



First Report

Indicators of Immigrant Integration

PORTUGAL

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1. INTRODUCTION

The immigrant, that foreigner in the city? Certainly! The immigrant, that pilgrim looking for work? Undoubtedly! The immigrant, that stroller in dangerous paths, crossing the manifold boundaries of crime? Unfortunately, it is so! The immigrant, a cultural uprooted or a member of an ethnic minority? Also! Foreigner, worker, minoritarian, victim or agent, multiple masks looking for a citizenship status built upon norms issuing from different origins: constitutional, international, European, civil, labour, educational, penal. (Gomes Canotilho, 2004: 152)

The European Commission aims at defining a shared outlook on immigration issues striving to ensure third country citizens rights and responsibilities similar to those of European Union citizens. However, each Member State enjoys the prerogative of defining its own integration policy. The resulting diversity of integration policies is, alongside the very plurality of inflows, one of the factors that most affects the actual quality of the integration of immigrants in the EU.

But the situations in EU countries display similarities as well as differences. This conjunction of similarities and differences may be regarded as an added-value, since it makes way for understanding which policies work better in which settings. Thus, by exchanging information on policy measures and good practices we improve our chance of obtaining better future global results in the whole of the EU. In this light it can be plainly seen that finding comparable indicators between different countries is something that will not only contribute to a better monitoring of both the immigration and integration processes, but also help improving the policies developed in these domains.

Since the current project does not belong to the scope of basic research, but is instead an application of social science methods to a social problem with the purpose of aiding public policy, it becomes particularly relevant to know which policy documents, on a European level, circumscribe the field of integration. In the end of 2004 the European Council formulated the Common Basic Principles for the immigrant integration policies in the EU.¹ This document states that *Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual*

¹ Council Document no. 14615/04, dated 19th November 2004, available on line at http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf on the 21st December 2005.



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accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States (p. 17). This is the definition of integration that will be adopted at this stage of the current work. More recently, this statement was repeated in the Common Agenda for Integration - Framework for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals in the European Union.²

As to the notion of immigrant, the references abound. Some authors define immigrant as someone that enters a country where he or she does not reside with the intention of becoming a resident (Garson *et al.*, 1999: 21). Others give this concept a more economic facet, defining immigrant as *any foreigner that comes to Portugal looking for work or in order to fill a position that he has obtained before leaving his country of origin* (Cruz Almeida, 2001: 6). These discrepancies, far from being individual idiosyncrasies, are condensed in the normative production, more or less official, of the institutions that congregate these interests. In Portugal, the National Statistical Institute (INE), for instance, acknowledges two types of immigrants: the permanent and the temporary. For statistical purposes, a permanent immigrant is *an individual that has entered the country with the intention of residing here for over a year, having resided abroad for a uninterrupted period of over a year*, while a temporary immigrant *has entered the country with the intention of remaining here for a year or less, with the purpose of working on a paid position, having resided abroad for a uninterrupted period of over a year*. The relatives and accompanying persons of such individuals are also to be considered temporary immigrants³. However, the portrayal of the immigrant that arises from the Article 11 of the Convention no. 143 of the International Labour Organization is quite different; it is considered that *for the purpose of this Part of this Convention, the term migrant worker means a person who migrates or who has migrated from one country to another with a view to being employed otherwise than on his own account*⁴, followed by a list of exceptions.

The semantic field of the word "immigrant" is located at the intersection of the influence spheres of diverse knowledges and powers. This situation leads to the multiplication of the variables that are relevant for forming a concept of immigrant. These encompass, at

² COM (2005) 389 final, dated 1st September 2005, available on line at http://europa.eu.int/eur-lex/lex/LexUriServ/site/en/com/2005/com2005_0389en01.pdf on the 21st December 2005.

³ Definitions available at <http://conceitos.ine.pt> on the 29th January de 2006.

⁴ Definition available at <http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/convde.pl?C143> on the 29th January de 2006.



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least, nationality place of birth, economic purpose, residence, duration of stay, legal status and professional situation. A theoretical approach concerning the multiplicity that hides behind the concept would be appropriate for a structural analysis of the representations of immigrants, but not as a basis for a quantitative analysis of its contribution towards making integration indicators work. Due to the importance of standardizing concepts for measuring the integration of immigrants, we have chosen the pragmatic and minimalist solution (also in accordance with the subject of the funding line that feeds the current project) of identifying immigrants with third country nationals, although setting in context the legal framework that configures such “immigrants” in Portugal.



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2. IMMIGRATION IN PORTUGAL

2.1. CONTEMPORARY IMMIGRATION FLOWS

Immigration in Portugal, as well as in other countries of Southern Europe, is fairly recent. It is a phenomenon which is integrated in the new migration tendencies at planetary scale, noticeable in the fact that countries that were once workforce suppliers are nowadays immigrant receivers (Entzinger, 2001). Although Portugal is still an emigration country – it is estimated that about 4.500.000 Portuguese and their descendents, about half of the current resident population, live abroad – today's migratory balance shows an entry flow larger than the exit flow. The turning point has occurred in the mid 1980's.

Up until 1960 Portugal showed a rather narrow openness towards the exterior. In those days the number of foreign residents was fairly residual. The large majority of the 29,428 foreign residents (0,3% of the total resident population) were Europeans (67%) and Brazilians (22%) (INE, 1960), being this later figure the result of an emigration reflux. The country became slightly more open to external relations and to foreign investment in the second half of the 1960's, with the industrial development and the integration in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA). It was at that time that the first immigration flows from the African colonies begun. There are no precise records of those movements because they were considered to be internal migrations, constituted by Africans that came to Portugal to pursue their studies or to work in the construction and public works. The later were mainly Cape Verdeans, and came to Portugal in order to overcome the lack of workforce derived from the military drafting to the colonial wars, in addition to the demographical effects of the massive Portuguese emigration to European countries.

The decolonization process, initiated in 1975 after the revolution of April 1974, marked the beginning of a new stage for the immigration to Portugal. In addition to the repatriation of the Portuguese citizens who had previously resided in the former colonies – around half a million, called *retornados*, in what constituted the largest demographical movement in Portugal's recent history (Pena Pires, 2003) – the country has become a magnet for a large contingent of African nationals. In search of better living-conditions or running from the several civil wars in the countries that had recently obtained their independence, those immigrants chose Portugal as a destination country for political (ease of entry in the former empire capital), socio-cultural (affinities resulting from



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centuries of common history and language) and economical (labour immigration) reasons.

The concurrence between processes of return and immigration, the change in the nationality law in 1975 and the flow of illegal entries lead to some difficulties in the assessment of the volume of immigration contingents from the PALOPs in the second half of the 1970's and beginning of the 1980's. The discrepancy between data issued by different statistical sources illustrates this difficulty. In the 1981 census, the INE registered 108,518 foreign residents (1% of the total resident population), of that 45,222 (42%) had PALOP origin. Very different data, from the Service for Border Control and Aliens⁵, registered a total of 62,692 foreign individuals and 27,287 (43%) immigrants from the PALOPs. In spite of the differences between sources, these figures clearly show that Africans had become the most significant resident foreign population in Portugal.

In the 1980's, Portugal seemed to be going against the flow in what regards immigration. At a time when Northern and Central European Governments were beginning to impose strong barriers to immigration from third countries, Portugal profited from several factors that, once combined, provided a favourable international situation and worked as incentives to the entrance of those flows. Once the democracy was consolidated, political stability stimulated national and international investments, and the integration, in 1986, in the former European Economical Community promoted the development of several economic sectors. Between 1980 and 1990 the foreign population with stay permit increased from 58,091 to 107,767 persons, representing a positive variation of 85,5% and an average annual growth of 6,4%. The entrance flows were not only intensified but also diversified⁶. There has been a slight decrease in the rate of immigration of African nationals from the former colonies, an increase in Indian and Chinese immigration, a recovery in European immigration and a significant increase in the Brazilian population *which configured already, at the end of the nineties, the formation of a new migration course instead of a simple cross-current* (Pena Pires, 2003: 152).

In the 1990's, Portuguese immigration did not suffer major qualitative changes regarding the predominant sources, by comparison with the previous decade. Conversely, in quantitative terms, we can observe an almost duplication of the number of foreign

⁵ These numbers include only legally registered immigrants.

⁶ Appendix 2.



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residents. From 101,011 in 1989 (corresponding to 1% of the total resident population), the number of legal immigrants has risen to 191,143 (2% of the country population) in 1999⁷. However, this data refers to the foreign population with stay permit in the country. The social and political perception of the existence of a strong contingent of illegal immigrants has resulted in the implementation of two extraordinary legalisation processes in 1992 and 1996. 39,000 immigrants were legalised during the first process and roughly 35,000 in the second. The chief objective of these extraordinary legalisation processes was to legalize the status of the raising number of immigrants that, supported by origin and destination migration networks, were unlawfully entering in the country since the mid 1980's. The 1999 figures already reflect a large proportion of the immigrants legalized through both processes.

The year 2000 marks a new chapter in the global panorama of Portuguese immigration, bringing out extensive quantitative and qualitative changes. Following the collapse of USSR and the subsequent emergence of post-soviet independent States, a new and important flow of immigrants from Eastern European countries begun. The majority of these immigrants arrive illegally in Portugal. Consequently, a new process of extraordinary legalisation was carried out in January 2001. At the end of that year 45,233 Ukrainians, 8,984 Moldavians, 7,461 Romanians and 5,022 Russians had regularised their legal status in Portugal (Valente Rosa *et al.*, 2004: 46). The major change in the short history of Portuguese immigration concerns the fact that it has received, in large scale numbers, immigrants from countries with which Portugal had no historical, linguistic or cultural affinities whatsoever. In addition to these entries, a substantial flow of illegal immigrants from Brazil was maintained since the end of the 1990's. This new wave of Brazilian immigrants is, unlike the previous, characterized by being made up of individuals which are less qualified and from a lower and social stratum.

