12. International Migration from and to Portugal: What do we know and where are we going?

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12.1. Introduction

At the beginning of the 1990s, official sources (IAECP 1991) estimated\(^1\) that there were more than four million Portuguese citizens living abroad. In that same year, the *Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras* (Portuguese Immigration Service, hereinafter SEF) had records on 113,978 foreign nationals residing legally in Portugal. Adding this figure to the number of residency requests that were processed in the following year,\(^2\) we arrive at a total number of foreigners residing within the Portuguese borders (both legally and illegally) of about 150,000—which is to say, in 1991, foreigners accounted for 1.5 per cent of the resident population of Portugal, and Portuguese living abroad amounted to more than 40 per cent of the resident population. Despite what these numbers appear to tell us, it is common to find assertions in academic works and the press that Portugal has undergone a transformation from ‘emigration country’ to ‘immigration country’. Although paradoxical on the surface, there may in fact be some truth to these claims when we consider that the elevated number of Portuguese living abroad are there as a result of earlier migrations.

However, our reading of the evidence (looking beyond the mere numbers cited above), leads us to the belief that emigration does in fact remain a hallmark of the overall Portuguese society. Whether legal or extra-legal, Portuguese emigration continues at a strong pace,\(^3\) while remittances from

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\(^1\) The estimate refers to May of 1991.

\(^2\) During the programme of *Regularização Extraordinária* (Special Legalization) which took place in 1992, 39,166 illegal immigrants came forward and requested official authority for their residence. (SEF informative publication [no author], cited in Baganha 1998a).

\(^3\) More than 170,000 (permanent and temporary) between 1986 and 1988 (Baganha 1993).
abroad continue to exert a powerful social and economic impact at home.4 At the same time, immigration remains important—not so much in terms of numbers, but rather in the socioeconomic imprint it has left in some locations (and not others), and gaining a high-profile in Portuguese society from the 1980s on. This phenomenon has drawn evermore attention from researchers in recent years.

Since the mid-1980s, this attention, has been focused mainly on the immigration process and its consequences for the Portuguese society. Three factors have come together in this regard:

(1) a falling rate of permanent emigration between 1974 and 1985, coupled with a strong wave of returning nationals in the late 1970s and early 1980s—prompting some researchers to declare an end to the emigration cycle to Europe;

(2) the fact that the official source of data, the Instituto Nacional de Estatística (INE—National Bureau of Statistics), continued mistakenly to promulgate improbable emigration figures—a result of the Bureau’s chronic inability to develop observation instruments capable of accurately measuring the exit movements and characteristics of the emigrants;

(3) the high visibility that foreigners (immigrants and nonimmigrants, alike) have been attaining since 1975, especially in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

This heightened visibility is in part the result of a widespread confusion between the so-called retornados5 of dark skin and bona fide immigrants from African countries where Portuguese is the official language (‘PALOP’s, Paises Africanos de Lingua Official Portuguesa).

The goal of this article is to make a survey of the Portuguese published research which deals specifically with the issues of emigration from and immigration to Portugal since the Second World War. We shall pay special attention to those works which have been published within the last twenty years. It is not our intention to provide a review of the literature on this subject,6 but rather, to shed light on what is known and not known about the two major themes, to detect and expose the main lines of research that have been pursued by Portuguese investigators, and in light of that, to offer some suggestions for further research—thereby adding to our knowledge of the Portuguese society.

4 10 per cent of Portuguese GDP during the 1980s, up from 8 per cent during the 1970s (Baganha 1993).
5 A nickname for individuals residing in the one-time Portuguese colonies.
6 Portuguese emigration has fallen under the scrutiny of researchers from many fields, including history, demography, anthropology, geography, psychology, sociology, literary studies, communication science, political science, economy, etc. The reader will discover that the greater part of the contributions considered herein are from the perspective of history, sociology, and economy.
12.2. Emigration

As noted above, 30 per cent of the Portuguese population lived and/or worked abroad at the beginning of the 1990s. This figure is simply the remnant of a longstanding fact. According to Magalhães Godinho (1978), emigration is nothing less than a structural constant in Portuguese history—a constant which, for Joel Serrão (1970), has its roots in the colonization of Madeira (c. 1425), and which has grown, ever since, evermore integral to the Portuguese psyche. Drawing upon the perspective of another discipline and paraphrasing the classic formulation of W. Petersen (1958), we could say that since the fifteenth century, the exit movements have become progressively integrated into the lifeways of several social groups, which have developed their value systems so as to support those lifeways.\(^7\)

Clearly, this does not mean that migration has run at a constant rate over time. Nor does it mean that all regions of the country have participated equally. This system of values that sanction and legitimize emigration is found in some regions, and not others. These values tend, by the same token, to occur in the absence of exogenous factors which would impede their materialization.

Such exogenous factors reduce the exit flows only temporarily, as it happened in the 1930/40s and again between 1974 and 1985. The slump in emigration did not spell its death, however. It meant only that during both periods, emigration fell dormant in the face of a discouraging ‘winter’ in the international environment, ready to awaken anew upon the ‘spring’s’ return. This is of particular interest to the Portuguese case, as we find no structural ruptures in the value systems of the groups which have produced emigrants—rather, emigration has resumed as soon as the situation in the destination countries has allowed.

The social framework that gave rise to Portuguese emigration\(^8\) came into being earlier than the phenomenon itself. Until about 1820, Portuguese migration was essentially linked to the mercantile and imperial objectives of the Portuguese Crown. Prior to the independence of Brazil (1822), for example, those who left the homeland were either in direct service to the Crown or seeking personal advance in other parts of the Empire. Thereafter, the character of migration changed, becoming more of what we see it as

\(^7\) Thus, one might better say that a social group in motion (e.g. nomads), tends to remain so unless impelled to change; for with any viable pattern of life a value system is developed to support that pattern (Petersen 1958: 258).

\(^8\) Herein, emigration is considered to be the move, for an uncertain amount of time, of workers and their relatives, from one sovereign country to another.
as today—international labour mobility—which is based on imbalance in the geoeconomic system, and Portuguese emigrants sought destinations which were now outside of their own colonial Empire.\(^9\)

Whether representing international labour mobility or the quest for a new life, Portuguese emigration falls into three well-defined cycles. The first lasted throughout the nineteenth century and can even be said to have stretched all the way into the 1960s. During this cycle more than two million left Portugal for the new world—principally Brazil. The second cycle starts in the 1950s and begins to fade out in 1974. This cycle saw about the same number of individuals emigrate, and as it happened over a much shorter time span, represents a far greater intensity. This exit wave left mostly for destinations elsewhere in Europe—principally France and Germany. The third cycle got under way around 1985 and continues to date. Europe remains the destination of preference—Germany, still, but now Switzerland more than France.\(^10\)

As noted above, intercontinental emigration shows a sharp decrease beginning in the 1960s. Although greatly reduced, it remains detectable to this day. However, given the objectives of this article and the marked decline of impact that these residual trans-Atlantic flows have in recent emigration dynamics, they will not be treated in great depth, and the remainder of this section will be centred on Portuguese emigration to Europe.

12.2.1. Intra-European Labour Movements: the Portuguese Case, 1950–74

12.2.1.1. The European context\(^11\)

Between 1953 and 1973, the (then) six countries comprising the EEC issued the first eight million foreign-work authorizations, illustrating the massive transfer of labour from the peripheral south to the industrialized north during the phase of sustained postwar growth. During that same period,
which J. Fourastié called the ‘thirty glorious years’, industrialized Europe implemented a systematic policy to recruit workers from abroad, triggering the arrival of several million noncommunity migrants with their families. Settling these ‘guest-labour’ immigrants was encouraged by the need for labour, by the economic and social mobility it afforded the citizens of the host country, and by the widespread belief that the situation was only temporary and could be easily changed as soon as the crisis of imbalance in the economic-labour market became rectified, or as soon as the immigrants lost their jobs in the host country or saved enough money to return home.\footnote{Beginning in the late 1950s, and especially following the construction of the Berlin Wall (1961), the areas that supplied labour were progressively enlarged to Turkey, North Africa and, in general, to all of the areas in which Europe had previously maintained colonial relationships.}

In turn, the labour market became sharply divided, and demand in the secondary market came to be satisfied by the foreign labour (Piore 1979).

The oil crisis of 1973–4, the economic downturn that proceeded from it, and the restrictive immigration policies that came into place, marked the beginning of a new phase in the European migratory processes. Until then, the immigration policies of the leading European countries could be characterized as ‘open door’ or even ‘actively seeking’, while after 1974 we see the policies grow ever more restrictive—to the point of serving as barriers to further immigration.

During the 1980s—in full economic recession—industrialized Europe woke up to the fallacy of the ‘return myth’ they had created, and simultaneously discovered that within its borders Europe had provoked the creation of highly concentrated communities which were clearly suffering sociocultural exclusion. The exclusion ills were compounded by the working and living conditions and pay scales, all of which were substantially lower than the respective national averages.

