

PROFILES AND PATHWAYS OF
IMMIGRANTS IN THE AZORES

PROFILES
PATHWAYS



Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha (Coord.)
Octávio H. Ribeiro de Medeiros
Eduardo Ferreira

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Authors

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha (Coord.)
Octávio H. Ribeiro de Medeiros
Eduardo Ferreira

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PRESENTATION

Several factors caused the Azores, a few decades ago a place of departure of thousands of people to overseas, to be transformed into host islands to about 5,000 individuals from 86 different nationalities. Underlying this change was (1) April 25th with the country's democratization process; (2) the integration of Portugal in the European Union and the consequent modernization and better quality of life; (3) the free and less bureaucratic access to education; and (4) the creation of jobs which not only stanch ed emigration, but also allured individuals of other nationalities.

The arrival of individuals from different races and creeds, has come to undoubtedly change the social fabric of the Azores, which for centuries was characterized by a certain homogeneity of its people in terms of origin, religion, culture, economic activities, leisure, etc..

From the 1980s, groups of immigrants, who came in search of better quality of life, began to arrive in a more significant manner. As a result of successive migration processes, especially from Africa, Brazil and Eastern Europe, the Azores and Azoreans became exposed to new languages, new accents, different ways of being and doing, new religions, new music, new ways of dancing, and new gastronomical influences. Cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue were developed gradually, and today we can say that the archipelago's wealth can

only be put together with particular reference to immigrants who have chosen the Azores for personal and professional fulfillment. Here they acquire residence, marry, have children and educate them, practice their religion and their culture and eat their traditional dishes in perfect harmony with the locals.

Aware of the need to study this phenomenon in its full scope, in terms of its social, economic and cultural implications, the Regional Department for the Communities requested the Centre for Social Studies at the University of the Azores to conduct a study to thoroughly understand this social phenomenon in order to be able to apply on the field public policies consistent with the needs and expectations of this target population.

The Portuguese version of this study experienced a first edition in 2010. A year later we propose a translation into English due to the growing interest of scholars, emigrants, immigrant associations and the general population in accessing this report.

Our wish, as the Government of the Azores' Regional Director for the Communities, is that this study contributes to a larger and better integration of immigrant populations in the Azores.

We also want to note that this publication aims at a fair and heartfelt tribute to the courage, tenacity, and capacity to adjust and to work which men and women immigrants demonstrate in their day-to-day life. In this sense, the immigrant populations represent a gain to the Azores. The islands are now more pluralistic, tolerant of differences, and respectful of other forms of being in the world, features that make us all citizens fully aware of our rights and obligations in the global world.

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

PREFACE

Immigrants in the Azores? It seems a strange idea for an Archipelago with such a long emigration history. It is through being a point of departure that Azores are, in fact, associated to the migratory phenomenon in the symbolic representations of the Portuguese people.

But it's true. There are close to 5.000 immigrants in the region now, spread throughout all the islands, who collectively represent 2% of the resident population. And the numbers have increased over the last decade. The Azores' immigrant community is composed primarily of Cape Verdeans, Ukrainians, and Brazilians – whose numbers have grown in the last few years. But there are also small groups from the European Union and Asia. Most individuals are under 45 and, as in other immigration contexts, there are more men than women, though the number of females is increasing.

Given the facts, it is undeniable that today immigration has become a truly national phenomenon. The Azores – especially

São Miguel and Terceira – exert their own special lure. And although Portugal as a whole has become a desirable destination for immigrants all over the world, most of those who have settled in the Archipelago arrived in the islands directly from their countries of origin.

Because this new reality has a multi-pronged impact on host populations and on economic, social, cultural, and political institutions, it needs to be studied. And that's what Gilberta Rocha, Octávio Medeiros, and Eduardo Ferreira, researchers from the Social Studies Center at the University of the Azores, have done in this book written at the request of the Region's political authorities. Written subsequent to a 2004 research work on the same topic, also coordinated by Gilberta Rocha, this fresh overview is sure to be an original and valuable contribution to scientific literature on the topic.

The issue the authors appropriately devote most attention to is the insertion of immigrants in the labor market. As they do it they find the main explanation for the phenomenon which harks back to the 1970s but has only somewhat recently burgeoned in scope and visibility. Sparked by the development of the Archipelago, the need for manual labor attracted people from several continents to the main islands of the Azores. They were seeking a better life and settled in the Azores, thereby definitively changing the course of their own lives and that of the Region, though they might not have been aware of it.

As countless studies carried out in host societies have proven, the labor market is where the fate of economic immigrants is effectively played out in the first phase of the migratory cycle. Work, wages, overtime, and being able to send money to relatives back home on a regular basis are the immigrant's main concerns during the first few years of his sojourn, and it is why the term "economic immigrants" is such an adequate designation. During their first few years abroad, we can say that immigrants function more as economic players than as social, cultural, or political ones.

