Portugal as a Semi-peripheral Country in the Global Migration System

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ABSTRACT

Although Portugal has traditionally produced many emigrants, the last 30 years have also shown increasing immigration. This increase in immigration has drawn attention away from the fact that significant emigration from Portugal continues. In this article, some of the main characteristics of migrations to and from Portugal are highlighted from a systemic perspective. The article shows that Portugal is both a receiving country and a sending country in the global migration system, and that it integrates several of the main migration systems at different levels. It is suggested that Portugal's participation in existing migration systems is best captured and explained by conceptualizing it as a semi-peripheral society, one that is part of a core region of the world system (the European Union) and displays a number of characteristics of both central and peripheral countries. The concept of semi-periphery enables one to recognize the existence of what could be termed a quasi or emergent migratory system: the Lusophone migration system, which one can conceive as communicating intensively with other macro migratory systems. Observing the country's migratory dynamics from the last two decades, and especially the migration flows that bond the Portuguese-speaking countries, one may view the Lusophone migration system as able to combine different levels of centers that (in some moments, and given certain conditions) could evolve into a bicephalous, or even tricephalous, center. These centers function as bonds among several other migration systems, and it is in the middle of this Lusophone migration system that the semi-peripheral role of Portugal becomes evident, as it can be core and periphery at the same time.

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MIGRATION SYSTEMS: PORTUGAL AS SEMI-PERIPHERY?

The concept of migration systems first appeared in the 1960s (Petersen, 1961: 315); the first individual to attempt a formal systems approach to internal migration flows was a Nigerian geographer, Akin Mabogunje, who based his observations on rural-urban migration in Nigeria (Mabogunje, 1970). In contrast with the more simplistic conceptualization of rural–urban migration as a unidirectional, push-pull, cause-and-effect movement, the Mabogunje model perceives patterns of migration as circular, interconnected, dependent, and progressively complex. Migration is a self-modifying system in which there are several interrelated factors (Mabogunje, 1970: 16).[1]

Although Mabogunje perceived his model as deriving from general systems theory, subsequent work in migration studies has emphasized the relevance of social networks and social capital to the details of how the model might work. What is perhaps surprising is that the model has not been applied more widely since it was published more than 30 years ago. The infrequency with which it has been utilized is probably due to the lack of detailed migration data available in most developing countries and the difficulty associated with collecting enough types of data required to operate the entire model.

It was not until the late 1980s that Mabogunje's model gained wider acceptance as a consequence of his theory being more thoroughly elaborated and applied to international migrations (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992; Kritz et al., 1992; Salt, 1987, 1989). This shift was mainly due to the capacity of the model to highlight the spatial aspects of migrations and their role in transforming the economic and social structures of both sending and receiving countries (Boyd, 1989; Fawcett and Arnold, 1987; Fawcett, 1989). This kind of approach (which we may call macro or structural) is based upon a spatial interpretation of the migratory reality. It is a central claim of the approach that, given the existence of multiple relationships among migrants, such as the contexts of origin and arrival, migrants' countries of origin and host countries must be considered in unity in order for contemporaneous international migrations to be adequately understood. In other words, these states must form a migration system in which "a group of countries (…) exchange relatively large numbers of immigrants with each other" (Kritz, and Zlotnik, 1992: 2).

The main idea underlying a systems approach to international migration is that migration should be viewed not as a simple result of classical push-pull factors, but rather as the complex outcome of interactions between economic, political, cultural, and historical relations between regions. Thus, migration is not a straightforward effect of particular causes; instead, it is a phenomenon in which feedback effects and circular effects contribute to the development, characterization, and modification of a specific system.

Therefore, when analyzing a migration system, one cannot simply point to the underlying economic and political differences between sending and receiving countries that constrain migration processes. It is necessary to complement arguments about the relevance of these differences with the acknowledgment that other, often longstanding processes besides migration are significant: they link countries/regions of origin and destination and are strongly interrelated with migration flows. International migration is thus understood both as a complement to other exchanges and flows (of information, ideas, services, and goods, for example) and as a constituent of a "unified space" that includes origin and destination countries/regions (Fassmann et al., 2005: 24; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 1). Taking these processes into consideration helps to explain the prevalence and intensity of migrations between areas that are historically, culturally, politically, or economically linked.[2]

The different types of relationships between areas of origin and destination evolve over the course of time, inducing a transformation in both areas which affects the conditions that initially molded the migration process. As a result, migration systems are not static units that exist independently of the factors that shape them; they are open to change and reflect the changes that occur in their constituent parts.

As stated by Massey et al. (1993: 454), migration systems theory constitutes a generalization supported by world systems theory, among others. Given this fact, it is not surprising that the propositions advanced by world systems theory are not contradicted by the migration systems approach. This can be observed in the ways that nation-states act on international migration flows through either direct and explicit policies directed towards the movement or more indirect actions (for example, political or economic involvement in other countries) (Fassmann et al., 2005: 24).

It would seem essential that we analyse international migrations through the lens of migration systems theory. We can thereby take into account more micro-level processes (e.g. migration networks and decisions to migrate) in combination with our analysis of the structural ties (economic, political, and cultural) that frame the migration flows between a system's countries. It is the reciprocal influence of these two levels that most contributes to the dynamic of the migration process (Fassmann et al., 2005: 24; Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 6)

The basic objective of this approach is to consider international migration as one of the numerous types of links obtained between countries and/or geographical areas, as well as to analyse the interrelationships of international migration with the other types of flow and exchange that connect various countries – be they economic, institutional, political, cultural, linguistic, informational, or the like. From this perspective, migration dynamics are largely determined by a variety of networks that function to link various players in the migratory process at different levels of aggregation (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992). In international migrations, the most common situation involves macro-regional networks, which connect a core receiving region (one or more countries) to a series of sending countries (Salt, 1989). These macro-regions are conceived of as non-isolated, discrete migration systems (Zlotnik, 1992) that communicate with one another and thereby generate a set of interactions and spillovers between different micro-migration systems, allowing them to be characterized as dynamic units. Given that such communication is also a means of including and/or excluding countries that might participate in a given migration system, and given that communication occurs at different levels, it is possible to think of layered migration systems as constituting variations in migration trends within defined macro-migration systems.

A migration system can be described from the perspective of either the sending country or the receiving country (Zlotnik, 1992: 20). If a country is simultaneously both a sending and receiving state, it is particularly difficult to identify and describe the migration system, as the perspective of that particular country also encompasses other migration systems in which origin and destination countries take part. This is particularly true for the Lusophone migration system, which cannot be analysed solely from the perspective of countries of origin or destination because the central nodes in the system both send and receive migrants, albeit to varying degrees.[3] Therefore, it seems more appropriate to analyse the Lusophone migration system in the manner suggested by Zlotnick to

study the United Kingdom, adopting the perspective of one of its cores: Portugal. This acknowledges that a given country or region is not confined to participation in only one migration system and that, more specifically, the countries involved in the Lusophone migration system can also participate in other migration systems – although at different levels and to different degrees.

