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Immigration in Portugal: A Typology

Introduction

After 1974 Portugal experienced a remarkable shift in the direction of the international population movements resulting from the confluence of various movements. In particular one should stress the emigration retraction, the return of migrants settled in the more industrialized European countries, the repatriation of the Portuguese residing in the colonies and the growth of the immigratory flows.¹ The analysis of this last movement is the objective of the comments that follow. However we will try to stress that the present-day immigration may be explained through the pinpointing of the relations among the different international migratory flows that cross, or have crossed, Portuguese society.

In fact immigration is basically founded on those countries that have maintained a closer relationship with Portugal. The majority of the foreigners residing in Portugal can be re-grouped into three main groups, according to provenance: those that come from Western Europe, in particular from the EEC, those that originate from traditional Portuguese emigration destination countries, especially from the American continent, and finally those from the African Countries with Portuguese as the Official Language (PALOP).

Factors and types of migration

The overlapping in time of political and social changes caused by the restoration of democracy in 1974 and by the shift in the migration pattern in Portugal is not just a mere coincidence. In fact, as it has been frequently

mentioned, the migratory movements reveal a closely knit articulation with the social change processes. ²

At the structural level those movements tend to occur with higher intensity during times of widespread social transformation, with a multiplying as well as innovative effect on the dynamics of the involving social systems. This innovative effect is the outcome of contingency associated, at the action level, to the way the intervening actors define the direction of their own trajectories (themselves the materialisation of change processes at a more micro level), to the form they interpret the context in which those trajectories occur and consequently they develop multiple interaction processes with the communities of the territories of origin and destination, processes which are only partially convergent and controlled. ³

Determinants of the Migratory Process

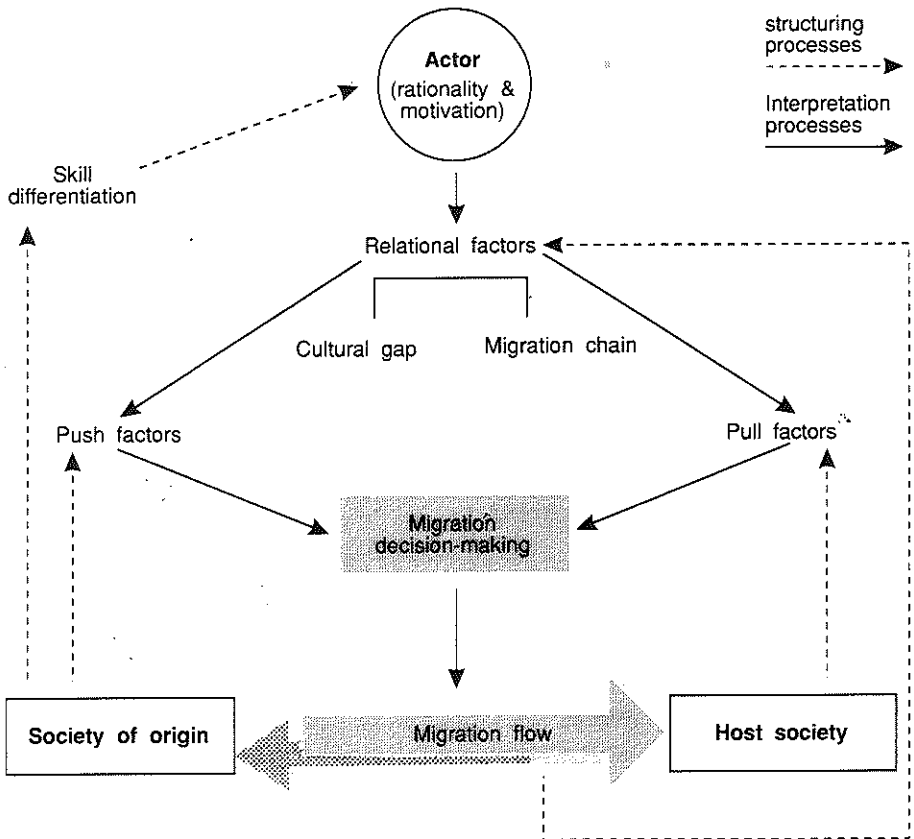
However, the plain attestation of the existence of spatial mobility population movements throughout History is not a good enough reason to justify the pretence to formulate a formal general migration theory, an example of which is the model of repulsion-attraction based on the premise of the existence of a formal universal rationality, evident in the representation of the *homo economicus*. ⁴ If using the migration decision process analysis as sole reference it is advisable to correct the repulsion-attraction classical models based on the following considerations:

