese are often employed in areas in which Mozambicans lack skills. Portuguese migrants set up businesses that employed Mozambicans. Some Portuguese entered into partnership with other foreigners. Others brought new businesses and ideas.

However, in the food supply sector, Portuguese entrepreneurs encountered competition from the local traders. Victor Mazuze, a local trader remarked that, "Many Portuguese come here and open restaurants, but some of them have already been forced to close down. They charge European prices, but they don't cook as well as we do."¹⁰ There are also signs of resentment among the Mozambicans towards the influx of Portuguese migrants who are offered jobs that they could perform.

According to Goncalo Teles Gomes, the Portuguese Consul in Maputo, about 30,000 Portuguese now live in Mozambique. According to Gomes, "It is not like it's an avalanche or an invasion, as it is described sometimes in the media, but we have seen an increase in registrations of between 30 and 35 per cent since 2009... One hundred and forty new

Portuguese migrants arrive every month in Mozambique to stay, but then there are also many Portuguese who fly in and out, working in different kinds of businesses. He added that, "Twenty years ago, the Portuguese who came had a connection to Mozambique, but most people who arrive today don't have any earlier connections." As Gome observes, "I always say to the ones who want to come that there are opportunities here, but this is not an El Dorado...Everybody is talking about the richness of resources, but there are a lot of challenges."¹¹ Many of the young migrants have high levels of education, but less qualified Portuguese also arrived investing in the urban economy by opening shops and restaurants. Some invested in construction firms.

Some of the young migrants arrive on fixed-term contracts with Portuguese companies who have invested in Mozambique, but most of them often leave after the expiration of their contracts to other lucrative destinations. At the Associação Portuguesa where young Portuguese professionals often relaxed, 31 years old Maria Nunes remarked that, "this is not my country. I love it, but my family is far away. I still buy all my clothes in Portugal. We go home every Christmas."¹² From this transnational narrative, Richardo also remarked that, "We may live in Mozambique, but we will die Portuguese."¹³

Also, Marcio Charata, a Portuguese migrant in Maputo, Mozambique buttresses this point that, "...We are not here to conquer a country."¹⁴ Palash Ghosh, "Portuguese in Mozambique: A Story of Reverse Migration" 21 February, 2012

The most important development is the reversed migration and the balance of power between the north and south. Nevertheless, the use of returning to Eldorado implies how the Portuguese and other Europeans have resumed the historical pattern of searching for economic opportunities in Africa by moving away from social and economic deterioration at home.

Conclusion

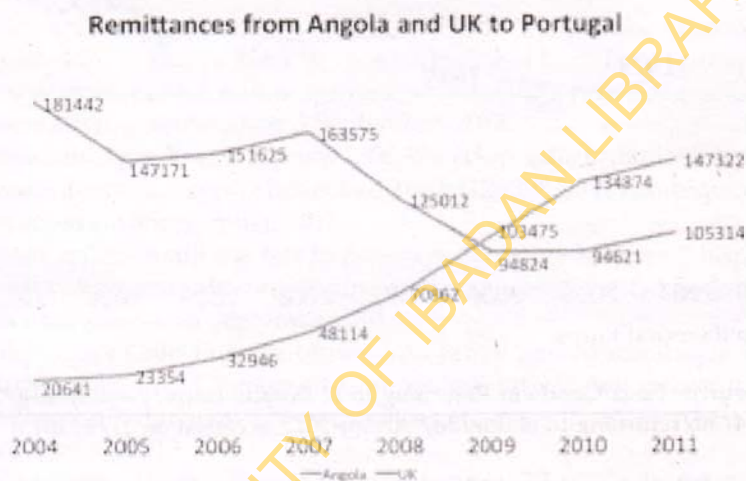
The postcolonial migration of young Portuguese to Angola and Mozambique is situated within a historical context. Ethnoscape- global flow of people and talents has been influenced by the global economic and political changes. Portugal's "postcolonial responsibility" in her former colonies encouraged the "internationalisation" of her companies, access to emerging market and export of surplus skilled labour. Angola and Mozambique got "foreign talents" in the process of post-conflict reconstruction and economic development.