According to James Fawcett (1989), the various types of connections obtained between countries that participate in a migration system can be categorized as follows: a) relationships among states; b) connections based upon mass culture; c) family and personal networks; and d) the activities of migration agencies. In each of these categories, relationships can be tangible, regulatory, or relational. Identification of different types of connections allows one to analyse both the complementarity between each of the categories and the tensions that can develop between them. For instance, tensions might arise between the regulatory linkages of the states (because of migration policies) and those of the migrant social network (created by familial obligations and by a sense of community solidarity).

Thus, it is clear that migration processes are influenced by a series of macro and micro structures, as well as by a group of intermediate institutions. The macro structures consist of the political economy of the world market, the relationships that exist between states, and the legislative and political structures created to regulate the departure, entrance, and permanence of immigrants (Castles and Miller, 1993: 23). Correspondingly, individuals and their socio-economic conditions make up the micro structures, while intermediate institutions are shaped by the informal relationships developed by migrants and the organizations that enhance or ease migration, such as transnational companies, migrant traffic networks, etc. (Marques, 2006: 57). By establishing the linkage between individual migrants and the existent structural conditions for migration, social networks contribute to the linkage between the countries that belong to the migration system, thus becoming a central component of the system (Boyd, 1989: 661). Migrant networks help to channel resources and information between communities by facilitating further individual migration. Consequently, the systems approach is based on "the conceptualization of a migration system as a network of countries linked by migration interactions whose dynamics are largely shaped by the functioning of a variety of networks linking migration actors at different levels of aggregation" (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992: 15).

FIGURE 1

THE FIVE MAJOR MIGRATORY SYSTEMS ACCORDING TO DOUGLAS MASSEY
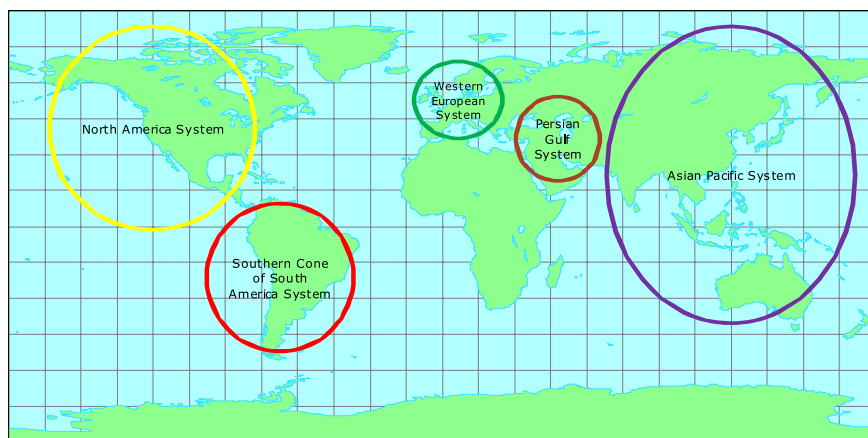
In their analysis of the last thirty years of the twentieth century, scholars have mapped out five major migratory systems that are considered stable even though each extended over a considerably short time span. As noted by Massey (2003: 6), "each one of these five systems is characterized by a rough stability of migrant flows across time and space. In general, the flows of people within these systems parallel flows of goods, capital, and information that are partially structured by international politics" (see Fig. 1). These five macro migratory systems are: 1) the North American system; 2) the Western European System; 3) the Persian Gulf system; 4) the Asia-Pacific system; 5) the Southern Cone of South America System.

By adding to these five systems the African migration system, with its longstanding intra-continental migrations and very specific characteristics, we obtain an image of a world divided into migration systems. Such a division necessarily oversimplifies the complexity of current migration dynamics, since it does not sufficiently take into consideration the interconnections that exist between different migration systems or the possible evolution of the systems. However, it is useful in that it illustrates the main migratory dynamics that are currently active and stimulates analyses of the migration flows that crosscut these systems, thus allowing us to identify (emerging or already stabilized) subsystems within or among existent macro systems. This implies that the identification of macro migration systems must be combined with examination of

lower-level migration systems (meso- or micro-migration systems) that also present a "rough stability of migrant flows across time and space" (Massey, 2003: 6).[4]

Since a migration system is a multivalent set of ties between sending and receiving countries, it is necessary to consider different levels of interaction (macro, meso, and/or micro) in order to elaborate a more productive typology of migration systems and, particularly, of the relationships between the macro-level and meso- or micro-levels. But this is not a complete picture of the system. We also need to conceive of a system as the interlinked product of differences between peripheries, cores, and semi-peripheries that can only be understood in the context of one another. When we take this approach, the world systems theory emerges as an important theoretical instrument, since it allows us to assess the position of different countries within a system and to make the boundaries between the macro-migration systems mentioned earlier less rigid. Let us examine the Portuguese situation as an example.

World systems theory suggests the division of the world into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral economies in an evolving global market system in which the economic hierarchy of states is a product of long-term cycles that dominate these dynamics. Its basic argument is that capitalism is a world economy comprised of "core, peripheral, and semi-peripheral productive regions integrated by market mechanisms which are in turn distorted by the stronger of the competing states, none of which is strong enough to control the entire economy" (Goldfrank, 2000: 178).[5] Immanuel Wallerstein (1974) borrowed the core-periphery concept from the dependency theory, formulated in the 1950s by Paul Baran (1957), and added to it the concept of the semi-periphery. In contrast with dependency and modernization theorists, world-system theorists argue that the semi-periphery is neither a residual category nor a transitional stage, but rather a distinct and permanent feature of the world-system (Arrighi, 1985: 245). Semi-peripheral status implies both a definite structural position within the international division of labour and a historical process of development – dependent development – marked by dependence on outside sources of capital (Peschard, 2005). Despite the claim that it is not a residual category, the semi-periphery remains a contested concept, handicapped by a lack of operational criteria for identifying semi-peripheral states, especially around the indicator used to assess this semi-peripheral status (Terlouw, 1993: 88).[6] Notwithstanding intellectual debates regarding the notion of semi-periphery, it seems productive for the present to conceptualize it not as a distinct

category or zone, but instead as an arena where contradictory core and peripheral forces of comparable strength cause very divergent developments.