- . *the issue of bounded rationality*: the actors decide based on limited information as well as on limited aspirations, depending on the set of references they can handle, with unequal skills acquired according to their position in the social structure; ⁵
- . *the issue of motivation*: in the area of motivation the actors tend to minimize the ontological insecurity factors by selecting options that involve both a lesser cultural distance between the society they leave behind and the host society, and the existence of support networks for the migration and integration processes in the latter society (these networks are consolidated in the emergence of migratory ranks); ⁶⁻⁷

As a whole these corrections call for the actors' differentiation in relation to their capabilities to build unequal life style settings and for the enhancement of the setting of relationships between the societies involved in the spatial mobility flows while structuring factors of migratory practices (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

Migrations - Model of a decision making process



Types of Migration

The variation in the causes and characteristics of such movements throughout the ages has been as constant as the unvarying occurrence of migration. The construction of migration typologies is therefore the main objective of the sociological analysis. From the several contributions on the subject it is possible to retain six basic criteria referring to: ⁸

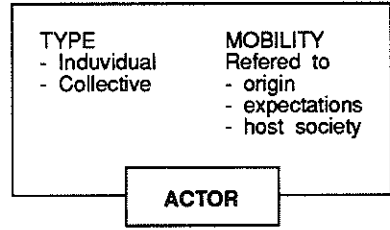
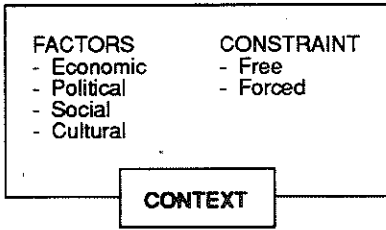
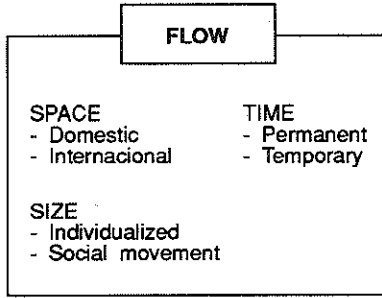
- . the temporal and spatial dimension of the migratory situation;
- .the migratory flow composition;
- . the type of contextual factors on which the evaluation leading to the decision to migrate is centered;
- . the degree of individual freedom present at the time of migration;
- . the changes in the migrant's living conditions arising from the course chosen;
- . the forms of migrant merging in the host societies.

The subdivision of these basic criteria into more specific distinctive axes enables the delimitation of a series of likely cases (see Figure 2), of analytical usefulness, depending on the historical context being analysed and on the requirements of each research.

At the modern international migration level those criteria allow the delimitation of three types of spatial mobility movements, particularly relevant to the purposes of this text: professional, labour and refugee migration. At the motivation level the professional migration differs from the classical labour migration as the escape from mobility blocked situations is just as important, if not more, so as the simple quest to improve living standards; as far as the changes in the migrant's living standards are concerned they also differ because the agents involved tend to consider the outcome as generally positive since it does not entail the costs of a subordinated segregated integration.

Figure 2

Migration classification criteria



Refugee migration is characterised as a direct result of political changes, in many cases accompanied by conflicts of ethnic or religious nature, and by implying that the actors' freedom is restricted as regards the decision to migrate.

