

BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

EMIGRATION AND RETURN TO THE AZORES

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Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha (Coord.)

Eduardo Ferreira

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PRESENTATION

The archipelago of the Azores, notorious for migration processes since its discovery, has been over the centuries, a departure point for thousands of Azoreans who set off to various continents, with the most preferred destinations being Brazil, USA, Bermuda and Canada.

Scattered all over the world, thousands left with the prospect of returning. On the basis of this intention to return, there were certainly relevant factors, such as, the family that remained in the islands, the abandoned house and land, the longing for the birth place, and the dream of personal fulfilment in the homeland.

If the option to depart was never easy for the protagonists of emigration, the option to return, over the years, with the setting of roots in the new host place, the children's integration and the birth of grandchildren, became for many people a mere fantasy.

Despite this, there were those who returned, moved by the most varied reasons. All nine islands of the Azores know stories of returns of individuals, couples, and entire families who, after living in the diaspora, returned to their island, their town and sometimes to their original home.

Given the scale of this phenomenon and the social implications that this has on the social fabric of our islands, a need

emerged to study this issue in depth, with the goal of defining and implementing appropriate policies to the needs of this population group. The Regional Department for the Communities (DRC), that serves immigrant, emigrant and returnee communities, felt the need to better understand the issue of returnees, in a clear sign of its commitment to facilitate the integration of these individuals and their families on the islands of origin, and thus ensure a better life quality of those who showed such courage both at the time of departure and of return.

With these concerns in mind, the DRC requested the present study to the Center for Social Studies (CES) at the University of the Azores. Its first edition could not have known a better historical moment, as it coincides with the occurrence, in the Azores, of the world's largest convention dedicated to Migrations - Metropolis - which, interestingly, is organized by the DRC in partnership with the CES at the University of the Azores. This fortunate coincidence has resulted in that we have among us, accompanying the initial steps of this study's release, the best migration specialists and political decision-makers in the world.

Like Metropolis, the report, that we now make available to scholars and to the general public, undoubtedly reinforces the centrality of the islands in the world migration phenomena, which, more than ever, condition change in human beings as we wander through the planet.

Ponta Delgada, July 2011

Maria da Graça Borges Castanho, Ph.D.
Regional Director for the Communities
Government of the Azores

PREFACE

The history of the Azores, like many other archipelagos, is deeply marked by emigration and is well documented in the literature, particularly regarding the demographic and economic aspects associated with emigration.

As stated by Russell King (2009), the small size of many islands and insularity bring economic disadvantages that do not allow for job opportunities and professional development for every inhabitant. Therefore, the export of workers was, until the mid-seventies of last century, a fundamental pillar of the Azorean economy, especially in the smaller and more peripheral islands.

Ammassari and Black (2001), citing Fisher *et al.* (1997), argue that migration and development are inter-related phenomena, given that the first is simultaneously a dependent and an independent variable in the development of migrants' origin and destination countries.

Studies on migration and development acquired great importance with the ongoing process of globalization and the exponential increase of international migration in recent decades. However, the processes of development and migration are both complex and variable in place and time, so that even though research on this issue has multiplied, we are still far from a comprehensive and consistent theoretical framework to analyze the relational web between the effects of development (or lack thereof) in the genesis of international migration and

the impact of migration on development in countries of origin, especially at the regional and local levels.

According to Ghosh (2000, cited by Abreu, 2009:90), return migration is the "great unwritten chapter in the history of migration." The scientific and political interest in this subject began to gain prominence only since the mid-1970s, when the developed countries of Western Europe, faced with the economic crisis and oil shock of 1973, sought to encourage the return of immigrant workers whom they had allured during the "golden age" of capitalism. In turn, the sending countries, including Portugal and other states of Southern Europe, were faced with the need to reintegrate large numbers of emigrants who, willingly, either because they had reached the end of their migration cycle or due to less favourable economic and political circumstances (resulting from the crisis), decided to return.

The available scientific literature indicates that the effects of return migration in the migrants' territories of origin vary considerably depending on the socioeconomic and political contexts in which their departure was conducted, the volume and composition of the migratory flows, the type of integration and time of residence in the host country, as well as, the motivations to return to the country of origin. However, existing studies are generally of a partial and fragmented nature, with sometimes contradictory results, derived largely from the differences of perspective (optimistic or pessimistic) adopted. Thus, general conclusions cannot easily be drawn to support the implementation of policies to minimize costs and maximize the benefits of international migration in the emigrants' regions of origin.

The book by Gilberta Rocha, Eduardo Ferreira and Derrick Mendes, entitled - *Between Two Worlds: Emigration and Return to the Azores*, represents a valuable contribution

to the understanding of the return migration flows to the archipelago which have occurred in recent decades, as well as, its consequences in the developmental process of the Region.

One of the most innovative contributions of this book is the integrated approach it takes to the return movements to the Azores, analyzing them within the wider framework of the causes of migration, the socio-demographic profile and the migration process of Azoreans who left the archipelago between the middle of the last century and the present day, and who returned to the islands with the intention to settle permanently.

The research is based on data collected from official, national and international statistical sources, and also on a very thorough survey carried out by staff of the Regional Directorate for the Communities between the last quarter of 2006 and the beginning of the second quarter of 2008, which covered about 3500 returning emigrants. Although the survey was administered in all the islands, the authors warn of any possible bias of the results, deriving from the method of respondents' selection. However, given the large sample size and coverage of the whole archipelago, the data collected constitute a rich source of information imperative for gaining a deeper knowledge of the dynamics of the international migration of the Azorean population, including all phases of the migration cycle: decision to depart and selection of destination, integration in the host country and relations with the origin during the stay abroad, and return migration and reintegration.

The authors note that the estimated number of Azoreans and their descendants who now live abroad, amounts to one million five hundred thousand. The United States and Canada are the major host countries. In recent decades, everything changed: the number of annual departures was dramatically

reduced, the course and nature of emigration changed, with the affirmation of Bermuda as the main destination, and there is a trend towards the replacement of permanent family emigration, for temporary or circular migration of an individual basis.

In the eighties and nineties, the return flows to the Azores intensified, coming mainly from the United States of America and Canada. Following a simultaneous trend to that observed in mainland Portugal, there was also a high growth in the number of labour immigrants (originating from the Portuguese-Speaking African Countries, Brazil and Eastern Europe), attracted by job opportunities in construction, tourism and restaurants, but also of post-retirement migrants from European countries, especially from Germany, who looked to enjoy the climate and natural amenities of the islands.

Since the motivations for departure are predominantly economic, the results of this study confirm the importance of family in the entire migration process of returnees. Indeed, although 70% of respondents left alone and the family only reunited later on, migration was almost always a family project. In addition, 80% of respondents returning from the United States and Canada, state that the choice of destination was influenced by relatives who had already emigrated, which relates also to the high importance of family and friend support networks in integration.

During the stay abroad, the importance of intra-ethnic, family and neighbourhood networks, and a lack of knowledge of the language of the host country, fostered the development of associations, the preservation of the culture of origin and the maintenance of intense ties with the Azores.

Although the socio-economic profile of the emigrants who settled permanently in the host countries is not known, the results of this study appear consistent with the idea that

returning migrants are neither those who have achieved success, nor those who have fared less well. The first group does not want to waste opportunities afforded by the host country and therefore tend to stay, whereas the latter do not have the resources to return and are reluctant to reveal their lack of success. Thus, it is not surprising that about two thirds of the surveyed Azorean returnees intended, at the time of departure, to return and that only 10% of those who departed with the idea of migrating permanently justified the return by the difficulties they faced in adjusting (of themselves or of family members) to the destination country.

As underlined by the authors of this book, "the return is rarely triggered by a decision dissociated from the entire migration process and individual and collective experiences collected by emigrants along their pathway" (p.21). Therefore, this study allowed to identify important differences between the migration pathways and the motivations triggering the return to the islands of emigrants from the older migration flows (from the United States and Canada), and of those, who more recently, established temporary work contracts in Bermuda.

Besides revealing the importance of this phenomenon to the economic and demographic dynamics of the Region, the thorough and rigorous analysis conducted in this book, of the geographic and socio-professional pathways of emigrants who returned to the Azores in recent decades, also represents a key instrument in defining policies that facilitate the reintegration of returning migrants, and in optimizing the effects of emigration on the archipelago's development.

The returnees are composed primarily of an elderly population, with low levels of formal education, who returned after an average stay abroad of about 15 to 20 years and

are, therefore, retired. However, it should be noted that those from Bermuda have a substantially different profile from those returning from the North American continent, which reflects the distinctive character of the composition of migration flows and processes to that destination.

With regard to the reintegration into Azorean society and the impact of the return on the Region's development, it should be noted that over three quarters of the respondents did not indicate any major difficulties. In addition, the adjustment problems reported by approximately 20% of respondents are primarily related to the difference in lifestyles in the archipelago, in comparison to the countries where they came from, and also to the lack of some consumer goods which are difficult to obtain, especially in rural areas and in the smaller and more isolated islands.

The effects of return migration on the development of the region are difficult to assess. A comparative analysis of the employment status prior to departure, during the period of stay abroad and upon the return, concluded that there were no great gains in terms of transference of professional knowledge and skills acquired in the host country. This results not only from the fact that most worked in low-skilled sectors (industry, construction, agriculture and fisheries), but also due to the fact that many return to devote themselves to agriculture and fisheries, often with the sole purpose of occupying their time and caring for their properties. However, it should be noted that this impact is differentiated locally, since it contributes to mitigate the tendency for depopulation of the smaller and more peripheral islands and the abandonment of the fields. In addition, the channelling of savings accumulated during the emigration period and the transfer of incomes from pensions and retirement to the Azores generates multiplier effects, through personal consumption and

investments (made directly by the emigrants and their families or indirectly through the financial system).

In summary, as mentioned earlier, this book by Gilberta Rocha, Eduardo Ferreira and Derrick Mendes represents a major advance in understanding a complex phenomenon which is of great current scientific and political relevance in an area that has been the target of little research in the context of Portuguese academia. It is therefore an essential study not only for researchers and students interested in this subject, but also for policy decision-makers wishing to understand and intervene in the management of international migrations throughout the different phases of the migration process: promoting emigration or retaining potential emigrants, fostering the ties that bind the Azorean diaspora to the Region; encouraging the channelling of remittances and foreign investment of emigrant origin, and supporting the reintegration of returning emigrants.

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FOREWORD

Following the development of studies on Azorean mobility that has characterized the policy of the Regional Department for the Communities of the Regional Government of the Azores, the Centre for Social Studies of the University of the Azores (CES-UA) - a fundamental axis of research on migration issues, especially in the island regions and particularly in the Azores - as in other circumstances, took responsibility for increasing the knowledge about the issue of returnees, carrying out the analysis of data collected in a survey by the Regional Department for the Communities.

This is thus the extension to the entire region of similar studies previously conducted under the CES-UA by Octávio de Medeiros and Artur Madeira (who somewhat pioneered the research on the return of Azorean emigrants) on the municipalities of Povoação and Nordeste in 2003 and 2004. This work involved a very extensive and difficult collection by the Regional Department for the Communities, all of which will be developed in the Introduction to this paper. However, the data collection is not limited to reasons related to the return, the people who returned and their reintegration into the society of origin, we also look to add to an understanding on the departure from the Azores and the stay in the destination country.

As with all research, this is not an end point. Rather this is a pathway to gain knowledge about a huge reality of today, in which the Azores present with uniquely and distinctively different characteristics from those observed at a national level.

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

INTRODUCTION

While shortages persist in the quantitative and qualitative information on the return flows in the context of a more recent Azorean emigration history, it becomes difficult to deny the increasing significance of this phenomenon over the past three decades. The increase in the number of residents coming from the United States and Canada to the Azores, as well as the growing need to offer more specialized services (in terms of regional administration) oriented to support returning emigrants, are just a few indicators that adequately framed in time, could help demonstrate that the opposite movement of that which characterized the mass exodus from the Azores towards foreign countries is not as recent as once thought. As shown by data presented in the two studies mentioned in the Foreword (both by Octávio de Medeiros and Artur Madeira) the percentages of emigrants who returned to the municipalities of Povoação and Nordeste over the last century, along the eighties' decade, reach in fact notable levels - 30% in the first case and 44% in the second (Medeiros e Madeira, 2003:63; Idem, 2004:73). Which, once extrapolated, albeit with reserves, for the total of each of the islands or municipalities and even to the Region as a whole, it is nonetheless informative of the time during which we have lived with the return phenomenon, without which we have extracted so far, a deeper and capable knowledge, even to support more effective measures to deal with the return and with the population it concerns.

The social and economic situation in the Azores is now quite different from that which marked the great emigration flow during the fifties, sixties and seventies. And more than forty years after the departure of the majority of emigrants, the moment of realization of the desire to return has come for a large portion. However, about those who did return, the data that we have about them is still very partial, since this knowledge is conditioned by some of their social-demographic characteristics, particularly age and employment status and activity - with distinct visibility at the social level. Due to the services provided to older returnees (now not working and in the condition of beneficiaries of one or more pension benefits from the destination country), regional authorities through the Regional Department for the Communities, have acquired some knowledge about the main characteristics and needs of a specific group of people, that because of ease of language and classification are usually referred to as "retired" individuals.

However, it is a knowledge that, in addition to the lack of systematic framework (so far, little has been uncovered with regard to the place and time characteristics of this general phenomenon of return to the Azores), needs further in depth examination. Not only with respect to the group mentioned above (from the outset, as to the diversity of social and financial conditions contained in the category of "retired" returnees), but especially with regard to other groups and sections of this population. On these individuals, we still have no knowledge about current characteristics, motivations/reasons, decisions and ways found to trigger the process of returning to the land from where they departed. And we know even less about the possible effects that the multiple emigration experiences may have had on their original profile, with possible consequences

for the social and economic impact these same emigrants may have on the main islands and places of return.

Some of this lack of knowledge, and, in particular, that which relates to the diversity of situations that can be framed in the issue of return, is no stranger to the difficulties raised by the very concept of returnee. Apart from the fact that it concerns a voluntary emigration flow¹ (Rocha-Trindade, 1983), the notion of return is often conditioned by a multiplicity of aspects related to both the emigrants who integrate the flows, and the modalities they take on.

This happens primarily because the return is not always posed in terms of a “final and absolute choice” (Poinard, 1983:30), from which it becomes possible to determine a more precise moment in time for its implementation and, therefore, to the emigrant/immigrant to be able to pass from these conditions to the ones of a returned emigrant. Even if the moment of achieving a return is included in the initial version of the migration project, often it changes over time, and may even be postponed or ultimately not occur at all (Miller, 1994).

In other situations, mirrored indeed in the reality being analyzed, the contours of the return take on some ambiguity, especially when, on a regular basis, emigrants divide their time, in a more or less equal manner, between the destination country and the country of origin, dwelling in each one only part of the year. If this is true of a considerable number of emigrants who have abandoned the working life and who, often for the sake of preserving the rights of a previously obtained foreign citizenship, make this back and forth movement, it also applies to those who consecutively accumulate some emigration experience. Such is

¹ Distinct notion of return, which has, in most cases, a compulsive nature, such as the phenomenon of deportation.

the case of Azorean emigrants who reintegrate, for two or three times, the Bermuda temporary work flows.

For these emigrants there are several returns, each contextualized in a specific way, not only in terms of the origin environments and conditions of the moment, but also in the individual and social condition of the subjects, which changes through their own journey and accumulated experiences.

Moreover, unlike most return cases after a long period of stay in the host country, the motivations and decision processes related to the return of a temporary emigration, often highly depend on the emigration policies of the recipient territories. Temporary work flows assume this condition in most cases because emigration policies determines the occurrence and the timing of the return.

Building upon these factors, and beyond wanting to make a contribution to the knowledge of return flows to the Azores in recent decades, the overall objective of this study is to characterize the different types of returnees, as it concerns, first, to the aspects related to their reintegration into the society of origin, and second, to the experience which they have gone through in the condition of emigrants in the destination countries.

This idea of an integrated analysis of the return, whether in terms of place or time, justified to a large extent, the early chapters of this work, and is based primarily on the theoretically shared understanding that the return is rarely triggered by a decision unrelated to the entire migration process and by individual and collective experiences of emigrants along their journey. The return movement should be viewed as part of a broader and more complete movement, that even though it may not be a piece of the migration plan initially outlined by individuals and families, it is still dependent on several factors

including: the length of stay and degree of integration in the host society, the fulfillment of objectives, and the meeting of experienced needs, which, among others, contribute decisively to accelerate or stop the decision to perform a new break and face a new (re)integration process. First, this is therefore the primary reason for paying an increased importance to the pre-departure moment, on how it's triggered, and especially to the length of stay of emigrants in countries like the United States, Canada, Brazil or Bermuda - in the attempt of trying to understand if the reasons that led to the decision to return may go even beyond those explicitly invoked by the respondents in this study.

Second, and again in the light of an integrated return perspective, it was intended from the outset, that this analysis could also result in an assessment (obviously within what is possible) of the effects of emigration in the current profile of returnees, particularly in terms of acquisition of professional skills. In this manner, the integrated analysis of the information related to the social-professional status of respondents prior to emigration, during the emigration period and upon return, allowed us to account for some patterns of sector and professional mobility, which may be relevant in considering the possible role that Azorean returnees may play in the emergence and/or strengthening of local social and economic dynamics.

Even though this is not a specific and, much less, a fundamental objective of this study - which for another level of analysis and more complex information would be necessary - it is a matter that, given the intended purpose for the knowledge produced in this paper (generally, that of improving public policies involving returning emigrants) can still be considered in the context of what, initially, we were requested to accomplish.

In addition, in terms of common sense and from the standpoint of the principles of political practice, the idea about the effective and positive contribution of returnees to the settling dynamics, usually results in an excessive reliance on endogenous processes and feelings of collective belonging that those reintegration territories, almost alone, are able to generate among the population concerned - especially to those who return to their place of origin (birth) or departure (Lopes, 2001) .

As often emphasized by the theories that articulate the migration flows with regional and local development, the potential conveyed by the return of emigrants to their region or place of origin depends on a wide range of conditions, with the incorporation in the economic and social fabric of individual factors of those who return, such as skill level and capacity for innovation (Malheiros, 2002: 71-72). These factors, if properly harnessed, framed in the existing structures and processes and supported by adequate strategies and policies, could enhance the dynamics of regional and local growth and development, a result that, in the Portuguese case, has not always been easy to achieve.

Most emigrants returning to Portugal tend to fit the status of "retired". Therefore, those who continue to pursue an activity represent a low percentage. This was initially accounted in the mid-eighties, in a pioneering research in Portugal on the theme of emigration and return (Silva *et al.*, 1984). If a good portion of the latter opts for a more autonomous situation in terms of profession (i.e., prefers to break the salaried worker/employee condition that, in most cases one had before emigrating and held in the destination country), resulting in an entrepreneurial and innovative potential, the truth is that, almost always, the reintegration sector is agriculture, within which the returning

emigrant attains, as a general rule, a small family farm (due to personal preferences or to not leave the lands simply abandoned). This activity is usually scarce in productive investments aimed at changing the production methods and the consequent increase in productivity. On the other hand, and for those whose incorporating the industry sector, the main difficulty in leveraging and capitalizing on their individual skills, relates to the actual conditions of the surrounding society.

Most of the return regions and places (of rural scope and low competitiveness index) have a very close range of employment alternatives, which, in general, decreases the likelihood of enhancing the productive capacities of employed individuals. And which, in the specific case of working age women, causes the choice for the home, meaning thereby the passage of the status of "employed" (a condition maintained in the host country) to that of "home-maker".

Adding to these constraints, it should also be noted that returnees who still work have revealed, in general terms, a weak propensity for innovation, regardless of the environment and the manner of integration in the productive sphere. Although most of the emigration experiences consist of having had contact with production systems and methods, and more modern and advanced technological means and forms of work organization compared to those known before the emigration, the return is marked by an enormous difficulty in transferring that same knowledge to the new reality. On the one hand, as it was mentioned above, the older emigrant rarely engages in the same activities as he/she did abroad (in many cases, he/she does so in activities similar or identical to those engaged in before emigrating). On the other hand, the perception about innovation is largely obliterated by either the condition of

unskilled wage worker assumed in the host country, or by their low level of education and professional qualification, which one may even add to, in many instances, the advanced age and the understanding that risk-taking investments and efforts towards career progression are not worth pursuing at the individual level (Portela and Nobre, 2001: 1131-1132).

For all these reasons, one understands that emigration in general, and emigration experiences, in particular, constitute an important piece of this analysis and study - and are not unrelated to the main focus of attention which is the return process. Thus, according to this perspective, we tried to focus this research paper on the following specific objectives:

- 1) Comprehend the initial phase of the emigration process led by the studied population, identifying some of the factors that explain the procedures found, in some way or another, framed in all the emigration flows and in its intensity and frequency;
- 2) Carry out a social-economic characterization of those emigrants in the destination countries, encompassing an overview of some individual and family experiences that marked their journey abroad;
- 3) Build the returnee's profile, putting particular emphasis on variables that allow a comparative perspective on the individual's situation before departure and during the period of stay in the host country, seeking thus to identify possible effects of emigration in the emigrant's profile;
- 4) Investigate the main reasons for returning to the Azores, the contexts and the people who supported the decision, and the potential inclusion of the return in an initial emigration project;

- 5) Highlight issues related to the difficulties emphasized by the returnees with regard to the process of reintegration into the society of origin.

Respecting these objectives and the option previously justified to establish a relationship between emigration and return, the structure of this paper is divided into two main parts (Part I - Towards the Americas and Part II - Back to the Azores), with the Chapter 1 and Chapter 4 serving as an introductory framework to each part.

As outlined in the opening remarks of this report, the analysis in question is based on data collected by the Regional Department for the Communities, using a questionnaire constructed and applied by its staff. The survey took place between the last quarter of 2006 and the beginning of the second quarter of 2008, covering all the islands of the archipelago. In a total of 3490 interviews², respondents were those who, in the distant or recent past, met the condition of emigrants for a period equal to or more than one year and stated that they returned to the Azores with the intention of staying here. Parts of this sample, were those who departed during childhood or adolescence while accompanying their parents, and have returned at the age of 18 years old or more - cases of deportation were excluded from the sample³.

In order to carry out an exhaustive collection of information and cases, the selection of respondents was made from either the database that the Regional Departments for the Communities holds with the identification and contact details of returnees who

² Of these, 3463 were validated with the following distribution of islands: Santa Maria - 106 (3.1%), S. Miguel - 825 (23.8%) Third - 838 (24.2%), S. Jorge - 468 (13.5%); Pico - 505 (14.6%); Faial - 334 (9.6%), Graciosa - 180 (5.2%); Flores - 191 (5.5%); and Corvo - 16 (0.5%).

³ As is known, the phenomenon of deportation does not fit the concept of return.

usually seek (or have sought) its services, or from other lists provided by local and municipal entities (municipal councils, town halls, parishes and “privileged informants”). In each of the groups selected for the survey, and since this covers a fairly significant questions with identical answers to the various household members, only one of its elements was interviewed (preferably a member of the couple) in order to avoid the respondents’ perception of duplicated information which could eventually jeopardize their answers.

Due to this methodological option, the distribution of respondents by gender (55.5% men and 44.5% women) will not have an absolute correlation with the population of emigrants returning to the Azores. Both the method of collecting information (“door to door”) and, above all, the instructions given to interviewers so that they randomly surveyed only one member of the household, were factors that will certainly contribute to blur that same gender distribution. To this extent, the distribution obtained will tend to relate mostly to the main elements of the household (the couple), leaving out others (if any) that participated in the return movement, such as children and/or ancestors. Anyway, despite the reservations that we can place in terms of global values, the variable Gender will not fail to underline, in some points of analysis, marked differences that separate men and women in the return flows to the Azores.

Despite the means made available by the Regional Department for the Communities in order to obtain information about the Azorean returnees, because of the volume of surveys and the geographical extent of the collection, the analytical treatment carried out after the event has not escaped a few setbacks resulting from data quality and limitations in the conception of the evaluation and information tool (the survey),

or even the method of selection of respondents. All these issues will be timely and promptly addressed over the next few chapters.

In general, these difficulties forced a thorough job of clarifying the material collected and re-categorizing some key variables of the survey. These efforts ultimately lead to successive delays in obtaining the final results, which coupled with the fact that the investigation has been conducted over a relatively long period of time (two years, roughly), it does not allow us to relate rigorously to the present reality, though, in our opinion, the situation of Azorean returnees should not have gone through substantial changes in the past five years.

It should also be noted that it is not possible to statistically prove the representativeness of the wide range of cases that are addressed in this study and thus, be sure about the extrapolation of results obtained either for the total target population, or for the realities of each island. In addition, the records obtained by the Regional Department for the Communities do not cover the complete population of Azorean returnees (mostly it reports only those who for any reason have resorted to its services) and there is no other official statistical data to demonstrate the representativeness and the main characteristics of the respondents of the analyzed set after the information was collected.

PART I

**TOWARDS
THE AMERICAS**

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL AZOREAN EMIGRATION TRAITS OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY TO THE PRESENT

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha
Eduardo Ferreira

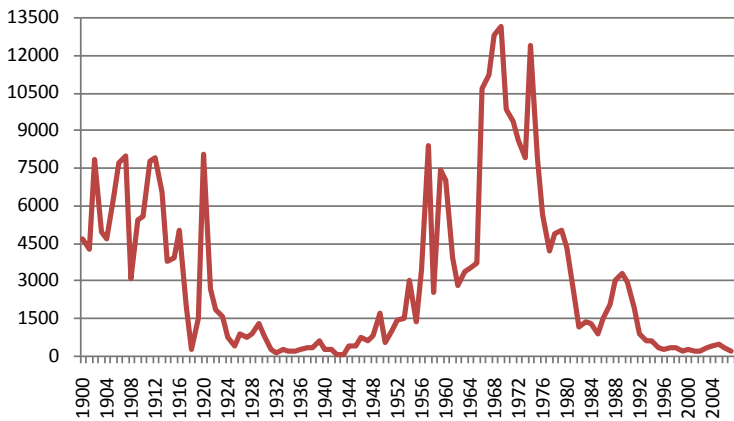
The analysis of emigrants who have returned to the Azores in the past few years, leads us towards those who left during the last of the golden periods of the Azorean emigration history, the second half of the twentieth century.

From the 1950s until around the early eighties, the intensity and characteristics of migration flows to the United States and Canada took shape under intense population movements of exodus from the archipelago. Against that background, the reference, however brief and within what are its broadest outlines, to these two dimensions - emigration volumes and destinations - becomes mandatory in the framework of the phenomenon under study - the return - since they are not dissociated neither from the experiences undergone by emigrants in the host country, nor from the frame of the motivations, the decision, the mode and timing they chose for the return.

It was in the early fifties of the last century that the trend of low intensity of the departure flows, which had persisted since the 1920s, showed the first signs of change. Between 1950 and 1960, about 31000 individuals left the islands, a figure that exceeded more than three times the total of 9000 individuals recorded in the 1930s and 40s (Chart 1.1). The reasons for this occurrence are not only the regime of exception granted by

the United States for emigrants wanting to entry this country, especially those from the islands of Faial and Pico, following the disastrous situation that resulted from the Capelinhos' Volcano eruption (Baganha, 1990, Mark, 2008)⁴, but also the emergence of a new Azorean migration destination migration - Canada -, and the legislative changes observed in the United States of America, which we'll address further ahead.

Chart 1. 1 - Evolution of the number of emigrants in the Azores, 1900-2007



Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística, Estatísticas Demográficas; Serviço Regional de Estatística dos Açores, Demografia; Direcção Regional das Comunidades.

Despite the annual oscillation, the strong intensity of the departures is an unequivocal reality until the early 20s, when a very sharp fall occurs as a result of legislative changes (referred to above), which follows a large dimension economic crisis, that

⁴ This access was conditioned by successive legislative restrictions that had been imposed over the 1920s decade (Baganha, 1990). The laws passed by the U.S. government in 1958, 1960 and 1961, assured the total entry of about 6050 Azores, through a special visa regime (Mark, 2008). About this particular flow, their social-demographic characteristics and their impact on the population dynamics and structure, refer also to Rocha, 2007 and Madruga da Costa, 1998.

leads to high levels of unemployment in the United States of America - the almost sole target of Azorean emigration at the time (Richardson, 2008).

In the thirties' and forties', the emigration volume was very low, rarely exceeding 500 emigrants per year, with the exception of 1949, when more than 1500 departures were registered. The destinations seem to be others, namely countries in Central and South America (Correa, 2008). As mentioned above, the fifties are a turning point due to the initial contributions of the first departures to Canada and later, at the end of the decade, to the United States of America.

Contrast is a characteristic of the following years, and in the late seventies emigration volumes are relatively similar to those observed in the early sixties, before the legislative changes in the United States of America that triggered the intensity of entries, particularly those that took place between 1965 and 1970. The decline observed after 1970 is exceptionally interrupted in 1974 with a volume of departures similar to that seen in 1966, over to 12,000 emigrants. We believe that in this case, for reasons different from those in other years, and more closely associated with the political changes of April 25th of the same this year. In the early eighties the figures are already very low, with annual values ranging between 1000 and 2000 departures, rising to 3000 by the end of the decade. However, this rise does not continue in the following decade, as it is throughout the nineties that we observe the lowest annual number of emigrants of the twentieth century. In most cases, lower than the figures from the thirties and forties, during which time, in the Azores, there was a claimed need for departures to overseas (Rocha, 2001; Rocha and Ferreira, 2009a). The attenuated increase observed in beginning of the twentieth century seems to have no continuity

throughout the decade since the last few years are marked again by a decrease, with around 200 emigrants in 2007.

Thus, it seems that the time of strong emigration, driven by the weak social conditions of existence in the islands' society, is left behind. While at the same time, the growth and development of emigrant communities in the main host countries occurs (Rocha and Ferreira, 2009a).

The sixties and seventies provided evidence that in an overwhelming majority of cases, a family type emigration occurred. In which the male was not the primary subject of the phenomenon, since he was accompanied by the wife, their children (if any were born) and in many situations, by the ancestor of one the couple's elements, that is, the father and/or mother (almost always, widow or widower) of one of the spouses, a situation that easily stemmed from a prior cohabitation between these individuals. Even in cases that the family could not depart together at the same time, family reunification would eventually occur, once created the conditions necessary for the settlement of the remaining family members in the host country (Medeiros and Madeira , 2003: 22).

The implications of this emigration model for the demographic dynamics of the islands - as a whole and for each one of them in particular - are already known (Rocha, 1991, 1995, 2010). And relate mainly to either the high and rapid population decline that took place in the Azores during the same period, or to the non-compensation in the years ahead by low birth rates, which directly arise from this issue of a young family emigration and from, later on, an effective birth control.

The second point that in some way, also happens to give specificity to the Azorean emigration - presenting itself, even over several decades, as one of its distinguishing features compared

to the emigration flows that took place in the mainland - is that the departures towards the main migratory destinations of the time were almost always final. During the history of Azorean emigration, the return has been maintained as a more or less the exception, and is often associated with the financial difficulties in the host countries, as already previously noted.

Associated with these departure characteristics - mainly final and family encompassing - is, somehow, the widespread idea that upon the decision of departure, the possibility of return was non-existent, something which is not verified by the respondents in this study. On the contrary, the desire to return is stated by most respondents, a feature which is commonly found in most of the international migratory experiences. Accordingly, and regardless of their achievement, or lack thereof, the Azoreans who headed to the American continent in the second half of the twentieth century had in mind the possibility of returning to the Azores.

Both the distances separating the main archipelago from the host territories, and the setbacks involved in re-settling the whole family group in the land they had left, have not been the only factors contributing to a general trend of not achieving the return, regardless of whether or not that goal existed in migratory projects. The effects of the weak financial situation experienced in the Azores, during the thirties and forties, eventually extended over time, causing the main reason for the Azorean emigration to become (especially during the fifties and sixties) the improvement of the social and financial situation of those who left -issue addressed in the following chapter. No wonder then, that in this context, the prospect of returning to the origins experienced a downturn - almost naturally, we would say - caused by the suspicion that the emigrants had on

a possible improvement of living conditions in the archipelago and, therefore, of their own social and financial status.

Indeed, the time interval between the two World Wars was to the Azores, a period traversed by difficulties of a distinct nature.⁵ In reality, it was a phase of great adversity to the economic and social structure of the islands, with real negative consequences in the everyday life of people, such as job insecurity, a sharp drop in purchasing power and a general increase in poverty (Enes, 1994: 40-46). A significant part of this problem lies in the amorphous agricultural sector which was traditional and largely conditioned by the ownership structure, hence giving rise to lack of land, high rents and low wages in this activity. In addition to this structural issue, economic and political decisions made at that time directly result in two other issues. On the one hand, the shrinkage of the Azorean economy by way of a general decline of prices of the main exported goods, within a logic determined by the Central Government which sought to privilege certain Mainland and Colonial goods within the domestic market and detriment similar goods produced in the Azores. On the other hand, a factor which is extended to the whole national territory, there was a tendency for the contraction of public expenditure, which for a long period of time, was imposed by the Salazar government. Thus contributing to the worsening of the unemployment and seasonal employment, and with obvious consequences in terms of wages and the populations' purchasing power, especially within the less advantaged social groups (Enes, 1994: 40-46).

⁵ See, for example, some of the interventions made under the First Azorean Congress, held in Lisbon in 1938 (AAVV, 1995 [1940]).

Moreover, we see an ambiguity in the emigration policy decisions of the New State. First, balancing, between the need for departures in order to contain the levels of poverty, unemployment and consequent social unrest, as well as financial benefits of remittances. And secondly, the maintenance of a strengthened national spirit, characteristic of the time, which prevented the introduction of liberal and modernizing ideas and ways of life. This, is particularly important in the Azorean emigration, whose main destination was the North American continent. Especially the United States of America, seen as a central paradigm of the so called modernity that was greatly challenged by Salazar and his supporters, an issue that is well explained in the study by Armando Cândido (Cândido, 1952, Rocha and Ferreira, 2009b).

Added to all this, the demographic situation that characterized the archipelago early in the second half of the twentieth century further worsened the problem of poverty and lack of jobs. Between 1930 and 1950, and as a result of the combination of high birth rates with very low levels of emigration, the Azorean population increased from almost 254,000 to about 317,000 inhabitants with the result that, during the fifties, the Azores still felt the effects of strong demographic pressure, translated from the outset, in the issue of surplus of manpower (Rocha 2008, Rocha and Ferreira, 2008). This was therefore another contributing factor (along with those mentioned above), in defining a broader context of the encouragement of mass emigration -even an obstacle to the return to the home land.

Between 1965 and 1975, more than 215 000 people left the Azores, despite variations in pace and intensity of the flows throughout this period. The departures affected mainly the age group between 20 to 40 years old, with no significant differences

in emigrants' gender (Rocha, 2008: 297), which indicates that this was, in fact, a kind of large scale family migration in large scale.

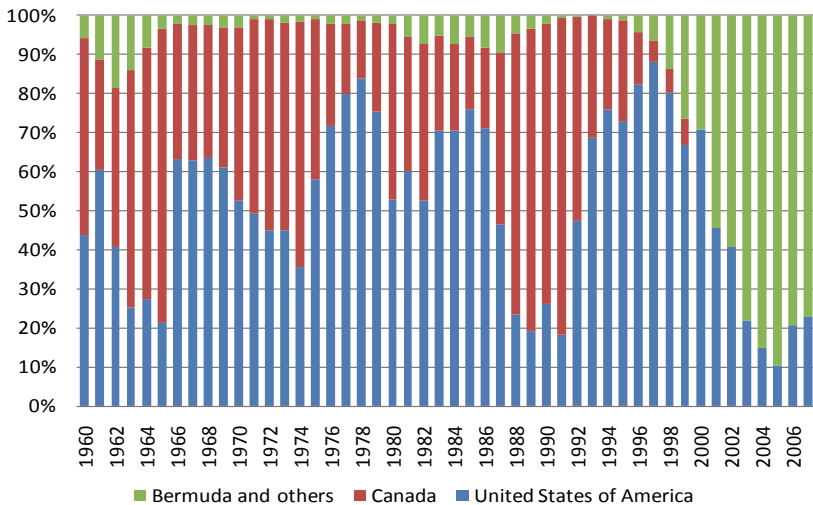
Given the volume and characteristics of such flows, the demographic consequences were quickly felt. Between the early sixties and the early eighties, the Azorean population decreased at a quite significant rate, thus, reversing the trend previously described (Rocha, 2008). At a time when the decline in birth rates had not yet been set within the islands' population, emigration was the main cause of depletion of people, which only slowed down with the stagnation of departure flows at very low levels in the eighties.

Considering now the main destinations of Azorean emigration during the second half of the twentieth century, especially from the sixties, and while not ignoring other possible countries, we underscore the United States and Canada as the main recipients of these migratory movements. Indeed, as we have previously highlighted, the consolidation of these flows has allowed the emergence of important communities, many of them having as an unifying element a region, an island or a location of origin, thus embodying the idea of an Azorean diaspora. It is estimated that currently there are 1.5 million Azorean emigrants and their descendants living abroad (Teixeira, 2010: 196).

Observation of Chart 1.2 clarifies the changes witnessed during the extended period of 1960 to 2007, especially regarding the different situation in the emigration destinations, occurring from the late nineties. Indeed, the United States of America, and even earlier, Canada, have lost the characterizing dominance that lasted for several decades, allowing another traditional Azorean emigration destination - Bermuda - to assume greater importance than of those countries played throughout many decades in the landscape of Azorean departures.

The differentiating factor that this destination presents in the analysis of results developed in this study requires that we note its specificities will be further discussed -even though in a brief and concise manner. Although since the mid-nineteenth century, Bermuda was one of the main routes in the Azorean emigration, the differences that distinguish it from both the U.S. and Canada are substantial. Besides of presenting lower figures in terms of volume and intensity of flows, the type of emigration and the general profile of the emigrants who are associated with departure movements towards Bermuda assume unique characteristics.