According to world systems theory, Portugal currently occupies a semi-peripheral position due to its intermediate level of economic development and its role as an intermediary link between the first and third worlds (Wallerstein, 1974). For centuries, Portugal has experienced an intermediate level of development, somewhere between that of peripheral countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America and that of core countries in Europe and North America. It has also played an intermediary role between the core and the periphery, and between Europe and other parts of the world, mainly Africa and Latin America: previously as the head of a colonial empire and, at the same time, a country dominated by core countries (namely England); currently as part of the "periphery of the core" region of the European Union. Its semi-peripheral condition allows Portugal to maintain historically dense links with both Africa and Latin America, as well as with the more developed areas of Europe and North America.[7] Semi-periphery became a very operational analytical category for promoting studies on Portuguese society (Santos, 1995), especially throughout the 1990s, although it has lost some of its analytical importance in recent years.[8]

PORTUGAL'S SEMI-PERIPHERAL POSITION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LUSOPHONE MIGRATORY SYSTEM

We believe that the concept of the semi-periphery is particularly interesting and useful in the context of contemporaneous migrations in Portugal. It is only possible to understand the particularities of such a country – one that since the 1980s has exported and imported immigrants for the same activity sectors or to hold the same jobs in the secondary segment – through a systemic analysis that takes into consideration the state's positioning in the global migration system. This trend has been constant for over two decades and is not showing any signs of short-term change.[9]

The linkages present in a migration system, as identified by Fawcett (1989), can be observed both in the Lusophone immigration system and in Portuguese emigration inside the Western European system. Tangible linkages can be verified through flows of capital and goods that are maintained between Portugal and either other Portuguese-speaking

countries or its EU partners. A brief look at the flows of gross direct investments [10] in Portugal shows that the Euro zone nations, along with the United Kingdom and Switzerland, are the main investors in Portugal: they represented between 75 per cent and 95 per cent of investments during the 1990s and the beginning of the new century. The United Kingdom, France, Germany, Spain, and Switzerland are the most significant investors in Portugal, having been responsible for 57 per cent of the total foreign investment in Portugal during the last ten years (Gabinete de Estratégia e Estudos, 2004). Data on Portuguese gross direct investments in the Lusophone countries is not available, but information on liquid investments in this area indicates that they are substantially lower than the aforementioned investments – around 2 per cent (Banco de Portugal, 2005).

If we accept Portugal's positioning within several existing migration systems, it seems important to contextualize the place that the country occupies in these systems. For this purpose, the particular concept of Portugal's semi-peripheral position serves as a useful analytical tool, since it allows us to recognize how its participation in several migration systems and the role it plays in an emergent Lusophone migration system are tributaries of its position in the world system. The Lusophone migration system can be conceived of as a meso-level migration system that crisscrosses and communicates intensively with the macro-level migration systems identified by Massey (the North American system, Western European system, and South American system), as well as the African migration system (Figure 2). The conjugation of the different migration movements encompassed by the Portuguese, Cape Verdean, and Brazilian migration networks allows us to observe a common group of characteristics worth underlining: the overlapping of sending countries in the Lusophone space; the overlapping of migratory destinations of emigrants from the three countries; and the coexistence of particular migratory destinations. We can observe this in figures 3, 4, and 5:

The idea of the existence of a system specifically associated with the Lusophone world is not new. According to Peixoto (2004: 11), the migration flows that Portugal attracted until the late 1990s configured a "Lusophone migration system". And as proposed by Kritz and Zlotnik (1992) each "migratory system" has particular dynamics as a result of historical context (e.g. economic, social, political, or technological), which is itself determined by the linkage between migration flows and other kinds of interchanges (e.g. political, commercial, capital). However, referring especially to the Portuguese immigration landscape at the

FIGURE 2

THE CURRENT SIX MAJOR MIGRATION SYSTEMS
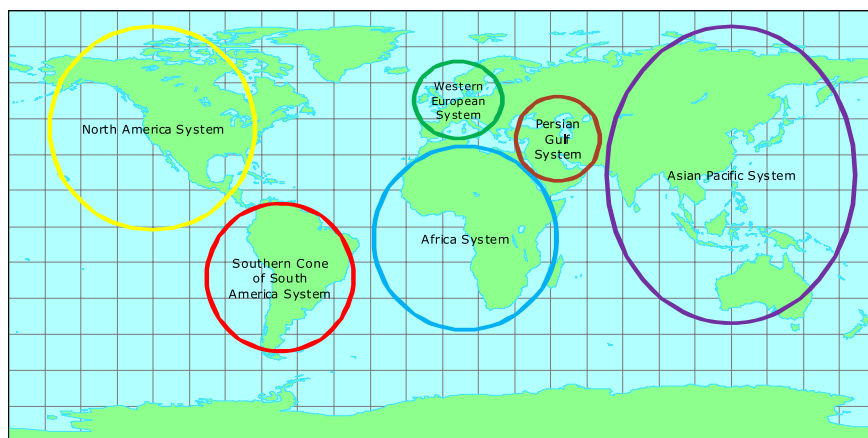
turn of the century and to the changes witnessed in the main immigrant groups, Peixoto cautions that the notion of a Lusophone migration system may lose some of its explanatory power due to a complexification of the country's insertion in the international context (Peixoto, 2007: 461) which, together with migration policies, imply a diversification of migratory origins for Portugal. We believe that this statement was made prematurely, biased in favor of the destination country and failing to take into consideration the existence of a reality beyond official statistics.[11] We will return to this idea later.

In a recent paper, Jorge Malheiros (2005) introduces the diverse dynamics present in the different Portuguese regions in order to demonstrate how they can assume different geographies and thus participate in different migration systems. The author presents Portugal as part of three different migration sub-systems: a) the consolidated Euro-American migratory structure (which would correspond to the European migratory system + the North American migration system); b) the consolidated system of Lusophone immigration (the Lusophone migration system) and c) the new and dynamic linkage represented by Eastern European immigrants (a sub-system of the European migration system). According to Malheiros, these three sub-systems coexist, and one should analyse them together in order to create a complete picture of Portugal's positioning in the contemporaneous international migration system (Malheiros, 2005: 261). In what concerns the Lusophone migration

FIGURE 3

PORTUGAL IN THE GLOBAL MIGRATION SYSTEM (SELECTED PORTUGUESE MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS)
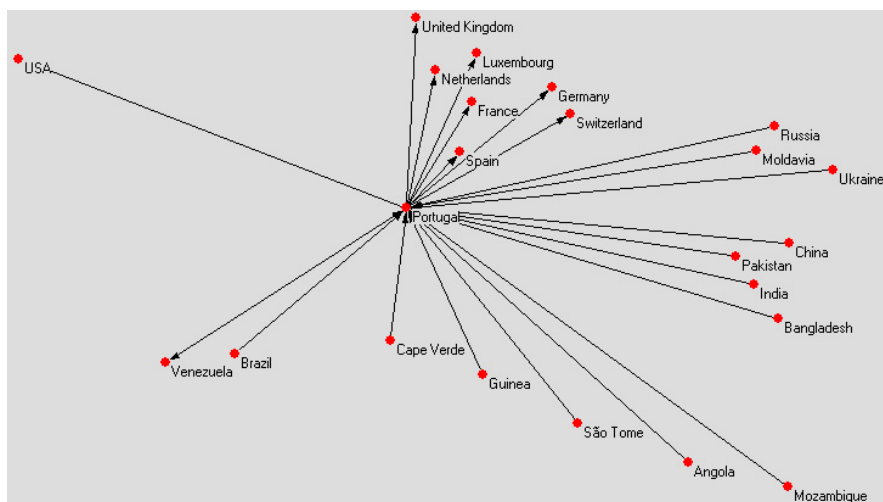