In 2001 223,602 foreigners resided legally in Portugal. Cape Verdeans, Brazilians, Angolans and Guineans were still predominant. Still, the legalisation of 174,558 foreigners between 2001 and 2002 reconfigured the quantitative hierarchy of the diverse communities. The Ukrainians became the largest group, followed by Brazilians, Cape Verdeans and Angolans.

⁷ Information available online at <http://www.sef.pt/estatisticas.htm> on the 31st December 2005.



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The diversification of the flows and relative weight of the resident immigrants at the turn of the century is associated to some specificities. Eastern European immigrants usually have higher educational qualifications than the majority of immigrants in Portugal. However, their occupational integration occurred mainly in economic sectors where the use of less qualified workers is more intensive. In this outlook, the Eastern immigrants had defined a new challenge for the national politics of integration. Until the middle of 1990s the extant immigrant populations had exerted little pressure for the recognition of competences and qualifications acquired in their countries. This was to change with the arrival of Eastern European immigrants with higher qualifications. In this manner a need for special programs of recognition of competences was created.⁸ On the other hand, if until 2000 there was a general concentration of foreigners citizens in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and Setúbal, the new migratory flows have adopted a wide variations of settlements strategies, tended to settle all over the country taking jobs in the regional labour market.

Summing up, it is possible to split the Portuguese contemporary immigration into three distinct stages characterized by certain specificities:

- The first stage will have occurred between 1960 and 1980. In the beginning of this period the immigration flow registers barely significant figures (0,3% of the total resident population) and is essentially marked by the presence of foreign residents of European origin – mainly from Spain, having taken refuge in Portugal due to the Civil War – and Brazilians – which are the consequence of a cross-current of Portuguese emigration to Brazil. It should be kept in mind that until the mid 1970s PALOP citizens were considered Portuguese nationals and therefore were not accounted for as foreigners. The significant presence of Cape Verdeans during this period, engaged in interregional labour migration processes, played a significant role in steering immigrant flows towards Portugal in the following decades, since it configured an informal support and solidarity networks for relatives and friends. Also, at the end of this period, characterized by the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, a major contingent of *retornados* returns to Portugal and, closely connected to the decolonization process, the *Portuguese*

⁸ In 2002, according to the Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education, 26,9% of the requests for recognition of competences were from Russians, 23,1% from Ukrainians and 20,5% from Moldavs.



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immigration begins a new stage, (...) characterized by the rising demand for workers in labour intensive, low wage and informal contracting economic sectors, namely construction (men) and industrial and domestic cleaning services (women) (Fonseca, 2004: 114). The geographical distribution of immigrants was then fairly concentrated in the Lisbon metropolitan area (Africans, essentially), with some presence in the Algarve (mainly Europeans) and in the Coastal Northern Region (especially in areas that had previously been departure sites for Portuguese towards Brazil).

- In the second stage, from 1981 to 1999, there is an intensification of arrivals to the country. The first period shows an immigration based on linguistic and cultural affinities originated by colonial relationships and also by the former emigration flow towards Brazil. In the second period an embryonic process of flux diversification starts, with more varied origins. This immigration dynamics was accompanied by a diversification of the modalities of social and occupational integration in Portugal. African immigrants, the majority of which were coming from the PALOPs, continued to work mainly in the economic sectors which employ a less qualified workforce. The Asian population, namely Indians, Pakistanis and Chinese were fundamentally integrated in the commercial sector, being the later especially incorporated in the restaurants and food retail sectors. European and Brazilian immigrant profiles were completely different from those of Africans and Asians. The Europeans were mostly integrated in higher management positions, and there was a small amount of immigrants (English, German and Dutch) who, attracted by the mild climate (reason for their southern choice of location, namely in the Algarve) and low cost of living, opted for Portugal as a perfect location for their retirement years. Finally, the Brazilian immigration which, in the beginning of the 1980's, arrived in Portugal to work in some highly qualified positions (dentists, advertisement and marketing specialists, etc.), in the end of the nineties were fundamentally made up of less qualified workers, specially in the services sector (hotels, restaurants and retail trade). The Lisbon metropolitan area remained the main settling region of this labour immigration, because it concentrated an aggregate of public (road construction, Expo 98, Vasco da Gama Bridge) and private investments (national and international) capable of absorbing the majority of arrivals of more or less qualified foreigners.



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- The last stage, which begun in 2000, results in an increased complexity of migration processes. The predominance of arrivals from regions with geographical or cultural proximity is compensated by the arrival of Eastern European immigrants, without any kind of cultural affinities with Portugal. A new geography of immigration emerges, characterized by immigrant dispersion on a national scale. At the source of this process are regional development dynamics and the need for suppressing local workforce scarcity in certain demographically depressed regions (as the inland areas), as well as public and private investment in public equipments and infrastructures (Alqueva's Dam, expansion of the road network, Euro 2004 Stadiums, etc.). However, Eastern European immigrants show a much larger geographical dispersion than African and Brazilian immigrants. The immigrant population age structure in this new stage is fairly similar to previous periods. Economically active age-groups are predominant, with a strong proportion of young individuals⁹. One other distinctive sign of labour immigration is the male preponderance (76,6%), more visible in the case of Eastern Europe immigration than in African and Brazilian immigration, which is probably due to family reunification that is typical of a more permanent immigration. In conformity with the dynamics of labour immigration, the break down of immigrants by economy sectors reveals to some extent a differentiation between nationals from different origins. Brazilians are strongly represented in the services sector, specifically in retail trade, restaurants, hotels and other services. These are the most common occupational positions for the most recent waves of immigrants, much less qualified than the previous ones. Knowledge of Portuguese language and tolerance to fairly precarious conditions (low wages, long working hours and sometimes in shift rotation) turn this population into an attractive workforce for this sector. Cape Verdeans and Angolans also have on average low qualifications, which are reflected in their integration mainly in less qualified sectors, namely in construction and domestic services, followed by retail trade and restaurants. Eastern immigrants not only present a larger diversification on educational and professional qualifications, but also show a larger dispersion among the various economic sectors. However, Ukrainians, Moldavians, Romanians and Russian are largely concentrated in the construction sector. We

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should also highlight the fact that these immigrants are also present in sectors where the workforce was exclusively Portuguese, such as manufacture and agriculture.

2.2. LEGAL FRAMEWORK

It is difficult to dissociate the juridical frameworks which over time have been assigned to the phenomenon of immigration from the immigration policies that generate them. Therefore, we have chosen to present here a chronological synthesis of the legislation concerning fundamental domains for understanding this issue in the Portuguese context: conditions for entering, staying, leaving and expelling foreigners from the national territory and connected policies, juridical framework of the permanence of foreigners in Portuguese soil (work, health, education, racism and discrimination) and the new nationality law.

The “policy measures” we identified make clear the country’s adaptation from issuing country to its new role as a receiving country for foreigners. Other factors contributed to the surfacing of immigration as a relevant issue in the national political agenda: the increase in immigrant arrivals and the lack of control by the government (which fostered the growth of undocumented foreigners), the visibility of the inadequacy of the conditions for integrating immigrants (poverty, living conditions, underground labour, etc.), the first expression of inter-ethnic conflict and racist or xenophobic incidents, the emergence of organized actions directed at promoting the rights of the immigrants, in which the role of non governmental organizations should be highlighted (Fonseca, *et al.*, 2002: 46).

2.2.1. LEGAL FRAMEWORK REGARDING THE ENTRY, STAY, EXIT AND EXPELLING OF FOREIGNERS FROM THE NATIONAL TERRITORY

In 1981 came into force the Decree-Law no. 264-B/81, which gathered together the scattered legislation on this issue and from the on regulated the entry, stay, exit and expulsion of foreigners from national territory. It allowed the award of transit, tourism/business or residence visas to foreign citizens wishing to enter national territory.

The migratory inflow started to gain relevance and by the end of the 1980s the country started feeling the consequences of the entry and permanence of illegal immigrants. Thus, in 1992 the Decree-Law no. 212/92, dated 12th October, established a channel for irregular non-EU foreigners who resided in Portugal to regularise their situations. This



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was justified as a way of preventing deviance and promoting social integration. Thirty nine thousand immigrants were able to prove that they had means of subsistence and thus were regularised through this mechanism.

Entry into the European Economic Community and later the adherence to the Schengen Convention has led to the adjustment of this legislation in order to comply with Community dispositions regarding the freedom of movement of people inside the member countries. A new law – Law 59/93, dated 3rd March 1993¹⁰ – establishes a standardized visa, a Community model for a short period visa, in order to ease the harmonisation of national policies regarding the freedom of movement of people in the European Union.

A few years later, in 1996, a new extraordinary regularisation process (upheld by Law 17/96, dated 24th May) allowed for the regularisation of 35 thousand more immigrants, who up to then were irregularly staying in national territory.