Chart 1. 2 - Destination countries of Azorean emigration, 1960-2007 (%)



Source: SREA

It is primarily a migration that could be framed in an international flow of the temporary work type, with each migration cycle averaging a duration of two years and involving, in many cases, a residence period of one year, which is marked

by the previously established term of work contract of the immigrant worker. In this context, besides the possibility that the duration of that contract can be extended in stages (e.g., in two year periods), to the maximum stay period imposed by law of six years, re-emigration is a relatively common practice. The return to the Azores is in many cases, also temporary because with some ease, a new work contract is signed (not necessarily with the previous employer) and a new migration cycle begins. Understandably, the return, in this particular situation is likely to differ significantly from the models associated with destinations such as the U.S. and Canada. First, due to the length of stay factor, but not solely.

Besides this being a migratory experience of short or medium term, it is essentially an individual trajectory, made overwhelmingly by men of working age, with the aim of building up, as quickly as possible, enough for, in most cases, lower the costs of housing and, if possible, in order to acquire some assets that otherwise, would have been more difficult access. The permanence of the family group (including wife and children) in the Azores is mainly the result of the strict conditions that are imposed by the law of Bermuda to monitor immigration and family reunification. This is further enforced by the high costs of settling family members with no income in that host territory.⁶ This contributes largely to reinforce the temporary nature of the flow; give a greater degree of focus towards the objectives of the departure; significantly decrease the chances of emigrants experience another type of integration in the destination (than through labour); and accelerate, in many cases, the desire to return.

⁶ We refer mainly to costs of housing and food.

Thus, regardless of the intensity of the departures of recent years, which as previously emphasized is quite small, the almost exclusive target of Azorean emigration now regards this small territory.

However much we may associate the decline in emigration flows in general terms with the improved economic conditions experienced by Azorean society over the past decades, the loss of the relative importance of the two major host countries - the United States and Canada - is no stranger to changes in these countries' economic, social and legal conditions. As has been the most theoretical framework of migration studies, where the economic conditions of countries of origin are an aspect that, in any way, we can neglect the analysis of the problem of emigration, can not be neglected conditions in destination countries, that is especially relevant for understanding the movements of departure from the Azores. Economic, social and legal status of the host countries had a role in frequency and intensity of Azorean emigration flows, and in this way may also have been exercising some influence on the return movements.

The gradual decrease of the Azorean emigration to the United States and Canada should be understood first of all, in the more current context of immigration policies that favor the entry of emigrants in possession of some qualification level (IOM, 2010). Particularly in the United States of America, the openness of immigration policy that occurred after 1965, with the Immigration Act, until roughly the second half of the eighties, allowed the mass departure of tens of thousands of Azoreans - as outlined above. In practice, this important change in the American legal framework, characterized by replacement of the quota system established in the twenties (in which the authorizations for the entry of emigrants from a particular

country, were granted according to the number of individuals from these regions already residing in the United States of America) by another system in which preference is given to relatives of U.S. citizens, thus favoring the reunification, and to individuals who had a profile suited to meet the needs of the job market in this country.

Such needs were linked at that time, with a large demand for labour for low-skilled jobs that could ensure a mass production in key sectors of the North American economy. The criterion by which the quota system began to abide opened the door to a large percentage of emigrants from the main countries of southern Europe where illiteracy and low levels of qualification prevailed, and where in some cases, for example in Portugal, emigration policy had come to be more permissive compared to previous decades (Baganha, 2003).⁷ In addition, at that time, many of the aspiring emigrants - among which we must stress the particular case of Azoreans - had relatives residing in the United States of America who possessed American citizenship and that, under the new legislation and through "invitation letters", could apply for the coming of individuals or small family groups.

Since the late seventies, the degree of openness of immigration policy in the United States increased even more than what had already happened after the 1965 reform to the point where, the eighties' decade witnessed a growth in mass illegal

⁷ Baganha (2003) notes the periods of the fifties and 1974 as one in which the New State, during his nearly forty-year period showed a greater openness in its emigration policy. Although the level of control over the departures remained high - through, for example, legislation dating from the early sixties (Law Decree n.o44: 422 of June 22nd of 1962) which set a maximum number of departures at 30000 per year and forbade the emigration of some specific occupations - the government begins to foresee not only the benefits of remittances on government revenue and the consequent funding of the war in Africa, but also the opportunity offered by emigration, as an escape valve, of disposal of a large volume of population groups from the rural areas who had no place in the main urban centers or in the new developmental model of an industrialist matrix (see Baganha, 2003: 3-5).

emigration. From there on, the maximum number of entries became restricted and the preference criteria for the profile of emigrants was changed, being given priority to the professional qualification and the ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of emigrants (Gomes, 2001).

In the case of Canada, a country which has always encouraged immigration and immigrant integration, the trend over the past decades has been to not only open doors to skilled workers, but also to entrepreneurial emigrants, who are, moreover, the two more significant categories in the most recent entries (Hiebert, 2008).

Moreover, from the late seventies, the immigration policy of this country has seen increasing its complexity with autonomy that was progressively given to each of the provinces. Indeed, contrary to what occurred in the first twenty years after the end of the Great War, the Federal Government no longer has full responsibility regarding the definition of preference criteria, profile of the entries and selection and admission of candidates. Since 1978, year of the first Provincial Nominee Program for the province of Quebec, each of the territories started to directly take over the application procedures and admission criteria according to their short term needs and objectives. The Federal Government continued to define the overall immigration quota, after consulting the provinces, and presenting them to the Parliament once a year (Hiebert, 2008: 33).

To this extent, the increased complexity of the system and, above all, the orientations for the admission of emigrants with higher qualification levels and entrepreneurial objectives, constitute important factors to take into account when equating the more general framework of the causes of Canada's loss of relative importance as a major destination of Azorean emigration.

Similar to what we stated above about the United States, we must also consider here the hypothesis of the generalized inadequacy of the characteristics of a large percentage of the Azorean population - at least of those who could have been interested in emigration as an individual and family project - in face of the preferred requisites in the immigration policy defined by this country.

With regard to Bermuda, the contours of the relationship between the job market needs and the legal framework for hosting foreigners are different from the previous territories. In fact, the economy of this small territory is considered one of the most prosperous in the world with one of the highest GDP per capita in the world (according to World Bank data), with highly developed financial and tourist sectors, and also with a quite low unemployment rate. Despite this last aspect, resorting to immigration has fulfilled the need for manpower in a very diverse range of activities and professions.⁸ So it is now possible to find a significant percentage of foreigners performing professions that demand a high qualification level, particularly in the financial services sector, while simultaneously, other immigrant workers perform activities and fit into social and professional categories that demand less qualification (Cubbon, 2005). This happens, for example, in the construction, hotel, restaurant sectors and in certain services such as landscaping, which comprises most of the emigrants' manpower from the Azores.⁹

⁸ In 2000, foreigners practicing activities in Bermuda territory amounted to 19% of the total employed population, while in 2010 this percentage increased to 25% (Report on the 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Bermuda Government / Department of Statistics, www.statistics.gov.bm/).

⁹ Between 1991 and 2001, both the restaurant and construction sectors were among those which experienced a greater positive change in the concentration of employed manpower - 29% and 11%, respectively - while the hotel business suffered a decrease of 22% (Report on the 2000 Census of Population and Housing, Bermuda Government / Department of Statistics, www.statistics.gov.bm/).

The job market determines the coexistence (although conditioned in time and with a high turnover rate) of an immigration of the professional type with a more manual labour immigration creating a different model, from, for example, the emigration flows to the United States and Canada.

Bermudian immigration policy plays a crucial role in this model by restricting the granting of resident status to individuals of other nationalities with very specific cases, so that, in the overwhelming majority of cases foreigners receive only residence and employment authorizations that enable the temporary stay of individuals (for a maximum period not exceeding six years) with the sole purpose of performing strategic activities for the local economy where there is a shortage of indigenous labour.¹⁰ This time constraint, ensures that, despite the low volumes involved, the two types of immigration flows remain active and that Bermuda remains an attractive destination target not only for Portuguese individuals, but also to other immigrant groups - at least while the job market is able to absorb workers as until now.

Apart from these legal issues related specifically to emigration to Bermuda, and in order to conclude this chapter, it is important to draw attention to the possible effect that the evolution of economic and political frameworks, in the U.S. or Canada, in recent decades may have had on return flows to the Azores, especially with regard to the timing chosen by the emigrants. Although often suggested with some scientific evidence, that the return tends to be the realization of its previous inclusion in the migration project and that, in most cases the return results from the fact that its protagonists have

¹⁰ Bermuda is an archipelago consisting of more than 150 small islands and atolls (only two of them are inhabited), with a total area of 57 km², this legal restriction turns out to be based on important geo-demographic conditions, such as small inhabitable geographical area and the risk of overcrowding the territory by the uncontrolled increase in population.

entered a new stage of the life cycle which lets them put it into practice, we can not forget that often the return is permanently postponed or made impossible by the strong family ties established in the host country. However, the reduction in the intensity of emigration flows from the Azores, occurring after the second half of the seventies, not only prevented or stopped the family reunification of many emigrants in the host society, but also, in the symbolic perspective, may have contributed to increase the perception of a greater barrier between the origin and the destination, thus leading to a growth in the desire to return. A desire more readily achievable by an increase in air links and closer contact made possible by new communication technologies.

SUMMARY

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, the Azorean emigration flows presented the following fundamental characteristics:

- 1) Very high departure volumes, according to a gradual pace of growth from the early fifties to early seventies, period when the trend is reversed to give rise to, already during the eighties, a stabilization of the phenomenon;
- 2) The emergence of a new emigration destination – Canada - in the early fifties and the reactivation of flows to the United States of America, from 1965, due to important changes in the immigration policy of this country;
- 3) The generalized departure to these destinations, of working age individuals and youngsters, in most cases, following a pattern of a family type emigration, had significant effects in terms of demographic imbalance in the archipelago as a whole, and in each island in particular;

- 4) The establishment of an emigration flow to Bermuda, with different characteristics of those which linked the Azores to North America, - overwhelmingly associated to individual temporary and work-related departures. The re-emigration is a common trend, making the returns also in many cases temporary and distinct from those made by emigrants from the United States or Canada;
- 5) The decrease in departure movements from the early seventies, motivated not only by the improvement of living conditions in the Azores, but also as a result of a gradual establishment of selective immigration policies by the two major destination countries of Azorean emigrants - United States and Canada;
- 6) Overall, the growth and consolidation of Azorean emigrant communities overseas, estimated at present to amount to 1.5 million individuals, including emigrants and descendants.

CHAPTER 2

THE EMIGRATION PROCESS OF RETURNEES

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Derrick Mendes

In this chapter we intend to describe some of the features regarding the returning emigrants who were surveyed in this study by taking into consideration, among other aspects, the situations at the beginning of their emigration processes, reasons for departure and main destinations. It's thus, a characterization of the respondents, i.e. the target population of this research. However, given the span of those who were covered under the sample, and notwithstanding the limitations noted in the Foreword, we believe that the results presented here are bound to be identifying elements of the returnee Azorean emigration.

So, by examining Chart 2.1, it appears that most respondents - more than half - returned from the United States of America, second were those who returned from Canada. The remaining countries present with relatively small figures, a fact that, we believe, can only be understood in within the framework of the Azorean emigration destinations that was described in the previous chapter. If we compare the relative importance of each destination, whether by the volume of emigrants or returnees from 1960 to the present, there are some differences, which do not take away, however, from the known relevance of the main countries of Azorean emigration. Such can be observed in Chart 2.2. Indeed, if on one hand, Canada appears to be the main destination of the Azorean emigration, the Azorean return phenomenon occurred mostly in the EU member countries. Although this finding may be

conditioned by the respondents' representativeness, we believe that this indicates some differences in the host countries, with economic, social, cultural, political and distinct legislative situations and development that may have influenced the decision to return.

Chart 2. 1 - Destination countries of the respondents (%)

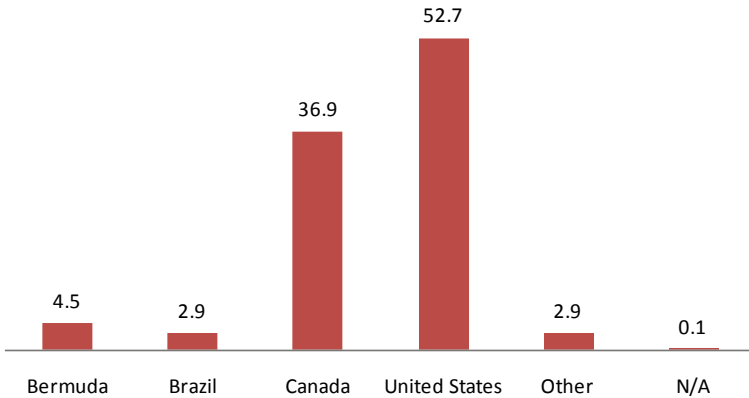
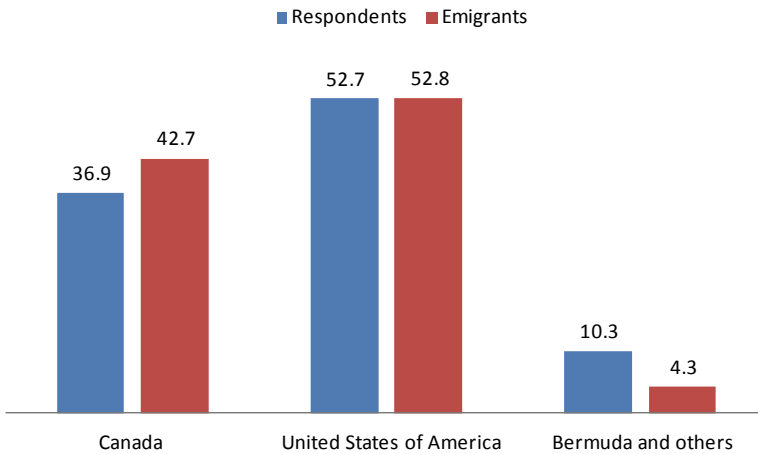


Chart 2. 2 - Destination countries of Azorean emigration and of respondents from 1960 to 2007 (%)

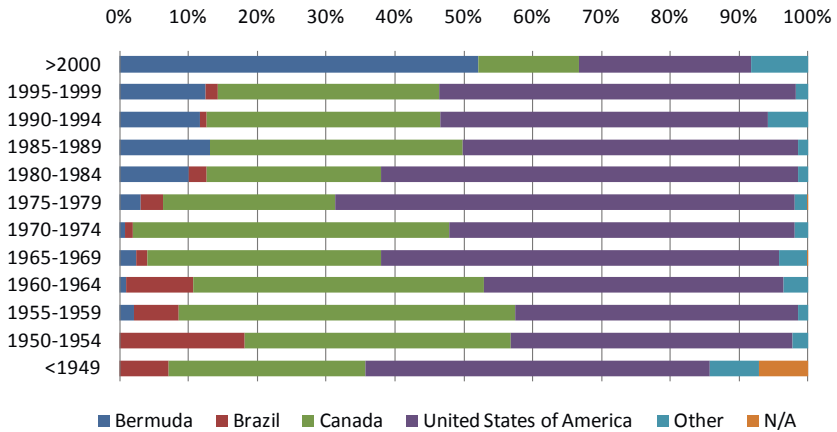


Source: SREA

Attending to the intensity of the various departure flows in the various emigration periods (differentiated by the main destinations), which we presented in the first chapter, we find some connection with the emigration years of the respondents. In fact, Chart 2.3 - in which we registered the relative importance of the respondent's destinations by five-year segments - demonstrates, once again, the relevance of Canada and the United States in almost the entire period, with the sole exception concerning those who emigrated to Bermuda, which occurred primarily in the first decade of the twenty first century. The case of Brazil also stands out, however the departure statistics are not known, even though it is known to have had some importance at the time when emigration to the United States was made difficult. This may not be alien to the understanding of the emigration policies of the New State, which privileged this country because of a past in common, and political and ideological options that, over a relatively wide period, were similar to those existing in Portugal (Rocha and Ferreira, 2009b). Moreover, the destination of Brazil had a strong representation in the Azorean emigration, a situation that only changes when the priority is permanently given, in the early twentieth century, to the U.S. (Rocha, 2008).

Looking at the destination countries by emigration periods we can't help but wonder about the figures for Canada in the years prior to 1953, when the first Azorean flow left for this country. This should be explained by the return of persons who initially sought other destinations, namely the United States, and who only later headed for Canadian lands.

Chart 2. 3 - Countries of destination of the respondents by emigration period (%)



Looking for a more detailed knowledge of the returns corresponding to the departure flows by periods, we present in the following charts a comparison of the relative importance of various five-year periods, for both the intensity of the emigration and the return, which allows us to somehow measure the degree of representativeness of the surveyed population in the Azorean emigration phenomenon that characterized the second half of the last century.¹¹

Overall, the biggest difference concerns a more significant return of those who left the archipelago since 1970, especially in the years of 1970 to 1974, although it was in the previous five-year period, from 1965 to 1969, that emigration reached its highest intensity. Indeed, comparing the two curves, it appears that the number of those who left before the seventies is always

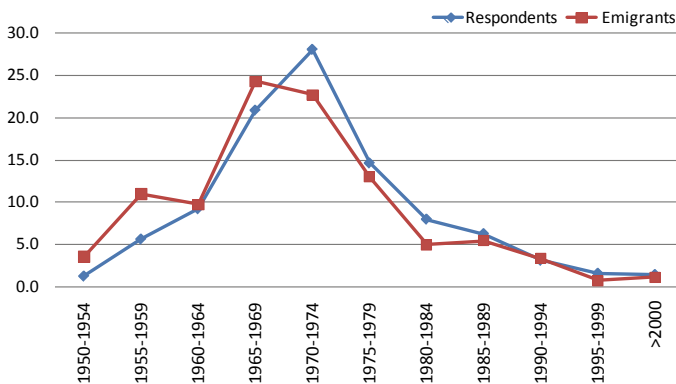
¹¹ The fact that we don't have the total figures for all the returned emigrants and not knowing the sample's representation minimizes the importance of a demographic analysis by cohorts. In this sense we decided to examine the independent relative importance of each of the flows and make a comparative analysis of their respective developments.

higher than those who returned, particularly in those who emigrated between 1955 and 1959.

The almost overlapping curves in Chart 2.4 indicate that, the surveyed population is representative of the emigration reality of the last six decades. The biggest differences relate to a lower number of individuals regarding the period of 1950 to 1964 and its slight overrepresentation in the context of departures occurring between 1970 and 1989 (especially in the years 1970 to 1974).

In this sense we can state that some of the points of analysis reflect, with some degree of reliability, that particular period of emigration flow which started in the fifties – and had continuity throughout the seventies and, especially, in the years following the April 25th witnessing the departure of many Azorean towards America North in a mist of uncertainty and opportunity.

Chart 2. 4 - Destination countries of all emigrants and surveyed emigrants, by emigration period (%)



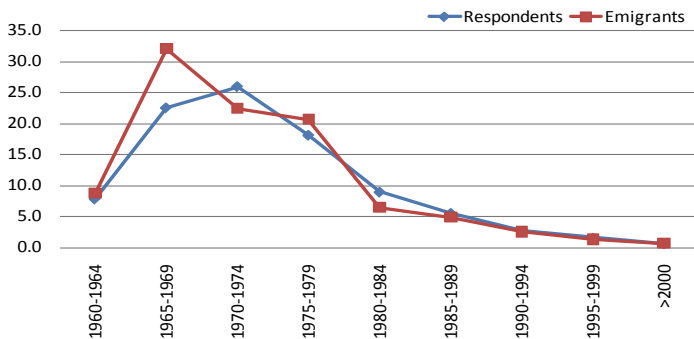
Source: SREA

This global situation is particularly justified when we take a closer look at the evolution of the two curves in the

United States of America. Indeed, the weight of returnees who emigrated between 1965 and 1970 is significantly lower than the quantitative importance of this year in the total of departures for this country. Something similar is found in the years of 1975 to 1979, and also for the years of 1980 to 1984 (though a much more attenuated difference). After this latter time period, the percentages are similar for emigrants and returning emigrants.

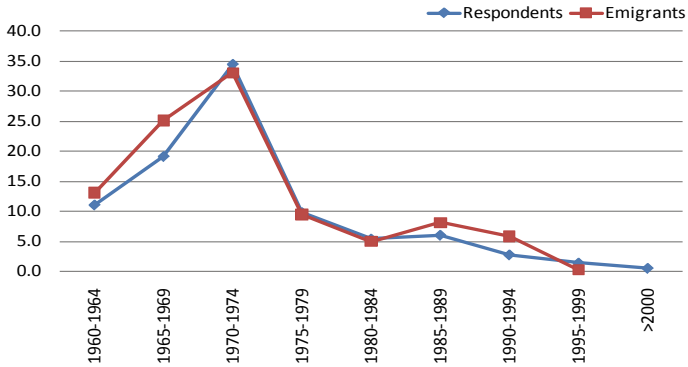
When analyzed by country of destination, this representation presents with some variations. In the case of the United States of America, the weight of returnees who emigrated between 1965 and 1970 (the golden years of emigration to this country) is significantly lower than to the relative importance on the joint departures occurring in this five-year period. Something identical is found for the years of 1975 to 1979, but with a much more attenuated difference. The reverse situation applies for the two periods, 1970 to 1974 and 1980 to 1984 (though in a less significant manner). From this latter date the percentage values of total departures are similar to the departures of the surveyed population.

Chart 2. 5 - Evolution of the destination United States in the total of emigrants and surveyed emigrants, by emigration period (%)



Source: SREA

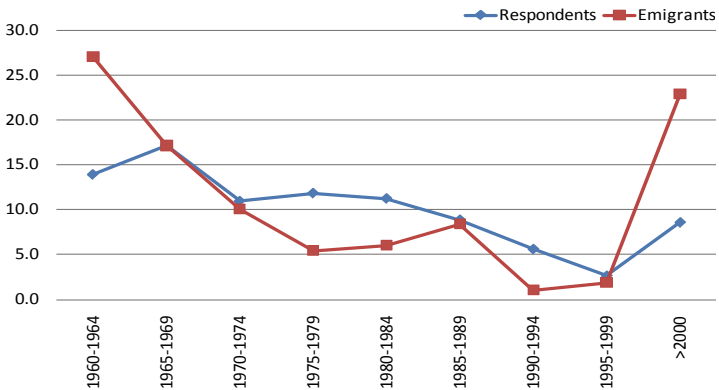
Chart 2. 6 - Evolution of the destination Canada in the total of emigrants and surveyed emigrants, by emigration period (%)



Source: SREA

The situation for Canada appears much more homogenous than the case of the U.S. However, it does present with the same slight tendency for under-representation of the surveyed emigrants who departed between 1965 and 1969.

Chart 2. 7 - Evolution of the destination Bermuda in the total of emigrants and surveyed emigrants, by emigration period (%)



Source: SREA

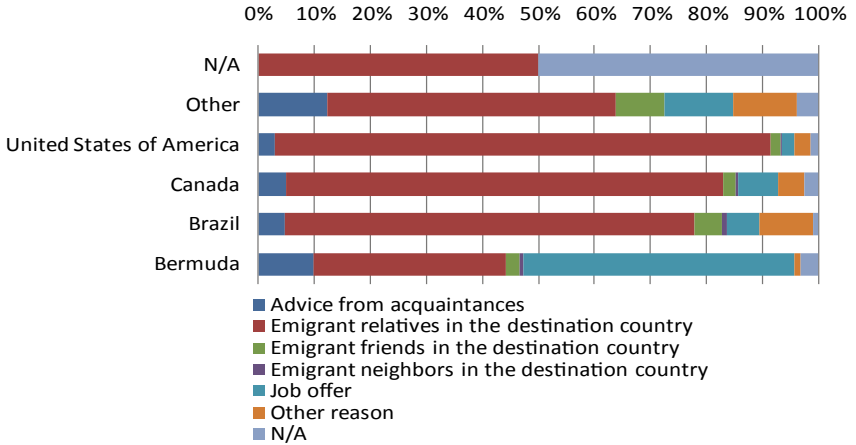
With regard to emigration to Bermuda, the differences are more pronounced. The dissimilarity between the relative figures of the two groups in analysis is noticeable, not only for most of the period from the second half of the seventies to the mid-nineties, but also, more explicitly, in those periods when emigration to this destination reached more significant numbers, i.e., 1960 to 1964 and after 2000.¹²

Also in this regard, Bermuda presents very unique characteristics, well different from those observed in the United States of America and Canada and the interpretation of the chart cannot be dissociated from its temporary emigration features. There two significant particularly significant emigration flows. One corresponds to the years of 1960 to 1964. And another flow corresponds to the more recent years, where returns are less intense than the departures. However, both are relatively homogeneous among themselves, albeit with a more pronounced drop in the years of 1985 to 1995.

Considering now the foundation that led to the choice of a specific destination country, and even though there are a variety of reasons, one aspect is common to the whole of Azorean emigration: the fact that there were emigrant relatives already living in those countries (81.3%). This aspect is of enormous importance in the United States, Canada and even in Brazil, although less relevant in Bermuda. Still, one cannot forget also the advice from acquaintances or the job offers, the latter being a very important motivation in the case of Bermuda with about 60% of responses, whereas in the case of the United States, Brazil and Canada the responses were 11%, 12% and 5% respectively.

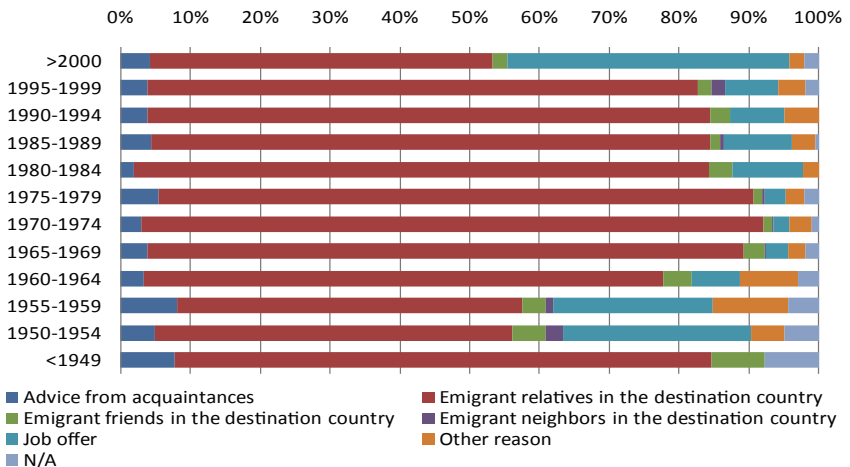
¹² That data collection for this study began in the last quarter of 2006, extending until the end of the first quarter of 2008, which possibly explain the small percentage of respondents who emigrated to Bermuda after 2000.

Chart 2. 8 - Reason for choice of destination, by countries (%)



An analysis, by emigration period, of the reasons for the choice of destination countries reveals once again, the existence of family members. This reason is highly relevant in between 1965 and 1979, with percentage values above 90%. The figures are much lower in the fifties emigration to Canada begins and in this century when the main host country is Bermuda.

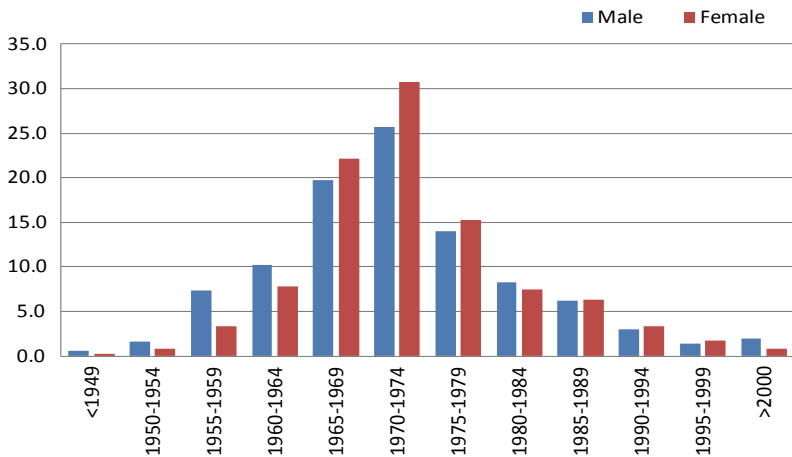
Chart 2. 9 - Reason for choice of destination, by emigration period (%)



In this sense, it is important to underline the importance of social networks, especially family networks, as key elements in understanding of the Azorean emigration issue, in particular when considering the continuity of flows to certain destinations countries –this was crucial in the North American continent.

When we consider their main demographic characteristics at the moment of departure, there are two variables, which in our view, deserve, indeed, a closer look: sex and marital status. Regarding the first - widely cited as a vital factor when characterizing the emigration flows from the Azores (Rocha, 1991; Medeiros and Madeira, 2003, 2004) - it turns out that, unlike the Portuguese mainland (Rat, 2001; Amaro 1985; Poinard, 1983 among others), the Azorean emigration was over several decades, especially of the type family, which can be confirmed by Chart 2.9 in which, regardless of differences in the various five-year periods, men and women have values relatively close to each other.

Chart 2. 10 - Respondents by emigration period and gender (%)



However, by itself, the figures in question do not lead to the emigration dynamics but rather to the return which

reveals a gender breakdown that may be distinguished. Indeed, the preponderance of the female gender in the return occurs more significantly from 1965 and until 1980 – the age variable seems to be a possible explanatory factor – but not for returns observed since 2000, where the males assume some relevance (although we must safeguard the small number of respondents). We ought to underscore, once again, the methodology adopted in the survey (as we mentioned in the Introduction to this study).

From the analysis of the marital status it was possible for us to conclude that, like Medeiros and Madeira (2003; 2004) had registered, in the municipalities of Povoação and Nordeste the “married” respondents made up the majority of emigrants (66%), thus reflecting the Azorean emigration characteristics already previously address. However, the values observed in the “single” category are not at all insignificant (32.2%). When crossing the variables “marital status before emigration” and “gender” of respondents, it was concluded that about 46% of women were married at the time of departure. In the case of “single” there were a higher percentage of males, about 59%, while in the remaining categories, despite gender differences being significant, we underscore that the sample group is small (n=17).

Chart 2. 11 - Respondents by marital status before emigrating (%)

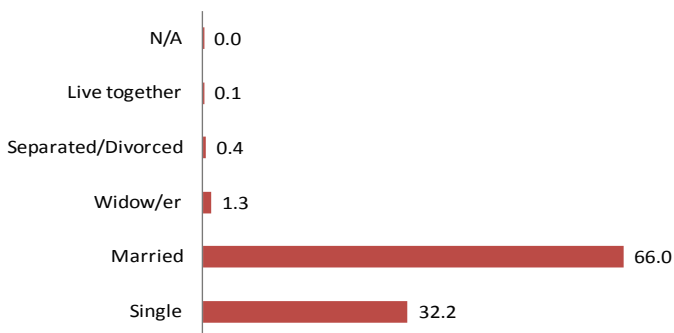
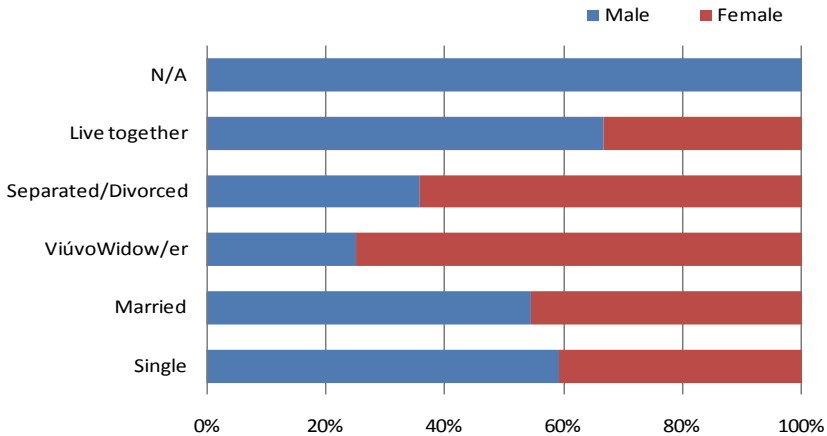
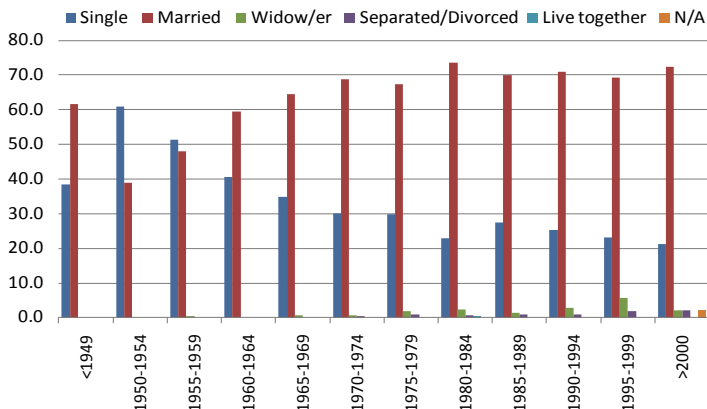


Chart 2. 12 - Respondents according to marital status before emigrating, by gender (%)



By analyzing these variables taking into account the years of emigration, we observed that the highest intensity recorded in the “single” category tends to blur over time. On the other hand, the percentage of “married” has recorded a significant increase over the years, with a percentage in the period 1960 to 1964 of around 60% and of about 80% in the last decade.

Chart 2. 13 - Respondents according to marital status before emigrating, by emigration period (%)

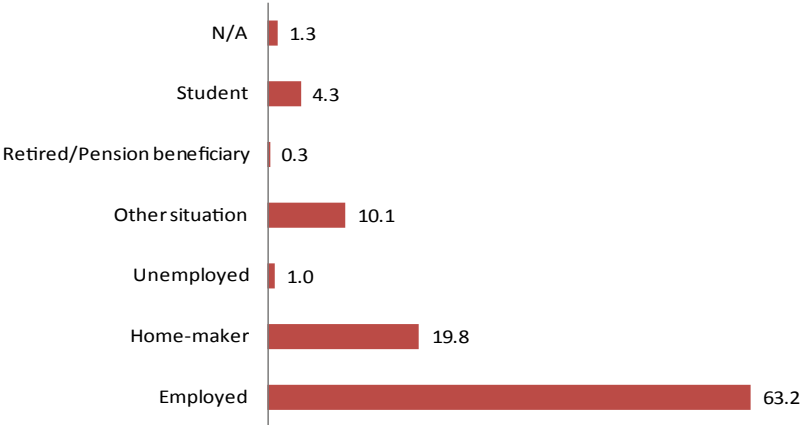


If the political point of view has been presented earlier some of the changes operated in the Azores and the Azorean traditional countries of emigration, in terms of economic and social-professional will then meet some aspects that may also have had an influence on the decision to depart from the population who later returned to the Azores and now we are analyzing. Indeed, the financial aspect, often conditioned by economic factors in regions of origin and destination, has been one of the most emphasized aspects in the literature on international migration dynamics (Rocha *et al.*, 2009, 2004, Peixoto, 2008; Portes, 2006, Chiswick, 2005 among others). In respect to the Azorean reality, as already mentioned, the financial difficulties arising from the existence of a weakened and poorly dynamic productive sectors, at times conditioned by natural constraints, was present in almost all islands and places until the beginning of this century.

Early in the second half of the twentieth century, the population of the Azores is dedicated mainly to agriculture, it unqualified, and is therefore, bound to engage in low status professions. In 1965, the year that marks the beginning of the great flow of emigration, the Primary Sector concentrated more than half the workforce. This was experienced especially in the smaller islands (Fortuna, 2009: 552-553). This scene goes on for several years and at the end of the twentieth century, despite some changes, presents itself as one of the less developed regions of the country, which was also in a less positive situation, particularly when viewed in its relationship with European counterparts.

In a more circumscribed view of the situation concerning the work of the respondents, it appears that the overwhelming majority (63.2%) were employed before emigrating. Indeed, as seen in the chart below, the presence of the element “employed” seems to be one of the characteristics that cut across almost the entire sample, because the percentage of respondents who did not work at time of emigration - excluding “home-makers” (19.8%) - is minor, with only 1% of the total.

Chart 2. 14 - Respondents by employment situation before emigrating (%)



As we cross this variable with the destination country, one of the first conclusions present in Chart 2.14 and which should be emphasized, is that about 80% of the now returned emigrant population was employed before emigrating to Bermuda showing thus, the particular characteristics of emigration to this country. In the case of United States and Canada, despite the importance of active employed reported to be significant, it is worth mentioning the 20% of house makers who, through family migration or family reunification, have opted for these destinations.