In recognition of the importance of economic growth as a potential pull factor for international migrants and the need to manage mixed

migration flows, Angola passed a new immigration law in the Parliament, which regulates the legal status of foreigners in Angola. However, professional labour migration and investment in different sectors were privileged. There was no reference to remittance outflows or the repatriation of workers' earnings (IOM, 2010).

In terms of remittances, Portuguese in Angola sent home almost •271 million in 2012. Portuguese in Mozambique remitted •5 million in 2012.

Table 6: Remittances from Angola and UK to Portugal

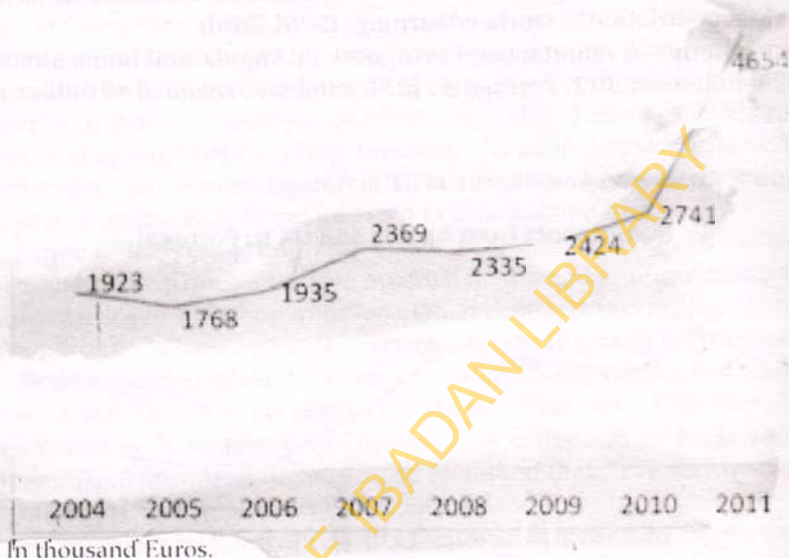


In thousand Euros.

Source: Tanja Goodwin Returning to El Dorado (<http://nyudri.org/2012/04/30/returning-to-el-dorado/> 30 Apr 2012, accessed on 21/5/2013).

Table 7: Remittances from Mozambique to Portugal

Remittances from Mozambique to Portugal



Source: Tanja Goodwin Returning to El Dorado (<http://nyudri.org/2012/04/30/returning-to-el-dorado/> 30 Apr 2012, accessed on 21/5/2013).

While Angola and Mozambique are trying to protect their cultural identities, Portuguese authorities are encouraging pregnant Portuguese women to deliver their babies in the country in order to avert the birth of "anchor babies." The new Portuguese migration to Southern Africa has affected the demography of Portugal. *Publico* draws a portrait of "a country in danger of dying of old age, in a Europe in demographic decline." In 2012, 90,026 babies were born in Portugal and 107,287 people died. The net Portuguese population therefore declined by 17,261.¹⁵

Endnotes

1. Emile Schepers, Portuguese government to unemployed: "There's the door!" <http://peoplesworld.org/portuguese-government-to-unemployed-there-s-the-door>.