FIGURE 4

CAPE VERDE IN THE GLOBAL MIGRATION SYSTEM (SELECTED CAPE-VERDEAN MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS)
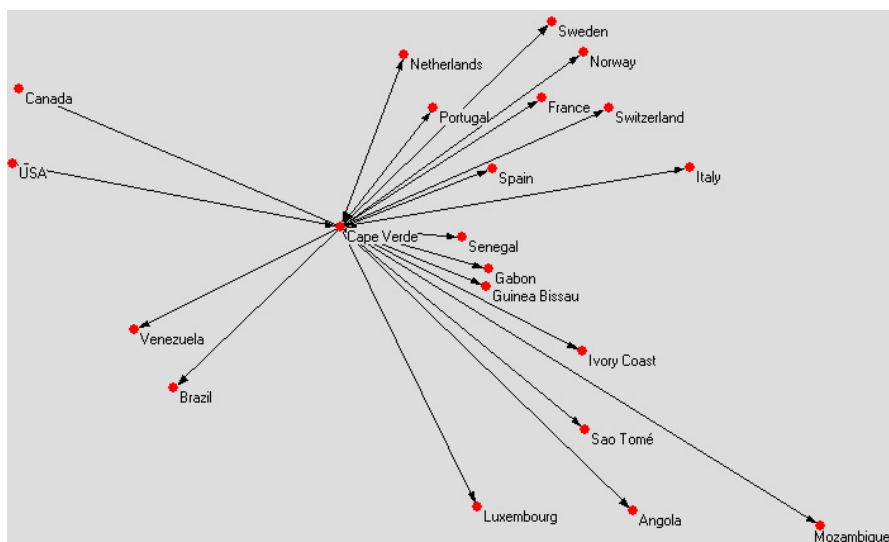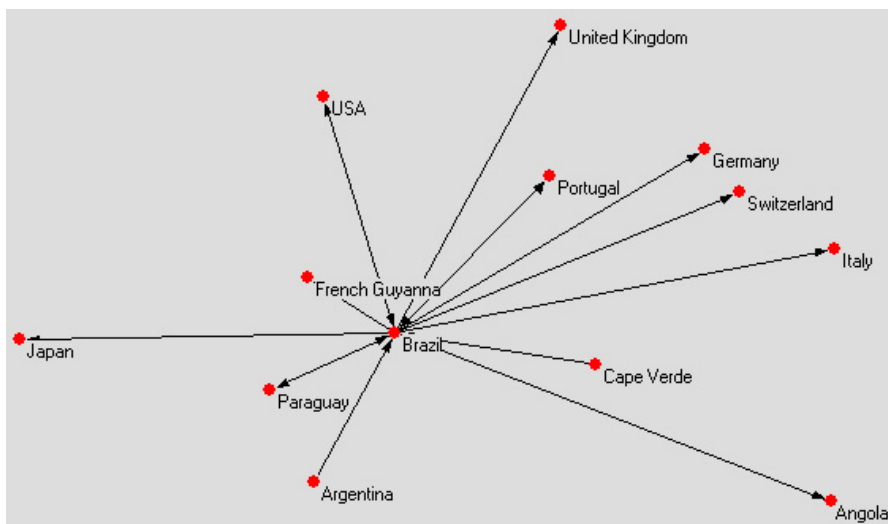
FIGURE 5

BRAZIL IN THE GLOBAL MIGRATION SYSTEM (SELECTED BRAZILIAN
MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS)

system, Malheiros presents the possibility that there exist autonomous
sub-systems supported by strong migratory ethnic or co-ethnic networks,
providing as his example the sub-system that links the Mozambique
Indians to Lisbon and recently to England. These different analyses show
the existence of a common migration space, the Lusophone space –
which, when analysed aggregately and diachronically, allows us to visual-
ize the structural characteristics of an emerging migration system. The
constitutive characteristics of this system can be detected via analysis of
different interactions produced at different levels. In the remaining part
of this article, we will use two examples that clearly illustrate two of these
types of linkages at the state level: regulatory and relational linkages.
The first example treats the exceptional regularizations of immigrants
in the last 20 years; the second deals with the interconnection of two
migration flows in the labour market: an outflow of Portuguese
emigrants to Switzerland and an inflow of Cape-Verdeans to Portugal.

PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION POLICIES AND
## THE LUSOPHONE MIGRATION SYSTEM

In political terms, this migration system has enjoyed the advantage of
several measures adopted over the last decades. As a result of their

shared language, the common period in their national histories, and a desire to preserve the intense economic, social, and cultural relations that have existed between the former colonial power and its former colonies, the Portuguese state has tailored its legal instruments on immigration and amnesties/regularizations, as well as its nationality laws, to include measures that positively target the groups of citizens coming from Lusophone countries.[12] This positive discrimination towards specific groups of citizens seems to have influenced the evolution of their migration to Portugal (or at least their statistical visibility), as well as their legal integration into the host society. For instance, if we analyse the principles and objectives that have guided the amnesties of illegal immigrants in the last 15 years, this preferential treatment of citizens from Lusophone countries becomes evident (see Fig. 6).

Among the main principles of the two processes of exceptional regularization of illegal immigrants launched during the 1990s by the Portuguese Government [13] was the "special treatment of citizens from an official Portuguese-speaking country" implemented for historical reasons (DL 221/92 from 12th October). Thus, both of these regularization processes positively targeted illegal immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries and were aimed at promoting future cooperation and friendship with Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa and with Brazil.[14]

These two regularizations, which had different objectives,[15] elucidate which nationalities used these mechanisms during each period to legalize