Chart 2. 15 - Respondents according to employment situation before emigrating, by destination country (%)

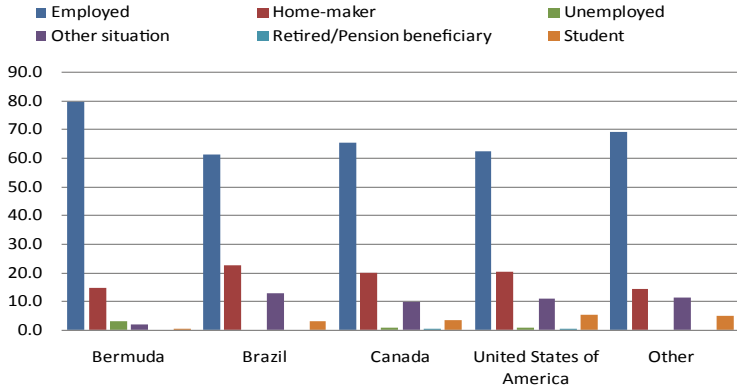
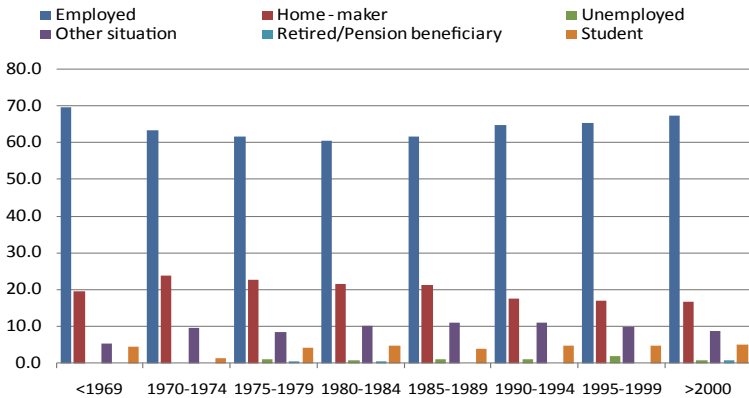


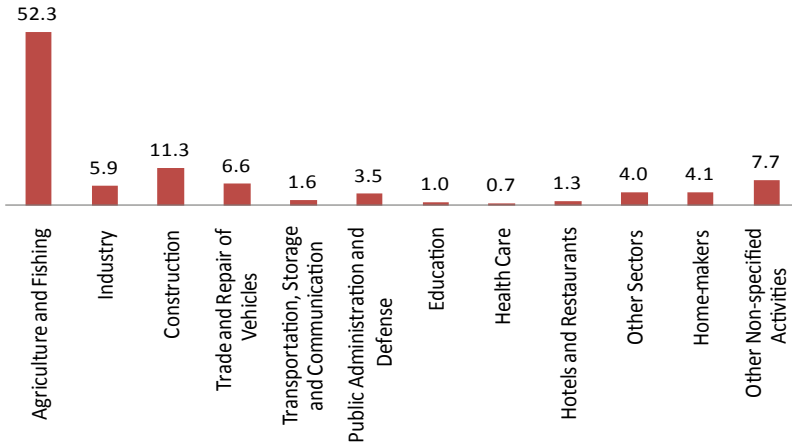
Chart 2. 16 - Respondents according to employment situation before emigrating, by emigration period (%)



When this data is disaggregated by years of emigration, one aspect that stands out is actually the fact that the employed individuals surveyed who chose to emigrate, are significantly represented throughout the whole period under review, as seen in Chart 2.16. It should be noted that in the two five-year periods subsequent to 1974, the general trend is the decrease of the

departure flows of employed population, though followed by the group of “home-makers”. After the first half of the eighties there’s again an increase of those who were employed, contrary to what is recorded in the “home-maker” sample, which tends to decrease.

Chart 2. 17 - Respondents by profession before emigrating (%)



This data becomes relevant when we consider the respondents’ profession before departure. Indeed, in addition to observing a strong presence of employed individuals, we found that most were associated with the “Agriculture and Fishing” (52.3%), which is perfectly consistent with the reality of the archipelago during the departure periods of peak intensity. At the same time we note that about 11% of respondents had a profession related to the sector of “Construction”. Following are the “Trade and Repair of Vehicles” (6.6%) and “Industry” (5.9%), which collect a significant percentage of respondents. In an analysis by gender, we observed that the workforce in the sector “Agriculture and Fishing” is overwhelmingly male, although the presence of female individuals is felt (7.1%), as can be seen from Chart 2.18.

Chart 2. 18 - Respondents according to profession before emigrating and by gender (%)

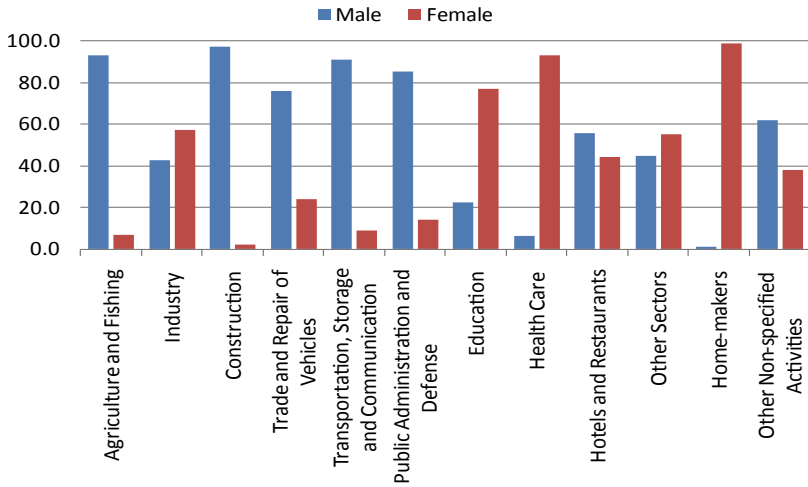
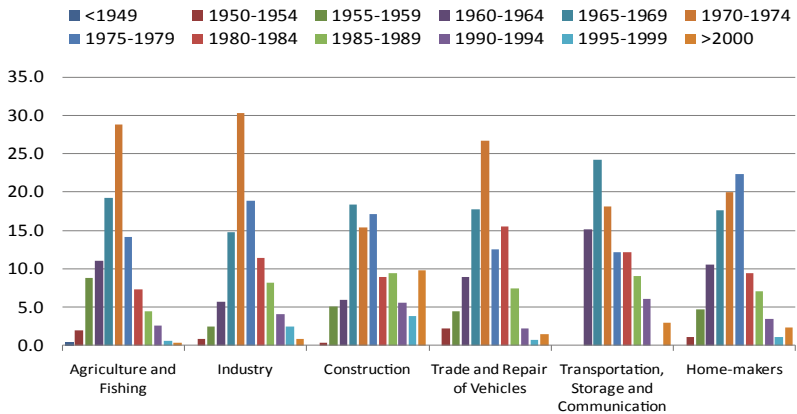


Chart 2. 19 - Respondents by profession before emigrating, by emigration period (%)



Trying once again, to gather a more detailed knowledge about the respondents, different economic activities that were part of the according to the five-year emigration periods, there are some noteworthy differences, but that should not be dissociated from economic changes observed throughout the Azores and a period of

sharp social and political changes, as noted above. One aspect that, in our view, seems to be across the population surveyed is that those who were connected with the “Agriculture and Fishing”, the “Industry” and “Trade and repair of vehicles” have emigrated, primarily in the years before the Revolution of April of 1974. Recent years have revealed a compression of the number of departures in all activities, with particular emphasis on “Agriculture and Fishing” and the “Industry”. The sector of “Construction” becomes more relevant in the last decade.

Carrying out an aggregation according to the National Classification of Professions (CNP) shows that, as would be expected, the category “Farmers and Qualified Workers of Agriculture and Fishing” registers more than 50% of people. On the other hand, there is also a strong presence of “Manual Labour Workers” and “Craftsman” (20.6%), social-professional categories that are in line with the main areas of activity discussed above. Indeed, in all the years amounted the figures for more qualified professions is insignificant, aspect that will look more relevant when analyzed in the entire population of emigrants, but also with the professions taken on in the host country.

Chart 2. 20 - Respondents by profession before emigrating (%)

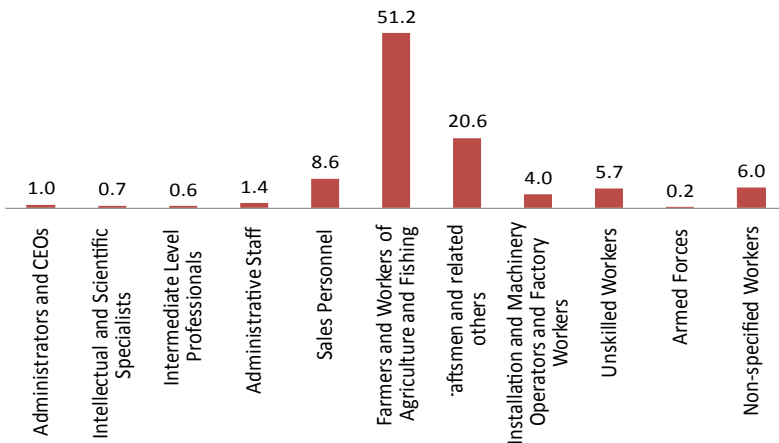
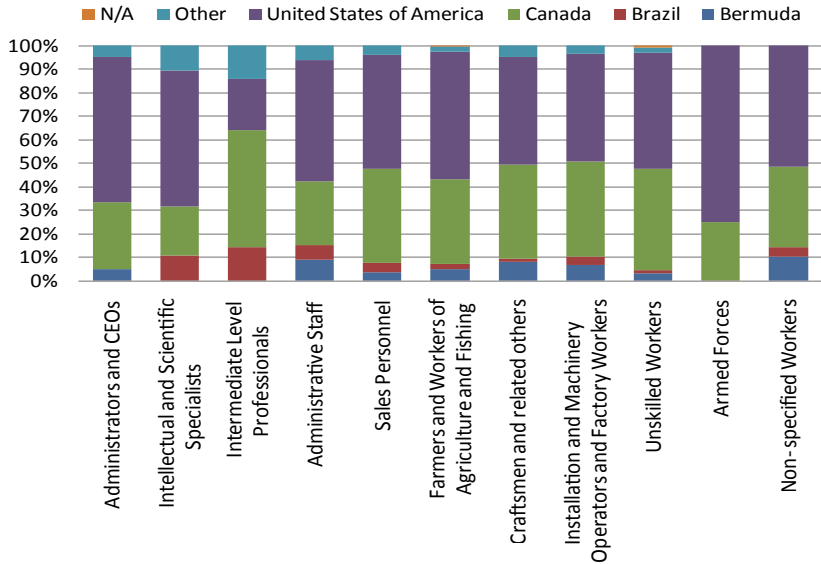


Chart 2. 21 - Respondents by profession before emigrating, by destination country (%)

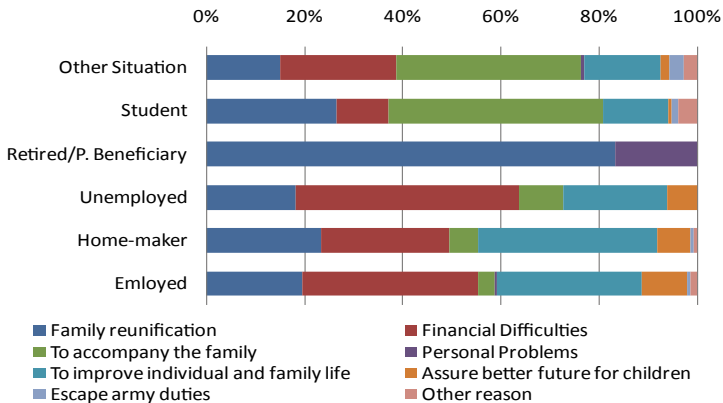


Unable to ignore the low number of individuals in the more qualified professions, and the resulting statistical deviation, we point out that for those who engaged in intellectual and scientific professions, with a total of 0.7%, departed mainly to the United States of America, while that of the intermediate technical professions head over to Canada (0.6%).

Analyzing these data and now taking into account the main motivations for departures according to the employment status we find that, although most were employed, the financial factors are the underlying basis for the decision to emigrate. That is, wages were not enough for many of the Azoreans to have a decent life and opportunities for social advancement. Despite the reduced number of individuals present in the group of "Unemployed" the value that the item "Experienced financial difficulties" collects is not minor - 45.5%. For the same

motivation, we note that the group of “Employed” and “Home-makers” are those who have the highest rates - 35.8% and 26.2% respectively, although for the latter the emigration was made, mostly in the company of spouse and children (76.8%).

Chart 2. 22 - Respondents according to main reason to emigrate, by employment situation (%)



Like we mentioned earlier, if we consider all aspects related to financial motivations, values range from 75% in the case of the “Employed”, and about 70% in “Home-makers”. Also significant is the 25% recorded for “Students”. Given other motivations, we found that the item “To accompany the family” comes up with some relevance in all categories, with particular emphasis on the case of “students” (43.7%) and “Home-makers” (6%) that, as expected, confirms the family type features of Azorean emigration.

In an analysis by years of emigration, beyond the financial component underlying the emigration process, and one of the main cross-cutting issues, is family reunification. Also an important reason which is the basis of departure flows, with particular incidence in the 80s and 90s of last century, as can be verified by the analysis of the following charts.

Chart 2. 23 - Respondents according to main reason to emigrate, by emigration period (%)

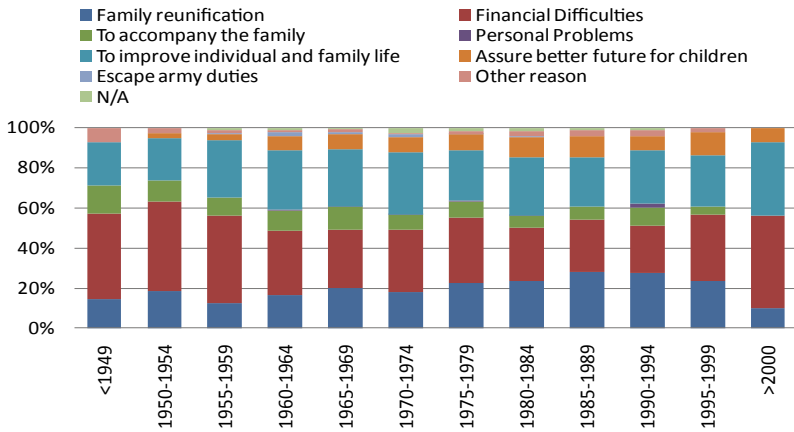
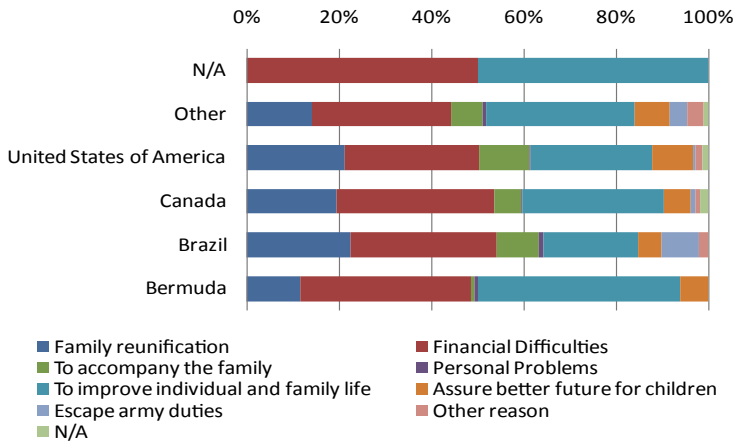


Chart 2. 24 - Respondents according to main reason to emigrate, by destination country (%)



To conclude this chapter we will focus now on the departure process. Indeed, respondents mostly report that the beginning of their migratory process happened through a “invitation letter” item, which records a quantity greater than 70%, which is unparalleled when compared to any other, which reach a

maximum of 9.8 %, as is the case of “illegal emigration”. Gender differences are only significant in the context of employment, as well as the illegality of departure, because in the “invitation letters” the quantitative distribution between men and women is identical. The work contract reaches an exceptional percentage value in the context of Bermuda, with more than 70%, followed by the “invitation letter”, with a low value of 16.1%. This is not found in any other destinations, which have the latter as the main means of beginning the emigration process.

Chart 2. 25 - Beginning of the emigration process (%)

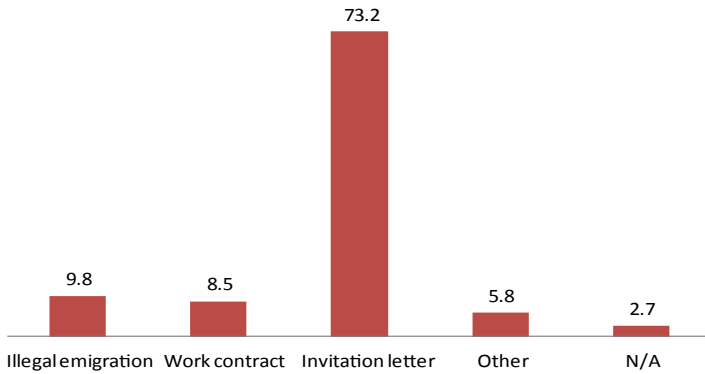
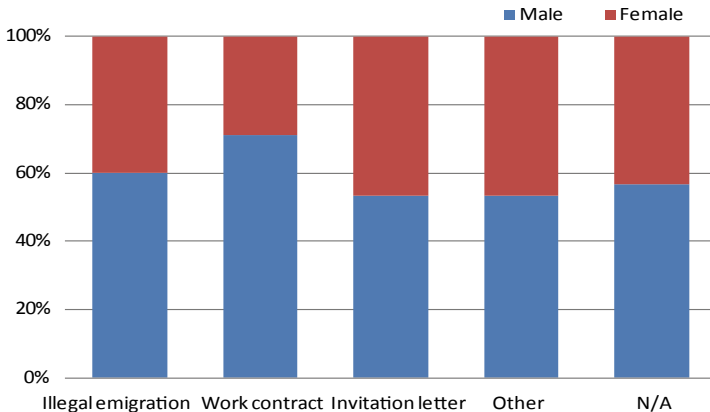


Chart 2. 26 - Beginning of the emigration process, by gender (%)



The data presented above should be analyzed also taking into account the destinations and the departure periods. Indeed, in analysis of the following chart we conclude that the “invitation letter” was the main means used by returning emigrants leaving the Azores to the United States (82.5%), Brazil (70.8%) and Canada (70%), while in Bermuda the item “work contract” had the highest percentage, indicating the distinct nature of this destination in the context of the archipelago’s emigration phenomenon. We stress the percentages of individuals who marked the item “illegal immigration” as the main way of leaving the Azores.

Chart 2. 27 - Beginning of the emigration process to Bermuda (%)

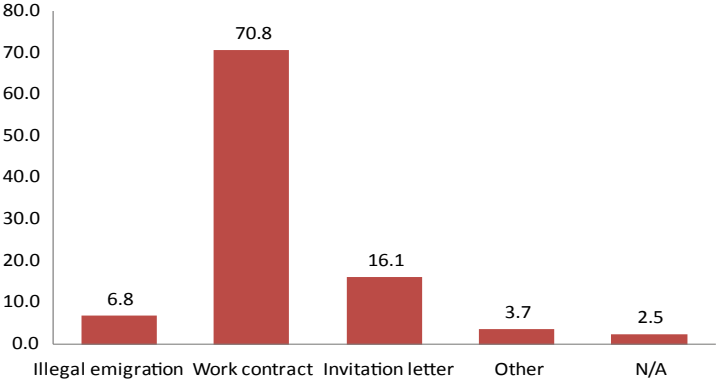


Chart 2. 28 - Beginning of the emigration process to Brazil

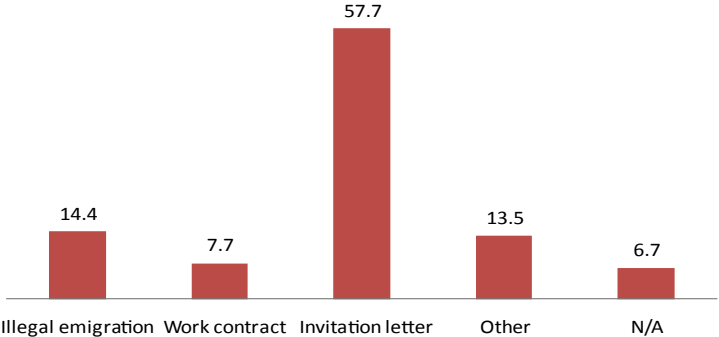


Chart 2. 29 - Beginning of the emigration process to Canada (%)

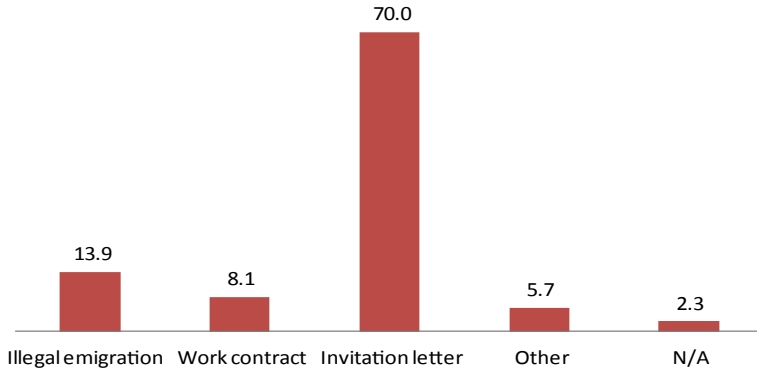
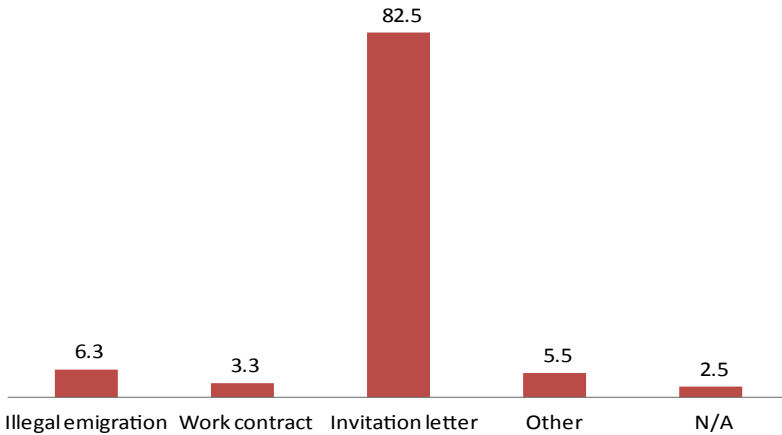


Chart 2. 30 - Beginning of the emigration process to the United States of America (%)



When we analyze the conditions of departures per year of emigration, we find that the “work contract” and “illegal immigration” were the main means used by emigrants until the end of the fifties. In the following decades, especially in the sixties and seventies, the use of “invitation letter” is assumed as predominant, especially when we consider the United States and Canada, which are in accordance with the legislative changes in

the host countries, which we refer to, in the previous chapter. This trend continues until the early eighties, when we observe the increasing importance of “Illegal emigration” and “work contract” and the decline of the “invitation letters”.

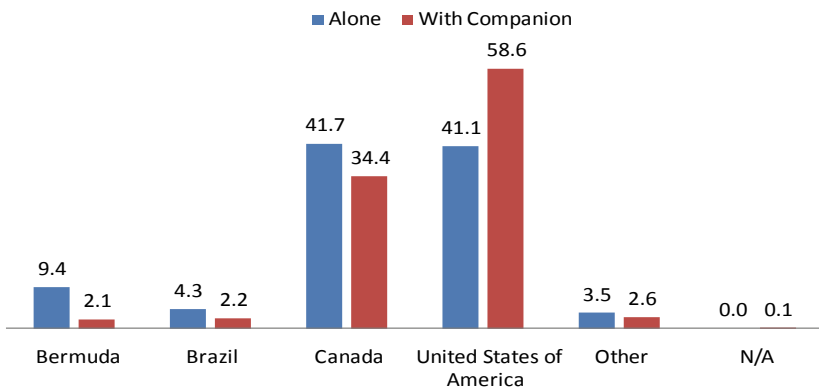
Chart 2. 31 - Beginning of the emigration process, by emigration period (%)



Since the mid nineties, and even more prominence in the last decade, the use of “illegal immigration” and “work contract” seem to set a significant change in the emigration conditions of the Azorean population when we consider the country of destination. Indeed, when we analyzed the values by reference to the main emigration destinations and the used means, we find that the “work contract” represented, in the period 1995 to 2000, about 71% of those who had emigrated to Bermuda, and the next period, the value amounts to 96%, in fact in line with the figures already recorded in previous periods. In the case of United States and Canada in addition to the decrease in the use of “invitation letter”, the “work contracts” have become the preferred means pointed out by returning emigrants, registering a significant increase in more recent years.

Moving on to examine how this process occurred, regardless of the family type Azorean emigration component, we found that about 33% began their migratory trajectory in isolation. In the context of those who emigrated alone, we highlight those who have chosen Canada (41.7%) and the United States of America (41.1%) as major destinations. This trend, through the catalytic power revealed by both countries within the archipelago's emigration was then followed by emigrants with companion - 34.4% and 58.6%, respectively.

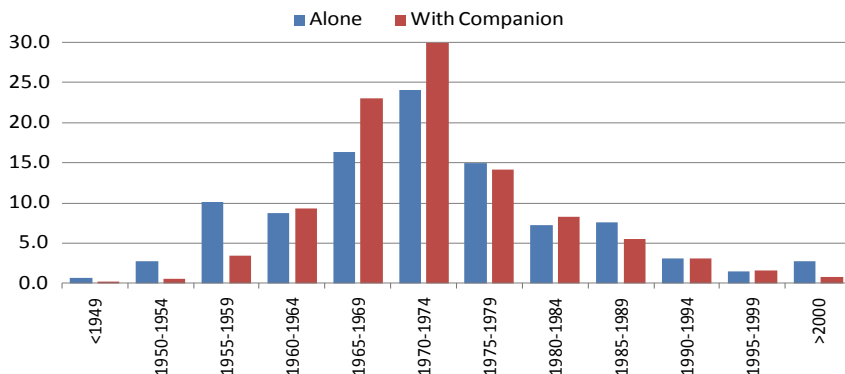
Chart 2. 32 - Beginning of the emigration process, by destination country (%)



In addition to the previously registered, it should be noted that, according to analysis from the data in Chart 2.34, the emigration of isolation manner seems to have been the choice of the majority who left during the first half of the fifties, in which Canada appears predominant. In the following decades, there was an increase in the percentage of those who said they had begun their migratory range accompanied by family and / or friends. In recent years, as a result of emigration destinations - we refer to the importance assumed by Bermuda in the Azorean

context - we find that the option to emigrate alone has assumed a new dimension, judging from the figures recorded since 1999.

Chart 2. 33 - Beginning of the emigration process, by departure period (%)



Regarding the composition of the elements that accompanied the returning emigrants to the different destination countries, we find that the items are “spouse” and “spouses and children”, thus reinforcing again, the family nature of Azorean emigration. The fact that these were the most frequently mentioned items by respondents represents, in our view, an additional information on the age of the departure and refers also to the previously analyzed marital status, although this has higher figures in comparison to departures of unaccompanied married people. The values of the items “parents” and “another person” (usually friends and relatives of second degree) have values oscillating between 16% and 10.3%, respectively.

Attending now to gender, we find that there is a clear situation of inequality with regard to companions, however, we verified a larger expression in regard to the items “spouses and children” in the case of men, and “another person” in the case of women.

Chart 2. 34 - Beginning of the emigration process, according to companion (%)

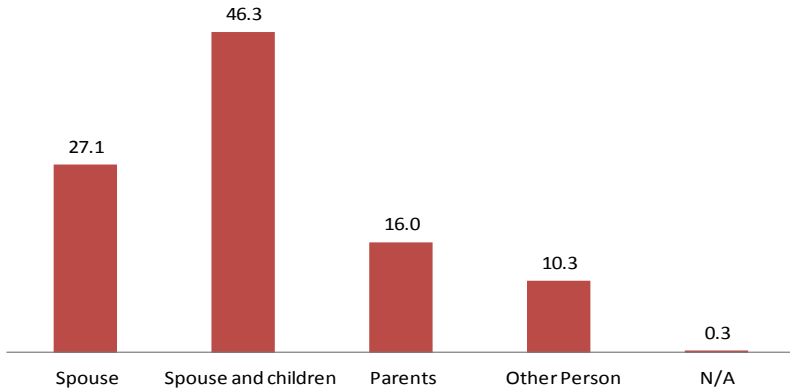
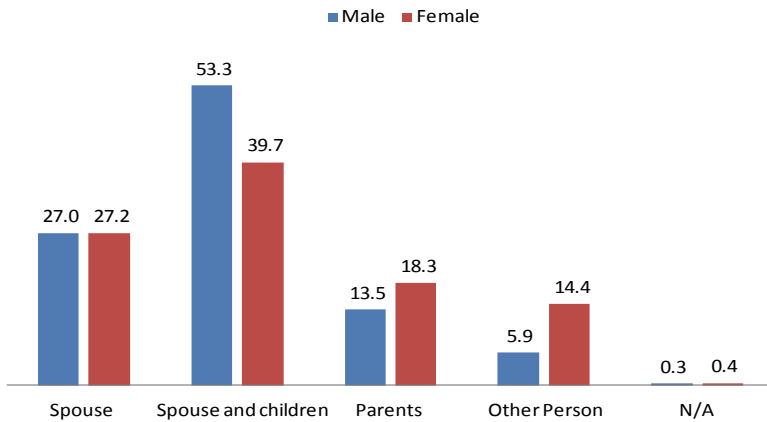


Chart 2. 35 - Beginning of the emigration process with a companion, by gender (%)



Indeed, respondents who emigrated mostly accompanied by their spouses and/or children in Canada and the United States of America stand out, with percentages of 47.1% and 46.8% respectively, while Brazil those figures were 26% and 18.2% for Bermuda. In the case of those who emigrated in the company of a spouse, we observe that, unlike what was previously registered,

Brazil and Bermuda are the destinations that have the highest percentage - 38% and 36.4%, respectively.

Chart 2. 36 - Beginning of the emigration process with a companion, by destination country (%)

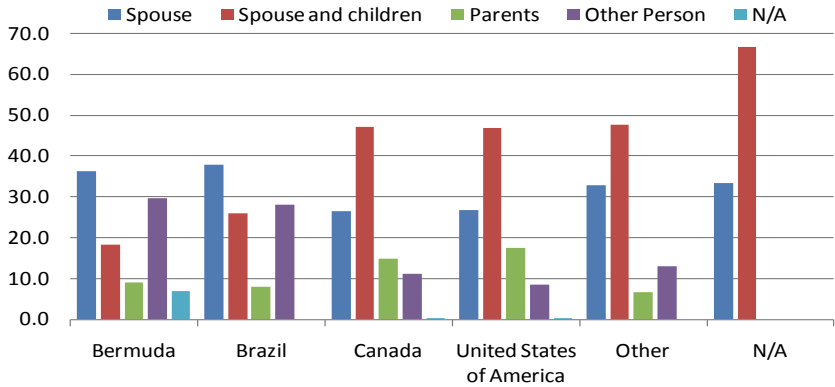
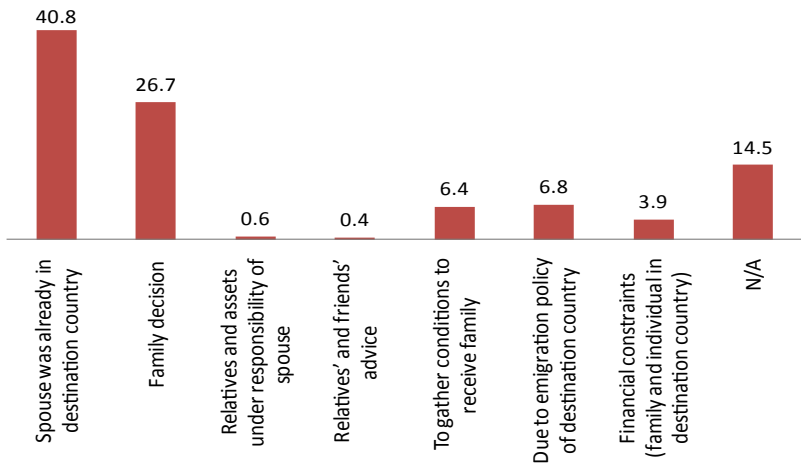


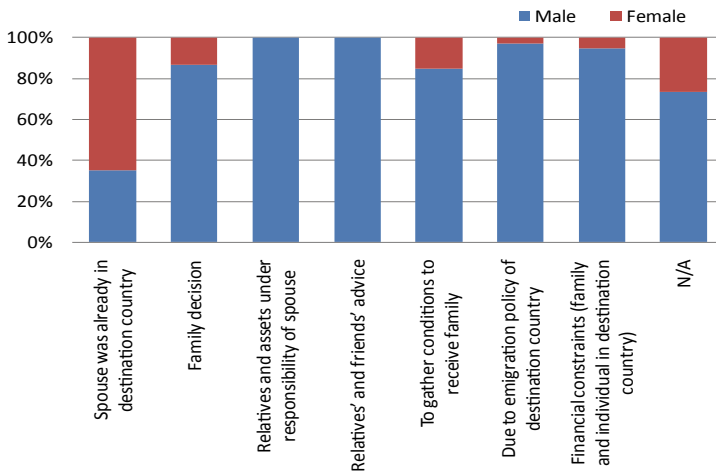
Chart 2. 37 - Reasons for initiating the emigration process without a companion (%)



The main motivation expressed by respondents who left alone - it was not possible to measure those who departed

accompanied by someone -, was that the spouse was already in the host country, a situation that is reported by 40.8% of respondents. An analysis by gender, we highlight the fact that far more women who departed alone report that the spouse was already residing in the destination country. In the remaining response items, it appears that men play the major part, although they note the presence of women (15.2%) when it comes to the need to meet conditions to receive the rest of the family.

Chart 2. 38 - Reasons for initiating the emigration process without a companion, by gender (%)

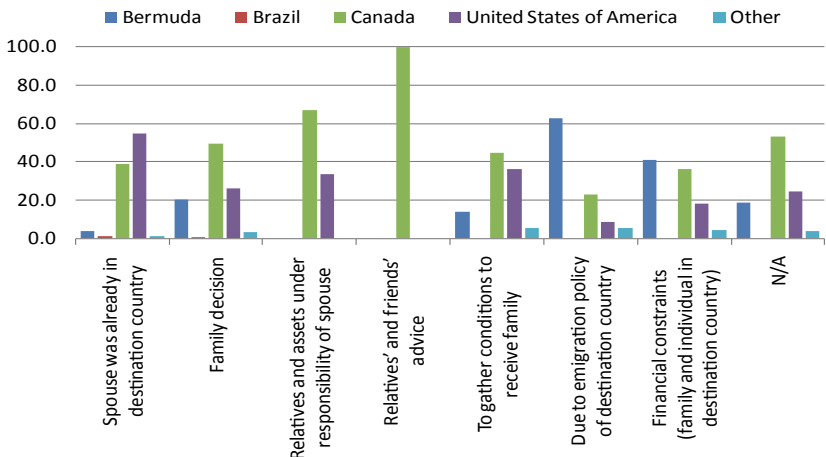


As we crossed the categories “motivations at the beginning of the emigration process” and “destination country” we observe that the total respondents who emigrated unaccompanied (46.5%), the fact that their spouses were already residing in the destination country is important. It should be noted that the percentage of importance given to this event according to destination country is of (54.8%) in the United States and 38.7% for Canada.

Analyzing the motivations according to the main destination countries, it appears that financial issues - reflected in the response

item “to gather conditions to receive the family” - emerge more significantly in the case of those who emigrated to Canada and the United States America, with values of 44.4% and 36.1%, respectively. That is, even though the process of emigration was an individual one, it aspired towards family reunification, reflecting once again, the family nature of Azorean emigration that, in this case, occurs with a certain time lag. The financial aspect assumes, also, another meaning when you consider the fact that migration without a companion resulted from financial constraints of their own or of family members who were already residing in the destination countries. In summary, this data allow us to conclude that the motivations which led to the migration processes of returnees are mostly related to financial issues of themselves or of family members, and cross all the emigration flows, regardless of the destination country, is the fact that individual emigration is more common in the case of Bermuda (62.9%), a situation largely limited by the immigration policy of this country.

Chart 2. 39 - Reasons for initiating the emigration process without a companion, by destination country (%)



In short, and although the analysis developed in this chapter relates, strictly speaking, to the characteristics of returning emigrants before departure, we believe that most of the results presented end up reinforcing some specific aspects of time and destination country differences in Azorean emigration some of which, moreover, were discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, the analytical value of this particular section of the study allows that, in the following chapters, we can build some of the trajectories taken by the respondents, from departure to the current situation of returning.

SUMMARY

The beginning of this journey, especially with regard to the profile of the protagonists and the conditions leading up to their emigration process, may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Approximately 90% of the population surveyed returned from the two main destinations (the United States and Canada), with the remaining coming from Bermuda;
- 2) This same population turns out to be representative of the variations of departure flows of Azorean emigration for nearly six decades. Thus, the United States is almost always preponderant in relation to Canada, with the exception of the fifties and the first half of the sixties (when the two countries assumed similar proportions in terms of attracting emigrants) and the last two decades of the twentieth century (when the main destination was Bermuda);
- 3) The discrepancy between the relative importance of legal departures recorded in official sources and the weight of the destination countries resulting

- from answers provided by the respondents suggests that the evolution of economic, social and legal frameworks in those countries during the last fifty years, may have influenced the departure dynamics of the flows;
- 4) For approximately 80% of respondents, the presence of emigrant relatives, both in the United States and Canada, was the main factor in choosing a host territory to begin the emigration process. In regard to the choice Bermuda, the main factor is the fulfilling a of workforce demand, through a contract between the employer and the emigrant candidate;
 - 5) The distribution of respondents by gender is very similar, which demonstrates the family type characteristics of the Azorean emigration in the second half of the twentieth century, especially after 1965. In any case, and compared to those who emigrated before that date, the share of men among returnees is larger than women. The same occurred with the returnees who emigrated to Bermuda (in particular, from 2000 on);
 - 6) Most of the respondents (70%) departed from the Azores already married, and most of singles did so, above all, during the fifties. Some, however, began their emigration process individually, with the spouse and children joining in later on. For those who came accompanied, the presence of spouse and children is the most significant format, followed by other relatives (including ancestors);
 - 7) More than 2/3 of returning emigrants were employed when they left the archipelago, and only a small percentage was unemployed. Women who were home-makers at the time of emigration represent about 40% of total women surveyed;
 - 8) The professions and occupations that emigrants were engaged in before leaving were mostly in the Agriculture and Fishing sector (more than 50%

of cases), though Construction, Trade and Repair of Vehicles and Industry were also significant. Since the eighties, construction began to appear as the main activity sector of those who emigrated to Bermuda;

9) Despite the high percentage of emigrants employed at the time prior to departure, the main reason invoked as the basis for the emigration decision relates to the financial difficulties experienced at the time and the desire to improve their own and the lives of family members;

10) More than 70% of respondents left the Azores through an "invitation letter", especially in the U.S. and Canada. The work contract, one of the most common means for initiating the emigration process, is referred by only 10% of returnees and concerns in the vast majority of cases the flow to Bermuda.