This is the phase that most of the Region's immigrants are in. Eighty-five percent have lived on the islands for less than 10 years, and 43% for less than 5 years. The employment rate among them is extremely high – over 80% - almost twice that of the native population. Unemployment among them is low. Even though, empirically speaking, the time frame of the study ends in 2008, the authors still find time to opportunely conjecture about the effects the current global economic crisis, which took a turn for the worse in 2009, will have on immigrant participation in the labor market and even on their continued presence in the territory. With the factor that sparked their arrival (job opportunities) gone, the influx may cease and, if theory becomes fact, an outflow movement will begin - less likely if the migration was longer ago and if the immigrants has set down deeper roots in the host society.

Compared to 2004, the 2008 data show that there have been visible changes in the distribution of immigrants

throughout the different activity sectors. Fewer newcomers are working in construction and more in hotels, restaurants, retail, and personal services - a difference that reflects the changes underway in the Azorean labor market. It also demonstrates that there is a direct link between growing job insecurity in certain employment sectors and immigrant labor. Immigrants don't mind taking on jobs that locals reject; they are therefore more likely to have fixed-term contracts, although their contractual status does tend to stabilize the longer they stay on as residents.

In this study, the authors have retraced the occupational trajectories immigrants have taken. This particularly valuable contribution will be decisive in enabling us to understand how immigrants are integrated socially. Focusing on three particular points in their pathway: the last year in their country of origin, the first six months in the Azores, and 2008, when a sampling of 637 persons were polled, the authors examine individual mobility among activity sectors and among job categories. The findings show that even though some immigrants are self-employed or have set up their own micro-businesses, the vast majority are employed by others and, as the authors have ascertained, there is a widespread mismatch between the jobs they held in their countries of origin and those they hold in the Azores, with most of these workers being overqualified for the jobs they perform. This situation is only partially turned around in subsequent years of the immigrants stay.

This scenario is not uncommon when it comes to labor migration in general. One must mention, however, that any study examining social mobility among countries with different levels of wealth and development cannot overlook the specific issue of wages, because therein lie the immigrant's subjective and objective gains - gains that which compensate for performing jobs of lower prestige and tasks for which he or she is overqualified in terms of education level. Moreover, as the study shows, as a whole, the immigrants have a higher level of education than the native population.

Yet this newly-published research does not restrict itself to analyzing the immigrant's position in the job market. In the last chapter, the authors discuss at length the respondents' migratory plans and the role the Azores play in the immigrants' future projects: pivotal points in analyzing recent migrant populations. Will they return home? Will they stay and gradually reach beyond the confines of their occupational ties, participating more in their host region's social life and thus becoming more than mere economic players? We know that a significant portion of migrant populations worldwide end up settling permanently in their countries of destination, even if it was not their original intention and that one of the factors contributing to their decision is whether or not they have children who were born and grew up in the host country.

Even though it is still early to encounter a numerically significant generation of immigrant descendants on the islands,

the study does point to the fact that the Azores have already become part and parcel of many immigrants' future plans. Two-thirds responded that they had no intention of leaving the Region, with the plan to stay being even more patent prominent among older respondents and those who have lived longer on the islands. An outstanding majority also view their lives in the Archipelago in a positive light and in their assessments give "high marks" to their relationship with the native population and their dealings in the workplace. It says that their migratory projects are, as planned, coming to fruition, and that their host society has been successful in welcoming them. Uncertain, however, is to what extent a further downturn in unemployment, spurred on by the current economic crisis, will alter the tone of their assessments.

The current data suggests that immigrants will keep growing roots in the Azores, and as they continue to do so, new social, cultural, symbolic and political issues will, in a short or longer term, capture the interest of social science researchers.

Fernando Luís Machado
Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology
University Institute of Lisbon

FOREWORD

Following the intensification of migratory flows to the Azores in the early 21st century, and the request of the Regional Department for the Communities of the Government of the Azores, the Center for Social Studies at the University of the Azores (CES-UA) conducted research into the situation of immigrants in the Azores (Rocha *et al.*, 2004) and then subsequently issued a report. In late 2007, the department decided to update the information and find out about possible immigration trends. As a result, it commissioned a new study focusing more specifically on employment and occupational status among the immigrant population. This need, which was shared by the CES-UA team, was reinforced by the fact that the immigrant flows into the region in the late 20th and early 21st century might be circumstantial and inseparable from the economic situation at the time and the need for labor in some specific sectors of the regional economy (such as construction). This meant that the continuation of these flows needed to be confirmed in the present by a new, theoretically and methodologically sustainable analysis.

This work is therefore an adaptation of a study conducted in 2008, which returned to some of the analytical aspects highlighted in 2004, and seeks to obtain some comparative results showing recent trends. We also considered it important to look further into other variables that would not only explain the immigrants' presence in the Azores, but also indicate the prospects of their staying in the archipelago.