From the political point of view, the collapse of Eastern Europe and the reunification of Germany neutralized the decisions that by then already appeared to be inevitable. In the economic field, the transfer of labour-intensive industries from Western Europe to southeast Asia, the partial substitution by capital-intensive industries, and above all, sharp growth in the tertiary sector, have sent the immigrant communities farther down the slippery slope toward poverty—and created an arena where many voices can be heard to claim that Europe needs no more immigrants. This polemic permeates the scholarly and political discourse of our day.

In response to this crisis, since the mid-1970s the European countries have sought to set migratory policies into motion which simultaneously...
promote the integration of earlier-formed immigrant communities and their relatives into the respective social fabrics of their host countries while discouraging further labour-motivated immigration. In other words, the goal of the policies is to allow for the reunification of families, but prohibit economic emigration.\textsuperscript{13}

12.2.1.2. The place of Portuguese emigration in Europe

It is estimated that 1,815,000 emigrants left Portugal between 1950 and 1974. Table 12.1 presents the Portuguese emigration, broken down by destination and five-year periods from 1959 to 1988. The data can be summarized in the following way: Portuguese emigration showed strong, steady growth from 1950 (22,000 registered departures) to 1970 (183,000 departures); a downturn from 1971 to the late 1980s; and a postwar peak between 1965 and 1974, with an annual average of departures standing at around 122,000.\textsuperscript{14}

As one can see from the table, the human drain upon the Portuguese demographic fabric intensified when Europe became a primary destination. In fact, in the 1965–74 period alone, 1,218,000 people left the country. Of these, 775,000 (63 per cent) went to France and 175,000 (14 per cent) went to Germany\textsuperscript{15} (Baganha 1994, 1998a).

Just as we find in the trans-Atlantic cycle, the typical emigrant of this period comes from a rural area. Within the intra-European cycle, on the other hand, we can detect a growing number of departures from larger urban and industrial concentrations. We can also detect change in the fact that the coastal area of Lisbon yields up more and more emigrants, and of legal emigrants from 1955 to 1988, 26 per cent from 1955–59, 38 per cent from 1960–9, and 50 per cent in the 1970s originated in the secondary sector of the economy.

It is particularly risky to make conclusions about changes in the gender, age and/or family status of the migrants (see note 15). However, it seems

\textsuperscript{13} Currently, only the purposes of family reunification are explicitly worded in the policies of European governments. For more on this, see, e.g. Kubat 1993 or Baldwin-Eduards and Schain 1994.

\textsuperscript{14} Many sources exist for data on this period. We draw special attention to Stahl et al. 1982; Arroteia 1983; Baganha 1993 and 1998a; Rocha-Trindade (ed.) 1985; and Baganha et al. 1998.

\textsuperscript{15} Between 1950 and 1988, about 777,000 Portuguese appeared in France and Germany who were not counted in the Portuguese statistics. A comparison between Portuguese and French figures indicates that Portuguese authorities underestimated the exits by 48 per cent during the 1960s and 81 per cent during the 1970s. Migration to Germany was underestimated by 27 per cent from 1962-9 and 42 per cent during the 1970s. Earlier studies (Antunes 1981; Stahl et al. 1982) considered only the illegal and clandestine migration to France, and their totals may be different from those presented here (cf. Baganha 1998a).
reasonable to allow that the migratory flow to Europe shows two waves: a first in the 1950s and mid 1960s, which was dominated by isolated departures of men in their prime working years; and a second beginning in the late 1960s and lasting throughout the 1970s, resulting in a significant number of family reunions, as is suggested by the rising number of children less than fifteen years of age and married women departing in the 1970s.

Portuguese emigration to Europe followed the same pattern observed in the trans-Atlantic wave: men seeking work, followed in the late-1960s by their families. This was easier in the case of Europe, due to the geographic proximity, additional means of transportation and increasing employment opportunities for women in the host countries (Bretell 1978, 1986).

In the early 1970s, the principal destination countries of Portuguese emigrants unilaterally suspended authority for any further work-seeking migration. This was followed by a number of incentives aimed at encouraging the existing migrant communities to return to their countries of origin (Poinard 1983; Stahl et al. 1982). For most of those who returned, the entire emigration episode—at least at the personal level—ended on a note of success. Gains often included a home, a car, savings in the bank, even a small business or restaurant, and moreover, the possibility, if desired, for the wife to become a homemaker. Other benefits which are more difficult to measure are the satisfaction of returning to one’s homeland and the potential for upward mobility derived from savings.

At the macro level, on the other hand, their contributions and gains are perhaps less than what they could have been. Fully 92 per cent of those who returned were either illiterate (12 per cent), possessed no formal

| Year | Brazil | USA | Canada | Trans-atlantic | France | Germany | Other Europe | Total Europe | Total Europe (%)
|------|--------|-----|--------|----------------|-------|---------|-------------|--------------|----------------
| 1950–4 | 145,867 | 5,59 | – | 180,636 | 2,824 | 11 | 995 | 3,830 | 184,466 | 2.1 |
| 1955–9 | 91,460 | 10,624 | 11,350 | 145,899 | 18,929 | 19 | 644 | 19,592 | 165,491 | 11.8 |
| 1960–4 | 58,289 | 15,997 | 18,463 | 120,040 | 115,235 | 8,613 | 3,639 | 127,487 | 247,527 | 51.5 |
| 1965–9 | 14,978 | 50,677 | 31,942 | 133,804 | 352,830 | 51,358 | 12,102 | 416,290 | 550,094 | 51.5 |
| 1970–4 | 5,646 | 43,839 | 39,410 | 112,656 | 416,848 | 123,930 | 14,380 | 555,158 | 667,814 | 75.7 |
| 1975–9 | 3,485 | 39,574 | 19,398 | 82,731 | 68,013 | 27,834 | 4,360 | 100,207 | 182,938 | 54.8 |
| 1980–4 | 963 | 16,271 | 7,601 | 51,188 | 42,600 | 11,900 | 1,668 | 56,168 | 107,356 | 52.3 |
| 1985–8 | 276 | 10,242 | 10,818 | 27,557 | 6,800 | 11,400 | 745 | 18,945 | 46,502 | 44.6 |
| Total | 320,964 | 192,793 | 138,982 | 854,511 | 102,407 | 235,065 | 38,533 | 129,767 | 215,218 | 60.3 |

Source: Taken from Baganha 1994: 975.
education (24 per cent), or had completed only the first grade (56 per cent). Specialization acquired abroad—in those rare instances when it occurred at all—was not easily transferable to the home country, nor were the returnees even interested in many cases in continuing in the same type of work they had been engaged in abroad. It is essential to recognize that only 59 per cent of those who returned even went back to work—and that most of these returned to agriculture or set up an independent small trade.

It is undeniable that the returning emigrants contributed in a decisive way to regional development in Portugal, namely, in promoting the banking system, improving housing conditions and propelling small trade. However, these contributions have not been appraised in an overly positive light, as we find in the works of Caroline Leite (1989, 1990), nor have they been deemed particularly favourable by those who remained at home, if we accept the findings of Albertino Gonçalves (1996) on this theme.

An examination of the Portuguese experience in France, which typifies the emigration phenomenon, serves well to illustrate the overall process and its phases during the first intra-European cycle. In 1961, the number of Portuguese migrants in France still stood below 10,000, accounting for only 10.5 per cent of all new immigrants into that country. From this year until 1970, Portuguese immigration skyrocketed, reaching 136,000 in 1970 (the largest influx of Portuguese migrants to France in any single year), and 111,000 in 1971—53 per cent and 51 per cent, respectively, of all new immigrants (according to French sources) for those two years (Antunes 1973: 73, 109). We thus regard 1970 as the turning point from the expansion phase (1950–70) to the retraction phase (1971–85). Even though this turning point came in 1970/1, it was only after the oil crisis of 1973/4 that we see the truly marked decline of Portuguese emigration to France (Baganha 1994, 1998a).

This decrease of migratory flow to France which began in the early years of the 1970s would have less importance had it not occurred in conjunction with a change in the composition of the flow. Until this time, men seeking work had made up the bulk of emigrants. Now, however, the greater part of the flow is comprised of relatives of those men who had gone ahead, as well as a surprising number of people returning to Portugal. Despite the appearance of retraction, the work component did continue to be an important element between 1972 and 1977. From 1978 to 1985, though, the flow was consistently dominated by the family component.

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From 1987 to 1989, the work component reasserted its dominance, representing 74 per cent of the registered immigrants, according to French sources.17

Michel Poinard (1983) estimated the average annual number of definitive returns from 1960–80 to be between 25,000 and 30,000, and that in the following decade the figure dropped to 24,000. The period of greatest return seems to be the first half of the 1980s. The research team coordinated by Manuela Silva (Silva et al. 1984: 59) estimated that there were 209,000 returns from 1980–5, which is to say an annual average of 42,000 returns. This calculated annual average is greater than the 25,000 to 30,000 returns that occurred during the previous decade. 18 These three factors come together to form the end of a migratory cycle. This end, in fact, marks a terminus in the minds of those who had gone: half had emigrated and returned home to Portugal; half had emigrated and established new homes, along with their families, in France.

