



Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment

CABO VERDE

FEBRUARY 2018

ECOWAS COMMISSION
COMMISSION DE LA CEDEAO
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Base: 802991A) (C00671) 2-04

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

ACLED	Armed Conflict Location and Event Data Project
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AfDB	African Development Bank
AU	African Union
CCAD	Center for Coordination on Alcohol and Drugs
CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CPIA	Country Policy and Institutional Assessment
CRA	Conflict Risk Assessment
CRVA	Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessment
CSO	Civil Society Organization
DFID	United Kingdom Department for International Development
DPA	ECOWAS Directorate of Political Affairs
ECOMOG	ECOWAS Monitoring Group
ECOWARN	ECOWAS Early Warning and Response Network
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECPF	ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework
EWD	ECOWAS Directorate of Early Warning
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM/C	Female genital mutilation/cutting
GBV	Gender-based violence
GDP	Gross domestic product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GSDRC	Governance and Social Development Resource Centre
ICAF	Interagency Conflict Assessment Framework
IFC	International Finance Corporation
IFIs	International financial institutions
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IncReps	ECOWARN's Incident Reports
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAIGV	African Party for the Independence of Cabo Verde
PMI-PF	Programa Materno-Infantil/Planeamento Familiar
REWARD	Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SD	Standard Deviation
SitReps	ECOWARN Situation Reports
SNA	Stakeholder Network Analysis
SSR	Security Sector Reform

UN	United Nations
UNODC	UN Office on Drugs and Crime
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

Message from the President of the ECOWAS Commission

The 15 Member-States of the ECOWAS Community represent a thriving region of the world, with a population of approximately 366 million and a rich human and topographical diversity. From the coastline to the mountain peaks of Fouta Djallon, across the Sahara and the mangroves of the Niger Delta, ECOWAS is home to diverse families, communities, and nations.

Over the last decade, the region has witnessed significant progress in lifting the standard of living for millions. However, along with the richness of natural resources, human capital and great opportunity, there are also challenges to contend with such as natural disasters, pandemics, ethno-sectarian tensions, and security threats caused by extremism and terrorism.

Global developments and changes such as advances in technology, human migration and climate change, have added new levels of complexity, presenting new challenges for strategic planning and preparedness as we look ahead to the future.

This is where Early Warning plays a critical role in helping ECOWAS to understand the changing dynamics so as to strengthen decision making and early response at the regional and national levels. The Country Risk and Vulnerability Assessments (CRVAs) serve as an important resource in this regard. These reports are useful for strengthening the ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework action plans as well as to serve as reference materials for an in-depth understanding of the human security dynamics in our Member States, and for our partners across the region.

I therefore invite national stakeholders, all ECOWAS institutions and our partners to make use of these reports for the entrenchment of peace and progress for the benefit of the Citizens of ECOWAS.

Jean-Claude Brou
President of the ECOWAS Commission

Statement from the Vice President of the ECOWAS Commission

ECOWAS takes pride in finalizing this CRVA report which aims to identify structural vulnerabilities, event driven risks and existing resilience factors in each Member State of the Community. Indeed, this is a remarkable feat towards boosting the African Peace and Security Architecture of the African Union, with ECOWAS setting the pace for the development of an African-owned data set that can be tapped into to enhance human security analysis and accurate forecasting to assist policymakers to make informed decisions on pressing issues in the region. This information can be used as a baseline for ECOWAS and its partners to inform early warning and response efforts, particularly in this time when Early Warning and Response Mechanism is being deployed at the National level.

The CRVA research leverages ECOWARN data—gathered by Field Monitors—to establish a country baseline for monitoring patterns and trends across human security pillars. By comparing ECOWARN data to other data sets, and complementing quantitative data with qualitative findings, the assessments also help the Early Warning Directorate of ECOWAS to gather more robust data that is rich, reliable and empirical. The resulting findings are more representative in terms of geography, time, and theme for each country and needs to be updated periodically.

ECOWAS will consolidate this achievement by applying the knowledge and skills embodied in the CRVA Manual. My conviction for this emanates from the fact that the training of all EWD staff in the development of the CRVA Index, which marks the climax of transfer of knowledge and skills from the USAID REWARD technical staff to ECOWAS, will allow ECOWAS to independently conduct future CRVAs. Already, the EWD has initiated a process to put to practice the defined methodological framework to conduct Regional Risk and Resilience Assessment in the Lake Chad Basin, thereby serving as the first pillar in implementing the decision of the joint ECOWAS and Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) to engage communities in peacebuilding processes.

We hope the Member States of our Community take ownership of this report and anchor development and peace initiatives upon it, in addressing the risks and vulnerabilities in their communities. As we decentralize Early Warning and Response to the ECOWAS countries, the Commission stands ready to accompany each Member States in the implementation of the actionable recommendations embodied in the CRVA report.

Finda Koroma
Vice President, ECOWAS Commission

Preface

The ECOWAS Early Warning Directorate has made giant strides in the practice of data driven early warning, through the qualitative and quantitative analysis of incidents and situations from multiple sources, with the added benefit of original data generated through the ECOWARN system. Indeed, the Center's state-of-the-art technological tools places it at a vantage position to monitor and analyze risks and vulnerabilities in the ECOWAS region, cutting across the key areas of human security.

ECOWAS has played, and continues to play, a critical role in the monitoring of threats to human security across the region including the Sahelo-Saharan, Mano River, Gulf of Guinea, Lake Chad and Senegambia conflict systems to improve response for the prevention and management of conflict escalation.

Beyond a narrow focus on violent conflict alone, and consistent with its mandate to promote the socioeconomic and political integration of the sub-region, ECOWAS applies a human security lens with a view towards enhancing the well-being of the population in accordance with the ECOWAS Vision 2020. Thus, this report highlights risks, structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors across five dimensions (demographic, economic, security, governance and rule of law) at the national and sub-national levels.

Each CRVA report represents a myriad of perspectives and experiences from affected stakeholders including community leaders, civil society, administrative officials, security agents, traditional and religious leaders, just to mention a few. In this way, the CRVA report serves as a strategic document to provide an overview of the human security challenges in each ECOWAS member state as well as the social and institutional resilience factors that can help manage those challenges.

We hope that this report will be useful for strategic planning in addressing issues of human security as well as to provide insights to a multitude of stakeholders including policy and decision makers in the public and private sectors for conflict-sensitive engagement within the region.

Dr. Abdou Lat Gueye
Director, ECOWAS Early Warning

Executive Summary

From 2016 to 2019, ECOWAS collected quantitative and qualitative data in Cabo Verde to better understand the structural vulnerabilities that may exist, and how those vulnerabilities affect the everyday lives of individuals and communities. This research was done in collaboration with the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)'s Reacting to Early Warning and Response Data in West Africa (REWARD) project, as part of a broader assessment of entire the West African region. As part of this process, a series of Focus Group Discussions and interviews were conducted in January 2018 in Cabo Verde to contextualize the findings and to learn more about resilience factors that mitigate risk and promote human security. The purpose of this report is to summarize these insights and perspectives, so that national stakeholders can build on their successes, and also to serve as a baseline for ECOWAS's monitoring of patterns and trends. The report provides an overview of national and subnational vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors, as well as conclusions and recommendations.

The CRVA was conducted by ECOWAS to update and expand upon the Conflict Risk Assessment (CRA) 2013-2014 country reports. To better understand the sub-national patterns and trends, the research design began with a desktop study involving a social network analysis based on a survey of peace and security actors in the country and a scoping of experts to be consulted during the fieldwork. This was followed by a Geographic Information System (GIS) analysis of patterns and trends in escalation dynamics and a quantitative analysis of relative structural vulnerabilities by country and human security pillar.

In Cabo Verde, relatively low levels of vulnerability were found in all five pillars (Economics/Resources, Politics/Governance,

Population/Demographics, Rule of Law, and Security).

However, challenges noted included judicial capacity to process cases in a timely manner; economic dependence on tourism, foreign remittances and foreign direct investment (FDI); disparities between the islands of the archipelago in terms of infrastructure and service provision; and vulnerability to climate change and environmental pressures. In addition, criminality, drug and human trafficking, security of the country's maritime borders, gender-based violence (GBV), and pressures on urban infrastructure and services due to migration were identified as negatively impacting human security in Cabo Verde.

Despite these challenges, there were strong social and institutional resilience factors, including legal frameworks and independent institutions. The Cabo Verdean government has also taken strides to invest in areas such as infrastructure, education and healthcare, and as a result the country has a strong foundation for economic growth and the wellbeing of the population.

The following report aims to provide an overview so that regional and national stakeholders can have a clear picture of the challenges faced by the country, as well as the capacities that can be leveraged and built upon for the promotion of sustainable human security in Cabo Verde.

Though risk/incident data naturally fluctuates and may therefore have changed since the publication of this report, the structural vulnerabilities are reflective of medium- and long-term trends. These reports focus on the identification of structural vulnerabilities and resiliencies, and how they may impact upon events and developments as they occur.

Introduction

Research Process

The CRVA assesses structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors according to five human security pillars as identified by ECOWAS in a 2016 scoping paper.¹ The pillars are: 1) Economics and Resources, 2) Politics and Governance, 3) Population and Demographics, 4) Rule of Law, and 5) Security. Findings in this report describe how risks flow from vulnerabilities in the context of Cabo Verde both within and across the five pillars. In recognition of the fact that violent conflict has underlying social, economic, political, and security drivers but expresses itself differently depending on the context, a holistic human security framework was used in this assessment, and will be used for the CRVAs in all ECOWAS member states. Furthermore, the analysis also breaks out gender considerations and external factors as cross-cutting issues that need to be

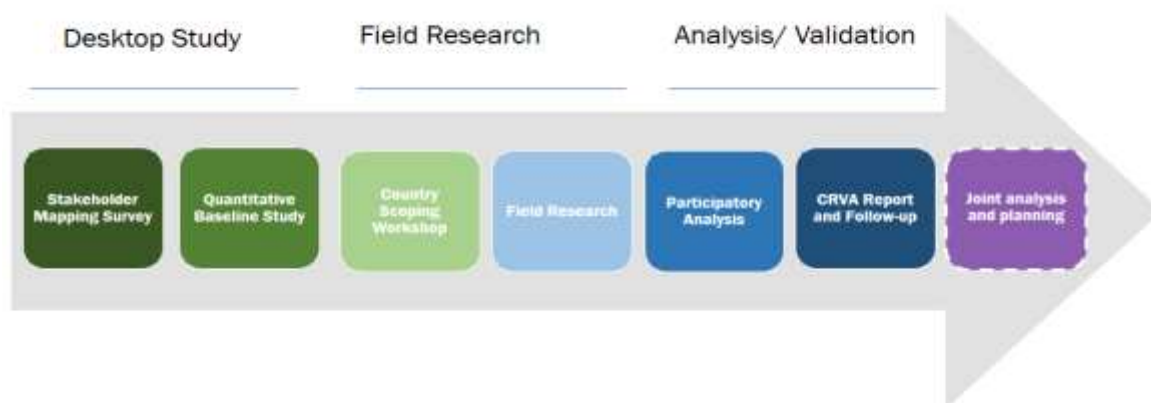
understood for effective early warning and response.²

As shown in the graphic below, the research was conducted in three main phases: Desktop Study, Field Research, and Analysis and Validation.

Phase 1: Desktop Study

The Desktop Study included a preliminary assessment of structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risks, and social and institutional resilience factors.

For the assessment of structural vulnerabilities, the research used data from dozens of sources, including ECOWARN Situation Reports (SitReps). Drawing on these pre-existing data sets,³ a CRVA Index was created to measure the relative levels of vulnerability across five human security dimensions in Cabo Verde.



¹ The EWD Scoping Paper was developed by ECOWAS to help inform the CRVA process, with the human security pillars identified based on best practice approaches such as ECOWARN guidelines and the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID) framework.

² EWD Scoping Paper on “Risk Assessment of Five ECOWAS Pilot Countries: Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Liberia, Guinea-Bissau, and Burkina Faso”

³ Data sources used in the development of the CRVA Index include Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the

International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, the Center for Security Studies ETH Zurich, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace.

For the assessment of event-driven risks, event data, including from ECOWARN's Incident Reports (IncReps), was triangulated against data from the Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project (ACLED) to estimate the locations and type of conflict issues at the sub-national level over time. Using multiple sources allowed for cross-validation, the filling of gaps, and the ability to identify trends in indicators and sub-indicators using queries and key word searches.

For the assessment of social and institutional resilience factors, a survey was deployed to all of ECOWAS's in-country contacts to learn more about the peace and security actors working to manage and reduce risks and vulnerabilities in the country. Respondents (including representatives of religious institutions, public sector actors, civil society, youth groups, and development actors, among others) were also asked to name organizations that they have partnered with in the last two years on issues of peace and security. Data was then uploaded to a Stakeholder Network Map for quantitative analysis and to identify leverage points, spheres of influence, and social capital. Based on this analysis, key technical experts were identified and were contacted for the next phase of the research.

Phase 2: Field Research

The Field Research began with a scoping workshop in Praia. Using the Stakeholder Network Map, highly-networked technical experts were convened in a workshop to validate the initial desktop findings and suggest a way forward for the qualitative analysis in the field. The Scoping Workshop was also used to tailor and sensitize the broader research questions and the Key Informant Interview (KII) and Focus Group Discussion (FGD) instruments and questionnaires based on local context. Additionally, the Scoping Workshop also served to attain references and contacts for key actors and stakeholders in the field who would be consulted over the course of the next two weeks during the KIIs and FGDs. Thus, the desktop study

phase informed the research questions that needed further context and validation in the field, as well as the sample of respondents to be engaged (what was asked, where, and to whom).

A team of experts and researchers then conducted an in-country assessment between January 22 and January 29, 2018 with representatives from the islands of Santiago, Sal, and São Vicente. The team traveled to the various hotspots identified in the desktop study and validated in the Scoping Workshop to interview key stakeholders affected by violence and with knowledge of local context and capacities. This team included representatives from the ECOWAS Directorates of Early Warning (EWD) and Political Affairs (DPA), as well as participants from USAID and affiliated experts. The KIIs and FGDs conducted during this in-country assessment collected qualitative data and information regarding various perspectives on structural vulnerabilities, event-driven risk factors, and social and institutional resilience factors relating to the different conflict issues across the country. These transcripts have been collated, streamlined to reduce repetition and vagueness, and categorized for analysis and prioritization during Phase 3.

Phase 3: Analysis and Validation

After the quantitative, GIS, and survey data was validated and contextualized in the field, and the qualitative data was collected, organized and summarized, this report was drafted and was then validated by ECOWAS and USAID. This report will serve as a baseline and resource for more targeted early warning products and analysis/planning towards strategic and operational prevention of human insecurity within the country of Cabo Verde as well as associated conflict systems more broadly.

Terminology and Conceptual Definitions

In this CRVA report:

“Vulnerability” is defined as any structural factor that has the potential to be a conflict driver. These can include such things as youth unemployment, poverty, inequality, climate, patronage, demographic factors, etc.

“Risk” is defined as any event-driven factor that has the potential to be a conflict trigger. Risk factors can include specific controversies or events such as disasters or elections that may occur.

“Resilience” is defined as any social or institutional factor that has the potential to help mitigate or manage risks and vulnerabilities. These include political, cultural, and community leadership with significant social capital to influence conflict dynamics in a constructive way, including public sector, private sector, religious institutions, civil society, opinion leaders, development workers, etc. Resilience factors can include institutions that play a stabilizing role in the short, medium, or longer term.

The CRVA analysis was conducted according to the framework depicted in the figure below, whereby event-driven risk factors flow out of the structural vulnerabilities (per the red downward arrow) while social and institutional resilience factors mitigate and prevent those risks and vulnerabilities (per the green upward arrow).

For ECOWAS, this framework is useful in that it is aligned with the existing ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF), which is a strategic tool to strengthen the human security architecture in West Africa. Key to the ECPF are the categories of **“Operational Prevention,”** or measures applicable in the face of crisis, and **“Structural Prevention,”** or measures that ensure that crises do not arise or re-occur. The CRVA framework is aligned with the ECPF such that identified Vulnerability Factors are to be mitigated by Structural Prevention measures, and Risk Factors are to be mitigated by Operational Prevention measures. This alignment is important for the utility and actionability of this report by users in West Africa.