The adapted version for publication roughly maintains the structure of the report submitted to the Regional Department for the Communities in May of 2009, although the introductory chapter describes the theoretical perspectives behind the research. We have also taken out some superfluous graphs, which helps to make the work lighter, though without forfeiting the fundamental content and conclusions. Nonetheless, it is based on all the information gleaned, using a relatively detailed sequence of the variables selected.

We would like to stress that our analysis was based on data collected in 2008 and therefore does not account for the international economic crisis in 2009. The crisis has affected the national and regional economy in general and some sectors in particular, like construction and, understandably, the workers with greatest difficulty in finding work, many of them immigrants.

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

INTRODUCTION

The number of foreign residents in the Azores, not counting the Americans living on the Lajes' Base, has been increasing in recent years. According to information from the Portuguese Immigration Department (SEF), the number of immigrants between 2001 and 2007 varied roughly between 2,500 and 4,500. If we consider other people living in the region, on the basis of work visas, residence permits and other documents, the figures are a little higher, although they tend to stabilize at 4,500 to 5,000 people. In recent years, the difference between the two categories has been decreasing, largely as a result of a more substantial increase in the number of residents.

The growth rate in foreign residents was highest after 2005. The opposite applies to the total number of immigrants, with situations other than that of resident status which, after a relatively sharp decline from 2004 to 2005, stabilized somewhat after 2005. In the last two years, we can therefore see a preponderance of immigrants who have obtained residence permits and therefore the possibility of a longer, legal stay.

In this context, the general goal of this study is to characterize the immigrant population in the Azores and ascertain to what extent fulfillment of their expectations before coming and their subjective assessment of their personal pathways and current situation, not only with regard to work but also social relations, may condition decisions regarding their future migratory destinations.

We focus on their employment status and occupational pathways, in the knowledge that these are fundamental aspects in improving the living conditions that spurred them to leave their countries of origin. It is an issue that is accepted, regardless of the theoretical perspective or scientific discipline used to address the issue of migration.

We have taken an essentially macro-analytic approach that highlights the importance of the economic structure of the host country. The idea is therefore to understand how the availability of employment in the region constitutes a factor of satisfaction that encourages the immigrants to stay in Azorean society, or rather the different societies of the islands, whose diversity we must underscore (Rocha, 1991). We have not, however, ignored other explanatory factors, such as the existence of social networks, which encourage immigrants to stay and also assist in their social integration, and their self-perception in individual assessments of the options that brought them to the Azores.

Our specific goals were as follows:

- 1) To conduct a socio-demographic characterization of the population in question and understand the conditions that

triggered the migratory process, focusing on length of stay and their geographical routes;

2) To get to know the employment market and the immigrants' occupational path in light of their situation in the country of origin (in their last year there), and from the time of arrival in the Azores to the present day;

3) To learn the immigrants' assessment of their experience and their intention to stay in the region or leave in the short or medium term;

To accomplish this, we decided to base our analysis on a theoretical framework with a degree of complementarity with regard to the explanations of the migratory phenomenon. Many of the analytical choices in the following chapters are the result of an approach that, while not ignoring the importance of the social actors and their individual decisions, focused on the influence of certain economic and social structures on the immigrants.

The works of Harris and Todaro (1970), still abiding by neoclassic economic theory, and those of Piore (1979) and Portes (1981), which appeared some years later and followed the *segmented labor market* model, inevitably provided the theoretical framework for the idea that the continued supply of employment for immigrants living in the Azores has been one of the most important sources of satisfaction for them and the reason they have stayed in the region.

Although, in accordance with some aspects of the push-pull model and the well-known Ravenstein premises, the labor market theory defended by Harris and Todaro provides us with

an appropriate, albeit excessively generic presupposition of the influence of structural factors on the migratory process. From this perspective, the main cause of migration is rooted in the characteristic imbalances of labor markets worldwide. This means that migratory flows, obeying the structural conditions of the international labor market, generally move from places (countries or regions) where there is surplus of labor to those areas where there is a shortage. Migration therefore tends to act as a regulatory mechanism of imbalances in the international employment market and plays a concrete role in seeking a balance for the global economic system.

The specific importance of the host societies in this research framework (from a geographical and analytical point of view) can be gleaned from Piore and Portes' theory of the existence of a dual labor market in more modern societies. This theory explains that, although we find a so-called secondary segment in these societies' labor markets, characterized by low salaries, low skill requirements, few opportunities for promotion, and poor social protection of workers; this segment is the main attraction for migrants from less developed countries. This is for the simple reason that it offers them the opportunity to enjoy a standard of living that is better than the one they had in their country of origin.¹ This general improvement in quality of life is regarded by the defenders of the model (even though this is not a person-oriented theory) as contributing to a positive assessment of immigrants'

¹ The authors claim the existence of a *primary* segment characterized by high salaries, stability, good employment conditions, career prospects, etc.

stay in the host society, as it is one of the main reasons underlying the favorable expectations they hold for the future.