Given that the number of Portuguese immigrants who resided legally in France was 759,000 in 1975, 767,000 in 1982, and 650,000 in 1990 (Sopemi 1993: 193), the end of the migratory project seems to point up that far more Portuguese settled permanently than left France.

The socioeconomic characteristics and the integration of Portuguese immigrants into French society are treated in M. Tribalat (1995) and Pereira and Tavares (1999, 2000). From the first work we have extracted a number of indicators on these subjects (Tables 12.2 and 12.3).

As we can see in Table 12.2, there is a clear decrease in the rate of Portuguese endogamy by the age of arrival in France. The evidence apparently falls right into line with the so-called ‘Chicago School’ theory of assimilation regarding the process of adaptation of immigrants to their host society, which was first advanced by Milton Gordon (Assimilation in American Life, 1964), and came to dominate migration studies during the 1980s. This theory postulates that continued marriage outside of the immigrant group (i.e. with members of the host society) will assure the progressive mélange ment (mixing) of the immigrant population and its descendants. In the long run, this mixing will make it impossible to distinguish the various subgroups in the population.

Regarding the emigrant males’ socio-professional categories, neither the age nor date of entry (though relevant) seem to affect the structure very greatly (see also, Pereira and Tavares 1999, 2000). However, the sub-group

17 In the three-year period from 1969–71, 65 per cent of entrances were work-related—falling to 45 per cent over the next three years—and 20 per cent from 1975–7 (ONI data cited in Stahl et al. 1982: 52). For data after 1980, see (Sopemi 1985, 1988 and 1990).
18 On the theme of return, see (Stahl et al. 1982); (Silva et al. 1984); and (Baganha et al. 1998).
### Table 12.2. Origin of Portuguese immigrants' spouses and the children of Portuguese origin (%) spouses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spouse's origin</th>
<th>French nationality</th>
<th>Immigrant from immigrant parents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who arrived aged 16 or more</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who arrived aged 15 or less</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in France from immigrant parents (Portuguese nationality)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who arrived aged 16 or more</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who arrived aged 15 or less</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in France from immigrant parents (Portuguese nationality)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 12.3. Socioprofessional category of immigrants of the male sex according to age and dates of entrance and of the male individuals born in France of Portuguese origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Portugal</th>
<th>Who arrived aged 16 or more before 1975</th>
<th>Who arrived aged 15 or less before 1975</th>
<th>Born in France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural workers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other blue collar workers</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technicians, managers</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employees</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in services</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artisans, merchants, directors</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liberal and intermediate professionals</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

of those who arrived in France at a younger age seems to show a slight increase over those arriving at sixteen or older in the category of ‘Technicians and managers’. In relationship to those born in France compared to those who arrived aged sixteen or more, the socioprofessional structure shows a higher percentage of tertiary occupations and a relative weight (10 per cent) of liberal and intermediate professionals, revealing a clear pattern of upward socioeconomic mobility across the whole distribution (Table 12.3).

12.2.1.3. Main trends in Portuguese research up to the 1980s

Whether due to the magnitude of its numbers, its economic impact or the sociocultural transformations which it provoked, since the 1960s the migration of Portuguese labour and families has attracted the attention of more and more researchers. Bear in mind that within a mere ten years (1965–74) more than a tenth of the Portuguese population emigrated. The economic consequences of this fact cannot be overstated, but have been summarized succinctly by Baganha (1994): the value of remittances from the Portuguese work force abroad during this period established Portuguese labour emigrants as the nation’s leading ‘export good’. From a sociocultural perspective, the journalist Nuno Rocha observed in work done between 1963 and 1965 some of the effects of Portuguese emigration to France:

The first emigrants—the pioneers—have now returned, and are already cultivating their lands, once again (...) In Castro Laboreiro, there are now more ‘French houses’ (...) the emigrants now buy vitamins for their children and the women use perfume. The doctor attends to the sick more often (...) the people are more developed, cultivated from the contact abroad—they go to the doctor at the first sign of illness. As a result, the next generations are getting healthier (...) there are movies, the stores are full, the men dress in nice clothes and the women cook in front of modern stoves … (Rocha 1965: 162–3)

One of the themes that caught the eye of Portuguese researchers early on was the size and composition of the Portuguese migratory flow, leading to a good many studies during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. During this period,
investigators were particularly interested in correcting and filling in the gaps, where they existed, in the official Portuguese records about emigration. Much attempt was made to establish data on illegal emigration, either by studying the records of the host countries or by making indirect estimates based on other national demographic statistics. The work of João Ferreira de Almeida, published in *Análise Social*, 1964, was the pioneer in this subject. Others having the same objective followed: Antunes (1970, 1973, and 1981) and Stahl et al. (1982). The reasons underpinning Portuguese emigration also drew the attention of several sociologists and historians, who concluded that the principal motivations for migration in the 1960s and 1970s were the duality of the Portuguese society and the fluctuation of the national economic structure (Sedas Nunes 1964; Almeida and Barreto 1976; Serrão 1977; Godinho 1978). Economists stressed other factors, namely the difference in wages between Portugal and the host countries (M. Murteira 1965; Pintado 1967; A. Murteira and Branquinho 1976; Ferreira 1976). There is an interdisciplinary consensus on, at least, one thing: during the 1960s, changes in the production structure triggered high unemployment which, when added to the chronic underemployment rate in the farming and trades sectors, prompted a growing number of Portuguese to opt for emigration (Pereira and Barosa 1989: 8).

These works mentioned above all conform to the mainstream analytical tradition that has dominated scholarship in this area—that is, the model that explains migration through push factors in the society of origin and pull factors in the society of destination. In our overview of research from the 1960s to date, when expressed in terms of the ‘push–pull’ model, we find a clear division in the scholarly opinions: historians and sociologists tend to find the motive(s) for emigration in the push factors, while economists tend to favour pull factors.

Portuguese scholars have, for the most part, traditionally aligned their methods and views to the French School in matters of the social sciences and political studies. This, coupled with the fact that academic preparation in sociology has only recently become possible in Portugal, left the field of sociological study of the Portuguese in France largely to the researchers there. In 1973, M. Beatriz Rocha-Trindade published *Immigrés Portugais* [Portuguese Immigrants], which became, even within Portugal, the seminal work regarding the adaptation of the Portuguese immigrants to France. A few years later, in 1978, a Canadian anthropologist, Caroline Brettell,
published Já Chorei Muitas Lágrimas, Una História de Vida de una Mulher Portuguesa Imigrada em França [I Have Already Cried Many Tears, A History of the Life of a Portuguese Woman in France]. These works lent voices for the first time to the immigrants, and were followed up in later years with additional works by these same authors, as well as others: Cordeiro and Soares (1987); Leandro (1987); and Valagão (1989), to name a few.

Still other researchers, however, analysing the eating practices, support groups and leisure activities (forms of expression of the Portuguese identity of the immigrant families) tend to emphasize the maintenance of bonds and practices transplanted from the society or community of origin over the temporary adaptive processes in the host society, within or without the immigrant group(s), or to the changes in the socioeconomic structures.22

Scholarship in the 1980s was marked by two other veins of research: the impact of emigration on the society or community of origin; and the analysis of the characteristics of the returning emigrants and their impact on Portuguese society. A number of works in this decade following one or the other of these lines have addressed the cultural ethos, the adaptation strategies, and the ways and means of social reproduction in the community of origin. Notable here are: the collection of studies undertaken by Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade, published in 1981 in the Revista de História Económica e Social. Cadernos 1–2: Estudos sobre a Emigração Portuguesa; and a work which is, in our opinion, a milestone study in this field, (whether for the thoroughness of empirical research methodologies, or for its recourse to documentary sources which until then had been little used by other anthropologists and sociologists, or for the influence it had on Portuguese academics), by anthropologist Caroline Brettell (1986), Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait.

The impact of emigration on the Portuguese economy has been addressed, for example, by Rocha (1982); Chaney (1986); Leeds (1983); Baganha (1993); Pereira and Barosa (1988); Pereira (1989) and Pereira (1994). At the macro level, the last assessment (written in the 1980s) of the impact of emigration on the Portuguese economy summed it up in the following way:

past emigration is projected to have positive welfare effects in the Portuguese economy under status quo. That means that the positive effect of a steady flow of remittances overrides the negative welfare effect of depopulation. (Pereira 1989)

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22 Which is at odds with the conceptual models of the Chicago School, which dominated the scholarly research in this area from the 1960s to the 1980s.
The return/reintegration of the emigrants into Portuguese society was, perhaps, the topic which received the most attention during this period. The Volkswagen Foundation generously supported two enormous projects—the results of which were published in 1984. The first of these projects was organized by a team from the *Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento* (IED—Institute of Developmental Studies), co-ordinated by Manuela Silva. This project focused on measuring the volume of returns between 1960 and ’70, estimating the returns for the 1980s, and describing the socioeconomic profile of the returnees, including work before, during and after the emigration experience. The second project was conducted by a team from the *Centro de Estudos da Dependência* (CED—Centre for Economic Dependency Studies), organized by Eduardo Sousa Ferreira. This project was centred on the evaluation and enumeration of regional development policies aimed at maximizing the economic benefits of the returnees in the areas in which they settled.

