

# The Effects of the Economic Crisis

## and the Voluntary Return of Immigrants in Portugal

---

Margarida Reis (Student no. 20101538)

### ABSTRACT

The world is currently facing the most severe economic crisis since the Great Depression and the European Union (EU) is no exception. The economic recession has forced many businesses to close, the unemployment has significantly risen and the levels of consumption are the lowest point. This is the reality that Portugal is experiencing, as it is one of the EU most affected countries.

The Portuguese society has also been strongly affected by the economic turmoil with many people losing their jobs and significant cuts in the budget of many sectors as well as in social welfare provided by the state.

In the case of its immigrant population the consequences are more significant as many of them are employed in the sectors were more affected with the current crisis, and they eventually end up losing their jobs.

The purpose of this project is to analyze the effects of the economic crisis on the immigrant population in Portugal. The reality is that a great number of third-country nationals are experiencing severe and unsustainable difficulties. Many support services have noticed an increase number of immigrants requesting social support as food, accommodation, clothes debts or finding a job. Moreover, without job immigrants have more difficulties in renovating their residence permit and many risk becoming irregular migrants. These situations increase the risk of immigrants to develop mental disorders as depression and many of them find a solution in dependencies such as the alcohol.

Another consequence of this economic slowdown is the fact that many immigrants are choosing to return home because the conditions in Portugal have become unsustainable.

These are some of the consequences of the current crisis in Portugal and in many other European countries. This project will look upon the consequences of the economic recession among the immigrant population, giving a major focus on the number of immigrants wishing to return home, through the Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) program of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) operating in Portugal.

This research is based on my experience as a volunteer in the Jesuit Refugee Service in Portugal, a non-governmental organization whose work is to help migrants on their integration in Portugal. This project will also be analyzed having the “push and pull” theories with an economic approach as a background.

## Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>2. Methodology .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2.1. Theories used .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>2.1.1. Why not using other immigration theories .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>2.2. Quantitative and Qualitative Methods .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>2.3. Primary and Secondary Resources .....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>3. Theoretical Framework .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>3.1. The concept of Return Migration .....</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>3.2. Push and Pull factors Theory .....</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>3.2.1.3.2.1</b>	
<b>Critics.....</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>4. The Immigration in Portugal .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>4.1. Background .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>4.2. Recent Immigration Fluxes.....</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>4.3. The EU Policies on Return Migration.....</b>	<b>27</b>
<b>4.4. The Immigration Law in Portugal .....</b>	<b>29</b>
<b>5. The Current Economic Crisis .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>6. The Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) Program in Portugal .....</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>6.1. Eligibility to return through AVR .....</b>	<b>39</b>
<b>6.2. Stages of AVR Program .....</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>6.3. AVR and the Reintegration Program .....</b>	<b>41</b>
<b>7. The effects of the crisis and the voluntary return of migrants having a NELM prespective.....</b>	<b>42</b>
<b>7.1. The crisis impacts on immigration .....</b>	<b>43</b>
<b>7.2. Push and Pull factors in Portugal.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>7.3. The crisis and its effects as push factors for immigration.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>7.4. The economic crisis and the Assisted Voluntary Return of Migrants.....</b>	<b>52</b>

<b>8. Conclusion</b> .....	<b>59</b>
<b>9. References</b> .....	<b>63</b>

## 1. Introduction

Portugal, a traditional emigration country, has increasingly become a receptor of immigrants wishing for better live conditions and opportunities in Europe or looking for a way to have access to the European Union (EU) countries.

This rapid change from a sending to a receiving country has had effects in the Portuguese economy and society. Consistent immigration fluxes started arriving to Portugal, composed by immigrants attracted by the economic boost and the high demand for labor. Furthermore, with relatively soft policies on the entry of third country nationals, Portugal presented an attractive door to enter in the Schengen space.

However, in 2008 the world was presented with the worst global economic crisis since the Great Depression and many states got caught in an economic and financial turmoil, Portugal was no exception.

The consequences of this crisis are not totally identifiable because it has not finished yet and it is very extensive. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify some outcomes arising from the economic recession. Many EU Member-States are experiencing severe financial instabilities and a strong economic recession affecting numerous sectors of the state. The increased levels of unemployment, inflation and cuts in the budget in several sectors also affect the population.

The whole population in Portugal has suffered more or less its effects; hence immigrants are also disturbed by the financial turmoil.

I got more aware of this situation since I started working as a volunteer on the Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in Portugal in March. Looking for ideas and information for this project, rapidly I got the impression to develop my thesis in the issue of the economic crisis in the live of immigrants.

The JRS is a non-governmental organization which helps the integration of migrants and refugees in the host society. It is organized in several areas in order to provide a better and complete support where migrants are more in need.

I got the chance to work in two different but complementary offices, the Local Immigrants' Integration Support Centers (CLAII) and the Social Support Office. While the first one deals with legal issues, for instance visas and residence permits; the second office helps migrant having practical difficulties, namely with food,

housing and job. Both offices end up complementing each other because the issues are often interrelated and if an individual has a problem in one issue, commonly other problems are interconnected with it.

Just as I started my volunteer job at JRS I got the chance to notice that many of my colleagues were always mentioning the fact that few years ago they accompanied less people and that they were able to have more answers for the problems immigrants presented. Moreover, after few weeks there, I started to realize that majority of immigrants using our services complaint with the fact their living situation was much worse than before and today it was really hard to find a job, due to the economic crisis existent in Portugal.

Additionally, many immigrants also mentioned their wishes to return to their homeland as well as my colleagues also mentioned that the International Organization for Migration (IOM) was taking longer time to deal with the cases of Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) because the number of applicants was bigger than before.

These situations altogether caught my attention to the problematic of the current financial crisis and the life of immigrants in Portugal. Additionally I was also interested in exploring the reality of the voluntary return of migrants.

Therefore the research question of this project will be as follows:

***What are effects of the current economic crisis in the immigrant population in Portugal, namely in the voluntary return of migrants to their origin countries?***

With the question presented, this thesis is expected to explore the reality of the live of third-country nationals residing in Portugal and how their life has changed due to the financial crisis.

Furthermore the project also looks to understand if the number of voluntary returning migrants as increased or not due to the economic recession. Some authors believe the increase in the number of applicants and people returning does not mean that immigrants are leaving because of the current economic crisis (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, p. 30). However, some work colleagues expressed a different view and claim that the number of people using AVR has increased due to the economic recession.

In order to provide a complete analysis on this topic and have a view on the reasons why people decide to return to their homeland, it is vital to have some information not only about the situation in the receiving country, in this case in

Portugal, but it is also important to have an understanding about the situation in the origin state.

It is also determinant to have an some knowledge about the laws and policies related with this issue, therefore the research will include a brief overview on the on the Portuguese law on migration.

The crisis has not finished and some of its outcomes are not yet acknowledge or visible. In this sense this research will draw upon the literature existent and the direct sources of information which I got access through the JRS to help on the elaboration of this research.

With this investigation it I expect to gain more knowledge on the life of immigrants in Portugal and the difficulties many of them are going through because of the economic crisis. I also look forwards to acquire expertise on the AVR programs and how are they working now during recession.

## **2. Methodology**

The purpose of this thesis is to establish a connection between the current economic and financial crisis in the life of immigrant population, namely to identified and understand how does the crisis affect the life of third-country nationals in Portugal and the effects it might have on the voluntary return of immigrants to their home places.

### **2.1 Theory used**

The research in social sciences has developed through patterns of dominant values and ideas on how the society works and how it should be studied. These patterns often create line of thought, helping investigators to understand a determined issue or reality. If the patters are organized they can be considered theories, meaning “ a group of concepts, definitions and prepositions inter-related, which present a systematic vision of a certain phenomenons, specifying the relations established

between variables, whose main goal is to explain and predict phenomena” (Kerlinger, 2002).

Theories have several functions, one of the most relevant is to explain why, how and when a certain event occurs. Furthermore, they also help to systematize and put in order the knowledge about a determinant phenomenon. Another function related to the role of the theory is to predict, anticipate how a certain event is going to occur and manifest (Sampieri, Collado, & Lucio, 2006, p. 72).

### *Using an Economic Theory*

In order to analyze the connection between the current economic crisis and the return migration in Portugal, this study will use an economic approach based on “push and pull” theories. The limitations and weaknesses of this type of approaches are known. They can overlook historical, cultural and sociological aspects of migration. It is quite demanding and complex to have a holistic view of the whole process of return migration with all the factors involved. The reason why an economic approach is going to be used has two justifications.

Firstly, the current global crisis, which is having strong effects in the EU countries, is economic. The instability of the financial markets and its consequences, for instance in the volatility of prices and high levels of unemployment, have mainly an economical explanation. For sure other areas are also affected, but is the in economic and financial sphere where the effects are stronger.

Secondly, during my experience with the voluntary return program at the JRS the main reason why migrants decide to return is connected with economic factors. The first explanation given by immigrants when deciding to return to their origin countries was the unemployment and the lack of financial resources to stay with in Portugal.

Furthermore, the other consequences of the financial crisis in the life of economic migrants are also related with economic issues. For example, the risk of becoming homeless and the lack of food are deeply connected with economic scarcities.

Therefore, this study will use the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) as the main theory to answer to our research question. Often in research on social sciences it is pertinent the use of more than one theory, to study, explain and predict a determinant phenomenon in a more complete way (Sampieri, Collado, &



Lucio, 2006, p. 73). Additionally, some features of the Neoclassic theory will also be described and used in the analysis as they can help explain and give another insight in some issues on voluntary return of migrants.

### **2.1.1 Why not using other immigration theories?**

There are a number of other theories developed on the issues of migration. They differ on the approach taken and on the ideas of why people migrate and how do they integrate. They also have different explanations on the subject of return migration.

#### *The Structuralist theories*

The structural theories emerged as a response to the Neoclassical approach. Generally these theories note that the economic power is unevenly and structurally distributed between developed and developing countries and therefore people have unequal access to resources. In the structuralist view people have no free choice to migrate. They are forced to move from developing to developed countries because of the structure, in order to have better life conditions. In what concerns the return migration, the structuralist approach notes that the return migration depends also on the institutional and social context where migrant lives. This paradigm focuses on the impact that the returnees have on their origin societies after their return and their capacity to apply the experience they acquired abroad in their communities (Cassarino, 2004, p. 259). Moreover, the structural theory also notes that the returnee needs to readapt to the social changes occurred in its home country while we was abroad in order to have a successful return. This readjustment time is shorter or longer depending how long the returnee emigrated.

The structuralist theorists end up focusing their study on the relation between the return migration and the development of the origin places and communities, under the influence of power structures.

This theory could be more useful if this research was focused on the reintegration of returnees on their origin countries.

#### *The Transnational theories*

The transnational theories developed to explain the consistency of migration fluxes and the social and economic linkages established between the origin and the receiving states, even when the migrant is abroad. In this sense they recognize that while abroad, the individual still gets in contact with their home communities and therefore their personality and character ends up being influenced by the host society where the immigrants are living and by the origin communities which the immigrant still maintains contact with while outside through transnational links. These theories advocate that immigrants return when they see they have accomplished the financial and informational goals (Cassarino, 2004, p. 264).

They recognize the idea of migrating again, and the return is not the end of the migration cycle. Our case study is going to be focused on the IMO program of voluntary return and through this program the returnee is not allowed to enter in the EU for a period of 3 years.

Moreover, as our focus is going to be on the current economic crisis, which has major effects in the EU countries, it seems very unlikely that a returnee will be willing to go back again to Europe while the situation is still problematic.

The transnational theory can be very helpful in the event an investigator is analyzing the relations between sending and receiving countries to explore the reintegration processes for return migration.

## **2.2- Qualitative and Quantitative Methods**

In order to answer to our problem- formulation, it is imperative a good research plan to identify all the possible variables related with our topic and the hypothesis that we should consider when analyzing the phenomenon.

The research in social sciences is marked by the dichotomy between two different methods, the quantitative and qualitative.

The quantitative method as its basis on the positivist doctrine which advocates the use of methods of natural sciences to the study of the social reality. It admits the existence of previous basic regularities, expressed in laws and empirical relations. The understanding and explanations of a certain reality should be supported by empirical evidences and by the systematic, certified, measurable and replicated knowledge (Moreira, 2007, p. 48). Generally, in quantitative research, one or more hypothesis to

answer to our problem formulation are outlined and the objective of the research is run experiments in order to prove or not the veracity of the postulates considered.

Differently, the qualitative methods assume that the social world is based upon social constructions and reconstructions of symbols and concepts. The qualitative research looks to describe acutely the basic and center point of the research-question. It uses intensive investigation to study a certain phenomenon and often gives little importance to standardize and comparative researches (Moreira, 2007, p. 49).