CHAPTER 3

EMIGRATION EXPERIENCES

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Derrick Mendes

The experience in the host country can be a central element in the decision to return to the departure territory. In this sense, we intend to, in this chapter, find out more about some aspects of the returnees' experience in the destination country, whether they met with difficulties on arrival, or throughout the stay -as it relates to professional trajectory and social integration.

Not speaking the language emerges as the biggest obstacle mentioned by respondents, with no other item coming to similar importance - weather is at a forty-percent point distance. We highlight the reference to "no" problems, with figures similar to those for "work" and above the item "difficulties in finding a job." Hence it seems to be correct the statement that once you overcome the difficulties of not knowing the language of the host countries, primarily English, coming to a new country was not considered very difficult, especially in regard to get a job. However, as argued by Almeida (2008:312ss) in regards to the learning of English, although it was not achieved by most of the emigrants, there are situations that may enhance learning such attending English classes, residing in communities where there is little or no Portuguese people, and not least, at work. On the other hand, although we do not develop these aspects since the data collected for some of the variables do not allow a full and proper analysis, we can not ignore, however, that learning English is not a linear process because it is, as the author notes, conditioned by the emigration period, by age and by education level held at the outset.

Chart 3. 1 - Main difficulties on arrival (%)

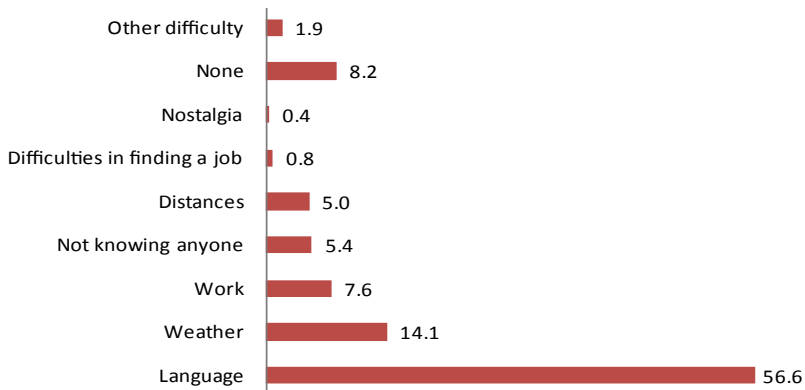
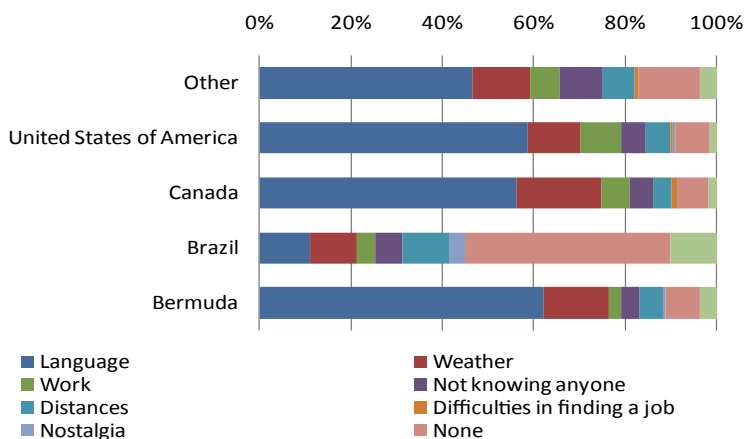


Chart 3. 2 - Main difficulties on arrival, by destination country (%)



However, in spite that the difficulties encountered by emigrants upon arrival can determine the process of integration and adaptation to different host social-cultural references - though not decisive - the existence of family networks and social support upon arrival was an important element in facilitating this process. In this sense, solidarity exercised on such networks seems to have been activated for about 83% of respondents who said they had received support on arrival, revealing, in this case, the

presence of “emigrant relative” to 82.2%. Family solidarity seems to have been more intense in the case of those who emigrated to Canada (84.3%) and the United States of America (82.4%). The values obtained in “emigrant friends” may not be entirely neglected, because it withdraws about 16% of the responses and, in terms of representation by countries of emigration, it accounts for 22.6% and 18.7% for Bermuda and Brazil, respectively.

Chart 3. 3 - Main source of support received on arrival (%)

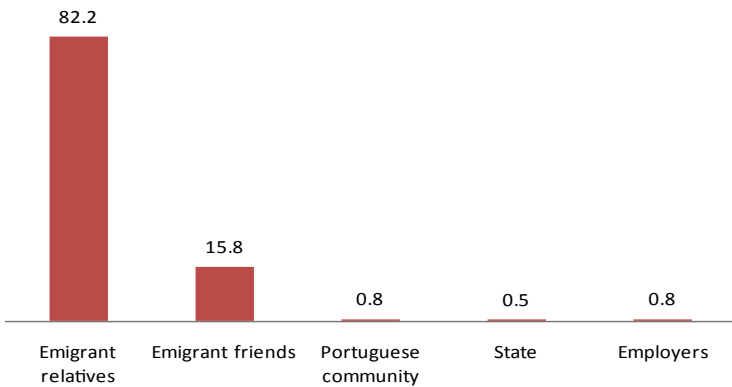


Chart 3. 4 - Main type of support received on arrival, by destination country (%)

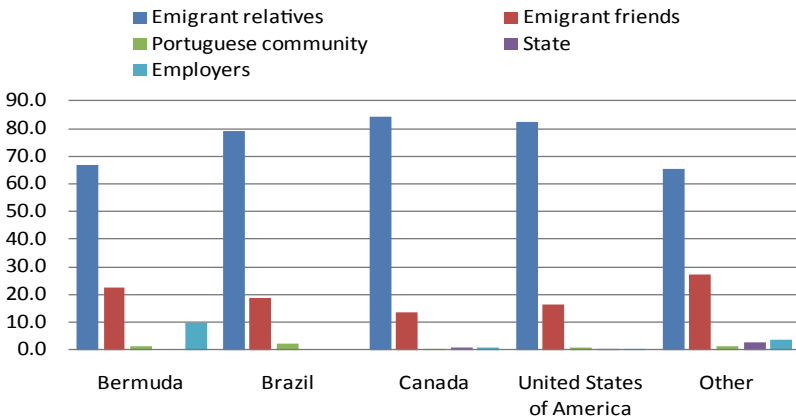
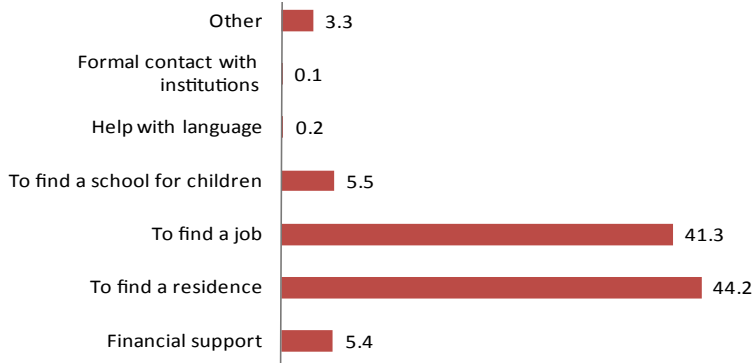


Chart 3. 5 - Main type of support received on arrival (%)



When we analyze these figures in more detail, and seeking to get to know the nature of the support received, we found it was mainly the “need for housing” (44.2%) and “job search” (41.3%). The “financial support” and “finding a school for the children” come with relatively low values, indicating, perhaps, some financial difficulties and challenges in dealing with the institutions and their representatives by supporting individuals - for which the explanation may be the poor English proficiency. However, the support received by relatives appears to be predominant in all respects, except in formal contact with the institutions, where the help of emigrant friends prevails (66.7%). We believe that the explanation for this finding relates to the greater likelihood that they would have access to these same institutions through knowledge networks made up of friends and acquaintances.

Throughout this study we have been giving a special focus to the characterization of various destinations. We did it in previous chapters, both as regards the whole of emigration in the first chapter or the beginning of the process of emigration for the interviewed returnees in the second chapter. Now we’ll do the same taking into account the various forms of support and without neglecting the importance of family. Thus, regardless

of the different relative importance of the respondents by main destination countries, it appears that the importance of family support in all of them is significant, with figures always over 60% (over 80% in the case of the United States). The other types of support, including those from emigrant friends, were relatively less important, with percentages varying considerably between 14% and 27%. However, it is in countries where the family is less present, that friends acquire more relevance, as can be exemplified by the situation of those who emigrated to Bermuda.

Chart 3. 6 - Main type of support received on arrival, by source of support (%)

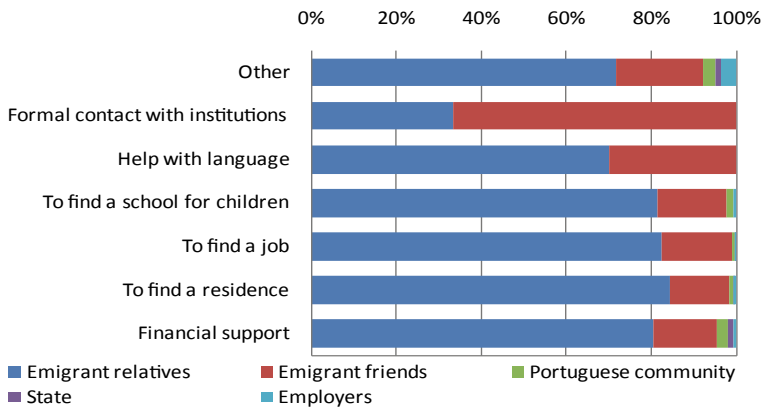
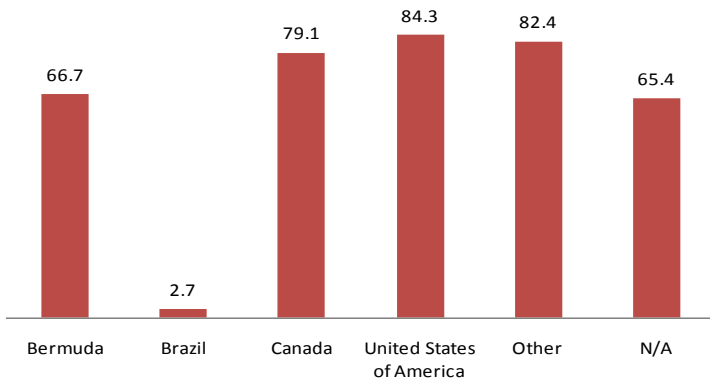


Chart 3. 7 - Importance of support from relatives, by destination country (%)



The Portuguese Community, understood, so we believe, as an organized and institutional, is almost irrelevant in the perception of respondents. With values ranging between 0.5% and just over 2% of the total support received -the latter concern returnees from Brazil. Employers, present with values not very different from those for the Portuguese Community. A significant exception is the case of Bermuda, with almost 10% of the total support given by employers.

Chart 3. 8 - Importance of support from emigrant friends, by destination country (%)

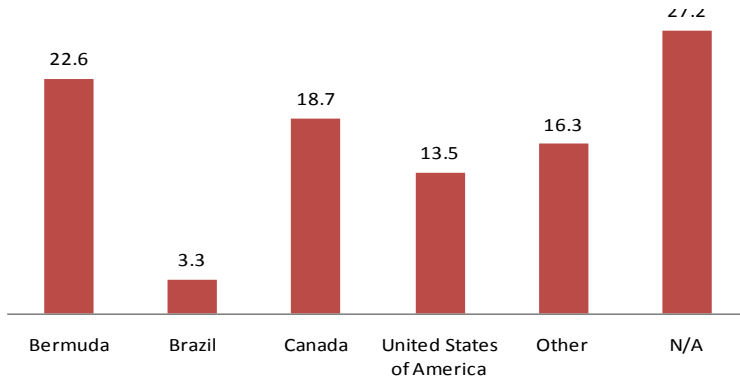


Chart 3. 9 - Importance of the support from the Portuguese community, by destination country (%)

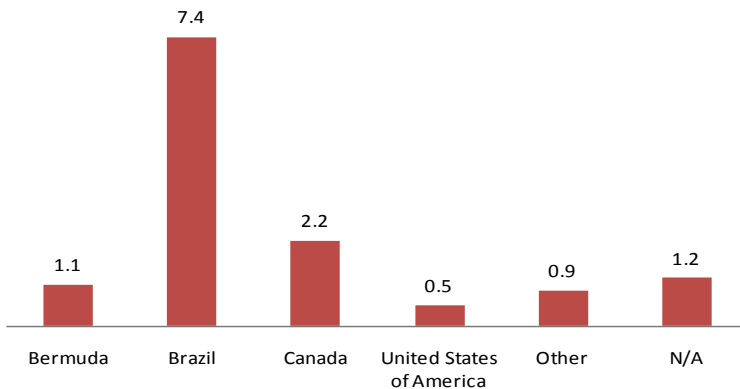


Chart 3. 10 - Importance of support from the employer, by destination country (%)

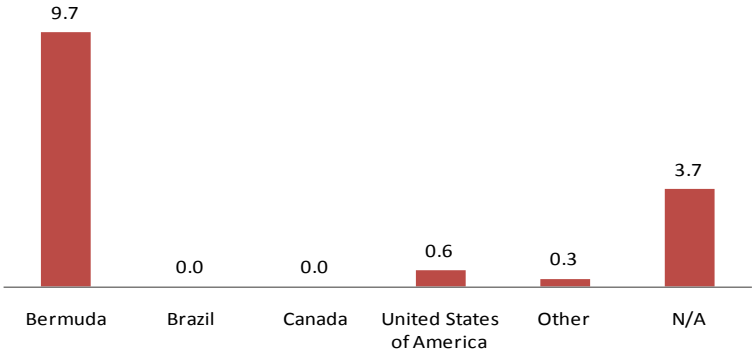
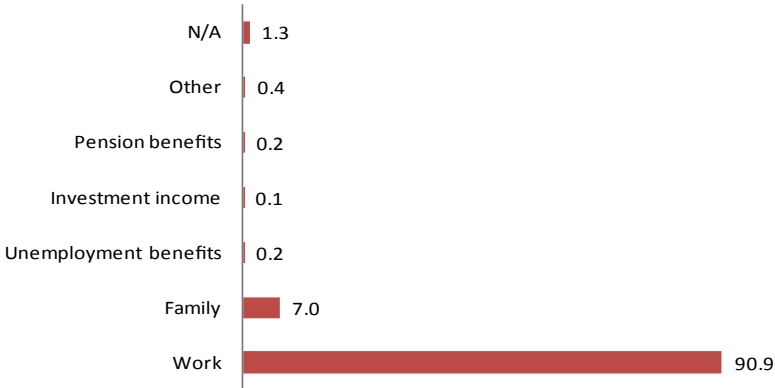


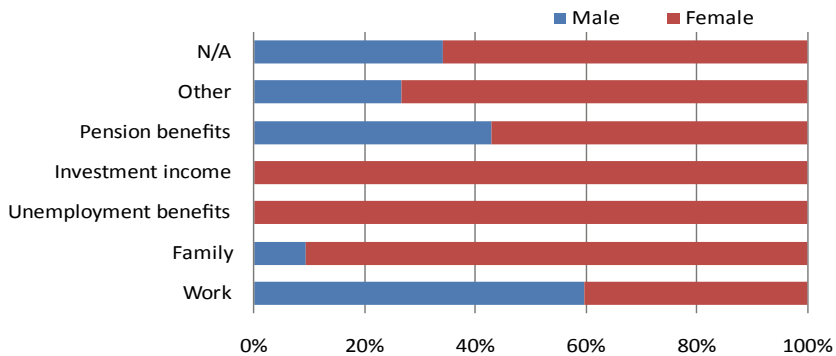
Chart 3. 11 - Main means of life in the destination country (%)



Though not neglecting the support given to surveyed emigrants by different social networks (mainly from relatives and neighbourhood), the main way of life that allowed emigrants to stay in their various host countries must be considered. Indeed, considering that one of the main explanatory factors of migratory movements is the financial aspect, the values obtained show, therefore, that the search for improvement of living conditions through work was mentioned by about 91% of respondents. The reliance on family or other situations are

not statistically significant. Although the engagement in salaried employment is really a predominantly male condition, it is not without significance also for women, with values of around 40%. In the case of those who said they were dependent on family, the figures are significant (90.5%).

Chart 3. 12 - Main means of life in the destination country, by gender (%)



By analyzing these data by country of emigration, despite the high percentage of recorded values, we can still find some differences regarding the relevance of “employment” and “financial support” from the family. Indeed, when we consider the first aspect we find that the United States and Canada recorded values of around 90%. Bermuda and Brazil come up next with, roughly, less than ten percentage points, a situation that seems to be offset by the family context and the support received on arrival, also most evident in the case of Brazil (22.1%).

Given the financial support provided by family members, records show that this is virtually non-existent in the case of the United States, Canada and Bermuda. Thus, we conclude that the financial dependence of the respondents in relation to the family is relatively small and with little expression in the main destinations countries.

Chart 3. 13 - Importance of work in destination country (%)

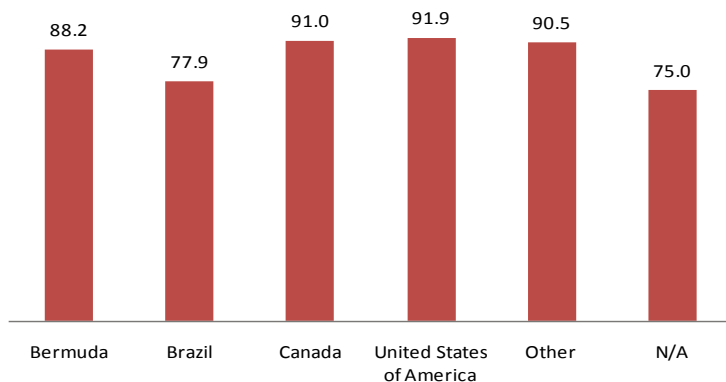
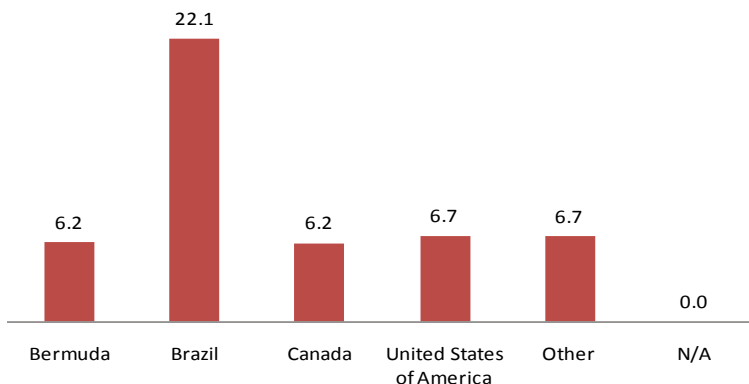


Chart 3. 14 - Importance of family financial support in the destination country (%)



As we have seen, employment assumes a high relevance. By attending to the nature of the employment status of the respondents, we found that the working age individuals was mainly employed by others (85%), and only very few were self-employed or worked for family, as noted in Chart 3.15.

Chart 3. 15 - Employment situation in the destination country (%)



In a breakdown by country and isolating individuals who worked for others, we find that the ones from the United States of America have the highest values in this item, followed by Canada, with a percentage close to 40%. However, despite the role that the other employment situations represent, it is interesting to note that the family employment assumes some significance in Bermuda. On the other hand, with a significant difference, the recorded values of those who were self-employed are higher in Brazil's case, though, is not hold the same importance in any other countries, as we see in Chart 3.16.

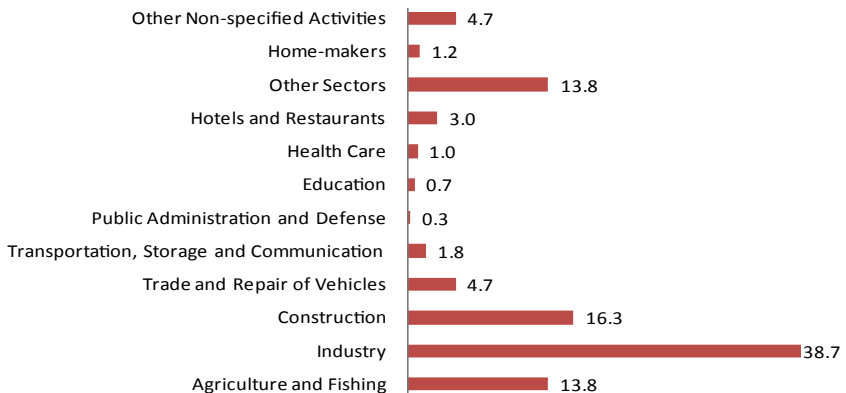
In regards to the respondents' profile and also taking into account the activity sector, the observed values show that the most significant sectors in the professional context of emigrants are "industry" (38.7%), "construction" (16.3%) and "agriculture and Fishing" (13.8%. When we compare this data with that obtained in the activity sector performed in the Azores before the departure, we find a certain similarity, not on each sector per se but in the significance that they represent as whole. If this can be related to the relatively low level of education of the respondents, we can not exclude that the concentration in these

sectors may have occurred through existing social networks in each of the various destinations that facilitated their employability (besides the workforce needs of host countries and the resulting immigration policies. It should be noted also that the integration in these sectors does not necessarily mean a downward financial and social mobility. It results in quite the opposite, as we shall further address when considering in a more detailed manner the application of savings, in the following chapters.

Chart 3. 16 - Employment situation, by destination country (%)

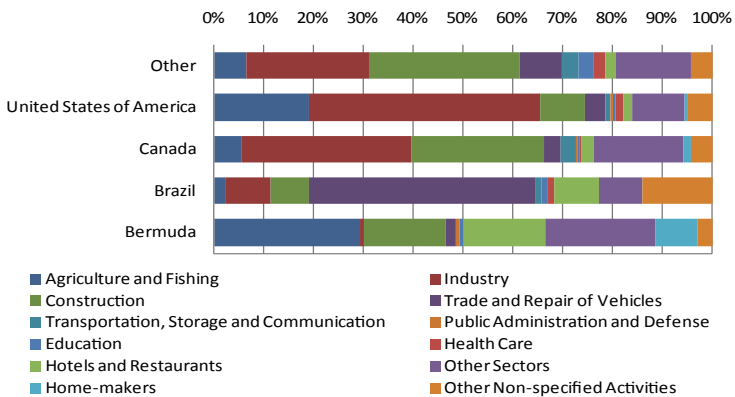


Chart 3. 17 - Respondents by activity sector in the destination country (%)



In a breakdown by destination country of the main activity sectors, we conclude that “agriculture and Fishing” - essentially activities related to landscaping - have an important weight in Bermuda (29.3%), a situation that has some similarity, yet with a difference of ten percentage points in the United States of America (19%). However, in this country, “industry” is undoubtedly the sector that stands out with a difference of more than ten percentage points to Canada - it is virtually non-existent in Bermuda. As for the importance of the “construction” sector, it is more prevalent in Canada (26.7%) and Bermuda (16.4%). Alongside these sectors, the “other services”, appears with an overall weight of 13.8% in its general distribution, Though it has greater weight in Bermuda (22.1%), and Canada with 17.9% - holding a distance of ten percentage points to the United States. The values observed in the field of “trade and repair of vehicles,” although overall registering only 4.7%, in Brazil this sector is significant because it represents about 46% of all activities.

Chart 3. 18 - Respondents by activity sector and destination country (%)

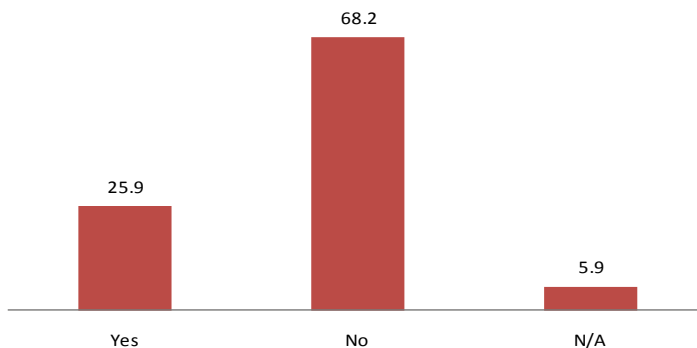


Although we’ve focused on the predominant activities of each destination country, we must emphasize that these are somewhat

common to all countries and quantitative differences between them also relatively similar, i.e., in most cases around ten percentage points.

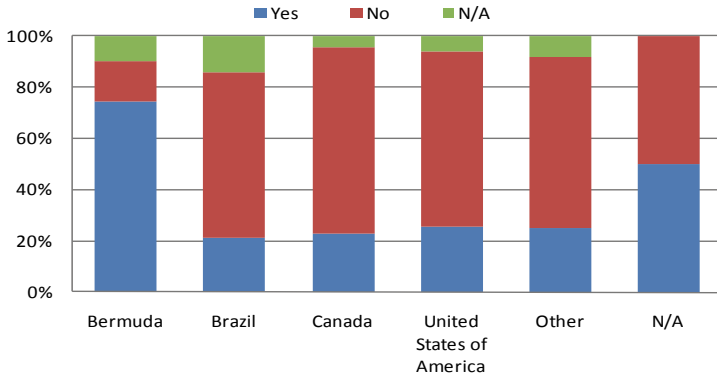
The analysed situations concern only the last activity in the host country. It does not mean, however, that the respondents were engaged in that profession immediately before the return. However, when asked about the possibility of having had more than one profession simultaneously while they were emigrants, the results are very clear, with about 68% stating “no.” Thus, having multiple jobs does not, generally, appear to have been a characteristic of this population. However, this analysis can not overlook the nearly 26% who responded positively, as it may, at least partially reflect, aspects such as labour market flexibility in the host country, the need to overcome some financial difficulties or, perhaps, the desire to quickly accumulate wealth in order to return to the Azores as soon as possible.

Chart 3. 19 - Concurrent professions (%)



Even though having multiple jobs assumes relative little importance in the set of countries as a whole, once examined by destination country, it results in marked differences, especially in Bermuda (74.2%) where it is more frequent - around 20% in the U.S., Canada and Brazil.

Chart 3. 20 - Concurrent professions, by destination country (%)



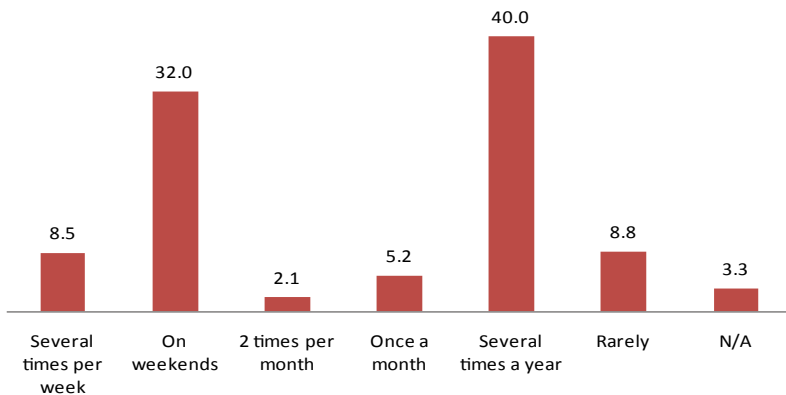
Besides the financial and professional aspects directly related to the stay of respondents in different emigration countries, which we sought to account, we must now proceed to consider others aspects that allow us to better understand the social and cultural dynamics generated along the length of stay. We highlight the social-cultural and associative participation, the access to the Portuguese language and the contact with the Azores through travelling, as aspects that may have exerted some influence on the dynamics of continuity or rupture between the social-cultural origin and host references.

In this perspective, it seems implausible to admit that there have been cases of total rupture with the origin's references. In fact, as we shall see in further detail, regular visits to the Azores and frequent access to the Portuguese language are aspects that, despite the distances imposed by emigration, ended up giving a rationale for continuity and regular contact with the emigrants' homeland. This does not mean that the Azoreans' integration capacity in the different hospitality social infrastructures has been limited or conditioned by these aspect. The objective of one day returning to the Azores seems a clear

example of this dynamic, where, as mentioned by Medeiros and Madeira (2004:56), “return to the homeland was not outside of these emigrants’ horizons.”

Based on the associative of respondents, we find that this is relatively large, ranging around 42%. Of those who said they attended local community associations (foreign or Portuguese), we could not determine in a systematic manner, the nature of their participation and in which ones they participated more. However, in terms of regularity of the participation, there was a significant number of respondents who stated “a few times over the year” (40%) and on the “weekend” (32%). Despite the relatively small figures, there were also those who regularly attended the local associations or organizations more than once a week (8.5%).

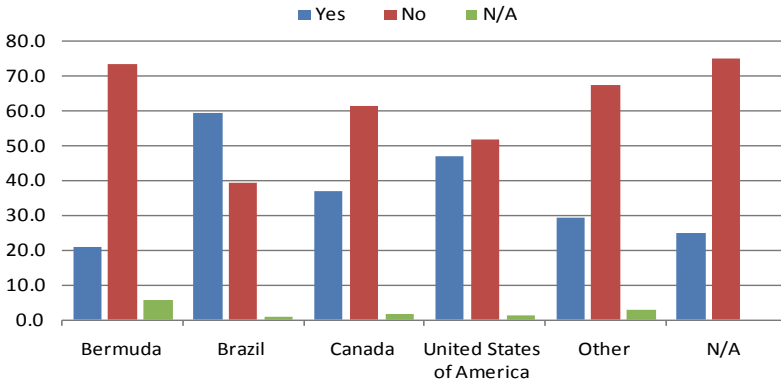
Chart 3. 21 - Regularity of respondents participation in local associations or organizations (foreign or Portuguese) in destination country (%)



If we consider the countries of emigration, in Bermuda the values are relatively low, in contrast to what was recorded in Brazil and the United States - 59.6% and 47% respectively. However, these values can not be dissociate, perhaps, from the

underlying motivations and the legal framework of respondents in these countries.

Chart 3. 22 - Participation of respondents in local associations or organizations (foreign or Portuguese), by destination country (%)

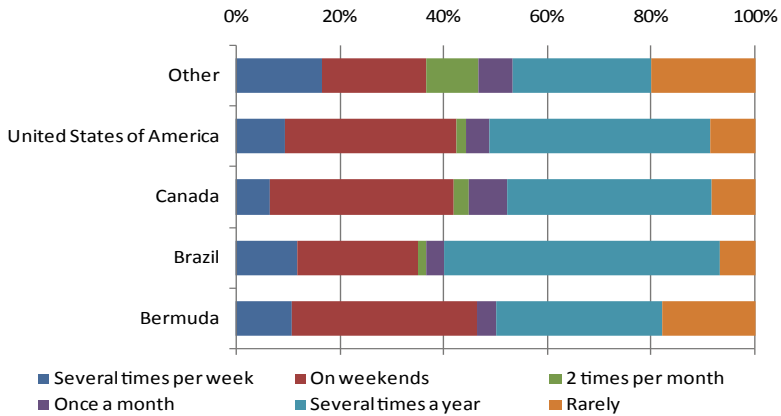


Thus, it is worth noting the specific case of Bermuda, as we have already presented, reveals specific characteristics compared with other countries, particularly in the emigration policies that regulate the entry and stay of foreigners within its borders. This may have had direct interference in the participation in associations, since 70% of returnees from this country stated they did not attend any organizations or associations. However, when we consider the regularity of the participation we found that, compared with that recorded in other countries, the percentage of those who said they did it at least once a week is relatively high (46.4%).

When we analyze the regularity of participation in associations in other countries, we found that in the United States and in Canada the trend is manifested by the respondents to do so “a few times a year”, even those who do “at least once a month” are not to be neglected - a result due in large part

to events organized by the Houses of the Azores or sports or religious Azorean organizations.

Chart 3. 23 - Regularity of respondents' participation in local associations or organizations (foreign or Portuguese), by destination country (%)



After having considering these factors, we can not leave aside the political participation, measured here through the exercise of voting rights, whether in elections in the host countries, or in Portugal or in both. Although it is not the only indicator of integration and participation of emigrants in different social and political structures of the various host countries and the connection they have with those of Portugal and the Azores, it allows for some more knowledge about their level of integration and the level of the relationship with the homeland.

Thus, the data obtained in the variable "exercising the right to vote" shows that 82.2% of respondents said they never did while they were emigrants, a figure that is nevertheless instructive to some extent, of the alienation of the population in relation to politics and the exercise of a citizenship duty. As a counterpoint to this, of those who said they voted (17.8%) approximately 78% did so in the election of the host country while 12.5% voted in

Portugal. If the latter information suggests that there is a greater connection to the host country than the origin, we can not overlook that in periods of emigration the elections in Portugal were not mobilizing and most of the population brushed off the political participation and exercise of citizenship duties - resulting from an authoritarian political system, as it was such in Portugal at the time. Except for a politicized minority, most of the Portuguese population only began exercising the right to vote from 1975, when the last major emigration flow occurs in the Azores.

Chart 3. 24 - Respondents according to the exercise of voting rights (%)

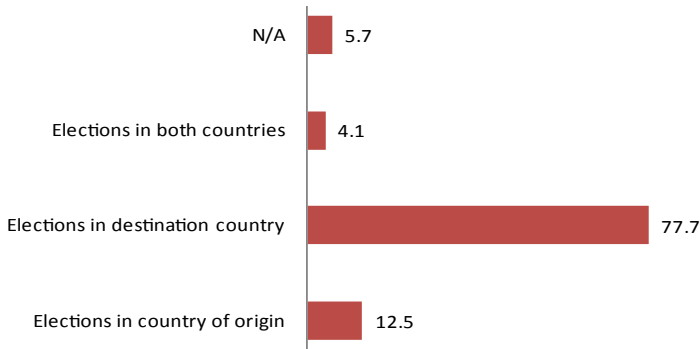
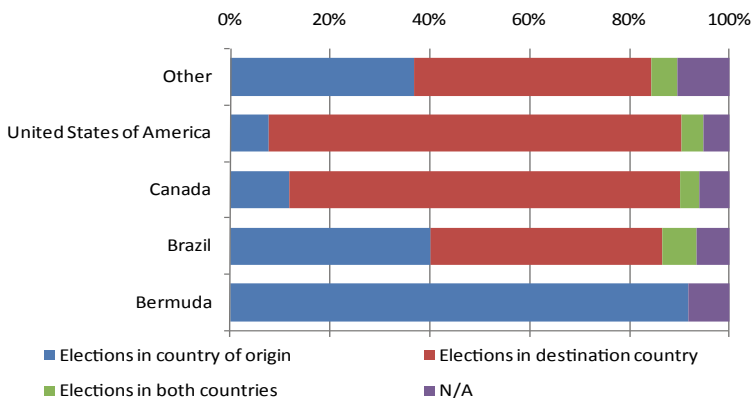


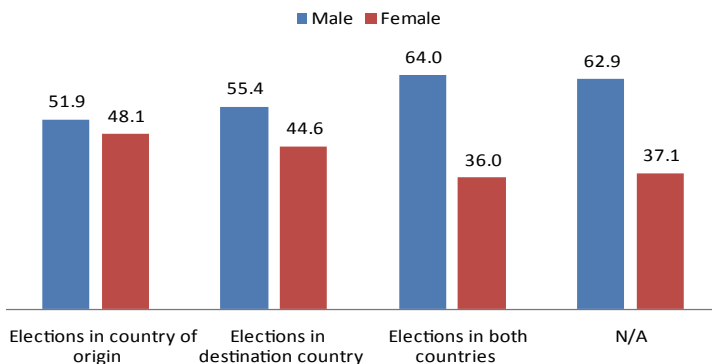
Chart 3. 25 - Respondents according to the exercise of voting rights, by destination country (%)



An analysis by gender found that, overall, there are no significant differences in those who claimed to participate in elections of the host country - men (77.3%) and women (78.3). In any case, there were more women than men exercising their voting right in Portugal. When considering the allocation of each response by gender, we find that men are more likely to vote in the various elections. Even though in Portuguese elections the percentage differences between men and women are relatively small, as can be seen in Chart 3.26.

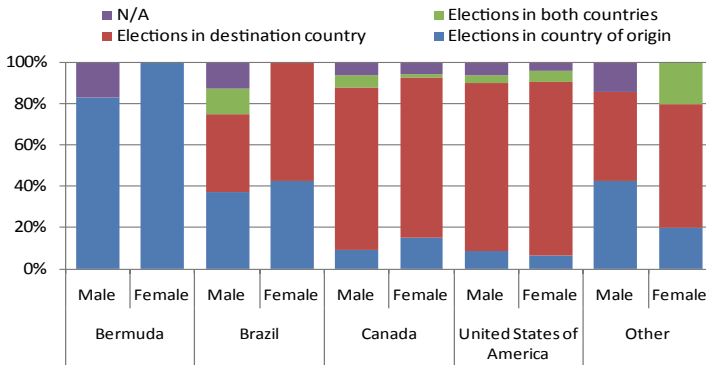
When considering the distribution of these two variables - "gender" and "exercising the right to vote", by the different destination countries, we found that it presents some peculiarities which should be addressed. In this sense, if we exclude emigrants from Bermuda, where the voting right is limited only to the Portuguese elections - as would be expected given the specificity of their laws of entry and stay of foreigners - in the case of the United States and Canada, we found that the tendency to vote in their respective countries here is confirmed by the relatively equitable participation of both gender, thus with no noticeable statistically significant differences.

Chart 3. 26 - Respondents according to the exercise of voting rights, by gender (%)



With multiple causes for the differences noted above, it should be mentioned that the lower participation of emigrants in elections in Portugal can not be interpreted as a consequence of a total or partial detachment from the political reality of their origin. The more intense participation in the elections of the host country may be interpreted as an exercise of free citizenship, value easily internalized and through which emigrants expect a direct or indirect gain of benefits.

Chart 3. 27 - Respondents according to the exercise of voting rights, by gender and destination country (%)



Turning our focus on to issues more directly related to the contact that respondents had with the Azores over the years of emigration, two dimensions inevitably arise for further exploration. The first concerns access and contact with the Portuguese language through the media, literature or interpersonal relationships which may mean, “a journey of the emigrants, figuratively speaking, to their roots through regular monitoring of regional events, which allows the maintenance of a sense of belonging and identity that the many years of emigration seem to not decrease (Almeida, 2008:359).