Law 59/93, dated 3rd March 1993 was been revoked, in 1998, by the publication of the Decree-Law no. 244/98, dated 8th August.¹¹ In the terms of the latter, four generic conditions became relevant for third country nationals entering and staying in Portuguese territory: being the holders of a valid travel permit, making proof of having means of subsistence, not being included in the national or Schengen Information System refused entry list and being the holders of a valid and appropriate visa for entry purposes (Baganha *et al.*, 2001: 23). This decree regulates seven types of visa – stopover, transit, short stay, residence, study, work and temporary stay – and their duration is extended, by comparison to the 1993 law. There are also significant changes regarding the right to family reunification and the extension of equal rights to foreign relatives of legal residents. Thus, for instance, children of legal residents, born in Portuguese territory, benefit from the residence permit granted to their parents, as long as it is requested in the six months following birth. These contents were regulated by Regulatory Decree 5A/2000, dated 26th April.

Since the later years of the 1990's there has been an increase in migratory flows, specially the illegal ones, which has led to changes in the statutory scheme, generating

¹⁰ Available at http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/cpr/asilo1/59_93_1.html#ART1 on the 31st December 2005.

¹¹ Available at http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/cpr/legis/244_98.html on the 31st December 2005.



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the Decree-Law no. 4/200112, dated 10th January. This law creates a “stay permit”¹³ that grants illegal immigrants the possibility of regularising their permanence in Portugal through an employment offer or contract, as long as they are the holders of a valid passport and a criminal record certificate evidencing no condemnation to jail terms of more than six months. The “stay permit” were valid for a year and renewable up to a maximum of five years. In 2001 about 174,558 stay permits were issued.

Under pretences of promoting social integration of the immigrants, this decree has made entry flows dependant on the current annual and sector needs of the labour market, thus introducing the quota system into national legislation. Such a legal mechanism for managing migratory flows came into being based on setting a strict annual maximum limit for entries in national territory by citizens from third countries to be admitted for the purposes of practising a professional activity. This limit is established by a pluriannual report drafted by the Government, based on an advisory report by the Institute for Employment and Professional Training and after hearing from several institutions¹⁴ (municipal, regional, national) linked to the labour market and to immigrants. That report defines the economic and social criteria for determining workforce needs and the host capacity of each region¹⁵, guaranteeing the participation of local authorities on the whole process.

Aiming to counteract illegal immigration, it makes the employers responsible for complying with the law regarding the payment of wages, tax and welfare contributions by immigrant workers. It also makes abetting illegal immigration a felony (for instance, engaging illegal workforce).

The enforcement of this decree-law has placed many immigrants in a regular situation, however “at the same time, the flow of illegal immigrating not only was not diminished

¹² Available at http://www.acime.gov.pt/modules.php?name=Downloads&d_op=viewdownload&cid=7 on the 31st December 2005.

¹³ Appendix 1 (in order to aid the understanding of specific terms of Portuguese legislation, we have created a glossary for supporting the legislation chapter and we will suggest its reading, whenever useful).

¹⁴ Autonomous Regions, Labour Inspectorate-General, National Association of Portuguese Municipal Councils, employers’ federations, the High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.

¹⁵ When the Decree no. 6/2004, dated 26th April was published, the Government established a quota of 8,500 new immigrants, broken down by the following sectors of activity: 2,100 for agriculture, 2,900 for hotels and restaurants, 2,800 for construction and 700 for other activities.



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but also increased significantly, due to this flexible legislation, so that the inadequacy of the reception and integration of these immigrants became even more visible".¹⁶ Acknowledging the relevance of illegal immigration and the social inclusion of immigrants, the legislator proposed "to define and carry out a transparent policy, adopting definite and structural solutions, instead of disconnected and transitory measures". This is sustained in three fundamental axes: "fostering legal immigration in consonance with the actual possibilities of the country, effective integration of immigrants and a firm fight against illegal immigration".¹⁷ It is against this backdrop that the new Immigration Law (Decree-Law 34/2003, dated 25th February) arises, regulated by the Decree implementing the law no. 6/2004 dated 26th April.¹⁸

The most significant changes, made in Decree-Law 34/2003, dated 25th February, were 1) the revocation of the statutory scheme for stay permits¹⁹; 2) petitioners under family reunification were required to have an actual connection to the country through a legal stay in the country during a certain amount of time (as established through Community regulations, although for a shorter period, invoking a humanist policy) and 3) with the aim of fighting illegal immigration, a strengthening of sanctions and penalties for offences regarding illegal immigration and exploitation of foreign workforce in irregular situations was determined.

Also, answering concerns voiced by several entities (e.g., associations committed in the defence of the rights of immigrants and ACIME itself) steps are taken towards the de-bureaucratisation of the procedures used by the Borders and Foreigners Service (SEF). This should speed up the processes and facilitate the full integration of the immigrants.

The Decree implementing the law no 6/2004, dated 26th April, formalised a mechanism that allowed many immigrants, which were in an irregular situation, to be legalised, by granting an extension of stay for work purposes to citizens who had been here working for a certain amount of time and who had not legalised their situation due to the former law concerning the entry, stay, exit and removal of foreigners in national territory – the Decree-Law no. 4/2001, dated 10th January (namely through the instrument of Stay

¹⁶ Decree-Law no. 34/2003 dated 25th February, available at <http://www.acime.gov.pt/docs/Nova%20Lei%20-%20DL%2034%202003.pdf> on the 31st December 2005.

¹⁷ *Idem.*

¹⁸ *Idem.*

¹⁹ See Appendix 1.



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Permit). The potential beneficiaries of the said legal instrument had to have entered legally in Portugal before the 12th March 2003 and had to be integrated in the labour market.

Furthermore, this Decree allowed s the possibility of illegal immigrants obtaining a regular situation in three hypothetical situations: i) when they are employed and have made their tax and welfare payments for a period over 90 days before March 2003; ii) immigrants whose employers had not fulfilled their legal obligations (welfare and tax payments) regarding the amounts withheld over the worker's wages or iii) immigrants who, although they cannot make proof of having registered at the welfare services nor having made their payments (despite presenting alleged documents proving they have performed work), can submit a request addressed to the General Work Inspection.

On the pre-registration for this process, 50.196 citizens were accounted for, but only 8.806 of those managed to obtain confirmation of their welfare contributions. Up to November 2005, 3.108 citizens were granted an extension of their stay.

Finally, the Bilateral Agreement signed by Portugal and Brazil on the 11th June 2003 must be mentioned, regarding the reciprocal employment of nationals that can be applied to citizens from both countries who, through contracts validated by competent bodies of the host country, travel to the territory of the other country, for limited amounts of time, in order to pursue a professional activity as an employee.

Under the said agreement, the fact that a citizen from one of the countries is in the other country at the time of the signing of the agreement (11th June 2003) is considered admissible for accepting a visa request on the consulate outside his residency area.

Therefore, the Agreement formalised an Extraordinary Regularisation Process for Brazilian immigrants who, having entered Portugal before the 11th June 2003, were able to start a process for obtaining a work visa, for which all they had to do was to visit the nearest Portuguese consulate.

2.2.2. LEGAL FRAMEWORK OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

2.2.2.1. LABOUR

According to the fundamental and the ordinary law (Law no. 20/98, dated 12th May) foreign workers have the same rights and obligations of national workers, which means



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that all workers who perform an activity in Portugal are under the norms of Portuguese legislation.

Regarding the undertaking of a professional activity as an employee, the immigration policy defined in the beginning of the 21st century (with the Decree-Law no. 4/2001, dated 10th January) strives to regulate the immigration flows according to the Portuguese labour market needs. Thus, the Annual Foresight Report on Employment Opportunities, compiled yearly by the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training and approved by the Government has sought to coordinate foreign workforce movements (and their respective occupational characteristics). Furthermore, stay permits have responded to the scarcity of workforce in several sectors of the Portuguese economy.

Since 2003 the Portuguese law fines companies that employ illegal immigrants (as provided in the No.2 of the Article 144 of the Decree-Law no. 34/2003, dated 25th February). The companies that have illegal workers are also under the obligation of covering all the necessary expenses for the stay and removal of the foreign citizens (as provided in the No. 8 of the Article 144 of the same Decree-law).²⁰

On the other hand, employers that do not pay the wages to foreign workers (legal or illegal) or that do not make their welfare and tax contributions regarding the amounts withheld over the worker's wages are also fined (as provided in the No.2 and No. 8 of the Article 144 of the Decree-Law no. 34/2003, dated 25th February)

And yet there are still some legal dilemmas regarding the work integration of foreigners. As we have shown, since 2001 a substantial part of the foreign population in Portugal has a stay permit. Since this legal situation only allows foreigners to work as employees (and in sectors where there are work opportunities), 183 655²¹ persons cannot be self-employed in Portugal. However, provided that these foreigners make their welfare

²⁰ On the 21st January 2004 the newspaper *Publico* published an article that clearly illustrates the application of the current Law. Border Control and Aliens identified 17 illegal immigrants working in 16 companies situated in Lisboa and Ribatejo, proceeded to apply the enforcement of identity and residence to the workers and to open up an offence process to the companies where these workers were employed. Besides being fined, the companies' directors also had to pay the expenses for the workers' stay until they were expelled from Portugal and travel expenses back to their home country.

²¹ According to data from the Border Control and Aliens, this is the number of foreigners that hold a stay permit granted between 2001 and 2003.



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contributions, in case of unemployment they can register at the local Job and Vocational Training Centre and receive unemployment benefit (Oliveira, 2004: 70).

It is clear that the legislation that regulates the presence of foreigners in the country also determines the possible forms of integration in the labour market. An individual's legal situation places constraints on his strategies for integration in the host society.

2.2.2.2. HEALTH

Health is a fundamental right. The Portuguese law²² states that any citizen (regardless of his nationality, legal situation or economic means) has the right to receive assistance, in case of emergency, at a Health Centre or Hospital.