Comparing both methods, the quantitative research studies a certain event can be manipulated by submitting it to experiments, controlling the possible variables that might affect it, in order to better understand the effect each component had in the a particular phenomenon. Conversely, the qualitative approach studies the facts in a more subjective and constructed way and uses more flexible means to capture information, for instance the use of a conceptual and metaphoric language. In their research, the qualitative investigator looks for the reality and the social life without any control of variables.

While the quantitative research looks to provide generalizations and ample results on a certain phenomenon and establishes comparisons between similar studies as well as allows the phenomenon to be restudied, the qualitative research give more significance to the interpretative richness of the elements and the overall result of the research. The qualitative results are characterized by their flexibility.

The quantitative methods have been more used in natural sciences while the qualitative one are more used in social sciences.

The existence of these two different methods of research also implies the use of different techniques to collect information as well as different means to analyze it.

As far as it concerns the techniques used, the quantitative methods include the use of surveys and questionnaires while the qualitative techniques encompass the participant observation and qualitative interviews.

The data obtained for the study is in numerical and statistic form in the case of quantitative method, while the words, pictures or objects formed the type of data resulted from a qualitative approach.

In this specific research both quantitative as well as qualitative approaches are going to be used. The triangulation of the diverse methods of research has as main goals the possibility to get a more profound insight in the research topic to validate

certain results or simply to have another viewpoint on the same event (Olsen, 2004, p. 3).

In this research, the first contact with this topic was made through the appointments made at JRS, where I was helping immigrants searching for a job. In some sort of casual conversation I began to know their stories, their dreams and their hopes with migration. The information collected through these informal conversations is an example of a qualitative method to gather information on this thesis' topic.

Furthermore, quantitative methods were also used to obtain information. In this case, unorganized data on the Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) program was systematized and later statistics were created. Other statistics were also created after the analysis of the several questionnaires filled out by the applicants of the AVR programs. The combination of both quantitative as well as qualitative techniques helps to have both a numerical as well as a more personal understanding on how the crisis is affecting the live of immigrants in Portugal.

### *Nonprobability sampling*

It is important to highlight the fact that the questionnaires analyzed for this research correspond to a sample and not the whole universe of our analysis. Samples are commonly used in research projects in social sciences because usually it is unfeasible to make a direct study of the whole population referred in the research. The investigators choses samples which represent the most, the universe of people the study is focused on (Herek, G.).

There is a difference on how the sample is constituted. It can be probability sampling or nonprobability sampling. In the first case the sample is chosen randomly according to the rational of the probability theory, and there is more chances that the sample selected as higher chances to be representative of the population than the nonprobability sample. In the nonprobability sampling, the individuals are picked on the basis of their availability or on the judgment of the researcher.

In this research the nonprobability sampling was applied. The population used is this research were the JRS users coming to our office to apply for the AVR programs and those needing support to help and find a job. The researcher needs to be careful cause there is always the risk that the nonprobability sampling has higher

chances of not being so representative of the whole population, comparing to the probability sampling.

### **2.3 Primary and Secondary Resources**

To explore this topic, several types of resources, both primary and secondary were used. The primary source consists basically on my experience as a volunteer at JRS. During my volunteering, I got in contact with the reality of unemployed immigrants facing extremely severe difficulties due to the current recession in Portugal. I spoke with them and obtained valuable qualitative information on their cases. Likewise, I also got the chance to collect and organized the data existent on the AVR programs, which also helped me to achieve a greater insight on the issue of voluntary return. This constitutes primary data, as it has the information obtained has not been analyzed yet.

The secondary sources used in this project are academic articles and reports on voluntary return and also on the economic crisis made by professionals in this area. It is secondary source, because data was already analyzed and written by other person (Thomas, 2009, p. 31). It is important to use secondary data, cause it can give insights on a topic that were not possible to access through primary sources. Nevertheless, when using secondary data, it is important to bear in mind the intentions of the author who made the research and wrote it.

#### *The third country immigrant*

Throughout the project, the term immigrant generally refers to third-country immigrants. In the EU legislation there is a difference between the immigrants coming from EU/EEA countries and those coming from other countries not included in this group. Those migrants are commonly known as third-country nationals. In this project in order to simplify the writing, the term immigrant refers to the individuals migrating from outside the EU and Schengen space, which means, they belong to the third-country nationals group.

### *The Portuguese legislation*

As the focus of this project is the return migration, it is important to understand is the legislation concerned with this topic. The Portuguese immigration policy is very extensive; therefore it is important to emphasize the rules more related with this matter.

As it is going to be demonstrated after, one of the main reasons for people decide to migrate as to do with their legal status in the host country. For that reason this project will explore the norms related with the legal stay in national territory.

Many of these rules result from the transfer of EU directives and policies into national policy, it is also relevant to have some insight on the European immigration law, especially those related with the return migration. Therefore a brief overview of the EU regulations will be the starting point in the chapter on legislation.

The economic crisis is still occurring, the EU Member-States are still trying to figure out solutions to surpass the recession and stabilize the financial markets in the euro zone. The future is still unpredictable and it is possible that some of the consequences of the financial turmoil are not visible yet. The same thing occurs in what concerns the immigration fluxes to Europe, it is still not possible to have a hole understanding on their situation, how are they going to develop and how is going to be the live and the integration of immigrants in EU Member-States if the crisis is to endure. For that reason the results and conclusions of this research are subject to change and revision

To have an understandable and comprehensive overview on the research-question of this thesis this research is organized in different chapters.

In the first section, the theoretical background of our analysis, in this case the push and pull factors theory and the NELM approach are going to be described and explained. Furthermore the concept of return migration is also going to be outlined and explored in the same section.

The next chapter is focused on the immigration in Portugal. A brief historical description about the immigration fluxes is going to be presented as well as the immigration laws and practices on immigration, and more specifically on return.

Portugal is a fully participant member of the EU and the Schengen Agreement. Hence a concise overview on the main EU directives related with return migration is also included in this chapter.

The chapter that follows gives a succinct description of the current financial crisis, its origins and some of its effects. It is a very complex and extensive subject, therefore the description presented in this research will be more focused on the relation between the financial crisis and the consequences of it on migration.

As this research will be more concentrated on the voluntary return, the next section is dedicated to this topic. The practices of assisted voluntary return in Portugal are going to be explored as well as the IOM project on reintegration of returnees in the origin state is also a subject presented in this segment.

The chapter that follows consists in the analysis of this research question. The information obtained through statistics as well as through informal qualitative interviews is going to help explain the effects of the economic crisis in the live of immigrants in Portugal and how a growing number of migrants is participating in AVR programs. The analysis is also going to be backed-up not only by statistics and interviews, but also by literature existent on this topic.

In the last chapter of this study, the answer to our research question and the conclusions taken from this investigation are going to be presented.

### **3. Theoretical Framework**

#### **3.1 The concept of Return Migration**

Return Migration is a quite unexplored topic on migration studies. Since the 19th century it is acknowledged the existence of movements of migrants returning to their origin country, however, until nowadays this topic remains slightly analyzed.

Generally, return migration can be defined as “the movement of a person returning to his/her country of origin or habitual residence usually after spending at least one year in another country. This return may or may not be voluntary. Return migration includes voluntary repatriation” (IOM, 2004, p. 56)

The reality of return migration is complex and dynamic, with several actors and issues at stake.

The difficulties in studying and conceptualizing this type of migration have to do with the lack of measurement and statistics. Governments usually have data in the number of individuals entering in their territory; however, the number of people leaving is harder to collect. The recent studies on the relation between migration and development brought up the reality of the return migration and the need to explore it more acutely (Cassarino, 2004, p. 254).

The IOM distinguishes three types of return migration (IOM). First, there is the voluntary return without compulsion, on which the immigrant volunteers himself to go back home whenever he wishes. Secondly, the voluntary return under compulsion occurs when the permit to stay or a temporary protected status comes to an end and the immigrant decides to go home. The last category is the involuntary return, a deportation of an immigrant by the authorities of the host state.

Together with the border control and the regulation of the asylum procedures, return migration constitutes an instrument for governments to manage migration, namely to prevent irregular immigration. It is also a mechanism of sovereignty by the state, who is entitled to decide who is allowed to enter and stay in its territory and who is not.

Also related with this subject, it is important to understand that there are different types of migrations and therefore the reasons for people to return also vary. In the case of mass displacements due to natural catastrophes, people may decide to return when the situation back home is safe and viable. In the same line, people who decide to migrate due to war and conflict may go home when the situation is less dangerous and peaceful. Differently, an economic migrant, who decides to emigrate to find a better job and increase his incomes abroad, can decide to return, when his goals were accomplished or contrary, when his stay did not bring any positive results and he feels it is better to go back home. Lastly, another type of return has to do with the expulsion and deportation of migrants entering or living irregularly in the host state.

It is possible to conclude that return migration includes a very heterogeneous group which can comprise: asylum seekers, refugees whose protection ended, illegal immigrants, migrants with expired work and residence permits and legal migrants



who wish to return to their home. These different types and categories are not linear and there are people who can be included in the different categories. For instance, there are economic migrants entering in a country legally and misfortunately end up becoming irregulars and deported to their origin countries.

The return migration has effects in all countries involved in the process. The entrance of immigrants in the host country causes impacts in the national immigration system as well as in the economy and in the society. Therefore, their return will also affect these areas. Additionally, the returning country is challenged by its capacity to economically and social absorb and reintegrate the returnees, through programs and initiatives. This situation can be even more defiant when large sums of returnees arrive (IOM, 2004).

In return migration some risks and problems may arise. The IOM identifies two main issues and challenges that might occur in the return migrations (IOM, 2004). First, the reintegration of migrants back in the origin country is vital for a successful return. It is important the existence of reintegration programs promoting a sustainable return of their natives.

Secondly, the return is at risk to be abandoned, when the returnee is moved to a transit place and there is lack of means for him to return home. It is possible that the returnee will be stuck in the transit country and decides to go back home through irregular means.

To avoid these situations it is crucial the existence of a viable return policy promoting: the voluntary return of migrants as a first option; the dignity, and safety of the returning movements; a sustainable reintegration of the returnee; and partnerships between host, transit and origin countries.

In the last years, the issue of return migration has become more publicized and discussed among governments, international organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the civil society when managing migration. This type of migration requires the work and interaction between several actors, both in the immigration country, as well as in the origin country, where the migrant is returning too. For this reason, several interests and intentions are at stake.

The cases of forced and involuntary return are usually dealt by government authorities while the case of voluntary return are supported by international organizations and NGOs (European Migration Network, 2007, p. 6).

The return migration can help develop and strengthen partnerships between sending, transit and receiving countries. Governments develop programs for returnees and share information among them which can bring relevant benefits for all the elements involved. International organizations also play an important role in developing programs of return migration. They create partnerships mediate the relations between origin and host countries and assist them engaging activities related with this reality. Often they fund the expenses of the returning trip and support the reintegration of the migrants at home, for instance, they provide training for entrepreneurship or give financial support for the returnee to develop a small business, as it is the case of IOM.

The existence of partnerships between countries and other organizations is also helpful to guarantee the human rights and the dignity of the returnees in this process.

In Portugal, the voluntary return of migrants is supported by the IOM. Together with Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras (SEF)<sup>1</sup> and immigrants' support centers and organizations. Together they organize and assist the voluntary return of migrants. This reality will be explored further on chapter 6.

What concerns this research, our focus will be on the voluntary return of migrants in Portugal using the Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) Program of IOM. Volunteer return is the action of returning to the country of origin, transit or even another third country, on the free will of the immigrant (IOM, 2004, pp 70). It can be assisted or independent, varying on the support the individual receives for his journey to return.

The AVR is a more narrow conception of voluntary return, it can be defined as “the provision of (logistical, financial and/or other material) assistance for the voluntary return of a returnee” (EMN, 2010, p. 146).

---

<sup>1</sup> SEF- Service of Border Control and Aliens is the Portuguese's state agency responsible for implementing the government's immigration and asylum policies and laws.

### 3.2 Push and Pull factors Theory

Migration movements are multifaceted, diverse and they encompass several factors and dynamics creating a complex network of interactions. The analysis of these movements requires the work of different disciplines and subjects as economics, history, geography, demography or sociology. It is difficult to develop a general theory on migration which encompasses equilibrium of these several courses. For this reason there is no general theory on migration, but a set of theories with different approaches and paradigms on migration movements (Haas, 2008, p. 2).

The New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM) is going to be used as the background theory in the analysis of this study.

This theory has an economic character and its roots go back to the nineteenth-century, with the systematic theory on migration by Ravenstein. In his theory it is assumed that people migrate from low-income areas to high-income places as well as from densely to more sparsely populated regions (Haas, 2008, p. 4). These laws on migration gave origin to several paradigms relating economics with migration for instance the Neoclassical Theory, the NELM as well as the Dual Labor Market Theory.