Secondly, and in line with the above, there are the trips to the Azores, that with somewhat different underlying motivations, reinforce the feeling of belonging and Azorean identity. On the other hand, we can not exclude the possibility that the visits to the Azores may have had in the preparation of the return, even if did not meant to happen in short term.

Regarding those dimensions, and considering that - as stated by Almeida (2008:358) in regards to the Azorean community in the U.S. - "the life of the islands was recreated with dynamism and resilience, enthusiasm, longing and cooperation", access and contact with the Portuguese language fits into the framework of that same process.

In this sense, and according to respondents, this contact, which may fit into a context of maintenance and preservation of Azorean culture, was allowed by local associations or organizations - some caution is required about this comparison in order to not exclude the possibility that the access to the Portuguese language occurred through informative content produced in Portugal and the Azores that was later exported to the different communities.

If overall, more men had access to "radio", "television" and "newspapers" as a form of contact with the Portuguese language, when we consider their individual importance we find it is different according to destination country. While in Brazil the "newspapers" (28.2%) were the privileged vehicle for respondents to contact with the Portuguese language, in Canada and the United States was "Radio" and "television". On the other hand, while the "books" and "magazines" have a relatively small weight in the latter two countries (not exceeding 10%), in Brazil both conjoin to about 17%. With respect to Bermuda, contact with the Portuguese language

was done mostly by “television” (33.7%) and “Radio” (20.2%). Examination of these differences should take into account the migration periods for each of these destinations, as well as the social-cultural characteristics of the emigrants themselves.

Chart 3. 28 - Respondents according to main source of access to the Portuguese language (%)

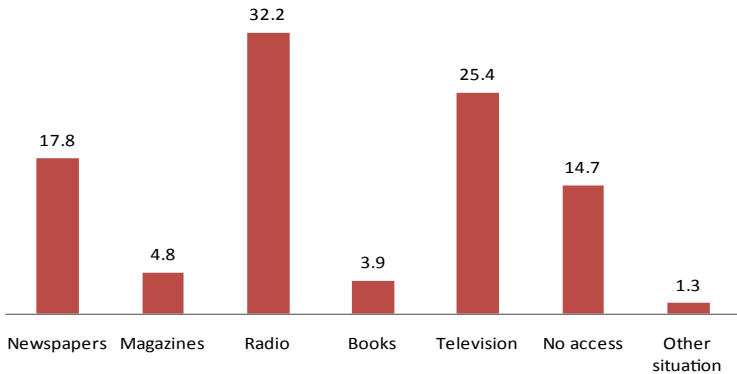


Chart 3. 29 - Respondents according to main source of access to the Portuguese language, by destination country (%)

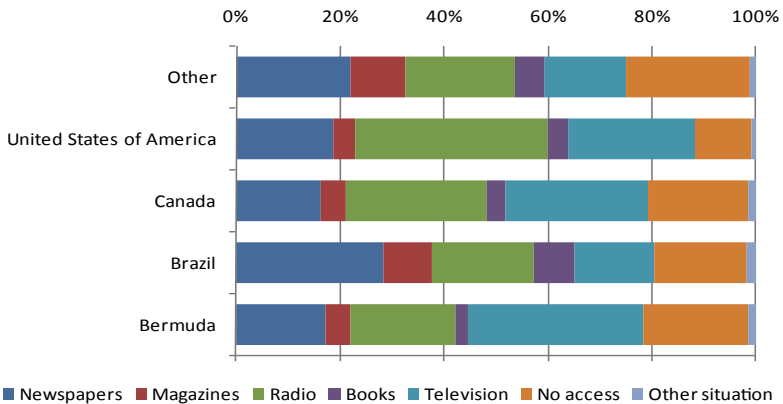
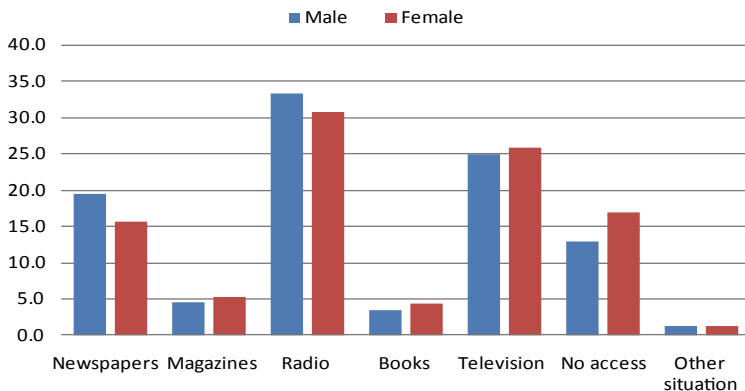


Chart 3. 30 - Respondents according to main source of access to Portuguese language, by gender (%)

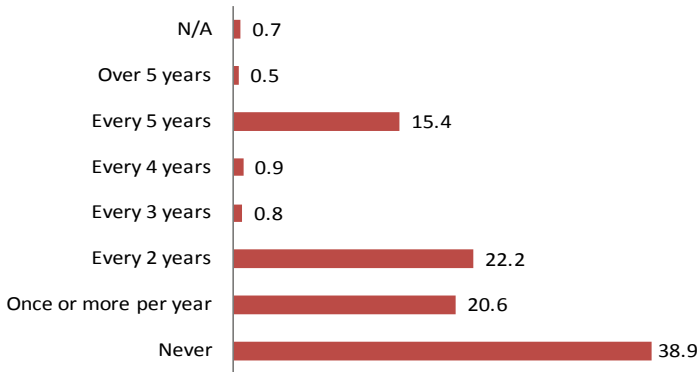


As we mentioned earlier, the connection to the origins, in addition to performing and perpetuating in the host society through access to the Portuguese language through different media manifests itself also by the emigrants maintaining contact with the Azores by way of travelling back. In this sense, we analyzed the regularity and frequency with which respondents visited the Azores in order to verify the existence of trends. Indeed, when we consider only the regularity of visits (51.1% of valid responses) values are clear, as 38.9% said “never” have visited the Azores while they were emigrants. Several reasons justify such a decision, but we believe the financial aspect to be the main reason -and not a disruption of emotional and cultural ties with the Azores. On the other hand, for short and mid-term emigrants, it’s possible they did not find it necessary to make the trip over to visit. Thus, the migration objectives and not a rupture or separation of ties, may have contributed to the lack of frequent trips to visit the Azores.

Returning to the analysis of the regularity of visits to the Azores, we concluded that it was relatively more intense in those that did so every two years, although the number of

those emigrants who did so every year was not insignificant (20.6%). While this intensity in the visits to the Azores is related to several reasons, as we shall see, the values recorded may indicate a relatively stable financial situation that justifies this frequency. Even those who travelled back every two years or every five years highlighted the need to accumulate financial capital to allow for this pattern.

Chart 3. 31 - Respondents according to the regularity of visits to the Azores (%)

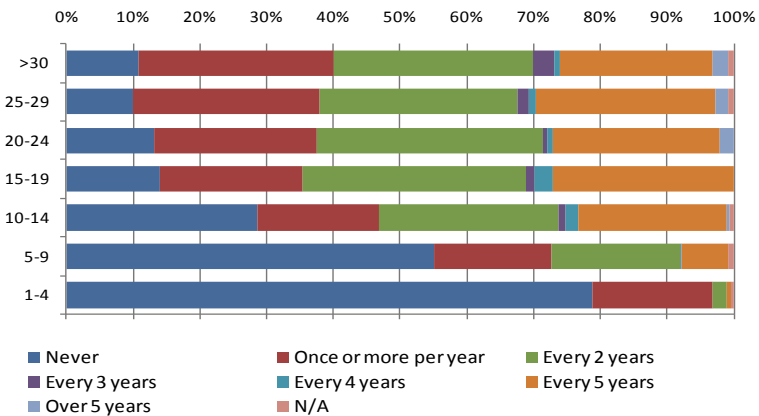


Deepening a little more our knowledge of these matters, we concluded that the variable “length of emigration” assumed a key role here, as it resulted in additional information that we consider essential to understanding the patterns of the regularity of visits to the Azores. Indeed, through Chart 3.32, we find that one of the first things that stand out is actually that the number of those who never visited the Azores during their stay in the host country, emigrated for a period never exceeding the ten year mark, especially on those located in the 1 to 4 year emigration period (78.8%).

There are also two distinct, though not contradictory, that in our view, contribute to explain some of the dynamic processes

underlying the emigration and the emigrants maintenance of contact with the Azores through travelling. If on the one hand, as emigration periods increase, the number of respondents who never visited the Azores decreases. On the other hand, those with relatively long emigration stays are the ones who visited the Azores one or more times per year showing, perhaps, a relatively stable financial situation. However, when we examine other types of frequencies, with special emphasis on the items “every two years” and “every five years”, we find that, contrary to what happens in the first years of emigration, the regularity of visits becomes stable across all of the periods.

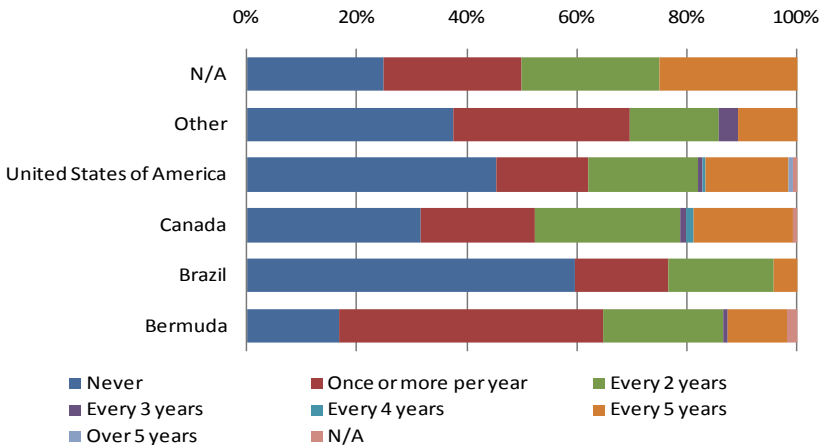
Chart 3. 32 - Respondents according to the regularity of visits to the Azores, by length of stay in the destination country (%)



In a comparative analysis of these values by destination countries we found that those who reported “never” have visited the Azores were mostly those emigrants who departed to Brazil and the United States of America. In the case of those who claimed to have visited the Azores one or more times a year, Bermuda (47.9%) comes first, followed by Canada (20.9%) and the United

States of America (16, 9%). The observed differences may be justified by several factors. We believe it is plausible to consider that the values observed in Bermuda may be justified by a rapid accumulation of financial capital allowed respondents to often visit the Azores. When we consider other frequencies of visits, the values observed in several countries do not seem to indicate significant differences, with the exception of “every two years” and “every five years” in Canada - 26.2% and 18% respectively.

Chart 3. 33 - Respondents according to the regularity of visits to the Azores, by destination country (%)



In this approach there is another aspect that comes almost naturally and that is related to the respondents that did not reveal any regularity in their visits to the Azores. Thus, the sample of those who held some regularity in visits to the islands represented 31%, which was below those who visited sporadically (about 46%). Looking at Chart 3.34, we note that, excluding those who never visited the Azores, the overwhelming majority of respondents did so only at a maximum of three times (68.6%), though a significant number did visited “several times” (23.1%). However, the value

that emerges is indeed the 37% of respondents who only came once to the Azores. In addition, focusing on the distribution of these data according to the length of emigration we see two distinct trends: as the time of emigration increases, the number of those who visited the Azores only once decreases and the total of those who visited two or more times increases.

Chart 3. 34 - Respondents according to number of visits to the Azores (%)

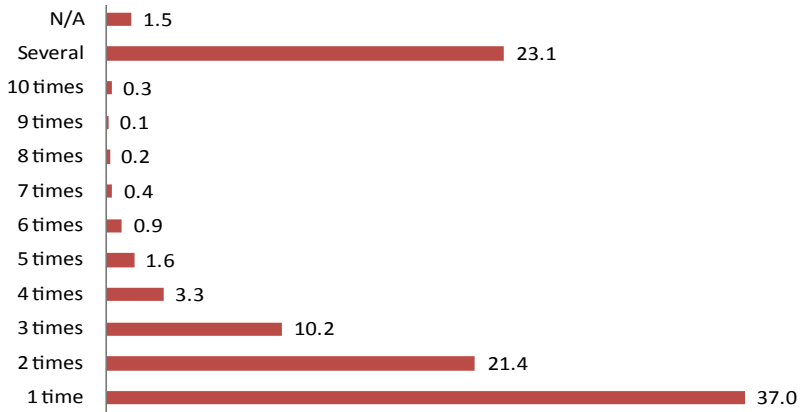
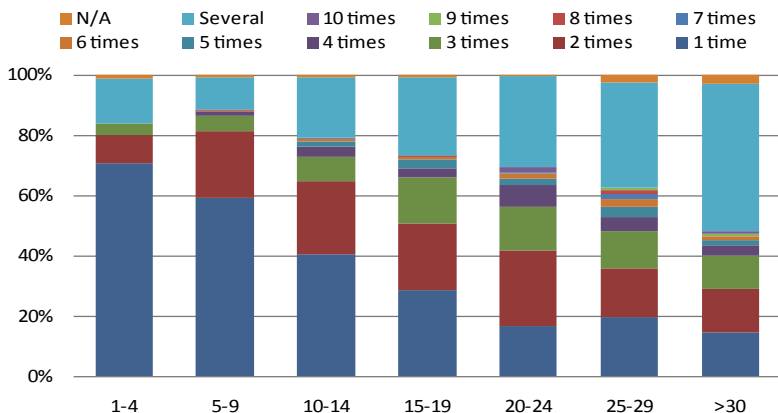


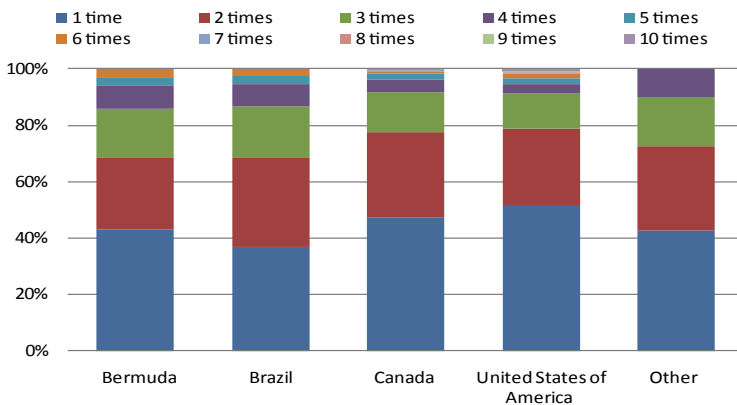
Chart 3. 35 - Respondents by number of visits to the Azores, by length of stay (%)



The data collected about the occasional visits to the archipelago can elucidate on possible emigration strategies designed by the respondents. In this case, it seems to encompass the accumulation of financial capital that enable them to have a closer contact with the homeland and to achieve initially planned objectives, such as to prepare the return.

Regarding the frequency of visits to the Azores the United States of America and Canada have the highest values in the “one time” category with values of around 51% and 47% respectively. Bermuda and Brazil assume relatively low values in the same response category, although not far from those observed in the other two countries. For those who claimed to have visited the Azores two or three times, we highlight the emigrants from Brazil and Canada with the highest percentage, and Bermuda and the United States with the lowest values, although the difference was not significant.

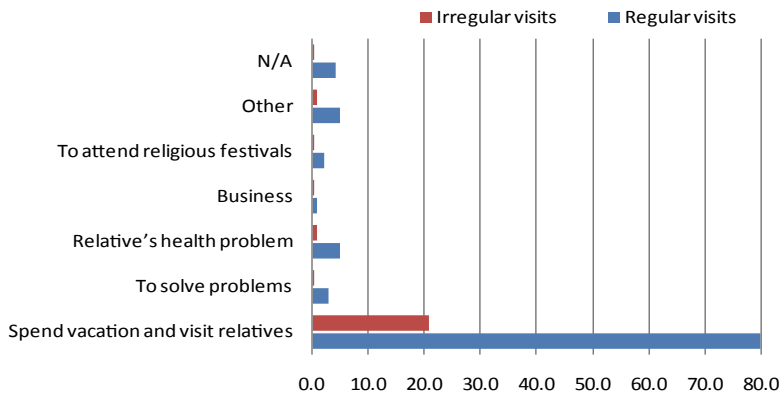
Chart 3. 36 - Respondents according to number of visits to the Azores, by destination country (%)



In comparative terms, considering the main reasons for the visits to the Azores, Chart 3.37 indicates that 80% of

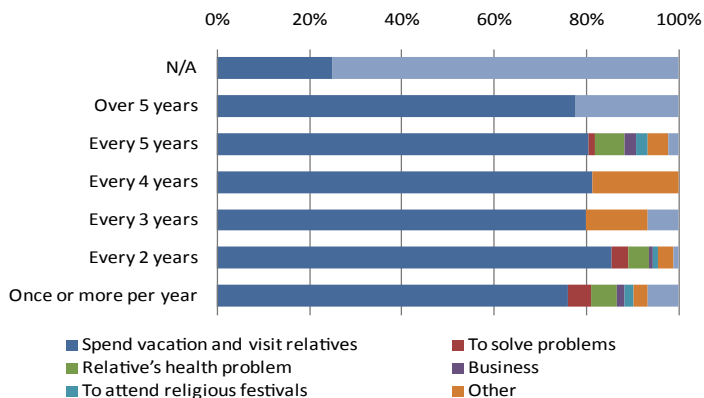
respondents claimed to have visited the Azores with some regularity to visit relatives or spend vacation time, a different situation from those who only visited occasionally (20.9%). For the remaining items, the values are statistically insignificant.

Chart 3. 37 - Respondents according to main reason for visits to the Azores (%)



Addressing the reasons for visiting the Azores of the respondents who visited with some regularity, we find that the tourism and family dimensions identified earlier emerge across all the items in question, presenting, therefore, no significant differences. The religious dimension is considered by some authors as a central element linking emigrants to their places of origin (Almeida, 2008; Medeiros and Madeira, 2004, 2003). However, it does not seem to have great relevance here, although some of the visits occurring for the reasons of vacationing/tourism occurred during the regional religious festivals. Moreover, this aspect was confirmed by 3% of respondents who made sporadic visits and also invoked the religious festival as a major reason for visiting. However, even in these cases, the motivation to spend vacation time and visit the family gathers around 81% of respondents, which is very significant.

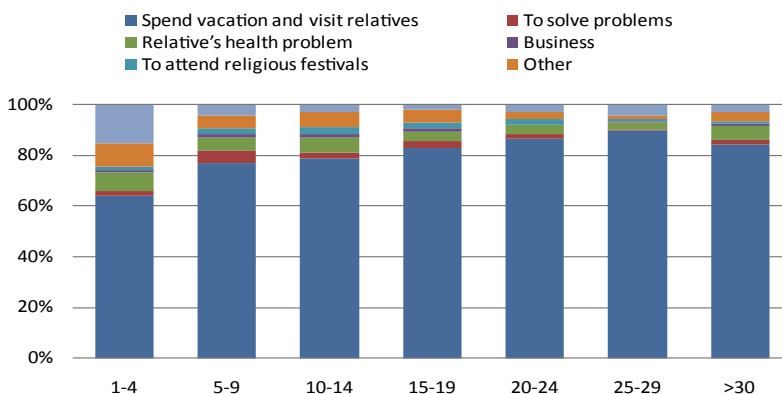
Chart 3. 38 - Respondents according to the regularity of visits to the Azores, by main reason for visits (%)



When we consider these data according to the length of emigration, which we present in Chart 3.38, we observe that the general trend is for emigrants who have been living overseas for the longest to be more likely to refer to spend vacation time and visit family as the main reasons for visiting the Azores. Thus, this item has a weight of 64% in the range 1 to 4 years, and gets close to 80% in the following year period. As we move forward in length of emigration, we verify that the importance of vacationing and visiting family members tends to increase gradually, reaching its highest in the 25 to 29 year range - about 90%.

So we think it's plausible to consider that this trend is justified by the gradual accumulation of financial capital to enable such visits in a more regular basis, though we can not exclude the possibility that the in emigrants who resided away for less than five years there was the issue of missing the family and the homeland. The connection to the Azores and the island of origin is also related to the application of savings.

Chart 3. 39 - Respondents according to main reason for visits to the Azores, by length of stay in the destination country (%)



Indeed, considering that about 87% of respondents said they had managed to gather savings over time, we must now look with some detail, at the fate of these savings. In observation of Chart 3.40, it appears that about 58% of respondents opted for the regional economy through the purchase of housing or land -excluding the cases in which the geographical location where the investments isn't clear, It should be noted that although the data presented are not truly clear, it is assumed that this situation occurred before the return and that it may regard the acquisition and renovation of housing for vacationing, visiting relatives, and especially, to prepare the final return to the Azores.

It appears that the application of the savings did not occur only in the regional context as evidenced by the values recorded in items "bought a house in the host country" (13.6%) and "invested in the education of children" (4.2%). Regarding the item "deposited in the bank", it gathers about 12% of the total responses, though we were unable to ascertain whether this occurred in the domestic banking system or in the host countries.

Chart 3. 40 - Respondents according to main form of applications of savings (%)

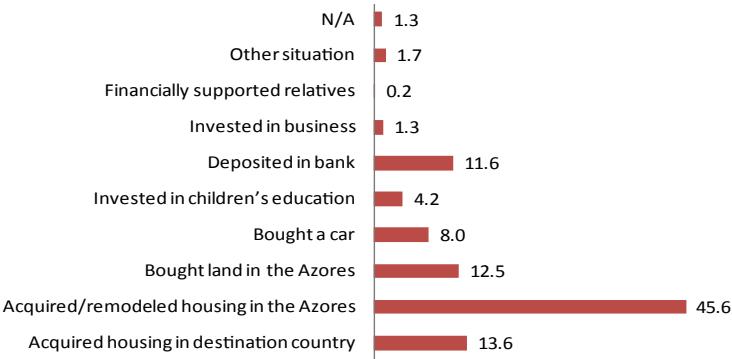
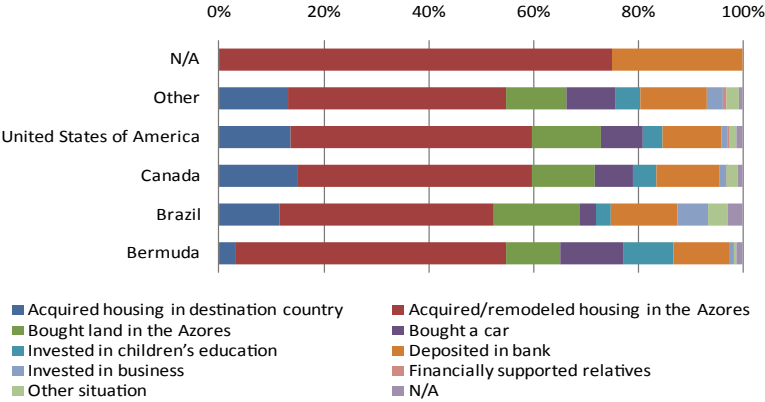


Chart 3. 41 - Respondents according to main form of applications of savings, by destination country (%)

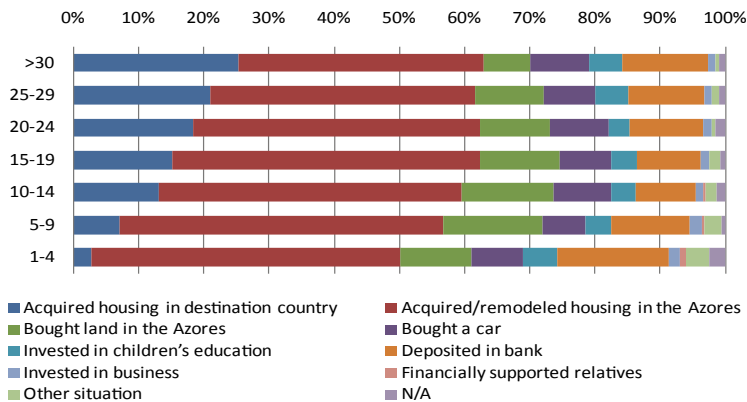


In an analysis by countries we found that purchasing a home in Canada (15%), in the United States of America (13.6%) and Brazil (11.7%) gather figures that should not be overlooked. While in Bermuda this situation is much less significant (3%) and could be explained largely by its specific emigration characteristics. As for those who purchased or reconstructed a house in the Azores the values are more significant in the case

of Bermuda, exceeding 50% - in Canada and the United States these values are relatively lower.

Another aspect that we can not minimize in this analysis refers to the preference of respondents in accumulating savings by depositing them in the bank - something that seems common across all countries, with values of around 12%. Connecting this with the length of emigration seems to convey that emigrants with short stays in the destination countries were more likely to purchase or reconstruct a house in the Azores though, overall, this is an element present in all time intervals (Chart 3.42). As for the other savings application, we found that purchasing a home in the host country seems to be an objective at medium and long term, because only 2.8% of emigrants who stayed between one and four years mentioned doing so. On the other hand, the purchase or remodeling of housing in the Azores is a cross-cutting issue for all emigrants, regardless of length of emigration, and destination country.

Chart 3. 42 - Respondents according to main form of applications of savings, by length of stay Azores in the destination country (%)



Thus, the emigration project seems to have led to an improvement in financial conditions, which were partially

reflected in the purchase of two habitations, even though the purchase of housing in the Azores took place following the sale of the habitation in the host country. In addition, the mentioning of spending vacation time as the main reason for regularly visiting the Azores seems to indicate, that in fact, the purchase of housing is allowed by some financial stability that would not have been achieved in the Azores.

SUMMARY

- 1) Approximately 57% of returnees, particularly men (55.7%) pointed to "language" as one of the main difficulties experienced in the destination country;
- 2) The traditional Azorean emigration flows, to the United States and Canada, recorded in the twentieth century allowed family support to have role in finding a residence or employment. In cases where the presence of relatives in these countries is not mentioned, there is the support provided by friends, particularly in the case of Bermuda (22.6%);
- 3) As for the nature of the Azorean emigration flows it concerns predominantly financial reasons and search for a better life through employment. This reason was an element across all countries and was underlined by about 91% of respondents (especially men). For the reasons of financial dependence values are insignificant;
- 4) With regard to activity sectors integrated by emigrants, "manufacturing" (38.7%), "construction" (16.3%) and "agriculture and Fishing" (13.8%) are those who take the most relevance. The breakdown by countries shows that while the sector "industry" takes on an important role in the United States and Canada, Bermuda is marked by "Agriculture and Fishing". Regarding the "construction" sector, it is most predominant in Canada and

Bermuda, which contrasts with the situation observed in the United States of America where it only collects about 9% of the total responses;

- 5) In the cases where we record multiple jobs (25.9%), this situation stems from the difficulties in obtaining the necessary financial capital for living in the destination country or the need to rapidly accumulate savings that allowed an early return to the Azores – with the highest values in Canada and the United States of America;
- 6) Regarding the participation in social-cultural associations and organizations we stress that this is relatively important, with values of around 42%. Those who said “a few times over the year” (40%) and “on weekends” (32%) represent the majority of respondents – especially in Brazil and the U.S.;
- 7) Access to the Portuguese language and regular contact with the Azores, through travel, strikes us as two dimensions of enormous importance because it enables us to further understand of emigrants’ experiences and the community ties kept by Azorean emigrants. While most emigrants revealed to access the Portuguese language, mainly via radio (32.2%) and television (25.4%), visits to the Azores, regardless of their regularity, appear to be common, though with about 39% of respondents reported never having visited the archipelago during the length of stay in the host country. In the case of those who said they visited the Azores with some regularity, we highlight the United States of America and Canada as the main countries for those who visited once a year - 51% and 47% respectively;
- 8) As for the main reasons for these visits, we highlight the item “to spend vacation time” and “to visit family” (79.9%). The length of emigration tends to positively influence the regularity and the frequency of visits to the Azores, and the importance of vacationing and visiting family tends to increase gradually, reaching it highest among those who emigrated for a period between 25 to 29 years.

PART II

**BACK TO
THE AZORES**

CHAPTER 4

THE RETURN FLOWS AND PATHWAYS

Eduardo Ferreira

As already noted, the quantification of the return, while a migration phenomenon of multiple contours, is not, in most cases, an easy task to undertake. To add to the variety of situations (individual and family), which are the basis for questioning the status of returnee - related, for example, and among other things, with the logistics of going back and forth -, there are gaps from the statistical perspective that do not allow to really gather the exact number of returnees and return flows in certain time periods. Despite these constraints, and in the particular case of Azores, the work of Rocha (1991) and Oliveira (1997) constitute a valid reference in this issue, allowing that, within a relatively long time frame (covering almost the entire twentieth century), we can point out periods of greater and lesser incidence of the return - yet we find ourselves unable to come up with quantitative and rigorous measures for the phenomenon itself.

Using indirect calculation methods¹³, the authors estimate that since the late twenties until, roughly, mid-forties, the return of emigrants to the archipelago experienced a first moment of

¹³ This methodology is based essentially on the analysis of the difference between the values of legal emigration and net migration for different periods between censuses. Although since then we are not able to completely isolate the movements of all the returnees which include the re-emigration and illegal immigration, the method allows, instead of strict measures, a rough assessment of the relative importance of the return. In general, for the periods in which the values of the gross rate of emigration exceed, in significant terms, the rate of net migration, it is assumed that the return movements have taken on greater importance, and assumed otherwise for a difference in the opposite direction.

greater relative importance in the framework of international Azorean migration movements (Rocha, 1991: 243-244; Oliveira, 1997: 219-220). The economic depression resulting from the financial collapse of 1929, as well as the fact that the United States adopted, from the mid-twenties, a very strict immigration policy, which in many cases, blocked the possibilities for family reunification, are two important factors explaining the greater expression of the return during that same period.

However, increased incidence of this phenomenon stems from a trend that was already asserting itself since the beginning of last century, because as mentioned Gilberta Rocha, relying on Chapin (1981), "it is possible through the U.S. census, to check for existence of return movements in about 1/4 of Azorean emigrants in the period of 1900 to 1920" (Rocha, 1991: 243-244). Overall, it was a movement which tended to be made mainly by individuals belonging to older age groups (Rocha, 1991:243). This data of a demographic nature seems to meet, in fact, what Susana Serpa Silva said on the subject of emigrants who left the Azores in the eighteen-eighties and nineties, in which the young remained in the country of destination "(...) because emigration was young and male dominated, it was natural that many of them ended up marrying those from the land where their needs had brought them". On the other hand, the younger generations, born and raised within the diaspora, refused to return to the islands" (Smith, 2002:353).

The return turns out to be less significant between the fifties and eighties, yet it did not cease to be part of the migration that characterized the archipelago during this time period (Rocha, 1991:244; Oliveira, 1997:220). Such movements, as we know, have involved, overwhelmingly, to emigration, and the relative ease with which those who were in the Azores began to sail to

the other side of the Atlantic may have matched, somehow, the return of a significant number of older emigrants.

The possibility of regrouping the family in a land which, besides benefited also generated the prosperity of the post-war, may have been a major factor that contributed for these emigrants to suspend, temporarily or permanently, their return project. Moreover, as previously explained, the situation concerning the living conditions in the islands (both in terms of social or political perspectives), ended up facilitating more the departure than the entry of entire families in the Azores.

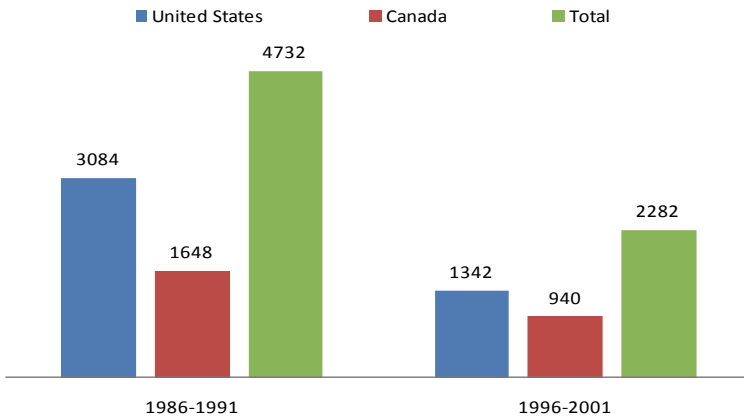
As concluded a report issued by the then Department of Regional Studies and Planning of the Azores (DREPA, 1978), in the late seventies, in the region, the resident population over the age of 18 years old and born in the United States did not exceed 150 individuals. There was a larger representation of American-born individuals in age groups over 55 - those who had been born in the U.S. before 1923 (DREPA, 1981:106-107).

When it came to Canada, this number was almost insignificant, not even adding up to ten people. This lack of youngsters born in these two countries, though far from clarifying the figures and the modalities of the return phenomenon, is still a sign never ceases to present itself as a sign that this return movement to the origins was, in fact, little intense. We are led to believe that the return during the seventies maintained its low expression this was a period of some political and social instability in the Azores - similar to most of the country - thus, not conducive, to the settling of emigrants in their homeland.

In addition, the time interval between the end of the twenties and the mid forties, the other period of the last century in which the return movements stand out, already had its beginnings in the eighties and probably maintained some

intensity throughout the first half of the nineties.¹⁴ Based on the 1991 census, it is estimated that between 1986 and 1991 approximately 4730 individuals (3080 from the United States of America and 1650 from Canada) returned to the Azores coming from North America (Chart 4.1).¹⁵

Chart 4. 1 - Total number of individuals arriving from the United States and Canada during the periods of 1986 to 1991 and 1996 to 2001, and living in the Azores in 1991 and 2001



¹⁴ Just as an indication and despite the precautions that arise in terms of comparability, 72% of respondents indicate as time to return to the Azores a date after the early eighties.

¹⁵ This process of evaluating the return flow in the period of 1986-1991 (more specifically between January 1st of 1986 and April 13th of 1991), but also used for the period of 1996-2001, is based on information available in the 1991 Census on the residence of individuals earlier to the census moment, namely between December 31st, 1985 and December 31st, 1989. It follows, therefore, the combination of this information with respect to the residence declared by individuals in the census moment, involving a gap of about 5 years. For this reason, but not solely (as, indeed, we point out in the text itself), it is an assessment affected by several limitations, among which the inability to detect those emigrants who annually share their place of residence between the Azores and the host country, or the fact of being excluded from this estimate those who actually returned to the region during the period considered, but who died before the census moment. It should be noted also that the figures in question do not match the existing volume of returned emigrants in 1991, but only an estimate of those who returned between 1986 and 1991, and joined those who, living the longest in the Azores, had already met this condition. For an elaboration of the assumptions and limitations of this methodology, see Silva *et al.*, 1984: 27-30.

It should be noted that the figures in question relate to approximate values of the intensity of return flows during this period - cases of people born in the United States and Canada were not excluded (even though as they may not have had an emigration trajectory in their personal or family background. Moreover, the fact that some of the cases may not match the condition of returned emigrant, this retrospective assessment, based on a five-year observation period, will not fail to hide and distort the final meaning that we want to employ in this same estimate. For example, all cases of emigrants who, during this hiatus, circulated between the host country and the land from where they departed.

In light of these conditions, and going forward in time, it can be said that the return flows in the late nineties have lost some intensity as compared to those observed during the period of 1986 to 1991. Estimates indicate the entry of about 2300 individuals (1342 in the United States of America and 940 in Canada) between 1996 and 2001, i.e., less than half the quantity recorded ten years earlier (Chart 4.1 again).

It should be noted that, in the comparison made between the two periods analyzed, though it has seen a decrease in entries in absolute values from the first to the second period, it does not mean that the return flow had lost significance in all the movements related to Azorean emigration. Indeed, between 1996 and 2001, for every 100 legal emigrants, 152 individuals who previously resided in the U.S. or Canada settled in the Azores. An total of around 34 individuals only did so during the same period for the previous decade (Table 4.1). This increase in entries/departures - assuming that the entries mean in almost all cases a return - ends up showing a gain between one decade and another in terms of relative importance in the type of flow addressed.

Table 4. 1 - Total number of legal migrants and total of individuals living in the Azores, from the United States and Canada arriving during the periods of 1986 to 1991 and 1996 to 2001

	Total emigrants	Total number of emigrants returning from the U.S.A. and Canada	Ratio of Entries/Departures
1986-1991	13 991	4 732	33.8%
1996-2001	1 497	2 282	152.4%

Part of the explanation for the relative increase of return movements from the eighties is perhaps, first, the profile of those mostly young people who carried out the flow of emigration that has grown since 1954, and secondly, the relationship which usually tends to exist between the return project return and the end of their professional activity. If we look into the case of emigration to Canada, and its return, we recognize with some ease, the presence of this combination of factors. Indeed, most of those who, from the mid-fifties, left for this country with an age of around 35 years old (the average age contemplated in the range between 20 years and 50 years) reached the age of 65 years old during the eighties, i.e., the age from which you were able to enjoy all the old-age and work pensions (OAS - Old Age Security and CPP - Canadian Pension Plan) paid by the Canadian social security system.

In reality, the Canadian Reform Plan (Income Security Program), of which the above pensions are two of its principal components, is set to offer its benefits depending on the number of years of residence in this country (in the case of Old Age Pension) and the number of years of contributions made by beneficiaries, while assets to the social security system (in the case of work pensions) (Table 4.2). This means that for

a large share of emigrants who lived and worked there, the return to his homeland, before reaching full retirement age (65 years) would require not only a significant penalty in the work pension, enjoying only a percentage of the deductions¹⁶, but also a decrease in the total amount of Old Age Pension, via a sub-accumulation of years of residence in Canada.