Literature Review

A Human-Centric Approach to Early Warning

In academic literature, the human security lens to conflict early warning is a change from the more state-centric approaches that were in vogue throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Historically, early warning was focused on prevention and mitigation of conflict between states. In the post-Cold War period with a surge in intra-state conflict, early warning was focused on identifying the drivers and impacts of civil conflict on states. At that time, analysis focused on terminology of state “collapse” and “failure,” emphasizing impacts to neighboring countries or regions, and perpetuating a comparative paradigm of poverty and limited economic growth and conflict in contrast to more developed countries.⁴

However, as a more interconnected human and global security approach emerged in the 2000s, conceptions of state fragility and conflict analysis evolved in both development aid and policy approaches. As the Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC) describes, “At a very broad level, fragility is the result of a dynamic interplay between internal factors (including violent conflict, poverty, economic and structural conditions, weak formal institutions), and external factors (including international political economy, regional and global insecurity).”⁵ While not discounting the role of the state as a key vehicle for managing and preventing conflict, the human-centric approach looks first and foremost at the impact of demographic, economic, political, and security conflict drivers on individuals and communities as well as the role that a wide variety of social and

institutional factors play in preventing conflict. Thus, the human security framework provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats that affect individuals’ lives, whether this is through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political or economic factors.

The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security outlines a human-centric approach to security in five principles: 1) *People-centered*, with a focus on protecting basic human freedoms; 2) *Multi-sectoral*, encompassing a broad understanding of threats and causes of insecurity; 3) *Comprehensive*, taking into account different types of individuals’ security from economic to social; 4) *Context-specific*, emphasizing the need to analyze specific conflict contexts and root causes of insecurity; and 5) *Prevention-oriented*, highlighting locally tailored risk prevention and mitigation measures through early warning mechanisms.⁶ This focus on cross-cutting issues and situation-specific analysis and response are central to the CRVA process and broader objectives of integrated conflict early warning and response by ECOWAS and its partners. For the CRVAs, this involves identifying conflict risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies across the human security pillars of Population and Demographics, Politics and Governance, Security, Economics and Resources, and Rule of Law.

Many indices and development frameworks have emerged for measuring resilience and fragility, from the Fund For Peace’s *Fragile States Index*⁷ to the African Development Bank (AfDB) and World Bank’s *Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA)*⁸ and Mo Ibrahim Foundation’s *Index of African Governance*.⁹ Today, leading international development actors and multilateral

⁴ “Defining and measuring state fragility: a new proposal”, Ferreira, I., The Annual Bank Conference on Africa, June 2015

⁵ “Topic Guide on Fragile States”, McLoughlin, C., Governance and Social Development Resource Centre (GSDRC), August 2009

⁶ “Human Security in Theory and Practice”, Human Security Unit, Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), United Nations, January 2009

⁷ Fragile States Index, The Fund for Peace

⁸ Country Policy and Institutional Assessment (CPIA), World Bank and African Development Bank (AfDB)

⁹ Ibrahim Index of African Governance, Mo Ibrahim Foundation

agencies such as the United Nations, the World Bank, and the AfDB have also produced strategies, practice areas, and tools, which seek to address the drivers of fragility. The AfDB, for example, has a 2014-2019 Strategy for *Addressing Fragility and Building Resilience in Africa*, with a focus on building member state capacities and focusing on “fragile situations rather than fragile states alone.”¹⁰

As the AfDB Strategy notes, however, “there is no single solution and no predefined ‘toolbox’ for addressing fragility.”¹¹ Older academic and policy conceptions of “state failure” used analysis centered on “traditional, state-centric conceptions of security that focused primarily on the safety of states from military aggression,” as outlined in a 2009 paper by the United Nations Human Security Unit. Newer models of analysis have taken on a broader human security lens, which was in “response to the complexity and the interrelatedness of both old and new security threats – from chronic and persistent poverty to ethnic violence, human trafficking, climate change, health pandemics, international terrorism, and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone.”¹²

Thus, a human-centric approach, as opposed to a state-centric approach, is important for analyzing risks and vulnerabilities to society for robust early warning and response mechanisms. Human security provides a holistic approach to understanding different threats which affect individuals’ lives, whether through conflict, health, food, environment, or other social, political, or economic factors. As such, the CRVAs seek to draw upon the more dynamic and interrelated aspects of risk and vulnerability, which look at capacities and

pressures within a society with a view to identifying structural vulnerabilities, resiliencies and risks across key human security pillars. As defined by the United Nations General Assembly, “human security is an approach to assist Member States in identifying and addressing widespread and cross-cutting challenges to the survival, livelihood, and dignity of their people.”¹³ This approach is also in line with the ECOWAS Vision 2020 which seeks to promote peace, prosperity, and cohesion across the region,¹⁴ and includes a focus on strengthening many human security aspects within member states.

Research Questions

Based on the initial desktop findings, the team developed a set of framing questions broken out by the five human security pillars. These framing questions were not asked verbatim in the field, but rather informed the design of the KII and FGD instruments. These instruments included simple, open-ended questions intended to prompt a discussion during which respondents could express their opinions, experiences, and perceptions about the ways in which they had been impacted by vulnerabilities, risks, and resilience factors in Cabo Verde.

Politics and Governance: What role(s) do women and youth play in politics and decision-making? What role(s) do civil society groups, the media and social movements play in politics? To what extent do perceptions of corruption and nepotism in government erode the legitimacy of state institutions and electoral process? Are there concerns around future elections?

Economics and Resources: How have international events (e.g. the global economic crisis) affected the economy? To what extent is food insecurity a

¹⁰ “Addressing Fragility and Building Resilience in Africa, 2014 – 2019”, AfDB

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² “Human Security in Theory and Practice”, Human Security Unit, OCHA, United Nations, January 2009

¹³ General Assembly resolution 66/290, October 2012

¹⁴ ECOWAS Vision 2020: Towards a Democratic and Prosperous Community, ECOWAS, June 2010

concern? In what ways do climate change or environmental pressures affect local communities? Are there disparities between urban and rural areas in terms of service provision? What role do women play in the economy? What role do youth play in the economy? What role do illicit economic activities (including smuggling and drug trafficking) play in the local and national economy? What role does natural resource management and land tenure play in social cohesion?

Security: What role do the security forces play in managing or worsening criminality? Are they legitimate, representative, and professional? Are there other conflict drivers such as land disputes, succession or inheritance, or resource competition? What role do communities or non-state actors play in security provision? To what extent have illicit markets (e.g. drug trafficking) contributed to issues of criminality and violence? Are there cross-border, maritime, or transnational threats? Are there concerns around radicalization or violent extremism?

Population and Demographics: What impact(s) has migration (rural-urban, to the U.S. or Europe, or immigration to Cabo Verde from the West African region) had on Cabo Verde? What role do women play in social, economic, and political life? What role do youth play in social, economic and political life? Is a disproportionately large youth population putting a strain on urban resources or public services? Are there tensions or conflicts between religious or ethnic groups? To what extent does geography (ex: rural vs urban areas) affect access to social services and infrastructure? How effective is family planning in terms of access and policy? How prevalent is gender-based violence (GBV) and child abuse? To what extent is the health system capable of responding to health threats such as the Zika virus?

Rule of Law: To what extent is the judiciary independent of the executive? What role does the judiciary play in regard to questions of justice and impunity? Is there access to legal and judicial

services throughout the country? To what extent do communities rely on police and security forces to provide justice? To what extent are women's rights protected in practice? Is there reliance on alternative/traditional dispute resolution mechanisms? Do people resort to popular justice?

Description of the Sample

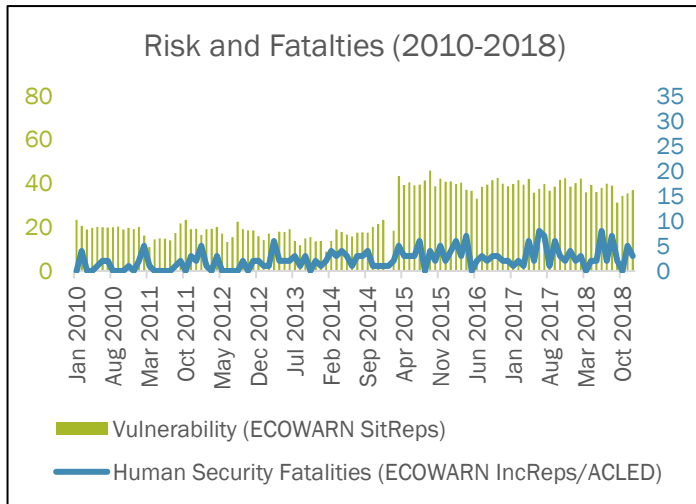
Data collected and analyzed for this research included hundreds of ECOWARN SitReps, ECOWARN IncReps, ACLED event data, and a scoping survey, as well as transcripts and notes from FGDs and KIIs in the field. Other sources, integrated to form a vulnerability index (the CRVA Index), included Global Integrity, the Economist Intelligence Unit, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, Transparency International, Freedom House, Mo Ibrahim Foundation, the Armed Conflict Location and Event Database, World Bank, Bertelsmann Stiftung Transformation Index, Political Terror Scale, United Nations Refugee Agency, Uppsala University, UN Statistics, and Institute for Economics and Peace. A complete breakdown is included in Appendix A.

Data Analysis

ECOWARN data shows that vulnerability in Cabo Verde has remained relatively steady with a slight increase in May 2015, as measured by taking a monthly average of the SitReps overall score from 2010 to 2017. Fatalities have remained low during the entire period. Spikes in reported fatalities in Cabo Verde have mainly been caused by violent criminality and domestic violence fatalities.



The heatmap of event data above shows hot spots of human security incidents between 2015 and 2017.

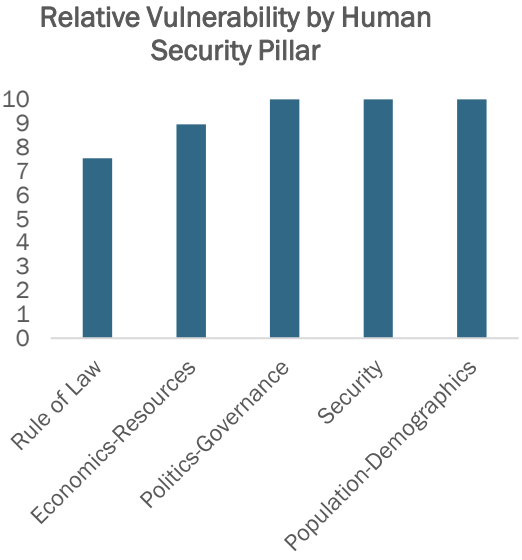


The graph above shows the trends in risk layered against vulnerability. The y axis on the left (0-80) shows the level of vulnerability with a score of over 60 reflecting higher levels of vulnerability. The y axis on the right (0-35) shows the number of fatalities by month.



The map above shows the locations where fieldwork was conducted in January 2018.

The CRVA Index, shown below, indicates that in Cabo Verde the human security pillars that are the most vulnerable are Rule of Law and Economics and Resources. These findings were contextualized by respondents in the field who reported that, while Cabo Verde is resilient, the economy is heavily dependent on tourism and that the country is especially vulnerable to the effects of climate change. In general, Politics and Governance, Security and Population and Demographics were relatively strong compared to other countries in the region. In the CRVA Index graph below, the lower the score on the y axis (0-10), the more vulnerable the human security pillar.



Scope and Limitations of the Study

This report seeks to layer, triangulate, and juxtapose quantitative, GIS, and qualitative data in a way that is accurate, meaningful, and representative. However, limitations to this analysis include the two- year date range for the event/GIS data and the seven-year date range for the ECOWARN SitReps. If there are conflict cycles that fall outside those parameters, there will be constraints on the ability to analyze those patterns in this report. Furthermore, this research sought to ensure representativeness in the sample of stakeholders engaged through KIIs (11 prominent

individuals) and FGDs (8 focus group discussions). To the extent that these stakeholders were representative, they added vital contextualization and validation of the desktop research.

Scope and limitations also apply to the use and purpose of the study. The CRVA reports support the objectives of ECOWAS Conflict Prevention Framework (ECPF). In particular, the CRVA reports identify vulnerabilities across the human security pillars in order to inform structural prevention. Structural prevention, as defined in the ECPF, comprises “political, institutional (governance) and developmental reforms, capacity enhancement and advocacy on the culture of peace.” While this report can also be used to inform operational prevention, which includes “early warning, mediation, conciliation, preventive disarmament and preventive deployment using interactive means such as good offices and the ECOWAS Standby Force,” it seeks primarily to identify the key areas of structural vulnerability at the national and sub-national levels for strategic planning by ECOWAS and other partners in the peace and security space. However, inasmuch that operational prevention can be informed by patterns and trends in the event-driven risk factors highlighted in this report, the CRVA should serve as a baseline analysis of dynamics that are closely monitored over time. Thereby, in addition to informing strategic planning on structural vulnerability issues, the CRVA will also inform early warning products such as weekly, monthly, and quarterly situation reports that inform analysts and potential responders as to heightened conflict risk across one or more indicators, and propose recommendations on response. The CRVA reports can also be used as a foundation to inform more detailed case studies around identified risks, vulnerabilities and resiliencies for a country of interest or concern.

While many reports that seek to identify structural vulnerabilities and resilience factors focus almost exclusively at the national level, ECOWAS seeks to support a more decentralized early warning and

response infrastructure across the region. As such, the CRVA reports also take into consideration dynamics at the sub-national level. These sub-national factors are critical to consider as they help analysts and potential responders understand the context in which specific events (risks) are occurring, which may be markedly different from the national context. A mapping of sub-national level risks, vulnerabilities, and resiliencies can also help inform strategies for engaging at the local level for structural prevention. In particular, as defined by the ECPF, taking “measures to ensure the crises do not arise in the first place or, if they do, that they do not re-occur.”

Finally, as also noted in the ECPF, conflict in West Africa tends to be highly interconnected, which often leads to cycles of violence that cross borders

and can keep countries emmeshed for decades. The CRVA reports, covering all fifteen member states of ECOWAS, are also useful in helping to inform and understand the dynamics of specific regional conflict systems, such as those that occur across the Mano River and Sahel. These regional conflict systems are influenced and interconnected not only historically and culturally, but also share many of the same structural vulnerabilities that give rise to risks and the eventual outbreak of violence, decade after decade. Thus, the CRVA reports present an opportunity to view not only the specific national and sub-national factors that lead to structural vulnerability and heightened risk, they also help highlight the nature of regional conflict systems, and the need for a holistic and systemic lens in both analysis and response.

Country Background

Cabo Verde is a small nation of 520,000 people made up of ten islands and nine islets off the coast of Senegal. The country has remained relatively politically stable since gaining independence from Portugal in 1975, and is regularly held up as a model of sustainable democratic governance in the region. Cabo Verde is one of only two countries in the region – the other being Senegal - that has not experienced a coup d'état. The African Party for the Independence of Cabo Verde (PAICV) ruled the country from independence until 1990, when the PAICV opened the country up to multi-party rule following pressure from opposition parties. Presidential elections were held in 1991 and elections have been held every five years since that time, with multiple power transfers between parties.¹⁵ Jorge Carlos Fonseca, the current president, has been in power since 2011 and was re-elected for a second term in October 2016.¹⁶

Cabo Verde's economy is primarily service-oriented, with commerce, tourism, transport, and public services accounting for about three-fourths of GDP. As an archipelago with limited arable land, agriculture accounts for only around 10 percent of GDP and the country is reliant on food and commodity imports. As evidenced by the sharp decline in GDP growth following the global economic crisis, this reliance on imports and the tertiary sector leaves the economy vulnerable to exogenous shocks. However, the GDP growth rate has improved slightly over the last few years (from 0.8 percent in 2013 to 1.5 percent in 2015) due to an increase in foreign direct investment (FDI). Economic growth continues to be hampered by deflation, unemployment, slow recovery from the

global economic crisis, and dependence on international aid and remittances.¹⁷ In addition, Cabo Verde faces elevated levels of public debt, which as of 2016 was approximately 130 percent of GDP.¹⁸

Widely considered to be a leading example of a sustainable African democracy, political violence and civil society unrest in Cabo Verde are rare occurrences. Cabo Verde is surrounded by water, which acts as a naturally protective barrier against outside threats to its security. Despite the wider regional threat of terrorism, Cabo Verde has never experienced a terrorist attack. Of larger concern to the Cabo Verdean government is combatting the transatlantic drug trade and drug-related money laundering, which is particularly prevalent in nearby Guinea-Bissau.