FIGURE 6

PORTUGAL, CAPE VERDE AND BRAZIL IN THE GLOBAL MIGRATION SYSTEM
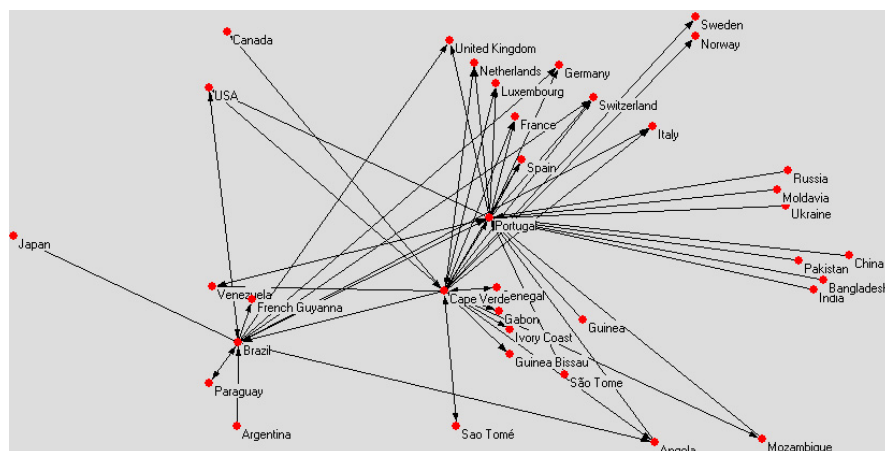
their residential situation in Portugal. The Portuguese-speaking nationalities took greater advantage of both regularization processes. The first process involved 80 per cent of the immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries, and the second involved 75 per cent of the same population. Overrepresentation of these immigrants in the two regularization processes not only corresponds to a higher rate of illegal immigration among these nationalities –it was also the outcome of the legal framework created for regularization which, as already mentioned, primarily supported illegal immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries and for which specific articles of positive discrimination were introduced.

The preferential treatment of Lusophone immigrants is also evident when one analyses the processing of regularization requests. For nationals from a Portuguese-speaking country, the rate of refusals was below 1 per cent, while for the other immigrants this value varied between 43 per cent (for Indians) and 10 per cent. Furthermore, Lusophone immigrants benefited from faster treatment of their regularization requests: in general, 75 per cent saw their processes finalized in two years, while for Pakistanis, for example, the percentage of immigrants whose processes were finalized within the same time-span was significantly lower, at 5 per cent (Pires, 1999: 205).

The more favorable conditions offered to Lusophone immigrants were interrupted in 2001 by the passage of Law 4/2001 (January 10). This law allowed for the possibility of legalization for all immigrants illegally working in the country, irrespective of their nationalities. According to Law 4/2001, immigrants who were working in the country without a work permit could obtain a one-year residence permit that could be renewed for five years. Unlike what occurred in the 1990s, this possibility of legalization was not based on legal measures aimed only at the exceptional regularization of illegal immigrants. The idea was to endorse a more integrated approach, changing Law 244/98 in order to create a legal framework that would allow the state to better plan and control the work, entry, and residence of foreigners. The limited character of the permanence permits granted to the immigrants resulted from interpretations of the change in the Portuguese immigration landscape, which was seen as temporary.

In the 2001 regularization/legalization[16] process, the hierarchy of nationalities was no longer headed by immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries; it was instead dominated by citizens from Eastern European countries. The exception to the decreasing importance of Portuguese-

TABLE 1

EXCEPTIONAL REGULARIZATIONS OF IMMIGRANTS IN 1992 AND 1996

Nationality	1992		1996	
	N	%	N	%
PALOP[i]	28,345	72.4	23,400	66.7
Angola	*12,525*	*32.0*	*9,255*	*26.4*
Cape Verde	*6,778*	*17.3*	*6,872*	*19.6*
Guinea-Bissau	*6,877*	*17.6*	*5,308*	*15.1*
Mozambique	*757*	*1.9*	*416*	*1.2*
Sao Tome and Principe	*1,408*	*3.6*	*1,549*	*4.4*
Brazil	5,346	13.6	2,330	6.6
China	1,352	3.5	1,608	4.6
Senegal	1,397	3.6	-	-
Eastern Europe	227	0.6	541[1]	1.5
Other	2,499	6,4	7,203	20,5
Total	39,166	100.0	35,082	100.0

Source: SEF (unpublished data).
Note:[1]this year's data refer only to citizens from Hungary, Rumania and Russia.
[i]Palop stands for Portuguese specking Countries in Africa.

speaking countries in the regularization processes was Brazil, which has continued to exhibit a high rate of participation in the process (see Table 1).

In 2003, the Portuguese state returned, albeit temporarily, to its policy of favorably treating citizens from countries in which Portuguese is the official language. Due to successful lobbying by representatives of the Brazilian community, a new legal opportunity was created especially for the legalization of Brazilian citizens living illegally in Portugal. This process was the direct outcome of the Bilateral Agreement on the Reciprocal Hiring of Nationals, signed on July 11, 2003 and implemented into Law 40/2003 on September 19. Under this agreement, 29,522 Brazilians who had previously registered between August 25 and September 8, 2003 were given access to legalization. This special amnesty was not perceived as such, either by the immigrants or by the Portuguese authorities, but not for the same reasons. The Portuguese authorities perceived this process as a reciprocal mechanism addressing past and present migration of Portuguese nationals to Brazil and special discrimination justified by the particular relations that exist between the two countries. The Brazilian migrants did not view this process as an amnesty because it was so bureaucratic that in practice, it was better for a sizeable proportion of the immigrants to remain illegal. As a result, only 15,609[17] pre-registrations led to a legalization process.

The discriminatory character of the possibility of legalization offered to the Brazilians, when compared to that offered to other groups of immigrants and taken together with the pressure of NGOs, the Catholic Church and some left-wing political parties, later led the government to extend the possibility of legalization to workers from other nationalities who fulfilled a set of prerequisites established by Law 6/2004 of April 26. This process also required previous registration, and the registration period ended in November 2004. 53,197 immigrants pre-registered, 37 per cent of which came from Lusophone countries. However, this was not an amnesty directed mainly towards Lusophone migrants, and therefore did not include any positive discrimination measures specifically directed towards them (see Table 2).

If we analyse all the amnesty processes (or the *qual tale* regularization processes) instituted since the 1990s, we understand the importance of˜those processes for the regularization of Lusophone migrants in comparison with the overall immigrant population in Portugal. Whether we analyse the proportion of Lusophone immigrants participating in each legalization process (see Table 3) or the total share of legalized

TABLE 2

PERMANENCE PERMITS GRANTED UNDER THE LAW NO. 4/2001 OF JANUARY 10

Nationality	2001		2002		2003	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
PALOP	15,624	12.3	6,874	14.4	1,925	21.2
Angola	*4,997*	*3.9*	*2,681*	*5.6*	855	9.4
Cape Verde	*5,488*	*4.3*	*2,452*	*5.1*	618	6.8
Guinea-Bissau	*3,239*	*2.6*	866	1.8	213	2.3
Mozambique	315	0.2	117	0.2	29	0.3
Sao Tome and Principe	*1,585*	*1.2*	758	1.6	210	2.3
Brazil	23,713	18.7	11,559	24.3	2,648	29.1
Eastern Europe	70,430	55.5	26,475	55.6	4,057	44.6
Moldova	*8,984*	*7.1*	*3,066*	*6.4*	582	6.4
Romania	*7,461*	*5.9*	*2,992*	*6.3*	473	5.2
Russia	*5,022*	*4.0*	*1,807*	*3.8*	218	2.4
Ukraine	*45,233*	*35.6*	*16,916*	*35.5*	2,546	28.0
Others	*3,730*	*2.9*	*1,694*	*3.6*	238	2.6
China	3,348	2.6	520	1.1	41	0.5
Pakistan	2,851	2.2	-29	-0.1	34	0.4
India	2,828	2.2	488	1.0	69	0.8
Others	8,107	6.4	1,770	3.7	323	3.6
Total	126,901	100.0	47,657	100.0	9,097	100.0

Source: SEF, Estatísticas de Estrangeiros, 2001, 2002, 2003 (http://www.sef.pt/estatisticas.htm/).