The NELM emerged in the 1980's as an upgrade to the Neoclassical approach which had been the dominating theory among researchers by that time. It followed the Neoclassical lines in which the causes of migration result from a combination between push and pull factors. In this sense, "push factors" in the origin countries persuade people to migrate to states whereas "pull factors" attract people to establish there. "*push factors* include demographic growth, low living standards, lack of economic opportunities and political repression, while *pull factors* include demand for labor availability of land, good economic opportunities and political freedoms" (Castels & Miller, 2009). Hence, migration is seen as an equation between costs and benefits.

While the neoclassic theory as an individualistic approach in which the decision to migrate comes from the individual itself, the NELM advocates that migration is not an individual option, but a choice decided in the household or group that the person belongs to. Humans are social creatures, interacting with their peers in groups and networks. According to Stark and Bloom (1985, p. 173), individuals compared themselves with reference groups generating feelings of satisfaction or

deprivation, and psychics of costs and benefits. People migrate to change and improve his position towards a reference group or to change his reference group. In this sense, individuals with higher levels of deprivation are more impelled to migrate than those living with higher satisfaction towards their reference groups. Furthermore, groups with imbalanced incomes, increase the patterns of deprivation and consequently their members are more likely to migrate.

The main feature of NELM theory is its non-individualistic approach. Conversely from the Neoclassical approach, in this paradigm the decision to migrate is neither individual nor solitary, it is a jointly decision from the future migrant and his social group. For example, a family facing high levels of deprivation when comparing to its reference group, may suggest to some of its members to migrate in order to increase their satisfaction and well-being. Therefore, according to this theory, the decision to migrate is not individual, but it encompasses the goals and expectations of the family too. In a household, people decide to migrate as “a strategy to diversify income sources, obtain capital for investment and provide insurance against production and income risks for non-migrating household members “(Sindi & Kirimi, 2006, p. 9). According to Taylor (1999, p.75), the migrant and his family have a sort of informal contracts which bond them to provide income insurance among themselves.

This connection between the migrants and its roots back home also accounts in the risks and costs of migrating in the Neoclassical view. In this sense, if a migrant has strong attachments back home, the costs of return are lower. Conversely, if a migrant is very well social established in the hosting country, the cost of going home are higher (Constant & Massey, 2002, p. 10).

The role of the household on migration is also evidence by the remittances sent by migrants. Remittances are sort of a payment that sending countries receive for the workforce that they lost with immigration (Taylor, 1999, p. 67). They can constitute an important income for the family staying in the sending country, for their savings or investments in new activities. At the same time they reduce the negative effects on capital and labor left by the person who migrates. Clearly this situation only occurs when the value of remittances is greater than the value “lost “by the emigration of the family member. Some researchers also note that the effects of remittances also vary according “to environmental (e.g., resource endowments) market, and economic

policy contexts in which migration decisions are taken and into which migrant remittances subsequently flow” (Taylor, 1999, p. 65).

All things considered, this theory notes that migration is only valuable when their benefits are higher than their losses. It is expected that migration brings positive results both for the individual who migrates as well as his household.

Another point in the NELM theory is the idea that the arrival of new migrants is usually beneficial for previous migrants. For instance, the entrance of new workers in a certain job may indicate a promotion of older employees to higher and skilled positions, as the newcomers take their previous functions and tasks.

In the case where there are several options as destination countries, the existence of previous migrants in one place, might be determinant in the decision of forthcoming migrants. These first migrants might provide important information on helping future individuals making their decision where to migrate (Stark & Bloom, 1985, p. 176).

Some advocators of this theory suggest that migration is seen as provisional. Individuals migrate temporally to earn and save money and eventually, after achieving their goals, they will return home. As a consequence, the social status of the individual in the receiving country is not so important. The main foundation of prestige at home is the social status obtained by the consumption with earnings obtained abroad.

Henceforth, the NELM theorists give little importance to the type of work that migrants perform or the social status that they have in the receiving country. The importance is given to the social status achieved back home, with the earnings obtained through migration. In this sense, the individual only needs to obtain money to achieve the migration purpose for him and his household. It explains why many immigrants subject themselves to low-paid jobs, in a market where the competition to low-skilled jobs is getting higher.

The Neoclassic theory has a different view, in which the prestige of the job in the receiving country is important in a non-monetary way. In this theory, the individual is mobilized to look for jobs where their human capital can be higher and maximized.

Conceiving migration as something temporary which main goal is for migrants to earn money and improve their living conditions for them and for their household, the NELM theory notes that return migrants are not to be seen as failures, but successes (Constant & Massey, 2002, p. 11). They are seen a success because whatever the type of job they got in the immigration country, they are always better off with higher incomes and increased savings than if they stayed in at home. When they achieve the earnings and savings they planned, migrants can return home. They invest their profits in their home communities and their return is seen has the final stage in the migration process.

Conversely, the Neoclassic theorists, perceive returned migrants as failures, as individuals who estimated wrongly their costs and benefits of migration. Return occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected (Cassarino, 2004, p. 255).

Despite their differences on return migration, both the Neoclassic and the NELM theories have similar approaches on the reasons for people to migrate, that it is the reason why they are part of the group of “pull and push” theories on migration.

Concerning the immigration policies in the receiving countries, the NELM believes that the supply side of migration (people migrate to those countries presenting better economic, job opportunities and life opportunities) is a motive for countries to loosen their borders and to adopt a more open immigration policy. Furthermore the fact that the NELM considers the great role of the household in the whole process of migration impels governments to create investment programs in the sending countries.

The NELM theory impel to have an understanding both in migrants’ sending countries, those who have the push factors, as well as it is crucial to know about the reality of the receiving countries, those who contain the pull factors.

### 3.2.1 Critics

Comparing with the Neoclassical theory, the NELM has a more sociological and anthropological approach, however it remains a paradigm where the economic factors prevail. The capital, the credit markets, the role of emigration to increase the levels of investment and consumption of the household in the sending country, show us the role of economics in this theory.

For this reason, there are critics in this type of theories. Some researchers believe that migration cannot be exclusively analyzed with an economic approach. Many believe that focusing only in “push and pull” factors is insufficient to have a complete understanding on migration. States can outline the entry of immigrants not only through “the demand of workers but demographic or humanitarian considerations may also be important (Castels & Miller, 2009, p. 25). Furthermore the politics on refugees and asylum seekers also demonstrate that economy is not the only factor determining migration movements.

#### *On return migration*

As it was mentioned above, the major critics on NELM and Neoclassic theory had to do with their strong economic approach. The same thing occurs when dealing with return migration. Many researchers, as Cassarino, believe that these two theories only focus on the economic and financial reasons to return home (Cassarino, 2004, p. 257).

Firstly, The fact is that many other elements may influence the decision to go back. It is important to understand what is the social, economical and political environment back home and in what level do these factors affect the decision of an immigrant to return. It is determinant to recognize the influence of all those variables both in the origin country as well as in the host country, to fully understand the causes for return.

Secondly, Cassarino also notes that immigrants are seen as exclusive human capital, only in financial terms. More than economic attire, migrants are human beings with feelings and needs which need to be acknowledged in all phases of the migration process.

Finally, both theories lack research in the afterwards of return. They do not refer where do immigrants return nor what are the experiences a in their household after their returning. It is important to understand the changes occurred in the household after the migrant returns and the effects that the incomes of the returnee had both in his family and as well as in his community.

## **4. The immigration in Portugal**

### **4.1 Background**

Portugal had always been an emigration country. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, relevant fluxes of emigrants left the territory pursuing a better life in countries like the African colonies (Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau Mozambique, São Tomé e Príncipe) Brazil, Canada, United States of America (USA) and Venezuela. Until the 1950's 80% of the Portuguese emigration was to Brazil (Royo, 2005, p. 114).

After the World War II and in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the new migratory fluxes were introduced. By that time, Western Europe was in need of workforce to help rebuild what war had devastated. Many workers from Southern Europe emigrate to occupy the job vacancies in need. Portugal was no exception. The government created a special agency, the *Junta de Emigração*, to regulate the emigration fluxes. A quota system was established allowing the emigration of 30 000 people per year. These policies on migration were created to satisfy the labor demands in Portugal and the needs in the colonies, and to profit from the remittances sent by those abroad. The list of the main destination countries included: France, Germany, Luxembourg and Switzerland. Germany had implemented a program of guest workers to work mostly in the construction sector to help rebuild the country. Additionally, the economies of these states were flourishing with many job vacancies available.

At the same time, Portugal was facing very difficult times. The totalitarianism of Salazar's government, the closeness and traditionalism of the country, the menace of going to fight in the war with the resurgent colonies in Africa and the little



prospects for a bright future, lead a large number Portuguese to migrate to Western Europe. Furthermore, there were many areas in Portugal that persisted underdeveloped and the economy remained stagnant.

With the quota system, many Portuguese, around 36% between 1950 and 1976, decide to leave the country irregularly. In ten years around 1,5 million people left Portugal, 1million of them migrate to France. This situation had major effects in the national economy as well as in the Portuguese demography (Baganha, 2003, p. 2).

#### **4.2 Recent Immigration Fluxes**

With the Carnation Revolution on April 1974, the dictatorship was abolished and Portugal gradually transformed to a more liberal and democratic state. People were free to migrate and to return. At the same time, the decolonization processes in the African colonies lead to the return of many living in the Portuguese possessions.

This was a turning point in the migration history in Portugal. From a traditional emigration state, Portugal steadily started to become a country of immigration.

The immigration movements to Portugal can be categorized in three phases (Peixoto, 2009, p. 186).

The first phase occurred in the years that followed the revolution, when a large number of Portuguese return home. A major number of African natives also composed the migration flux. However, with the changing of the law on nationality, many Africans lost their Portuguese nationality and constituted the foreign inflow of immigrants arriving in Portugal. The openness of the Portuguese society and economy and the need for labor, connected with the unpredictability and instability of some decolonization processes, pressed many Africans to migrate to the former colonizer. Throughout the following decades “inflows of foreigners coming from the Portuguese ex-colonies became self-sustained, as a consequence of the network effect of immigration, the structural need of foreign manpower in the Portuguese labor market, and push factors in sending countries” (Peixoto, 2009, p. 186).

Secondly, the influx of Brazilians, although it always existed, had a significant rise from the 1960's. Since then, the number has progressively increased, especially after 1998 until today. In the 90's there was a relevant flux of Brazilian dentists, who

could practice in Portugal because of a partnership between the two countries. They belong to what many called as the first phase of Brazilian migrants in Portugal. In this phase the migration movements were characterized by the arrival of high-skilled workers. In the new century the situation changed, and the entrance of low-skilled Brazilian workers became the more preeminent than the other skilled migrants. This corresponds to the second vague of Brazilian immigration to Portugal, which mainly work on low-skilled jobs in construction and restaurants.

The third phase of the recent immigration to Portugal started in the end 90's and early 2000's and was constituted by the arrival of a relevant number of Eastern European migrants. In 1991, Portugal joined the Schengen area and abolished the frontiers with the other Schengen members. By this time, the Western European states started to adopt a more restrictive policies on migration, therefore Eastern migrants opted to access the EU through its Southern European countries where rules and practices were not so restrictive yet. The reality is that these countries did not become centers of transit to immigrants. By that time, the economies in the south were growing and there were many job opportunities, therefore many Eastern immigrants fixed permanently in these countries like Portugal, Italy or Spain. As the years passed by, the fluxes from the Eastern to the Southern states become more steady and consistent. The major nationalities residing in Portugal are: Ukrainians, Romanians, Moldavians and Russians (Fontes, 2011). By 2005, the number of Ukrainians living in Portugal was the same as Brazilians and Cape Verdeans (Castels & Miller, 2009, p. 113).

It is possible to understand that nowadays Portugal is both a sending and a receiving country of migrants. Peixoto (2009, p. 188) briefly summarizes the reasons why Portugal has been a country of immigration in the last decades. In the first place, the structural processes in the society and in economics, namely the employment dynamics, encourage the arrival of immigrants. Secondly, the changes in the immigration policy also made more easier for immigrants to enter. Recently, in the years of 1992, 1996 and in 2001-2003 the government implemented extraordinary legalization processes to regulate migrants staying irregularly in national territory. Tens of thousands of people regularized their situation and obtained residence permit to stay (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, p. 22). The third reason why the flows were maintain, has to do with what the author metions as the "network effect". The existence of

social networks, helps migrants to decide on their migration, namely the place to choose. The existence of relatives, friends, or individuals from the same country or region of origin can help the new migrants to cope with administrative and bureaucratic processes and provide them with support on personal issues. Moreover these social networks often help the settlement and the creation of communities in an immigrant area (Castels & Miller, 2009, p. 29). Another reason for the continuing fluxes towards Portugal is related with the irregular arrival in the territory through clandestine organizations and smugglers. As a Schengen member, Portugal implements the directives and practices adopted at the EU level. Nowadays the EU has been adopting more restrictive rules which makes harder to access its territory. Therefore, many migrants decide to enter in the EU using irregular means, as smugglers. There is a relevant number of clandestine organizations and actors involved in the immigration fluxes. Lastly, the environment and living conditions in the home country are a determinant factor for a migrant to make his decision to migrate. If a migrant sees little perspective for his future, in their origin country, he is “pushed” to leave to find better living conditions abroad. In the case of Portugal, more specifically, many of his immigrants are coming from poorer and less developed countries, for instance in Africa and Eastern Europe.