2. The new immigration in Portugal

In 1988 there were 94,980 foreigners residing in Portugal in a regular situation, 527 of them enjoying the right to asylum. ⁹ In general terms, approximately 27% of the foreigners that in 1988 legally resided in Portugal came from the EEC and 73% from other countries - 41% from the PALOP (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and S. Tomé) and 23% from the four American countries which in the past were the chosen countries of destination for Portuguese emigration (USA, Canada, Brazil and Venezuela). ¹⁰

Table 1

Main immigration countries (1988)

Countries	n	%
Cape-Verde	26 953	28,6
Brazil	9 333	9,9
Great-Britain	7 115	7,6
Spain	7 105	7,5
USA	6 055	6,4
Venezuela	4 828	5,1
Angola	4.434	4,7
West Germany	4 133	4,4
Guinea-Bissau	3 021	3,2
France	2 803	2,9
Mozambique	2 762	2,9
Canada	2 095	2,2
S. Tomé	1 730	1,8
Holland	1 546	1,6
Italy	1 060	1,1

Source: Department of Foreigners and Frontiers

Professional and Labour Migration: Portugal's Position in the World-System

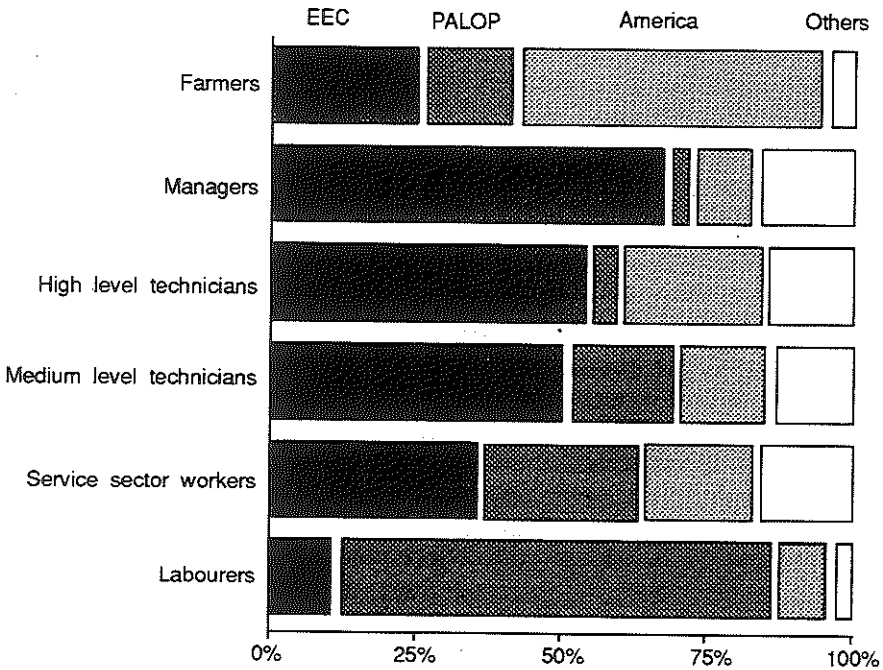
When we analyse the distribution of regular active foreigners by occupation field, the slight predominance of the service sector over the industrial is clear, while active immigration is practically nonexistent in the agricultural sector. However, the importance of the foreign population in the country's labour force is minimum, with only a small percentage in the construction sector - 3% of employment. In fact foreigners represent little more than 1% of the total number of individuals working in the commerce and service sector, and 0.5% of those in the industry sector. Statistically their number in the agricultural sector is of no significance. In this respect the different nationalities of the active immigrants have very distinct characteristics: people from the PALOP work mostly in construction (88% of this sector's active foreigners), those from Europe occupy respectively 46% and 40% of the foreign employment in the industry and service sectors, and finally people from Venezuela, the United States and Canada represent approximately half of the active foreigners in the agricultural sector.

The distribution of the active foreign population by occupational groups is mainly characterised by the predominance of blue-collar professions (51%), as well as a high percentage of technical and managerial personnel (23%). By crossing this data with the foreign population provenance, we verify that the majority of the skilled immigrants come from EEC countries (59%), while more than three quarters of the foreign labourers come from the PALOP (77%). This data indicates "the existence in Portugal of EEC immigration that supports the management of foreign investment (of the Community), along with a very strong presence of PALOP immigrants in an activity sector requiring unskilled manpower (the construction sector)".¹¹