Cabo Verde's history has been marked by significant waves of emigration, spurred by a desire for economic opportunities as well as episodes of drought and famine. Today the diaspora population outnumbers the resident population in Cabo Verde.¹⁹ While the desire to emigrate remains prevalent, the resident Cabo Verdean population enjoys fairly high standards of health and the country has one of the highest life expectancies in Sub-Saharan Africa. The population is also educated, with literacy rates reached 92 percent among adult males and 85 percent among adult females in 2015.²⁰ Poverty rates have dropped significantly in recent decades, from 49 percent in 1990 to 26.6 percent in 2007.²¹ Rural populations have benefitted less from these gains, however, as poverty reduction has been driven by growth in

¹⁵ "Cape Verde profile – Timeline", BBC

¹⁶ "Cape Verde President Fonseca on track to win re-election", Reuters, October 2016

¹⁷ "The World Bank in Cabo Verde: Overview", World Bank Group

¹⁸ "The World Bank in Cabo Verde: Overview", World Bank Group

¹⁹ "Cape Verde: Towards the End of Emigration?", Carling, J., Migration Policy Institute, November 2002

²⁰ "Literacy rate, youth total (% of people ages 15-24)", World Bank Group

²¹ "Cabo Verde: Country Strategy Paper 2014-2018", African Development Bank, 2014

tourism and the service sector, mainly centered in urban areas. This rural-urban divide has been exacerbated by the continued trend of urbanization; around 65 percent of the population now lives in urban areas, compared to 44 percent in 1990.²²

Cabo Verde has historically been subject to environmental pressures, which have contributed to patterns of emigration. The country is highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change – namely cycles of drought and rising sea levels – as well as natural disasters. With little arable land and

limited fresh water access on the islands, environmental pressures have the potential to negatively affect livelihoods, food access, and migration patterns in Cabo Verde.

Since the 1990s, Cabo Verde has been considered a model of good governance, democracy and economic development in the region. Looking to the future, it is critical that Cabo Verde continues to build on the successes of recent decades while also ensuring equitable development and gender equality and adapting to the pressures of climate change.

²² "Urban population (% of total)", World Bank Group

National-Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resiliencies

Based on desktop research using the ECOWARN and ACLED data sets, surveys of peace and security actors in key regions in Cabo Verde, field research that included KIs and FGDs, and participatory analysis by the CRVA field research team, the following national-level risks, vulnerabilities, and resilience factors were identified:

Structural Vulnerabilities	Rule of Law <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Slow judicial processes• Poor access to justice for vulnerable populations• Perceptions of corruption, impunity and bias in the political and judicial systems• Gender-based violence (GBV)/violence against women and girls• Low capacity of the judicial system
	Economics and Resources <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic dependence on foreign remittances, foreign direct investment and tourism• Limited access to financing and credit, particularly for youth and women• Regional disparities between islands and rural-urban inequalities• Limited arable land and low levels of agricultural production• Geographic vulnerability to climate change and drought• Low soil fertility• Low levels of annual precipitation
	Politics and Governance <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Regional disparities in government services and presence across islands• Perceptions of corruption among politicians• Underrepresentation of women in political decision-making• Disengagement of youth from political processes
	Security <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Geographic location and composition• Inadequate capacity and resources for security forces to secure maritime domain• Criminality, including drug and human trafficking• Transit route for illegal migration

	<p>Population and Demographics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Demographic growth, primarily due to movements from smaller to bigger islands • Unemployment • Regional disparities in healthcare spending and services • Environmental pressures, such as drought, volcano, and flooding • Large deportee/returnee population
<p>Event-Driven Risks</p>	<p>Rule of Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidents of corruption <p>Economics and Resources</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment • Natural disasters • Environmental pressures such as drought and the effects of climate change • Food insecurity • High cost of living • Price volatility <p>Politics and Governance</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidents of corruption or mismanagement <p>Security</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incidents of criminality, including child abduction, homicide, rape, etc. • Cases of gender-based violence (GBV) • Increase in cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking • Illegal maritime activities <p>Population and Demographics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tensions between local and immigrant populations • Sex tourism • Unequal population distribution among the islands adding significant pressure on infrastructure and services • Teenage pregnancy • Disease outbreak, including Zika and dengue fever
<p>Social and Institutional Resilience Factors</p>	<p>Rule of Law</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Judicial independence • Strong legal frameworks • Law against gender-based violence (GBV) • Action plan to combat gender-based violence (GBV)

- The National Rehabilitation Program for Men Perpetrators of Gender Based Violence Crimes

Economics and Resources

- Employment opportunities created by the growth of the tourism industry
- Infrastructure and development programs
- Remittances from diaspora communities
- Irrigation systems

Politics and Governance

- Government programs in the areas of poverty reduction, affordable housing and healthcare
- NGOs, civil society organizations and community associations
- The media as a source of information and public awareness-raising
- A strong public administration with e-governance system
- Culture of peaceful political transitions

Security

- Bi- and multi-lateral training and capacity-building programs for security forces
- Proximity policing
- Maritime Security Operation Center (COSMAR)

Population and Demographics

- Social cohesion and culture of tolerance
- High literacy rate
- Social welfare services for vulnerable populations
- Vibrant tourism sector
- “*Casa para todos*” (Housing for All) assistance program
- Support from NGO programs to combat vulnerabilities

Rule of Law (Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Slow judicial processes• Poor access to justice for vulnerable populations• Perceptions of corruption, impunity and bias in the political and judicial systems• Gender-based violence (GBV)/violence against women and girls• Low capacity of the judicial system
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Incidents of corruption

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Cabo Verde is most vulnerable in the area of Rule of Law, with a score of 7.53/10.

A primary concern regarding the judicial system in Cabo Verde is the lack of capacity to process cases in a timely manner, which undermines the effectiveness of the legal system and jeopardizes accountability. Fieldwork participants reported extremely slow processing times for cases, which has contributed to perceptions of impunity. Particularly in cases relating to gender-based violence (GBV), these delays can have serious impacts on victims who may be attacked again by the perpetrator, or decide to take justice into their own hands. In 2011, there was an overhaul of the court system after the discovery of a buildup of backlogged cases.²³ In 2014, the court system's backlog decreased significantly due to the use of more modern equipment and the assistance from three foreign volunteers invited to work on the project by the Minister of Justice.²⁴ Despite these improvements, however, fieldwork participants across the country identified the slow judicial process as an ongoing vulnerability.

Access to justice also remains a concern, particularly for poor and vulnerable populations.

Due to the difficulty and costs of hiring lawyers, fieldwork participants expressed the perception that the judicial system is biased toward the wealthy. As participants in the Youth FGD in Praia stated, "The disparity of access to justice between a common citizen and a person of the ruling class is striking in Cabo Verdean society. In this sense, we can see immunity, [which is] exaggerated for the protection of the privileged." In an attempt to address this, the Bar Association in Cabo Verde (*Ordem dos Advogados de Cabo Verde*) reportedly helps to provide court-appointed pro bono lawyers for low-income individuals, an initiative which is supported by the Ministry of Justice.

Fieldwork participants further identified issues of alleged corruption and impunity within the political system as key concerns. For example, interviewees highlighted a perceived lack of accountability among politicians, stating that they are able to hide behind laws of political immunity to avoid investigation. Several participants also pointed to a failure to disclose personal assets and conflicts of interest before taking office as contributing to a lack of transparency.

In response to the country's high rates of GBV and child abuse, in 2011 Cabo Verde passed the Special Law on Gender Based Violence (Law

²³ "Revamp of Cape Verde legal system continues with help of Connecticut and New York legal volunteers", New Haven Register, March 2014

²⁴ "Freedom in the World 2015: Cape Verde", Freedom House

84/VII/11), which criminalizes GBV.²⁵ Fieldwork participants across the country reported that the 2011 law has been highly successful in encouraging increased reporting of GBV incidents. According to statistics from the Public Prosecutor's Office, the number of GBV-related cases which entered the judicial system increased from 2,607 in 2010-2011 to 3,491 in the 2012-2013 judicial year.²⁶ However, given the shortcomings of the judicial system discussed above, the increase in reported cases has also resulted in a backlog of pending cases which is growing faster than the courts' ability to process them.²⁷ In late 2016 the government also introduced the National Plan to Combat Sexual Violence against Children and Adolescents 2017-2019.²⁸

Finally, stakeholders noted the need to improve the country's jails and prisons. Detention conditions within the prison systems in Cabo Verde are harsh and can sometimes be life threatening due to overcrowding and poor sanitation.²⁹ There are reports of prisoner abuse, although the National

Police Council has taken steps to address the violations.³⁰

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

According to fieldwork participants, a primary source of resilience in the area of Rule of Law is the independence of the judicial branch. Interviewees reported a high level of confidence in the independence of the judicial branch from executive influence, although some concerns around bias toward the wealthy persist. In addition, according to stakeholders the country has strong legal frameworks and legislation in line with international standards intended to combat issues such as money laundering and drug trafficking; the shortcoming in this area is a lack of adequate resources to fully implement measures, rather than a lack of political will or existing legislation. In addition, steps such as clearing the backlog of cases and supporting pro bono lawyers for vulnerable populations are viewed as positive measures to mitigate the systemic shortcomings addressed above.

²⁵ "The Special Law on Gender Based Violence", Global Database on Violence Against Women, UN Women

²⁶ "Mulheres e Homens em Cabo Verde: Factos e Números 2015", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ "Cabo Verde apresenta o Plano Nacional de Combate à Violência sexual contra Crianças e Adolescentes", United Nations in Cabo Verde

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

Economics and Resources (Second Most Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Economic dependence on foreign remittances, foreign direct investment and tourism• Limited access to financing and credit, particularly for youth and women• Regional disparities between islands and rural-urban inequalities• Limited arable land and low levels of agricultural production• Geographic vulnerability to climate change and drought• Low soil fertility• Low levels of annual precipitation
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment• Natural disasters• Environmental pressures such as drought and the effects of climate change• Food insecurity• High cost of living• Price volatility

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Cabo Verde's second-most vulnerable category is Economics and Resources, with a score of 8.96/10.

The Cabo Verdean economy is highly dependent on foreign remittances, foreign direct investment (FDI), and tourism, with the tertiary sector making up 60.5 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as of 2015.³¹ Tourism is a particularly important economic driver and source of employment for the country: according to data from the World Travel and Tourism Council, the direct contribution of the Travel and Tourism sector to GDP was 17.2 percent as of 2016, and the total contribution to GDP (accounting for other service-based industries supported by tourist activity) was 44.5 percent.³² In addition to tourism, foreign remittances from Cabo Verde's large expatriate community play an

important role in the economy. The amount of personal foreign remittances received in Cabo Verde reached a high of more than \$212 million USD in 2016;³³ however, the importance of remittances as a percentage of GDP has fallen since the 1990s. As of 2015, foreign remittances from Cabo Verde's large expatriate community accounted for 12.5 percent of GDP.³⁴ According to government economic strategy papers, as well as interviews with stakeholders during the CRVA fieldwork, the Cabo Verdean government is now investing heavily in private sector growth and developing infrastructure in the hopes of becoming a regional hub for transportation and business as well as a tourism destination.³⁵ Fieldwork participants highlighted the need to improve access to financing and credit to encourage the expansion of the private sector, and called for greater support for youth and women entrepreneurs.

³¹ "Principais Indicadores Macroeconómicos das Contas Nacionais, 2007 -2015", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2017

³² "Travel and Tourism Economic Impact 2017: Cape Verde", World Travel and Tourism Council, March 2017

³³ "Personal remittances, received (current US\$)", World Bank Group

³⁴ "Remittance Inflows to GDP for Cape Verde", World Bank data, via Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis

³⁵ "Cabo Verde: Country Strategy Paper 2014-2018", African Development Bank, 2014

While the economic growth of recent decades has resulted in decreasing poverty and increased employment opportunities, particularly for islands such as Sal, the reliance on remittances, tourism, and international investment leaves the country economically vulnerable to exogenous shocks such as shifts in the international economy or other events (such as regional security threats or natural disasters) which could negatively impact tourism. For example, the country's GDP growth rate was negatively impacted by the 2008 global economic crisis and subsequent sluggish growth in Europe, falling from 6.65 percent in 2008 to -1.27 percent in 2009.³⁶ While the country has largely rebounded since then, GDP growth has yet to return to pre-2008 levels and the country remains vulnerable to the effects of external events on tourism and FDI.

Fieldwork participants across the country acknowledged the positive economic benefits stemming from the growth of the tourist industry, such as increased employment opportunities. However, stakeholders also noted some negative impacts, such as a rise in criminality and prostitution, and pressures on urban infrastructure and services. In addition, participants in the Women's Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in Santa Maria expressed that the model of all-inclusive resorts common on islands such as Sal and Boa Vista has limited economic benefits for local communities beyond employment, since fewer

"The island's economy is sustained almost exclusively by tourism. Nevertheless, the positive effects of tourism have enabled more sexual exploitation of minors and women which is a harsh reality for the island."

- Youth focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

³⁶ "GDP growth (annual %)", World Bank Group

³⁷ "Produto Interno Bruto (PIB) Por Ilha (Serie 2007-2012), Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

tourists are likely to spend money in locally-owned restaurants and shops.

A key vulnerability highlighted by fieldwork participants is inequality between the various islands of Cabo Verde and, to a lesser extent, disparities between urban and rural populations. Infrastructure and services such as healthcare are largely centered in Santiago, São Vicente and Sal Islands, while islands such as Brava, Maio and São Nicolau have significantly lower levels of economic activity.³⁷ In addition, as the economy has moved toward the service and tourism sectors, incomes have risen for urban workers but rural agricultural workers have seen their incomes stagnate.³⁸ Fieldwork participants reported that these disparities and the desire to find better employment opportunities have contributed to strong trends of internal migration toward urban and tourist-heavy areas such as Praia and Santa Maria. This issue has also resulted in an ongoing political debate around decentralization and regionalization, which would propose the devolution of some powers, services and financing from the central government to the municipal level, in the hopes of increasing government presence in under-served islands and placing greater decision-making power around development issues at the local level.