#### **4.3 The EU Policies on Return Migration**

Being a member of the EU and a participant of the Schengen agreement, Portugal incorporates European laws and directives in its national law on immigration. In the recent years, with Hague and Stockholm programs as well as with the Amsterdam and Lisbon treaties, the EU has gained more competencies in areas related to a state’s internal affairs. A European common approach has been designed over the years towards migration and integration among the EU member-states, as well as for those, not belonging to the EU, who are just members of the Schengen agreement.

The role of the EU and the partnership among its members in what concerns immigration has increased over the last decades. Since the Amsterdam treaty many issues on immigration policy have moved from the intergovernmentalism approach to a common decision-making (IOM, 2009). Several regulations and directives have

been created in order to establish a common immigration and asylum policy for the Union. It has been a hard way, and there is still a lot to do in order for that to happen. Meanwhile the states are continuously working together to improve policies, partnerships and practices to create an area of freedom, security and justice.

Hailbronner and Gehrke (2005), p.10), not only recognize this internal level of policies resulting from the cooperation among member-states, but they also note the existence of an external dimension on return between origin, host and transit countries, this is demonstrated by the partnerships and programs developed by the origin, transit and receiving the countries involved in the process of return.

At the EU level, it is important to highlight some of directives adopted which are related with the return migration. It is also significant to understand how does the labor migration policy works, as it is this type of immigrants those who are going to be explored in our analysis and those you are at a bigger risk to become more affected with the current economic crisis.

In what concerns the policies related to return migration, the EU has already adopted several directives on this subject. For instance it has agreed, in 2001, on the directive 2001/40/EC about the mutual recognition of decisions on the expulsion of third country nationals, where Member-States compromise themselves to recognize an order from expulsion from another Member-States and to help the issuing Member-States.

Closely related with this decision, three years later, the Council of the European Union adopted, in 2004, a decision defining the practicalities of the financial burden-sharing between Member-States involved in an expulsion of a third country national with no means to pay the trip (Council Directive 2004/191 EC). In the same year, the European Council approved a decision “to coordinate joint removals by air, from two or more Member States, of third-country nationals who are subjects of individual removal orders” (Council Decision 2004/573/EC).

On the year before, the EU had agreed providing assistance in return flights requiring transit in another EU state.

The Return Directive (Directive 2008/115/EC) approved in 2008, sets out the principles for returning third-country irregular immigrants. This directive allows Member-States to detain irregular migrants for up to 18 months and prohibit their return to the EU for a period of 5 years. This directive is very controversial and raises

many concerns especially due to its provision of the 18 months which a migrant can be detained. However, a state can choose shorter periods of detention, for instance in Portugal, an irregular migrant cannot be detained for more than 60 days.

Nevertheless, in what concerns children and vulnerable people, the directive takes into account their delicate situation and call for special treatment in the case of the return of unaccompanied minors and the detention of vulnerable immigrants.

#### **4.4. Immigration law in Portugal**

Entering in the EU in 1986, by that time still called European Economic Community, and being a full participant of the Schengen Agreement since 1995, Portugal has experienced several organizational, administrative and political changes in the EU arena. For instance, it has witnessed the increase power that the EU has gained in the decision-making on the topic of immigration. In order to adapt and transfer the EU decisions and directives into the national law as well as to provide an effective and sustainable response to the nowadays demands on migration, Portugal has created a new immigration law.

On August 2007 the Act 23/2007 was approved, becoming the new immigration law on entry, stay and exit and expulsion of foreigner in national territory. This law also includes provisions on the permanent resident status.

Compared with the previous law, the act 34/2003, this new document is set to be more “realistic and balanced: supporting the legal immigration, discourage and invert irregular immigration, shorten bureaucracy, take advantage of the new technologies to simplify and accelerate process, to innovate solutions” (Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras).

As it was said before, this law also transposes the European directives and decisions into the Portuguese legislation. In this case, the article 2 has this function to transfer the decisions taken at the EU level.

This is a very extensive and comprehensive document encompassing all the areas related with the entry, the stay and the return of migrants, covering topics as becoming legal, family reunion, access to health and education, welfare system, recognition of academic qualifications, citizenship, voluntary return and judicial instruments to fight racism and xenophobia (ACIDI, 2009, p. 3).

For the purpose of this study it is important to take a look at the rules concerning the legal stay in national territory. Having documentation and regularization problems is one of the main elements when immigrants decide to return home. Therefore it is important to explore how the law works in this domain, how an immigrant can live legally in Portugal. As the EU citizens have a special status in other EU Member-States, the rules described in this section apply only to third country immigrants living residing in Portugal.

Many of the national rules on migration and legal stay are in accordance with the EU legislation and do not differ much from the reality of other EU Schengen members.

For a third countries citizens, with few exception for diplomats, to enter in Portugal it is required a valid passport, an adequate visa and a proof of sufficient means of financial support.

### *Visas*

There are visas conceded abroad and those obtained already in the national territory and they can be of different types: stopover, transit, short-stay or tourist visa, temporary stay, and residence visas.

Despite these different types of visas, some general requirements apply to most of the permits, in Portugal for the short-stay, the temporary stay and the resident visa.

It is only possible to obtain these types of visas immigrants who: “have not been subjected to an order to leave the country for which the period of prohibition of reentry into Portuguese territory has not yet expired; are not the subject of an alert issued by any of the Contracting Parties in the Schengen Information System for the purpose of refusing entry; are not the subject of an alert issued in SEF’s Integrated Information System for the purpose of refusing entry; have sufficient means of subsistence for the period of stay; are holders of a travel document (passport) which is valid for a period of time of at least 3 months greater than the envisaged period of stay; have travel insurance (ACIDI, 2009, pp. 13-20).

For the purposes of this study, these three types of visa (tourist, short-stay and residence) are those more related with the legal entrance and stay in the national territory, and therefore those more connected with the problematic of the return

migration. Moreover there is also a special visa, conceded for humanitarian reasons or because of national interests to those migrants who are not able to collect the documents required for normal visa.

Immigrants obtain visas depending on the reason why they decide to immigrate. However the circumstances and the real motives behind the arrival of an immigrant often differ from those specified in the visa. It is quite common a person arriving with a tourist visa, however his main goal is to find a job and stay in the host country. There are also many cases, whereas a person enters in Portugal with the temporary stay visa to accompany a family member for a health treatment, and ends up starting work and decides to stay.

The residence visa is the document which allows you to apply for a residence permit (Act 23/2007, Art.58). It is not an authorization of residence, it is valid for two entries in Portugal and it lasts 4 months. The residence visa can be of several types depending on the activities a person is engaging while residing in Portugal. The residence visa can be for: employment; self-employment; high skilled or research activities; study, professional internship or volunteering work; college and university students' mobility; and family reunion. In all these cases the immigrant has to prove, through documents the reason why he needs a residence visa. To obtain a residence visa due to employment, it is imperative the existence of a job contract. In the case of an self-employment, a proof of provision of services or a declaration of an investment in Portugal, are crucial to obtain this visa. For research, student, or volunteer visas it is essential the existence of a contract or a declaration form the entity where the person is going to work/ study. Finally, the attainment of a family reunion, the immigrant must prove a: "certified evidence of the claimed family relationship; passport or other valid travel document; evidence of sufficient means of subsistence; evidence of accommodation; consent to a criminal record check by SEF; and a criminal record certificate from the relevant authority in the applicant's home country and from any country where he resided for more than one year" (ACIDI, 2009, pp. 64-65). Other documents can also be required, for instance, in the case that one of the members of the family has an incapacity.

### *Residence Permit*

With a residence visa, an immigrant can obtain a residence permit to stay in Portugal. The residence permit is conceded to those wishing to stay in Portugal for more than six months. There are also different categories of residence permit; they correspond to the same ones as the residence visas. There are exceptional cases where a residence visa is not necessary to apply for a residence permit.

The Portuguese law also distinguishes between the temporary residence permit and the permanent residence permit.

The first category allows immigrants to stay in the national territory for a specific period of time. It “is valid for a period of one year, as of the date of issuing the respective title and is renewable for successive periods of two years” (Act. 23/2007, Art. 75). In order to obtain this temporary permit, the immigrant must: possess a valid residence visa, be registered in the social security system, not have been convicted by any crime punished with one or more years in prison sentence, not have any removal or banning order to enter nor an alert by the SEF’s Integration Information System (IOM, 2009, p. 439).

It is possible to renew the residence permit as long as the conditions on which the first residence was conceded still prevail. It is determinant that the foreigner has financial means of subsistence, possess an accommodation, has paid his taxes and was not convicted of any crime with a sentence of one or more years in prison. Although it is not explicitly described in the law, it is necessary to possess a work contract to get the residence renewed in the case that a person holds an employment residence visa. Nevertheless, if a immigrant is unemployed at the time of the renewal, he can still renew the document if he proves he possesses a sponsorship, a person with financial capacities to support him; or if he has a family member with a valid residence permit and he is able to apply to family reunion.

The second category, the permanent residence permit, allows foreigners to live in Portugal for an undetermined time. It does not have time limit, however it must be renewed every five years or whenever there is an modification in the personal details of the document.

In order to obtain this type of residence the immigrant must have “held a temporary residence permit for at least five years; during this period he has not been sentenced to a penalty exceeding one year imprisonment; have financial means of



subsistence and accommodation; and he has a basic command of the Portuguese language” (Act 23/2007, Art. 80). Once an immigrant obtains the permanent residence it is entitled to the same treatment as national citizens, for example in the access to health and education.

### *Work*

As what regards employment the immigration law, recognizes the legal entry of working migrants for job postings at the Institute of Employment and Professional Training (IEFP in Portuguese). The Portuguese, followed by the EEA citizens and legal residents from third-countries, have priority in these job openings than the third-country immigrants. This situation occurs either for short-term employment as well as for long-term employment opportunities (IOM, 2009, p. 42).

### *Entities involved on immigration in Portugal*

Only recently, Portugal started to receive an increased number of migrants. At the same time, its participation on the Schengen Agreement and the building of an area of freedom security and justice in Europe, demand more coordinated and planned policies in what concerns migration and integration issues.

The immigration policies and decision-making are under the Ministry of Internal Affairs jurisdiction. The application of the law is a responsibility of government entities as the police and, more important, the SEF. There are also a number of agencies and institutions helping their work.

The SEF is the responsible agency for the control of the arrival and stay of migrants in Portugal. Although the visas are usually conceded in the embassies, the SEF has the responsibility to emit temporary stay and residence visas. It often concedes transit, short-stay and special visas (IOM, 2009, p. 437).

In 1996, the Alto Comissariado para a Imigração e Diálogo Intercultural<sup>2</sup> (ACIDI) was created to help the creation, execution and evaluation of policies on immigration. It is directly under the cabinet of the Prime Minister and its main goal is to support the integration of immigrants in the Portuguese society. This Commission also plays an important role in helping the government to create policies on the

---

<sup>2</sup> High Commission for Ethnic Minorities and Immigration

subject of migration. Through the ACIDI there were created the National Immigrants Support Centers (CNAIs), which provide direct information and assistance to immigrants. They is also an important links between the government, organizations involved integration and the immigrants themselves (IOM, 2009, p. 436).

As the needs to help migrants increased there were also created the Local Immigrants' Integration Support Centers (CLAII). They are ramifications of the CNAIs established to alleviate the high demand of work at the national centers. Altogether, these centers often become one of the first contacts a newly arrived individual has with the reality of host society. These centers help migrants in several subjects, for example: providing information about the Portuguese law and the rights they possess; filling out applications for residence permits; or applying for social security number. They also support migrants in their search for work through their Professional Integration Offices (GIP) and they also can redirect them to other institutions or organizations that can help with other problems that may came up. It is also in these centers were immigrants can get information on the return policy and can apply for the AVR if they wish to do so.

Overall these centers provide the connection between the government policies and practices with the local reality of immigrants trying to integrate in the host society.

## **5. The current economic crisis**

This project attempts to establish a nexus between the current financial and economic crisis and the AVR of third country immigrants in Portugal.

The world is facing a serious financial crisis, having severe global effects and Europe is being severely affected. The first signs of financial instability began on the year of 2008 and rapidly it became one of the worst economic crises the modern world has faced.

It is impossible to dissociate the spread and strength of this problem with the globalization and the intensity of interdependencies existent in nowadays economies. Today the economic powers are not centered any longer in the core of 7 countries, and new economies started to emerge from the developed world, claiming their role in

current financial and trade affairs (Ghosh, 2011, p. 13). Both trade and financial markets have become more and more integrated and the rates of economic transactions have substantially increased.