In the year following the publication of the results of these two projects, a new project was undertaken by the *Universidade Aberta* (Open University) which was linked, although only partially, to the theme of returning migrants. This project sought to evaluate the impact of formal education on the Portuguese emigrants and of former emigrants’ children in Portugal. The project was financed by the IAEC and the Ministry of Education, and was coordinated by Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade. Its results were published in 1988. Based upon information gathered in a national sample of public-school students, aged twelve to eighteen, the team described the students’ school experience, their main difficulties, and the migratory path of their parents.

Compared with the works on the determinants of emigration, or on the return to the society of origin, the impact of the economic and migration policies of the *Estado Novo* (‘New State’, the dictatorial regime in Portugal, 1926–74) on the composition and direction of migratory flows deserved much less attention. Even so, the *Estado Novo* question has been investigated: Cassola Ribeiro (1986); Almeida and Barreto (1976); Sousa Ferreira (1984); E. Leeds (1983). From this period, there are, in addition, several collections of studies and special editions of magazines and journals, resulting from congresses and seminars: *Análise Social*, 19 (77, 78, 79), (1983)—Actas of the Colloquium, *A Formação de Portugal Contemporâneo: 1900–1980* [The Making of Modern Portugal: 1900–1980]; *Análise Social*, 21 (87, 88, 89), (1985)—Actas of the Colloquium, *Mudanças Sociais no Portugal de Hoje* [Social Change in Today’s Portugal]. These readings
illustrate some of the variety of themes that have drawn more and more attention from Portuguese investigators.

12.2.2. Portuguese Emigration in the 1980s and 1990s

Based upon the findings of the 1991 census, it is clear that Portuguese emigration has increased, once again. Recognizing this fact, since 1992 the INE has undertaken to apply new methods for measuring the phenomenon. With due respect for the difficulty of the task, the fact is that since that date the INE have not been able to hone their tools to the point of satisfaction. As a result, the figures promulgated continue to depict the true situation tenuously, at best. Actual emigration is surely far greater than what the official figures would lead us to believe. This is the current reality, and the one which is likely to continue for some time.

In earlier works, one of the current authors argued that since the last century, Portuguese emigration has been an international labour flow, meaning that its direction has been determined essentially by the supply of opportunity in the international labour market of the geo-political macro-system in which Portugal is situated. This same author has also contended that although economic reasoning may explain the individual decisions, the evolution of the migratory flow depended not so much upon the evaluation that the ‘potential’ emigrant was making about the gains to be had from the sale of his work abroad, as it did upon the political sanctions of those countries involved (Portugal and the various host countries), as well as upon the force and degree of the structuring of the migratory nets at both ends (Baganha 1990, 1993, 1994, 1998a).

This conceptualization led the author to evaluate, in 1991 and again in 1992, a decrease in the emigration phenomenon which was evident between 1974 and 1985 as a lag in the time needed for the formation of new nets, sufficiently structured to exhaust the existing migratory potential for new destinations, and consequently, to attribute the observed slow-down to the lack of migratory nets for alternative destinations in the wake of restrictions to the entrance of Portuguese labour emigrants, unilaterally

23 We use the concept of ‘net’ that it received in MacDonald and MacDonald (1964) and Tilly and Brown (1967), which is, the informal structures of information and support derived from the migrants, themselves.


imposed by France and Germany. In these same works, an attempt was made to provide an initial correction to the official figures for the exit flows during the 1980s and early 1990s. What was advanced at that time, based upon the scant data then available, later came to be confirmed in the work of João Peixoto (1987, 1993) and especially in the monograph (1997) by José Carlos Marques regarding Portuguese emigration to Switzerland. Although these works leave no doubt that there is a new emigration flow underway from Portugal to various European countries,26 the truth is that we still know little about the volume, types of flows, and the characteristics of the migrants.

On the economic dynamics of the process, we know more—based upon the works which were carried out in conjunction with the MIGRINF project,27 which allow us to show the interrelationship between the actual exit and entrance movements that occurred in Portugal. Early findings of this project were published in 1998, in which it was defended that Portugal’s entrance into the European Community, in 1986, provoked a profound change in the civil construction sector—a change that had an enormous impact on both the exit flow of Portuguese workers abroad, and the entrance flow of foreign workers immigrating to Portugal. This change was felt in two ways: firstly, Community adhesion allowed Portuguese companies to subcontract their manpower within the European Community’s space (CE), in competition with their Community counterparts—an opportunity which Portuguese companies took advantage of by adapting their work strategies to the new situation. These strategies included—especially following the fall of the Berlin Wall and reunification—the dislocation of several thousand Portuguese construction workers to Germany, reducing the available labour supply in Portugal. Secondly, at the same time that demand for construction labour was growing abroad, Portugal’s Community adhesion channelled a very substantial amount of structural funds to the country, of which a great deal was applied to various communication infra-structures and public works—increasing, if only temporarily, the domestic demand for labour in this sector.

The combination of these two factors opened vast opportunities to the Portuguese companies working in this sector. In order to take maximum

26 Notice, for example, that the number of Portuguese immigrants in Switzerland has gone from 10,700 in 1980, to 39,900 in 1985, to 85,600 in 1990, and 134,800 in 1995. The annual average of seasonal entrances in the 1980s stood at 33,000 (Marques 1997).

27 MIGRINF, Migrants’ Insertion in the Informal Economy, Deviant Behavior, and the Impact on the Receiving Societies. Project coordinated by Emilio Reyneri. TSER-programme, CE/DG XII-ERBSOE2.CT95–3005. This project pertaining to Portugal was undertaken by a team to which Baganha and Góis belonged.
advantage from this boom situation, many Portuguese companies hired immigrant labour and workers of African origin on a temporary basis, either directly or through subcontracting firms operating in the informal market, and at the same time sent their permanent staff and workers, or Portuguese workers hired formally and expressly for the purpose, to other community countries. The most recent work that we are aware of that treats these emigration and ‘detachment’ exit flows has this to say about Portuguese emigration in the 1980s:

Considering the data from the host countries, even if the estimates of the number of emigrants is far below that of the preceding decades, the 1980s witnessed a new impetus in the Portuguese migratory process. This new phase exhibits a new character, however, in the form of ‘irregular’ and ‘temporary’ migration. Moreover, the opening of the community borders promoted new forms of mobility within Europe that do not fit the ‘classical’ definition of emigration. (...) From the mid-1980s on, emigration continues to grow, gradually, due to the following factors: the creation and structuring of nets in the new destination countries, as is the case in Switzerland; the revival of existing nets, as is the case with trans-Atlantic migration; new conditions regarding international mobility, derived from Portugal’s adhesion to the European Community; and Community law regarding the employment of workers from other countries, as is the case of the ‘detachment of workers’ in Germany. (Baganha, Ferrão, and Malheiros et al. 1998: 49)

12.2.3. Conclusion

Portuguese scholarship about Portuguese emigration is scarce. This scarcity is evident in the work Bibliografia da Emigração Portuguesa [Bibliography of Portuguese Emigration], by Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade and Jorge Arroteia (1984). Despite being exhaustive—covering all historical periods and including, along with the scholarly works, novels and administrative documents of both Portuguese and foreign origin—the corpus, in A8 format (which is half that of A4), covers the subject in just 71 pages.28

This scarcity is probably attributable to a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that Portugal has the smallest scholarly community in the European Union. Another reason is to be found, we feel, in the embarrassing fact that emigration continues to be for the country’s political elite. This phenomenon is more understandable when we recall that emigration is, as Zolberg observed (1983: 7), ‘voting with your feet’.

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28 Even when we added those works which we know of which have been published in Portugal since 1984, the number of references falls short of 600.
In spite of the scarcity of publications, there are some themes about which we know more than others. Some of the areas best understood are those of volume and direction of Portuguese migratory flows and the characteristics of returning emigrants in the early years of the 1980s. As to those who leave, and especially, clandestine immigrants, we continue in near total ignorance.

We can say with fair certainty—based upon studies of the illegal component of the Portuguese migratory flow in other historical periods (Baganha 1990), or upon available information about illegal departures for Europe following the Second World War—that the clandestine flow is substantially different from the legal flow (Almeida 1964; Antunes 1970, 1973, 1981; Stahl et al. 1982). Our knowledge pertains mostly to the legal flow, but it must be borne in mind that the picture rests on data which are suspect and almost certainly flawed. Notwithstanding that awareness, the characteristics of the legal emigrants continue to be cited as if no one realized that more than 48 per cent and 81 per cent of all emigrants, 1960–9 and 1970–9, respectively, left Portugal clandestinely, and that the evaluation of their demographic and socioeconomic profiles very probably bears little resemblance to reality.