At the same time, from the specific point of view of the host societies, this model also claims that labor immigration can satisfy some of the needs of more advanced economies. It is therefore normal to find efforts by economic and political agents to ensure that flows continue over time. In addition to the recognized contribution that immigration makes to solving some of the most pressing demographic problems of industrialized societies, a particularly important need is met because most of the workforce is willing to perform unqualified tasks in exchange for what the local inhabitants consider low pay and demeaning social status.

However, while from the start of this study we found it legitimate to assume that the arrival of new immigrants in the region and their continued presence over time might be dependent on the economic conditions in Azorean society, especially the availability of work, we also thought it reasonable to look for the impact that some ethnic groups have had - through their progressive consolidation - on the development and current picture of immigration in the Azores. Our hypothesis that the last 10 years were sufficient to allow for the set up of a number of social networks (mainly of an ethnic nature) that contribute to the explanation of ongoing immigration and the continued presence of some groups of immigrants led us to adopt an additional theoretical framework at certain points during our analysis. In fact, both of the above two proposals are lacking when it comes

to addressing whether the influx and settlement of immigrants depends on other factors (not of a strictly economic nature), such as very close social ties (family and other) or certain forms of territorial ethnic solidarity.

Immigrant networks may involve ethnic, family, friendship or other ties and should be regarded first and foremost as a form of social capital that can be mobilized by migrants to mitigate, eliminate or resist the difficulties of immigration (Massey, 1987; Portes, 1995). From this point of view, and for the migratory agent in particular, these structures are an excellent source not only of information but also of support (sometimes even material) during the immigrant's adaptation to his or her host society (Slotnick, 2003).

At the same time, as mentioned by Portes and Böröcz (1989), these networks help to explain the lasting nature of migratory flows, especially when there is a permanent exchange of information between the network points in the host society and society of origin about a wide variety of aspects that characterize the flow upstream and downstream. The main explanatory models, the *migration network theory* and the *cumulative causation theory*, claim that these networks form and mold people's opinions about the advantages and costs of a particular migratory movement, thereby helping to speed up, maintain or slow down the rate of these flows. Each migrant or potential migrant is regarded as a rational player who takes decisions about his or her migratory plans on the basis of the value of these networks in terms of mobilizable social capital. After being

extrapolated for a large number of people, this reasoning can help to understand the changes in the dynamics of flows (Massey *et al.*, 1998). One of the cases in which their continuation is largely due to the networks' role is the increase in the stock of immigrants from a certain community of origin, which helps to reduce the cost of subsequent migrations for people in the same ethnic group as it grows (Massey and España, 1987).²

One of the main advantages of applying this kind of perspective to migration studies lies in relieving the excessive weight that classical theories lend to macro and micro structures when explaining the migratory phenomenon. This obviously does not detract from the importance of the economic scenario of the societies of origin and destination or of migration policies. It is also important to say that the activation or deactivation and intensity of migrant social support networks often depend on job market conditions and the opportunities and constraints generated by migration policies (Faist, 2000).

As some Portuguese authors have underscored (Pires, 1999; Pires, 2003; Machado, 2002, among others), the migratory movement into Portugal comes largely from countries and geographical regions that have had close relationships with Portugal for decades or centuries. Portugal, Brazil and some African countries can be given as a clear example of what Salt (1989) called a *macro-regional network*, i.e. a group

² Some more recent studies (e.g. Bauer, 2000) have proven empirically that, sometimes, if the number of immigrants in a certain place is too large, migration to that destination may become less likely. Generally, this is a situation resulting from "external" factors, like saturation of the job market or immigration policies involving quotas, etc.

of territories worldwide that are able to sustain migratory flows between them, irrespective of their type and the fact that intensity may vary on the basis of the direction of these movements.

Although immigration to the Azores is recent, it is a national phenomenon and reflects this geographical and historical influence. This applies not only to the current situation, where we find a considerable number of Africans and Brazilians in the immigrant population in the Azores, but also to an earlier context. It was in the late 1970s that a small community from Cape Verde began to grow in the region.

As a result, a third type of theoretical framework should be mentioned, which deals with the idea of a *migratory system* and the importance of historical contexts in the dynamics of certain flows (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992). From this perspective, a migratory system involving certain countries and/or regions is formed and acquires its own dynamics by perpetuating different exchanges, which may be migratory, commercial, financial, cultural or technological. According to the defenders of this theory, the continuation of these relationships over a longer period shapes a certain historical context, which is eventually taken into account when potential migrants make their decisions. This often results in their choosing countries or regions in that same system. Ideally, without any interference from other contrary factors, the recurrence of this choice helps to consolidate a migratory system that fuels itself. One of the main advantages of this theory is its contribution to explaining the prolonged existence of some

migratory flows and the predominance of certain ethnic groups in some immigrant populations.