The fact that the world economy is so interwoven today, creates a fast spread effect. In this sense, if a relevant anomaly occurs in a certain country, it is highly probable that other states will have some repercussions from that. Furthermore, also different sectors and different states are intrinsically connected and dependent.

This was the outcome that occurred with the current economic crisis. “Started as a sub-prime mortgage downturn in the housing market of the USA so quickly moved to its credit market and its banking system. It then spread to manufacturing, and soon thereafter nearly to all of the real economy, leaving millions of people both homeless and jobless and causing a sharp fall in output, income and trade” (Ghosh, 2011, p. 15). Both developed and developing countries were and still are affected by this recession. However its impact levels’ vary. The EU has been a region with quite expressive negative outcomes from this crisis. At the present moment the EU tries to find a common solution to surpass the recession and to support its Members-States in more fragile financial situations. However the effects of the crisis are not solely visible on the economic sphere. As it was mention before, other areas are also affected by the financial collapse in a domino effect, and migration is certainly one of them.

The deceleration of the economic activity and the decline of investments have brought the increase of joblessness. In the EU the unemployment rate has increased from 6,8% in March 2008 to 10,2% in March 2012 (Eurostat). Commonly, the lack of work and poverty go hand in hand. Without an employment or having a precarious job, many people see their savings gradually decreasing at the same time that the levels of global poverty increase.

Even if the crisis starts to be surpassed, the effects of its recovery in employment are only visible later on. First, the employers only start to recruit again when they are sure that the economy is back on track and that the government support to stimulate the economy is effective. Moreover, during the crisis many companies in the private sector, in order to avoid layoffs, tried to maintain their staff, often on a part-time basis, and with the financial support of the public sector. Therefore, in the event of a recovery, these staff will regain again their positions and the company will not be recruiting again until the situation is more stable and it becomes necessary to

add more people. Also, it will be very unlikely to see a rise in wages. As there are many people in need to have a job, the employers are more able to contract people on a temporary and a part-time basis, and more free to choose the wages they want to pay. It can become a “race to the bottom”, as many jobless people are willing to subject themselves to lower salaries and poor work conditions just to have a job.

The increase of employment opportunities also depends on the level of consumptions of the population. If people start to increase their consumptions, the demand for more goods and services will increase and eventually more jobs will be created (Ghosh, 2011, pp. 51-53).

It is possible to understand that we are evidencing a vicious circle, whereas the recover of one sector depends on the situation in the other sectors. For example, in order for economy to boost and jobs to be created, it is essential that the levels of consumption increase too. Well, this situation is only possible, if people have money to pay for their consumption, in turn, that is only possible if people are employed and receive a salary.

The recovery will occur when all the areas involved start to have a positive growth, and that is the challenge of the states, find solutions to boost their economies in a sustainable and interconnected way.

At the present moment, some economies, for example in the USA, show already some signs of recovery, although concrete results are yet to be seen. The case of Europe, more specifically in the Euro area, the situation is still complicated and volatile and some prospects of recovery are unnoticed.

As it was possible to understand, the crisis' effects are not solely in the economic and financial spheres, but also the political and social domains have suffered its negative impacts.

Governments try to survive and provide an effective solution to the economic collapse, having a number of pressures to be dealt with. On one side, the international community and organizations creates plans and loaning programs that need to be accomplished, while on the other side, governments also need to deliver a feasible solution for its citizens who become frustrated and concerned with the austerity measures, inflation and lack of employment.

The current economic crisis, specially its global impact, makes it one of the worst crisis of all time, many comparing to the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Portugal was not different from the other countries in term of the effects of the economic crisis. The unemployment rates achieved historical records and the prices rose. The EU in partnership with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), created a program of financial support to help Portugal to surpass the economy downturn and put its economy and finances in levels close to the Euro zone members. This extensive program required the Portuguese government to take very restrictive measures. For instance, the welfare system got severe budget cuts and many families experienced a decrease in financial support provided by the state; the wages in the government sector were freeze; the budget for several sectors (eg. health, education, etc) was reduced; some national holidays were cutoff; among other decisions ((IMF; ECB; CE, 2011).

Affecting many sectors in the society, the current financial crisis also had its impacts on immigration and the live of foreigners in Portugal. Many researchers consider that migrants are more vulnerable to its effects than the national citizens.

This reality is going to be explored and analyzed in the following chapters in order to expose the correlation between the AVR of migrants and the current economic crisis in Portugal.

## **6. The Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) Program in Portugal**

The focus of this project is on the voluntary return of migrants as one of the possible outcomes of the current economic crisis in Portugal. More specifically, the focus is going to be on the assisted voluntary return of migrants.

In Portugal the AVR is foreseen on the article 139 of the national law on migration (Act 23/2007). The Portuguese government supports the voluntary return of those migrants wishing to do so and who accomplish the requisites necessary. In 1997, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the IOM and the ACIDI established the AVR program in Portugal.

The IOM is the main organization responsible for the concretization of the return in Portugal. Until the middle of 2008, it was the only entity organizing the pre-departure, the counseling, the application process and the operational services until the departure of the returnee.

In the recent years Portugal has had two programs specialized in the voluntary return.

The first one, called *Sustentação do Retorno - Rede de Informação e Aconselhamento (SuRRIA)* lasted from December 2006, until May 2008. It was program co-financed by the European Commission, and the main difference from the previous voluntary return programs, is that it was not only directed to the immigrants in irregular situation notified to leave, but it was also envisaged to legal immigrants wishing to return to their homes (SEF, 2009, p. 7). Another novelty from this program was the decentralization of tasks and duties among several agencies and organizations. The delegations of SEF, several CLAI and CNAI offices located across the national territory and other social and immigrant associations help informing, filling out documents and paperwork and redirect the immigrants who wish to enter in the returning program to the IOM. Together these agencies constitute an extended network, facilitating the work of IOM.

The SuRRIA program did not have the reintegration component in the origin country, which exists in the current program.

The second program on AVR, the *Programa de Apoio ao Retorno Voluntário e à Reintegração*<sup>3</sup> (PARVR), started from June 2008 and it is the one in practice today. The funds of this program come from the IOM and the SEF. This new program is a continuation of the SuRRIA project and the guidelines and practices are very similar between them. It looks to improve the return of migrants through better information and focus on the reintegration in the home country.

Nevertheless this new project, includes a reintegration approach in the origin country, it can finance returnees endeavors in the origin country. This project will be explored further on.

Another difference from the SuRRIA, was that before the SEF had to pass a declaration for the migrant to leave, and in this new project it is not needed any

---

<sup>3</sup> Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration Program

longer. Despite this declaration was required before, many professionals in working on this project, believe that during the SuRRIA program, the process of returning was faster than before than now

In the case that an immigrant with a residence permit enters in the project, he should deliver his residence permit to SEF before the departure. After he leaves, the former immigrant is not allowed to enter in the Schengen area for the next 3 years. The Portuguese government has some exceptions and it admits the entrance of the immigrant if he repays the money that was given to him to return home or in the case it is attributed a special visa for humanitarian reasons (SEF, 2009, p. 21).

### **6.1- Eligibility to return through AVR**

This project works to help immigrants in a vulnerable situation who wish to return home but do not possess the sufficient financial means to support the costs of the return trip.

In order to be eligible for this project the individual interested should: provide to the OIM all the documentation necessary for the return; not have committed any action passive to a criminal procedure; never had received before any financial help to return from this program or other similar one; and not give false declarations. This program is strictly direct to third-country immigrants, nationals from other EU member-states cannot benefit from this program.

There are three main categories of immigrants who can benefit from this program. Firstly, irregular immigrants whose requests for regularization were rejected and are waiting for an appeal. Secondly, asylum seekers, who may wish to request for refugee status in another country or who may wish to return to their home countries. Also asylum seekers whose refugee status was refused may request to enter in this program. Lastly, third-country nationals in a regular situation in Portugal, but wish to return to their origin state and do not possess the earnings to go home by themselves (SEF, 2009, pp. 11-12).

Minors can also be supported to return home through this project as long as someone who detains the parental tutorship accompanies them, or if they are fleeing alone, they need to have an authorization of responsibility to return from someone

who possess the parental guard granting there is someone to receive the minor in the destination airport.

## **6.2- Stages of AVR Program**

The process of returning through this program is composed by different stages: the pre-return, the transport and the reintegration. (IOM, 2009)

In the primary phase the immigrants go to one of the organizations working on this project and presents his request to voluntary return. There we will also receive information about how the program works and which documents he needs to collect in order to make his application.

Secondly, the immigrant will be contacted by the same entity to make a personal interview in order to open formally his process of return.

After, his process will be delivered to the IOM in Lisbon who will put in course the return of the candidate until the date of return. The IOM is going to verify the validity of the travel documents of the individual, in case the immigrant does not possess any documents, the IOM will articulate with the origin country consulates' in order to emit a valid document for the travel. The IOM is also going to check with SEF if the immigrant has any legal constrain which does not allow him to travel.

This organization will also book the trip and after the candidate to return will be inform about his return trip, for instance the modalities and date of travel.

In transport phase, on the departure day, the IOM will also be present at the airport in order to provide assistance to the returnee.

The route chosen to travel is established in accordance with the place where the migrant is going to move.

The reintegration stage consists in the reception of the returnee in his origin country. The IOM is responsible for an initial financial subsidy and for providing funds in the case the immigrant is participating in a reintegration project. This topic will be explored further on in this chapter.

The whole process, since the first approach of the immigrant until his departure to go home, usually lasts 3 months. However this time may vary depending on the number of applications the IOM receives. In the last year, processes have taken from 3 to 6 months to be completed. Also, in emergency cases, the moment since the



application until the return travel can take between 20 to 30 days.

### **6.3- AVR and the Reintegration Program**

If accepted in the AVR program, the immigrants are entitled to a flight ticket back to the origin country. Usually the flight goes to the closest airport possible to the return place. Moreover it is also given €50 for expenses that might come up during the trip.

The innovation of the current AVR program is its reintegration approach. In this sense the IOM works together with the returnee on trying to establish a plan for his reintegration in the host society, after his return.

During the personal interview with the IOM to evaluate the profile of the candidate to enter in programs, many topics are explored in order to have a full and extensive profile of the candidate. The immigrant is asked a number of questions, by which the professionals of the IOM assess the needs and the goals of the immigrant after his return. Individuals, when returning home, have already an idea of what to do after. Individuals may wish continue their education, to enter in a specific professional formation, or even to open and run a small business.

When the needs on reintegration are identified, the IOM creates an Individual Reintegration Plan (IRP) for the future returnee. In order to elaborate an effective IRP, the IOM contacts its offices in the origin country to obtain more information about the return and the possibilities of reintegration. The IOM has a project called Information on Return and Reintegration in Countries of Origin II (IRRICO II) created to gather and provide information about the return and the reintegration conditions. This scheme establishes a network between the several IOM offices participating in the project. Origin and destination countries coordinate themselves to collect information about the return and the reintegration possibilities for those who wish to return. The origin states involved in this project are: Afghanistan, Albania, Angola, Armenia, Brazil, Camerouns, Côte d'Ivoire, Democratic Republic of Congo, Georgia, Ghana, Iran, Iraq, Kosovo Moldavia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Russia, Serbia, Sudan and Ukraine. The European countries participating in this project are: Austria, Belgium, Greece, Ireland, Malta, Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland and the United Kingdom (IOM, 2010, pp. 15-16).

In the case the returnee establishes a plan to open a small business, the IOM, through the Business Plan (BP) can help them planning the new business and also provides financial support for the initial costs. Nowadays, the budget given by IOM for BP does not surpass the EUR 1100.

Not all immigrants returning home through the AVR, participate in the reintegration initiatives developed by the IOM. During the personal interview to enter in the AVR the immigrant interested in starting a new venture will be informed about the opportunities and conditions in their home and then he will decide to participate or not.

Since the establishment of the AVR program in Portugal in 1997, the IOM together with the Portuguese government has helped many third-country immigrants to return voluntarily to their home countries. As the years passed by, the programs have had some adjustments and alterations in order to better respond to the current needs of the returnees. One example is the increasing importance given to the reintegration schemes in the origin states to help create a sustainable return.

The existence of AVR programs is also a relevant mean for Portugal to better manage the national immigration policy and the migration fluxes.

## **7. The effects of the crisis and the voluntary return of migrants having an NELM perspective.**

The purpose of this research is to explore the effects of the economic crisis on the immigrant population in Portugal, namely its impact on the voluntary return of immigrants to their origin countries.

The answer to this question is going to have the NELM approach has the background theory for the analysis.

As it was mentioned before, the current financial crisis has had many negative impacts on the economic, political and social spheres a state. It has a global effect, with most of world states were more or less affected by its effects. Furthermore, this

crisis has lasted longer than the other previous crisis, making their outcomes quite unpredictable.