Correctly ascertaining the profile(s) of Portugal’s clandestine emigrants continues, therefore, to be a research priority—and not just at the level of the individual’s characteristics. We also need to determine what support nets were used by these emigrants, what kind of work (by sector) they entered into or developed (at their own expense), and whether their migratory experiences coincide with or diverge from those of their legally emigrating counterparts.

Further study of the returnees is also needed. Sofia Afonso has recently concluded (1997) a work of interest, A segunda geração e o regresso—A geografia do actor de fronteira [The second generation and the return—The geography of the border actor]. A return to this line of research is laudable, but it should go hand in hand with the research initiated by Manuela Silva and Eduardo Sousa Ferreira and their respective collaborators, but now for the period after 1985.

The impact of emigration upon the communities of departure, on the other hand, has been the target of excellent investigation in recent years. Special note is made in this regard to the efforts of Manuel Ribeiro (1998).

In light of its importance, the continuation of studies into the migratory flow to France and the process of Portuguese immigrants’ adaptation to French society are completely justifiable. Along these lines, the recent works of Engrácia Leandro (1995a, b) are an important landmark in the
profound treatment of these themes. This is so, first, because they are enriched by a comparison of various residential areas, allowing us to better comprehend the phenomenon of adaptation in differing sociocultural contexts. Second, the research traces three nuclear-family histories, allowing for an analysis of three different settings, and capturing the transformation of values and expectations at the personal level, as well. In our opinion, these two works serve as a benchmark from which future investigations should be measured, not only in the case of emigration to France, but to other destinations, as well.29

We still lack descriptive monographs for various other European countries in which Portuguese immigrants have settled, notably Germany and Luxembourg. Regarding Portuguese immigrants in Spain, we can turn to the work of Spanish researcher, Lopez Trigal (1995, 1996). For the new flow of immigrants to Switzerland, there is the first monograph by José Carlos Marques (1997). Aside from these publications, however, there are no comparative works either about the several Portuguese flows to different European countries or about the Portuguese migration compared to other currents—those originating in other southern European countries, for example.

The migratory nets have various roles and goals according to the phase of the migratory project and the structural mode. As information channels and for logistic support, they are excellent facilitators for the vast majority of immigrants, both to the act of immigration and in the initial phase of adaptation in the host society. These two ‘net’ aspects have been pointed out time and again in the Portuguese scholarly literature regarding Portuguese immigration. In latter phases, these two nets can become powerful traps, ‘hooking’ the immigrants and their children to cultural values and social practice that hinder their integration into the host society or upward mobility within it. This ‘hooking’ aspect has received little or no attention from Portuguese investigators. The interfacing of the nets with respect to the host societies, themselves, has likewise received no attention. Indeed, the effectiveness of the nets in promoting adaptation to the

29 We extend our thanks to Sofia Afonso for drawing our attention to the work Les Migrations Portugaises—bibliographie francophone [The Portuguese Migrations—French bibliography]. As the title indicates, it is a bibliography of French research in the area of Portuguese migration, by Kohot-Piot, with collaboration of G. Dubus, published by CCPF (Coordination des Colectivités Portugaises de France) and MIGRINTER (a team of researchers associated with CNRS and the University of Poiters), no date (but includes references up to 1997). This work is particularly important for listing many works of interest to English-speaking investigators who wish to gain insights into French scholarship in this field. It is also a valuable complement to the bibliography assembled by Maria Beatriz-Trindade and Jorge Arroteia (1984).
host society beyond the initial phase has evaded the scrutiny of investigators, as well.

Renewed study of the impact of political sanctions of the *Estado Novo* on the composition and evolution of migratory flows came in the 1990s (Maria I. Baganha 1994, 1998a). This followed earlier research, on the years following the 1974 revolution. For work on this earlier period, notable authors include Baganha and Peixoto (1996); Jorge Malheiros (1996); Baganha (1998b) and Baganha et al. (1998).

The relationship between the current exit and entrance flows in the Portuguese territories have attracted the increased attention of scholars—for example: Pires and Saint-Maurice (1994);30 Malheiros (1996); Baganha (1996, 1998b, 1998c); and Baganha and Peixoto (1996). Recently, a team led by Baganha, Ferrão, and Malheiros has looked at this relationship, focusing their attention on the economic insertion of the emigrants and detached workers in the leading European countries, and on immigrants in the domestic labour market (Baganha et al. 1998).

### 12.3. Immigration

#### 12.3.1. International Context

During the 1980s, for the first time in recent history, Southern Europe became attractive as a destination for emigrants. These emigrants originated principally in Eastern Europe and Africa. This was an entirely unfamiliar situation in the region, as for more than a century it had found itself at the sending end of the migratory stream. The traditional role of southern Europe, which was to furnish labour for the countries that were more economically advanced, was turned on its head in the 1980s. During this decade, southern Europe was a major migratory destination, even when compared to the those countries which served as traditional hosts.

As a result, while the foreign population grew at an average annual rate of 2 per cent in the European Community at large, from 1981–91, this growth rate stood at 10 per cent in the southern European countries.31 At the beginning of the 1990s, the number of legal immigrants in Italy, Greece, Portugal, and Spain stood at 1.4 million, and estimates for illegal immigrants

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31 Only ten countries are considered here. Data for 1981 and 1991 are from Sopemi (1994); Eurostat (1994); and Baganha (1996).
in the same countries range from 1.3 to 1.5 million.\textsuperscript{32} Three million immigrants—half of them illegal—raised social, judicial, and economic problems that had no precedence in the region.

The novelty, urgency, and political implications of this situation led researchers and politicians to seek consul and guidance in the experience of traditional immigration countries. As some may expect, the outcome was less than what had been hoped for, due largely to the fact, as pointed out by Kingsley Davis (1974), that although migration is an historical constant, the flows are themselves temporary and specific to their own time—reflecting the world in which they occur.

The world of the 1980s and 1990s was very different from the world of the 1950s and 1960s. Political upheavals, social unrest and grave ethnic conflicts in the East; and bloody religious strife, poverty and war in Africa are some of the factors that have put a new face on the world and turned southern Europe into an attractive migratory destination, for economic immigrant and refugee, alike.

It is not only the geoeconomic gap between Europe, the East, and the South that is altering the global landscape. The very globalization process amounts to a deep restructuring of industries, relocation of labour supplies, redirection of capital flows, and new patterns of international competition. All of these factors go in, and what comes out are new processes, new social politics and alterations in the mining of labour and the structure of labour markets in western and southern European countries.

Added to this were the successive enlargement of the European Common Market, followed by the early steps in the building of the European Union—both of which stirred even more innovation into the pot. In the course of these changes the borders within the EU space dissolved, but no common migratory policy was put into place regarding the ‘nationals of third countries’.\textsuperscript{33} In fact, full attainment of consent regarding EU migratory policies continues to be blocked by geo-economic and political interests, adherence to nationalistic historical traditions, and ethnic lobbies.

The recent evolution of southern Europe is largely determined by the evolution of this ‘new world’, marked by geo-economic inequalities, the intensification of globalization, and the construction of the economic and political bloc (the EU) in which the countries find themselves. But, as all of these processes are still ‘under construction’, the recent migrations into the southern European countries are also a result of the way(s) in which each

\textsuperscript{32} Diário da Assembleia da República, series I, 44, March 1992: 1365.
\textsuperscript{33} An exception being the harmonization of visas inside the Shengen Agreement countries.
of these countries were positioned and inserted into the processes. In this sense, the recent migratory history of southern Europe is the sum of the specific national cases that reflect their respective historical pasts and their geo-economic and political interests.34