In a nutshell it is possible to say that the active immigration pattern emphasizes a situation traditionally known as Portugal's semiperipheral character (see Figure 3). On one hand highly skilled nationals from the more industrialized European countries settle in Portugal temporarily¹² (professional migration), a flow qualitatively symmetrical to that of Portuguese unskilled emigration during the 60's and 70's to those same countries. On the other hand Portugal is the country of destination for thousands of unskilled labourers from the PALOP (labour migration). In turn the PALOP receive an opposite current of skilled Portuguese workers,

Figure 3

Provenance of the active foreign residents, with regular situation, by professional group (1988)



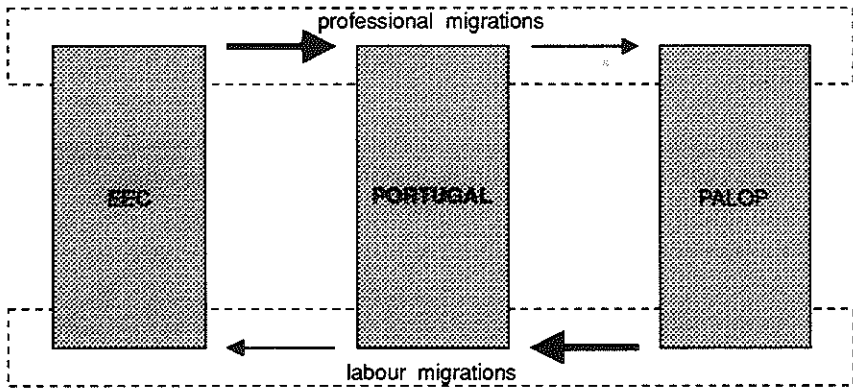
Source: Department of Foreigners and Frontiers

namely in the scope of the cooperation agreements.¹³ The eventual consolidation or alteration of this pattern of Portugal's integration in the population movements world-system will depend heavily on the evolution of immigration in the 90's. Basically this evolution depends on four factors: the development of the socio-economic situation in Portugal and in those countries from where the main migratory flows to our country originate (PALOP, EEC and Brazil); the new dynamics induced by the coming into

force of the European common market; the configuration of conjunctural processes of political change in societies with which Portugal maintains closer ties, especially in the area of migratory flows (the case of Macao and South Africa); and finally the political options that Portugal and the EEC may decide as regards the control of the international population movements involving other countries.

Figure 4

**System of international migration to and from Portugal
(dominant flows)**



Note on Irregular Immigration: Labour Immigration and Job Market Segmentation

In 1988 there were approximately 60.000 foreigners in an irregular situation, representing 39% of the total number of foreigners residing in Portugal at the time. ¹⁴ The largest contingent of irregular immigrants is made up by political or labour emigrants from the PALOP. Among the active immigrants in an irregular situation the majority from Cape Verde and secondly from Guinea-Bissau. In most cases these immigrants work in construction - the men - or as domestic help - the women - and they reside in the suburban areas of Lisbon, Porto and Setúbal. Everything seems to point out that the irregular immigration of active unskilled labour has allowed the consolidation of a job market divided into technologically less developed sectors of the Portuguese economy. This way it is possible to define an

increasingly subordinated integration setting of labour immigration of general African origin. ¹⁵

Emigration and Immigration: From the Counter-Current Movements to the New Migratory Ranks

Four American countries have been the chosen countries of destination for long distance Portuguese emigration: two in North America - USA and Canada - where there is a large number of emigrants from the Azores; and two in South America - Brazil and Venezuela - the latter with a high percentage of people from the Madeira Islands. The reverse of these emigratory flows was the development of an immigratory counter-current composed mainly of young individuals, foreign or second generation emigrants, and which includes two dominant flows: from Canada to the Azores and from Venezuela to Madeira.

The acknowledgment that every important migratory current is likely to generate a counter-current in the opposite direction had already been mentioned at the end of the 19th century by E.G.Ravenstein ¹⁶ in his celebrated *laws of migration*. These counter-currents can be explained either by the existence of return flows or by the fact that the integration of the main current emigrants in the host society enables the creation of social relations. These work as the functional equivalent to the migratory chains, at the information spreading and integration cost reduction levels, for those individuals that move along the counter-current.