Illegal immigrants can access the Health Services without fear, since healthcare workers are under professional secrecy. However, citizens that do not hold a national health service card (due to the fact of not having a stay or residency permit or a work visa) and do not make their welfare contributions do not have the same conditions for accessing healthcare as national citizens. According to the current legislation, these foreigners have to pay all their expenses (for instance, medical consultations, exams).

However, some exceptions can be found. Healthcare is free in the case of danger for the public health. Children (under 12 years of age), pregnant women and recent mothers, women in family planning appointments, unemployed persons who have registered at the Job Centre and their dependants, persons in deprived circumstances and chronic disease patients are exempt from paying fees and expenses.

On the other hand, as provided in the Decree-Law no. 67/2004, dated 25th March, underage foreign citizens who are in an illegal situation in national territory have the right to benefit from healthcare similar to those in a legal situation. For such purpose, the High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, in articulation with the competent Public Administration services, has to compile the national registration of underage foreigners in an illegal situation and to guarantee that they are granted the rights provided by law.²³

²² Order of the Ministry of health no. 25 360/2001.

²³ Ordinance no. 995/2004, dated 9th August.



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Finally, the law provides for some citizens to travel to Portugal to receive medical assistance²⁴, for which they have to submit a request at a Portuguese consulate or embassy for a temporary stay visa.

In articulation with the legislation that regulates the access of foreigners to healthcare in Portugal, some special agreements and conventions have been signed, which confer privilege for medical assistance to citizens from certain countries:

- Agreement for Granting Temporary Visa for Medical Assistance to Citizens of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries;
- Health Agreements between Portugal and Portuguese Speaking African Countries for the evacuation of patients under Medical Board;
- Welfare Convention between the Portuguese Republic and the Republic of Cape Verde²⁵ and between the Portuguese Republic and the Republic of Angola;²⁶
- Welfare Agreement between the Portuguese Republic and the Federate Republic of Brazil.²⁷

2.2.2.3. EDUCATION

In Portugal, as in the majority of the European countries, the access to education by immigrant's children is not conditioned by the the immigrant status of their parents. According to the Portuguese Constitution, Education is one of the fundamental social rights. Its universal character cannot be overruled by any kind of restrictive interpretation.

The Fundamental Law of the Education System (Law no. 46/86) strengthens this intention by granting the education system the responsibility for undertaking a difference valorization policy and the promotion of equal opportunities to all.

In 1991, with the purpose of including the problematic of ethnical and cultural diversity in the Education Reform, the Minister for Education created the Coordinator Secretariat of

²⁴ Article 16 of the Decree implementing the law no 6/2004, dated 26th April.

²⁵ Decree no. 2/2005, dated 4th February, which ratified the Government Decree no. 45/85, dated 6th November.

²⁶ Decree no. 32/2004, dated 29th October

²⁷ Signed on the 7th May 1999 and ratified by the Decree of the President of the Republic no. 67/94, dated 27th August. The Agreement became effective on the 16th April 1995.



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the Multicultural Education Programs – Entreculturas (Normative Order ME no. 63/91, dated 13th May and 48/SEEBS/92) with the aim of “Coordinating, fostering and promoting, in the scope of the education system, the programs and actions that pursue the education for the values of coexistence, tolerance, dialogue and solidarity between different peoples, cultures and ethnic origins.

On the other hand, the Council of Ministers Resolution no. 38/93 (8th April) has strengthened the importance and the framework for the interventions in the education, employment/vocational training and social welfare sectors. It grants the Minister for Employment and Welfare the responsibility for ensuring the coordination, development and deepening of the instruments and measures “aimed at the full social and professional integration of the immigrants and ethnical minorities”.

On the 25th May 2004 Decree-Law no. 67/2004 was published, creating a registry for underage foreign citizens whose parents are in an irregular situation regarding the legal regimen of entry, stay, leave and removal of foreign citizens from national territory. It grants the High Commissariat for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities, in transversal articulation with the competent services of the Public Administration, the responsibility to ensure that the registered underage individuals are granted the same rights that the law provides to underage individuals in legal situation in the national territory. The registry is made informally, by request at any department of the Public Administration, or by a request from whoever administrates the paternal power and it aims exclusively to ensure the access of underage individuals to health care and to kindergarten and elementary education.

2.2.2.4. RACISM AND DISCRIMINATION

Until very recently, Portugal was, apparently, a country where the phenomena of racism and xenophobia were treated with some indifference. Only in 1999 was promulgated Law 134/99, dated 28th August, which prohibits discrimination in the exercise of rights based on criteria of race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin. This law was regulated a year later by Decree Law 111/2000, dated 4th July (which has since been revoked by force of the approval of the regulation of the Labour Code).

The year 2002 was marked by change. It became possible for the High Commission to gather the resources needed to break a determining path in the struggle against racism



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and xenophobia. This is exemplified by the activity of the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR).

The CICDR, which had been created by the said Law 134/99, dated 28th August, became part of the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) by force of the Decree Law 251/2002, dated 22nd November.

The role of the CICDR has been crucial in accompanying the victims of crimes with a racial or ethnic motivation, thus playing a role hitherto omitted in Portuguese legislation. Both this commission and the legislation deployed to fight racism and xenophobia answered precepts recently developed at EU level.

The transposition of two directives regarding equal treatment must be highlighted: Directive 2000/78, which establishes the general regimen for equal treatment in employment, and Directive 2000/43 (known as the "Race Directive"), which establishes equal treatment between persons, irrespective of racial or ethnic background. Both Directives were transposed to the national juridical ruling, thus endowing Portugal with the juridical instruments necessary for a greater and more effective protection of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

The phenomenon of racism sometimes peaks to later on vanish and resurface again. The sudden rise in unemployment and the post 9/11 reactions have contributed for some regression in the protection offered of citizens victimized by racist acts.

The answers to be articulated range from the underplaying the issuing of fines (given that what is at stake is the human person) to the extension of criminalization (to actively protect the victims in their everyday life), and also include the establishing of mediation as a way to extinguish conflicts.

Still, juridical solutions can not be regarded as a panacea nor do they make up the full set of means that can be deployed in the struggle against racism. Portugal believes it advantageous to invest on the integration of the immigrants and ethnic minorities that are in worse shape. If exclusion generates racism and intolerance, working on inclusion will achieve a weakening of xenophobic feelings and attitudes.



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2.2.3. LEGAL FRAMEWORK REGULATING THE ACCESS TO PORTUGUESE NATIONALITY

Since the Civil Code was approved in 1867 the statutory scheme regarding nationality in Portugal was based on the *jus soli* principle. This principle was reinforced by the 1959 nationality law (Law no. 2098/59). Thus, anyone who was born on national territory would have Portuguese nationality. At this time immigration in Portugal was almost non-existent and had no weight on the political agenda.

With the institution of a democratic regime in 1974 and the end of the colonial empire in 1975, political change and the independence of countries that had until then been considered Portuguese raised the problem of whether people who had been born or resided there before the de-colonization process should maintain Portuguese nationality. Fearing the migratory effects that might arise from the transition, the Portuguese government changed the statutory scheme regarding nationality – which, as pointed out before, until then gave privilege to the *jus soli* criterion. From then on, the Portuguese nationality of people who had been born or resided in the former colonies could only be maintained if they complied with a *jus sanguinis* criterion. There was clearly a restrictive reasoning underlying these changes, as can be inferred from the statements of the legislator (Pena Pires, 2003: 126).

This change in legislation was anything but casual. What actually happened was part of a broader trend, which was thus described by Castles and Davidson:

...*ius sanguinis* has been seen historically as being appropriate for an emigration country (such Spain or Greece) that wishes to retain the allegiance of people who have settled elsewhere. A 'law of return' to reintegrate former emigrants may be based on this principle, as in the case of contemporary Germany and its *Aussiedler* (ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe). *Ius soli*, on the other hand, is particularly useful for integrating immigrants of diverse national origins into a new nation, which is why it has been adopted in former British colonies in North America and Oceania, and former Spanish colonies in Latin America (2000: 85).

Portugal's transition towards a *jus sanguinis* law happens when the country initiates an immigration cycle, emigration slows down and the country begins to prepare for European integration (Oliveira and Inácio, 1999). The Decree-Law 308-A/75 determined the loss of Portuguese nationality for individuals born or living in the 'new' countries (Franco, 1991:132). Although this decree was revoked by Law 113/98, dated 29th



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December, nationality policy kept a somewhat peculiar outline. Besides strengthening the ties of Portuguese emigrants to the country, the *jus sanguinis* policy made harder the integration of the immigrants (in the terms defined by Castles and Davidson, 2000: 85) who arrived since the 80s (Oliveira and Inácio, 1999).

In 1981, having ended the transitional period of decolonisation, a law is published (Law no. 37/81, dated 3rd October) that restricts Portuguese nationality to the children of foreigners born in Portugal only if their parents has resided in the country for at least six years and expressed the wish of being Portuguese. This clearly draws nearer to the principle of *jus sanguinis*. That is confirmed by the suppression of the article that restricted the acquisition of nationality by the children of Portuguese fathers born abroad to those who would establish their residence in Portugal. The nationality law was revised in 1994 (Decree-Law 253/94, dated 20th October) and positive discrimination measures towards Portuguese speaking foreigners were included: persons born in national territory may be considered Portuguese if their parents have resided legally in Portugal for at least six years, in the case of nationals from a Portuguese speaking county, or at least ten years, in the case of nationals from other countries, as long as they express such wish. This measure is even more restrictive in awarding nationality to the children of foreigners, since it is conditioned both by a minimum period of stay of the parents and by their legal situation, requiring a "valid residence permit"²⁸. Obtaining nationality through marriage²⁹ or by naturalisation³⁰ is also ruled by more strict conditions.

