

Explaining Cape Verde's Peaceful Independence: Population Homogeneity and Unique Institutions

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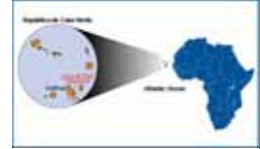
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Outline

- Introduction
- Cape Verde History
- Political Independence
- Theoretical Overview
- Our Hypothesis
- Country Comparisons
- The Evidence:
 - Population & Institutions at the Time of Colonisation
 - Exploitation of Indigenous Population
 - Literacy & Education
 - Colonial Administration Structures
- Conclusion
- Questions?



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Introduction

- Portugal's African colonies - Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé & Príncipe, and Cape Verde
- As elsewhere in Africa, political independence associated with civil wars, coups and assassinations
- Only Cape Verde, amongst five other African states, remained free of military interventionism before and after its independence in July 1975.
- Chabal (2003): politically non-aggressive prior and after its independence despite entrenched poverty, underdevelopment, and frequent droughts
- Meyns (2003): using political science tools, indicates a *lack of domestic, pre-independence armed conflict* as well as post-independence security supported by a *history of intellectual debate*
- Our hypothesis: Cape Verde's *homogenous population* is at the root of modern socio-economic features that translated into a peaceful political independence

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Cape Verde History

- Had no native population (original institutions)
 - Likely visited by Phoenicians, Moorish sailors and African fisherman
 - European settlers soon started importing slaves and other labourers
 - Halfway station for passing ships, Portuguese or otherwise
- "...for all but the start of its half millennium of history, its slave population was a minority of the total population..."
 - Local population also not subject to domestic enslavement
- It can be confidently said that roughly two-thirds of Cape Verdeans were of mixed descent – crioulo (unique music, literature, traditions)
 - Offspring moved freely and without much prejudice within Portuguese colonial society,
 - Local population was treated with much greater respect and humanity than most other African colonial population.
 - Portuguese government ensured that the area's education services were amongst the best in colonial Africa
- Entitlement to state schooling supported their employ as public administrators and civil servants

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Political Independence

- Cape Verde: Unable to even "import" conflict into the archipelago
"Portuguese gave the Cape Verde islands independence, where there had been no fighting, on 5 July 1975." Arnold (2005)
- Angola: Unrest and mortal conflict broke out early in the 1960s, arms from the Soviet states, China and Czechoslovakia
Increased internal divisions – the three main groups had deep ideological and tribal differences
- Mozambique: Start of armed conflict was the Mueda massacre of June 1960; Portuguese troops killed demonstrating Africans
Military governor in 1971
- Guinea-Bissau: Guerrilla raids against Portuguese administrative targets were launched in mid-1961
Portuguese admitted in 1971 that a state of war existed
UN recognised the group as the sole representative of the Guinea-Bissau ppl
- São Tomé & Príncipe: Batepa Massacre of February 1953
Island economy basically paralysed by 1974 as strikes and violence intensified

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Theoretical Overview

- Formal & informal institutions = rules of the game; incentives
- Path dependence: incentive structure/choice set determines how economies change over time
- Culture is the key to path dependence
 - "Incentives embodied in belief systems as expressed in institutions determine economic performance through time." North (1994)
 - Informal institutions are the glue of society
- Population homogeneity is institutionalised through common cultural heritage
 - Unites manner of interpretation and response to incentives
- Religious fractionalization – Cape Verde: 0.08 (Annett 2001)
 - Culture of trust between strangers who share a common belief system
 - "There is considerable evidence that social heterogeneity undermines civic cooperation or social trustworthiness." Keefer & Knack (2005)
- Ethnic diversity: low schooling; less effective governments
 - Easterly & Levine (1997)

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Hypothesis

- Uninhabited, thus transplanted institutions did not 'clash' with already established ones
- Positive formal institutions nurtured strong informal institutions
 - Homogenous crioulo population faced similar choice set because of united religion, traditions & beliefs
- Less exploitation & more inclusion in governance; not much had to change
- Strong "glue" among the population makes changes to formal institutions (i.e. independence) easier when in-line with informal institutions
 - "The foundation of these flexible institutions resides in widely held beliefs embodied in the informal constraints of the society." North (2005)
 - Cultural constraints connect the past with the present
- Cape Verde has a post-independence advantage
 - Good formal institutions, in-line with strong informal institutions rooted in the homogenous crioulo population