As an archipelago, Cabo Verde is also highly vulnerable to environmental pressures and the effects of climate change, including cycles of drought, coastal erosion and sea level rise. The country is also vulnerable to natural disasters, including hurricanes, tsunamis and volcanic eruptions. The Pico de Fogo volcano on Fogo Island last erupted in 2014-15, causing damages and displacement but no fatalities.³⁹ Cabo Verde has limited arable land and has experienced periodic droughts due to its location in the Sahel region, which in turn affects agricultural production and

³⁸ "Cape Verde: Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper", International Monetary Fund, 2005

³⁹ "Fogo", Global Volcanism Program, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 2015

food security. Recently, reduced rainfall in 2017 led to decreased agricultural outputs and a fall in livestock sale prices.⁴⁰ Relatively low levels of agricultural production (which remains predominantly unirrigated) and limited arable land has also left the country reliant on food imports, particularly of rice and wheat.⁴¹ Foodstuffs, animal products and vegetable products together accounted for 28.7 percent of the country's total imports in 2016.⁴²

Women play an important role in the Cabo Verdean economy, and often act as the family breadwinners. As one participant in the Women's FGD in Santa Maria stated, "Women represent the strength of the economy in Sal." However, despite high female literacy and education rates, women's economic participation is usually limited to more vulnerable jobs in the informal sector, and women have limited access to technology and financial services. As a result, while overall poverty rates have decreased in recent years, the gender gap has widened; today, 33 percent of female-headed households are poor, compared to 25.7 percent of male-headed households.⁴³

Finally, Cabo Verde is also the site of illicit economic activities, primarily drug trafficking and money laundering.⁴⁴ According to interviews with the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Center for Coordination on Alcohol and Drugs (CCAD) during the CRVA fieldwork, Cabo Verde is a transit point for international drug trafficking routes from South America to the United States or

Europe, but has a limited domestic market. Money laundering is an ongoing concern in the country, particularly within the banking and real estate sectors.⁴⁵ Fieldwork participants also reported cases of human trafficking and sex tourism, particularly on islands with a large tourist industry such as Sal and Boa Vista. The 2017 Trafficking in Persons Report from the U.S. Department of State reported that underage boys and girls from Cabo Verde, as well as women from other ECOWAS member states, have been found in situations of forced prostitution and sex trafficking.⁴⁶

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants throughout the country noted that the tourism industry can be considered both a vulnerability and a source of resilience. While the increase in tourism has in some cases resulted in unwelcome demographic pressures among local communities, the industry has also created employment and livelihood opportunities for thousands of people. As one participant said, the situation represents the "two faces of the same coin." Government infrastructure and development projects, such as road construction and the expansion of transportation infrastructure, were also highlighted as positively benefiting local communities. Finally, participants in the Women's FGD in Praia praised the government's National Program for the Fight Against Poverty in Rural Areas.

⁴⁰ "GIEWS Country Brief: Cabo Verde 18-January-2017", Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, January 2017

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² "Cape Verde", Observatory of Economic Complexity

⁴³ "Demographic Dividends, Gender Equality, and Economic Growth: The Case of Cabo Verde", Marone, H., International Monetary Fund, 2016

⁴⁴ "Cape Verde : Detailed Assessment Report on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism", International Monetary Fund, 2009

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ "Trafficking in Persons Report", U.S. Department of State, 2017

Politics and Governance (Least Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities

- Regional disparities in government services and presence across islands
- Perceptions of corruption among politicians
- Underrepresentation of women in political decision-making
- Disengagement of youth from political processes

Risks

- Incidents of corruption or mismanagement

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Cabo Verde is highly resilient in the area of Politics and Governance, with a score of 10/10. Cabo Verde has been an established representative democracy since the 1990s, when the country moved away from a one-party state system.⁴⁷ Since then, the country has routinely scored well in evaluations of good governance. In part due to its reliance on international support, the government has shown itself to be willing to invest in institutional reforms and public-sector management.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the government of Cabo Verde has a good record of respecting basic civil liberties such as freedom of the press.⁴⁹

While elections in Cabo Verde are consistently deemed free and fair, electoral participation rates slipped to a record-low 35.5 percent in the 2016 presidential elections.⁵⁰ Election fatigue, poor weather conditions on election day, and a widespread assumption of President Fonseca's reelection have been offered as potential explanations for the low voter turnout in the 2016 elections.⁵¹ Since 2001, presidential and legislative elections have averaged a voter turnout rate of 55.86 percent.⁵² Fieldwork participants also

reported cases of vote-buying and attempts to influence voters ahead of elections, although these incidents have not undermined the legitimacy of recent elections.⁵³

“During the campaigns they promise everything, but in the end nothing happens.”

- Women's focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

A primary vulnerability highlighted by fieldwork participants was the perceived disparity in government presence or civic engagement across islands. As government services and ministries are largely centralized in Praia, many stakeholders expressed the feeling that other islands benefit less and at times feel “forgotten” by the national government, which contributes to a perceived lack of representation and further disconnection from politics. Stakeholders also expressed frustration with the perceived lack of follow-through on campaign promises made by politicians, which compounds this sense of disengagement. As a result, the country is currently discussing proposals around decentralization and regionalization, which

⁴⁷ “Cape Verde: Expert Briefing”, Beuman, L., Africa Research Institute

⁴⁸ “Cape Verde: A Success Story”, African Development Bank, November 2012

⁴⁹ “Freedom in the World 2017: Cape Verde”, Freedom House

⁵⁰ “Election Guide: Republic of Cabo Verde, October 2, 2016”, International Foundation for Electoral Systems

⁵¹ “Incumbent re-elected amid low voter turnout” The Economist Intelligence Unit, October 2016

⁵² “Election Guide: Republic of Cabo Verde”, International Foundation for Electoral Systems

⁵³ “Preliminary declaration Cabo Verde 2016 – presidential election”, ECOWAS Observation Mission, October 2016

would devolve certain services and powers from the central government to the municipal level, and re-distribute some funds for development projects.

Stakeholders interviewed during the fieldwork also expressed concerns around political corruption. Participants cited examples of nepotism in hiring as well as misuse of public funds and a lack of transparency and accountability regarding Members of Parliament. In a 2015 study by Transparency International and Afrobarometer, 15 percent of respondents in Cabo Verde said that government officials and local councilors are “mostly” or “all” corrupt, and 13 percent said that Members of Parliament are corrupt.⁵⁴ However, levels of corruption in Cabo Verde remain relatively low compared to other countries in the region. Cabo Verde was ranked 36th out of 176 countries on Transparency International’s 2016 Corruption Perceptions Index, which is the highest ranking among ECOWAS member states and the second-highest ranking among Sub-Saharan African nations.⁵⁵ In the same 2015 study by Transparency International and Afrobarometer, only two percent of public service users in Cabo Verde reported having paid a bribe in the previous 12 months.⁵⁶

While women are often engaged in political parties and civic associations, they remain under-represented in formal decision-making positions in Cabo Verde. In 2016, only 23.6 percent of seats in the national parliament were held by women⁵⁷ and four of the 19 cabinet members are currently women.⁵⁸ At the local level, women’s representation is even lower; according to one political party representative interviewed in Praia, there are currently no female municipal mayors. In 2010, the country amended the electoral law to require gender parity in candidate lists at both the

national and sub-national level;⁵⁹ to date, however, this measure has not yet translated into significant gains in women’s representation.

Fieldwork participants also raised concerns around the disengagement of the youth population from political processes. While the main political parties in the country have youth wings, whose members often later become leaders and members of the political elite, the majority of youth in the country are reportedly disconnected from politics. Some interviewees attributed this to dissatisfaction among youth around the perceived failure of politicians to fulfill campaign and policy promises, as well as a lack of outreach on the part of the government and political parties.

“Young people only complain but do not make public statements. The young people on Sal Island are very static. They are little interested in political life. They do not mobilize.”

- Youth focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants identified several sources of resilience in the area of Politics and Governance. Some interviewees cited civic education programs implemented by NGOs and human rights groups, and called for more targeted programming for youth. In addition, the media plays an important role in disseminating information and raising public awareness in Cabo Verde. However, several interviewees noted that the objectivity of the press can be undermined by political bias.

⁵⁴ “People and corruption: Africa survey 2015 – Global Corruption Barometer” Transparency International, December 2015

⁵⁵ “Corruption Perceptions Index 2016”, Transparency International

⁵⁶ “People and corruption: Africa survey 2015 – Global Corruption Barometer” Transparency International, December 2015

⁵⁷ “Gender Data Portal: Cabo Verde”, World Bank Group

⁵⁸ “Elecncio Governamental”, Government of Cabo Verde, April 2016

⁵⁹ “Gender Quotas Database: Cape Verde”, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

Security (Least Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Geographic location and composition Inadequate capacity and resources for security forces to secure maritime domain Criminality, including drug and human trafficking Transit route for illegal migration
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incidents of criminality, including child abduction, homicide, rape, etc. Cases of gender-based violence (GBV) Increase in cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking Illegal maritime activities

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, Cabo Verde is highly resilient in the area of Security, also with a score of 10/10.

Cabo Verde has experienced many years of stability, and political violence in the country remains rare. According to fieldwork participants, the most common forms of insecurity in Cabo Verde are crimes of opportunity, including muggings, petty theft and pickpocketing, particularly in tourist areas. In particular, stakeholders on Sal Island reported an increase in criminality in recent years due to the growth of the tourism industry, while interviewees in São Vicente

felt that the level of criminality fluctuates with the season of Carnival celebrations but has overall remained steady.

In addition to petty crime, the country is vulnerable to criminality relating to the international drug trade. Cabo Verde, and the West African region more generally, has increasingly been used as a transit point in cocaine smuggling from South America to European and American markets over the past fifteen years. Stakeholders interviewed during the fieldwork confirmed that Cabo Verde primarily serves as a transit point for drug trafficking rather than a market, although drug use (particularly consumption of cannabis and cocaine) is an ongoing concern.⁶⁰ Although Cabo Verde has been less affected by drug-related violence and corruption than neighboring countries such as Guinea-Bissau, the country is also vulnerable to money laundering related to the drug trade as well as other crimes of opportunity.⁶¹ As noted above, human trafficking is also a concern in Cabo Verde, particularly around sex tourism and prostitution. During the fieldwork, stakeholders discussed a

“There has been a rise in criminality, particularly among youth. Many mothers who work in the resorts have to work long hours and leave children unsupervised. Criminal activity tends to target tourists, and sometimes people come from other islands intending to be involved in criminal activity. It’s another type of employment, they call it ‘looking for a job.’”

- Women’s focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

⁶⁰ “2017 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report”, U.S. Department of State, March 2017

⁶¹ “2014 International Narcotics Control Strategy Report”, U.S. Department of State, March 2014

recent series of child disappearances in Praia which have prompted fears of child trafficking.⁶²

Fieldwork participants across the country highlighted the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) in Cabo Verde as a security concern. According to the 2005 Demographic and Health Survey, more than one in five women (21.5 percent) above the age of 15 in Cabo Verde reported having been a victim of physical violence.⁶³ In addition, among married or previously married women in the same study, 14.1 percent reported having experienced emotional violence within their marriage, 15.7 percent experienced some form of physical violence, and 3.6 percent had been subjected to sexual violence.⁶⁴ Similarly, in a 2013 study by the National Institute of Statistics, a greater percentage women in Cabo Verde reported feeling insecure in the workplace, on public transportation, when alone in the house or when walking home compared to men, highlighting the vulnerability of women to abuse in both the public and private spheres.⁶⁵ Fieldwork participants also noted the vulnerability of underage children to sexual and physical abuse in the country.

In general, fieldwork participants expressed positive views of the security forces in Cabo Verde and their ability to protect local populations. However, some participants reported cases of police corruption and involvement in criminality and called for more extensive training so that police can better respond to the rise in urban criminality.

Finally, as an archipelago, Cabo Verde also faces inherent challenges with maritime security and border control. While the ocean can serve as a naturally protective barrier against outside attacks,

several officials who were interviewed reported that security forces lack the necessary resources and material capacity to adequately patrol and control the country's extensive coastal borders. For example, in interviews with public security representatives on both Santiago and Sal Islands, it was reported that the donation of several speed patrol boats and various training equipment by American and European counterparts had helped to fill a limited capacity gap, but that the country still needs more boats and trained maritime security personnel. Also noted as having had a very positive effect in building capacity was the participation of security forces, along with European and American counterparts, in maritime patrol and vigilance joint exercises. However, several interviewees noted that, as with the patrol boats and personnel, additional capacity building and training opportunities are needed. The threat of extremism or external attacks, which were raised as a potential concern several years ago,⁶⁶ is currently seen as a threat of relatively low importance. Nevertheless, several participants did voice concern that the country's international airports and infrastructure could serve as potential targets for extremist groups in the future and called for a greater focus on border security. However, interviews with national and international security personnel, including those who had trained and provided capacity building support and technology to their Cabo Verdean counterparts, revealed a much higher level of confidence in the nation's airport and infrastructure security. One international official, in particular, noted that airport security standards are "on par with those found in most European countries."

⁶² "Primeira-Dama sobre os desaparecimentos: "dar informação não é dizer o que toda a gente já sabe"", *Expresso das Ilhas*, February 2018

⁶³ "Segundo Inquérito Demográfico e de Saúde Reprodutiva, Cabo Verde, IDSR-II, 2005", Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) [Cabo Verde], the Ministry of Health, and ICF International. 2008.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ "Mulheres e Homens em Cabo Verde: Factos e Números 2015", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

⁶⁶ "Al Qaeda Extends Tentacles Into Cape Verde", *A Semana*, January 2012

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants in Cabo Verde identified a number of social and institutional resilience factors in the area of security. National NGOs and community-based organizations interviewed during the fieldwork reported working on programs related to crime prevention, many with a focus on youth engagement in order to deter marginalized young populations from becoming involved in crime. As noted above, Cabo Verde has also benefited from bi- and multi-lateral American and European training and capacity building initiatives, particularly those related to helping to secure the country's coastal borders and offshore waterways.

Additionally, as noted previously, the 2011 law criminalizing GBV has improved reporting rates in the country. The National Police in Cabo Verde have also moved toward a model of proximity policing, which focuses on building community partnerships and increasing police interactions with community members. Representatives of the security forces in Praia and Mindelo reported that this new approach has resulted in closer relationships with communities and an improved image of the police. In Sal, local police have also begun engaging representatives from immigrant communities to facilitate interactions between the police and community members, which has reportedly proved to be a successful strategy.

Population and Demographics (Least Vulnerable Pillar)

Vulnerabilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Demographic growth, primarily due to movements from smaller to bigger islands• Unemployment• Regional disparities in healthcare spending and services• Environmental pressures, such as drought, volcano, and flooding• Large deportee/returnee population
Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Tensions between local and immigrant populations• Sex tourism• Unequal population distribution among the islands adding significant pressure on infrastructure and services• Teenage pregnancy• Disease outbreak, including Zika and dengue fever

Vulnerabilities and Risks

According to the CRVA Index, along with Politics & Governance and Security, Cabo Verde is equally least vulnerable in the area of Population and Demographics with an aggregate score of 10/10.

As of 2016, Cabo Verde had a resident population of 539,560.⁶⁷ The country also has a large expatriate population in the United States, Europe, South America and other parts of Africa, and it is estimated that the number of expatriate Cabo Verdeans living abroad outnumber the resident population on the islands.⁶⁸ As noted above, the expatriate community plays an important role in the country's economy through foreign remittances. The resident population of Cabo Verde is majority Creole (a mix of African and European ancestry) and the country also has an immigrant community from Europe and, more recently, from other ECOWAS member states, largely drawn by the tourism industry. The population is predominantly Christian, with more than 75 percent of the population identifying as Catholic.⁶⁹

“Youth from rural areas migrate to urban centers seeking opportunities. This creates a strain on the urban planning. [There is] new housing, new settlements that become communities that require better sanitation, more water supply, health services, road access, education facilities...”

- Men's focus group discussion, Praia, Santiago Island

A primary issue highlighted by fieldwork participants was an increase in migration, both internal within and between islands, and from the broader West African region to Cabo Verde. Respondents reported that urban areas, particularly those on Sal and Santiago Islands, have experienced an increase in migration from rural areas or less-populated islands by those seeking improved employment opportunities and access to services and infrastructure. Cabo Verde has seen a steady increase in the percentage of the

⁶⁷ “Cabo Verde data portal”, Open Data for Africa, African Development Bank
⁶⁸ “Cabo Verde”, The World Factbook, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

⁶⁹ “RGPH 2010 – Cabo Verde em Numeros”, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde

population living in urban areas in recent decades, from 44.12 percent in 1990 to 66.19 percent in 2016.⁷⁰ In some areas such as Santa Maria, this population influx has reportedly resulted in the growth of urban slums with inadequate housing and sanitation, and pressures on services such as schools and health centers.