The deep demographical changes Portugal has recently gone through demand an effort to make the Portuguese Nationality Law keep the pace with this evolving reality. The rules for the acquisition of nationality play a fundamental role in the construction of a plural and inclusive community. Acknowledging that there are entire generations of immigrants who do not know any other country than the one that hosts them clearly demands some consideration of the attribution of nationality. Otherwise, the juridical framework risks becoming alienated from the population that actually inhabits the

²⁸ Decree-Law 253/94 dated 20th October, available at http://www.cidadevirtual.pt/cpr/asilo1/25_94.html on the 31st December 2005.

²⁹ Only from 1994 onwards did the law demand three or more years of marriage in order for it to work as a way of obtaining the portuguese nationality (Oliveira and Inácio, 1999: 11).

³⁰ According to Portuguese legislation, a person can be a Portuguese citizen by descent or by acquiring nationality though marriage, adoption or naturalisation.



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country. The denial of Portuguese nationality is then a serious obstacle to a the full integration of these immigrants.

The circumstances thus justified the discussion and presentation before the parliament, during the year 2005, of a proposal for a new Portuguese Nationality Law. One of the main consequences of this proposal is the removal of the hitherto standing positive distinction regarding immigrants issuing from the PALOP. Thus compliance with the European Convention on Nationality was assured. This proposal established that foreign citizens must make proof of legally residing in Portuguese territory for a) 5 years in order for their children born in Portugal to be eligible for Portuguese nationality (one progenitor residing in Portugal for 5 years at the moment of the child's birth suffices) or b) for 6 years, if the person is an adult seeking naturalisation. Additionally, this new law also makes way for the concession of Portuguese nationality to underage persons who, having been born in Portugal to foreign progenitors, have concluded the first cycle of basic education.

Moreover, children of a parent who, though being foreigner, was born in Portugal and lives in the country (at the moment of the child's birth, no matter for how long or under which status) are automatically endowed with Portuguese nationality. These immigrants are recognized as having a clear connexion with the national community and the law thus returns to a valorisation of the *jus soli* criterion.

Lastly, this law, which was recently approved in the parliament, opens the way for the naturalisation of foreigners who have remained in the country for at least 10 years.

2.2.4. A CHRONOLOGY OF LEGISLATION AIMING AT THE INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANTS

From the presentation of the legislation that frames the issue of immigration emerges the realisation that from the 1990's onwards this subject gained importance in the national political agenda (Fonseca *et al.*, 2002: 45; Pena Pires, 2003: 172). The reaction to the increase in immigration flows, as well as the political and social pressures that have arisen from it, led to the creation of important measures regarding immigrant integration:

- 1991 – creation of the Coordination Secretariat of the Multicultural Education Programmes (currently Entreculturas), under the supervision of the Ministry of



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Education – it aims to promote the equality of opportunities and the development of multicultural education [Scope: Education];

- 1992 – extraordinary legalisation of immigrants – 39,000 immigrants that were already in Portuguese territory were legalised [Scope: Legal-political];
- 1993 – Special Re-housing Programme - the main purpose of this Programme, deriving from a partnership between central government and local government, was to eliminate shantytowns. It brought about the first surveys and an accurate knowledge of the immigrants and ethnic minorities that lived in inadequate conditions. Although this measure was not specifically designed for immigrants, they were the main beneficiaries of the re-housing programme [Scope: Housing];
- 1994 – Approval of the new regulation of the Nationality Law (Decree Law 253/94, dated 12th October. [Scope: Legal-political];
- 1996 – Creation of the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities (ACIME) – With the mission of “following up the support to immigrant integration on a inter-ministerial level”, it has among its main objectives “To contribute towards an improvement in the living conditions of immigrants in Portugal, so as to cater for their integration into society, with respect for their identity and culture of origin; To contribute so that all citizens legally resident in Portugal enjoy dignity and equal opportunities, so as to eliminate discrimination and combat racism and xenophobia”³¹. [Scope: General];
- 1996 – further extraordinary legalisation of immigrants – 35,000 immigrants that were already in Portuguese territory were legalised [Scope: Legal-political];
- 1996 – Social Integration Income³² - Access of immigrants to social support instruments. Besides financial aid, this programme also provided support to professional training and education, registration in job centres, etc. [Scope: Socio-economical];
- 1996 - Law no. 50/96, dated 3rd November – It introduces the necessary changes in order to grant citizens of the European Union and residents from third countries the right to vote in local elections [Scope: Legal-political];

³¹ Decree-Law no. 3-A/96.

³² Law no. 19A/96.



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- 1998 – Law 20/98, dated 12th May – It regulates the work done by foreigners in Portuguese territory. It grants foreign labourers who are legally residing or staying in Portugal work conditions that are strictly equivalent to Portuguese nationals. The restrictions to the pursuit of professional activities by foreigners, as well as the limitations to the number of foreign employees by company (formerly an enterprise could not exceed 10% of foreign employees) were removed from labour law [Scope: Socio-economical];
- 1998 - The Advisory Board for Immigration Affairs (COCAI) was created in the scope of ACIME's activity. COCAI was created to ensure consultation and dialog with entities that represent immigrants and ethnic minorities, while collaborating with the social partners, social solidarity institutions and other public and private entities which are active in this domain [Scope: General];
- 1999 – Law no. 134/99, dated 28th August – It explicitly forbids any kind of discriminatory practice based on race, colour, nationality or ethnic origin [Scope: Legal-political];
- 1999 – Creation of the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CICDR). This commission, which is both, specialized and independent from the cabinet, was created to promote the fight against discrimination. It has a plural composition. Besides ACIME it includes , representatives of the parliament, the cabinet, the immigrant associations, the anti-racist associations, the trade unions, the industrial associations, the human rights associations and private personalities designated by the other members [Scope: General].
- 2001 – Decree-Law no. 4/2001, dated 10th January – It introduces immigration by quotas. Despite the term "quotas" not being mentioned in this legislation, that is the basic idea, since it establishes a limit for the entry of foreigners from third countries based on workforce needs.
- 2001 – Creation of the Portugal Welcomes Programme – Carried out by the Institute for Employment and Professional Training, it provides teaching of the Portuguese language and citizenship training in order to facilitate the social and professional integration of immigrants.



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- 2001 - Further extraordinary legalisation of immigrants - 174,558 immigrants were legalised.
- 2002 - Creation of the "Immigration and Ethnic Minorities - Journalism for Tolerance" prize. ACIME created this annual contest for journalists with the objective of promoting tolerance and integration, fight all forms of racism and discrimination and contribute for an understanding of ethnic, cultural and religious differences.
- 2003 - Creation of ACIME's national information network (publication of a monthly bulletin, information leaflets, a telephone hotline "SOS Imigrante", a weekly television program "Programa Nós", electronic information at www.acime.gov.pt - all of these available in several languages, except the monthly bulletin and the TV program).
- 2003 - Creation of the Local Immigrant Support Centres (CLAI) - With the aim of answering to the challenges posed by the increase in the dispersion of immigrants in Portuguese territory, the ACIME created a series of partnerships with civil society local level entities and municipalities. The forty-five CLAI which resulted from these partnerships are decentralized spaces dedicated to the dissemination of information, with the aim of answering the doubts of the immigrants who chose Portugal as their destination.
- 2003 - Immigration Observatory - based on an academic, scientific and institutional cooperation network, through the Observatory ACIME intends to further the existing knowledge regarding immigration in Portugal, in order to define, implement and assess effective policies for immigrant integration.
- 2003 - New immigration law (Decree-Law no. 34/2003, dated 25th February).
- 2003 - Bilateral agreement between Portugal and Brazil on the reciprocal employment of national citizens - citizens in an unlawful situation were granted an extension of leave of stay, in order to ease the legalisation process. Up to March 2005 the SEF conceded 16,173 prorogations and, according to the Portuguese Foreign Office, at the end of 2005 13,998 Brazilians had managed to get their situations regularised by means of this measure.



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- 2004 – Creation of National Immigrant Support Centres (CNAI) – This Immigrant Support System was created by ACIME with the aim of giving an encompassing answer to the integration problems faced by immigrants in Portugal. The dispersion and lack of articulation of public services was frequently pointed out as a factor that produced great inefficiency and led immigrants to giving up of the legalisation process, consequently hindering their integration. The CNAI of Lisboa and Porto offer, within the same premises, various services that concern immigrants (ACIME, SEF, Social Security, Labour, Education, Health and NGO's which want to join) and other services created to answer actual needs that weren't being answered by existing services (e.g., counselling on family reunification, juridical matters, technical support to associations, starting economic activity).³³
- 2004 – Extraordinary Regularisation Process – This legalisation process, which was open to all foreign nationalities, addressed the contradiction in Portuguese legislation which allowed for illegal immigrants to pay taxes and contribute to social security. Thus, all immigrants without a criminal record who entered Portugal before March 2003 and could prove to have contributed to Social Security and IRS for a minimum of three months were eligible for regularisation. Of 50,196 applicants, only 8,806 were able to make proof of having contributed. Up to November 2005, 3,018 persons managed to get their stay permits prorogued.
- 2004 – *Programa Escolhas 2ª Geração* – This program, coordinated by ACIME, aims primarily at promoting the social inclusion of children and youth issuing from disfavoured socio-economic backgrounds. The children and youth of immigrants and ethnic minorities are one of the main target groups for this program, which defends an intercultural social model that allows for diversity and actively promotes full integration in the Portuguese society.
- 2005 – ACIME promoted a publicity campaign under the slogan "Immigrant Portugal. Tolerant Portugal", which sought make the public aware of the

³³ This Project obtained, in 2005, a prize relative to good practices in the public sector, namely in the category of customer attendance. ACIME won the 1st place in this category, having been evaluated according to five criterions: quality of results; added value to beneficiaries; efficiency in terms of results; transparency in terms of access to information; innovation and generalization potential.