TABLE 3

PRE-REGISTRATION FOR THE REGULARIZATION
OF PERMANENCE, MAIN NATIONALITIES

Nationality	N	%
PALOP		
Angola	5,672	10,7
Cape Verde	3,570	6,7
Guinea-Bissau	2,585	4,8
Mozambique Sao Tome and Principe	1,122	2,1
Brazil	6,727	12,6
Eastern Europe		
Moldova	2,380	4,5
Romania	5,106	9,6
Russia	890	1,7
Ukraine	8,328	15,6
China	1,834	3,4
India	1,589	3,0
Other	13,394	25,2
Total	53,197	100,0

Source: SEF, Unpublished data, cit. in Baganha (2005).

Lusophone immigrants in all processes (see Fig. 7), we understand that these immigrants were privileged in their access to such processes.

In sum, by analyzing this legal framework of amnesties/regularizations, one comes to realize that it sometimes manifested a clear preference towards specific groups of immigrants, privileging those with whom

FIGURE 7

SHARE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM A LUSOPHONE COUNTRY PARTICIPATING
IN EACH LEGALIZATION PROCESS
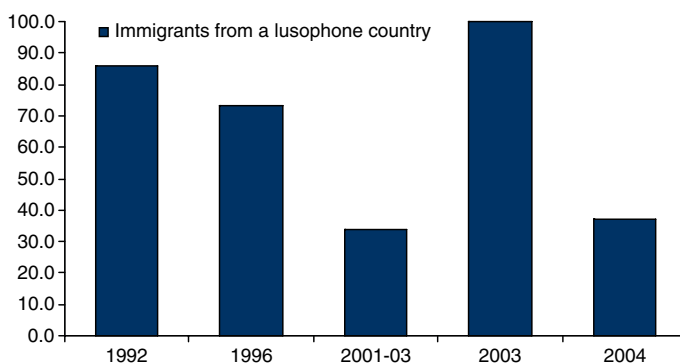
Portugal shares a language and maintains intense economic, social, and cultural relations (the premises of an emergent migratory system).[18] Regarding the more favorable policies of three of the regularization processes adopted by the Portuguese state toward immigrants from Portuguese-speaking countries, it is possible to surmise that they had a clear effect on the legal integration of these immigrants and that they assisted in making their presence in Portugal more statistically visible. It remains unclear whether this group's overwhelming participation was only the natural outcome of their being the most sizeable irregular community present in the country, such that perhaps they might have applied for regularization even if there were no such preferential treatment.

Let us now turn to our second example: the interconnection of two migration flows in the labour market, an outflow of Portuguese toward Switzerland and an inflow of Cape Verdeans into Portugal.

THE MIGRATION SYSTEM THEORY AND THE SEGMENTED MARKET THEORY

This second example illustrates the complementarity and/or replacement relationships established between labour supply and demand, while also enriching our analysis of the Lusophone migration system with the conceptualizations suggested by segmented market theory.

As is known, the dual labour market theory affirms that the labour market is not homogeneous, but is rather segmented (Doeringer and Piore, 1971; Piore, 1979). According to this model, there are two well-differentiated or even dichotomous levels or segments of the national labour markets. In the first market, or primary labour market, one can find full-time jobs, good wages, good working conditions, social benefits, promotion opportunities, job safety, etc. In the second or secondary market, working conditions are more precarious: the norm is part-time or short-term work, jobs that are vulnerable in terms of salaries and types of contract, a lack of promotion possibilities, and the lack of a formal career system. Thus, differentiated labour markets exist, each of which have specific, homogeneous characteristics and are distinct from the rest of the segments. The structures of and relationships between those segments are such that it becomes very difficult for the workers to insert themselves into a segment other than the one in which their labour market characteristics place them (Góis, 2006: 105).

According to these theories, immigrants tend to insert themselves into the secondary labour market, particularly in two distinct categories: a) jobs that complement the occupations of local workers (e.g., civil construction and public works); b) jobs that were abandoned by local workers due to the negative social standing they entail (e.g., personal and domestic workers) (Marques, and Góis, 2000). We will analyse the migration of the Portuguese to Switzerland and of the Cape Verdeans to Portugal based on the segmented labour market theory (meso) and framed by the macro vision of migration systems theories and the world system.

COMPLEMENTARITY OR SUBSTITUTION: AN ISSUE UNDER RESEARCH

The development and maintenance of international migration flows have traditionally been explained as a process of labour adjustment between countries (neoclassical economic theory), as a strategy for dealing with deficiencies in or a lack of certain types of national markets (new economics of migration), and as a result of the demand for workers who could occupy positions in the secondary labour markets of developed economies (dual labour market theory). Migration flows are viewed as self-sustained by the development of migrant networks that link peoples from two different national contexts, among other factors. In these conceptualizations, migration is mainly viewed as a movement of people between two containers that function as sending and receiving regions, respectively (Pries, 1997); thus, when properly considered together, they should combine to explain the migration flows that occur between two countries or within a migratory system. But, as shown by Baganha and Peixoto (1996), since these theories do not take into consideration the possibility of a country being simultaneously a receiver and sender of migrants (frequently directed towards the same economic sectors), their explanatory power is somewhat limited. It is therefore necessary to construct a sort of "theory mix" in order to harness the individual explanatory power of these ideas within the context of this particular situation. Of special interest with regard to migration flows to and from Portugal are theories that concentrate on social migration networks, the countries' positions in the world system and their economic characteristics, and on the emergence and consolidation of a migratory system in which both migratory networks and the involved countries' structural features assume a central role.