Now that we have explained these theoretical considerations, it is important to point out that this study followed an extensive research strategy using questionnaires.³

On the basis of SEF data (2007 Annual Report),⁴ the sample was defined on the basis of the size of the immigrant population with resident status by region of origin and island of settlement. Where limitations on the sample were concerned, a lack of data broken down by island and other legal statuses, for example, prevented us from counting foreign nationals with permits to remain and long- and short-term visas.

As for the study conducted in 2004, we excluded from the universe of foreign residents in the region servicemen and women and their families at the Lajes' Base and Canadian and American citizens who are descendents of emigrants from the Azores to these countries, as their reasons for living in the archipelago are different from those that are the prime focus of this work which centers on migratory movements for work purposes. The inclusion of foreign residents from European Union countries in the Azores, whose reasons may not always be economic or work-related, should not be considered to clash with the above assumption. Even if this is not the case, they still have a potential for analysis as a reference group for comparison

³ See Appendix I.

⁴ We would like to thank Inspector José Gomes of SEF (the Portuguese Immigration Authority) for providing access to unpublished data.

with the other elements that are the main focus of this analysis.

Another of the methodological options governing our sample selection was to conduct the survey on the group of islands where immigration was representative at the regional level. We therefore only considered the islands of S. Miguel, Terceira, Faial, and Pico, which, according to the above source, account for around 92% of the foreign resident population. Among the factors behind this decision, which had already been taken in the previous study, was a considerable increase in the cost of gathering information and the high geographical mobility of the population in question. In view of the small number of immigrants on some islands, we decided that the time lapse between data production used to define the sample and the survey phase might in some cases result in a discrepancy between the sample and the statistical reality on these islands. In addition, given its size, the difference between the extent of the foreign population living on these four islands and the region as a whole is diluted in the results of the analysis, which further confirmed our methodological choice.

On the basis of these considerations, the sample consisted of 637 people, offering a maximum error of no more than 3.5% at a reliability level of 95%. In order to overcome any bias regarding the characteristics of the population used as a basis for defining the sample, we established survey quotas in accordance with the rule of cross proportionality of the variables *island of residence* and *region of origin* of the immigrants. We respected

the proportionality of incidence of the phenomenon on each of the above-mentioned islands and cross-referenced them with the relative weight of five large geographical origin groups – Africa, Central and South America, European Union, rest of Europe, and Asia and others. We obtained the following population figures per island: S. Miguel (40.3%), Terceira (25.6%), Faial (20.6%) and Pico (13.5%) and by region of origin, Africa (29.7%), Central and South America (26.7%), European Union (18.5%), rest of Europe (18.8%), and Asia and others (6.3%).

CHAPTER 1

PROFILES AND PATHWAYS

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Eduardo Ferreira

In this first chapter, we characterize the immigrant population in the Azores by age, gender, education, occupation, origin and nationality. We also focus on immigrants' family context, thereby creating a backdrop for a more specific analysis of their work, occupation and social integration in later chapters. We also wish to ascertain the region's capacity for attracting and maintaining influxes of foreigners. In other words, we wish to understand whether they are circumstantial, more dependent on external factors or whether coming to the Azores represents a conscious choice of the archipelago and the decision to stay was based on social and occupational integration. These aspects will be addressed in Chapters 2 and 3.

Our analysis will basically focus on the archipelago as a whole, though we specify the situation on each island and highlight the similarities and differences between them.

1.1 – Geographical origin and nationality

The geographical origin and nationality of immigrants is a central aspect when characterizing them and studying immigration flows. Not only do their regions of origin have their own economic, social and cultural characteristics that influence the immigrant's reasons for leaving and their insertion into the host country but they also have different historical proximities to their destinations. These aspects are important in relationships and even in the possibility of a longer or shorter stay. They can also be the backdrop for a social and cultural diversity that identifies the region of immigration.

Most immigrants living in the Azores come from Europe (around 37%). They are almost equally divided between European Union nationals and those from the rest of Europe, with 18.5% and 18.8% respectively. They are followed by the Africans, at around 30%. However, their numbers are very similar to those of nationals of Central and South America, at 26.7%, while the percentage of Asians is considerably lower at just over 6%.

Of the European Union countries,⁵ Germany has the highest percentage (3.6%), followed by Sweden (3%) and Italy (2.3%). From the rest of Europe, those from Ukraine (11.6%) are the most numerous.

⁵ See Appendix II

The number of immigrants from Cape Verde (21%) is higher than that of any other African nationality. Among immigrants from Central and South America, Brazilians are the most represented (24.8%). The Chinese make up the largest percentage of immigrants from Asia (3%).