**Table 4. 2 - Main types of pensions of the Canadian Reform Plan
(Income Security Program)**

Main types of pensions		Main attribution criteria
Old Age Security (OAS)		Age of beneficiary (65 years old) and years of residence in Canadian territory
Canada Pension Plan (CPP)	CPP – Retirement Pension	Age of beneficiary (65 years old) and years of deductions to social security while an active worker
	CPP – Early Retirement	Age of beneficiary (between 60 and 64 years old) and years of deductions to social security while an active worker
	CPP – Survivor’s Benefit	Deceased spouse or partner. Duration (minimum 10 years) of deductions made by the deceased taxpayer for social security while an active worker
	CPP - Disability	Employment during 4 of the last consecutive 6 years before a disability is declared. Detection of a <i>severe</i> or <i>chronic</i> physical or mental illness

¹⁶ The Canadian taxpayer requiring the Canadian Pension Plan (CPP) before completing 65 years of age, is not entitled to the Work Pension in its entirety (that which is called the CPP - Regular or CPP - Retirement Pension), but may, however, and only if you are aged between 60 and 64 years, require a partial pension, or CPP - Early Retirement.

An analogous relationship to this one can be applied also regarding a return from the United States, even if the retirement system, in this case, does present a simpler structure than the previous one, it is also more punitive for those who require early retirement. Note that those of age around the early thirties, who emigrated to the United States soon after 1965, taking advantage of the open emigration policy, only reached age 65 during the nineties, when, as we have seen, the return flows indicate significant figures.

Despite all the other factors that might be incorporated into the return decision-making process carried out by emigrants, we believe that the rational balance between the benefits and losses resulting from an early leave from working life, were among those factors who contributed most to the choice of a moment or a life stage, to put the return project into practice. It is true that this factor will add to other equally crucial aspects, such as, the importance given to proximity and direct interaction with the descendants (especially children and grandchildren) or the "nostalgia for the homeland." However, it is important to remember that the return is a stage of the emigration process that in many cases, is only viewed as achievable by the subjects after they have completed the objective of substantial accumulation of financial resources. This is true especially when discussing emigration provoked by financial reason. In this case, the retirement factor becomes understandably important in choosing the timing for the return to the origins. This tends to be subjectively perceived by the emigrants, as a financial advantage, among others, competing with the total costs/disadvantages of emigrating.

As we shall emphasize below, not all returnees to the Azores postpone the moment of return for after the retirement. Under the agreements signed between Portugal and the main destination countries, this does not cancel out an early return or the right

to receive the major retirement pensions and, above all, the accumulation of these or other benefits they are entitled to by the Portuguese State.¹⁷ Once at the age of 60 years old, if you are an emigrant in Canada, or at the age of 62, for those who emigrated to the United States, any returning emigrant can request the retirement in advance in the host country, and then wait for the age of 65 years old to start receiving it without the resulting penalty.

Returning to the quantitative component of the return movement to the Azores, but now from the perspective of the information collected respondents. Table 4.3 confirms the importance of the eighties and nineties in the intensity of return flows. Nevertheless it became clear that these return movements began to grow even in the mid-seventies - about 50% of the surveyed individuals returned between 1980 and 1995, albeit with different figures for each of the destination countries. The percentage of returnees from the United States and Canada during this period was significantly higher than those of the other Azorean emigration destinations, a situation that changed gradually in subsequent years, particularly since 2000.

Thus, during the second half of the nineties, a significant proportion of respondents still came from those two countries, while over the following decade main return movements originated in Bermuda, a destination which, as noted above, remains active and that is associated with short stays. However, and as evidence of the distribution in question, this does not mean that the return, whether from the U.S. or Canada, has

¹⁷ Agreements on Social Security established either with the United States or Canada offer the possibility, even to the transfer a portion of contributions made during their time in Portugal (before departure) that may supplement the completed a ten year period of deductions, through the engagement in a profession in the host countries. This corresponds to the minimum time required by law, to which the taxpayer qualifies for the work pension. See the Agreement on Social Security between Portugal and the United States of America.

ceased, since the end of the last century saw an influx of emigrants in the Azores.

Please note that these results mimic what was said, at the beginning of Chapter 2, about the periods of departure and the destinations chosen by the group of respondents, which is evidence that we are in the presence of a population that mostly presents, until the return, a more or less linear trajectory within the type of emigration (medium/long-term vs. short-term).

Table 4. 3 - Main destination countries of the respondents, by year of the return (%)

Year of Return	Total	Destination Country				
		United States	Canada	Brazil	Bermuda	Other
Before 1969	3.3	2.8	4.0	8.7	0.6	1.0
1970-1974	6.5	6.5	6.3	10.6	4.3	6.7
1975-1979	10.8	7.9	14.5	12.5	6.2	24.8
1980-1984	18.4	18.5	20.1	19.2	5.0	12.4
1985-1989	15.4	16.3	14.8	9.6	14.9	10.5
1990-1994	14.5	14.8	12.7	14.4	24.8	15.2
1995-1999	10.4	10.7	10.5	6.7	8.7	4.8
After 2000	13.4	14.5	10.2	12.5	28.0	20.0
N/A	7.3	8.0	6.9	5.8	7.5	4.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

With regard to length of stay in the host country, aspect of enormous importance for the development of the following chapters, 65% of respondents returned after a migratory experience of more than 10 years, while 27% were emigrants for a period of over 20 years. We are thus in the presence of

a population whose migration projects were, overwhelmingly, medium and long term (mean length of stay time is around 15 years for the respondents), with the exception of emigration to Bermuda - for the reasons already mentioned above.

Table 4. 4 - Main destination countries of respondents, by length of stay in the destination country

Length of stay	Total	Destination country				
		United States	Canada	Brazil	Bermudas	Other
1 to 4 years	12.7	12.1	11.2	10.4	30.0	10.0
5 to 9 years	22.0	20.3	22.5	19.8	32.9	22.2
10 to 14 years	23.2	24.0	22.8	13.5	18.6	20.0
15 to 19 years	15.6	15.2	16.7	16.7	10.0	14.5
20 to 24 years	10.4	10.7	10.9	10.4	5.0	13.3
25 to 29 years	7.3	7.7	7.8	10.4	0.7	7.8
Over 30 years	8.9	10.0	8.1	18.8	2.8	12.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 4. 5 - Year of the return of the respondents, by length of stay in the destination country

Length of stay	Total	Year of return							
		Before 1969	From 1970 to 1974	From 1975 to 1079	From 1980 to 1984	From 1985 to 1989	From 1990 to 1994	From 1995 to 1999	After 2000
1 to 4 years	12.7	27.5	29.4	19.8	9.6	6.2	14.4	4.3	11.6
5 to 9 years	22.0	49.5	37.2	40.7	28.5	16.5	12.4	10.7	9.1
10 to 14 years	23.2	20.2	25.2	23.9	39.4	27.0	18.5	10.4	10.7
15 to 19 years	15.6	2.8	6.0	12.9	13.0	29.8	19.7	16.2	8.0
20 to 24 years	10.4	-	1.4	2.2	7.9	11.7	18.7	16.5	12.4
25 to 29 years	7.3	-	-	-	1.1	6.4	9.5	22.0	14.0
Over 30 years	8.9	-	0.8	0.5	0.5	2.4	6.0	19.9	34.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Although this is the general trait of the length of most migratory experiences, there is also a significant proportion of emigrants who lived in the U.S. and Canada for less than 10 years (32% in the U.S. and 34% in Canada). On the other hand, the length of stay of 1 to 4 years and 5 to 9 years, in the cohort of respondents who returned in the seventies and eighties, is clearly more significant than those who did so in recent years (Table 4.5).

Although this is not completely explanatory, the combination of these two aspects allows at least to exclude the hypothesis that most of those who came from the United States and Canada, with a stay lasting less than 10 years, have made their emigration experience after the great flow of emigration in the sixties and seventies. Thus, it seems legitimate that within this group of individuals, we can integrate not only those who emigrated as adults, between 1965 and 1975, and returned to the Azores a few years later, as well as those who along these dates departed as children or young people (accompanying the family) and who returned at a time coinciding more or less with their early working age. Analysis of the Age variable in the next chapter, and knowledge about the age ranges of this specific set of returnees will help us to clarify this issue.

SUMMARY

- 1) The variation of the relative importance of return flows within the migration framework that characterized the Azores over the past century set three distinct phases: first, the one with the highest expression, between the late twenty-mid forties, the second phase, in the early eighties, characterized by its low intensity, and the third phase, which took place during the following fifteen years and which was marked again by a significant increase;

- 2) The importance of each of the last two phases is confirmed to some extent by the data obtained in the survey for this study, since less than 1/4 of respondents claimed to have returned before 1980, while about half returned between 1980 and 1995;
- 3) Most of the returns during this period had their source in the two major destinations of Azorean emigration, the United States and Canada. Since 2000 this type of movement concerns, in almost all cases, emigrants from Bermuda;
- 4) With regard to length of stay in host countries, the average is 15 years. About 65% of returning emigrants have an emigration experience lasting more than 10 years, while 27% remained overseas for more than 20 years. These values apply, especially to those who came from U.S. and Canada, since more than 60% of emigrants to Bermuda did not remain for a period of over 9 years and 30% returned before the 4-year mark.

CHAPTER 5

THE RETURNEE'S PROFILE

Eduardo Ferreira

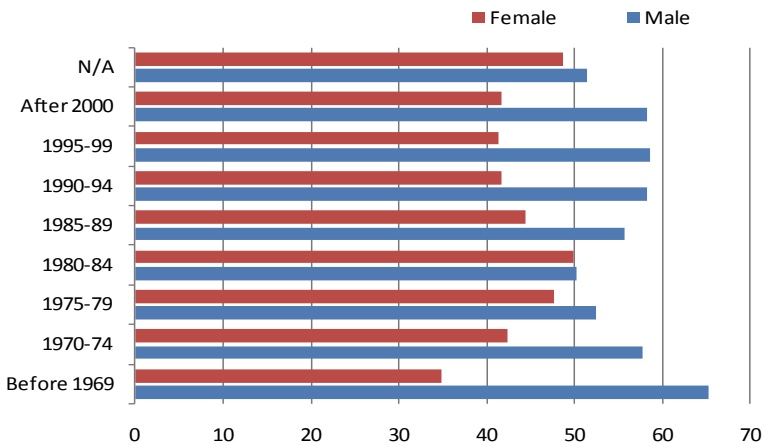
In this chapter the main objective is to profile the returnee population with regard, essentially, to its demographics and social and economic development. Where relevant, the analysis of some of the variables that make up this characterization are done in a comparative perspective between the situation of returnees before the departure and during their stay in the host country. This way, we will seek to understand some of the main emigration effects on the current characteristics of those who returned, particularly in terms of their social and professional trajectory.

In Chapter 2, when we referenced the major periods of emigration flows, we realized that, despite the effects of methodological limitations on the variable "Gender", the breakdown by male or female of returning emigrants varied according to the time period of their emigration. Indeed, the most significant percentage of returning females occurred mainly during the heyday of the Azorean emigration (1965-75), whether because of the "first emigration flow" to Canada, which occurred in a phased manner during the fifties, or because the most recent flows to Bermuda have resulted, as expected, in a return of mostly men.¹⁸

¹⁸ It should be noted that the destination Bermuda is not at all strange to the women surveyed in this study, since almost 37% of them claim to have emigrated to this country. But what should be taken into account is the fact that the overwhelming majority of these women integrated mostly the emigration flows of the sixties, when the emigration policy of this destination was more permissive than in recent years and thus, allowed for family reunification.

Given this, and since, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the average length of stay of the respondents in the host country was around fifteen years, no wonder then, that the return flows, since the mid-eighties, have been composed, increasingly, of a greater percentage of men - with a ratio of men to women of approximately 2/3 (Chart 5.1).

Chart 5. 1 - Respondents according to year of return, by gender (%)



Age is one of the most important aspects in the overall profile of any returnee population, especially when the objective is to define lines of action that seek to integrate their needs with any contributions they can offer to the society or community of origin. With regard to the current age of respondents (Table 5.1), the main thing to stress is the fact that we are facing an aged population - more than 60% has surpassed the age of 60 years old, while 80% are over 50 years old. It is an expected age group structure if we consider the decades of reference for Azorean emigration and the fact that a high percentage of emigrants left the Azores at an already working age. This is clearly demonstrated by Medeiros and Madeira (2003, 2004) for the specific cases of Povoação and Nordeste.

Table 5. 1 - Age of the respondents, by gender and main destination countries (%)

Age	Total	Gender		Destination Country			
		M	F	Bermuda	Brazil	Canada	United States
< 30 years	0.5	0.4	0.5	1.6	-	0.6	0.2
30-39 years	4.0	3.9	4.2	19.4	1.0	3.6	3.3
40-49 years	12.4	10.7	14.5	31.0	10.3	11.9	11.5
50-59 years	21.3	18.8	24.3	23.3	20.6	18.4	23.3
60-69 years	27.1	28.9	24.9	9.3	37.1	30.1	24.9
> 70 years	34.7	37.3	31.6	15.4	31.0	35.4	36.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Given these values, the majorities of respondents are already not working or are preparing to enter retirement, which does not mean, necessarily, a complete rupture with the engagement in an activity as will further address. Moreover, it is inevitable that a significant concentration of returnees in older age groups will eventually raise issues of particular interest to public policy makers and which relate, for example, with the living conditions of most of returning emigrants (e.g. financial and family) or to the needs / obligations (occasional or regular) they face, resulting from their previous situation as emigrants (e.g., pensions, evidence of life, income statements). These are aspects that deserve proper analysis, but are not anchored in this specific issue of the returnee’s age.

The analysis of this general framework of the age by gender shows a higher proportion of men in older age groups, namely those who are over the age of 60 years old - 66.2% versus 56.5% of women – though the opposite is verified in between 40 and 59 years of age - 29.5% of men and 38.8% of women.

More than the result of how differently each gender integrated the Azorean emigration flows over the first three decades of the second half of the twentieth century, we believe that this uneven age distribution tends to be, once again, a consequence of the method used to collect data and in particular the fact that just one of the members of the household was surveyed.¹⁹

The differences that stand out from the distribution of respondents by the four main destinations for emigration, according to the various age groups, are not only a sign of the greater and lesser role each these flows had over time (note, for example, the highest percentages for Brazil and Canada in the set of returnees over the age of 60 years old), and establishes a very clear divide between the profile of older returnees (the majority group) and younger returnees.

This latter group is represented mainly by emigration to Bermuda, with 52% of respondents under 50 years of age, though it also shows in lower percentages in Canada (16%) and the United States (15%). Again, we see the distinction (first address in Chapter 1) between the emigration flows to Bermuda (in particular, of this century) and to U.S and Canada. However, note that the figures for these last two destination countries are not insignificant²⁰, and therefore, the set of respondents under 50 years old, should account for, hypothesis raised in the end of the previous chapter that some of the younger returnees may have initiated their emigration process in adolescences or in early working age, and have perhaps a background of family emigration.

¹⁹ It is reasonable to assume that within some of the working age population (as is the case of individuals 40 to 59 years old), there were several cases where the women ("home-maker") replaced the male element of the aggregate in those surveys occurring during regular working hours.

²⁰ Despite these percentage differences the absolute values should be taken into account: Bermuda, N = 67; Canada, N = 182; United States, N = 236. On the other hand, note that, overall, the relative weight of respondents under 50 years old is of 17% (Table 5.1).

This applies especially to those who returned during the eighties and nineties (i.e., the period of greatest intensity of return flows from these countries), and are currently still under the age of 50.

Since this investigation did not include the variable age at time of return, comparison of Charts 5.2 and 5.3 allows, to some extent, gain knowledge about the statistical significance of these cases. As seen through the first Chart, the overwhelming majority of returnees who were less than 30 years old at the time of the survey, emigrated after 2000 (to Bermuda, of course) – similarly to those who fell within the range of 30 to 39 years of age. However, those returnees who fit in the 40 to 49 year old set²¹, 57% returned before 1994, and a good portion of them (about 40%) had a length of stay in the host country among the 10 to 20 year range (which excludes from the outset, the cases of emigration to Bermuda). On the other hand, 32% of respondents aged between 30 and 39 years old claimed also to have returned in the mid-nineties²², of which 26% emigrated for a period of 10 to 15 years.

We believe, therefore, that within the sample of returnees who are currently of working age, there is portion that emigrated with their family at a very young age and returned to the Azores at an early stage of their work and professional trajectories.

Another issue about age that is important to highlight relates to the observation that within the age groups of 50 to 59 years old and 60 to 69 years old, there are individuals who did not have a long emigration experience, contrary to what would be expected. In the first set, 35% and in the second set, 30% were emigrants for less than 10 years. This means that we may not be able to generalize the association between the returnee's age and the length

²¹ A total of 362 individuals.

²² A total of 118 individuals.

of stay, capital and knowledge accumulated over the emigration experience. In other words, being a middle-aged or older returning emigrant can not always be interpreted as synonymous with a long emigration experience of emigration or with higher levels of professional qualifications and social and economic capital - or that these were acquired in the destination country.

Chart 5. 2 - Age of respondents according to year of return (%)

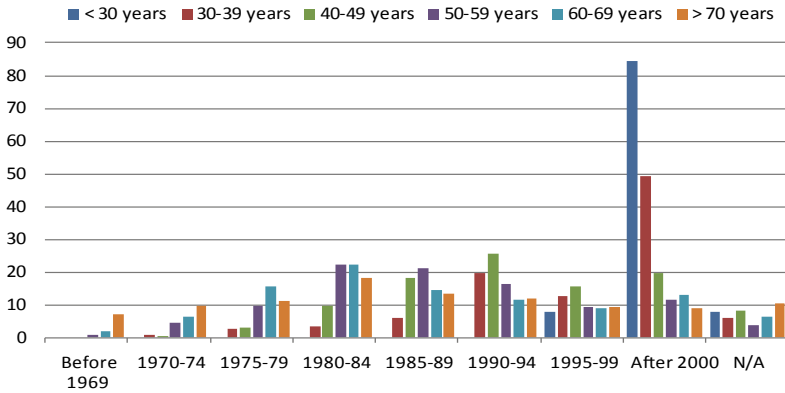
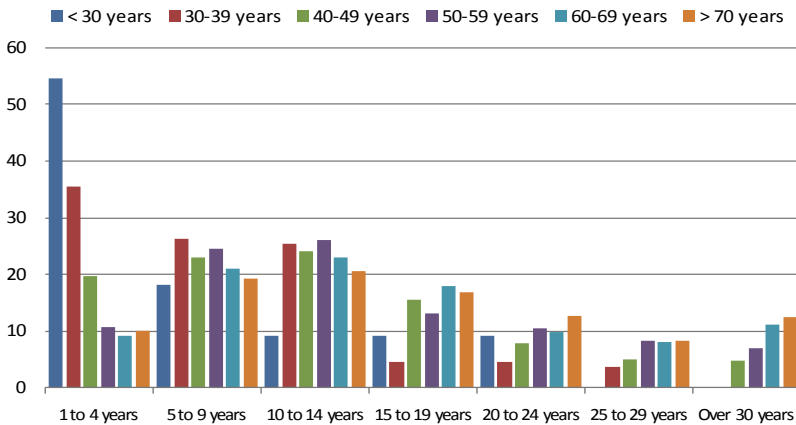


Chart 5. 3 - Age of respondents according to the length of stay in the destination country (%)



Similar to age, education level is usually one of the key issues in analyzing the returnee’s profile, especially for what this may or may not represent in terms of usable skills and cultural capital for their own social and economic processes in the societies of origin/return. In the last few years, the studies focusing on the specific groups of returnees, whose age and education level can become advantages to the return context (e.g., Barrett and O’Connell, 2000, Barrett and Trace, 1998; Co, Gang and Yun, 2000). Understandably, the level of education can not be understood, as the sole factor for success in transfer of skills and diverse types of capital. However, it’s certainly a vital characteristic.

Table 5. 2 - Education level of respondents, by gender (%)

Level of Education	Total	Gender	
		M	F
Can’t read or write	8.0	8.9	6.9
Reads and writes without completing school	16.3	15.3	17.6
Grade School	59.2	62.4	55.3
Middle School	5.6	5.3	6.0
Elementary School	4.7	3.5	6.2
High School	3.6	2.6	4.9
Associate’s Degree	0.7	0.5	1.0
Undergraduate Degree	1.1	0.7	1.6
N/A	0.7	0.8	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Regarding the population being studied, we can not fail to stress the very low contribution that, within this logic, the level of education represents to the overwhelming majority of emigrants returning to the Azores. Indeed, 60% of those surveyed only completed grade school - 16%, did not complete grade school. In this scenario, there is also 8% of respondents who can not read or write. Of the remaining 15%, only 5% completed the middle school and the percentage of those graduated high school does not reach 4%. Figures for those who completed an associate’s or undergraduate degree were very low.

Table 5. 3 - Education level of respondents, by age group (%)

Level of Education	Total	Age					
		< 30 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60-69 years	> 70 years
Can't read or write	8.0	-	0.8	0.6	1.1	5.4	17.0
Reads and writes without completing school	16.3	-	4.2	7.2	4.8	15.3	29.8
Grade School	59.2	7,7	21.2	45.9	74.5	72.8	48.5
Middle School	5.6	23,1	28.0	14.9	6.0	2.0	1.8
Elementary School	4.7	38,5	22.9	13.0	5.0	2.3	1.7
High School	3.6	30,8	16.1	14.4	4.2	0.6	0.3
Associate's Degree	0.7	-	2.5	0.8	1.3	0.8	0.2
Undergraduate Degree	1.1	-	2.5	2.5	2.3	0.3	0.2
N/A	0.7	-	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.5	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The breakdown of education level by gender does not indicate that significant differences exist between men and

women, unlike the respondents' age (Table 5.3). With the exception of the youngest age group ("under 30 years"), the proportion of respondents who only completed grade school is quite significant in all age groups, reaching values over 70% between 50 and 69 years old. Even within the range between 30 and 39 years old, the group where we would expect an average higher level of education, about 21% did not attend beyond grade school, and 51% did not complete high school (28% for elementary school and 23% for middle school). In the next age group (40-49 years old), this distribution further strengthens the relevance of grade school (46%) and lower importance of elementary and middle school (15% and 13.0 %, respectively). Thus, we can conclude most returnees present with a low education level.

The analysis of the education level by destination countries (Table 5.4) shows an interesting aspect with regard to differences between the United States and Canada on the one hand, and Bermuda, on the other. It is not because the latter destination is a flow that was reissued in recent years and, therefore, integrates a younger population, which we found associated with a higher level of education. In fact, in Bermuda what we find is a higher proportion of individuals with completed middle school (16% against 5% on average, other cases). Moreover, in Bermuda, the percentage of those returnees who only completed grade school is very similar to the other two destinations. The same happens with the category of those who can not read or write, which relates to the older age of this group of returnees (mostly emigrated during the sixties).

Table 5. 4 - Education level of respondents, by destination country (%)

Level of Education	Total	Destination Country				
		Bermuda	Brazil	Canada	United States	Other
Can't read or write	8.0	5.0	3.8	6.0	9.9	3.8
Reads and writes without completing school	16.3	14.9	8.7	18.5	16.0	6.7
Grade School	59.2	56.5	67.3	59.9	58.3	64.8
Middle School	5.6	16.1	1.9	5.5	4.8	7.6
Elementary School	4.7	5.6	5.8	4.9	4.5	7.6
High School	3.6	1.2	2.9	3.6	3.6	2.9
Associate's Degree	0.7	-	2.9	0.8	0.6	2.9
Undergraduate Degree	1.1	-	4.8	0.3	1.6	2.9
N/A	0.7	0.6	1.9	0.6	0.7	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Also interesting is the fact that there is a significant percentage of returnees who emigrated to Brazil having completed the first four years of school (67.3%, a value that stands out from the other major destination countries) along with a comparatively low number of those who did not attend the official education system or did not complete 4th grade (8.7%). This data is explained by the fact that most of these individuals, as we saw in Chapter 2, departed before 1965, but also by the constraining measures of the emigration policy defined at the time by the New State. Indeed, between 1929 and the mid-sixties²³, there was a law that completely prohibited the granting of passports to anyone aged between 14 and 45 who did not show proof of having completed 4th grade, which, due to the high Portuguese illiteracy rates at

²³ Dec. Law 16: 782 of 27 April 1929.

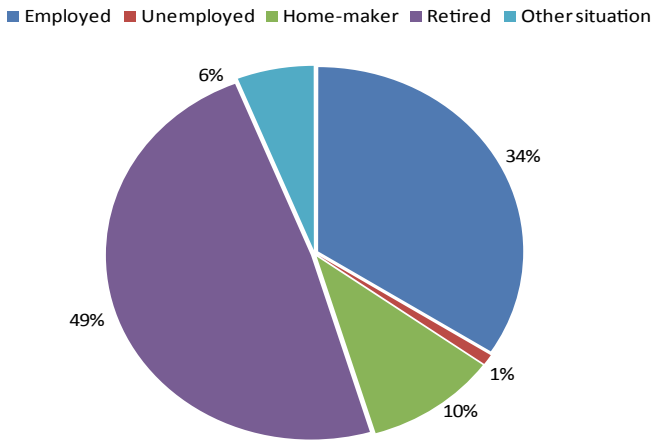
the time, contributed greatly to strangle the departure flows from Portugal for over three decades (Baganha, 2003: 3). Hence, perhaps, it may be possible to find within this specific group of returnees who emigrated to Brazil at a time when the option for the United States still was practically prohibited, a greater homogeneity in terms of education level and a low proportion of individuals who did not complete grade school.

In short, about the distribution of respondents by level of education, we can say that very low levels of education evidenced by the emigrants who returned to the Azores did not develop into a higher qualification level and or skill building in the destination country over the emigration period. In fact, and given the resulting figures, there were very few cases where the emigrants returned better educated than they were at the departure, This is in line with the model of emigration usually assigned to them, and according to which the paths of upward social mobility is restricted, mostly by the economic aspect (Teixeira and Oliveira, 2004: 29-53).

Regarding the profile of respondents according to their labour and social-professional characteristics, it has become possible to realize, when considering the variable age, that this is a considerably aged population from whom we can not expect an effective contribution (in terms of volume of human resources) to the labour market. The same can be concluded about the hypothetical accumulation of knowledge and qualifications in terms of becoming able to generate new dynamic approaches to specific activity sectors in the place of origin. Recalling the main figures, more than 60% of respondents have surpassed the 60 year old line and another 20% are between 50 and 60 years old, and are thus, very close to stop working, or at least, of reaching retirement age.

We are in the presence of values that are, in part, confirmed by the distribution of respondents according to their employment status (Chart 5.4). Although the percentage of individuals who fit in the situation of “retired / pension beneficiaries” is lower than expected according to the respondents’ age (reaching almost 50% and not in around or above 60%)²⁴. We can not ignore the fact that 1/3 of “home-makers” are over 60 years old. The remaining difference between the portion of elderly returnees and the percentage of retirees, results from cases of individuals who continue working in activity sectors where individuals often tends to continue their activity beyond retirement age.

Chart 5. 4 - Respondents according to employment status (%)



Moreover, the proportion of “employed” respondents (34%) is almost coincident with the returnees under 60 years old (38%)²⁵, and may also be supplemented with some of the more vague category “other status” (e.g. those work own businesses or

²⁴ See Table 5.1.

²⁵ See Table 5.1.

work in a family-owned business) which adds up to 6%. The lack of “students” and the statistical insignificance of unemployment, lead us to conclude, therefore, that the overwhelming majority of emigrants returning to the Azores, fit into these two main categories - “employed” and “retired / pension beneficiaries ” – which we’ll try to better understand separately.

As mentioned in the Introduction section of this report, due to their inherent needs, the group of “retired” returnees is the one that most directly has justified the action taken by the regional government offices - namely, the Regional Department for the Communities – in terms of emigration and return. It is, therefore - without wishing to draw attention away from other groups - , a set of individuals with specific characteristics, and particular conditions and needs. These features may be equated in developing some aspects of the Azorean emigration history and also, stronger ties between generations of emigrants and their descendants. Some of these features, such as current age of returnees, length of stay in the host country and which emigration they integrated may translate into the quality of their emigration experience.

Thus, first and foremost, it should be noted that the group of retired returnees report a longer length of stay (particularly in situations that exceeded 15 years) in the destinations countries compared with the overall sample (Chart 5.5). Furthermore, about 20% of retired individuals returned to the Azores after more than 20 years in the host country, while 11% of them were emigrants for 30 years or more.

On the other hand, almost 2/3 of respondents who are now retired joined the return movement after 1980 (over half during that same decade), while the remaining, almost entirely, returned before that date (Chart 5.6).

Chart 5. 5 - "Retired/pension beneficiary" respondents, according to the length of stay in the destination country (%)

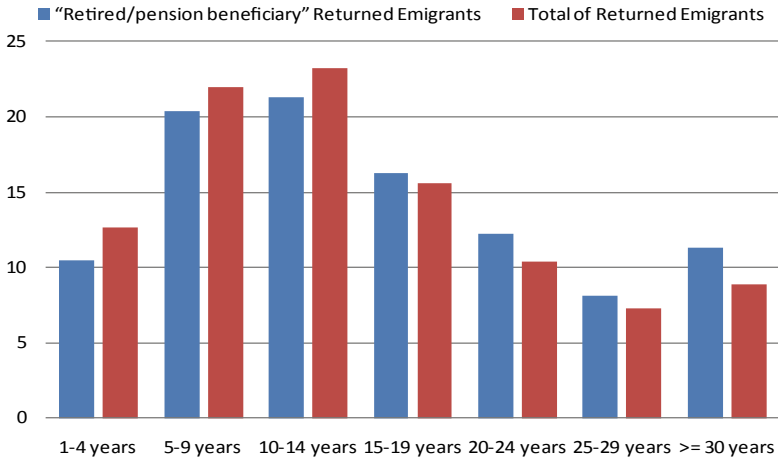
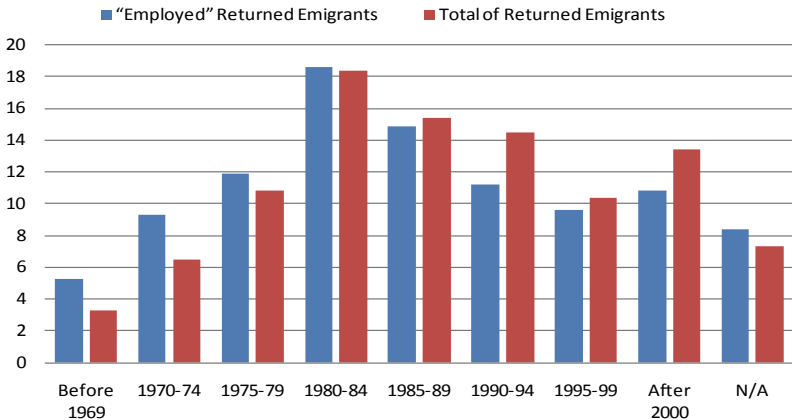


Chart 5. 6 - "Retired/pension beneficiary" respondents, according to year of return (%)



We are thus in the presence of a group with different emigration experiences and legacies, despite the common age factor (60% are past 70 years and 33% are aged 60 years) and length of stay.

Indeed, within the same “retired” category, there are individuals who integrated emigration flows specific to a time and place (destination country) – thus, integrated unique emigration contexts. The return processes and modalities are also distinct from each other, not only because they took place at different stages of these individuals’ life cycles (for example, a portion entered retirement before returning), but also because the return frameworks and re-adaptation to the society of origin were also diverse - due, mainly, to the changes experienced in Azorean society over the past four decades. The search, within this group, of a deeper knowledge about the diversity of situations and life experiences will certainly contribute to learn more about the Azorean emigration of the second half of the twentieth century, thus also allowing the emigrants and Luso-descendent communities to also gain from that knowledge.

Within this stage of the discussion of the results (aimed at developing the returnees’ main profiles), it becomes important to try to understand what features are present in another major set of returnees, i.e., those who have a role in activities framed within economic and labour planning. Thus, separately addressing the “employed” category, which is represented by 34% of respondents, we observe that a significant proportion of those report a shorter length of stay when compared with the group of “retired/pension beneficiaries” emigrants (Chart 5.7). Those who stayed in the destination country for more than 20 years do not represent more than 20% of the total of “employed” returnees, while about 40%, returned after less than 10 years – of which about 17% emigrated for a period between 1 and 4 years.²⁶

²⁶ In most cases, this quantity is associated with the flow to Bermuda which is very strict about the length of stay of emigrants.

Chart 5.7 - "Employed" respondents, according to the length of stay in the destination country (%)

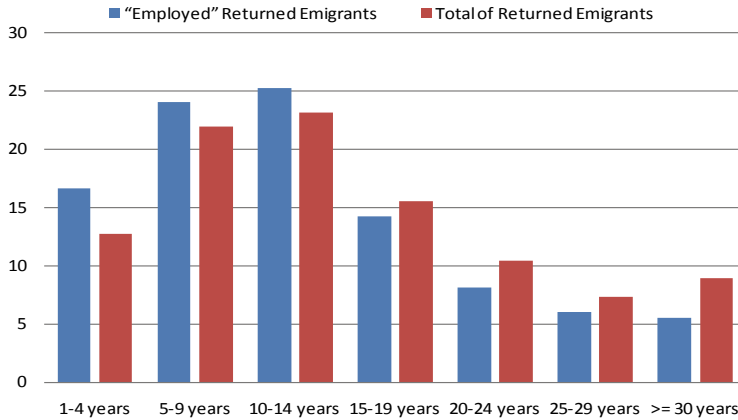
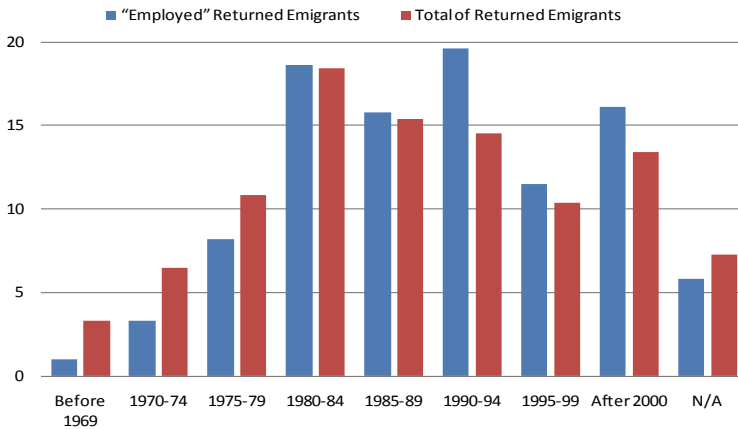


Chart 5.8 - "Employed" respondents, according to year of return (%)



Although some of these cases may have set up experiments to emigrate for relatively short periods of time - as, indeed, Chart 5.8 indicates, through a significant incidence of return (47%) from the early nineties to the last year - it should not be ignored the fact that a considerable percentage of former emigrants returned at working age during the eighties (34%). This will

indicate, and depending on the age limit that the condition of “active” means, for individuals who have returned to the Azores still in their 30s or 20s, or, if not even younger. We can therefore assume that in addition to other situations, a good portion of these cases cited above correspond to the return of people who left the archipelago when they were still children and family and that all came back together²⁷, hypothesis, however, that also explains the large quantity of those who, within this group, report having lived abroad from 10 to 19 years old(40%).

Believing, therefore, this heterogeneity of experience and past emigration exists within the category of “employed”, we’ll try, then to elaborate on their profile, and try to also better understand what resources they present, either in the social-professional aspects (most relevant in this context) or in relation to other social-demographic variables. Given the overall figures, related to age and level of education, which characterize the general population in question, some pertinent questions on this particular set of returned emigrants may nevertheless be raised. For example, it is important to find out how far away is the exit from work life or if this somehow correlates to the small proportion of respondents who hold a higher education level.

First, it should be noted that the distribution of the population “employed” by gender, despite the reservations imposed on this variable, shows a clear especially when compared with those presented by the total set of respondents and the more specific group of “retired” returnees (Chart 5.9). Besides being the partial result of the methodology adopted in data collection, by extension of what occurs in relation to the total population surveyed, the excess of males is not only due

²⁷ Recall that the survey, on which this study was based, did not include children of emigrants who were born in the host countries.

to the relatively low average age that characterizes a significant number of returning emigrants from Bermuda. As mentioned above, most of these who are still of working age, are employed and are men, and was therefore expected that their relative contribution to the group in question was significant.

Chart 5. 9 - "Employed" respondents, by gender (%)

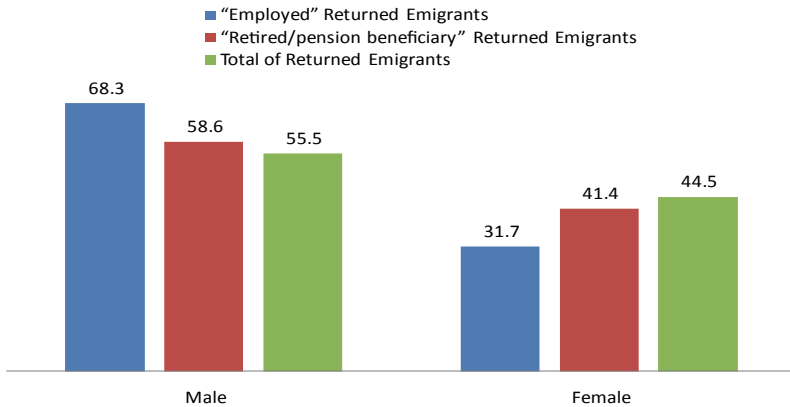
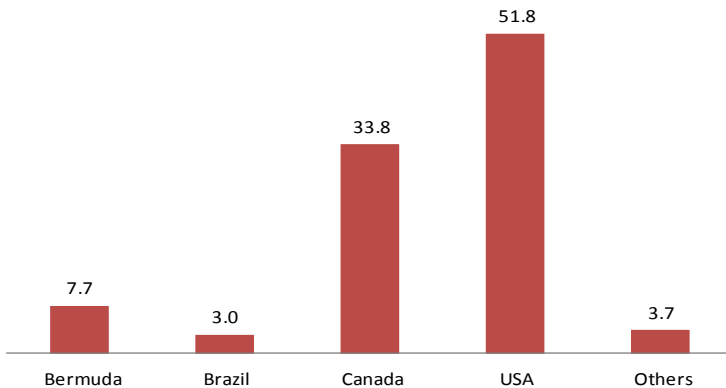


Chart 5. 10 - "Employed" respondents, by destination country (%)

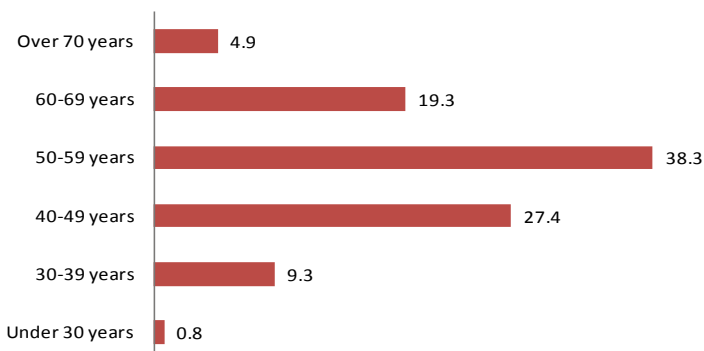


However, only 8% of "employed" individuals are emigrants returning from Bermuda, with more than half (52%) coming

from the United States and 34%, from Canada (Chart 5.10)²⁸. Again, these numbers turn out to reinforce the real possibility that a considerable percentage of returnees currently engaging in a professional activity, consists of individuals who came from U.S. and Canada beginning in the early eighties. Maybe this will also help explain the age configuration (Chart 5.11).