The case of the people from Brazil is particularly interesting as a rapidly increasing flow, no longer a mere migration counter-current but instead becoming a new migratory rank. The existence of a common language and a common set of cultural references facilitates their integration in Portuguese society. Also the fact that they possess a privileged statute entitling them to the same juridical rights ¹⁷ may help to balance the comparative disadvantages which Portugal may present, from a merely instrumental-economic point of view, as potential country of destination to an increasing emigration caused by the present-day crisis in Brazil. This is true especially if taking into consideration that crisis is experienced by many immigrants mainly as a situation of generalised uncertainty.

Decolonization and Population Movements: Labour Migration and Refugee Migration

The assessment of the total number of PALOP immigrating population residing in Portugal is hindered by the characteristics of the movement that produced it. The discrepancies in the data from the different statistical sources illustrate this difficulty.

According to the 1981 General Census there were 45.222 individuals residing in Portugal who were nationals of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and S.Tomé. However in that same year, only 27.287 foreigners from those countries had legal residence permits, according to data from the Foreigners Service of the Internal Affairs Ministry.

Table 2

Foreigners from the PALOP residing in Portugal, according to information source, by country of nationality (1981)

Countries	SNI	(A)	IAM	(B)	A/B
Total	45 222	100.0	27.287	100.0	1.7
Angola	19 567	43.3	2 068	7.6	9.4
Cape Verde	18 557	41.0	22 842	83.6	0.8
Guinea-Bissau	1 126	2.5	970	3.6	1.2
Mozambique	4 425	9.8	621	2.3	7.1
S.Tomé	1 547	3.4	786	2.9	2.0

Sources: (SNI) Statistics National Institute, XII General Census (IAM) Department of Foreigners and Frontiers

A more detached analysis of the data provided by the two mentioned sources permits the identification of the possible origin of that discrepancy (see Table 2). In fact the differences in the data relating to each PALOP have a totally different range - insignificant in the case of Cape Verde, noteworthy in the case of Guinea-Bissau, and immense as far as Angola and Mozambique are concerned. In other words these contrasts may indicate that immigration from the various African countries has distinct causes, namely because they seem to reveal the existence of a great number of refugees from Angola and Mozambique, many of which are probably documented as being

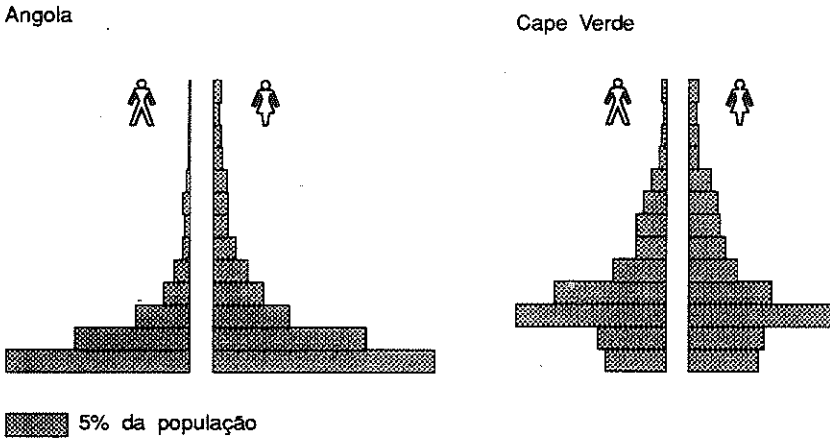
Portuguese, presumably due to the fact that their exodus occurred at the same time as that of the repatriates from the colonies.

The analysis of the data on the socio-demographic composition of the PALOP's foreign population residing in Portugal allows a closer scrutiny of that information and enables the differentiation of two polarized immigration types exemplified by the cases of Angola and Mozambique on one hand and by that of Cape Verde on the other.¹⁸ This differentiation originated from the reasons that may have weighed on the decisions to emigrate by evaluation of the original contexts, whose most important characteristics may result from the political--military situation in both Angola and Mozambique, and from the economical problems in Cape Verde. These distinct reasons originated the predominance of a refugee migration in the first case and a labour migration (of several other labourers) in the second, and corresponding to specific migrant profiles that are clearly expressed:

- . in the younger age bracket of the immigrant population from Angola and Mozambique;
- . in the stronger presence of the familial component in the immigration from Cape Verde;
- . in the high activity rate among immigrants from Cape Verde;
- . in the higher number of students among immigrants from Angola and Mozambique;
- . in the lesser academic and professional qualification of immigrants from Cape Verde;
- . in the higher percentage of blue-collar workers from Cape Verde.