From theories that emphasize the structural determinants of international migration, it is possible to surmise that the labour market structures of receiving countries are highly responsible for the ongoing migratory flows to and from Portugal. According to Giovanna Campani (1995), migration flows are no longer attracted by an overall quantitative imbalance in the employment markets, but rather by sectoral imbalances related to the segmentation of the labour markets. If we agree with this assertion, it implies that the Portuguese internal labour market is highly segmented and that some of these segments are mainly open to foreign labour, returning us to Piore's classic hypothesis. As Piore proposed in the 1970's, developments in the education of the domestic population create higher expectations and open segments of the labour market to foreign newcomers that then come to be perceived by nationals as low-status, low-paying, and dirty jobs. Although Piore's hypothesis is extremely attractive in its potential to explain many of the features found in our case studies, it creates an apparent paradox when applied to a country for which 25 per cent of the population has extremely low levels of professional qualifications[19] and the labour force is attracted to the same segments of foreign labour markets due to wage differentials between Portugal and countries where job opportunities are open – like Switzerland and Germany (Fonseca, cit. in Baganha, et al., 1998: 55). These theories are therefore insufficient to explain why the jobs occupied by immigrants in Portugal are not filled by Portuguese citizens who prefer to emigrate and then to occupy similar jobs in other countries. In other words, labour market segmentation theories do not properly explain why Portuguese migrants have chosen to emigrate to foreign countries (either EU or non-EU) instead of internally moving to areas that are more economically dynamic (such as the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon or the Metropolitan Area of Porto).

To understand the Portuguese segmented labour market, as well as the segmented labour markets of Portuguese migrants' destination countries, one should take into account an additional social condition related to the development of social structures supporting migration – that is, related to the participation of individuals in migration networks that disseminate information about opportunities abroad. These structures sustain the realization of migration projects (both for immigrants who come to Portugal and for Portuguese migrants). Migration networks (constituted mainly by relatives, friends, and acquaintances) play a very important role in creating and maintaining the migratory movement of the flows analysed, as is true of most migration flows. The development of these networks self-supports the orientation of the migration flows

from and into Portugal during different time periods, allowing it to strengthen over time (Marques, 2006: 73).

To the aforementioned explanations, one must add the idea (particularly evident in Portuguese migratory in- and out-flows) that migration is a highly complex phenomenon requiring proper attention paid both to its structural factors and to meso- and micro-level conditions. The main structural factors that influence the migration of Portuguese workers to Switzerland (or any other European country) and of Cape Verdeans (or other Lusophone country nationals) to Portugal are the migration flows taking place at the intersection of two independent, but structurally connected migratory systems (the Western European migration system and the emergent Lusophone migration system). Borrowing Luhmann's idea of a "structural coupling" between different functional systems (1998: 92) and reinterpreting it for our particular case, we can conceptualize these two migratory flows as responding to different opportunities perceived by migrants in the different systems, thus producing a "structural drift" between the systems (i.e., a co-development of the two migratory flows, apparently the result of a simultaneous interaction between two migratory systems). Through this process, changes in one system may lead to transformations in the other, given that they are connected.

Thus, the existing interconnections between in- and out-flows in some economic sectors (e.g., construction) require a more broader level of research and analysis than that proposed by the aforementioned migration theories. From our two case studies, we can observe that Portugal receives foreign employees from from non-EU member states to work in specific economic sectors, while their own nationals move abroad mainly to work in the same sectors. Our analysis of these two migration flows suggest a close relationship between the emigration of Portuguese individuals to Switzerland and Cape Verdean immigration to Portugal, with the latter tending to follow the former with a small time lag. Of course the scale of the two flows is not directly comparable – but if we analyse the relationship between these two flows through co-variation, correlation, or a simple regression, we find a positive co-variation, a correlation of 0.904 and an R square value of 0.82. All these statistical measures suggest an embedding of these two migration flows or, formulated in another way, an interpenetration[20] of the two migratory systems in which these migratory flows occur (see Fig. 8).

FIGURE 8

SHARE OF IMMIGRANTS FROM A LUSOPHONE COUNTRY
IN ALL OF THE LEGALIZATION PROCESSES

☐ Lusophone countries
☐ Other countries

49.8   50.2
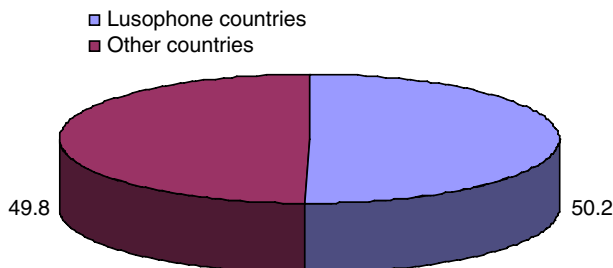
SOME BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

The systematic analysis of migrations to and from Portugal allows us to highlight some characteristics of these migration flows (see Figure 9). First of all, Portugal places itself in the global migration system as both a receiving and a sending country. Second, Portugal integrates several of the main migration systems.

  i) It has integrated the Western European migratory system at least since the 1960s as a labour-producing country (periphery) and a receiver of qualified or highly qualified immigrants. Recently, with the massive entrance of Eastern European immigrants into Portugal, it has also received immigrants who, though highly qualified, have placed themselves in the secondary market. For them, the country may function as both a center and semi-periphery (if the stay in Portugal is seen as preliminary to a final destination);

  ii) Portugal also participates in the North American system as a sending periphery. It may also assume the role of semi-periphery by redistributing into this system the immigrants coming from the African migration system (e.g. Cape-Verdeans).

  iii) At present, it also integrates the Southern Cone of the South American system as a host country whose migration history towards these same countries places it in a central and semi-peripheral position. In this system, Portugal could be conceived as both the immigrants' final destination country (especially from Brazil) and a transition or intermediate country for the immigrants in the European migration system.

FIGURE 9

LEGAL PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS IN SWITZERLAND
AND LEGAL CAPE VERDEAN IMMIGRANTS IN PORTUGAL 1980-2004
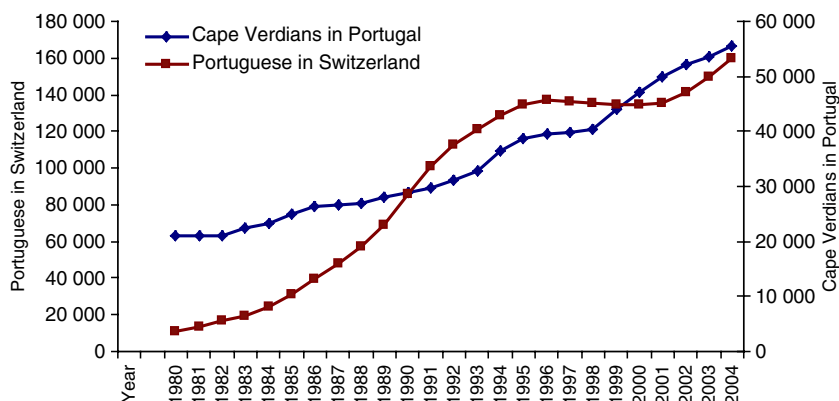
Source: Federal Aliens Office for Switzerland several years; Serviço de Estrangeiros e
Fronteiras, Relatórios, for Portugal, several years.

iv) It also integrates the African migration system with the Western
European migration system. Portugal also functions as a center
and semi-periphery for this system, since it plays a re-distribution
role in the European migration system. The migrations of Cape
Verdeans, Angolans, or Mozambiquean Indians are examples of
this reality.