Surprisingly, almost 1/4 of “employed” are over the of 60 years old - even though 60% are within the range of 60-64 years - while 38% will reach retirement age in 10 to 15 years. On the other hand, the 27% of those returnees who are now in their 40s and, are properly integrated in the labour market and will continue to work for a period over 15 to 25 years. Only 10% are less than 39 years old. In short, and without having even looked at the activities and professions, it is fair to say that the evolution of this distribution, conditioned by the stagnation of departure flows, indicates reduced prospects for a possible contribution to the labour market by emigrants returning to the Azores.

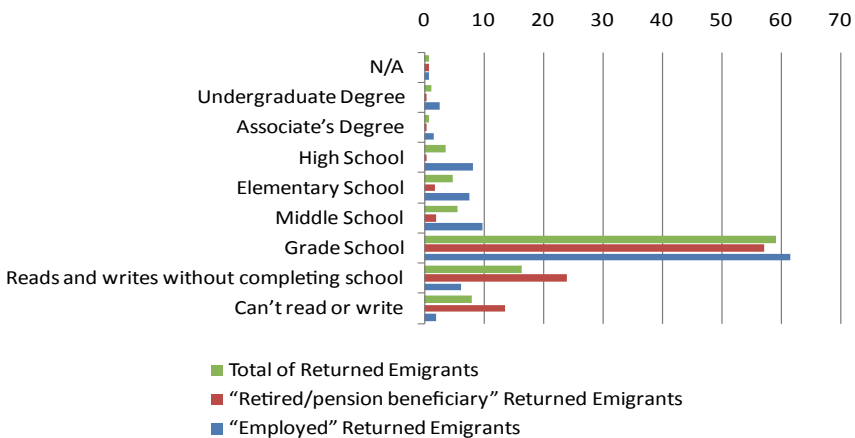
Chart 5. 11 - “Employed” respondents, by age (%)



²⁸ Nevertheless, this distribution is compared with the group of “retirees / pension beneficiaries”. We also stress the importance of Bermuda for the working age and employed population. In the same way, Canada is linked to an older population who does not already work. For these, the breakdown is comparable to that of Chart 5.10: Bermuda, 1.5% Brazil, 2.9%, Canada 39.8% United States 53.2% Others 12.4%.

The fact that 2/3 of “employed” respondents over the age of 60 are concentrated in the range of 60 to 64 years, and are therefore within working age, does not diminish the importance to what can be said about the remaining 1/3. Indeed, the data points to cases that, overwhelmingly, correspond to individuals already retired and/or receive a pension from abroad but that, given the type of activity they practice they responded in the survey to be “employed”.²⁹ This occurred in a particular way, along elderly people who were dedicated to the practice of subsistence agriculture or a craft activity, including even some cases of owners of shops or restaurants.

Chart 5. 12 - “Employed” respondents, by level of education (%)



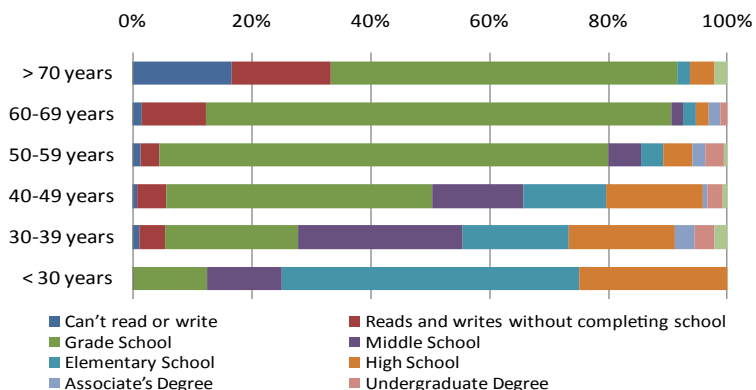
The educational level of all the “employed” returnees is not significantly better than the whole sample, not even from the specific group of “retired” individuals (Chart 5.12). Compared to this group, the main differences relate, as expected, with the

²⁹ The occurrence of this fact must be attributed largely to some deficiencies in the data collection. In absolute terms, there are 119 cases, corresponding to about 3.4% of the total population surveyed. This results from the cross between the variables Age and Activity / Profession.

lowest incidence of cases of non-attendance of school (due, mainly, the age that separates some of the generations in question) and a greater presence in the ranks the elementary school onward, although in none in particular, this manifests itself in more than 10%.

A fairly high percentage of those with only the first four years of schooling (62%) is not jarring in the relative weight displayed by all those that currently are above 50 years of age, and that, as observed above, round also about 62%. Although we cannot admit a complete correlation between two groups (due to, among older people, there are those who did not complete grade school), it is possible that the less educated majority of this population corresponds to older age groups. At issue are the generations born before the end of the fifties, when the country in general and the Azores, in particular, was less common to extend education beyond the old grade school. The relationship between low literacy levels and the older age groups is evident in Chart 5.13, while the same also the younger age groups have a lower education level than what would be expected.

Chart 5. 13 - "Employed" respondents according to age group, by level of education (%)



Indeed, half of respondents aged 30 to 39 years, did not go beyond the elementary school (1/4 completed only grade school), and 75% of those less than 30 years old did not complete high school. These values are clearly insufficient to generations born in the early seventies onwards, and only become comprehensible in the possibility that we are talking about two different situations, but that coexist with each other in the analyzed age groups. In one hand, one must take into account the high portion of individuals who emigrated in recent years and returned from Bermuda, and, as mentioned in Chapter I, are mainly individuals linked to activities and professions with low skill levels. On the other hand, we can not ignore those respondents who, having emigrated as children began their schooling in a system and a language different from those found after the return, and that, given the difficulties and, perhaps, in conjunction with other individual and family factors opted for an early departure from the Portuguese school system.

As for sector integration of the set of the group of “employed” returnees whom we have been examining, this is guided from the outset by the small and disproportionate range of activities, which account for about half of individuals (Table 5.5). The sectors concerned are the “Agriculture and Fishing,”³⁰ with the highest integration rate (30%), and the “Trade and Repair of Vehicles” and “Construction”, which present levels of integration in order of 12% and 10%, respectively. The significant percentage we find in the category of “Other non-specified activities” (16%) tends to result primarily, from the large number of respondents, who referring to their employment status did not indicate any particular sector.³¹

³⁰ In a 2006 study on fishing communities in the Azores, only 5% of respondents had continued this profession in the destination country (Thomas and Medeiros, 2006: 86).

³¹ By the nature of a large portion of professions, we believe that they refer mainly to the sector of “Commerce and Services”.

This distribution, compared to the Azorean population at large and even the emigrants who lived in the archipelago in 2008 (when the data was collected for this study) points to a model of sector and economic integration does not line up with the pattern of rural settling, which characterizes most of returnees. The differences are established by, above all, a greater weight of the primary activities and a lower relative importance in sectors, which over the past years have been asserting themselves in terms of economic and employment importance in the region, such as the services of an economic nature.³²

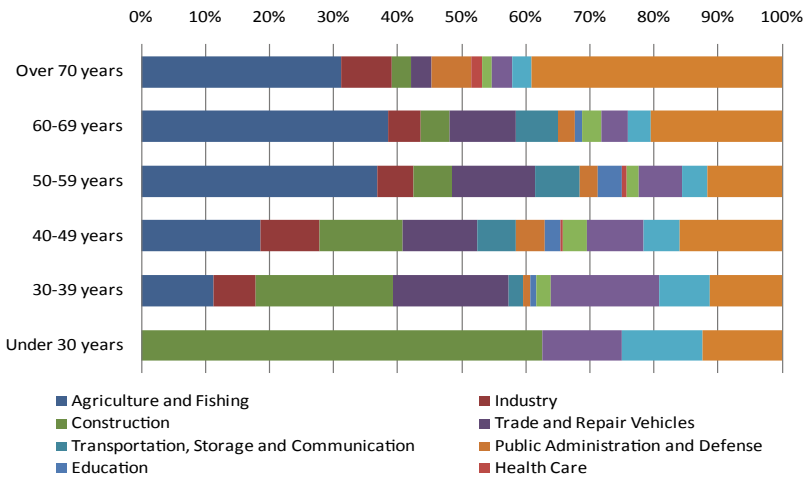
Table 5. 5 - Respondents according to activity sectors, by gender (%)

Activity Sector	Total	Gender	
		M	F
Agriculture and Fishing	30.4	39.8	9.5
Industry	6.0	5.7	6.8
Construction	9.7	13.6	0.8
Trade and Repair of Vehicles	11.6	9.6	15.7
Transportation, Storage and Communication	5.9	7.9	1.4
Public Administration and Defense	3.6	3.5	3.8
Education	2.4	0.5	6.8
Health Care	0.6	0.1	1.6
Hotels and Restaurants	2.4	0.9	5.7
Other Sector	6.6	4.9	10.6
Home-makers	4.6	0.6	13.6
Other Non-specified activities	16.2	12.9	23.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

³² In 2008, the surveyed emigrant population was mostly distributed by the sectors "Construction" (31%), "Other services" (22.7%), "Hotels and Restaurants" (10.6%) and "Trade" (10.2%) (Rocha *et al.* 2009: 112).

The age distribution of “employed” respondents, their low level of education, the likely absence of professional qualifications acquired during the period of emigration (which would help them access profession for which they were not originally qualified for) and in many cases the perception of a comfortable economic situation, eventually promote the choice of a professional activity more for pleasure than for necessity, and constitute perhaps some of the key factors that explain the representation of returnees in the three leading activity sectors, especially, in agriculture.

Chart 5. 14 - “Employed” respondents according to age group, by activity sector (%)



In terms of age, agriculture, though usually associated with younger individuals, occupies nearly 40% of the population over 50 years old, including those past the legal retirement age (Chart 5.14). The correspondence between older returnees and working the land and/or cattle raising is opposed to the connection established between the younger workers in construction. About

65% of cases of returning emigrants who work in this activity relate to people under 50 years old³³, and represents 21.3% of employment for those between 30 and 39 years old and 63% for returnees under the age of 30.

To some extent, this trend is also witnessed in relation to the sector "Other services", in which 38% of returning emigrants aged 49 or less found their field of work. Although it is a relatively small proportion of respondents possessing education levels above the elementary school, as previously noted above, but considering the fact that this age group shows that the greater presence of younger individuals in the sector in question is the result partly of the relationship that in many cases, tends to exist between the qualifications of individuals and the engagement in a considerable range of tertiary activities. To this extent, it is possible to find respondents who are, for example, bankers, administrative staff or receptionists.

However, and because of the very diverse nature of occupations in this category, we cannot ignore another group of individuals who, as a rule, tend to possess a lower education level. Within this group we find, among others, security guards and support staff in kindergartens, nursing homes, hairdresser salons and tailor shops.

Somewhat contrary to this link between the type of labour occupation and age of respondents, the integration in the business of "Trade and repair of vehicles," the third main hub of activity and employment integrated by returnees, tend to relate less to age, indicating therefore, that professional activities such as, for example, a retailer or an auto mechanic (two of the most common found in this sample) turn out to be transversal to many generations. As we

³³ The distribution of employment in "Construction", according to different age groups is as follows: less than 30 years old, 5.6%; 30-39 years old, 21.1%; 40-49 years old, 37.8%; 50-59 years old, 23.3%; 60-69 years, 10%; more than 70 years old, 2.2%.

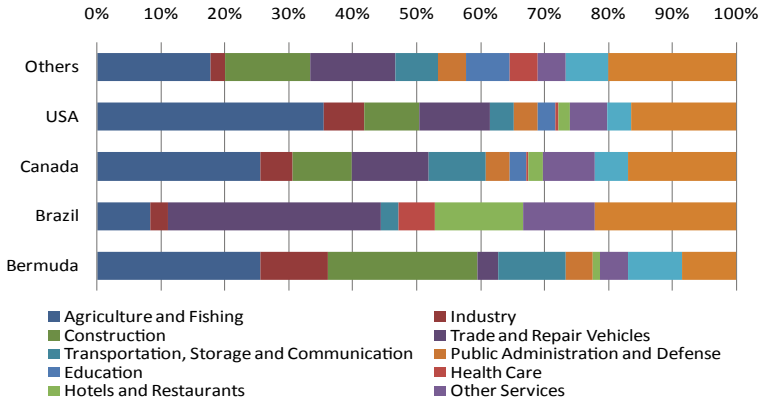
shall see, a considerable percentage of these individuals develop these activities on their own, which to some extent, may help explain this intersection group. In these cases, we believe to exist a spirit of initiative and some training/experience in the industry, which exceeds the lower education level of this group of respondents – which may not be relevant for succeeding in this sector.

As for the significance that the category “Other non-specified activities” acquires compared to the two more advanced ranks, it is possible that tends to result from the fact that this category can become dubious and unclear about the actual formal professions engaged by people who are preparing to leave work life, or who are already over retirement age.

With that in mind, it seems that the age distinction established between the two main sectors - agriculture and construction - has a direct relationship with the destination chosen by the emigrant. In relation to emigration to the United States and Canada, returnees were more concerned with returning at a later age and with a background in agriculture (see Chapter 2), while on the other hand, a part of returnees who can be associated with more recent flows to Bermuda, related more to work in the construction sector. This indicates a greater divide than the one shown in Chart 5.15.

Indeed, while it is true that almost 25% of those who emigrated to Bermuda are currently connected to the sector of “Construction”, we can observe that a proportion very similar to this activity also integrates the “Agriculture and Fishing” sectors. However, the “Construction” sector is not insignificant among those who returned from the United States and Canada, and assumes, among these, very close figures to the sectors “Trade and Repair of Vehicles” and “Other Services”.

Chart 5. 15 - “Employed” respondents according to activity sector, by main destination country (%)

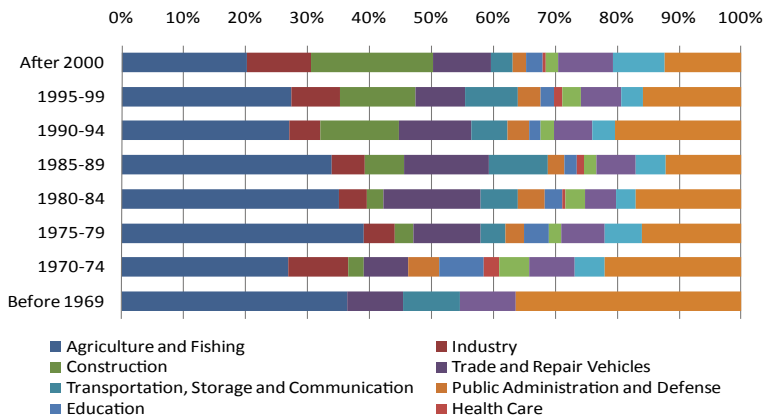


Such overlapping dichotomy breaks with the logic outlined above about the professional profile of these emigrants who return from the two major poles of the Azorean emigration (U.S. and Canada). Still, it should be remembered that the emigration flow to Bermuda, despite the importance that the construction came to acquire in recent years, still continues to be strongly associated with the deployment of manpower for the landscaping industry, whose recruitment is made due, mainly, from candidates who are connected to the agriculture sector in their place of origin. To this extent, it is expected that after the return, they come back to develop the same activities they did before – mainly agriculture. This, incidentally, also happens with the construction sector.

On the other hand, with regard to non-negligible presence of emigrants returning from the United States and Canada in the construction sector (without having yet addressed the issue of sector mobility), we would venture to say that the explanatory factors in question may be similar to the ones described above, though perhaps, in some cases, it represents a transfer of professional skills acquired in the destination while integrated in

the construction sectors. This means that, for multiple reasons, there may be situations in which the professional activity upon the return does not match the one before departure, but rather it's replaced by another in which returnees have accumulated knowledge (and financial capital) during the emigration period. The construction work may be an example.

Chart 5. 16 - "Employed" respondents according to activity sector, by year of return (%)



The analysis of the relative importance of each activity sector assumes a role in the variable "Year of Return" (Chart 5.16), which allows us to add a time component to which social-demographic factors have been identified as able to intervene more directly in the distribution of "employed" respondents by the various sectors of labour.

In truth, although it should be taken into account that the current professional activity of respondents does not coincide in all cases, with the first activity after the return, it can be deduced, through this chart, that during the last three decades, the changes seen in the main sectors integrated by returning emigrants,

will have been influenced by the economic and social priorities implemented over time in the regional context. It is possible to observe that, as time passes, returning emigrants will integrate less the agriculture sector and more the construction sector. In this sense, we might say that the labour integration of returning emigrants has been presenting itself merely as a matter of age or level of education, for example. However, it also reflects the varying importance that both the agricultural and construction sectors have developed in Azorean economy and society - in particular, through the gradual loss of importance of agriculture and obvious growth of construction, especially during the last decade.

Following the analysis of sector integration in the studied population, the profile of returnees will be more complete with a brief reference to the organization by the various social-professional categories. Although it's to include some gray areas, due to statistical criteria, this variable, unlike the previous one, is important to mainly clarify some points regarding the distinction that can be established between individuals employed in the same sector.

Thus, in general terms, we can observe (Table 5.6), the immediate over-representation of respondents in the fields of agriculture, construction and various services of an economic nature, the categories "Farmers and Workers in Agriculture and Fishing" (28.1%), "Craftsmen and related workers" (16%) and "Services and Sales Personnel" (14.5%). The low concentration in the four highest categories (most noticeable aspect in men than in women) not only reflects the low level of education of respondents, but also as we mentioned above, that most of the returnees are linked with tertiary activities and low-skilled jobs. This does not mean that some internal differences may exist - which, incidentally, have been illustrated with examples of specific occupations (e.g., bankers vs. support staff in social

services entities) - but the cases of positions which demand higher qualifications generally take a much smaller proportion than those jobs which can be entered with a low educational level. The approximately 7% in the group "Administrators and CEOs" are due almost entirely to cases of individuals who assumed leadership roles in their own businesses, and which relate primarily to small and medium sized businesses in the fields of industry, sales, and distribution.

Table 5. 6 - Respondents according to social-professional groups, by gender (%)

Socio-professional group	Total	Gender	
		M	F
Administrators and CEOs	7.4	6.3	9.9
Intellectual and Scientific Specialists	2.1	0.7	5.1
Intermediate Level Professionals	1.6	1.7	1.3
Administrative Staff	1.5	0.5	3.7
Sales Personnel	14.5	10.5	23.3
Farmers and Workers of Agriculture and Fishing	28.1	38.0	6.4
Craftsmen and related Workers	16.0	19.3	8.6
Installation and Machinery Operators and Factory Workers	6.5	9.1	0.8
Unskilled Workers	9.9	3.6	23.8
Armed Forces	-	-	-
Non-specified Workers	12.4	10.3	17.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

On the other hand, it is possible, through the values in analysis, to account for a further distinction of sectors based on professional qualifications. This is the construction sector, where, and view the status and skills of its resources, there is a certain internal duality,

translated by the allocation of individuals between the categories "Craftsmen and related workers" and "Unskilled workers". This difference is due to the fact that part of the returnees engaged in this activity falls under the category "Mason helper" and not as "Mason" which means that we are dealing with individuals who, though they have had in most cases, an emigration experience in the business, returned devoid of qualifications to make their business performance in the most complete and competent way, or were not able to accomplish the transfer of acquired skills.

On the major differences that are established between genders, and beyond the already expected under-representation of women in the discussed categories (sectors, such as agriculture and construction which are male dominated), Table 5.6 reveals a more proportional social levelling for men than for women. In fact, in almost half the cases, women are distributed in very similar proportions by the groups "Services and Sales Personnel" (23.3%) and by the category "Unskilled Workers" (23.8%) This highlights the cleavage that exists within the sample of women, among those who, in general, engage in a moderately skilled job (to which is assigned a social and economic value), and a host of other women that have a more disadvantaged position in society and lower salaries. This vertical structure in the women's group tends to be more diluted in the case of men, since the categories related, essentially, to work in agriculture and construction ("Farmers and Workers of Agriculture and Fishing" and "Craftsmen and related workers") tend to have commonalities with regard mainly to the perception and social value of same.

Another aspect of increasing importance within the theoretical frameworks and analytical studies conducted on returnees is related to the high propensity of this group to develop their own business or activity. This trend has been pointed out by

several authors, as being superior to that witnessed among the population of those who emigrated, but also among emigrants from the same ethnic group who never returned (Coulon and Piracha, 2006; Martin and Radu, 2008).³⁴ In addition to matters more directly related to the trajectories of social mobility of the returnees, R. Martin (2009) attributes this to the fact that this group, through their emigration experience, have managed to bring together expertise that can promote self-employment, which is based, for example, in notions, knowledge and strategies for entrepreneurship, or a larger and more clear understanding of business and economic risk.

Without going under these determinants and motivations, it seems, however, that this trend is also observable in relation to the reality in question. Indeed, the total number of individuals who at the time of the survey, said they were “employed”, over half (52.1%) were “self-employed” (TCP), and approximately 42% of the remaining associated with a working for other people (TCO) (Chart 5.17). The “non-salaried family worker” (TFnR), as a method often witnessed in the main regional contexts where Portuguese emigration phenomenon is its (Silva *et al.*, 1987), appears to reach a very small proportion of emigrants returning to the Azores (less than 5, 0%, according to data collected). Most relate to younger female returnees who integrate their family’s agricultural activities (Tables 5.7 and 5.8).³⁵

³⁴ It is, indeed, a trend often accompanied of a high number of emigrants who, after the return, do not taken on the same pre-departure profession, although for some time they take on an occupational activity (non-professionally).

³⁵ Table 5.8, we believe that the distribution of values in the category “non-salaried family worker” (TFnR) should be interpreted as a broad indication of the role of returnees in the listed sectors. Indeed, 28.6% of respondents (in this case, women) should have assumed that their status as “home-makers” put them in a situation of “non-salaried family workers” so that when this happened it was a correction made later by the interviewer when in doubt. However, because such assumption may not be generalized to all cases, we have chosen to present the original distribution of responses.

Chart 5. 17 - “Employed” respondents according to employment situation (%)

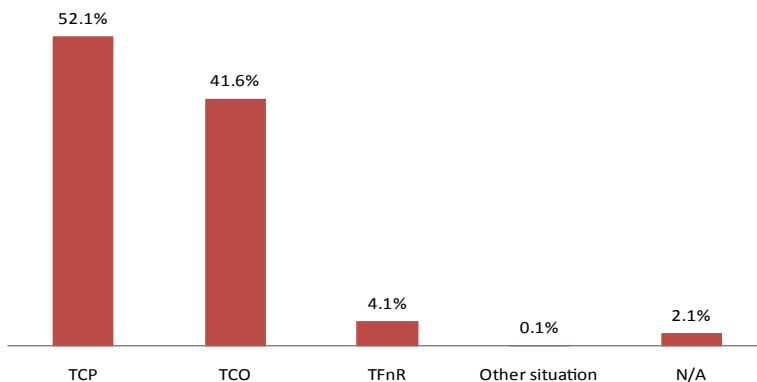


Table 5. 7 - “Self-employed” and “non-salaried family employee”, by gender and age groups (%)

		Employment situation		
		TCP	TCO	TFnR
Gender	Male	76.5	59.2	11.9
	Female	23.5	40.8	88.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Age	< 30 years	0.7	0.8	2.0
	30-39 years	4.1	12.9	2.0
	40-49 years	21.1	25.6	20.0
	50-59 years	39.3	24.7	32.0
	60-69 years	24.9	18.2	32.0
	> 70 years	9.9	17.8	12.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5. 8 - Respondents according to sectors, by employment status (%)

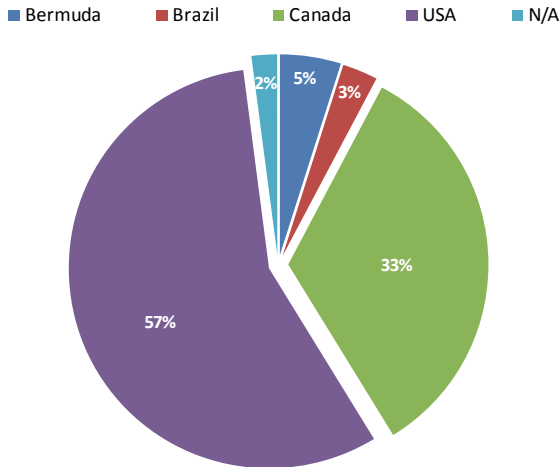
Activity Sector	Total	Employment situation		
		TCP	TCO	TFnR
Agriculture and Fishing	30.4	45.8	6.7	42.9
Industry	6.0	2.8	10.9	-
Construction	9.7	5.7	16.9	-
Trade and Repair of Vehicles	11.6	14.4	8.4	7.1
Transportation, Storage and Communication	5.9	8.0	2.9	-
Public Administration and Defense	3.6	-	8.7	-
Education	2.4	0.5	5.8	-
Health Care	0.6	-	1.3	-
Hotels and Restaurants	2.4	2.2	2.9	-
Other Sectors	6.6	4.9	10.0	-
Homemakers	4.6	1.7	6.7	28.6
Other Non-specified activities	16.2	14.0	18.8	21.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is also the agriculture sector that integrates the majority of “self-employed” returnees (46%) - overwhelming majority of respondents who fit in this situation are older men. Apart from the agriculture sectors, it is mostly small retail businesses and auto repair shops, which integrate another portions of former emigrants (almost 15%), where they find an opportunity for business and hierarchy independence. Construction, in turn, presents itself as a

sector whose relative importance is greater for workers employed by others (16.9%) than among entrepreneurial returnees (5.7%). Something similar happens with the industrial activities and diverse set of services of economic nature.

The distribution of “self-employed” according to the main emigration destinations (Chart 5.18) is not significantly different from that which was obtained for the total of “employed” returnees (Chart 5.10). Thus, the necessary conditions for the emigrants to work on their own, tend to rely less on the destination country and more on the professional activity pursued in the before the departure or in during the emigration experience.

Chart 5. 18 - Respondents in the self-employed situation, by destination country (%)



A brief analysis of the main profiles lines the respondents’ professional trajectories either in general or just for this particular “self-employed” group, us consider not only this latter hypotheses, but also the rationale, mentioned above, about the inclusion of returnees in specific activity sectors.

Table 5. 9 - Matrix of sector mobility between the situation before departure (last profession) and the situation in the destination country (last profession) (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1) Agriculture and Fishing	28.4	24.6	27.9	4.1	1.8	-	-	-	4.9	4.4	0.5	3.4	100.0
2) Industry	6.7	43.4	6.7	3.3	-	3.3	-	-	3.3	23.3	-	10.0	100.0
3) Construction	11.7	18.3	57.6	2.5	0.8	-	-	-	1.7	3.3	0.8	3.3	100.0
4) Trade and Repair of Vehicles	7.8	41.2	17.6	9.8	2.0	-	-	-	2.0	15.7	-	3.9	100.0
5) Transportation, Storage and Communication	20.0	26.7	13.3	6.7	-	-	-	-	-	13.3	-	20.0	100.0
6) Public Administration and Defense	13.8	31.2	24.1	13.8	-	-	3.4	-	-	6.9	3.4	3.4	100.0
7) Education	11.1	22.2	-	-	11.1	-	33.3	-	-	11.1	-	11.1	100.0
8) Health Care	-	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	40.0	-	20.0	-	20.0	100.0
9) Hotels and Restaurants	-	44.4	11.1	-	-	-	11.1	-	11.1	22.2	-	-	100.0
10) Other Sectors	16.7	33.3	8.3	-	8.3	-	-	-	12.5	16.7	-	4.2	100.0
11) Home-makers	4.8	57.1	-	4.8	-	-	-	9.4	4.8	14.3	4.8	-	100.0
12) Other Non-specified Activities	18.7	27.1	20.3	1.7	1.7	-	1.7	1.7	1.7	16.9	-	8.5	100.0

Table 5. 10 - Matrix of sector mobility between the situation in the destination country (last profession) and the situation after the return (profession at the time of the survey) (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1) Agriculture and Fishing	54.1	3.5	7.6	5.2	5.3	4.1	1.2	-	0.6	4.1	1.7	12.6	100.0
2) Industry	26.8	8.6	4.9	14.3	4.9	2.8	2.5	-	3.1	6.5	4.6	21.0	100.0
3) Construction	34.6	5.4	27.6	8.7	7.1	2.9	-	-	0.4	1.7	0.8	10.8	100.0
4) Trade and Repair of Vehicles	15.2	-	4.5	33.4	7.6	3.0	1.5	1.5	4.5	12.1	1.5	15.2	100.0
5) Transportation, Storage and Communication	27.8	5.6	5.6	11.1	11.1	5.6	-	-	-	22.2	-	11.0	100.0
6) Public Administration and Defense	-	-	-	50.0	50.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
7) Education	9.1	-	-	9.1	-	-	36.4	-	9.1	9.1	-	27.2	100.0
8) Health Care	7.1	-	14.3	7.1	-	14.3	7.1	21.6	7.1	-	7.1	14.3	100.0
9) Hotels and Restaurants	28.6	4.8	4.8	9.5	14.3	2.4	2.4	-	7.1	-	7.1	19.0	100.0
10) Other Sectors	18.5	5.6	5.6	13.9	6.5	0.9	3.7	0.9	2.8	13.9	9.2	18.5	100.0
11) Home-makers	12.5	-	-	12.5	12.5	-	12.5	-	-	-	37.5	12.5	100.0
12) Other Non-specified Activities	23.8	1.6	3.2	9.5	7.9	4.8	3.2	-	3.2	20.6	-	22.2	100.0

Given the difference between the last activity in the host country and that at the time of the survey (Table 5.10), and beginning with the return towards the agricultural sector, we are led to admit two types of trajectories. On the one hand, returnees meet what we consider to be a “third phase” of what has been their main occupation, i.e., agriculture. Indeed, almost 30% of respondents who were engaged in this activity before the departure, also did had a connection to this sector before the return (Table 5.9), and after returning, more than half of these (54%) continued to integrate that same sector. Other cases include those emigrants who transferred from agriculture/cattle raising in the Azores, for landscaping in Bermuda (to which we alluded to earlier), but also, we believe, a large proportion of emigrants who remained in the destination territories (mainly in the United States and Canada, which has traditionally been more closely linked to agriculture is cattle raising).

The other path that converges with this relates to the situation of those emigrants to whom return has meant in the literal sense of the term, the return to origin in respect to their occupational and professional trajectory. For these, coming back to the Azores meant that, agriculture again became the main activity after an emigration experience in the construction or industry sectors. As mentioned in previous chapters, emigration meant for thousands of Azoreans emigration the transition from the land to the factories or to construction (something that, again, is evident in Table 5.9). The truth is that 26.8% and 34.5% of returnees who were integrated in these two sectors, (re) directed to agriculture upon their return (Table 5.10).

In parallel to the agricultural sector trajectories, and taking into account that trade and some services also integrate a significant percentage of returnees, we should highlight that which seems to be also a major pathway of returning emigrants.

Indeed, when analyzing the first three lines of Table 5.10, we find that, rather than for agriculture or construction, a past work-related emigration in the industry seems to facilitate the inclusion in tertiary activities, after their return. Almost 42% of respondents worked in factories while in the condition of emigrants,. As they returned to the Azores, they eventually integrated the sectors of "Trade and Repair of Vehicles," "Other Services" and "Non-specified activities" (mostly composed of trade and services, as stated above). The same distribution for emigrants who have come either from agriculture or construction presents a much lower order of magnitude - 22.1% and 21.2%, respectively.

If in the case of agriculture and construction, there are aspects of personal fulfilment and/or application of specific skills which explain that once returned to the Azores returnees maintain or resume such activities, with regard to industry, the question that arises is that, often, the lack of an expertise resulting from the performance of a set of routine tasks necessarily pushes these returning emigrants returned to other low-skilled jobs. For example, within the field of trade and services, these activities, although they were different from those in the host country, are also characterized by a general lack of requirements for its implementation.

Coming from an emigration experience (at least in the final stage) marked by construction work, returning emigrants tend to find three main professional outputs: the first is agriculture and, in some cases, as already stated, with a return to the original professional activity (34.6%); the second concerns a range of activities, which although they have not been specified at the time of the survey are related to trade (in most cases, self-employed) (10, 8%); and third, the continuation as an independent professional in the construction sector (27.5%). Note that this latter situation still remains valid for the overwhelming majority of cases of emigrants

to Bermuda, which are recruited according to the activity engaged in the Azores and, upon return, remain in this sector.

Turning to the analysis of professional mobility, this relates only to the “self-employed” group (TCO), and in an attempt to try to better understand the trajectories leading to this social-professional status, we find through Table 5.11, a high percentage (74%) who, before emigrating worked in agriculture, assumed the status of “self-employed” upon the return. The same happened in relation to those that once belonged to either the sector “Trade and Repair of Vehicles” (69.7%) and in the “construction”, although this trend has been lower than in the past (41.4 %).

These high figures turn out to be revealing that for many emigrants, the return will be the restoration professional autonomy status, which they previously held and that the emigration changed during a shorter or longer length of stay in the destination country.³⁶ We would venture to say that in some cases, the restoration of an independent status will even override the return to the original line of work, as, indeed, is noticeable by the attraction to engage in agricultural or trade professional activities. The most obvious example is that of individuals who, before emigrating, were self-employed in the construction sector and that upon returning are self-employed in the agriculture sector.

In this case, as in others, where the transfer is made towards agriculture, we can hardly get away from a likely past connection to land work and farming, even as an occupation on the side or for means subsistence. This relationship, moreover, seems to become apparent when consideration is given to the sector mobility of the currently “self-employed”, from their status as emigrants and as returnees (Table 5.12).

³⁶ As noted in Chapter 3, the percentage of emigrants who were “self-employed” in the host countries was under 5%.

Table 5. 11 - Matrix of sector mobility of "self-employed" between the situation before departure (last profession) and the situation after the return (profession at the time of the survey) (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1) Agriculture and Fishing	73.9	1.1	1.4	5.0	6.8	-	-	-	0.4	0.7	0.4	10.6	100.0
2) Industry	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	-	-	-	-	9.1	9.1	36.4	100.0
3) Construction	17.2	12.1	41.4	8.6	10.3	-	-	-	-	6.9	-	3.4	100.0
4) Trade and Repair of Vehicles	-	-	3.0	69.7	9.1	-	-	-	6.1	-	-	12.1	100.0
5) Transportation, Storage and Communication	37.5	-	-	25.0	37.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
6) Public Administration and Defense													100.0
7) Education													100.0
8) Health Care													100.0
9) Hotels and Restaurants	33.3	-	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50.0	100.0
10) Other Sectors	25.0	25.0	-	8.3	-	-	-	-	-	25.0	8.3	8.3	100.0
11) Home-makers	11.1	-	-	11.1	11.1	-	-	-	-	-	22.2	44.4	100.0
12) Other Non-specified Activities	13.6	-	-	18.1	27.3	-	-	-	9.1	4.5	4.5	22.7	100.0

Table 5. 12 - Matrix of sector mobility of “self-employed” between the situation in the destination country (last profession) and the situation after the return (profession at the time of the survey) (%)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1) Agriculture and Fishing	70.7	2.6	3.4	6.9	5.5	-	-	-	0.9	2.6	-	7.8	100.0
2) Industry	46.4	1.7	2.2	17.3	7.3	-	-	-	2.2	3.9	-	18.4	100.0
3) Construction	46.7	3.9	16.2	11.7	7.8	-	-	-	0.6	1.3	1.3	9.7	100.0
4) Trade and Repair of Vehicles	23.8	-	2.4	35.7	7.1	-	-	-	2.4	14.3	-	14.3	100.0
5) Transportation, Storage and Communication	36.4	18.2	9.1	18.2	9.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	9.1	100.0
6) Public Administration and Defense	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
7) Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
8) Health Care	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0
9) Hotels and Restaurants	38.9	-	-	11.1	22.2	-	-	-	11.1	-	-	16.7	100.0
10) Other Sectors	29.1	3.6	-	14.5	12.7	-	-	-	-	20.0	1.8	18.2	100.0
11) Home-makers	-	-	-	-	20.0	-	-	-	-	-	60.0	20.0	100.0
12) Other Non-specified Activities	45.5	3.0	3.0	18.1	12.1	-	-	-	6.1	9.1	-	12.1	100.0

A significant percentage of those that during the period of stay in the destination country, were employed in the industry, construction or even trade sectors, as they returned they settled as "self-employed" farmers - 46.4%, 46.7% and 23.8%, respectively. This trajectory is, theoretically, at the individual and family decision-making rationale, based much more in the personal connection to the land than in the transfer of skills and know-how from the emigration. Thus, we have to conclude that a previous experience in agriculture or farming (even part-time), personal preferences, a the real possibility of resuming that activity through the accumulation (through inheritance or emigration) of financial capital, constitute important factors in explaining the attraction that the agricultural sector has had (more in the past than in more recent times) among those who, upon return, have chosen to be self-employed.