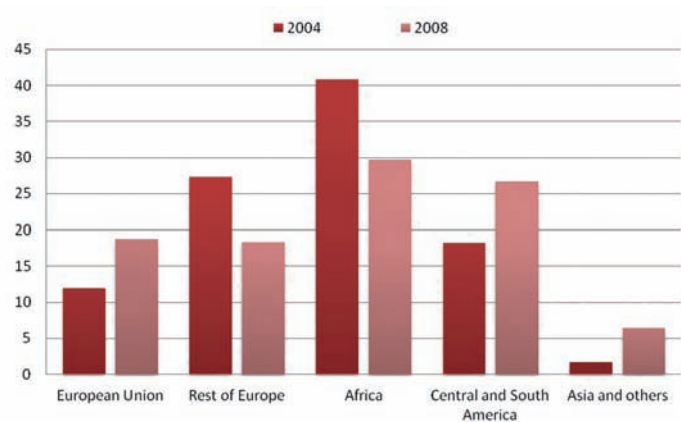
We thus have highly diversified origins from a significant number of countries, although the figures for the majority are quite low. European Union citizens offer the best example of this dispersal, with percentages between 0.3% and 3.6%. Brazil, Cape Verde and Ukraine are the only countries that really predominate in their regions and account for 58% of total immigrants.

The importance of some countries is particularly visible with regard to their respective regions. In the European Union, the main countries of origin of immigrants are Germany, Sweden, France and Italy. In the rest of Europe, the difference is even more striking for Ukraine, which is the country of origin of more than 60% of immigrants from the region. There is an even higher concentration of immigrants from Cape Verde, at around 70% of those from Africa. But it is among immigrants from Central and South America that the difference is most significant, with Brazil representing more than 90% of all immigrants from that particular sub-continent. China accounts for almost half of those from the region of Asia and Others.

If we compare the situations in 2008 and 2004, we find that there is a reduction in the relative importance of immigrants

from the rest of Europe and Africa and an increase in those from the other regions. For the European Union, by comparison with the rest of Europe, the increase may be partly due to the accession of new countries. The same cannot be said for Africa, however, as there is no immediate explanation for the considerable reduction of around 10 percentage points. Immigrants from Central and South America increased from 18.2% to 26.7%.

Graph 1.1.1 - Immigrants by geographical origin in 2004 and 2008 (%)



Taking into account the predominant countries of origin of immigrants in the Azores, the most significant aspects noted between 2004 and 2008 are the increase in the relative importance of Brazilians, who went from 18.2% to 24.8%; a stabilization in the number of Cape-Verdeans at around 21%; and a sharp drop in Ukrainians of around eight percentage points from 19% to 11.6%, the same as the trend in Portugal as a whole

(Baganha, 2006). There is also a reduction in the number of Angolans, who went from 12.5% in 2004 to only 4.5% in 2008 and an increase in Chinese immigrants from 1% to 3%. The reduction, albeit of little significance, is fairly general, though there is a trend towards greater representation of many other countries. This is clearly visible in all the regions, which shows growth in the diversity of origins of immigrants in the Azores between the two dates referenced.

While these changes cannot be dissociated from the availability of jobs or the characteristics of the regional employment market, other social, cultural and historical factors can be considered, if we recall the special relationship that the inhabitants of the former Portuguese colonies have with Portugal, whose language they share. This may explain the increase in Brazilian nationals, as Brazil has signed several agreements with Portugal on immigration and the legalization of immigrants. It may also account for the stabilization of numbers from Cape Verde, which is an archipelago like the Azores, as there are more institutional exchanges between the two island regions than between the Azores and other African countries.

Therefore, regardless of the duration of their stay in the Azores, we can clearly see the significance of immigration from Brazil, in some case fairly recent; stabilization in the migratory flow from Cape Verde; and a reduction in the number of immigrants from Eastern Europe, especially Ukraine.

1.2 – Age and gender

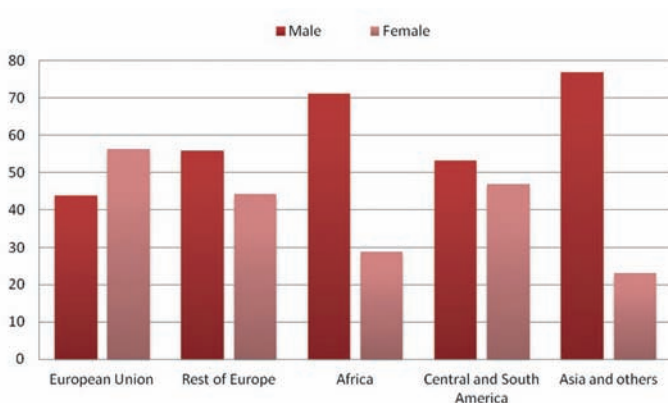
Age especially, but also gender are basic variables in any demographic characterization and constitute the starting point for a better perception of the advantages of immigration, not only with regard to the rejuvenation of the population (Rosa, 2003), but also to economic vitality and cultural diversity since – as we know - the younger, more active people are the ones most likely to leave their homelands. A quantitative balance between genders also fosters demographic rejuvenation, subsequently reflected in the birth rate, and provides a more appropriate family framework for marital relations between immigrants and between immigrants and nationals and other residents of the host country or region.