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importance of tolerance and welcoming. The mediums employed were the press, TV and outdoors.

- 2005 – The new nationality law was discussed in the parliament.
- 2006 – In January the Government approved, in cabinet council, the widening of family allowance eligibility to children and youngsters related to immigrants who have their situation regularised, whatsoever the document under which this is achieved. Formerly, only children and youngsters related to a foreigner holding a residence permit were eligible. This law now awaits publication in the government gazette.
- 2006 – In February the parliament approved the specific aspects of the new Nationality Law. It now also awaits publication in the government gazette.

In summary, on the evolution of immigration policies we can see that up until the 1980's there is a weak regulation of immigration issues, both on the government side and on the legislative side. We can even say that there was no immigration policy. In the 1990's, especially by the end of the decade, the first initiatives emerge that promote the integration of immigrants in the country. The systematization and the adoption of a true immigration policy has happened quite recently in Portugal, therefore it is still difficult to assess its impacts. Nevertheless, we can perceive that it occurs in a moment when migration pressures are rising and immigration policies must be compatible with national and Community objectives towards the full integration of immigrants.

It should also be noticed that, though Portugal has only recently become a receiving country in terms of human flows and has imported some juridical-legal guidelines from countries more experienced in dealing with this situation, it is already used as example of good practices in what regards the integration of immigrants. In the EU's *Handbook on Integration for Policy-Makers and Practitioners*, the main "instruments" used by the ACIME – the CNAI, CLAI and *Call Centre SOS Imigrante* – are presented as good practices which may be used as sources of inspiration for designing integration policies with share responsibilities of intervention.³⁴

³⁴ Available at http://europa.eu.int/comm/justice_home/funding/doc/Handbook%20Integration.pdf



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3. INDICATORS AND PRIORITY AREAS FOR ANALYSIS

Basic knowledge of the host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable to integration; enabling immigrants to acquire this basic knowledge is essential to successful integration. (...) Access for immigrants to institutions, as well as to public and private goods and services, on a basis equal to national citizens and in a non-discriminatory way is a critical foundation for better integration.³⁵

Immigration has been on top of the European political agenda these last few years. Public debate has focussed mostly on two key issues: limitation of migration flows³⁶ and integration of immigrant population. Despite efforts made in this matter, there are structural obstacles that hinder the selection and homogenisation of procedures, namely, the fact that European states have to deal with different immigration populations (both in type and in the origin of the migration flows), the fact that the immigration phenomenon is in some cases anachronic (if some countries have a strong immigration tradition, others have only recently become host countries), the very state policy instruments implemented before and during the European construction process. It should also be stressed that, since the very concept of immigrant has several definitions, information or registers about a "subject" vary. As a result of these obstacles, and recognizing the importance of comparability, it becomes necessary to create common instruments (indicators) to measure the integration of immigrants and the effectiveness of policies. Two questions arise at this juncture: the concept of integration and the priority areas. We will now address them in detail:

³⁵ Council Document no. 14615/04, dated 19th November 2004, available on line at http://ue.eu.int/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf on the 21st December 2005.

³⁶ Estamos perante um fenómeno paradoxal: um processo de construção europeia através da criação de um espaço que se crê multicultural e sem fronteiras, embora relativamente fechado sobre si mesmo (a chamada Europa fortaleza)



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3.1. THE CONCEPT OF INTEGRATION AND PRIORITY AREAS

Differences in the interpretation of the concept of integration give rise to integration policies with equally different objectives (Entzinger *et al.* 2003: 10), which in turn will determine the areas considered to be a priority by each Member State.

The European Council has adopted the following concept:

This is a two-way process that is based on mutual respect of rights and respective obligations which regard the third country nationals who legally reside in the host country, and whose observation ensures the immigrant's full participation in the host society. These entail the host society's obligation to guarantee the immigrant's practice of his or her rights, while also showing the immigrant his or her responsibility to respect the norms and fundamental values of the host society and to participate in their own integration process, without entailing a renunciation of their native identity. (Report of the Council Committee to the European Parliament, the Social and Economic Committee and Regional Committee on immigration, integration and employment, Brussels, June 3rd 2003).³⁷

Taking inspiration from the European Union's strategy of devising common immigration and asylum policies, Portugal has adopted an immigration policy that is based on three axes, of which integration of immigrants is one. The duality of integration (as a process in which both states and immigrants take a leading role) is clearly stated in the program of the 17th Constitutional Government, which reads:

Immigrants come to us to improve their lives, but they play an important role in our development. Therefore it is our duty to give them access to minimum conditions of livelihood and integration. (...) In return for this duty of the national community regarding immigrants, they have the duty to accept and practise the minimum rules of social coexistence provided for by the Constitution.³⁸

This duality is also postulated by the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities:

...integration as a synonym of the greatest, closest harmonious interrelationship between newcomers (immigrants) and the indigenous population, in a dynamic, progressive and balanced process, so as to achieve a multicultural society. It involves an effort on both

³⁷ Em inglês para evitar adular termos na tradução

³⁸ Available on line at:

http://www.portugal.gov.pt/Portal/PT/Governos/Governos_Constitucionais/GC17/Programa/programa_p013.htm a 30 de Janeiro de 2006.



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parts (immigrants and indigenous population) to adapt to each other (Marques, 2005: 77).

Once the concept has been defined, it is important to determine which areas we consider to be a priority in the integration process. And those are precisely the most crosscutting ones in the different spheres of immigrants' everyday life, as we shall see later on.

In Portugal, according to the government's program and several political agents, immigrants' integration has three essential and interdependent axes: economic/occupational integration, including the resulting access to health and social protection; social integration, including housing and the establishment of a network of relationships; cultural integration, mostly the command of the language and adaptation to the host culture (Marques, 2005:79).

These priorities do not differ much from those proposed by DGJAI – National Contact Points on Integration of the European Commission (Entzinger *et al.* 2003:47). We realize that immigrants' integration in the labour market and economic self-sufficiency is a virtually consensual priority for European Union countries as a whole. Most of them, including Portugal, even provide in their current immigration policies that the immigrant should bring from the country of origin a work visa, granted in order to fill a specific job vacancy, following the concerned enterprise's expression of interest.

Another priority of the utmost importance for the integration process, pointed out by the aforementioned commission, is the immigrants' knowledge of the host country's language. We stress the relevance of this factor, in spite of recognizing that in Portugal there is still too much political optimism regarding equality of treatment in social and employment concerns regardless of the immigrants' level of linguistic competence. The reason for this is probably the fact that Portugal has only relatively recently become a host country, and that the main immigration flows have for a long time originated in countries with Portuguese as official language. Diversification of countries of origin led to the dissemination of employment and vocational training programs which included courses of Portuguese for foreigners, as well as citizenship/civics training. Nevertheless, up until now no measures have been taken by the government in order to make such courses compulsory. Only in the case of applications for the acquisition of Portuguese nationality by nationalization is the knowledge of Portuguese compulsory.



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It is therefore fundamental, in our opinion, to make an in depth analysis of the integration of immigrants in the labour market, as it intersects with civil and social rights, namely integration in contributive participation systems (fiscal and social) and access to housing. It is equally crucial to invest in immigrants' acquisition of language skills in order to improve communication with the host society in the various spheres of their lives.

Having defined the concept of integration, as well as the areas we consider to be a priority in order to achieve it, the moment has come to raise the second issue:

3.2. INDICATORS OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

Nowadays it seems less pertinent to ask: What is integration? If this question is asked at all, then it is only in preparation for the fruitful question: How can integration be measured? (Landecker, 1951: 332)

The selection of indicators capable of providing an answer to this question must first of all be put in context, so that we may afterwards determine which indicators are comparable among Member-States. That is the purpose of this project: to select, in Portuguese society, instruments that may contribute to a proposal to develop new indicators with a view to the inclusion in the European indicators' system.

4. DIMENSIONS, CATEGORIES, INDICATORS AND SOURCES

The concept of integration suggests, both from a political and an academic perspective, a multidimensional process. As a result, the range of indicators to be collected will have to focus on a variety of aspects that should be organized according to analysis dimensions. Even though terminology may vary³⁹, there is relative consensus regarding which dimensions should be considered essential in the field of integration. We choose to use the dimensions model and the distribution of indicators put forward by Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003), not only because we identify with this procedure for organizing material, but also because theirs is a guiding document for INTI projects such as this. However, it should be highlighted that these dimensions can hardly be considered mutually exclusive, that is, some indicators may be used in more than one dimension/ can hardly be restricted to a single dimension. Desirable though it may be to have mutually exclusive dimensions, first and foremost for analytical reasons, it is not possible to ensure it in all circumstances. In the next few pages we will therefore elaborate on which indicators we consider to be relevant and feasible for the study of each dimension, as well as on the pre-existing sources from which basic data can be obtained in Portugal.