12.3.2. Immigration in Portugal in the 1980s and 1990s

In 1960, there were 29,428 foreigners residing in Portugal (Esteves et al. 1991), of which 40 per cent were Spanish and 22 per cent Brazilian. Fifteen years later the situation had not changed much, as the number of legal foreign residents was 31,983 in 1975.35 We have synthesized in Table 12.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Africa</th>
<th>North America</th>
<th>South America</th>
<th>Asia</th>
<th>Europe***</th>
<th>Others</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>27,748</td>
<td>4,821</td>
<td>6,403</td>
<td>1,153</td>
<td>17,706</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>58,091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>27,948</td>
<td>6,018</td>
<td>8,123</td>
<td>1,394</td>
<td>18,931</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>62,692</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>28,903</td>
<td>6,855</td>
<td>10,481</td>
<td>1,663</td>
<td>19,924</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>68,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>32,481</td>
<td>8,520</td>
<td>13,351</td>
<td>2,219</td>
<td>22,053</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>79,015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>37,128</td>
<td>9,887</td>
<td>15,394</td>
<td>2,860</td>
<td>23,896</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>89,625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>34,978</td>
<td>7,987</td>
<td>11,567</td>
<td>2,564</td>
<td>22,060</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>79,594</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>37,829</td>
<td>9,047</td>
<td>12,629</td>
<td>2,958</td>
<td>24,040</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>86,982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>38,838</td>
<td>8,623</td>
<td>13,009</td>
<td>3,124</td>
<td>25,676</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>89,778</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>40,253</td>
<td>8,338</td>
<td>14,645</td>
<td>3,413</td>
<td>27,280</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>94,453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>42,789</td>
<td>8,737</td>
<td>15,938</td>
<td>3,741</td>
<td>29,247</td>
<td>559</td>
<td>101,011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>45,255</td>
<td>8,993</td>
<td>17,376</td>
<td>4,154</td>
<td>31,410</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>107,767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>47,998</td>
<td>9,236</td>
<td>18,666</td>
<td>4,458</td>
<td>33,011</td>
<td>609</td>
<td>113,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992*</td>
<td>52,037</td>
<td>9,430</td>
<td>19,960</td>
<td>4,769</td>
<td>34,732</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>122,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>55,786</td>
<td>10,513</td>
<td>21,924</td>
<td>5,520</td>
<td>37,154</td>
<td>696</td>
<td>136,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994**</td>
<td>72,630</td>
<td>10,739</td>
<td>24,815</td>
<td>6,322</td>
<td>41,819</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>157,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>79,231</td>
<td>10,853</td>
<td>25,867</td>
<td>6,730</td>
<td>44,867</td>
<td>768</td>
<td>168,316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>81,176</td>
<td>10,783</td>
<td>25,733</td>
<td>7,140</td>
<td>47,315</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>172,912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>81,717</td>
<td>10,573</td>
<td>25,274</td>
<td>7,192</td>
<td>49,797</td>
<td>760</td>
<td>175,263</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

the evolution of the number of legal foreign residents in Portugal between 1980 and 1997.

As we can see in Table 12.4, the stock of the foreign population in Portugal grew steadily from 1980 to 1997, albeit with some variation in the rate.

Following strong growth in the second half of the 1970s (an average annual growth of 11.9 per cent, 1975–81), the pace of foreigners settling in Portugal slows during the 1980s, but then picks up again in the 1990s. It was not only the absolute number of arriving foreigners that grew; the composition by nationality and socioeconomic profiles also show some very radical shifts—pointing clearly to an increasing complexity of the foreign population residing in Portugal. This complexity is illustrated very well indeed by the growing number of immigrants coming from countries with which Portugal has never had any trade links or historical privileges to speak of, who asked for residency permits during the ‘Special Legalization’ period in the 1990s. (See Table 12.5.)

From the sociodemographic point of view, on an aggregate level the flow of legal immigrants to Portugal is typical of the international flows, at large. In Portugal we find poorly qualified labourers concentrating in the well-known, densely populated greater Lisbon area (AML, Área Metropolitana de Lisboa) having the following characteristics: a male/female ratio of 1.4 to 1 (1990–5–Baganha 1996); a weighting of ages between 25 and 45; and job-taking principally in ‘production and transformation in the extractive industries’ and ‘drivers of fixed machines and transport’ (Baganha 1996, 1998b).

However, when we disaggregate these characteristics by nationality, we find a clear, bipolar, division of the foreign population in Portugal. One group is made up mostly of citizens of other European countries and Brazil. Elements of this group show a settlement and residential pattern which tends to extend beyond the AML concentration, and a higher per capita rate of employers, selfemployed, scientific professionals, technicians, directors and senior management executives than do the native Portuguese, themselves. This group of individuals is located right at the top of the Portuguese socioprofessional structure.

The second group comprises, for the most part, citizens of PALOP countries and (still few in number, but rising) citizens of countries such as

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37 For the characteristics of the foreign residents in Portugal, there are several sources. The pioneer work in this matter was (Esteves et al. 1991). More recent works include (Malheiros 1996; Baganha 1996, 1998b, 1998c; Pires and Rocha-Trindade 1993; and Baganha et al. 1998).
Zaire, Senegal, Pakistan, Romania and Moldavia. By virtue of its numbers, this second group defines the over-riding profile of the foreign population, at large. By itself, it exhibits the characteristics outlined two paragraphs above in their extreme. This group is clearly situated at the foot of the Portuguese socioprofessional structure.

12.3.3. Main Trends of Research

One of the principal hurdles to overcome in studying immigrants in Portugal is knowing who, exactly, should be considered an immigrant. This problem stems from Portugal’s recent colonial past, and is still far from gaining the consensus of those who are interested in the matter. The dramatic surge in the number of foreigners in the country—doubling in only six years (1975–81)—comes as the result of a complex array of factors that are difficult, in fact, for anyone to sort out, including: first, the entrance and settlement of Portuguese citizens of African descent who had already resided in Portugal, but had been retroactively stripped of their

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries</th>
<th>1992/3</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angola</td>
<td>12,525</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>9,255</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Verde</td>
<td>6,778</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>6,872</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guiné-Bissau</td>
<td>6,877</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>5,308</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mozambique</td>
<td>757</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Tomé e Príncipe</td>
<td>1,408</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>1,549</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Palop</td>
<td>28,345</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>23,400</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senegal</td>
<td>1,397</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>672</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morocco</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>520</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>5,346</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>2,330</td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>1,352</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1,608</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistan</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1,754</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Índia</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>752</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Nationalities</td>
<td>1,942</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>3,803</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>39,166</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>35,082</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (Immigration Service).
Portuguese nationality (Legal Decree 308-A/75); and second, the entrance of relatives who joined these same individuals between 1976 and 1981.  

Can it be considered correct to categorize Portuguese citizens of African descent (who had lived in Portugal since the 1960s) as ‘immigrants’, or for that matter, the so-called retornados of African descent who came to Portugal between 1975 and 1981, or their families who followed them?  

According to the definition most commonly adhered to in the literature on international migration, an ‘immigrant’ is the citizen of a sovereign country (and that individual’s descendants) who voluntarily abandons that country, to settle in another sovereign country, in order to undertake an economic activity, without any regard to the issue of seeking citizenship in the host country.  

In light of this, applying the term ‘immigration’ to the ‘involuntary return’ of Portuguese passport-holders of African ancestry (and their descendants) seems to the authors to be conceptually flawed. This may lead to erroneous perceptions of social realities and/or the scholarly legitimization, albeit without intent, of political decisions.  

Having said this, it is equally evident that between 1975 and 1981, there were also genuine immigrants, in the truest sense of the word, originating in the PALOP nations, and coming to Portugal. Were these sufficiently high in number, however, to offset the doubts expressed above?  

If we accept the estimates for the numbers of Euro-Caucasians and retornados in the former colonies in (Pires et al. 1984. Os retornados—um estudo sociográfico)—particularly the data found in Annex 1—we arrive at a figure of 25,000–35,000 persons of African descent coming to Portugal between 1975 and 1981. Adding this to the official number of grants (8,069) of new or maintained citizenship (under Article 5 of Legal Decree 308-A/75 of 24 July—see Esteves et al. 1991: 133), the indication emerges that the residency of 27,287 PALOP individuals in Portugal can be attributed to the simultaneous occurrence of:  

- the final dissolution of the Portuguese Empire into sovereign states;  
- the retreat of the colonial population to the Motherland;  
- the loss of Portuguese nationality imposed retroactively by Legal Decree 308-A/75 of 24 July.  

The difficulty of knowing how to categorize these foreign residents has been pointed out by a number of investigators, and is made patent in the

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38 If we discount the number of PALOP citizens residing legally (27,287), the average annual rate of increase falls to 1.7 per cent—quite a slow increase.  
39 This definition is adopted by the United Nations, as well (Recommendations on Statistics of International Migrations, Statistical Paper, Series M, 58, UN, New York, 1980).
definition advanced by Maria do Ceu Esteves: ‘...in rigour, the immigrant population includes the majority of resident foreigners and the (many) Portuguese born in other countries and regions’ (Esteves et al. 1991: 27). This definition illustrates the frustrating imprecision inherent to this (probably insoluble) problem—taking recourse to such phrases as ‘includes the majority’ and ‘in other countries and regions’.

Further complicating the challenge of distinguishing between PALOP-citizen immigrants and Portuguese nationals who had been stripped of their passports, the 1981 and 1991 censuses (the first instruments of scrutiny available for overcoming the problem) are, in the opinion of the authors, at best useless, and at worst totally misleading. One example will suffice to illustrate the point.

Based upon the findings of the 1981 census, the team coordinated by Maria do Ceu Esteves estimated the foreign population in Portugal to be 154,980, subdivided in the following way: having a legal status and known nationality, 94,251; stateless,40 202; grantees of asylum, 527; having an illegal status, 60,000 (Esteves et al. 1991: 29). To obtain these figures, the IED investigators assumed that the information regarding ‘persons from other nationalities’, collected by the INE, was more rigorous than the foreign registers of customs officers (Ministry of Internal Affairs MAI–SEF). This assumption led the team to estimate the number of illegal immigrants, in 1981, to be approximately 60,000—which is to say, the difference between the number of individuals categorized as foreigners by the INE (108,526), and foreigners of legal residence according to the MAI–SEF (62,692), increased by 14,166 based on other sources (Esteves et al. 1991: 29, 161). This estimate and the assumptions that support it seemed reasonable at the time they were made. However, were the methodology underpinning this estimate to be adopted, we would have to accept the belief that there were no illegal immigrants in Portugal in 1991 (since in that year the number of foreigners registered in the census was 106,519, and the number of foreign legal residents registered by the MAI-SEF was 113,978). We know this to be false because of the number of applications for legalization presented by illegal immigrants in the following year.