As often happens, males predominate in migratory flows to the Azores, and make up around 59% of all immigrants. The only exceptions are those from the European Union, where there are significantly more women, at around 56%. Among immigrants from Central and South America, who are mainly from Brazil, as we have seen, men and women are somewhat evenly divided, although there are slightly more men, at 53.1%. The difference between the genders stands out, however, among those from Africa and Asia, where male immigrants represent over 70%.

There were some noteworthy changes between 2004 and 2008. Where men were concerned, there was an increase in the proportion of those from Central and South America

and the European Union and a reduction in those from Africa and Eastern Europe. The situation is similar for women from Central and South America, i.e. there was a rise in the number of female immigrants, especially Brazil. There was also an increase in women from the rest of Europe, which was not the case with the men. There was also a difference in the trend for men and women from the European Union, as the number of men rose and the number of women decreased.

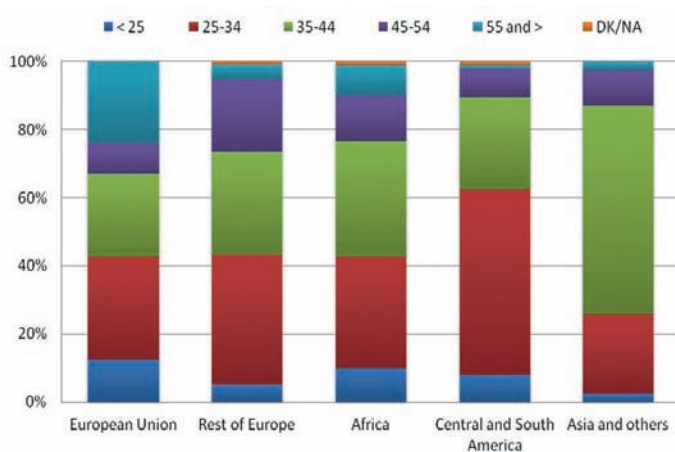
Graph 1.2.1 - Immigrants by geographical origin and gender (%)



If we consider age, we find a higher concentration of younger age groups, especially between 25 and 34, at 38.4% of the total. However, the next age group, 35 to 44, also has a high value, 31.4%. Around 80% of immigrants are aged under 45. There are very few aged under 25 or over 55, at around 8.5% each. We can therefore say that older and young people under 25 are poorly represented.

If we consider this variable by geographical origin, we find that, in spite of some similarity in the preponderance of people of working age, there are some clear differences. Immigrants from the European Union are older, as almost one quarter are aged 55 or over, which does not apply to any other region. It is also among them that we find the highest percentage of people aged under 25, which is a relatively unique situation, though not dissimilar to the group from Africa.

Graph 1.2.2 - Immigrants by geographical origin and age group (%)

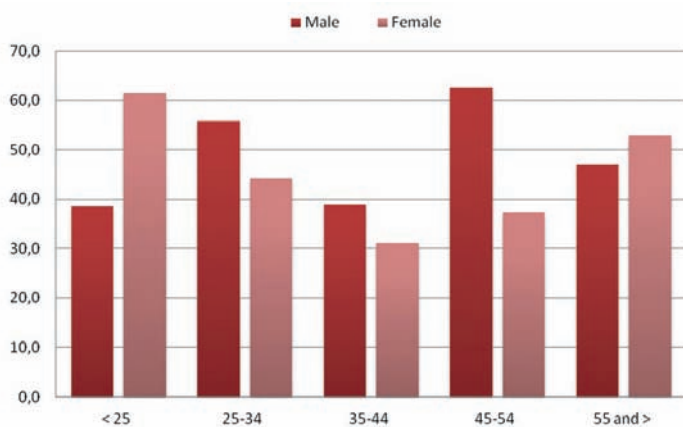


We should also note the relative youth of immigrants from Central and South America, mostly Brazilians, who are the youngest, as more than 60% are aged under 35 and a substantial 54.3% of those are in the 25 to 34 age group. There is thus a substantial difference between immigrants from the European Union, the majority of whom are German, Swedish, Italian and

French, and those from Central and South America, who are predominantly Brazilian.

The diversity of the Asians is also worthy of note, with a highly significant number of intermediate age, mainly 35 to 44. It is not a young group though there are very few of advanced age.