The EU is still looking for solutions to overcome the financial instability of the Euro zone, the high rates of unemployment and the social discontentment and instability.

The economic turmoil is also expected to have effects on migration fluxes and in the live of the immigration population. In Portugal it is possible to verify some changes in the behavior of the foreigners due to the financial disturbance.

### **7.1 The crisis impacts on immigration**

The crisis had generated several consequences on migration in general. Since the World War II that any economic turbulence has had such pronounced effects on migration fluxes. Some of the alterations in the fluxes are provisional due to the recession, while other changes are permanent and we might be on behalf of a new migration paradigm and new forms of integration.

Although the crisis has not finished yet and some of its results are yet to be seen it is already possible to underline certain outcomes and changes occurring on migration (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, pp. 15-16).

Firstly there was a slowdown of international migratory fluxes. Secondly, the decline in the demand for labor made the labor migration one of the most affected by the crisis included the temporary migrant workers and irregular migrants. Thirdly, the immigrants are the group more exposed to the direct effects of the crisis on the labor market, because they are working on the areas more affected by the recession, such as, construction, domestic activities and restaurants). In the fourth place, the volume of remittances has diminished. Finally, it is believed that the number of immigrants returning home has increased due to the low demand for labor and the high rates of unemployment in the host states.

Since 2002 Portugal has experienced an economic slowdown comparing to the other EU Member-States. In 2008/2009 when the crisis hit Europe strongly and the economic growth started to decrease in European countries and Portugal, although in a less intensive way, the population started to feel its negative impacts and the immigrants were no exception.

With the rise of unemployment, there was a slowdown in the number of immigrant arrivals. Nonetheless, it does not imply a reduction in the amount of foreigners living in Portugal. It is still evident that immigrants are entering in Portugal and its number is likely to grow, however, this progress will be much slower than the previous decade due to the economic recession.

## **7.2 Push and Pull factors in Portugal**

The theory used in the analysis of this research has an economic approach. In this sense, the factors related with economics have primacy over the other reasons why people decide to migrate. The NELM and the Neoclassic theory are considered to have a “push and pull” factors’ approach in which the origin states possess “push” indicators for people to emigrate to countries characterize by the existence of “pull” factors which attract individuals to live there. Practically, migration can be explained by individuals moving from countries where the living conditions, economic opportunities and political environment are poorer, to places which present better social, economic and political conditions.

This approach is evident in the immigration fluxes to Portugal. As it was described before, Portugal transited from being an emigration country to become an immigration one. In an NELM view, Portuguese’s pull factors surpassed its push factors and nowadays Portugal is an appealing country for people to immigrate. This change started around the 1980’s, after the end of the dictatorship and Portugal experienced a positive economic growth.

During the dictatorship, Portugal could be considered a “push” country. The economic sectors were underdeveloped, there were few economic opportunities and people lived under repression of the authoritative regime. For that reason not only many Portuguese decided to migrate but also many immigrants did not enter or established in Portugal. After the dictatorship and the entrance in the European Union and in the Schengen agreement, Portugal gradually became a “push” country. There was a high demand for labor in many sectors and services, for example in the construction, the levels of democracy and equality increased, the laws of migration were softened and it was easy to enter in the territory and for that reason Portugal was

a good entry point to access the EU. That is why, from the 1980's until nowadays Portugal has experience an increase in the number of foreigners arriving and living in its territory.

Nonetheless, for immigrants to leave their home places it is also important to check the conditions at the sending countries and their push factors. In the case of the nationalities moving to Portugal, the first flux of migrants came from the former colonies after the end of the dictatorship. Many of them moved from their places due to political instability, by that time, the colonies were on their independence process; and because the economic and living conditions in their homes were poor and underdeveloped.

For the other two major fluxes arriving in Portugal (Brazilians and Eastern Europeans) the economic factors were determinant for them to leave their homes and established in Portugal. The data collected on the JRS questionnaire of the AVR show us that the main reason why people decide to leave has to do with economic reasons (table 1). During the 1990's and in the beginning of the 2000's, Brazil was still a country in development with lack of work opportunities, poor living conditions and significant inequalities among its habitants. Many Brazilians, attracted by the economic and labor opportunities existent in Portugal and the simplification of having the same language, an additional push factor, decided to move to Portugal looking for better live opportunities as well as a way to enter in the EU area.

Many Eastern Europeans left their homes, due to several push factors in their home countries. The economic underdevelopment of many sectors, the lack of job opportunities, the low salaries comparing to the EU and often, political repression, constitute the main reasons why Ukrainians, Russians and Moldavians left their countries and established in Portugal.

*Table 1- Reasons why people left their origin country from AVR applicants in 2012*

<b>Reasons</b>	<b>No. of people</b>
Economic/Financial	9
Politics	1
Family	1
Religious	

Study	1
Health	
Adventure	
Always wanted to go to Portugal	
Other	
No answer	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>

*(Statistics elaborated with data collected at JRS on the 2012 AVR questionnaires)*

### **7.3 The crisis and its effects as push factors for immigration**

Having this “push and pull” approach, it is predictable that some changes may occur in these established fluxes, due to the economic crises as well as because to changes in the origin country. For example, Brazil has steadily become relevant international economic power, and many work and business opportunities have been created in the last years. In this sense, Brazil’s pull factors started becoming more pleasant for many Brazilians to not immigrate.

At the same time, Portugal is on behalf of a severe recession due to the financial crisis and the instability of the European markets. One of the major outcomes of this situation is the rise of the unemployment rate, the bankruptcy of many companies and business and the slowdown of the economy. The levels presented by these indicators can become important push factors for future migrants decide whether they should or should not migrate to Portugal.

In 2001, the unemployment rate in Portugal was around the 4% and in 2009 its value was next to the 10%. The case of migrants is even more serious and the unemployment rate of third-country nationals is 17,3% (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, p. 43). The immigrants are one of the segments of population which is more likely to be affected by high unemployment and the low demand for labor. Many migrants are dependent on the employment sectors that are more affected by the crisis, like construction and restaurants. Furthermore, in these sectors the majority of foreigners

work in low-skilled jobs, often in precarious conditions and with friable working contracts, when they exist.

There is already some evidence of the effects of the recession among the foreigners residing in Portugal. The social support office at JRS has experienced an increase in the number of immigrants looking for social help. Food, housing and employment are the main areas where immigrants look for support. A wide number of individuals and families are living in very deprived conditions and numerous are at risk to become homeless.

Together with the increase demand for help, also the answers have become harder to obtain. Many associations and agencies are not able to respond to all the demands and often migrants have to wait long periods of time in fragile and unsustainable situations until they have a concrete answer. The situation is even more alarming when children constitute one of the most vulnerable groups. The JRS were presented with cases of children whom the only meal they have per day is the lunch given at school.

#### *The high levels of unemployment and the low demand for labor*

The unemployment can be considered as the main cause for the other problems that immigrants have to face. Without a job, it is hard for an individual to pay for accommodation, his bills and or food. Without a working contract it is also very difficult for an immigrant to become legal and obtain a residence permit to stay in Portugal. Without taking many benefits from its immigration and facing relevant difficulties in the host country, several immigrants decide to return back to their home countries.

Some of the returning countries have improved their conditions since the immigrant left. As it was mentioned before, Brazil is gradually become a more developed country and its economy in the last years has presented strong signs of success. There is a growth demand for labor both in the high and well as in the low-skilled jobs. For that reason, its pull factors have increased and a result of that, a growing number of Brazilians living in Portugal have decided to return home through the AVR program. In the year of 2008, of a total of 347 people returning home, 279 were Brazilian, which makes 80% of the total immigrants who left. The same tendency also occurred in the previous years, for instance, in 2007 70% of the

returnees were from Brazil and in 2006 the value was from 45%, still a majority comparing to other nationalities (SEF, 2009, p. 14).

A similar case with Brazil is Angola. This former colony is gradually become more developed and its economy is also experiencing a boom, with lots of jobs being created. That is why many Angolans have the idea to return home, like one of the JRS users in an appointment to find a job.

*“Well, I’m really considering going back to Angola... I mean... here I cannot find any job, I have already 50 years old, and my residence permit is coming to an end. I also heard that in Angola they are recruiting a lot of people to work in construction, yeah I really think the best choice is to return...”*

(José, Angolan, 50 years old)

Numerous GIP existent across the country help immigrants everyday in their search for jobs. And everyday dozens of immigrants try their luck at the GIP in JRS offices. Through my experience on helping immigrant finding a job, it is possible to say that it is a very demanding and often frustrating task. Currently, many people are in similar situation like José, with no job and little prospects to find one. The situation nowadays is becoming more difficult. As it was previously mentioned, most of the labor immigrants arriving in Portugal find low-skilled jobs mainly in the construction sector as well as housemaids or waiters in restaurants. With the crisis these were one of the sectors more affected. Many constructions were stopped, restaurants have bust and families due to financial cuts decided to dismiss their housemaids. A large number of immigrants suddenly became unemployed with very few perspectives to find a stable job that could help them pay the bills and regularized their legal situation in Portugal. The professionals working at the GIP search on the internet and look on the daily newspapers for new job postings. Also in these offices many migrants have the chance to elaborate their CV to be easier to apply for job online.

It is evident that the job offers are very scarce and we they exist there is an extensive number of people applying for the same position, making it harder to enter. Furthermore, for migrants with no papers it is even harder to get a job. Many employers refuse to accept irregular workers, afraid of work inspections by the government. Often they do not understand that if an undocumented worker possesses a job contract it is very easy to obtain a residence permit to live in Portugal.



*“When I arrived to Portugal in 2001 life was pretty easy. I started working in this construction company. It went pretty well. Even if there was no job, it was always easy to find another place where they need workers. Today the situation is very different, very difficult. I try to talk with my friends, my old bosses, but there is nothing going on. I need money to pay my bills, to have food...”*

(Manuel, Cape Verdean, 38 years old)

The testimony of Manuel, demonstrate us that before the crisis, it was quite easy to get a job, as there was a high demand for workers, namely in the construction. In the case that the construction finished, in a very short period of time, the individual was already working in another construction. With the crisis and the decrease in consumption, the construction sector was strongly affected by the decrease in the number of people buying houses and countless construction projects suddenly stopped, left many workers in this sector with no job. Manuel is one example of this situation. Used to have job all the time since his arrival in Portugal, if by chance he stopped working in place, he knew he could easily find another employer in need for labor in another construction. Due to the crisis, the situation has suffered great changes and nowadays Manuel does not have any job and he is at serious risk to become homeless because he cannot afford to pay his rent and his landlord wants to expel him from the apartment.

We are on behalf of a vicious circle, whereas if a immigrant is unemployed, he cannot renew its residence permit and therefore he becomes undocumented which makes it harder to find a job.

My short experience at JRS on helping migrants to find a job showed me that the majority of immigrants are willing to accept any kind of job, even the most precarious and with very poor conditions, as long as they manage to get a working contract which allows them to stay and earn some savings. The NELM recognizes this reality, claiming that the type of work or social status the immigrant has in the receiving country are not so important as the social status the immigrant possess when he returns home.

### *Increasing dependencies*

Another outcome of the current economic crisis is the fact that often migrants find “refugee” in alcohol and other dependencies, while others experience psychological disorders as depression and violent behavior (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, p. 68).

*Vladimir has 36 years old and he is from Russia. Shortly after arriving in Portugal he was homeless and the JRS provided him a shelter. He managed to find a job in a local supermarket and rapidly became a fundamental employee whose work was very appreciated by its employers. He left the shelter where he lived and paid for a own room to live. Some years after, Vladimir decided to open his own fruit shop. The business was doing well, until 2009 when the effects of the crisis hit the small business and Vladimir, with an ongoing number of debts, had to close down his shop. Rapidly, he could not afford to pay for his room and became homeless. He is still facing a severe depression and serious problems with alcohol dependency. If Vladimir, eventually, recovers, he states that he wants to go back to Russian and never migrate again.*

Vladimir is an example of how the economic crisis can bring a spiraling of misfortunes and difficulties to the life of immigrants, who often are stuck in an unsustainable situation hard to surpass. Not only the responses to this kind of problems have become scarcer, but also the fact that many of them are immigrants with documentation problems makes it harder for them to receive help.

The reality is that many organizations refuse to work with immigrants in irregular situations. In this sense, it can be argued that there is a lack of structural supporting, helping the integration of immigrants. Two reasons can justify this shortage of support given to immigrants: one is the increase number of families requesting help; second many supporting agencies possess insufficient funds and labor force to respond to the increase demand of helping requests.

The JRS also verifies that there are many cases where immigrants are redirected to other support agencies but end up not going to their appointments and consultations. Here, the immigrant adopts an accommodative posture to its misfortunate situation and accepts his poverty and misadventure without doing nothing to change it. This situation of apathy requires hard work from social services

in order to push the individual out of its poverty and encourage him to drop his lethargic behavior and gain courage to change his situation.