Figure 5

Age Pyramids of the foreign residents from Angola and Cape Verde (1981)



Source: SNI, XII General Census

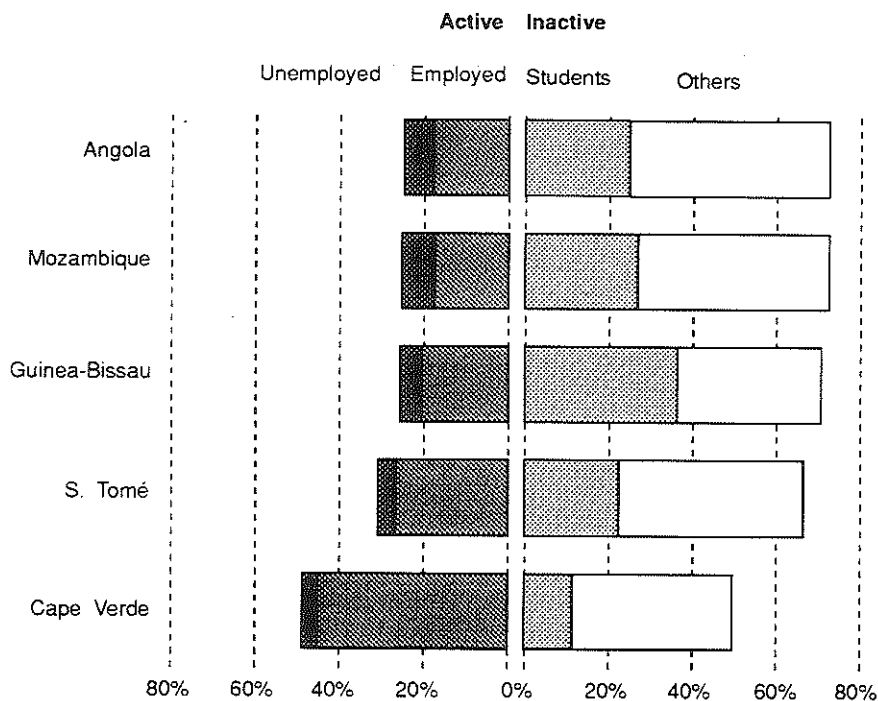
Note: it only includes residents in the ex-colonies on 31.12.1973

Between these two more clearly defined situations the immigrant populations from São Tomé and Guinea indicate respectively, hybrid and specific characteristics.

Strongly affected by the different decolonization processes in each PALOP, the detected contrasts may nevertheless have been in part softened during the 1980's. The last available data indicates a continuous decrease in the number of immigrants with (real) refugee statute and a reinforcement of the more classic labour component in the population movements from all the PALOP. Should this trend persist, it will strengthen the new type of peripheral incorporation of those African societies regarding their ties with Portugal.

Figure 6

Foreigners from the PALOP, according to job situation,
by country of nationality (1981)