The country has also reportedly experienced a rise in immigration from ECOWAS member states and other parts of Sub-Saharan Africa. According to a 2014 study by the Cabo Verdean National Institute of Statistics, immigrants from other ECOWAS member states (primarily Guinea-Bissau and Senegal) make up 35.5 percent of all immigrants in Cabo Verde, while nationals from other Sub-Saharan African countries, such as Angola and São Tomé and Príncipe, make up 41.1 percent of immigrants.⁷¹ Stakeholders engaged during the CRVA fieldwork also reported an increase in immigrants from Nigeria. Immigrant communities are primarily concentrated in urban areas and municipalities with a large tourist industry: 38.8 percent of immigrants in Cabo Verde live in Praia, 13.6 percent in Boa Vista, 13.2 percent in São Vicente, 12.4 percent in Santa Catarina, and 9.3 percent in Sal.⁷² Particularly in Sal, some stakeholders raised concerns around the perceived involvement of immigrant communities in criminality, human trafficking and sex tourism. It was also noted that due to travel to and from the African continent, these communities may introduce diseases or other health risks to the country. To combat this concern, the Delegate of Health on Sal Island reported that the Ministry of Health carries out targeted vaccination and health campaigns in immigrant communities. Fieldwork participants also reported cases of discrimination against African immigrants and cultural clashes around issues such as Female Genital Mutilation

and Cutting (FGM/C) and polygamy, although these incidents remain limited.

Fieldwork participants further raised concerns around the country's healthcare system, particularly the lack of human resources and low capacity for specialized care outside of Praia. As one medical doctor interviewed in Mindelo said, "In terms of surgery, we're so far behind that it's like we're in the 1940s." Health services, both public and private, are most accessible in Santiago, São Vicente and Sal, and these islands receive the majority of healthcare spending. According to a 2012-2014 study by the National Institute of Statistics, around 60 percent of total health expenditures were allocated to Santiago Island during this period, while 25.5 percent went to São Vicente and 5.1 percent to Sal. In contrast, only 0.8 percent of spending went to Maio Island and 0.6 percent to Brava Island.⁷³ Fieldwork participants also identified high costs for advanced care or lab tests and long appointment wait times (at times patients must reportedly wait up to three months to receive an appointment with a doctor) as barriers to healthcare access.

However, despite these shortcomings, the health risks in Cabo Verde are relatively low compared to other countries in the ECOWAS region. The country has the highest life expectancy among ECOWAS member states: 74.47 years for women⁷⁴ and 70.5 years for men.⁷⁵ The country's maternal mortality rate of 42 per 100,000 live births is also significantly lower than the regional average.⁷⁶ The leading health concern identified by fieldwork participants was the country's high rate of alcoholism, as well as drug use (primarily cannabis and cocaine) and diabetes. Alcoholism is most prevalent among men in Cabo Verde; a 2010 study by the World Health Organization (WHO) reported

⁷⁰ "Urban population (% of total)", The World Bank Data

⁷¹ "Inquérito Multi-Objectivo Contínuo – 2014 Estatísticas das Migrações", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ "Relatório de Contas da Saúde 2012-2014", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde

⁷⁴ "Life expectancy at birth, female (years)", The World Bank Data

⁷⁵ "Life expectancy at birth, male (years)", The World Bank Data

⁷⁶ "Maternal mortality in 1990-2015: Cabo Verde", World Health Organization

that 8.7 percent of male respondents and 1.7 percent of female respondents were classified as having an alcohol use disorder, compared to the WHO African Region average of 3.3 percent.⁷⁷ Alcoholism has also contributed to above-average rates of liver cirrhosis and alcohol-related road traffic accidents among men.⁷⁸

During the CRVA fieldwork, stakeholders also discussed issues of reproductive and sexual health. Family planning services are reportedly easily accessible in Cabo Verde, and the country has a relatively high rate of contraceptive use. According to the 2005 Demographic and Health Survey, 74.2 percent of women and 77.1 percent of men reported using any form of contraception.⁷⁹ However, fieldwork participants reported that there continues to be shame, stigma and a lack of knowledge of reproductive health among teenagers, which contributes to ongoing concerns around teenage pregnancies. As of 2005, nearly one in five (18.9 percent) teenage girls ages 15-19 had already begun childbearing.⁸⁰

Finally, fieldwork participants discussed the vulnerability of youth in Cabo Verde. The country has a relatively large youth population, although the median age of the population – 24.9 years – is the highest among ECOWAS countries. As of 2016, 30.66 percent of the population was between the ages of 0-14.⁸¹ The country is also currently in a phase of demographic transition, with the proportion of the population under the age of 15 shrinking while the proportion of the population between the ages of 15 and 64 is growing. While this change risks further burdening social services, if properly managed it has the potential to yield positive economic benefits as the labor supply of working-age people increases.⁸² Fieldwork

participants highlighted the need to provide greater support to youth entrepreneurs, who often face barriers to accessing financing and credit. Stakeholders also expressed concern around the involvement of youth in urban criminality and drug use, which they often attributed to unemployment, poverty and a lack of parental supervision.

“There’s a great potential in the demographic dividend. A great portion of the population has an eye for active economic productivity. There is impressive entrepreneurship among youth.”

– Men’s focus group discussion, Praia, Santiago Island

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants identified a number of social and institutional resilience factors which help to mitigate vulnerabilities in the area of population and demographics. The “Housing for All” (*Casa para todos*) program, which was established in 2008 and is run by the national housing agency (*Imobiliária Fundiária e Habitat*), provides affordable housing for local communities, although the UN Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing found that low-income and vulnerable communities have not adequately benefited from this program.⁸³ The Ministry of Health and NGOs such as the Red Cross also offer a wide range of health programs, including programs focusing on substance abuse, engagement of youth and the elderly, and HIV/AIDS prevention. Key programs identified as working on issues of HIV/AIDS prevention include Project Live Without Fear (*Viver*

⁷⁷ “Global Alcohol Report: Cabo Verde Profile”, World Health Organization, 2014

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ “Segundo Inquérito Demográfico e de Saúde Reprodutiva, Cabo Verde, IDSR-II, 2005”, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE) [Cabo Verde], the Ministry of Health, and ICF International. 2008.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ “Population ages 0-14 (% of total)”, The World Bank Data

⁸² “Demographic Dividends, Gender Equality, and Economic Growth: The Case of Cabo Verde”, Marone, H., International Monetary Fund, 2016

⁸³ “Report of the Special Rapporteur on adequate housing as a component of the right to an adequate standard of living, and on the right to non-discrimination in this context, on her mission to Cabo Verde”, UN Human Rights Council, December 2015

Sem Medo), Hugs (*Abracos*), and Project FEVE (formerly EndoSanté). Fieldwork participants also highlighted the work of VerdeFam and the government's *Programa Materno-Infantil/Planeamento Familiar* (PMI-PF) as playing an important role in providing free contraceptives and raising awareness around reproductive and sexual health issues. According to the 2005

Demographic and Health Survey, a majority of women accessed the birth control pill (the most popular form of contraception) through PMI-PF.⁸⁴ Finally, participants in the Women's FGD in Sal identified the country's open, multicultural and welcoming culture as a source of resilience in integrating immigrant communities and reducing intercultural conflicts.

⁸⁴ "Segundo Inquérito Demográfico e de Saúde Reprodutiva, Cabo Verde, IDSR-II, 2005", Instituto

Nacional de Estatística (INE) [Cabo Verde], the Ministry of Health, and ICF International. 2008.

External Factors

Cabo Verde is a member of multiple international and regional organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), African Union (AU), ECOWAS, World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (*Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa* - CPLP). In 2017, the World Bank began a \$78 million investment program in tourism sector development as well as infrastructure and electricity-related projects.⁸⁵

Due to the country's economic dependence on tourism, foreign remittances and foreign investment, Cabo Verde is highly vulnerable to shifts in the international economy and those of key trading partners, as demonstrated during the 2008 global financial crisis. A fixed exchange rate with the Euro makes Cabo Verde's import and export markets particularly vulnerable to changes in European economies. In addition, the lack of natural resources and low agricultural productivity also leaves the country reliant on food imports, which can contribute to concerns around food insecurity.

Migration also plays an important role in Cabo Verde, both emigration of youth to Brazil, Europe and the United States, and immigration to Cabo Verde from ECOWAS member states and other African nations. With a large population of Cabo Verdeans living outside the country, the desire to emigrate has a powerful hold in Cabo Verdean culture and society. Foreign remittances from expatriate Cabo Verdeans contribute to more than 10 percent of GDP,⁸⁶ and fieldwork participants reported that the desire to go abroad for education or employment remains strong among the youth population. The islands have also experienced

immigration from other countries on the African continent, particularly Angola, São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria,⁸⁷ with many people drawn by employment opportunities in the tourism industry. In some areas, immigration has contributed to pressures on urban services and infrastructure, as well as cases of cultural differences around issues such as female genital mutilation and cutting (FGM/C) and perceptions of immigrant involvement in criminal activities. However, despite these challenges, the openness of the Cabo Verdean culture to multiculturalism is a strong source of resilience in promoting social cohesion and the integration of these groups.

Due to the country's strategic location off the coast of West Africa, Cabo Verde has also played a role as a transit point for drug trafficking routes between South America and Europe⁸⁸ and cases of human trafficking. Drug trafficking activities have also contributed to money laundering in Cabo Verde, particularly in the banking and real estate sectors.⁸⁹ Patrolling the country's many coastlines is a challenge for Cabo Verde's security forces, who reportedly lack adequate resources and capacity to fully secure the large maritime area. Cooperation with bi- and multi-lateral partners, particularly with the European Union and the United States, have proven to be critical to filling this gap, including through the donation of patrol boats and the carrying out of joint trainings and maritime exercises.

Finally, the country's location in the Sahel region and composition as an archipelago makes Cabo Verde highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change, including sea level rise and cycles of drought. Drought conditions in 2017 resulted in a decrease in agricultural production, raising

⁸⁵ "The World Bank in Cabo Verde: Overview", World Bank Group

⁸⁶ "Remittance Inflows to GDP for Cape Verde", World Bank data, via Federal Reserve Bank of Saint Louis

⁸⁷ "Inquérito Multi-Objectivo Contínuo - 2014 Estatísticas das Migrações", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

⁸⁸ "Transnational Organized Crime in West Africa: A Threat Assessment", UN Office on Drugs and Crime, February 2013

⁸⁹ "Cape Verde: Detailed Assessment Report on Anti-Money Laundering and Combating the Financing of Terrorism", International Monetary Fund, 2009

concerns over food security.⁹⁰ In addition, given the economic reliance on tourism, sea level rise and the resulting destruction of beaches and

infrastructure could negatively impact livelihoods and economic stability in the future.

⁹⁰ “GIEWS Country Brief: Cabo Verde 18-January-2017”, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, January 2017

Gender Considerations

While Cabo Verde generally scores better than neighboring countries on gender-related indicators in the CRVA Index, women continue to face challenges and disparities in the social, economic and political spheres.

A leading vulnerability identified by participants in the fieldwork was the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) in Cabo Verde. As discussed above, incidents of domestic violence, sexual abuse and harassment are reportedly widespread across all the islands. The government has taken a number of steps to address these issues, including the passage of the 2011 Special Law on GBV and the implementation of national action plans on GBV and child abuse. To strengthen the legal system to deal with these crimes, women's organizations have also called for the creation of a special family court which will address crimes of domestic violence and abuse. Fieldwork participants reported that the 2011 law criminalizing GBV has increased reporting rates, and data from the Public Prosecutor's Office in the two years following implementation of the law confirm this trend.⁹¹ However, interviewees noted that enduring social stigma around GBV continues to deter women from reporting incidents, and expressed concerns that the criminalization of GBV may have simply driven it underground, making it less visible and more difficult to prosecute.

Particularly on islands with a large tourism industry such as Sal, Boa Vista and Santiago, women and girls (as well as a smaller number of boys) are also involved in prostitution and sex tourism. Fieldwork participants reported that many of these women

turn to prostitution due to poverty and economic pressures, although there are also cases of forced prostitution and human trafficking, particularly involving women from other ECOWAS member states.⁹²

Within the economic sphere, fieldwork participants reported that women make up the majority of workers in the informal economy, and are also involved in agricultural production and unpaid domestic work. An estimated 53 percent of women over the age of 15 were engaged in the labor force in 2016, compared to 84 percent of men over the age of 15.⁹³ While the gender gap in formal labor force participation is present throughout the country, the gap is more pronounced in rural areas.⁹⁴ Many women in Cabo Verde play an important economic role as the primary breadwinner in their family, according to interviewees. However, as the informal sector often offers lower or unstable income, fewer labor protections and no benefits such as maternity leave, women and female-headed households are more vulnerable to economic insecurity. As a result, female-headed households in Cabo Verde experience higher rates of poverty than male-headed households.⁹⁵ In the 2017 Global Gender Gap Report by the World Economic Forum, Cabo Verde ranked 106th out of 144 countries in the area of Economic Participation and Opportunity, which measures gender disparities in economic participation, remuneration and advancement.⁹⁶

However, Cabo Verde has made positive progress in closing the gender gap in education and literacy rates. As of 2015, adult women ages 15 and above had a literacy rate of 82.04 percent⁹⁷ compared to 91.59 percent among men ages 15 and above.⁹⁸ However, among youth ages 15-24 young women

⁹¹ "Mulheres e Homens em Cabo Verde: Factos e Números 2015", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

⁹² "Trafficking in Persons Report", U.S. Department of State, 2017

⁹³ "Labor force participation rate, male (% of male population ages 15+) (modeled ILO estimate)", The World Bank Data

⁹⁴ "Demographic Dividends, Gender Equality, and Economic Growth: The Case of Cabo Verde", Marone, H., International Monetary Fund, 2016

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ "The Global Gender Gap Report 2017", World Economic Forum, 2017

⁹⁷ "Literacy rate, adult female (% of females ages 15 and above)", The World Bank Data

⁹⁸ "Literacy rate, adult male (% of males ages 15 and above)", The World Bank Data

now have a higher literacy rate than men: 98.73 percent⁹⁹ compared to 97.59 percent.¹⁰⁰ Girls also have a slightly higher primary school attendance rate as of 2015 (97.4 percent compared to 97.2 percent) and higher enrollment rates in secondary school as well.¹⁰¹

In the political realm, women remain underrepresented in decision-making positions, although they are often active as voters and members of political parties. There has never been a female head of state, and only 23.6 percent of seats in the National Assembly are held by women.¹⁰² Currently women hold four of the 19 cabinet positions as well.¹⁰³ In 2010, the country amended the electoral law to require gender parity in candidate lists at both the national and sub-national level;¹⁰⁴ to date, however, this measure has not yet translated into significant gains in women's representation. In early 2017, the Network of Women Parliamentarians in Cabo Verde (*Rede de Mulheres Parlamentares de Cabo Verde*, RMPVC) signed the Rui Vaz declaration, calling for a gender parity law that would ensure 50 percent representation for women in decision-making.¹⁰⁵ Fieldwork participants noted that, in addition to women's underrepresentation in decision-making positions, very few civic education campaigns or political parties have strategies for targeted outreach to women.

During the fieldwork, stakeholders also discussed issues of family planning and reproductive health in the country. Thanks to the country's relatively

strong health system, women in Cabo Verde have a much lower maternal mortality rate than other ECOWAS member states: 42 per 100,000 live births.¹⁰⁶

In addition, women in Cabo Verde have a low total fertility rate (2.4 children per woman) and a relatively high rate of contraceptive use (61.3 percent among women ages 15-49, as of 2005).¹⁰⁷ Fieldwork participants reported that family planning services are readily accessible, both through government programs such as the *Programa Materno-Infantil/Planeamento Familiar* (PMI-PF) and through NGOs such as VerdeFam. However, interviewees also emphasized the need for additional outreach to teenage populations on issues of sexual and reproductive health, given the prevalence of teenage pregnancies. As of 2005, nearly one in five (18.9 percent) teenage girls ages 15-19 had already begun childbearing.¹⁰⁸

Despite the challenges detailed above, women in Cabo Verde possess significant strength as economic, social and political actors. As fieldwork participants described, women in Cabo Verde are well-educated, well-informed and actively involved in society, and often play a critical economic and social role as the head of household. Consolidating the gains of recent decades and continuing to promote women's empowerment, particularly in the economic and political spheres, can only serve to benefit Cabo Verde's development and long-term stability moving forward.