The case of Vladimir, demonstrates how the immigrants can easily end up fragile situation in need for help. Having everything to make it right, Vladimir was caught up by the negative effects of the recession, and today he looks for signs of assistance by the system. The JRS is still looking for agencies that are willing to help immigrants in irregular situations suffering from dependencies, but until today no answer has been given yet.

### *Remittances during recession and Debts in the origin country*

Another evidence of the economic slowdown Portugal and its effects in immigration is related with the remittances. According with the NELM theory remittances play an important role for the household of the migrant who stay in the origin country and counts with this support from the family member living abroad. According to this approach they constitute the financial substitute of the family member that left.

In order for the migration to economically compensate, the remittances should be higher than the money the individual earn if he had decided to stay in the origin country. Since 2007, the remittances sent by immigrants in Portugal started to diminish. Two reasons can explain this situation. First, the slowdown of the immigration fluxes to Portugal has an evident connection with the diminishing of the remittances sent. Secondly, the economic recession, the loss of jobs has diminished immigrants' budget and money collected to sent home (Peixoto & Iorio, *Crise, Imigração e Mercado de Trabalho em Portugal: Retorno, Regularização ou Resistência?*, 2011, p. 23). More often immigrants are not able to earn money for their self-expenses, which makes it harder for them to collect any money to send home.

Conversely, numerous immigrants start having debts because they do not possess enough money to pay for their bill. The most common cases are related with housing. Often immigrants request help to JRS because they cannot afford to pay the rent of their accommodation and their landlord threatens that he is going to expel them from the place. Before it happens, the JRS tries to redirect them to some shelters where they can stay while their situation is not yet resolved.

While working at JRS, on helping immigrants with the most various problems and situations, it is possible to understand that one of the main negative outcomes from the economic recession is the low demands for labor and the high levels of unemployment in Portugal. In this moment they constitute a significant “push” factor for immigrants to return to their origin countries or to remigrate to more attractive places.

#### **7.4 The economic crisis and the Assisted Voluntary Return of Migrants**

This thesis purposes to establish a connection between the economic crisis and the voluntary return of migrants to their origin countries, having the NELM as the main theory for analysis.

Many researchers on migration in Portugal state that the fact that the country is living a serious economic recession does not imply that the number of migrants returning to their origin places has increased. Despite being more vulnerable to the effects of the crisis, that does not mean migrants are rushing to go back home (Peixoto & Iorio, *Crise, Imigração e Mercado de Trabalho em Portugal: Retorno, Regularização ou Resistência?*, 2011, p. 30). The fact is that many origin countries are also passing through similar or worse difficulties as Portugal, and that constitutes an obstacle to return. They explain the increase number of participants in AVR programs is due to the fact that the program has become extensive to the all territory.

The only exception recognized by these professionals is Brazil. The economic prosperity of this state becomes more attractive to Brazilians living in Portugal, whom the numbers of returnees have increased.

However many professionals working directly with immigrants in the IOM returning program believe that the number of migrants returning home since the effects of the crisis became more evident has boosted. Furthermore the data demonstrates that the number of immigrant applying to return home voluntary have increased, comparing to the period were the crisis effects were not so visible yet.

Previously, we mentioned that the NELM is a migration theory with an economic approach based on the idea that countries of origin of migrants have push factors, which make individuals to migrate to countries with pull factors which attract immigrants to live and work there. The future migrants, together with their family decide if it is economically worth it to move abroad and try to earn money for their household.

The current economic crisis made the pull factors existent in Portugal more fragile and questioned immigrants if it is really worth, to stay in a country with such a high unemployment rate and recessive economy.

Looking at table 2, it is demonstrated that in the last years, there is an increase in the number of third- country nationals wishing to return to their homes. This is a small representation of the general national figure. Since 2004, the number of immigrants requiring and participating in the IOM program of AVR has gradually increased with exception of the year of 2006. The decrease in the number of requests and candidates departed in this is explained by budget cuts in the program and not by a decline in the number of people interested in the program.

It is evident a high rise in the number of applicants in 2008. Although Portugal was already living a economic slowdown since 2002, it was in 2008, when the global economic crisis started and when its effects started to affect the populations more directly with many business declaring bankruptcy, companies closing and many people became unemployed.

*Table 2- Applicants and participants of the AVR program in Portugal*

	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>
<b>No. of departed candidates</b>	226	321	163	278	347
<b>No. of applicants</b>	389	455	252	320	634

(SEF, 2009, p. 14)

In a more small scale, the CLAII office at JRS has also experienced a growing number of people applying for this program. In 2008 the total number of applicants in

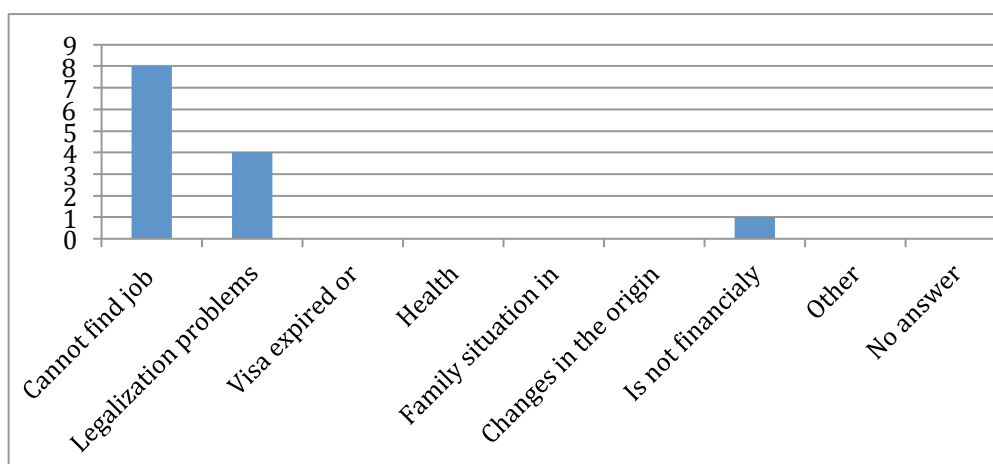
this program through this service was 12. Until April 2012 the service had already received 9 applications, less 3 persons than number of candidates in the whole year of 2008 just in the first 4 months of the year (these statistics were collected from the JRS available data).

The majority of applications for AVR come from the Lisbon region, which makes the argument of those believing the number of returnees has increased because the program became available in all the national territory, not applicable.

Also the data from JRS show us that the main reasons why people decide to migrate to Portugal and to return home are mainly economic. Looking at the figures from 2011 it is possible to recognize that the main reason for people to wish to return is explained by the lack of employment. According to the NELM the existence of demand of labor, higher salaries and better working conditions is a factor for people to decide to migrate. However, with the current economic crisis, there is a lack of job opportunities in Portugal and a growing number of migrants are unemployed and cannot find a job.

Moreover, in graphic 1 it is also possible to understand that the connection between the lack of employment and the problems with regularization. Of the 13 applications for AVR received, 8 individuals highlight the incapacity to find a job the main reason for them to return. In Portugal, it is essential to have a job contract in order to become a regular immigrant and renew the residence permit. For this reason, other applicants chose the legalization problems as the main reason to go back home.

*Graphic 1- Applicants reasons to return home in 2011*



*(Statistics elaborated with data collected at JRS)*

Overall it is possible to understand that the current global economic crisis has pushed many people to return voluntary to their origin countries due to lack of job opportunities and unemployment, and consequently the impossibility to renew their legalization documents.

The NELM postulates that migration has a temporary duration, as immigrants only migrate to increase their incomes and save money and then they return home. After achieving their goals, individuals are expected to return to their household with a higher social status and wealthier than when they left. This theory also notes that often returnees start to invest in their communities and hometowns.

The statistics of AVR applications at JRS notes that many immigrants affirm that they only expected to stay in Portugal on a temporary basis, in order to earn more money and saving and then they will return back to their origin countries.

In 2011, the 13 respondents of the AVR interview to return home, only 4 said they were expecting to stay in Portugal forever. Also in 2008, 7 out of 12 respondents affirm they planned to stay between 1 to 5 years, while only one individual expected to stay forever. Most of immigrants planned to stay between 1 and 5 years and then return home.

As far as it concerns the goals achieved through migration, the applications received for AVR at JRS show that many candidates for the program have not achieved the goals they expected when they decide to migrate. Throughout the years, the tendency has been quite similar and the majority of returnees affirm they have not achieved their goals for migrations, as it is shown on the table 3.

*Table3- Goals of migration accomplished by AVR candidates at JRS*

<b>Goals Accomplished</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2012*</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Yes</b>			1	1	2
<b>No</b>	12	10	7	7	36

<b>Relatively</b>	4	1	4	1	10
<b>No answer</b>	1	1	1		3

*(Statistics elaborated with data collected at JRS)*

As it was observed before, and according to the NELM theory, migrants decide to migrate in order to increase their incomes for them and for their household and therefore they decide to migrate to countries presenting push factors as a crescent economy and a high demand for labor. Nonetheless, due to the financial crisis, the situation in Portugal is difficult for immigrants who struggle to find a job or to keep one which allows to survive.

The applicants of this project decide to return not because they achieve their goals, as the NELM suggests, but because they feel they are better off at home and they have more to gain if they return. On the other side the Neoclassic theory states that the return of immigrants is a sign that the individual was not able to achieve its initial goals and the costs of immigration were wrongly estimated. Actually, Portuguese pull factors are not so attractive as before due to the economic crisis, hence, many immigrants going through difficulties, understand that the costs of being abroad are higher than the gains obtained with migration. Therefore many of them decide it is time to leave and apply for the AVR program.

*“I mean... What I’m I doing here? There have been months that I’m looking for a job as a housemaid and nothing! As the time goes by, it’s become more difficult to find something. There are a lot of people looking for jobs in cleaning and very few offers. And the situation doesn’t seem to improve. If in a month I don’t find a job, I will go back to Russia. There, I was a Russian literature teacher for 25 years, until I decided to come to Portugal. Before it was worth it, but now it’s not anymore...”*

(Nataljia, Russian, 52 years old)

The testimony of Nataljia highlights a feature of the NELM approach, the fact that return migrants are to be seen as success stories among their household and their communities because they were able to achieve important gains while they were abroad. Actually, the majority migrants returning through the AVR program are going



home because they can no longer support the costs of migration. Many applicants of the AVR program that I was able to talk to do not feel they were a successful case of migration. Conversely, many of them feel like it was a waste of time and if they knew they would not have migrated. Returnees become individuals who failed the costs of their immigrations and did not achieve higher earnings they expected before departing.

This situation can contribute for a migrant to feel useless and become more depressive or frustrated with his situation as it occurs with Nataljia. Having a respected job in Russia, she decided to leave her country in order to increase her earnings. It was easier to earn more money working in Portugal as housemaid than as a teacher in Russia. However the situation is no longer the same, Nataljia became unemployed and she has been struggling to find a job as a housemaid. She is going through such difficulties that she is considering going back home, because staying in Portugal is not worth any longer.

The NELM perceives that migrants always gain something from their experience outside. The fact is that they achieve more skills and knowledge which usually is more relevant and valuable back home, than in the immigration country (Constant & Massey, 2002, p. 10). It is on this view that IOM reintegration projects in the home country are conceived to maximize the knowledge and abilities returnees gained while abroad. These programs help migrants facing their return as something beneficial for them and for their communities. Through small businesses and ventures, migrants can apply the expertise and skills acquired in the immigration country to the benefit of the populations in their homelands.

The data collected at the applications for AVR made in the JRS, demonstrate that not all migrants wish to benefit from the reintegration supported provided by the IOM. Many migrants will have the support of their families when returning home. In this case the household plays an important role on the migrant's decision to go abroad. In the same way, the existence of a financial, emotional and familiar support from the household back home is determining for a immigrant to decide to return or to stay. If a migrant possess a supportive household back home, the return can become much more easier.

It is also important to bear in mind that the reason why migration was not successful is due to external factors and not the individual itself. Yes, the individual

and his household should have better calculated the costs and risks before departing, however many migrants returning today have arrived in Portugal before the crisis began and could not predict the outcomes of the future. Furthermore, despite the current recession, many migrants are still willing to stay in Portugal, because the situation in their origin country is not better.

Overall, connected with push and pull factors theory, it is possible to apprehend that in times of economic prosperity, receiving states are more open and become important receptors of migrants. The high-demand for labor and the increase in consumption are an important push factors for the increase in the number of immigrants from labor abundant sending countries to search for better opportunities in those countries (Ghosh, 2011). This was the reality in Portugal, before the financial crisis in 2008 where there was a high demand for labor and the economy was boosting.