Taking into account the figures of these two sources (the INE and the MAI–SEF) in 1981 and 1991, along with the evidence gathered from the programme of Special Legalization, the following conclusions seem to be more reasonable to the authors: first, the 1981 census greatly exaggerated the number of foreigners residing in Portugal (due to an inability to

40 A person who has lost his or her nationality for any reason.
distinguish between ‘place of birth’ and ‘nationality’;\textsuperscript{41} and second, the
1991 census failed to detect a significant number of foreigners residing in
the country, thus erring in the opposite direction.

All of this leaves us with the belief that we sadly know very little about
the immigrants in Portugal because the only source which demonstrates
any internal consistency\textsuperscript{42} has and imposes serious limitations (first,
because the number of immigrant characteristics both collected and
released by the MAI–SEF is small, and second, because it began to
systematically collect (more) in-depth data only in 1990).

From what the authors have been able to learn through contacts with the
documentation centre in the SEF, until 1990, there is little more available
than the series of foreign population broken down by nationality and
residency. From this date on, we know in addition, age, gender, profes-
sional status, occupation, and the date of exit and/or entrance.

The scholarly research that has been undertaken over the last decades
has resorted to the expedient of considering all foreigners as immigrants,\textsuperscript{43}
or has adopted the definition proposed by the IED team, which combines
‘ethnic minorities’ with ‘immigrants’.

Bibliography remains scarce.\textsuperscript{44} Early studies focused on the people from
Cabo Verde and include (Amaro 1986\textsuperscript{a}, 1986\textsuperscript{b} and 1986\textsuperscript{c}; Menezes and
Pinto da Cunha 1987; Guerra et al. 1992; França et al. 1992). One of the most
recent works on this subject, Identidades Reconstruídas: Cabo-verdianos
em Portugal (Identities Reconstructed: Cabo Verdians in Portugal) by Ana
Saint-Maurice (1993), provides a detailed and multi-level examination of
the first and most important group of immigrants in Portugal, and is
especially important for an understanding of this group.

In later years more attention has been devoted to other ethnic groups,
such as the people from Guiné-Bissau (Machado 1992, 1994\textsuperscript{a} and \textsuperscript{b}), the
people from India (Ávila and Alves 1993; Malheiros 1994, 1996) or, in a
generic sense, to the immigrant communities in Portugal (Esteves et al.
1991; CEPAC 1995\textsuperscript{a}, 1995\textsuperscript{b}; Cordeiro, 1997). Still lacking is a systematic

\textsuperscript{41} The IED team was aware that this failure might lead to exaggerated figures in the case of the
PALOP countries, but felt that the possible bias resulting from it was of little significance.

\textsuperscript{42} The information contained in the Inquéritos ao Emprego (Labour Survey, INE) are neither an
alternative nor a supplement to the information released by SEF, due to the sampling error for this
population (Baganha 1996).

\textsuperscript{43} Such is the case in the statistics of the SEF and the current work, as well.

\textsuperscript{44} The remarks made earlier about scarcity of bibliography on emigration apply equally well to
the subject of immigration. For the themes of immigration, ethnicity and ethnic minorities in
Portugal, in 1994 we found, according to the search efforts of Fernando Luís Machado (1994\textsuperscript{b})
only 67 references.
study of immigrant groups coming from countries such as São Tomé e Príncipe, Brazil, Mozambique, Angola, China and, in a general way, all the communities made up of European immigrants in Portugal. We should underscore that nearly all of the studies of immigration undertaken within the last two decades follow the logic of characterization of the integration in the socioeconomic region of greater Lisbon.

During the 1990s, studies of immigration branched out—a response to the growing visibility of the immigrant communities in Portugal. New themes were developed, notably those concerning the labour integration of the immigrants (Freire 1991). Many studies have emerged from this line of research which have addressed the different kinds of jobs accepted by the immigrants. These works were preceded—all too sparingly, as it were—by similar studies in the case of Cabo Verdians (Amaro 1986b).

In the same vein, a pioneering (and very detailed) series of works by João Peixoto (1994, 1996a, 1996b, 1998) has followed the settlement pattern of highly qualified immigrants. The last of these works focused on, among other things, the entrance ways, motivations, and migratory experiences in Portugal of personnel attached to multi/transnational enterprises, allowing valuable comparisons between this privileged subgroup of immigrants and the other immigrants. One team of the CES (Centre for Social Studies—Universidade de Coimbra)—part of the MIGRINF Project—has attempted to capture the economic insertion of immigrants in the domestic labour force from a vast group of indirect indicators, supplemented by 45 interviews of ‘privileged informers’ and 51 immigrants residing illegally in 1996. Based on information from these sources, an obviously incomplete typology of illegal immigrants and a matrix of entrance motivations of the informal labour market for employers, employees and workers (immigrants and nonimmigrants) was constructed (Baganha, 1996, 1998c). Along these lines of investigation, we believe that the work undertaken by the team coordinated by Baganha, Ferrão and Malheiro (1998) is one of the most recent studies that exists pertaining to the economic insertion of immigrants in the Portuguese economy.45

The ethnicity of earlier immigrant populations has gained interest, as well, and is the topic of several works, including (Castro and Freitas (1991); Bruto da Costa (1991); and Alves (1994). This interest has highlighted the need for clarifying the concept, itself, of ethnicity—a task which has been admirably treated by Fernando Luis Machado (1992a, 1992b, 1994a).

45 See note 27.
Recently, even more themes of interest have emerged. Examples are: the role of feminine immigration (Machado and Perista 1997; Perista 1997); sociographic studies about immigrants residing in degraded areas or involved in re-location processes (Castro and Ferreira 1991; Craveiro and Menezes 1993; Marques et al. n. d.; Malheiros 1997); and the social rights of immigrants (Palma Carlos, 1993; Gourjão Henriques 1996; and the obligatory references on this subject, by Pierre Guibentif 1995 and 1996).

The theme of the so-called ‘second generation’, regarding the impact of the migratory experience on the children of immigrants and the respective adaptation process of the Portuguese society has too been the object of various approaches (Paes 1993; Cortesão and Pacheco 1993; Cortesão 1994; and Justino et al. 1998).

Non-traditional settlement areas outside of the greater Lisbon area—Oporto (Luvumba 1997) or, in a particularly interesting case, immigrants from Guiné settling in Águeda (Pereira 1998)—have also received attention. Although slow, the dispersion of immigrant groups in Portugal is gaining visibility. The works of Luvumba and Pereira mentioned here focus on very specific situations, and we do not yet have a comprehensive picture of this developing phenomenon.

12.3.4. Conclusion

As mentioned above, there exist today important studies of immigrant ‘communities’ and ‘ethnic’ minorities in Portugal. Problems of theory regarding conceptualization and the useful transformation of variables are especially complex. This may be because it is not always clear what the theoretical affiliation is that is being followed, or because while moving from one theoretical model to an empirical application, an additional theoretical model is seen to intrude.

The majority of investigators working in the area of migration are self-affiliates of the schools of social theory nonsubstantiality and, in particular, constructivism. Some of the investigations in which the articulation between theoretical framework and empirical application is particularly secure are those of Fernando Luís Machado on ethnicity (1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1994). The last of these works is of special interest for the purposes of this article as it addresses the concepts of immigration and the Luso-African: this last designation brings two main groups together. One, the older, has to do with the Africans of Portuguese nationality, of an average or above average social

46 For the schools and currents see (Maritinello 1995; Guibernau and Rex 1997; Oommen 1997; Machado 1992a, 1992b, 1993).
condition and often of mixed race, who decided during the decolonization process to move to Portugal. The other, that is starting to appear now, is that of the children of the immigrants—born and/or raised in Portugal. While different, these two groups have in common the very thing that differentiates them from all the other immigrants: the degree of integration in the Portuguese society and the lack of intention to return to the countries where they were born. (Machado 1994: 111)

The historical context and motivations that determine the settlement of ‘Luso-Africans’, until the end of the 1970s, show several things:

- socio-economic characteristics of high professional position and qualification;
- nets of sociability (they do not establish direct and regular social relationships with the immigrants of their respective countries of (Machado 1994: 117);
- one social identity (‘It is clearly the class identity that is superimposed over the ethnic identity’, Machado 1994: 117);
- one ancestry that clearly distinguishes them from the ‘new Luso-Africans’.

The new Luso-Africans show the characteristics typically described in the literature on this subject for children of immigrants, the so-called ‘second generation’. The usefulness of this is not, in the opinion of the authors, the label attached to the concept, but rather the fact of having a clear cleavage between the population of African descendants that resided in Portugal in 1974 (or settled there between 1975 and 1980), and the population of African descendants which came to Portugal after 1980.