The Lusophone migration system gains shape while participating in all
the previously mentioned dynamics. On the one hand, it is evident today
that the migration from the Palop or Brazil to Portugal is a structural
migration – as compared to the migration from Eastern Europe, which
is conjectural. On the other hand, if we observe the diverse migration
flows that bond the Portuguese-speaking countries, we can conceptualize
the Lusophone migration system as able to combine different levels of
centers that, sometimes and given some conditions, could evolve into a
bicephalous center (Portugal and Brazil) or a tricephalous center
(if Angola starts to attract multiple Lusophone migratory flows). These
centers function as bonds that link several other migration systems. It is
in the middle of this Lusophone migration system that Portugal's semi-
peripheral role becomes evident, as it can be core and periphery at the
same time. This is not a new idea, since several authors have already
defended the conception of Portugal as a gyratory platform for central

countries. Portugal can be instrumental to a migration that is completed in different phases in order for immigrants to arrive at other destinations. This argument, resulting in large part from the idea that the country plays a semi-peripheral role in the world system, purports that Portugal is an intermediate space between peripheries (namely the Palop), and that the core is comprised of other European or North American countries. Being a structural position of Portugal, its effects on migration shows us that significant future tendencies are the cumulative product of past tendencies. Although we should not exclude migration flows similar to the ones that occurred over the last years, with the massive and abrupt arrival of immigrants from a specific migration origin (mainly a result of organized migration networks), we should expect that social networks already in place will continue to assure flows that have their origins in traditional immigrant sources.

While we conceive of Portugal as belonging to different migration systems, it is simultaneously possible to reveal the underlying migration structure of the Portuguese migratory landscape. This also makes it possible to define the migration trends to and from Portugal. We believe that all this is only possible via analysis of past migrations. If we understand that belonging to distinct migration systems gives Portugal an intermediate or intermediary position, we also understand that the volume of Portuguese emigrants abroad and foreigners in Portugal is the base for future migrations. A contemporaneous migration system incorporates migration networks as well as present and past relationships between states; because of this, we can surmise that the Lusophone migration system will emerge as a highly dynamic migration system.

NOTES

1. By conceiving of migrations as part of the global system of international interactions, migration systems theory offers a wider approach to understanding population movements, allowing the integration of contributions given in isolation by other theoretical perspectives. Analysis of international migration systems has, however, been based on the descriptive identification of those systems, and has been almost entirely limited to host countries (Arango, 2000: 43).
2. As Golini, Bonifaci, and Righi note (1993: 70) regarding migration into Europe in the 1990s, migration flows can also emerge and evolve "without geographical or colonial ties between the sending and the receiving countries".

3. Given the level of specificity and the different scales adopted when we analyse a country such as Portugal or Brazil, we believe that it is more suitable to consider the center of this Lusophone migration system as bicephalous – as Portugal and Brazil – with both states having the potential to become the center during specific moments in history. However, in this study, we will mainly consider the Portuguese perspective.

4. For example, within the European migration system Hillmann (2000) identifies three subsystems: North-West-European, Central European, and Southern European.

5. The core consists of the most technologically advanced and powerful states. These states rise and fall over time, so that the core also shifts over time. Since the start of international maritime trade in Europe, the core has been centered on Spain and Portugal, followed by Holland and England and, more recently, by the United States. The states in the periphery are poorer, less technologically advanced, and often have economies based on the export of raw materials. In between the core and periphery lies the semi-periphery. This consists of states that are poor relative to the core, but would still be capable of making the transition to core status if the conditions were right. This might come about through the use of their low-wage advantage, which could allow them to take over some forms of production from the core countries, thus generating economic growth.

6. For a discussion of the notion of semi-periphery, see Peschard, 2005.

7. For a detailed characterization of Portugal as a semi-peripheral society, see Santos, 1993.

8. An example of a critical re-evaluation of the semi-peripheral status of Portugal and Boaventura de Sousa Santos' characterization can be found in Paulo de Medeiro's ''Voiding the Centre: Notes Towards a Reconfiguration of Postcolonial Studies'', in Anthony Soares (Ed.), *Towards a Portuguese Postcolonialism* (Bristol: Department of Hispanic, Portuguese and Latin American Studies, 2006): 27–46.

9. The idea of Portugal as a semi-peripheral country may represent the linking bond that has been lacking in our attempt to understand the idiosyncrasies of a country that has belonged to the European Union for over two decades and maintains this theoretical anomaly of exporting and importing labour for the same activity sectors and jobs.

10. Includes only credits and attraction of capital, and therefore excludes flows that indicate financial and/or speculative interests (e.g., flows that enter the country during one month as investment and then leave the country during the following month, also as investment).

11. The same bias can be found in Baganha's recent analysis of the immigration policy (2005). According to the author, the adherence of Portugal to the Schengen accord has made the country less attractive for potential immigrants coming from the African Portuguese-speaking countries, and

has at the same time integrated it into the "European migration system, in which one of the main migration pressures comes from the Eastern Europe" (Baganha, 2005: 35).

12. On this subject see Góis e Marques, 2006.

13. The first process of exceptional regularization took place in 1992, and the second in 1996.

14. The other two principles of the 1992 and 1996 regularizations were: a) to put an end to the exclusion of illegal immigrants from the European social model (namely to form labour and social protection). Withdrawal of workers from the informal economy and their formalization are associated with this principle; b) to reduce the risks of Portuguese nationals threatened by the growing marginalization and exclusion incurred by illegal immigration.

15. The 1992 regularization aimed at sending the message that Portugal would not accept more immigrants, the so-called "immigration zero", which was so popular by then in Europe; the 1996 regularization aimed at integrating illegal immigrants already present in the national territory.

16. It is important to mention that one of the objectives of this legalization process was to answer to the pressure of employers, mainly in the construction and public works sectors and in the tourist sector, who were dealing with a scarce labour force and clamoring for the contraction of regularized workers.

17. Number of legalizations until November 2004 (SEF, unpublished data).

18. The same could be observed regarding the legal framework for the acquisition of Portuguese citizenship.

19. It seems necessary to remove the national specificity from the segmented labour market theory and give it a supra-national character. That is, it is not the characteristics of the secondary labour market jobs that deter the nationals from such opportunities; rather, the existence of comparative advantages in the same occupations in another national context attract the national population, creating the necessary space for the introduction of immigrant manpower into the Portuguese market. In the long term, the immigrants' presence produces a significant change in the national labour market (e.g., construction), implying the transformation of its traditional role as an incorporating sector for low or unskilled workers (Baganha, and Peixoto, 1997: 32).

20. Interpenetration signifies a specific form of structural coupling of systems which develop in mutual co-evolution (Luhmann, 1977).

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