Conversely it has been evidenced whenever a state experiences economic recession, few job opportunities and a increase in unemployment, the number of foreigners entering tends to decline and eventually the number of immigrants living in its territory can also drop as people move to other countries or return to their origin states looking for better living conditions. This is the current scenario in Portugal, where the economic recession has risen the level of unemployment, leaving many immigrants with no jobs and little prospects for a recovery in the near future. Facing enormous difficulties, many third-country nationals decide to return back to their home countries.

The NELM theory also believes that as long as there is a demand for labor and high levels of consumption, immigration countries will adopt less restrictive measures towards migrants, creating relevant pull factors for migrants to leave their origin places and look for better conditions abroad. As Europe is facing a serious economic crisis, with severe financial instability and high unemployment rates, the EU approach towards the entry of immigrants has gradually become more restrictive and new policies have been adopted to prevent migrants to enter in the EU area. The new policies are taken with the idea of prioritizing the EU citizens in the labor offers over the third-country immigrants, often accused of occupying the job vacancies existent for EU citizens.

The EU return directive and the increase support given by the EU Return Fund and EU Member-States government to AVR projects is an example of the restrictive character of the EU immigration policy. In this sense, the AVR is seen by many EU member-states as a valuable and humanly accepted way to send undesirable immigrants back to their origin immigrants and keep them away from the EU territory, for at least 3 years.

In this sense, the AVR can also be seen as a mean for EU to manage its the migration fluxes and to apply in a subtle way its securitize and restrictive policy towards immigrants (Peixoto & Iorio, 2011, p. 40).

The crisis has not finished yet and some its effects are yet to be experienced. It is still unpredictable how long is it going to last and what are going to be its future outcomes, namely for immigrants. If the situation remains as it is, or gets worse, the number of immigrants requesting social support and participating in AVR projects is very likely to increase. The social support structures need to be more prepared to answer the demands

## **8- Conclusion**

The purpose of this investigation was to understand the consequences of the current financial crisis in the immigration population in Portugal, with a main insight on its effects in the voluntary return of migrants to their origin states.

In this research, it was adopted an economic approach and the “push and pull” economic theories were used in order to understand and explain the living situation of migrants in Portugal during the crisis, as well as to comprehend the decision to return by immigrants.

These theories advocate that immigration countries possess pushing features, which attract migrants to leave their origin countries, and established themselves in this states. These features include high demand for labor, great levels of consumptions and satisfying living conditions. The immigrants, whose origin countries are characterized few job opportunities, a lethargic economic and low living standards, appealed by the push factors, decide to migrate looking for better life conditions and

higher incomes. More specifically, the New Economics of Labor Migration theory notes, that migrants leave in order to improve their incomes and help their families back home, and when their goals are achieved they return.

In this study it is evidenced that Portugal is a country characterized by push factors, that over the years have attracted many immigrants to live and work there.

Due to the current economic crisis the situation has changed, it can be questioned if Portugal remains such an appellative country for migrants to come. The unemployment rates never have been so high and numerous sectors have suffered severed cuts and bankruptcies.

This research concluded that immigrants are one of the most vulnerable groups with the current crisis. Many of them worked in sectors t greatly affected by the recession and have lost their jobs. Moreover, currently there is a very low job demand and it becomes really difficult for them to find another job.

This situation has generated distress and concern as many migrants must have a work contract to stay regular in the country as well as they need financial income in order to subsist and have a decent live in the host country as well as too save some money to send home.

The unemployment is not itself the only reason affecting negatively immigrants, the concern is that several other issues are connected with this problematic and if the employment suffers disturbance, other realities of immigrants' live are going to be affected.

My experience as a volunteer in the social support office at JRS as well as the research made for this project, made it possible to outline the main impacts caused by the economic crisis in the live of immigrants in Portugal, and with that provide an answer to one of our inquiries in the research question. As the unemployment has been already identified as one of the major problems, it is relevant to acknowledge the other problematics. These different issues are deeply interrelated among themselves and migrants are very likely to be affected by several problems at the same time.

Firstly, there is an increasing number of immigrants in need of social support in the most varied areas namely in food, housing, clothes, transport and other sectors. The reality is that organizations providing this kind of support, as it is the case of JRS, have experience a significant increase in the number of request for support.

Secondly, without employment immigrants are not able to renew their residence permit and stay legal in the Portugal. It is visible that this situation causes big distress to foreigners. Deprived of documents immigrants are not eligible to social benefits. Furthermore, it also makes it harder to find a job as many employers prefer to have already documented workers than individuals in need of a work contract to prepare for their legalization after.

The third issue outlined is the mental and psychological disorders that migrants develop due to the fragile and alarming situations they experienced. Due to the lack of employment, inability to renew their documents, not having sufficient money to pay for food and accommodation and risks of becoming homeless can cause severe agony and anxiety to migrants, which can help the development of mental disorders and depression. When these situations are not accompanied and solved in time by specialists, migrants may create dependencies to alcohol and drugs in order to cope with these distressful situations and end up worsening their already fragile situation.

Another problem identified in this research is that many migrants are accumulating debts because they are not able to pay for them. Debts related with accommodation are very common among unemployed migrants who see themselves tormented with the pressure to pay what they owe or many face the risk of being expelled by the owners of the house and become homeless.

The fourth aspect is the number of remittances sent by immigrants during the economic recession. Statistics for the government demonstrate that the number of remittances has decreased in the last years. This situation is understandable as many migrants are going through economic difficulties.

This research also highlighted the fact that the number of migrants participating in the AVR program has increased. Contrary to what some researchers say, the JRS has experienced an increased demand of immigrants applying to return home through the AVR initiative of IOM. The difficulties experienced in Portugal and the little prospects that the situation is going to improve anytime sooner, encourages an increasing number of migrants to return home. Contrary to what the NELM theory states, on saying that migrants return home after achieving their goals, the questionnaires filled out by the applicants of the voluntary return show that the majority of migrants have not accomplished the goals they have set to achieve with

immigration. This may create the feeling of failure among migrants. However that is not the view the IOM wants to transmit to migrants. Through their reintegration programs incorporated in the AVR, this organization gives a financial support for returnees to develop their projects, open small business and apply the experience and knowledge they acquired abroad for the benefit of their home communities and society.

Overall it is possible to conclude that the economic unsustainability of immigrants living in Portugal due to the economic recession, made it impossible for them to achieve the goals and projects aimed when they decide to leave their home countries in search of a better life. One of the possible solutions to surpass the unmanageable situation where they are is to voluntarily return to their homelands. However for this return to occur it is also important to acknowledge the situation in their origin states, the family resources and then check if it is worth to go back home or to stay in Portugal fighting to improve the current living conditions and hope that the economy recovers soon.

The topic of return migration was increasingly become a popular issue in the EU political agenda. Some investigators consider this interest of EU in voluntary return as a way for EU to manage its immigration fluxes and it reflects the restrictive and securitized approach of the EU in what concerns the entry and the stay of third-country national on their territory. A research on this topic would also provide some interesting insights on how the AVR programs articulate with the EU immigration policy marked by its securitized approach and restrictiveness towards third-country migrants.

Another interesting insight in this topic is to study the reintegration of the returnee in their home country. How does he readapt to be back home? How does he perceive himself and how the others see him too and what is the role of its household in the return? Also in this subject would be interesting to analyze the IOM reintegration program, its results, difficulties and how it could be improved.

## 9. References

(Council Directive 2004/191 EC). (2004, February 27). *Official Journal of the European Union*.

(IMF; ECB; CE. (2011, May 3). Portugal: Memorandum of Understanding on Specific Economic Policy Conditionality.

ACIDI. (2009). Imigração em Portugal: Informação útil.  
Act 23/2007: regarding the conditions and procedures on entry, permanence, exit of foreign citizens from Portuguese territory, as well as the status of long term residents . (2007, July 4).

Baganha, M. I. (2003). From Close to Open Doors: Portuguese Emigration under the Corporative Regime. *Journal of Portuguese History* , 1 (1).

Bryman, A. (2012). *Social Research Methods* (4th ed.). Oxford University Press.

Cassarino, J.-P. (2004). Theorising Return Migration: The Conceptual Approach to Return Migrants Revisited. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* , 6 (2).

Castels, S., & Miller, J. M. (2009). *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World*. Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan.

Constant, A., & Massey, D. S. (2002). Return Migration by German Guestworkers: Neoclassical versus New Economic Theories. *International Migration* , 40 (4).

Council Decision 2004/573/EC. (2004, April 29). *Official Journal of the European Union* .

Council Directive 2003/110 EC. (2003, November 25).

Directive 2008/115/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council. (n.d.). *Official Journal of the European Union* .

Dustmann, C., & Weiss, Y. (2007). Return Migration: Theory and Empirical Evidence from the UK. *British Journal of Industrial Relations* , 45 (2).

EMN. (2010). *Asylum and Migration Glossary: a tool for a better comparability*. European migration Network.

EMN. (2007). *EMN Synthesis Report: Research Study III "Return"*. European Migration Network.

Eurostat. (n.d.). *Unemployment Statistics*. Retrieved May 24, 2012, from European Commission: Eurostat:  
[http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics\\_explained/index.php/Unemployment\\_statistics#Further\\_Eurostat\\_information](http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php/Unemployment_statistics#Further_Eurostat_information)

Fontes, C. (2011). *Imigrantes do Leste da Europa: Portugal como destino*. Retrieved May 16, 2012, from Imigrantes somos todos:  
<http://imigrantes.no.sapo.pt/page2Leste.html>

Ghosh, B. (2011). *The Global Economic Crisis and Migration- Where do we go from here?* Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

Haas, H. d. (2008). Migration and Development: a theoretical perspective. *International Migration Institute Working Papers* .

Hailbronner, K., & Gehrke, L. (2005). *Refugee Status in EU Member States and Return Policy*. European Parliament committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs, Policy Department Citizens' Rights and Constitutional Affairs. European Parliament.

Herek, G. (n.d.). *A Brief Introduction to Sampling* . Retrieved May 30, 2012, from Gregory M. Herek, Ph.D. Bibliography :  
[http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/rainbow/html/fact\\_sample.html](http://psychology.ucdavis.edu/rainbow/html/fact_sample.html)

IOM. (2009). *Comparative Study of the Laws in the 27 EU Member States for Legal Immigration*. International Migration Law. International Organization for Migration.

IOM. (2004). *Glossary on Migration*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

IOM. (n.d.). *International Organization for Migration- Return Migration*. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from International Organization for Migration Website:  
<http://www.iom.int/jahia/Jahia/about-migration/managing-migration/managing-migration-return-migration>

IOM. (2004). Managing Migration: Return Migration. In E. Usher (Ed.), *Essentials of Migration Management- A Guide for Policy Makers and Practitioners* (Vol. 3). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.

IOM. (2010). Practical Guide on Information Provision on Return and Reintegration in Countries of Origin. International Organization for Migration.

IOM. (2009). Programa de Apoio ao Retorno Voluntário e à Reintegração. IOM.

Kerlinger, F. N. (2002). *Investigación del comportamiento: métodos de investigación en ciencias sociales*. McGraw-Hill Interamericana Editores.

Moreira, C. D. (2007). *Teorias e Práticas de Investigação*. Lisboa: Instituto Superior de Ciências Sociais e Políticas.



- Olsen, W. (2004). Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Can Really Be Mixed. In M. Holborn, & M. Haralambos (Eds.), *Developments in Sociology*. Causeway Press.
- Peixoto, J. (2009). New Migrations in Portugal: Labour Markets, Smuggling and Gender Segmentation. *International Migration* , 47 (3).
- Peixoto, J., & Iorio, J. (2011). *Crise, Imigração e Mercado de Trabalho em Portugal: Retorno, Regularização ou Resistência?* Cascais: Princípia.
- Royo, S. (2005). Portugal's Migration Experience: Redefined Boundaries and Uneasy Transformations. *Mediterranean Quarterly* , 16 (4).
- Sampieri, R., Collado, C. F., & Lucio, P. B. (2006). *Metodologia de Pesquisa*. McGraw-Hill Interamericana.
- SEF. (2009). *Retorno Assistido e Reintegração em Países Terceiros: Programas, Estratégias e Incentivos*. Lisbon: Serviço de Estrangeiros e Fronteiras.
- SEF. (n.d.). *A Lei de Estrangeiros documentada e comentada, de várias formas*. Retrieved May 21, 2012, from Legispédia SEF: <http://sites.google.com/site/leximigratoria/>
- Sindi, K., & Kirimi, L. (2006, July). A Test of the New Economics of Labor Migration Hypothesis: Evidence from Rural Kenya. *American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting* .
- Stark, O., & Bloom, D. (1985). The New Economics of Labor Migration. *American Economic Review* , 75 (2).
- Taylor, J. (1999). The New Economics of Labour Migration and the Role of Remittances in the Migration Process. *International Migration* , 37 (1).
- Thomas, G. (2009). *How to do Your Research Project: A Guide for Students in Education and Applied Social Sciences*. Sage Publications, Ltd.