Source: INE, XII General Census

Note: it only includes the residents of the ex-colonies on 31.12.1973

Footnotes

- 1 A systematic study has been carried out at the Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento on the population movements in Portugal after 1974. Vid. the works published by the Institute on emigration (H.-M. Sthal and others, 1982: **Perspectivas da Emigração Portuguesa para a CEE, 1980-1990**), the return of emigrants (M. Silva and others, 1984: **Retorno, Emigração e Desenvolvimento Regional em Portugal**), the repatriation from Africa (R. Pena Pires and others, 1987: **Os Retornados: um estudo sociográfico**), immigration (Maria do Céu Esteves [org.], 1991: **Portugal, País de Imigração**) and the Cape-Verde immigration (L. França, A. Saint-Maurice, I. Guerra et al., 1992: **A Comunidade Caboverdiana em Portugal**). This paper is based on Chapter 2 of the above mentioned book organised by Maria do Céu Esteves (in which the author also collaborated), as well as on the article written with Ana de Saint-Maurice in 1989: "Descolonização e Migrações: Os Imigrantes dos PALOP em Portugal", **Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos**, nº10/11, pp.203-226.
- 2 On the connections between migration and social change, see in particular J. Jackson, 1986: **Migrações**, Lisboa, Escher/Celta, and G. Lewis, 1982: **Human Migration: A geographical perspective**, New York, St. Martin's Press.
- 3 To approach a structural change theory based on the action contingency effects, see A. Giddens, 1984: **The Constitution of Society**, Cambridge, Polity Press.
- 4 In order to update the push and pull model elaborated by Ravenstein at the end of the 19th century, see E.Lee, 1969: "A theory of migration", in J. Jackson (ed.), **Migration**, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- 5 For a commentary on the orthodox conception of rationality while social action inducer see B.Hindess, 1988: **Choice, Rationality and Social Theory**, London, Unwin Hyman. The concept of "bounded rationality" introduced by H.Simon (1982: **Models of Bounded Rationality**, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press) is developed by Hindess in the sense we suggest.
- 6 On the centrality of the "ontological security" problems in the structuring of action motivation, see A. Giddens, *op. cit.*
- 7 The constitution of migratory chains is still a fundamental factor in information dissemination. In fact, the generalisation of choices leading to the consolidation of migratory routes is not only eased by governmental policies, but it is also prone to occur whenever there is information exchange, in particular through relations in primary groups such as family, on the example and experience of those who first completed the route in question.
- 8 See in particular W. Petersen, 1958: "A general typology of migration", **American Sociological Review**, 23, P. Krishnan and D. Odynak, 1987: "A generalization of Petersen's typology of migration", **International Migration**, 25, F.Alberoni, 1963: "Tipologia delle migrazioni esteriori", **Studi di**

- Sociologia**, 3, G.Beijer, 1969: "Modern patterns of international migratory movements", in J. Jackson (ed.), *op. cit.* and P. George, 1970: "Types of migration of the population according to the professional and social composition of migrants", in C. Jansen (ed.), **Readings in the Sociology of Migration**, Oxford, Pergamon Press.
- 9 This last group is mostly comprised of people from the PALOP, particularly from Mozambique (49%) and Angola (25%).
 - 10 It is advisable to refer to the growth of the immigrant community from India and Pakistan in these last few years, most likely the result from the settlement in Portugal, right after the decolonisation, of Hindu and Muslim communities previously living in Mozambique. The number of Indo-Pakistani foreigners is very low as the majority of the members of this community is of Portuguese nationality.
 - 11 In R. Pena Pires (1990), "Semiperiferia versus polarização? Os equívocos do modelo trimodal", **Sociologia - Problemas e Práticas**, 8, p. 87.
 - 12 The temporary quality of professional immigration to Portugal is illustrated by characteristics of familial structure and relation with lodging prevailing among EEC nationals residing in Portugal. See Maria do Céu Esteves (org.), 1991, *op.cit.*, Chapter 3.
 - 13 On the characteristics of emigration based on cooperation mechanisms see the study promoted by the Instituto de Estudos para o Desenvolvimento, G. Pereira e N. Matias, 1991, **Caracterização sócio-profissional dos cooperantes portugueses**.
 - 14 See Maria do Céu Esteves (org.). *op. cit.*, p.49.
 - 15 On the consequences of such a type of segmentation, regarding living conditions and immigrant integration, as well as the ways of (de)regulating industrial relations in the surrounding society, see A. Portes 1981, "Modes of structural incorporation and present theories of labour immigration", in: M. Kritz, C. Keely and S. Tomasi (eds.), **Global trends on migration: theory and research on international population movements**, New York, The Center for Migration Studies.
 - 16 E. G. Ravenstein 1889, "The Laws of Migration", **Journal of the Royal Statistical Society**, LII, pp.241-305.
 - 17 See Maria do Céu Esteves (org.), *op. cit.*, Chapter 8.
 - 18 See Ana de Saint-Maurice and Rui Pena Pires 1989, *op. cit.*