It seems to the authors that these aspects have not received enough attention from the Portuguese scholarly community, but there are at least three good reasons why they should:

1. this population does not result from voluntary international migration;
2. there existed alternatives to the political decisions that were made (recall that the Netherlands politically recognized the minorities resulting from the end of their own empire (Entzinger 1994; Münz 1996), so the decision and its consequences must be taken into account;
3. because, as Zolberg affirms, in line with the thoughts of Horowitz:

   ethnicity is not only a projection or a re-birth of traditional links, but [also] a social construction of today that is used as an organizational resource in conflicts about the allocation of resources and power. (Zolberg 1989: 417)

Several authors have pointed out the change in the composition and motivation of the PALOP citizens who came to Portugal in the 1980s (see, for example, Saint-Maurice 1997). To our way of thinking, this change

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Saint-Maurice observes that the people of Cabo Verde concur with this change.
was accompanied by institutional changes which were sufficiently important that we should consider 1981 as a turning point for immigration to Portugal.

Our reason for this has to do with the legal framework that went into effect in that year, created by Legal Decree 264-B/81 of 3 September, regulating the entrances, duration of stay, exits, visas and residency permits of foreigners (citizens of the—at that time—EEC Member States), and by the newly created 'Nationality Law' (Law no. 37/81 of 3 October), which abandoned the principle of *jus soli* in favour of *jus sanguinis*. As a consequence of this shift to *jus sanguinis*, it became more difficult for children of noncitizens to acquire Portuguese citizenship simply by being born within Portuguese borders, or for any foreigner to gain citizenship through marriage to a Portuguese citizen. At least as important as the changes in the letter of the law, in our opinion, was the perception of these changes on the part of the political elite then in power.

We further believe that Portugal must redefine its own identity vis-à-vis its own history and its current position in Europe, whereby the principle of *jus sanguinis* will allow the nation to preserve and transmit its real politik to future generations, even if doing so demands some hard concessions. The ‘Portuguese identity’ advanced by the political elite in the 1981 legislation (essentially one of ethnic affiliation, ‘by blood’, to its European roots) witnessed some consolidation in the following years through Portugal’s EC adhesion, its enrolment in the Schengen Treaty, and then through its ratification of the Amsterdam Treaty.48 In our reading of the events, therefore, 1981 marks the watershed between ‘Portugal: Homeland of Colonial Empire’ and ‘Portugal: European State’.

Having said this, we remind the reader of our awareness that Legal Decree 308-A/75 of 24 July was revoked only in 1988, and that from 1982 until 12 May 1989, 16,261 persons kept or received Portuguese citizenship under Article 5 (Esteves et al. 1991: 133)—which is to say that the impact of the end of the Empire upon the settling of foreigners in Portugal continued to be felt well beyond 1981. The point to be made is that we recognize that 1981 saw the first steps in the political sphere toward Portugal’s self

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48 We believe that the address of the Internal Affairs Minister, Dias Loureiro, delivered in Parliament in March of 1996 (see *Diário da Assembleia da República* (DAR), série, no. 53), exemplifies this new national identity very well. The remarks of government members and the PDS (Social Democratic Party) regarding the proposal for a programme of Special Legalization of Immigrants, and the debates surrounding the alteration of the 1981 Nationality Law (see *Diário de República*, I série, no. 57, 14 April 1994), perfectly illustrate this thinking as well (see Baganha 1998c).
image as an immigration country, and its labelling, largely through the media, as ‘immigrants’, PALOP citizens and Portuguese nationals of African descent.\textsuperscript{49} If we accept this as a working hypothesis and reconsider the contributions of Fernando Luís Machado in that light, the identification of ‘Luso-Africans’ as an ethnic group may be confined to its real historical context—a consequence of the fragmentation of the Portuguese Empire in Africa, and the migratory flows, beginning in the 1980s, that came out of it. This labeling, and the collective representation demanded by the ‘Luso-Africans’, themselves (which served as a lobby group and lent logistical and information support), have led to discrimination in the Portuguese legal environment against PALOP immigrants, compared to immigrants coming from other countries.

It may be fair, therefore, to view the PALOP immigration to Portugal, beginning in the 1980s, within the overall international context of 1980s and 1990s immigration, and to analyse movements of labourers and their families alongside ‘forced’ re-locations. As mentioned above, this new context would reflect, in a profound and fundamental way, the processes of economic globalization and legal restrictions on economic immigration.

As discussed above, the international migrations we consider here are essentially flows of labour, which presupposes that the direction of flow is a response to the demand for labour in the international market.\textsuperscript{50} The economic determinants of international labour movement are refuted and viewed differently, depending on several factors. These factors include the political sanctioning that the EU can exercise (at the national or supranational levels) over some of the involved countries, and the strength and structure(s) of the active migratory nets at both ends of the migration path. These factors are often construed in such a way that results are at odds with what an economic analysis alone might suggest (Baganha 1990, 1991, 1997). The globalization processes demand that our analytical framework be adapted to accommodate the range of factors that affect international migration.

Economic globalization processes have greatly influenced the organization of national labour markets. These influences are filtered through many types of regulations in those markets and through the social value systems that underlie them, respectively.\textsuperscript{51} These filters (which are not limited to institutions) go a long way to explaining why in some markets

\textsuperscript{49} For more on this, see (Guibentif 1991).

\textsuperscript{50} This does not mean that there is or is not forced international migration (flows of refugees and asylum-seekers) towards Portugal—only that our work focuses on voluntary migrations.

\textsuperscript{51} The Danish case illustrates this well. See (Hjarno 1996).
there is a tendency for precarious and informal work situations to direct immigrants into selfemployment—principally in large metropolitan areas.52

This tendency is particularly reinforced in the EU by the migratory policies adopted after 1973 and 1974, that impede the entrance of economic migrants and/or the change of legal residency status, for example, from ‘tourist’ to ‘immigrant’. In response to this ‘double punch’ (economic globalization coupled with the new institutional framework), sophisticated nets of illegal traffic in people have emerged (Salt and Stein 1997)—a traffic which is extremely lucrative (estimated at 3 to 4 billion dollars annually—just to the EU), and which moves about 400,000 persons into Europe every year.

These entrances, which depend on those traffic nets, can be legal, can appear to be legal (through the use of forged documents), or can be in the form of clandestine immigrants taking advantage of loopholes in the various national legal frameworks (in the EU). These legal loopholes, as is well known, differ tremendously from country to country. As economist George Borjas points out, however, all of the migratory policies share one thing in common. Their primary objective is to answer two questions: ‘how many immigrants should the country allow in?’ and ‘who should those immigrants be?’ (Borjas 1996).

The same author also points out that since policy-setting is in the hands of the nationals, the answers normally proposed for those questions are the same: ‘whatever maximizes the well-being of the nationals’. Such a maximization should in theory lead to an ‘open door’ policy on economic immigration, since their entrance would increase the per capita internal product, or as Borjas says, ‘would increase the size of the cake’. The problem is that the ‘division of the cake would become particularly biased’ to the detriment of the national workers who are poorly qualified. Now, as economic distribution has fundamentally one economic response, it is exactly there that the answers to the initial questions will be found.

As the benefits derived from immigrants’ entrances are concentrated (they revert to some economic agents usually the immigrants, themselves, because the corresponding costs are deferred and diffused), the political answers to the two questions for the most part reflect the interests of certain economic groups and the interests of previous immigrant groups (perhaps their own) who have already settled in the country. It is evident that aside from the migratory policies in and of themselves (that regulate

the volume and kind of entrances, as well as permanency), in exercising their own sovereign rights, the countries, too, regulate who it is who can 'belong', and the way in which 'belonging' should occur.

The regime of 'immigrant incorporation' in the welcoming society can be illustrated by two extremes: the Swedish model, which since 1975 has been defined as multicultural, and where the representation of interests is 'corporatist'; and, on the other hand, the French model, which was defined as assimilative, and in which the representation of interests is individual (Kubat 1993; Soysal 1994; Bauböck 1998).

As mentioned above, both the immigration/labour market and the adaptive processes of immigrants to the Portuguese society have been approached by numerous Portuguese investigators, but studies regarding 'immigration as a business', which is gathering interest, and the triad of 'globalization/EU migratory policies/national politics' are still forthcoming.

The impact of economic globalization and the determinants of political sanctioning of the migrations in Portugal (Baganha 1996, 1998b,c) in the EU space have led us to visualize Portugal as a turntable, distributing and absorbing labour according to the parameters of the political space in which it is situated, and the needs of the domestic and international labour markets.

In the Centre for Social Studies other investigations are underway (emigration and detachment of Portuguese workers to Germany, seasonal emigration to Spain, insertion of immigrants in the Portuguese civil construction sector and Cabo Verdian immigrants in various European cities). We know that other institutions are carrying on similar or supplemental works, as well. Published findings will advance our knowledge about the migrations across Portuguese borders, in both directions. Based upon a more-informed view, we will be able to formulate a better picture of where the Portuguese worker is going in this new millennium.

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