2. EMIGRATION: Angola, Portugal's new Eldorado LIBÉRATION PARIS <http://www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/369061-angola-portugal-s-new-eldorado> 22 October 2010, accessed on 21 May, 2013.
3. Augusta Conchiglia, Reverse Economic Migration to Africa: Angola Helps out Portugal, <http://mondediplo.com/2012/07/11/angola> accessed on 9 September, 2013 and Martin Barillas, Historic reversal: former colony Angola to bail out Portugal <http://www.speroforum.com/a/URALIJJMKW48/66138-Historic-reversal-former-colony-Angola-to-bail-out-Portugal> January 2, 2012
4. "Emigration: Indignado Generation Finds Happiness Abroad" Polityka, Warsaw 19 April, 2012, www.presseurop.eu/en/content/article/1831501-indignado-generation... accessed on 3 September, 2013.
5. "Mozambique: Year in Review 2006-Encyclopaedia Britannica, <http://www.britanica.com/EBchecked/topic/1243982/Mozambique...> accessed on 8 September, 2013.
6. "Mozambique still has lots to give says Economy Minister" <http://www.theportugalnews.com/news/mozambique-still-has-lots-give> accessed on 8 September, 2013.
7. "Portugal's Galp Energia Moves into Brazil and Mozambique in Partnership with Chinese oil Companies" <http://www.cpi.co.mz/index.php/en/general/138-portugal-s-galp-energy..> accessed on 8 September, 2013
8. "Escape from Europe" February 22, 2012 <http://nextstopmogadishu.dk/2012/02/22/escape-from-europe/>
9. "Portuguese Migrants Seek opportunities in Mozambique" IRIN: Humanitarian News and Analysis, <http://www.irinnews.org/report/98341/portuguese-migrants-seek-opportunities> accessed on 4 September, 2013.
10. "Portuguese Migrants Seek opportunities in Mozambique..."
11. "Portuguese Migrants Seek opportunities in Mozambique..."
12. Portugal's migrants hope for new life in old African colony <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/22/mozambique-portuguese-migrants>.
13. Portugal's migrants hope for new life in old African colony <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/dec/22/mozambique-portuguese-migrants>.
14. Palash Ghosh, "Portuguese in Mozambique: A Story of Reverse Migration" 21 February, 2012, <http://www.ibtimes.com/>

portuguese-mozambique-story-reverse-migration accessed on 3 September, 2013.

15. "Portugal: A Country Emptied" Presseurop-www.presseurop.eu/en/content/news.brief/3493261.portugal-country-emptied accessed on 5 September, 2013.

References

- Ames, G. J. 1998 An African Eldorado? The Portuguese Quest for Wealth and Power in Mozambique and the Rios de Cuama, c. 1661 to 1683 in: *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1 pp. 91-110.
- Appadurai, A. 1990 *Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy* in: *Public Culture*, 2 (2), pp. 1-11, 15-24.
- Appadurai, A. 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Carmody, P. 2011 *The New Scramble for Africa*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Dwyer, C. 2000, *Negotiating Diasporic Identities: Young British South Asian Muslim Women* in *Women's Studies International Forum* 23 (4) pp. 475-486.
- Hall, S. 1996, When was 'the post-colonial'? Thinking at the Limit in: I. Chambers and L. Curti (eds.) *The Postcolonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons*. London: Routledge, pp. 242-260.
- Ho, E.L. 2006, Negotiating Belonging and Perceptions of Citizenship in a Transnational World: Singapore, a Cosmopolis? in: *Social and Cultural Geography* 7 (3) pp. 385-402
- Koh, A. 2003, Global Flows of Foreign Talent: Identity Anxieties in Singapore's Ethnoscape in: *Sojourn: Journal of Social Issues in Southeast Asia*, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 230-256.
- Mains S.P., M. Gilmartin, D. Cullen, R. Mohammad, D.P. Tolia-Kelly, P. Raghuram, and J. Winders, Postcolonial Migrations in: *Social and Cultural Geography* 14, (2) pp. 131-144.
- Noxolo P., P. Raghuram and C. Madge 2012, Unsettling Responsibility: Postcolonial interventions in: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 37 (3): 418-429
- Ong, A. 1998, Flexible Citizenship among Chinese Cosmopolitans in: Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (eds.) *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press pp. 134-62.
- Overview on South-South Migration and Development in Angola: Trends and Research Needs (ACP-Observation on Migration: Country Overview-ACPOBS/2010/PUB07), 2010.

- Raghuram, P. 2009, Caring About 'Brain Drain' Migration in a Postcolonial World in: *Geoforum* 40: 25-33.
- Seabra, P and Gorjao, P. 2011, Intertwined Paths: Portugal and Rising Angola, *SALIA Occasional Paper No. 89*.
- Walter, B. 2001, *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness, Place and Irish Women*. London: Routledge .

UNIVERSITY OF IBADAN LIBRARY