SUMMARY

Because of the method used for data collection, the distribution of respondents by gender tends to not be representative in relation to the sample of Azorean returnees. However, the data suggests a gradual increase in the women who returned until the mid-eighties, when the proportion of women returning for every five-year periods, is lower than that of men by about 20%. Thus, with greater analytical thoroughness, it can be stated that:

- 1) The age structure of the population of returnees is composed of 60% of individuals over the age of 60 and 80% over the age of 50. There is a clear link between the returnees' age and destinations, and types of emigration - the number of individuals under 30 years old is linked essentially with the temporary flows to Bermuda, while older returning emigrants are associated with emigration to North America. A long-term emigration experience is not

a generalized experience to all of the older returnees (at least 1/3 of people over 50 years stayed in the host country for less than 10 years);

- 2) In general, returnees have a low level of education - 60% only completed grade school and 25% cannot even read or write. About 5% completed middle school, and almost 4% completed high school. Only about 1.8% completed an associate's or undergraduate degree. The lack of a longer school trajectory is evident in almost all age groups, though it's more prominent among the older individuals;
- 3) In line with an older age structure, about 60% of returning emigrants fall within the category of "retired/pension beneficiaries"; while 34% are "employed". In both situations, there will be cases where there is no actual connection with the labour market, but engagement in a business (family or of their own) occurs in an informal manner - mostly in agriculture or small commerce. The percentage of home-makers is around 10%;
- 4) The "retired/pension beneficiaries" group has a length of stay in the destination countries that, on average, is greater than the whole population of returning emigrants (over 30% were emigrants over 20 years) and, in general, returned to the Azores during the eighties and nineties;
- 5) The length of stay of "employed" returnees tends to be shorter than in the case of the former category - almost less 60% were away from the Azores for 10 years and, among these, 17% emigrated for only a period between 1 and 4 years. In any case, there is a plurality of past emigration experiences among this group of returnees, especially if we take into account the wide age distribution of the same - 10% are less than 40 years old, while 25% are past the age of 60 years old. It should be noted, also that, in a perspective of 10 to 15 years, 40% will reach the legal retirement age;

- 6) The education level of "employed" returnees is not significantly higher than that of the general population (62% only completed grade school). A low education level is common across all age groups;
- 7) Approximately half of the "employed" individuals are divided by the sectors: "Agriculture and Fishing" (30%), "Trade and repair of vehicles" (12%) and "Construction" (10%). It is estimated that within the 16% who integrate the "Non-specified activities", a significant number of cases include the trade/commerce activities;
- 8) Agriculture, which employs mostly younger individuals, integrates more than 40% of the population over 50 years old, including individuals who are over the legal age of retirement. Construction work, in turn, integrates mostly those aged under 50 years old;
- 9) The social and professional groups with the largest representation in this research sample were: "Farmers and Qualified Workers of Agriculture and Fishing" (28.1%); "Craftsmen and related workers" (16%); and "Services and Sales Personnel" (14.5%);
- 10) Approximately 52% of working returnees are "self-employed", while 42% work for others. The "non-salaried family workers" integrate only 5% of the workforce. Among the "self-employed", 46% are integrated in the agricultural sector, 14% in small businesses and repair of vehicles and 6% in construction;
- 11) The professional mobility of returnees, between the destination and the country of origin, is regulated, in a broad outline, by the convergence to the agricultural sector from either the industry or construction sectors; by the significant transfer of individuals from industry to trade, repair of vehicles and certain types of services; and by the high retention capacity that is demonstrated by the agriculture and construction sectors (immobility).

CHAPTER 6

REASONS AND EVALUATION OF THE RETURN

Eduardo Ferreira

Once accomplished the returnees' profile which includes some the emigration experiences undergone in the destination country, we are better able to, in this chapter, account (in a somewhat brief manner) the reasons and some decision-making elements, which led to the return to the origins. In addition, some of this knowledge will be also useful in framing the main difficulties expressed by respondents' regarding the reintegration into society of origin/return.

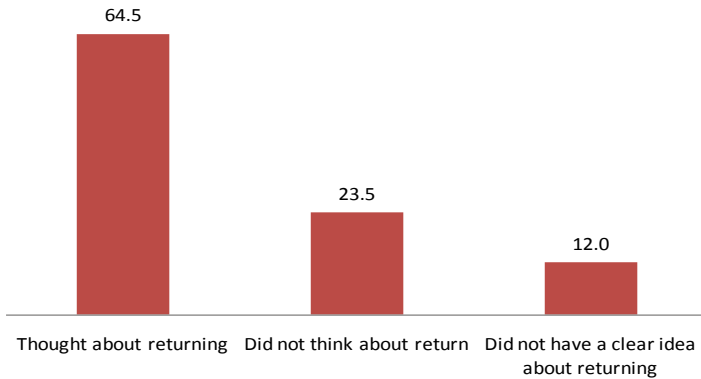
As outlined in the Introduction of this paper, included or not in the emigration project, the decision to return turns out to be shaped, almost invariably, either by individual or family experiences during the various stages of the emigration process, either by the futures prospects built around family and social relationships.

If, for some, the return is established before the departure, and is looked at like the natural end to an emigration cycle, as happens in most cases of departures for temporary work, for others it appears as early or even unanticipated termination. Often, the aspiration that the emigrant has of one day achieving what one considers to be a good level of integration in the host society and thus, establishing permanent residence there, eventually fades away at the turn of the migratory trajectory. Just as there are many emigrants who abandon or postpone indefinitely, the return project return (between other factors, due to the desire of wanting to remain close to family), there

also situations in which the return to the origins is accepted as a deviation from their original intentions.

We will not be far from the truth if we say that the studied sample also reflects these two more general situations. However, there are those emigrants who have come to fulfill the idea of, ultimately, returning home, to their land of origin (Chart 6.1). Indeed, almost 65% of all respondents said they left the Azores foreseeing the return, while 23.5% said that this was not their original intent.

Chart 6. 1 - Position of respondents' objective to return at the time of departure (%)



Given the relative weight of these two positions, and despite 12% of respondents declared their initial uncertainty about the outcome of the migration cycle, it is clear, therefore, the importance that the existence of a more precise idea about return/no return usually has when defining the emigration projects in general. On the other hand, it is noted that despite having prevailed in the Azores during the last decades, migration of the family type, directed to destinations where Azorean communities already had some consolidation and

motivated by the weak conditions of life in the archipelago, the intention of return was part of the departure of most emigrants - or at least of most of those who accomplished it, since we do not know to what extent this applies to those who stayed in the destination country.

However, as we know, the return does not always correspond to a decision dependent on the experience in the host society, as it is often pre-announced. The pre-determined return is generally a feature of individual emigration, carried out often for work reasons, and conditioned in terms of length of stay in the destination country, either by reasons related to the employment conditions, the strict policies on the permanence of foreigners in those countries or to extended separation from family. It is, moreover, from this premise that we should interpret the position of respondents at the time of departure, in relation to their return to the Azores, when evaluated over time (Chart 6.2) and according to the main emigration destinations (Chart 6.3).

Chart 6. 2 - Position of respondents' objective to return at the time of departure, by emigration period

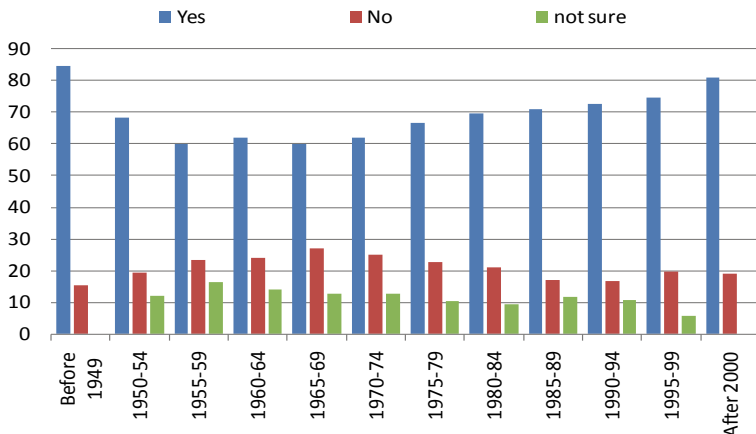
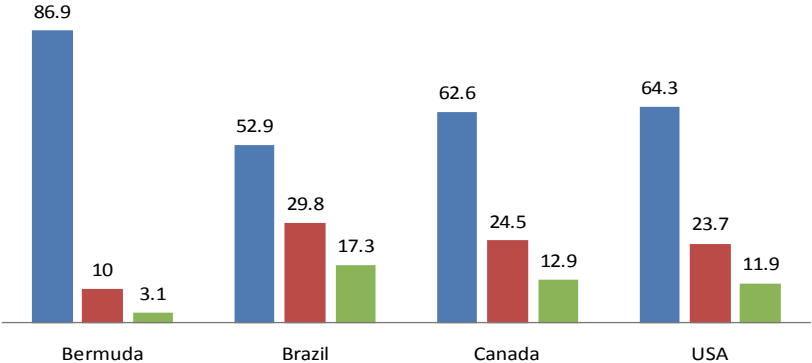


Chart 6. 3 - Position of respondents' objective to return at the time of departure, by destination country (%)



A relative higher intention to return is associated with the emigration flows after the seventies, i.e., a period in which departure to North America had substantially declined and a temporary emigration to Bermuda had become more intense. As already mentioned, the return from Bermuda came very clear over the past twenty years, and since 2000, due to Bermuda’s migration policy, became pre-determined that the return would occur after six years of stay in that territory.³⁷ This explains why, for 12.5% of respondents who emigrated after 1980, the intention of returning to the homeland is above 70% (over the above mentioned 65%), and in the case of those linked to emigration to Bermuda it increases to 87%.

Note also that destinations United States and Canada have both distributions of intent to return/no return or a position of uncertainty very similar and close to the average figures. In Brazil, the prospects of early returns have less relevance than for either of these two countries, a fact explained, most probably by the period of departure to this destination.

³⁷ In our opinion, it’s insignificant to justify a similar trend in regards to the category (“Yes”) for emigrants who departed before 1955, since these represent only 1.7% of the sample.

Table 6.1 – Respondents’ objectives about the return, at the time of departure, by gender and marital status (before departure)

	Intention to return			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Total	64.5	23.5	12.0	100.0
Male	70.0	17.7	12.3	100.0
Female	57.8	30.7	11.5	100.0
Single	53.0	29.2	17.8	100.0
Married	70.0	20.8	9.2	100.0
Widow/er	71.4	26.2	2.4	100.0
Separated/Divorced	78.6	7.1	14.3	100.0
Live together	66.7	33.3	-	100.0

Table 6.2 - Respondents’ objectives about the return, at the time of departure, by employment situation (before departure)

	Intention to return			Total
	Yes	No	Not Sure	
Total	64.5	23.5	12.0	100.0
Employed	69.8	19.0	11.3	100.0
Home-maker	62.6	29.3	8.1	100.0
Other situation	48.6	30.3	21.1	100.0
Unemployed	46.9	50.0	3.1	100.0
Retired/Pension beneficiary	57.1	28.6	14.3	100.0
Student	40.3	37.6	22.1	100.0
TCP (Self-employed)	74.4	14.4	11.3	100.0
TCO (Salaried Employee)	66.9	22.0	11.1	100.0
TFnR (Non-salaried Family Worker)	60.2	28.1	11.6	100.0
Other Situation	56.7	28.7	14.6	100.0

Along with the importance of the types of emigration on the initial idea of return, also some of the social characteristics of the respondents before the departure are relevant in this context (Table 6.1. and Table 6.2). Thus, we find that the inclusion of return in the migration project is more pronounced in men than in women (70% and 58% respectively) and also more noticeable among those who were married than among those who were single (70% and 53% respectively).

The distributions in these two latter categories are understandable, even expected, in light of what, in this context, each represents in terms of different personal ties to the land of origin, and the formulation of individual trajectories. Yet these are aspects that certainly explain why a higher percentage of single who did not intend to return (29.2%), or at least did not have a clear position on this possibility (17.8%).

For the differences in gender distribution, we must consider that in the male sample are included the emigration to Bermuda, which is associated with pre-announced return. Moreover, we should not rule out the hypothesis that the status of "home-maker" and "non-salaried family worker" prevailed among women before the departure³⁸, which coincided with a life full of difficulties and devoid of great aspirations, in contrast with the connection that most men had with a professional activity – this may explain the differences between the desire to return or to remain permanently in the emigration destination.

In the context of departure, the existence of a job tends to be an additional element of attachment to the, either because of holding a high emotional charge - as it was, usually, for those

³⁸ Of the women surveyed, 43.6% were "home-makers" before emigrating, 30.2% were "employed" and 16.6% had an activity without an work contract (mostly as a "non-salaried family worker" in the agriculture sector).

who worked the land - either because it can be perceived, by those who emigrate, as the ideal means for, in combination with the savings stemmed from emigration, to implement a project of upward social mobility. Perhaps it is due to this that 29% of female respondents who were "home-makers" did not intend to return, while among the employed population the same variable is reported by 19% of respondents.

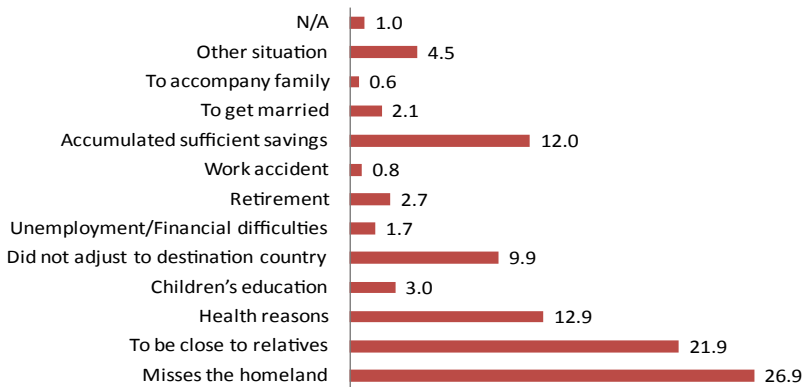
Furthermore, note that this intent (to not return), similar to the level of indecision, tended to occur less in the case of self-employed compared with those were employed by others - 14% and 22% respectively. Since, as we know, most of the "self-employed" integrated the agricultural sector, here we have another indication that the desire to return to the Azores was widespread among those men who worked the land. The explanation may reside in this aspect of personal desire to one day succeed (through accumulated savings), to continue an activity that was important to them in terms of individual and social goals, and to continue to engage in this sector once holding other types of resources (financial, symbolic, etc...).

Regarding the main reason for returning, as pointed out by the, we found that in almost half the cases, this decision was of a distinctly emotional nature. The item "missed the homeland" meets 27% of total respondents, while another 22% are related to the greater proximity to family. Any one of these reasons underline the scale of voluntary return flows, which are the accomplishment of an initial intention to return to starting point.

Health problems, the perception of having sufficient accumulated sufficient savings to return, and maladjustment to the emigration country also appear as important reasons (though less than the previous two reasons) - 13%, 12% and

10 %, respectively. In this second group, regardless of whether we find, again, the aspect of voluntary return (accumulation of savings), displays the two push-factors that better explain these particular flows. In this context, it is noted that both health reasons and the maladjustment to the host society (e.g., the climate, the predominant way of life, etc...) were attributed in several cases, not by the respondent, but rather by another household member (in most cases, the spouse).

Chart 6. 4 - Main reason for return to the Azores (%)



The relationship between the main reasons for the return, identified in the previous two paragraphs, and the existence or not of an initial return, it is nevertheless instructive in light of the figures presented in Table 6.3. Thus, comparing the three groups of respondents, we find that the return motivated by missing the homeland tended to be more frequent among those who from the beginning, made plans to return (31%). Something similar can be said the returns occurring only after the accumulation of sufficient savings (14.6%). This demonstrates a certain consistency between the existence of a planned return and the delineation of specific objectives (in this case, financial).

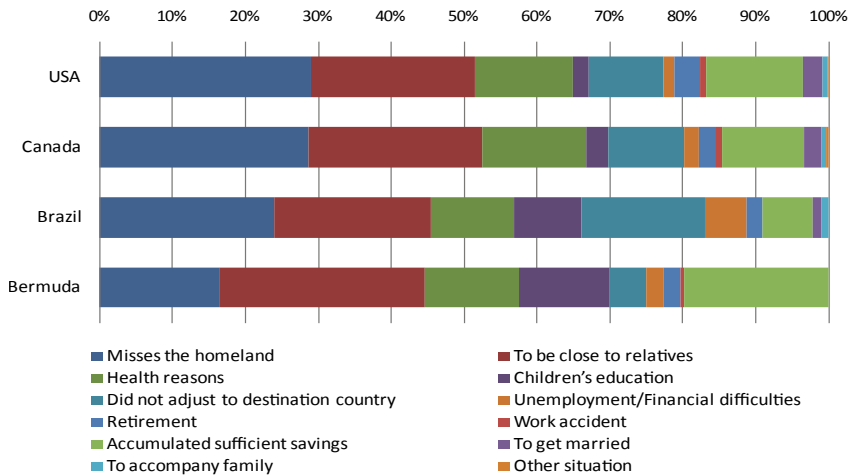
Table 6. 3 - Respondents' objectives about the return, at the time of departure, by main reason to return (%)

Main reason to return	Initial intention to return		
	Yes	No	Was not sure
Misses homeland	31.0	21.6	24.5
To be close to relatives	22.8	20.7	29.8
Health reasons	12.0	19.4	13.0
Children's Education	3.2	3.5	2.2
Not adapting to destination country	9.8	11.7	11.2
Unemployment/Financial Difficulties	1.5	3.3	1.0
Retirement	2.9	2.4	3.4
Work accident	0.7	1.5	1.0
Accumulation of sufficient savings	14.6	8.5	9.1
To get married	0.9	5.6	3.7
To accompany family	0.5	1.3	0.8
Other situation	0.1	0.5	0.3
N/A	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

However, the same way that these two reasons stand out among the group of emigrants who held an initial return project, other reasons for returning to the Azores stand out among those departed thinking they would remain permanently in the chosen destination. The health problems and maladjustment to the host country seem to have interfered more in the return of this particular set of emigrants than in the other two groups, particularly for those who always thought about going back to the Azores. Here, one can also see some the logic between the content of the migratory project (in this case, the decision to

remain permanently in the destination) and the main reasons that explain the return. In a considerable number of cases, the return for those who never intended to do so tends to be understandable in light of unexpected factors, which have a great impact on the lives of emigrants, such as, health problems.

Chart 6. 5 - Respondents according to main reason to return, by destination country (%)



Analyzing by destination country and the relative importance of reasons to return (Chart 6.5), we find that the fundamental differences relate to the two major types of emigration, in particular, to the ones that distinguish Bermuda from the other countries. Thus, the return from this country, which, as we know, is connected to temporary emigration and is carried out individually and for financial reasons, is less determined by “missing the homeland” and more by the “accumulation of sufficient savings” (19.8%). This is, incidentally, and as mentioned in previous chapters, the motivating and dominating factor among emigrants and would-be emigrants to Bermuda: make as much as possible

in a short time, and apply the savings, after return, in purchasing a home and other assets of relevant economic value. In addition to contractual and permanence restrictions, the return for this group of emigrants, is dependent upon this specific goal.

However, it should also be noted that a higher percentage of respondents who emigrated to Bermuda state that they returned to be “closer to family” (28.2%), which is certainly further evidence of an individual emigration, in which, in most cases, the male emigrated without his wife and children. In this context, there are situations of emigrants who returned without reaching the maximum length of stay allowed to foreign workers by emigration law in Bermuda (currently 6 years), despite often having the possibility of signing a new contract or renewing the previous one. Also in relation to the answers provided by this group of respondents, it should be noted that 12.4% said they came back because of wanting to raise the children, which happens to a lesser extent with those who returned both from the United States (2.2%) and Canada (3%).

In Chart 6.6, the comparison between the various levels on the length of stay of emigrants in the destination country reveals that there are no discrepancies, except, however, for the emphasis in “missed the homeland” by those with more than thirty years of emigration and the differences that can be established between the category “1 to 4 years” and the remaining sample.

Regarding the latter, whether the return was explained by the need to be close to relatives or those relating to difficulties in adapting to the host country or society. Those tended to be the most pronounced reasons for emigrants who returned permanently to the Azores after a migratory experience of less than five years. Given the nature of these two reasons,

we can conclude, therefore, that, in most of these cases the return occurred in an unanticipated manner or at least it was not desirable at the time of departure.

Chart 6. 6 - Respondents according to main reason to return, by length of stay (%)

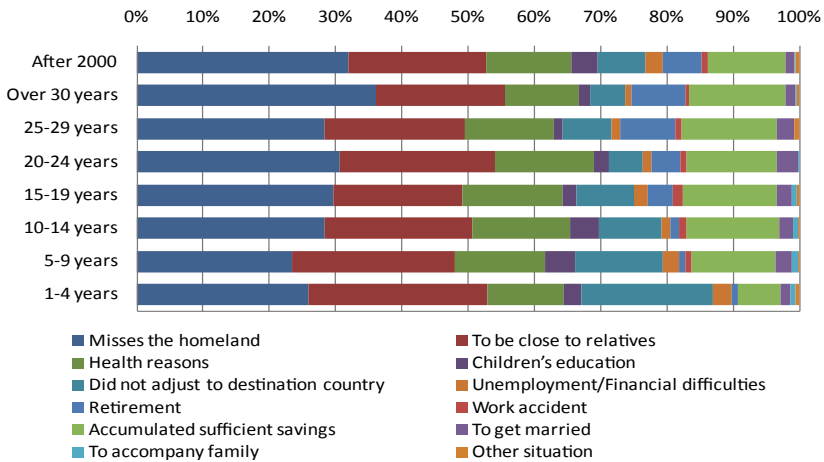
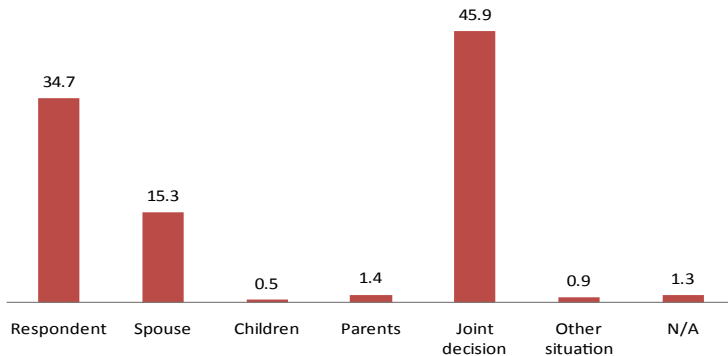


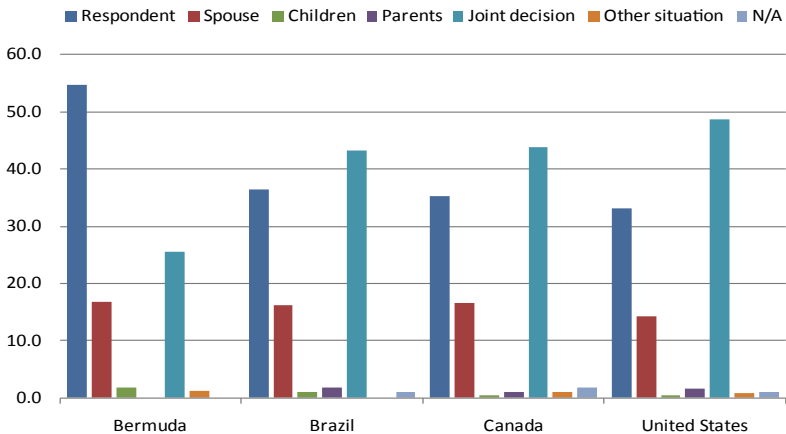
Chart 6. 7 - Main people involved in the decision to return to the Azores (%)



Focusing now on the decision process associated with the return, we see that this was based, in almost half of cases (46%), in a joint resolution between members of the household, which,

however, does not diminish the importance to situations in which this decision was made by only one of the leading members - the respondent (35%) or their spouse (15.3%) (Chart 6.7). It is a distribution of values to some extent, consistent with the mixed character that the Azorean emigration accumulated over more than half a century: on the one hand, the intense family emigration demonstrated during the sixties and seventies, with flows to North America, and, secondly, the individual component of emigration, verified, first, in the departure flows to Canada (fifties) and, more recently, in temporary departures to Bermuda (Chart 6.8).

Chart 6. 8 - Main people involved in the decision to return to the Azores, by destination country (%)



Even in the latter flow, it is noted that the involvement of other members in the decision-making does not cease to be significant, occurring in 25.5% of situations. This underlines clearly the role played by the family in a kind of emigration that, despite being held by an individual, is motivated by financial objectives in order to improve the welfare of the household. On the other hand, we should not separate this aspect of a

relationship, although slim, that tends to exist between the decision and the nature of the reasons triggering the return (Table 6.4), and that, in general, relates to a more individual responsibility in the decisions taken following difficulties in adapting to the destination country, and greater involvement in all resolutions based on the assessment of meeting with the financial objectives.

Table 6. 4 - Main people involved in the decision to return to the Azores, by main reason to return (%)

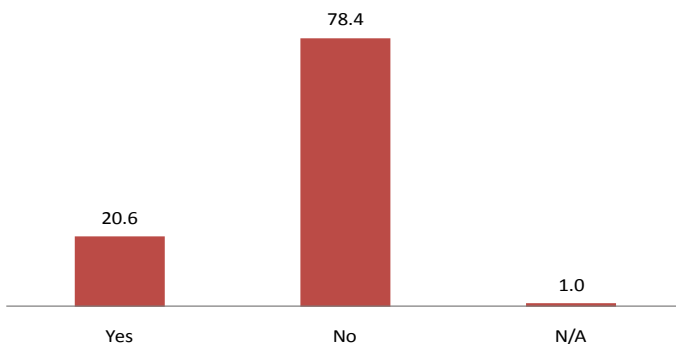
Main reason to return	Main people involved in the decision to return to the Azores					
	Respondent	Spouse	Children	Parents	Joint Decision	Other situation
Misses homeland	29.0	26.7	11.1	10.2	29.4	-
To be close to relatives	28.1	18.0	38.9	53.1	20.3	40.0
Health reasons	10.8	15.7	22.2	10.2	14.8	25.0
Children's Education	2.5	3.0	11.1	-	3.6	5.0
Maladjustment to destination country	11.2	13.8	5.6	4.1	9.2	-
Unemployment/Financial Difficulties	1.8	1.5	-	-	1.9	10.0
Retirement	2.6	3.3	-	2.0	2.9	5.0
Work accident	0.6	0.7	-	-	1.1	-
Accumulation of sufficient savings	10.8	7.6	5.6	-	16.0	-
To get married	0.5	8.7	5.6	20.4	0.8	15.0
To accompany family	1.7	0.3	-	-	-	-
Other situation	0.4	0.8	-	-	-	-
N/A	0.1	-	-	-	-	-
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Thus, as it can be seen through table 6.4, that within the group of respondents whose return was based on a family decision, the third main reason motivating the permanent return to the Azores (following the “missed the homeland”, (29 4%)

and the “to be close to the family”, 20.3%) was the perception that sufficient savings had been accumulated (16%). The order of relative importance given to this reason is lower in the perspective of individual decisions, and is, rather, replaced either by maladjustment to the emigration context. Health problems lead the reasons for the return in situations where the spouse was the main and only decision maker.

In addition to the decision-making and motivational components, the third aspect to highlight in the return process relates to the difficulties they reported having experienced during the initial phase of reintegration into society of origin. Though time-limited, it’s the only available indicator to account for the post-return assessment, the analysis does not allow this item to paint a current and complete picture of the real experienced by the returnees. However, based on the values and nature of the difficulties, we do not believe that there are other adversities in the lives of Azorean returnees than those that derive from their own social conditions of existence and not by their status.

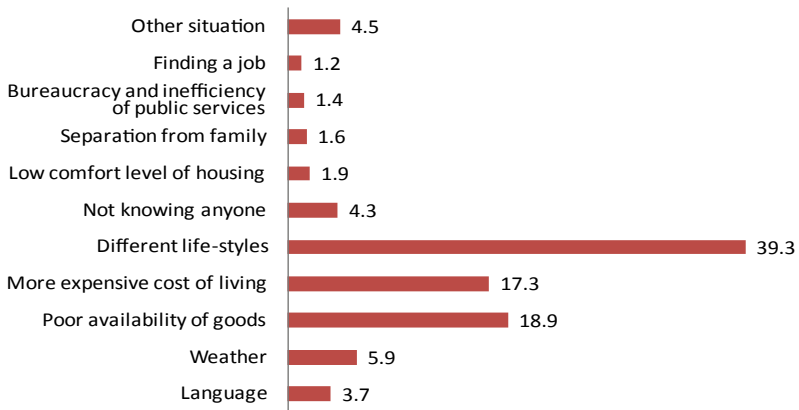
Chart 6. 9 - Adjustment difficulties after the return (%)



Thus, only 20% of respondents have experienced difficulties upon arrival. Perhaps because of the nature of the reasons

that contributed most to the return, it seems normal that the remaining percentage did not point out any difficulties. In fact, it is understandable that the return to the origins generated a sense of well-being (especially in the period immediately following arrival), since as we know, the desire to return to the majority of respondents was based on family ties with the loved ones who had stayed behind. Moreover, in other cases, the return has come to mean the end of difficulties in the host countries, resulting, generally, in positive evaluation of the return.

Chart 6. 10 - Experienced difficulties upon the return (%)



For those 20% of respondents who experienced some difficulties, the more negative appraisals are related mainly to the comparison between the living conditions in the destination country and in the place of return/origin (Chart 6.10). While being very specific, almost 40% of respondents indicate significant differences in the ways of life in the destination and departure/return territories, while another 36% emphasized the difficulties related to consumption (which previously they did not have), the general price of goods (17.3%) and their limited supply (18.9%). Factors such as climate, language or social relations,

as the main difficulties, assume, separately, a significantly lower relative importance.

Table 6. 5 - Respondents according to adjustment difficulties upon the return, by length of stay in the destination country (%)

Length of stay	Adaptation difficulties after return			
	Yes	Sub-total	No	Sub-total
1-4 years	5.8		14.5	
5-9 years	18.8	48.0	22.8	60.5
10-14 years	23.4		23.2	
15-19 years	19.8		14.5	
20-24 years	11.9	52.0	9.9	39.5
25-29 years	8.7		6.9	
Over 30 years	11.6		8.2	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Although we are unable to gauge whether these difficulties tended to be differently experienced by this group of respondents, depending on their characteristics (e.g., their age when the return occurred or employment status at the time),³⁹ we cannot fail to highlight the importance that the length of stay at the destination of migration assumed in this context. Indeed, the longer emigration periods can be associated with these difficulties, since, according to Table 6.5, a period of stay of more than 15 years is a common among those who admit to have felt some difficulties compared to those who adjusted without any problems - 52% and 39.5% respectively.

³⁹ Because the investigation did not include these variables.

In any case, it seems that not even the underlined difficulties become important enough to erase the fairly high percentage of returnees who ended their migratory cycle without reference to major difficulties - 80%, as pointed out earlier. We believe that the nature of the reasons why this group did not report any difficulties relates to the findings addressed over the last two chapters. The return movements of emigrants to their homeland still present (as in the past with the departures) a strong family and emotional component, which in turn eases that same process.

SUMMARY

Based on the survey, the return process of Azorean emigrants can be summarized as follows:

- 1) The intention to return to the Azores was part of the emigration project for 65% of respondents, while to permanently remain in the destination country covered another 24%. The remaining 12% left undecided as to any of these hypotheses;
- 2) The initial desire to return is more pronounced in men than in women, more among those who at the time were married than among those who were single, and in particular, for those who worked in agriculture and fishing;
- 3) About half of respondents said they had returned because of "nostalgia" in relation to the Azores (missed the homeland) or to get closer to family. Health problems, sufficient savings and maladjustment to the destination country are other relevant reasons within the explanatory framework for the return to a large part of the remaining respondents;

- 4) There is a relationship between some of the reasons mentioned by the respondents and the type of emigration (permanent or temporary). In this field, there is the temporary emigration to Bermuda, which is associated with a higher percentage of return cases – respondents report the accumulation of sufficient savings or the need to return close to family;
- 5) The final return to the Azores by the respondents who reportedly missed the homeland and the accumulation of sufficient savings is manifested, particularly among those emigrants who made plans to return from the start. In contrast, health factors and maladjustment ultimately determines the return of those who thought they would never return to the Azores to settle;
- 6) In terms of decisions, the return of 46% of respondents followed a joint family decision. The decision of the remaining 35% came exclusively from the emigrant himself/herself, and another 15% from the spouse – this also reminds us of the family characteristics of Azorean emigration;
- 7) More than 3/4 of the returnees report not having experienced major difficulties upon arriving in the Azores. Among those who claim to have faced difficulties, the most commonly cited relate to the way of life, the difficult access to certain types of goods they were used to and the price of goods in general. These aspects tend to be more noticeable among those who had a longer length of stay in the destination country.

CONCLUSION

As demonstrated, one can hardly continue to consider the framework of migratory movements that characterized the Azores and the Azorean society (from the early second half of the twentieth century to the present) without considering the return issue. On the one hand, the greater importance demonstrated by this flow during the eighties and nineties of the twentieth century, cannot be separated from the great emigration event which occurred in the archipelago over the past three decades - there is even a complementary relationship between both aspects. On the other hand, neither the experience nor the processes by which these emigrants have returned, and which this work aims to account, allow that we continue to recognize the traditional logic of emigration only in individuals and groups that in recent times, settled in the Azores and made these islands also a host territory.

It is estimated that about half the people who one day departed toward the main destinations of Azorean emigration, returned between 1980 and 1995. Thereafter, especially now during this century, the return has been the natural response to the only still active departure flow, i.e., the temporary departure of men to Bermuda. The two types of emigration in question (which could be called a permanent, even though not fully, and a temporary emigration) draw a line not only between the timings, profiles, mechanisms and emigration experiences of

returnees, but also between the motives and decisions that led to the return to the origins.

These differences were systematically highlighted throughout this work, though not forgetting the fact that we are faced with two distinct realities within the phenomenon of return to the Azores. Indeed, the United States and Canada, having been the main destinations of Azoreans over the several decades, are also the main countries involved in the return movements. The overwhelming majority of people who returned from the U.S. and Canada present an emigration experience of an average of fifteen years, though 1/4 of them only returned after accumulating more than twenty years of residence in those countries. The combination of this aspect with the most relevant emigration period (the first twenty-five years of the second half of last century) explains the older age structure that currently characterizes the returnee population. As a result, almost 60% of returning emigrants fit the category of “retired/pension beneficiaries”.

On this point lies a clue to what can be an effective and fair application of the potential offered by returnees. This is the opportunity to develop measures and actions to turn this group into a history and memory producing agent of what was the last great experience of Azorean emigration. Hardly this narrative will be some day completed without reconstitution of the facts through an informal report by the people who were the real protagonists of this phenomenon. This older group of returning emigrants is composed of individuals who can confirm and identify pattern singularities within the processes and experiences that characterized the Azorean emigration flows of the second half of the twentieth century, and which only partially, this study was able to account.

The remaining portion of the sample is composed of working age returnees, though, though as pointed out earlier

time in this work, more than half are less than fifteen years away from reaching legal retirement age. In addition to their low education level (62% only completed elementary school), they integrated social-professional activities of low innovative capacity, such as agriculture, construction and trade - though emigration had a slight influence on these individuals' profile.

The professional mobility of returning emigrants - between the last profession in the host country and the current job situation in the Azores - was guided first, by re-integration in the agricultural sector (from industry and construction sectors), and secondly, by the significant transfer of individuals from the industry sector to small businesses and trade and repair of vehicles. Within this rationale, it is not expected that a substantial transfer of skills occurred between the destination and the return country, for even in cases where this was possible, it is natural that these individuals eventually lost some of the knowledge and skills acquired during the emigration experience (as a direct consequence of incompatibility). Indeed, to consider the return of emigrants as a catalyst for the economic development of the homeland, carried out through the modernization of business or professional practices learned in the host regions (usually with higher economic, social and cultural patterns), does not seem like a realistic expectation.

It should also be noted that a good part of the results revealed that the Azorean emigration, within the time interval considered, was strongly marked by the involvement of family throughout the whole emigration project, including from initial preparation for the departure to the decision to return. To that extent, we can say that individual emigration had virtually few advantages compared to that involving the family.

This is the reason that the acquisition of personal skills (among which also of professional competencies) was not a goal,

much less a priority, for the majority of emigrants. The main reasons for leaving the Azores, was to improve living conditions for their families. In addition, a migration process which is too focused on the nuclear family, the difficulties with language proficiency and a formal relationship with the employer, are factors that may have also contributed significantly to the low professional aspiration of emigrants - beyond those acquired in the homeland.

These various features of the working age returnees will always become obstacles to a possible involvement of these individuals in a social and economic dynamic local cycle. Though this progress would not only depend on the individuals' profile, the truth is that its success is hindered by low levels of qualification and education, and low capacity for innovation. The age and the status of salaried employee that, in most cases, emigrants assume in the host country (only 5% of respondents were self-employed), are two important barriers to innovation and entrepreneurial spirit - often needed for local development processes.

Although more than half of the returnees are now (in the homeland) self-employed, thus, having chosen a more independent professional status (which could lead to innovation and progress), the reality is that, most are concentrated in the agriculture sector and only have the dual aim of occupying their time and maintaining their assets (land and livestock) - meanwhile accumulated through savings. In addition, about 65% of self-employed returnees today are between 50 and 70 years old. This framework seems to be largely the result of what the emigrants themselves, especially those headed to North America, always wanted to be of their return to the Azores - not much more than a return to their homeland and the possibility to be close to relatives.

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BETWEEN TWO WORLDS

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