4.1. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIMENSION

4.1.1. EMPLOYMENT

Lets us focus, first of all, on employment. Because it is related to the participation in the labour market, employment is generally looked upon (e.g., Entzinger, 2003: 32) as one of the main factors of immigrant integration. We consider it to be relevant and feasible to collect direct indicators on the participation of immigrants in the labour market, namely:

- I. the unemployment rate, which may be obtained
 - by isolating third-country nationals in the population census carried out every ten years by the INE, in the case of the stock of foreigners resident in Portugal, or alternatively,
 - from the *Estatísticas Demográficas* published every year by the INE, where the flux of immigrants applying for legal residence is concerned;

³⁹ Some authors mention economic integration (e.g., Marques e Valente Rosa 2003), other ethnic differentiation in the labour market (e.g., Baganha *et al.* 2001).



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II. the activity rate per nationality, also accessible as stock or flux in the sources referred to in the previous paragraph; it may equally be used to describe immigrant groups but it can hardly be considered an integration indicator.

It should be noted that age and education are variables that modulate in a legitimate and non-discriminatory way the individuals' participation in the labour market. Knowing that immigrant groups and national populations differ sharply in these items, it seems to us extremely important to adopt such statistical procedures as, by controlling the effect of these two variables, render comparable that which at first is not. In the case of the indicators referred to above, both sources will in principle enable the control of the effects of different age and levels of education.

But there are other indicators that, though measuring mostly types of discrimination or modalities of insertion/ integration, if read with due caution, may allow us to perceive in an indirect way the quality of the integration achieved in this dimension. These are:

III. distribution by field of activity, possible only for stock data that can be obtained from the census;

IV. distribution by profession, according to the main groups in the *Classificação Nacional de Profissões*,⁴⁰ which can be determined, both in terms of stock, using the census as a basis and in terms of flux, resorting to the *Estatísticas Demográficas*;

V. situation in the profession, which may be obtained both for stock and for flux from the corresponding sources, mentioned above.

In this scope, we also propose to analyse the entrepreneurship rate, since it is an important indicator of the immigrants' economical trust in the labour market of the receiving country and it provides us with a way to measure the social mobility of some populations (Portes in Oliveira, 2004: 40).

VI. Entrepreneurship rate per nationality.

Still regarding employment, it will be possible to use unpublished data from the Inquérito ao Emprego carried out by the INE. This survey, carried out permanently at national

⁴⁰ The Portuguese version of the ILO's International Standard Classification of Occupations.



level, takes the individual as the unit of analysis. From his nationality register it will be possible to make the following indicators operational:

- VII. remuneration for identical work;
- VIII. weekly working hours for identical work.

4.1.2. SOCIAL SECURITY

IX. the percentage of foreigners registered in employment centres in the mainland, according to nationality, which can be calculated from data produced annually by the Employment and Vocational Training Institute (IEFP);

X. the percentage of foreigners which are beneficiaries of the social integration income, which can be calculated from data made available by the Ministry for Labour and Social Solidarity.

Some indicators which may be obtained from the individuals' access to social security benefits have a dubious interpretation. We mean, specifically, the unemployment benefit and the insertion minimum income. Both are ambiguous, as their interpretation may emphasize either the aid they grant, or the situation of deprivation that motivates that aid. We therefore recommend that they be complemented with other indicators such as, for instance:

XI. the percentage of immigrants who are active beneficiaries⁴¹ of the Social Security System, which can be calculated from data of the Institute of Informatics and Statistics for Solidarity (Instituto de Informática e Estatística da Solidariedade (IIES));

XII. the percentage of immigrants' children that receive the children's allowance, which can also be calculated from IIES data;

XIII. tax payments.

Like the link between immigrants and social security, another good integration measure may be, in our opinion:

⁴¹ Beneficiaries who are identified in the Social Security System or unidentified people in whose name contributions have entered the Social Security System in the said period or in a previous period (at least for a month). (<http://www.seq-social.pt/>, at 20.12.2005)



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XIV. the percentage of tax-paying immigrants, which may be obtained from data of the General Directorate of Informatics and Support to Tax and Customs Services (Direcção-Geral de Informática e Apoio aos Serviços Tributários e Aduaneiros, (DGITA)).

4.1.3. SCHOOL PERFORMANCE AND SKILLS AND QUALIFICATIONS RECOGNITION

The individuals' **level of education and vocational training** has a bearing on their participation in the labour market as well as in many other social spheres. The recognition of competences and qualifications of the immigrants is fundamental for the integration and, in some cases, differentiation in the labour market. The data on equivalence requests regarding higher education diplomas has been an indirect indicator of the frustration felt by some foreigner groups in Portuguese labour market. The participation in qualification recognition programmes shows that the immigrant's expectations of economic integration go well beyond their hitherto professional experience in Portugal (Oliveira, 2004). Consequently, we consider:

XV. The number of qualification equivalences granted per nationality (data from the Ministry of Science, technology and Higher Education).

On the other hand, it is relevant to monitor school performance indicators for the "second generation". In this field, it seems pertinent to consider the following indicators:

XVI. the school attendance rate, *i.e.*, the percentage of children at school-age that are actually registered at school;

XVII. the rate of completion of the school year, *i.e.*, how many registered children actually stay until the end of the school year;

XVIII. the pass rate, *i.e.*, how many children that stay until the end of the school year have a pass mark.

All these indicators can be obtained from the school information register, in the database of the Entreculturas Office, presently a part of ACIME's organic structure.

4.1.4. HOUSING

Residential patterns may also be integration indicators. However, segregation indicators and indicators regarding the level of difficulty in acceding to housing may also be



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relevant in measuring discrimination. Since this project has not adopted a definition of integration as the mere absence of discrimination, special care must be taken in reading such indicators. Furthermore, the absence of residential segregation would be – once the relevant economic and historical variables have been controlled, *i.e.*, the fact that most immigrants are both newly-come and poor – a good integration indicator, but only in an assimilationist perspective, which is not the one adopted in this project. Bearing in mind these two safeguards, the indicators we have identified as possible to produce are the following:

XIX. residential segregation of immigrants at statistic section, or even subsection, level (territorial divisions below the civil parish), based on the population census carried out by INE;

XX. percentage of immigrants residing in standard lodgings, also based on the census;

XXI. percentage of immigrants residing in lodgings with all basic utilities (water-closet, bathroom, running water, electricity), equally based on the census;

XXII. number of immigrants residing in the same accommodation.

4.2. CULTURAL DIMENSION

As far as the cultural dimension of integration is concerned, the indicators that are easiest to use are also the most ambiguous, as they could as easily be listed among indicators regarding the attitude of the host society. The source to use is, in both cases, INE's Demographic Statistics and what is at stake is:

XXIII. the mixed-marriage ratio among the Portuguese and among the immigrant population;

XXIV. the ratio of children born from a combination of Portuguese and immigrant parents;

XXV. the numbers regarding the religious affiliation of foreigners, per nationality, according to census data.

Unfortunately, in Portugal there has been no collection of data regarding the immigrants' proficiency in the language of the host society. We shall come back to this topic at a later stage.



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4.3. POLITICO-LEGAL DIMENSION

Yet another aspect or dimension of integration is the politico-legal, a concept in which we include the bureaucratic proceedings required from immigrants. In this context we are interested, first and foremost, in the rights of citizenship granted and in the conditions of access to nationality (Silva, 2004) - the latter we deem to be comparable at international level, though their quantification may be somewhat difficult. Downstream, beyond the acquisition of the right to vote, we are interested in the actual participation in political life. These are the indicators we find relevant and viable:

- XXVI. Criteria and requisites of visa renovation procedures;
- XXVII. Criteria and requisites of the procedure of naturalization;
- XXVIII. number of people naturalized every year (qualified according to the size of each community);
- XXIX. terms and conditions of access to the right to vote;
- XXX. actual registration on the register of electors, based on data from the Technical Secretariat for Matters relating to the Election Process (Secretariado Técnico dos Assuntos para o Processo Eleitoral, (STAPE));
- XXXI. actual participation in elections, also based upon STAPE data.

4.4. ATTITUDES OF THE HOST SOCIETY

Finally, we have still to consider the attitude of the host society towards immigrants. Our proposals in this context are based on indicators that are not subject to permanent collection. However, we deem their relevance such as to require some effort of monitorization. They are the following:

- XXXII. representations conveyed by the media, measured in several papers (*e.g.*, King and Wood, 2001; Cádima and Figueiredo, 2003) but hard to quantify;
- XXXIII. each part's representations of the other, as expressed in opinion surveys (*e.g.*, Thalhammer *et al.*, 2001; Lages and Policarpo, 2003), that amount to quantified indicators but are not always comparable at European level;
- XXXIV. the results of surveys on victimization due to discrimination, conducted throughout Europe on the initiative of the European Monitoring Centre



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on Racism and Xenophobia and carried out (for Portugal see Santos (coord.) *et al.*, 2005); the results of such surveys are quantified and comparable but not yet published;

XXXV. once again, the ratio of mixed marriages among the Portuguese and immigrants;

XXXVI. the ratio of children born from a combination of Portuguese and immigrant parents, which can be found in INE's *Estatísticas Demográficas*;

XXXVII. existing surveys that have produced quantitative and, in some cases, comparable results (Baganha, 1996; European Social Survey; Eurobarometer; Lages and Policarpo, 2003; Vala *et al.*, 1999);

Still within the cultural sphere, the role played in the immigrants' integration by their attitude towards norms and rules is also to be considered. The criminality of migrants, fact or fad, has a negative impact on the host society's perception of migrants and thus influences their integration into it (vide e.g., Entzinger, 2003: 24-25, 33-34). We therefore suggest the adoption of the innovating methodology put forward by Martinez de Seabra and Santos (2005), who, using data from the Ministry of Justice and the INE, created a:

XXXVIII. comparative index of criminality which neutralizes the effects of interfering variables such as sex, age and social class – *i.e.*, creates a *caeteris paribus* situation.