⁹⁹ "Literacy rate, youth female (% of females ages 15-24)", The World Bank Data

¹⁰⁰ "Literacy rate, youth male (% of males ages 15-24)", The World Bank Data

¹⁰¹ "Education Statistics: All Indicators", The World Bank Databank

¹⁰² "Gender Data Portal: Cabo Verde", The World Bank

¹⁰³ "Elecncio Governamental", Government of Cabo Verde, April 2016

¹⁰⁴ "Gender Quotas Database: Cape Verde", International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance

¹⁰⁵ "Cabo Verde: Female parliamentarians deliver documents to ministries to advance gender equality", AGORA, April 2017

¹⁰⁶ "Health, Nutrition and Population Statistics: All Indicators", The World Bank Databank

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

Sub-National Level Vulnerabilities, Risks and Resilience Factors: Observations by Region

Sal Island

Sal is the fourth most populous island in the Cabo Verde archipelago, hosting an estimated population of 38,232 in 2018.¹⁰⁹ The island is the eastern most point of the northern archipelago, with the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, and São Nicolau to the west and Boa Vista to the south. The demographic makeup of Sal, as well as the rest of Cabo Verde, is Creole (71 percent), followed by African (28 percent) and European (1 percent).¹¹⁰ The economy of Sal is largely dependent on tourism and fishing. Between 2012 and 2015 alone, the islands of Sal, Santiago, and Boa Vista attracted at least 90 percent of the \$16 billion in foreign direct investment (FDI) that has flowed into the country to better develop the tourism industry.¹¹¹



Structural Vulnerabilities

- Slow processing times within the judicial system
- Perceptions of corruption and impunity within the judiciary
- Economic dependence on the tourist industry and external investments
- High cost of living
- Migration to urban and tourist centers
- Overcrowding and pressures on urban infrastructure due to migration
- Low political engagement
- Inadequate resources and capacity for maritime and border security

¹⁰⁹ “RGPH 2010”, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, January 2017
¹¹⁰ “Cabo Verde”, The World Factbook, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)
¹¹¹ “African Economic Outlook 2017”, African Development Bank, OECD and UNDP, May 2017

Event-Driven Risks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment • Incidents of corruption • Criminality, especially theft • Illicit economic activity, especially cases of drug and human trafficking • Gender-based violence (GBV)
Social and Institutional Resilience Factors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reliable infrastructure, such as roads, water, and sanitation • Civic education by NGOs and human rights groups • Government programs in healthcare and affordable housing • Social cohesion and culture of openness

Rule of Law

Fieldwork participants cited perceptions of impunity and corruption, slow processing times, and the belief that the wealthy are favored in the judicial system as key vulnerabilities undermining the rule of law on Sal Island. Interviewees reported that employees of the judicial system are vulnerable to corruption because of poor salaries. Regarding access to justice, there are reportedly fewer government-appointed lawyers on Sal island because of delays in the payment of salaries.

During the fieldwork, participants also expressed mixed views about executive influence on the judiciary. In the Youth FGD, interviewees stated that the judicial system is mostly independent but noted that there is the perception of some executive influence. Other participants reported perceptions of impunity in the executive branch, stating that it has negatively influenced the independence of the judicial system.

Economics and Resources

Sal is one of the most popular tourist destinations in Cabo Verde, with tourism and related industries as the primary economic drivers on the island. Fieldwork participants reported that tourism generates jobs, boosts other sectors of economic activity, and contributes significantly to revenue and foreign exchange. However, in addition to the positive economic impacts of tourism, interviewees

also discussed the negative repercussions of the industry on Sal. Many tourists that come to Sal are from Europe, rendering the island vulnerable to the negative impacts of economic recession or other external events. During the Women’s FGD, participants reported that parents must often leave children alone while they work in the hotels and resorts, which has allegedly contributed to rising criminality and drug use among youth. Furthermore, the all-inclusive resorts popular on Sal Island generate limited revenue for local communities because guests rarely patronize local restaurants or shops outside the hotel.

Interviewees reported a high cost of living on Sal Island, noting that this has made it difficult to retain teachers and doctors in public institutions. The population also faces high food prices, as the island has limited agricultural resources and most agricultural products and meat must be imported from other islands or abroad.

“Women represent the strength of the economy in Sal.”

- Women’s focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

According to fieldwork participants, women play a crucial role in the economy of Sal, especially in the informal sector, and are often the primary

breadwinners for their families. Many women work in the resorts on Sal and face difficult working conditions, including low pay for labor, no benefits for temporary or contract workers, and unpredictable working hours. Single mothers face additional difficulties, because they must often leave their children alone while working.

Finally, interviewees reported that, although the island has a fairly well-developed healthcare system, hospitals and clinics in Sal lack the human resources necessary for specialized or advanced care. As a result, patients must often travel to Praia or abroad to receive specialized care. In addition, patients face long appointment wait times at health clinics – sometimes up to three months – and vulnerable populations are often unable to afford services at the more expensive private clinics.

Politics and Governance

Fieldwork participants cited low voter engagement and some perceptions of corruption and impunity as political vulnerabilities on Sal. During the Women's FGD, participants stated that while the population is generally well-informed on political issues, there is low voter turnout and engagement compared to other islands, particularly among youth. In addition, interviewees also reported that vote buying has allegedly been a concern during past elections. Furthermore, participants in the Youth FGD stated that because of the small population, everyone on the island knows each other, increasing the risk of corruption and nepotism.

Interviewees also discussed issues of state centralization and proposals around decentralization. Some participants expressed the sense that decentralization would be beneficial to Sal and other islands, as there is currently a perception that the government does not adequately represent or respond to the needs of all the islands. Stakeholders also reported frustration with the failure of politicians to follow through on

campaign promises and to fully fund infrastructure and development projects.

“The island of Sal has been forgotten. [There is a] need for greater attention of the government on regionalization. During the campaigns they promise everything, but in the end, nothing happens”

- Women's focus group discussion, Santa Maria, Sal Island

Security

Key security concerns on Sal Island include criminality, prostitution, drug abuse, and other illicit economic activities. According to fieldwork participants, incidents of criminality such as petty theft and burglary have been on the rise, especially among youth, largely due to the growth of the tourist industry.

Participants in the Women's FGD further noted that there are limited programs and resources for minors who are released from prison, making it difficult for these youths to reintegrate into society. Drug trafficking is reportedly a concern on the island as well, although the island serves more as a transit point than as a market for drugs.

Prostitution, human trafficking and sex tourism were also highlighted as key concerns on Sal Island, and stakeholders connected the increase in these activities to the growth of the tourist industry as well as economic pressures. While it is difficult to find reliable statistics on these activities due to their clandestine nature, the 2017 Trafficking in Persons Report from the U.S. Department of State reported cases of forced prostitution and suspected trafficking of Cabo Verdean boys and girls, as well as women from other West African

nations, in Santa Maria.¹¹² Interviewees confirmed the perception that a large number of sex workers on the island are foreign nationals from other ECOWAS member states, particularly Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria.

Fieldwork participants also discussed the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) on Sal Island. Interviewees reported that since the passage of the 2011 law criminalizing GBV, women are more comfortable reporting incidents of GBV. Despite this, there is still a strong culture of shame surrounding GBV. One KII participant reported that domestic violence is an ongoing concern and that it is often related to drug or alcohol abuse.

In general, interviewees reported positive views of security forces on the island. However, participants in the Women's FGD in Santa Maria noted that allegations of police corruption and complicity in criminality have caused growing distrust between the police and local populations in some areas. In addition, stakeholders highlighted the need for additional training and resources to allow the police to better respond to new security challenges such as urban criminality. A representative of the security forces interviewed in Espargos also emphasized the challenge of maritime security and the need for additional resources such as patrol boats.

Population and Demographics

According to the 2010 census, the island of Sal has a population of more than 26,000 people.¹¹³ During the fieldwork, participants emphasized a strong trend of internal migration toward urban and tourist areas, which is reportedly driven by desires for employment opportunities and greater access to social services and infrastructure. The island has also reportedly experienced an influx of migrants

from other ECOWAS member states in recent years, particularly from Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria. According to 2014 data from the National Institute of Statistics, nearly 10 percent of all immigrants in Cabo Verde live on Sal Island.¹¹⁴ Fieldwork participants reported that migration has resulted in increased pressures on urban infrastructure, overcrowding in the education and healthcare systems, and the growth of slums which lack water, electricity and sanitation infrastructure in peripheral neighborhoods. Participants in the Women's FGD in Santa Maria noted that the area is experiencing a shortage in housing, which has led to cases of people occupying unfinished hotels and construction sites,¹¹⁵ and raised concerns around increasing poverty due to the island's high cost of living.

Participants also discussed issues of family planning and reproductive health on the island. The population does reportedly have access to family planning services through both private and public health clinics. Participants in the Women's FGD noted that, although abortion is legal up to 12 weeks in Cabo Verde,¹¹⁶ some women resort to illegal abortions or forced miscarriages due to the long appointment wait times and high cost of services in private clinics.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants reported several social and institutional resilience factors that mitigate the vulnerabilities and risks detailed above. The island has reliable and developed infrastructure, including roads, water, and sanitation systems, in part thanks to investments by the Millennium Challenge Corporation. The government-run "Houses for All" (*Casa para todos*) program also helps to mitigate demographic pressures by providing housing to vulnerable populations. NGOs

¹¹² "Trafficking in Persons Report", U.S. Department of State, 2017

¹¹³ "RGPH 2010", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, January 2017

¹¹⁴ "Inquérito Multi-Objectivo Contínuo – 2014 Estatísticas das Migrações", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

¹¹⁵ "Obras inacabadas ensombram imagem de Santa Maria", A Semana, November 2013

¹¹⁶ "Cape Verde Abortion Policy", UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs

such as VerdeFam and the government's *Programa Materno-Infantil/Planeamento Familiar* (PMI-PF) provide education on reproductive health and family planning as well as free contraceptives. While GBV remains a key concern in Sal, interviewees reported that the 2011 law criminalizing GBV is viewed positively and has

helped encourage greater reporting rates. Finally, participants in the Women's FGD in Sal identified the country's open, multicultural and welcoming culture as a source of resilience in integrating immigrant communities and reducing intercultural conflicts.

Santiago Island

Santiago is the largest and most populous island in the Cabo Verde archipelago, hosting an estimated population of 305,777 in 2018.¹¹⁷ The island is located in the southern archipelago, with the islands of Fogo and Brava to the west and Maio to the east. Santiago's economy is largely dependent on tourism and fishing, as well as financial services and transportation.¹¹⁸ Agriculture also remains an important part of the economy, but the island suffers from low levels of rainfall and poor soil conditions.¹¹⁹



Structural Vulnerabilities

- Slow judicial processing times
- Economic dependence on the tourist industry, foreign remittances and external investments
- Environmental pressures and climate change
- Lack of natural resources and low agricultural productivity
- Regional disparities between islands and rural-urban inequalities
- Low levels of political engagement among youth
- Perceptions of corruption and nepotism among politicians
- Underrepresentation of women in political decision-making
- Inadequate resources and capacity for maritime and border security
- Migration to urban areas leading to overcrowding, poor sanitation and pressures on social services

¹¹⁷ “Projeções Demográficas de Cabo Verde 2010-2030”, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2013

¹¹⁸ “African Economic Outlook 2017”, African Development Bank, OECD and UNDP, May 2017

¹¹⁹ “Cabo Verde Compact”, Millennium Challenge Corporation

Event-Driven Risks

- External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment, such as global economic recession
- Environmental pressures stemming from climate change, particularly drought
- Food insecurity
- Incidents of corruption
- Illicit economic activity, especially cases of drug and human trafficking
- Incidents of criminality
- Incidents of gender-based violence (GBV) and child abuse
- Disease outbreak

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

- Social cohesion
- NGOs and civil society organizations (CSOs)
- Government aid and rehabilitation programs
- 2011 law criminalizing GBV
- Proximity policing

Rule of Law

According to fieldwork participants, Santiago Island has a strong, independent judiciary that is highly regarded among the population. However, respondents cited access to justice and slow processing times leading to perceptions of impunity as ongoing concerns. Participants in the Youth Focus Group Discussion (FGD) also reported that the wealthy have greater influence and access to quality lawyers and the court system as a whole.

Economics and Resources

The economy of Santiago Island, which is largely dependent on tourism, fishing and the service sector, was particularly affected by the 2008 global economic recession, a theme echoed by all fieldwork participants. The global economic crisis, which resulted in decreases in European tourism and foreign direct investment (FDI), also coincided with Cabo Verde's promotion to a medium human development country, further limiting the amount of external aid the country receives. Like the other islands in Cabo Verde, Santiago is reliant on imported goods due to a lack of natural resources,

“The global economic crisis affected the infrastructure industry, which then affected the tourism sector, and had negative effects on nationally-owned companies in the sector. Twenty percent of tourism came from the EU.”

- Men's focus group discussion, Praia, Santiago Island

leaving the island vulnerable to shifts in the global economy. Additionally, the economic slowdown on Santiago has reportedly increased emigration as youth seek opportunities in Europe, Brazil or the United States.

Santiago Island is also highly vulnerable to environmental pressures and the effects of climate change, particularly changes in rainfall patterns, cycles of drought, coastal erosion and the destruction of beaches. A recent drought in 2017 has negatively affected livestock and agricultural production, most of which remains unirrigated, and therefore food security on the island.¹²⁰ Food insecurity is a recurrent concern on Santiago Island because of the island's poor soil conditions, limited

¹²⁰ “GIEWS Country Brief Cabo Verde”, Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, January 2018

agricultural productivity, and the high cost of food imports. Fieldwork participants reported that the Cabo Verdean government has developed programs to provide food products and financial assistance when necessary to address issues of food insecurity, which interviewees cited as a source of resilience.

The informal economy, specifically the role of women, was cited among fieldwork participants as an important economic driver on Santiago Island. Women are most heavily involved in the informal economy and are often the primary breadwinners for their families, with one participant in the Youth FGD stating that “Women are the engine of our economy.” Youth were also praised by interviewees for their entrepreneurial initiatives, although it was noted that they require further support from the government.

Fieldwork participants also expressed concern over the growth of illicit economic activities on Santiago, such as drug trafficking and consumption, sex tourism, and human trafficking. Santiago Island, and Cabo Verde as a whole, is reportedly a transit point for cocaine from Brazil on its way to Europe or the United States. According a Key Informant Interview (KII) with a drug enforcement official, the industry has grown on the island, as well as the rate of drug use among the youth population. Santiago is also reportedly a popular destination for sex tourism, an industry supported by human trafficking from West Africa.¹²¹ During the Women’s FGD, one participant stated that some women on Santiago have resorted to prostitution to feed their children due to economic pressures.

Finally, Santiago has seen a growing debate about the proposed decentralization of government services, with the goal of ensuring that smaller and less-populous islands are receiving adequate funding and services. At present, many government services and ministries are centralized in Praia, and the island is also home to more advanced

infrastructure, healthcare institutions and other services. Fieldwork participants specifically cited access to healthcare, education, sanitation, and internet as challenges facing rural populations on Santiago and on Cabo Verde’s smaller islands.

Politics and Governance

Key political concerns highlighted by fieldwork participants included low political engagement among youth and perceptions of corruption and nepotism among politicians. Participants in the Youth FGD attributed the low level of youth engagement to a number of factors, including unemployment and dissatisfaction with the failure of politicians to fulfill campaign promises.

“Young people could and should do more and participate more. Young people are not united by the causes of the country. There is little participation of young people in politics.”

- Youth focus group discussion, Praia, Santiago Island

Interviewees also raised concerns around perceived corruption among politicians, citing cases of nepotism in the awarding of contracts and a lack of transparency in hiring. Participants in the Youth FGD also asserted that some Members of Parliament have failed to declare their assets and conflicts of interest before assuming public office, which has contributed to concerns of impunity and public asset mismanagement.