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Country Comparisons

In order to reveal Cape Verde's unique development path, we look at the following factors in the other Portuguese colonies (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé & Príncipe):

- Formal institutional setups & population composition
- Slavery experience
- Education levels
- Colonial administration practices

NIE to explain why economic & institutional change in these countries were so different from that of Cape Verde

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The Evidence: Population & Institutions at the Time of Colonisation

- **Cape Verde:** 0.28 on Annett's (2001) index of ethnolinguistic and religious fractionalisation; 7 out of 10 are crioulo, 95% Catholic
 - **Angola:** 80 peoples with different levels of homogeneity and internal unity; had their own governance structures prior to the arrival of Europeans
 - **Mozambique:** hierarchical, patrilineal, matrilineal, decentralised, Muslim, etc political values; drastically altered by the arrival of the Portuguese
 - **Guinea-Bissau:** Muslims and animists; stateless, egalitarian and decentralised; none of the major groups had distinct advantage in numbers
 - **São Tomé & Príncipe:** outcasts (orphans, Jews, convicts, exiles) + military + and public service officials + farmers + slaves + deported labourers
- Theory: more homogeneity = stronger formal institutions = stronger informal institutions = likelihood of institutional change success

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The Evidence: Exploitation of Indigenous Population

- **Cape Verde:** "legally barred from trading in slaves ...", i.e. no domestic servitude; dominant Roman Catholic religion forbade such practices
 - **Angola:** "clientage, pawnship, serfdom, debt bondage" and other forms of household slavery common; locals also involved in slavery for profit
 - **Mozambique:** "ancient" practice of domestic slavery was rife, inter-tribal conflict stemmed from this; also slavery for profit
 - **Guinea-Bissau:** two-thirds of the local population in conflict with others due to domestic slavery; "intensely exploited" for slavery by Portuguese
 - **São Tomé & Príncipe:** slaves initially imported for domestic use, later on area was used for sourcing of slaves for plantation work in Brazil
- Theory = local & Portuguese coercive power = abuse local population for slavery = costly retaliation = less social cohesiveness

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The Evidence: Literacy & Education

- **Cape Verde:** literacy rate of 30% in 1974; "intellectual legacy" that the Portuguese left the crioulos
 - **Angola:** literacy rate only 10% at independence; no deliberate attempt to develop the local population; many settlers also illiterate
 - **Mozambique:** illiteracy rate was anywhere between 85% and 95%; first high school only established in 1911
 - **Guinea-Bissau:** small minority of mixed-raced people (i.e. part Portuguese) received state education; illiteracy rate of close to 98% by the 1960s
 - **São Tomé & Príncipe:** literacy as low as 10% at any given time
- Theory = ethnic diversity = low literacy = communication problems = options of change limited

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The Evidence: Colonial Governance Structures

- **Cape Verde:** employed as clerical officials, military officers, administrators and minor politicians; political awareness and responsibility
 - **Angola:** near complete absence of meaningful administration and governance involvement by Africans in the colony's management
 - **Mozambique:** top-to-bottom management structure; political oppression afforded little opportunity to participate in public service & administration
 - **Guinea-Bissau:** Portuguese and Cape Verdean minorities monopolising the top class structures of the colonial regime
 - **São Tomé & Príncipe:** colonial rulers and other foreign powers managing the colony; crioulos demoted to lower rings of public influence
- Theory = managerial exclusion = lack of trust & co-operation = incentive structures not optimal

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Conclusion

- Original hypothesis - Cape Verde's population homogeneity played a crucial part in their assimilation into Portuguese society, slavery situation, education, and a resulting involvement in colonial administration
- Cape Verde indeed had a different institutional path development, population composition, socio-economic development, and involvement in colonial administration.
 - Afforded the choice to peacefully move from a colony to sovereignty, while other colonies suffered from entrenched political conflict and internal friction.
- Support the notion that informal institutions are important to institutional change
 - Colonial origins and development of a nation is instrumental in the nature of its independence.

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Questions?

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