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5. PROPOSALS FOR THE CREATION OF NEW INDICATORS

The importance of proficiency in the language of the host society as an element of integration of the immigrant population can hardly be overrated. Knowledge of the language is an important integration indicator as it determines whether the immigrant is capable of communicating in different contexts in the host society. Nonetheless, in Portugal there are no immigration-related measures regulating the acquisition or enhancement of language skills. Several courses of Portuguese for foreigners do exist, but are organized somewhat randomly and under the auspices of different types of entity: public (schools, city halls, civil parish councils, employment centres), private (enterprises) and non-governmental organizations (associations, foundations, etc.). Although such courses are widely offered, there is no impact assessment of the results achieved. No institution carries out any assessment of the immigrants' command of the language. The only context in which this skill is assessed is the process for the acquisition of Portuguese nationality by naturalisation. But that only occurs in the life of such a small percentage of immigrants and at such an advanced stage of their integration that it becomes irrelevant for the purposes of this project. We therefore propose that, at least in the case of legal immigrants and those in the process of becoming so, who come into contact with SEF, their linguistic competence be screened.

The unionization rate is a highly pertinent indicator of third-country nationals' participation in associations or in civil society. However, not even for the Portuguese population as a whole is such information gathered in a systematic way. The best we have are estimates (Cerdeira, 1997; Carley, 2004) or the results of a census with a high rate of people who did not answer (Alves, 2002). In this field it should be possible to set up an instrument of statistical notation akin to the Personnel Records of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security, but directed at trade-unions and not enterprises.

Similarly, involvement in associations, both specific (immigrant associations) and with a wider scope (sports associations, sociocultural associations, etc.) constitutes an excellent integration indicator. Nevertheless, no sources collect such data in a systematic way. Data provided by associations themselves is inadequate as they have a clear interest in maximizing the number of their members and, even if numbers were to be represented in a correct way, adding up the numbers from various associations would still not be possible, since the same person may be a member of several at the same time, which



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would lead to repeating some individuals in the sum. It thus seems pertinent to include questions about membership of associations in the census or in surveys directed at the immigrant communities.

6. CONCLUSIONS

6.1. SCOPE

In this project we assume that the indicators proposed are applied to immigrants from third countries, independently of their socio-economic condition. It is the knowledge of different integration modalities and capacities that will allow us to make inferences on the effectiveness of immigration policies and on the behaviour of immigrants themselves. To exclude from the analysis groups of integrated immigrants, or generally perceived as such, because they are not a part of the usual concerns underlying the creation of integration policies, is to leave out the analysis of differentiating elements that may be the reason for success or failure of immigrants' integration processes.

Political and scientific attention is directed mainly at problem groups, or problem categories within groups. In the Netherlands, for instance, much more attention is paid to Turks and Moroccans than to Germans or Americans, (...) although the latter are quite numerous. This frequently leads to a strong association of "migration" and "problems" and, therefore, to a distorted image and an erroneous formulation. We should, then, pay attention to groups considered to be non-problem, successful or imperceptibly integrated in the surrounding society. (Vermeulen in Pena Pires, 2003: 248)

Virtually all sources mentioned in this paper as available allow for gender analysis, and thus comply with this other objective of the present project.

6.2. CONTROL VARIABLES

The indicators we have proposed suggest the use of control variables. These are extremely important for understanding integration processes. Regarding occupational integration, for instance, we are not interested in understanding solely and separately if immigrants are integrated in the formal labour market (such data can be objectively derived from the employment rate), but in controlling that integration bearing in mind their qualifications and professional skills. This way we might, hypothetically, realize that their occupational integration does not necessarily result in integration in the host society, as, in spite of working and fulfilling the duties and enjoying the rights thereof, their condition as immigrants excludes them from sectors for which they are qualified. It is therefore important to ensure that the selection of indicators presented in this project



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takes into consideration the control of the effect of third variables that may influence results.

6.3. QUALITATIVE MONITORIZATION

Finally, the deductive approach that governs this proposal may easily result in a formalist deviation causing indicators to take the place of the phenomenon itself and thus betray the reality of integration. That is why it is important to ensure that objects of comparison are similar in nature by means of a qualitative analysis that takes into account social, economic, cultural and other realities that interfere with the results of the analysis of each indicator.

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APPENDIX I

Residency permit: Document issued by the Border Control and Aliens (SEF) which can assume two forms:

- **Temporary**, valid for 2 years and renewable for successive periods of 3 years. Its renewal should be requested up to 30 days before its expiry date.
- **Permanent**, which does not have an expiry date, however it should be renewed every five years or whenever changes in the identification elements occur. In order for a residency permit to be granted, foreigners have to have resided legally in Portugal for at least 5 or 8 years, respectively, regarding their country of origin being Portuguese speaking or other third countries.

Stay permit: It allows foreign nationals, as long as they have a work contract, to remain legally in national territory. The immigrant must also be enrolled in the Social Security and pay tax over his activity. This type of permit is valid for one year and can be renewed up to a maximum of five years. After this period, the foreign national must request a residency permit [Revoked with the changes brought about by the Decree-Lay no. 34/2003]

APPENDIX II

Foreign population residing in Portugal, by regions and/or main countries of origin, 1960, 1981, 1991

	1960		1981		1991	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Europe	19,79	67	35,429	33	37,464	35
Germany	1,514	5,1	3,628	3,3	5,398	5,1
Spain	11,713	39,8	8,081	7,4	6,272	5,9
France	1,666	5,7	12,079	11,1	13,74	12,9
Great Britain	2,122	7,2	3,105	2,9	5,977	5,6
Other countries	2,779	9,4	8,536	7,9	6,077	5,7
Africa	445	1,5	47,836	44	36,598	34
Angola	-	-	19,567	18	9,365	8,8
Cape Verde	-	-	18,557	17,1	15,702	14,7
Guinea-Bissau	-	-	1,126	1	3,161	3
Mozambique	-	-	4,425	4,1	3,172	3
S. Tome and Principe	-	-	1,547	1,4	2,007	1,9
Other countries	445	1,5	2,614	2,4	3,191	3
America	8,962	31	23,098	21	30,286	28
Brazil	6,357	21,6	9,962	9,2	13,499	12,7
Venezuela	-	-	5,845	5,4	8,455	7,9
United States	1,4	4,8	3,643	3,4	4,672	4,4
Canada	-	-	2,586	2,4	2,728	2,6
Other countries	1,205	4,1	1,062	1	932	0,9
Asia	196	0,7	1,725	1,6	1,84	1,7
China	-	-	154	0,1	356	0,3
India	-	-	221	0,2	491	0,5
Pakistan	-	-	400	0,4	309	0,3
Other countries			950	0,9	684	0,6
Oceania	31	0,1	430	0,4	396	0,4
Total	29,428	100	108,52	100	106,58	100

Source: National Statistical Institute, General Population Census, 1960, 1981, 1991



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APPENDIX III

Age structure (%) of the resident population in Portugal, by region and main countries of nationality (1991 and 2001)

	0-14		15-34		35-64		65 e + anos	
	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001	1991	2001
Portugal	20,0	16,0	30,7	29,5	35,7	38,1	13,6	16,4
Portuguese	19,9	16,0	30,6	29,1	35,8	38,2	13,7	16,6
Foreigners	27,9	14,4	40,3	47,0	23,7	33,8	8,1	4,8
Europe (without Portuguese)	25,9	12,9	36,3	41,8	28,3	37,5	9,6	7,7
European countries non EU	27,5	7,9	29,3	51,6	34,8	39,2	8,4	1,4
Moldavia		1,4		58,3		40,2		0,1
Romania		4,1		68,6		27,0		0,2
Russia		6,9		47,9		44,8		0,4
Ukraine		0,8		55,3		43,7		0,2
EU European countries	25,8	15,2	36,8	37,3	27,8	36,8	9,6	10,7
Germany	28,3	13,9	36,8	29,7	28,4	48,3	6,5	8,1
Spain	13,5	11,6	20,9	34,1	42,8	36,2	22,8	18,2
France	36,2	20,5	53,1	60,2	8,9	16,0	1,8	3,3
United Kingdom	16,0	12,3	21,2	17,7	47,1	51,9	15,6	18,1
Asia	15,4	8,0	38,9	50,5	36,2	37,7	9,4	3,9
China	12,4	12,2	49,4	54,1	33,7	32,0	4,5	1,7
America	33,2	13,6	47,1	52,4	14,2	30,1	5,6	3,9
Brazil	21,7	11,5	50,8	53,1	19,9	32,2	7,6	3,3
Africa	14,9	15,1	53,7	48,7	28,5	33,0	2,9	3,3
Angola	18,9	17,1	60,7	57,4	17,7	22,9	2,6	2,7
Cape Verde	7,6	13,0	47,8	38,9	41,1	43,2	3,4	4,8
Guinea-Bissau	17,3	16,3	63,9	46,7	17,8	35,8	0,9	1,2
Sao Tome and Principe	19,2	18,7	54,9	47,2	23,3	30,9	2,5	3,2

Source: National Statistical Institute, General Population Census, 1991 and 2001, quoted in Seabra and Santos (2005:64)



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