Women remain under-represented in political decision-making positions, although they are active as voters and members of political parties and civic associations. Women currently hold 17 of the 72 seats (23.6 percent) of seats in the national assembly.¹²² As participants in the Youth FGD in

¹²¹ “Trafficking in Persons Report”, U.S. Department of State, 2017

¹²² “Gender Data Portal: Cabo Verde”, The World Bank

Praia explained, “Women and young people have a lot of influence, but still women and young people have little decision-making power.”

Civil society organizations (CSOs) and the media were often cited as playing an integral role in disseminating information to create public awareness about issues on Santiago. Fieldwork participants reported perceptions that CSOs and the media participate in self-censorship when discussing political issues to ensure continued access to politicians and political parties. Some also mentioned that the term “fake news” is being used more frequently among the population for media reports that may not coincide with their views or are believed to be overly-sensational. However, overall, most interviewees expressed faith in the independence and integrity of both print and broadcast media sources.

Security

While Santiago is relatively safe and free from conflict, the island has reportedly experienced increasing criminality, including cases of armed burglary, assaults and petty theft. Fieldwork participants asserted that criminality on the island is driven in part by trends of migration to urban areas, as well as illicit economic activities such as drug trafficking. Santiago Island is a transit point for cocaine smuggling from South America to European markets, and interviewees reported that groups involved in drug trafficking sometimes fight over control of territory. Drug use within Cabo Verde remains relatively low, however, and the drug enforcement authorities have used seized assets to help fund rehabilitation programs and facilities across the island. Santiago was also noted to be a popular sex tourism destination, an industry that reportedly relies on human trafficking from other parts of West Africa.¹²³

As is the case across the country, a primary vulnerability in the area of security is the challenge

¹²³ “Trafficking in Persons Report”, U.S. Department of State, 2017

of adequately securing and patrolling the island’s maritime borders. As participants in the Youth FGD in Praia explained, “We have little supervision and corruption on our borders. Some large drug trafficking groups have been seized on our borders but there are still many who can escape across our borders. Our borders are very poorly monitored and very vulnerable to situations of drug trafficking and illegal fishing.” In a meeting with the Center for Coordination of Alcohol and Drugs (CCAD), it was confirmed that the government has recently, with support from the European Union, implemented air and sea policing programs and placed scanners in the country’s ports in an attempt to address this vulnerability.

In recent years, the island has also seen some tensions over land and resource management issues largely due to lack of ownership documents, according to fieldwork participants.

“GBV is a strong reality in the country and is very serious - several cases are reported but a lot go unreported still. ... Despite the active and ongoing communication and information efforts, the problem continues to be a reality because it has a cultural component. Education plays a big role in the decrease of the number of cases.”

- Women’s focus group discussion, Praia, Santiago Island

Fieldwork participants highlighted the prevalence of gender-based violence (GBV) and child abuse on Santiago Island and in Cabo Verde as a whole, particularly among vulnerable populations and in rural areas. Interviewees praised the success of the 2011 law criminalizing GBV in increasing reporting rates, although many cases continue to go unreported due to social stigma. Participants in

the Men's FGD also noted that cases of violence against men are often underreported.

In general, interviewees expressed positive views of the security forces on Santiago Island. However, some highlighted the need for further training and professionalization, both to improve relationships with communities and to better respond to the evolution of security risks, such as the growth of urban criminality. Participants in the Men's FGD also called for improved incarceration facilities. The National Police in Santiago have recently moved toward an approach of "proximity policing", which aims to build community partnerships and increase police interactions with community members. Interviewees reported that this method has been well-received by residents of Santiago.

Population and Demographics

The demographic profile of Santiago is relatively homogenous, with the majority of the population being Creole (77 percent)¹²⁴ and practicing Christianity (87 percent).¹²⁵ The island has also seen increased rates of youth emigration to Europe and the United States, as well as internal migration toward urban areas and immigration from other ECOWAS member states. According to 2014 data from the National Institute of Statistics, nearly 40 percent of immigrants live in Praia and 12 percent live in Santa Catarina.¹²⁶ Fieldwork participants noted that migration to Praia and other urban areas has resulted in overpopulation, poor sanitation and strains on social services such as healthcare and education. Much of the internal migration to Santiago Island is reportedly driven by a desire for greater employment opportunities and access to services and infrastructure, much of which is centralized on Santiago. This has contributed to political discussions around decentralization and regionalization of government

services and funding, in an effort to ensure that opportunities exist on all islands.

In the area of healthcare, fieldwork participants in Santiago generally expressed satisfactory views of the government's ability to respond to disease outbreaks such as Zika or dengue fever. However, interviewees highlighted the high costs of advanced or specialized health services and medicine, which is a particular challenge for poor and vulnerable populations, many of whom lack insurance. It was also noted that, despite relatively high rates of contraceptive use across the country, additional outreach and education on family planning and reproductive health is needed for teenage populations.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Fieldwork participants reported a number of social and institutional resiliencies that help to mitigate the risks and vulnerabilities discussed above. In general, Santiago Island benefits from an open and cohesive society that is free from religious and ethnic conflicts. Due to Cabo Verde's geographic location and close-knit societal structure, there is little concern about extremism or radicalization. Interviewees also highlighted the importance of NGOs and CSOs in carrying out criminality prevention programs and education and advocacy efforts around issues such as GBV. Government aid programs, including the National Program for the Fight Against Poverty in Rural Areas and programs to provide food products or financial assistance to combat food insecurity, were also mentioned. The government runs a number of free rehabilitation programs on Santiago Island to combat drug use, including nine-month treatment programs which include in-patient care and vocational job training. These programs are currently only offered on Santiago Island but are expected to be expanded to other islands in the future. The 2011 law criminalizing GBV and measures such as the

¹²⁴ "Cabo Verde", The World Factbook, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA)

¹²⁵ "Cabo Verde 2016 International Religious Freedom Report", U.S. Department of State

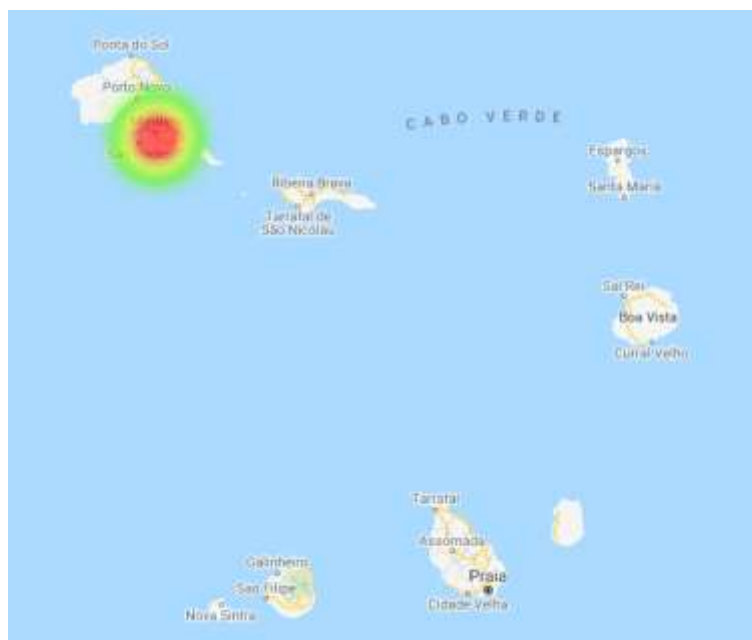
¹²⁶ "Inquérito Multi-Objectivo Contínuo - 2014 Estatísticas das Migrações", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

inclusion of a designated GBV officer in every police station were cited as sources of resilience. Finally, as noted above, the shift toward “proximity policing” and engagement of community

representatives was viewed as a positive development within the realm of security.

São Vicente Island

São Vicente is the second most populous island in the Cabo Verde archipelago, hosting an estimated population of 83,468 in 2018.¹²⁷ The island is located at the western end of the northern archipelago, with the island of Santo Antão to the west and north and the islands of Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal, and Boa Vista to the east. The economy of São Vicente is largely dependent on fishing. The island established an industrial zone to process fish, as well as other products in an attempt to diversify the island's economy. Tourism also remains an important part of the São Vicente economy.¹²⁸



Structural Vulnerabilities

- Slow judicial processing times
- Perceptions of bias within the judicial system
- Economic dependence on the tourist industry, foreign remittances and external investments
- Perceptions of corruption and nepotism among politicians
- Under-representation of women in political decision-making
- Disengagement of youth from political processes
- Regional disparities in government services and presence across islands
- Inadequate resources and capacity for maritime security
- Alcohol and drug addiction
- Low capacity of the healthcare system for specialized and advanced care

Event-Driven Risks

- External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment
- Incidents of corruption
- Incidents of criminality and illicit economic activities
- Gender-based violence (GBV) and child abuse

¹²⁷ “Projeções Demográficas de Cabo Verde 2010-2030”, Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2013

¹²⁸ “African Economic Outlook 2017”, African Development Bank, OECD and UNDP, May 2017

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

- Civil society organizations (CSOs) and NGOs
- Education and creativity of the youth population
- Strong electoral institutions such as the National Electoral Commission
- Culture of tolerance and openness

Rule of Law

Fieldwork participants in São Vicente highlighted the slowness of the judicial process as a key vulnerability undermining the rule of law, stating that has led to a lack of trust and perceptions of impunity in the judicial system. Participants in the Men's Focus Group Discussion (FGD) attributed the delays in investigations and judicial processing to a lack of human and technical resources, as well as centralization in the country's capital. Stakeholders also expressed concerns around perceptions of bias, corruption and bribery within the judicial system.

“There's no such thing as impartiality when it comes to [the rule of law].”

– Women's focus group discussion, Mindelo

Economics and Resources

Fieldwork participants highlighted the significant impact of the 2008 global financial crisis on São Vicente, particularly unemployment, decreased foreign remittances, and slowing public and private investment. Participants in the Women's FGD also noted that civil society organizations (CSOs), which largely depend on donations for their operations, were negatively impacted by the global crisis. Interviewees reported that these issues have been further exacerbated by the uneven distribution of public resources across islands, with most of the social services and infrastructure concentrated in the capital. This concentration has reportedly prompted the migration of some professional staff to other islands such as Sal or Santiago.

Additional concerns raised by fieldwork participants include lack of sufficient regulation around fraud, and risks related to the high number of ships in Mindelo Bay, with both wrecks and the maintenance of fuel containers posing significant risks to the environment and population.

Politics and Governance

A key issue in the area of Politics and Governance raised by fieldwork participants is perceptions of corruption and nepotism among politicians. Stakeholders cited the example of “false transparency” in public tenders, in which job postings appear to be open to the public but in reality are filled through nepotism. However, corruption at the local level remains relatively limited and “well disguised,” according to interviewees. As one participant in the Women's FGD in Mindelo said, “[It's] not like other African countries where corruption is on the surface, here it is hidden.” Interviewees in the Men's FGD called for legislation to improve the accountability of political officials and members of the public administration.

Fieldwork participants also discussed the underrepresentation of women and youth in decision-making and political life. It was noted that many youth in São Vicente feel that their issues and interests are not adequately represented and thus feel unmotivated to vote, while women remain underrepresented in decision-making positions. In addition, targeted outreach to both women and youth on political and electoral issues was reported to be limited.

Security

Primary security concerns identified by fieldwork participants in São Vicente include cases of criminality, including petty theft and assault, as well as drug trafficking and prostitution. According to a representative of the security forces interviewed in Mindelo, cases of criminality tend to rise during the Carnival festival season due to the influx of tourists and rise in alcohol consumption. Stakeholders expressed that most crime and prostitution on the island is driven by poverty. São Vicente also reportedly serves primarily as a transit point for drug trafficking, which is reported to occur mainly through the island's ports, rather than its airports. Domestic drug use, mainly of cannabis and cocaine, is present on the island, but remains limited due to the poverty of the population.

Gender-based violence (GBV) and child abuse are also ongoing concerns on São Vicente, and stakeholders connected the prevalence of these issues to poverty and the island's high rate of alcohol consumption. Stakeholders expressed mixed opinions on the effectiveness of the 2011 law criminalizing GBV; while some acknowledged that the law has improved reporting rates, others expressed concern that incidents may have simply become less visible and underreported due to a reluctance to report as it is now a criminal offense.

Finally, fieldwork participants generally expressed satisfaction with the security forces, although it was noted that police response time is often slow. A representative of the security forces in Mindelo reported that the National Police have increasingly adopted tactics of "proximity policing", which encourage greater interactions between communities and officers, and this shift has resulted in an "improved image" for the police. Police in São Vicente also reportedly lack adequate resources and capacity to control the island's

maritime borders, which contributes to incidents of drug trafficking.

"Drug trafficking is a major problem but mainly through maritime routes, as ports are not controlled and maritime police lack financial and material support to do proper interdiction and control. The airports are well-controlled, [so it is] very rare to have trafficking through these routes."

- Women's FGD, Mindelo

Population and Demographics

Fieldwork participants reported that the island of São Vicente has seen an increase in immigration from other African countries, particularly Guinea-Bissau, Senegal and Nigeria. According to 2014 data from the National Institute of Statistics, São Vicente has the third-highest concentration of foreign nationals in the country, and is home to 13.2 percent of immigrants in Cabo Verde.¹²⁹ This migration has reportedly strained social services in São Vicente, and fieldwork participants noted cases of discrimination against African immigrants and cultural clashes around issues such as Female Genital Mutilation and Cutting (FGM/C) and polygamy, although these incidents remain limited. In addition, São Vicente has experienced out-migration, particularly of youth, to other islands such as Sal, Boa Vista, and Santiago due to the island's more limited access to economic opportunities and social services.

Interviewees particularly highlighted youth as a vulnerable population on São Vicente Island. Participants noted that there was no clear policy for the youth, who were well educated but faced limited employment prospects, which contributes to an increase in crime and insecurity. In addition,

¹²⁹ "Inquérito Multi-Objectivo Contínuo – 2014 Estatísticas das Migrações", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde, 2015

respondents said that a lack of family structure and social support systems result in youth as young as 12 years old being particularly vulnerable to drug and alcohol addiction.

Participants also identified the elderly as a vulnerable population. According to the 2010 census, the proportion of the population above the age of 65 in São Vicente is slightly above the national average: 9.4 percent compared to 8.5 percent.¹³⁰ Participants in the Women's FGD reported that the elderly in São Vicente are largely forgotten and stigmatized with the perception that they have nothing to contribute. Furthermore, the participants reported that the elderly rely on fixed pensions, which are not only inadequate and often not distributed in a timely manner, but also leave them particularly vulnerable to economic shocks and added expenses. A representative of the Red Cross interviewed in Mindelo noted that his organization carries out several programs targeting the elderly in São Vicente, including social activities, delivery of hot meals, and care for the bedridden, while ACATI was also identified as an NGO providing aid and services to the elderly.

Stakeholders also discussed the healthcare system in São Vicente, highlighting the system's lack of adequate resources and specialized care to meet the needs of the population. While the island has a hospital with national certification, the hospital's 200 beds are reportedly not enough for the growing population. The hospital and health clinics also reportedly lack the equipment necessary for advanced care and specialized doctors, especially to treat the rise in esophageal cancers caused by alcohol abuse. At the moment, patients must often travel to Praia or abroad to

"In terms of surgery, we're so far behind that it's like we're in the 1940s."

- Red Cross Representative, Mindelo

¹³⁰ "RGPH 2010 – Cabo Verde em Numeros", Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Cabo Verde

seek advanced care. In addition, interviewees identified long appointment wait times – sometimes up to several months – and high costs as shortcomings in the healthcare system.

Finally, fieldwork participants discussed issues of family planning and sexual and reproductive health. While it was noted that NGOs such as VerdeFam and the government-run *Programa Materno-Infantil/Planeamento Familiar* (PMI-PF) provide education and access to free contraceptives, additional targeted outreach is reportedly necessary for teenage populations. In addition, although the rate of HIV/AIDS in São Vicente is low, the Red Cross is reportedly carrying out interventions within immigrant and lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) communities on the island, as these communities engage in more risk behaviors.

Social and Institutional Resilience Factors

Despite the vulnerabilities and risks enumerated above, fieldwork participants in São Vicente identified a number of sources of social and institutional resilience. The island is very stable, with most crime due to poverty and unemployment, and respondents felt that even these have been declining in recent years. Despite the lack of sufficient support, many participants spoke favorably of the youth population, both for being well educated and as sources of social and cultural creativity. Respondents also expressed positive views of the electoral system and its associated institutions such as the National Electoral Commission. Civil society organizations and NGOs were identified by many participants as a major source of institutional resilience, helping strengthen the community in a diverse range of areas, from elections to healthcare to the provision of social services and support. For example, the NGO VerdeFam works on reproductive health issues and provides free medical consultations and access to family planning. Finally, several

respondents identified the culture of tolerance and openness, as exemplified by a rare acceptance of

homosexuality, as an important source of resilience.

Conclusion and Recommendations

From an international perspective, Cabo Verde is often praised as a model of good governance, democracy and economic development in the West African region. The country has never experienced a coup d'état and has seen multiple peaceful transfers of power since opening up to multiparty democracy in the 1990s, with elections routinely judged to be free and fair. The government also scores well on various measures of transparency and good governance. In addition, the growth of the tourism industry and foreign direct investment (FDI) has greatly benefitted the Cabo Verdean economy, which now boasts the highest GDP in the ECOWAS region. As a result, in 2008 Cabo Verde graduated from a low-income country to a middle-income country.¹³¹ The country's CRVA Index scores show particularly high levels of resilience in the areas of Politics and Governance, Security, and Population and Demographics, reflecting Cabo Verde's overall stability and low levels of insecurity.

However, the CRVA Index and subsequent fieldwork highlighted continued vulnerabilities in the areas of Rule of Law and Economics and Resources. In particular, a lack of adequate resources and capacity within the judicial system jeopardize accountability, as well concerns around political corruption and nepotism. Within the economic realm, dependence on foreign investment and tourism – activities which have contributed to growth and development in the past – leaves the country vulnerable to exogenous shocks and external events beyond its control, as was demonstrated during the 2008 global financial crisis. As an archipelago in the Sahel region with limited natural resources, the country is also highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change and environmental pressures such as drought. Although overall levels of per-capita fatalities remain low, criminality, gender-based violence

(GBV), and drug and human trafficking are ongoing threats that negatively impact human security in the country. Interviews with representatives of the security forces during the CRVA fieldwork emphasized the current lack of resources and low capacity of the Cabo Verdean security forces to patrol and secure the country's extensive maritime territory and many coastlines. This presents an opportunity for expanded cooperation with bi- and multi-lateral partners, both regional and international, to enhance the country's capacity in order to combat the larger regional threats of drug and human trafficking networks.

Demographic pressures stemming from internal migration also represent an opportunity for action on the part of the Cabo Verdean government as well as donors, partner organizations and civil society. Stakeholders in the CRVA fieldwork emphasized the need to rectify disparities between islands with regard to infrastructure and social services, as these inequalities drive internal migration to larger urban and tourist centers such as Sal and Santiago islands. In turn, this population influx has placed additional pressures on urban infrastructure, housing, and services such as healthcare and education.

However, as noted above, Cabo Verde possesses significant resources and resiliencies to address the vulnerabilities detailed in this report. The country's strong and independent institutions, as well as long-term investments in infrastructure, education and healthcare, will serve the country well in seeking to mitigate risks stemming from these pressures. Looking to the future, the country must consolidate the gains of recent decades, while ensuring equitable and sustainable economic growth for all Cabo Verdeans, promoting empowerment of women and youth, and adapting

¹³¹ "AfDB President Applauds Cape Verde's Graduation to Middle Income Country and MDG Achievements Despite

Hostile Initial Conditions", African Development Bank, April 2010

to the challenges of climate change. By leveraging the country's existing assets and promoting good governance, transparency, and community-focused development, Cabo Verde will continue to uphold its reputation as a model for security and stability in the region.

Rule of Law

- Support initiatives to improve trial processing timeframe and decrease backlogs of cases within the judicial system
- Support initiatives to improve access to justice for vulnerable populations, including affordable or pro bono legal representation
- Support prison reform initiatives by the Ministry of Justice to bring detention processes and prison conditions into compliance with international standards
- Reform the justice system to enforce prosecution of acts perpetrated by teenagers

Economics and Resources

- Help local farmers to invest in mechanized and climate-adaptive approaches for agricultural production
- Strengthen and expand access to credit and financing for women and youth entrepreneurs, such as through micro-finance initiatives
- Invest in infrastructure development in rural and underserved areas
- Support initiatives within government, civil society and the private sector to enhance the country's preparedness for and resiliency to the threats of climate change, particularly sea level rise and changing rainfall patterns

Politics and Governance

- Establish a national education campaign to encourage women and youth to run for office
- Adopt best practices from other African countries on increasing political representation of women
- Support civic education programs, particularly those targeting youth and women
- Support transparency and anti-corruption initiatives

Security

- Support bi- and multi-lateral training assistance programs, with support from regional and international partners, to enhance the institutional and operational capacity of the security forces
- Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity and trafficking networks, including strengthening border controls
- Support CSOs working on criminality prevention programs, particularly those engaging the youth population
- Support services and rehabilitation programs for victims of gender-based violence (GBV), child abuse and human trafficking, and train members of the security forces and judicial system on referrals to these services

Population and Demographics

- Support civil society organizations, NGOs and INGOs in raising awareness on key issues like GBV and child abuse through culturally-sensitive programs
- Invest in social service provision in rural and underserved areas, particularly in the area of healthcare

- Support initiatives to enhance human and technical capacity for specialized healthcare, particularly in peripheral or underserved islands
- Support CSOs, government and schools in carrying out sexual and reproductive health education, particularly programs targeted for teenage populations

Appendix A: Data Sample

Phase	Dimension	Source	Metric	Sample
Phase 1: Desktop	Resilience	SNA	Survey	10 Peace/Security Actors
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	ECOWARN	SitReps	671 reports
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections is/are protected from political interference	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the agency/agencies mandated to organize and monitor national elections make/s timely, publicly available reports before and after a national election.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Electoral process and pluralism	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Political Participation	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	EIU Democracy Index	Functioning of Government	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	IDEA	Average Voter Turnout Parliamentary	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Transparency International	Corruption Perception	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	BTI	Political and Social Integration	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Freedom House	Political Rights	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Proportion of seats held by women in national parliament	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Mo Ibrahim Index	Personal Safety	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN, ECOWAS, AU	Peace Operations	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	ACLED	Conflict Fatalities per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UPPSALA	Presence/Conflict with Non-State Armed Groups	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale – Amnesty	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale – State	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	PTS	Political Terror Scale – HRW	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	Refugees by country of origin per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	Refugees by country of origin (difference 2015-2014) per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	IDPs by Country of Asylum per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UNHCR	IDPs by country of asylum (difference 2015-2014) per capita	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the independence of the judiciary is guaranteed.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, national-level judges give reasons for their decisions/judgments.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, allegations of corruption against senior level politicians and/or civil servants of any level are investigated by an independent body.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the body/bodies that investigate/s allegations of public sector corruption is/are effective.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	Global Integrity	In practice, the mechanism for citizens to report police misconduct or abuse of force is effective.	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB Human Rights and Law Report	% of Women on Constitutional Court	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB – Women, Business, and Law	Does the law mandate equal remuneration for work of equal value?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB – Women, Business, and Law	Does the law mandate nondiscrimination based on gender in hiring?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB – Women, Business, and Law	Is dismissal of pregnant workers prohibited?	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Gini coefficient	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Gini WYD	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Income Share Held by Highest 10%	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population with Improved Sanitation (Urban-Rural Difference)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population with Improved Water Source (Urban-Rural Difference)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Children under 5 moderately or severely underweight, percentage	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Depth of the food deficit (kilocalories per person per day)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Prevalence of Underweight, weight for age (% of children under 5)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	GDP per capita, PPP (current international \$)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Literacy, 15-24, Women	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	School enrollment, primary and secondary (gross), gender parity index (GPI)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Employment to population ratio, ages 15-24, female (%) (modeled ILO estimate)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)

Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Median Age	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Population Growth	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	UN Stats	Prevalence of underweight, weight for age, female (% of children under 5)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Maternal mortality ratio (modeled estimate, per 100,000 live births)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Contraceptive prevalence, any methods (% of women ages 15-49)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	World Bank Data	Life expectancy at birth, female (years)	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Vulnerability	WB – Women, Business, and Law	Percentage of women aged 20-24 years old who were married or in a union before age 18	15 (all ECOWAS member states normalized and scaled)
Phase 1: Desktop	Risk	ECOWARN	IncReps	671 (after reducing for duplicates and relevance)
Phase 2: Field Research	Risk and Vulnerability	Focus Group Discussions	Broken out by Men, Women, and Youth	8
Phase 2: Field Research	Risk and Vulnerability	Key Informant Interviews	Prominent individuals and local experts, including gvt officials	11

Appendix B: Vulnerability Index

Index Data Sources

Based on the five human security pillars, a series of indicators were identified based on relevance and measurability. Data sources were then identified from recognized institutions such as the World Bank, United Nations, as well as universities, research institutions, and think tanks. A full list of data sources is attached in **Appendix A**. During selection and testing of the index, the availability of data was assessed to ensure an even distribution of scores.

Process: Calculating the Scores

The index is scored on a scale of 1-10, with 1 representing the highest level of vulnerability, and 10 the lowest level of vulnerability. Each raw data set is normalized and scaled, before being integrated into the indicator and pillar scores.

1. Normalization

An index, by definition, integrates and compares data sets with very different curves and distribution. As a first step, therefore, it is necessary to normalize the data so that it can be properly compared. Without framing the data within the context of the wider group of numbers, its meaning can become skewed. Therefore, the process of finding the mean and calculating the Standard Deviation (SD) of the data set, then using those elements to approximate a normal distribution, can be used to provide this meaning. The Gaussian normalization formula is outlined below.

Where μ is the mean

σ^2 is the variance

$$f(x, \mu, \sigma) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi} \sigma} e^{-\frac{(x-\mu)^2}{2\sigma^2}}$$

SD is the quantity calculated to indicate the extent of deviation for a group of numbers as a whole. Normal distribution is then used to find how the variables are approximately normally distributed. In the context of this tool, it will help to understand where countries sit in relation to each other within the group distribution of a particular data set.

For raw data sets that have gaps (e.g. data is unavailable for some countries but not others), country data points are left blank. This ensures countries are not provided with an artificial score, where data does not exist.

2. Scaling

To create an index where countries are scored within a defined range, the data sets must be scaled so the scores can be integrated. This process of scaling transforms the normalized data into a number between 1 and 10, with 10 representing the lowest level of vulnerability. The below formula was applied to standardize the distribution values from [min, max] to [MIN, MAX], matching the new scale of values both for the highest and lowest edges of the distribution.

$$X = MIN + \frac{(MAX - MIN)}{(max - min)} \times (x - min)$$

3. Aggregation

Each indicator may be made up of either one or multiple data sources. In cases where multiple data sets were used to make up the one indicator, the data sets were each scaled to preliminary index scores (1-10), as outlined in the above steps. The average was then taken of these scores to reach a final index score for that indicator. This process was repeated at the pillar level, first averaging, then scaling the indicator scores.

Appendix C: Additional References

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Appendix D: Matrix of Vulnerabilities, Risks, Resilience Factors, and Recommendations by Human Security Pillar

CABO VERDE	Vulnerabilities	Risks	Resiliencies	Recommendations
Rule of Law	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Slow judicial processes ➤ Poor access to justice for vulnerable populations ➤ Perceptions of corruption, impunity and bias in the political and judicial systems ➤ Gender-based violence (GBV): violence against women and girls ➤ Low capacity of the judicial system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of corruption ➤ Incidents of rape ➤ Huge deportee/returnee population 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Judicial independence ➤ Strong legal frameworks ➤ Law against gender-based violence ➤ Action plan to combat gender-based violence ➤ National Rehabilitation Program for men Perpetrators of GBV 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support initiatives to improve trial processing timeframe and decrease backlogs of cases within the judicial system ➤ Support initiatives to improve access to justice for vulnerable populations, including affordable or pro bono legal representation ➤ Support prison reform initiatives by the Ministry of Justice to bring detention processes and prison conditions into compliance with international standards ➤ Reform the justice system to enforce prosecution of acts perpetrated by teenagers
Economics & Resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Economic dependence on foreign remittances, foreign direct investment and tourism ➤ Limited access to financing and credit, particularly for youth and women ➤ Regional disparities between islands and rural-urban inequalities ➤ Limited arable land and low levels of agricultural production ➤ Geographic vulnerability to climate change and drought 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ External events that could create a downturn in tourism and foreign investment ➤ Natural disasters ➤ Environmental pressures such as drought and the effects of climate change ➤ Food insecurity ➤ High cost of living and price volatility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Employment opportunities created by the growth of the tourism industry ➤ Infrastructure and development programs ➤ Remittances from diaspora ➤ A very good irrigation system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Help local farmers to invest in mechanized and climate-adaptive approaches for agricultural production ➤ Strengthen and expand access to credit and financing for women and youth entrepreneurs, such as through micro-finance initiatives ➤ Invest in infrastructure development in rural and underserved areas ➤ Support initiatives within government, civil society and the private sector to enhance the country's preparedness for and resiliency to the threats of climate change, particularly sea level rise and changing rainfall patterns

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Low soil fertility ➤ Very low levels of annual precipitation 			
Politics & Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Regional disparities in government services and presence across islands ➤ Perceptions of corruption among politicians ➤ Underrepresentation of women in political decision-making ➤ Disengagement of youth from political processes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of corruption or mismanagement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Government programs in the areas of poverty reduction, affordable housing and healthcare ➤ NGOs, civil society organizations and community associations ➤ The media as a source of information and public awareness-raising ➤ A strong public administration with e-governance system ➤ Culture of peaceful political transitions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Establish a national education campaign to encourage women and youth to run for office ➤ Adopt best practices from other African countries on increasing political representation of women ➤ Support civic education programs, particularly those targeting youth and women ➤ Support transparency and anti-corruption initiatives
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Geographic location and composition ➤ Inadequate capacity and resources for security forces to secure maritime domain ➤ Criminality (drug/human trafficking) ➤ Transit route for illegal migration 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Incidents of criminality including child disappearances, homicide, rape etc.) ➤ Cases of gender-based violence (GBV) ➤ Increase cases of drug trafficking, money laundering, and human trafficking ➤ Illegal maritime activities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Bi- and multi-lateral training and capacity-building programs for security forces ➤ Proximity policing ➤ Maritime Security Operation center (COSMAR) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support bi- and multi-lateral training assistance programs, with support from regional and international partners, to enhance the institutional and operational capacity of the security forces ➤ Work with regional and international partners to address larger regional trends of insecurity and trafficking networks, including strengthening border controls ➤ Support CSOs working on criminality prevention programs, particularly those engaging the youth population ➤ Support services and rehabilitation programs for victims of gender-based violence (GBV), child abuse and human trafficking, and train members of the security forces and judicial system on referrals to these services

Population & Demographics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Demographic growth, primarily due to movements from smaller to bigger islands ➤ Unemployment ➤ Regional disparities in healthcare spending and services ➤ Environmental pressures (drought, volcano, flooding) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Disease outbreak ➤ Tensions between local and immigrant populations ➤ Sexual tourism ➤ Unequal population distribution among the islands adding significant pressure on infrastructure and services ➤ Teenage pregnancy ➤ Disease outbreak (zika and dengue fevers) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Social cohesion and culture of tolerance ➤ High Literacy rate ➤ Social and welfare services for vulnerable population ➤ Vibrant tourism sector ➤ “Casa para todos” (Housing for all) ➤ Support from NGOs program to combat vulnerabilities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Support civil society organizations, NGOs and INGOs in raising awareness on key issues like GBV and child abuse through culturally-sensitive programs ➤ Invest in social service provision in rural and underserved areas, particularly in the area of healthcare ➤ Support initiatives to enhance human and technical capacity for specialized healthcare, particularly in peripheral or underserved islands ➤ Support CSOs, government and schools in carrying out sexual and reproductive health education, particularly programs targeted for teenage populations
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