Graph 1.2.3 - Immigrants by age group and gender (%)

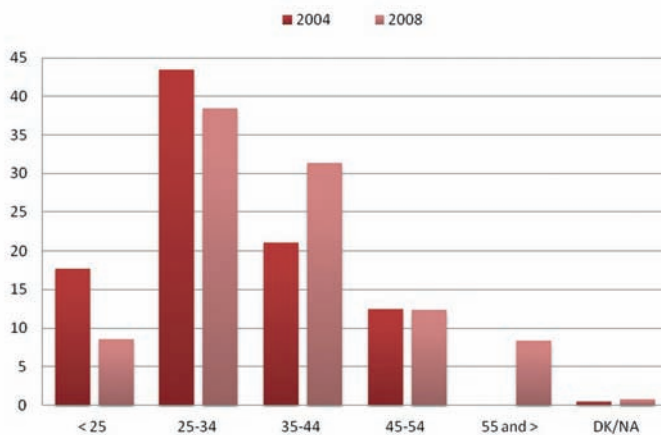


While the majority of immigrants are male, this applies to the most representative age groups, as there are more women in the younger and older age groups, though the difference is small in the latter case.

If we compare 2004 and 2008, we find aging in the immigrant population, with a decrease in younger immigrants and an increase in those belonging to the older age groups. This is particularly significant in the 35 to 44 age group. Although we can say that in 2008 immigrants were still a predominantly

young population, this does not mean that there was no aging in these four years as a probable result of longer stays by previous flows and the arrival of older people, which can be better explained when we analyze the length of immigrant stays. While this brings obvious advantages in terms of economic and social integration and cultural diversity, which benefit the immigrant population and the host region, the Azores may later need new flows of young people to maintain the above-mentioned demographic rejuvenation.

Graph 1.2.4 - Immigrants by age group in 2004 and 2008 (%)

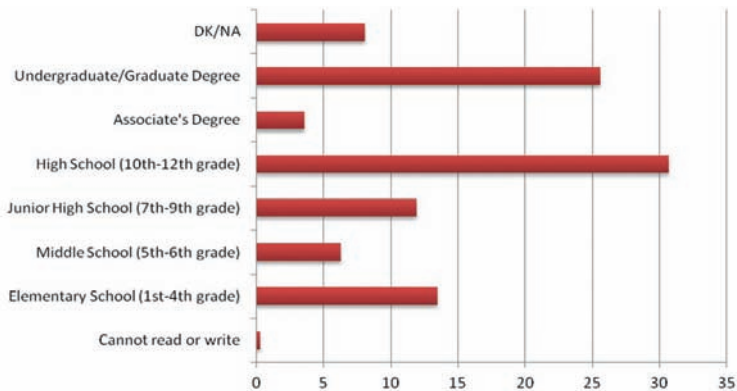


In spite of the aging in recent years, the immigrant population in the Azores is young, predominantly male, although the number of men and women is different from one region of origin to another, with more women among those from the European Union.

1.3 – Education and occupation

Economic reasons are one of the main causes of mobility, which – for the immigrant – means the opportunity to perform a job of some kind. Being able to secure employment is closely associated not only with the labor market structure in the host country but also with the suitability of the immigrant population for different occupations, which in turn depends on their levels of formal and informal education. There is therefore a strong correlation between these two variables, education and occupation. This does not mean that discrepancies do not exist in which, for instance, highly qualified, experienced immigrants end up performing unskilled jobs.

Graph 1.3.1 - Immigrants by level of education (%)

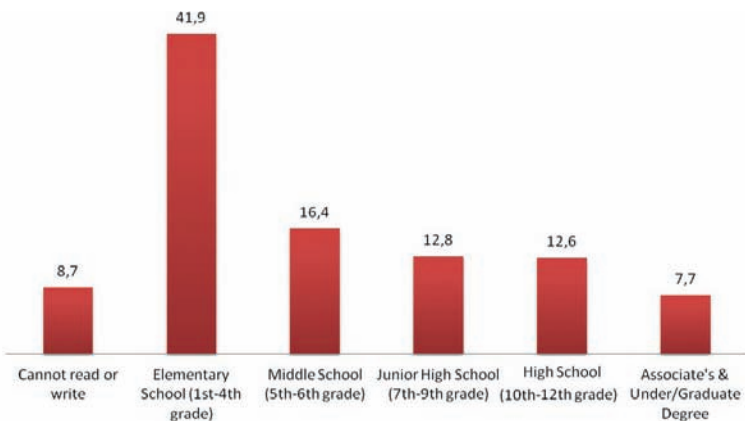


The level of education of immigrants residing in the Azores is relatively high. More than half of them have completed 12th grade and 25% of these a higher education. This situation is very

different from that of the whole population of the archipelago, where most people have much lower levels of formal education, as we can see in Graph 1.3.2.

While elementary schooling clearly predominates in the general population in the Azores, at 42% in 2001, there are far fewer immigrants who have completed only this level, 13.5%. On the other hand, higher educational attainment, i.e. upper secondary and higher education reaches 30% among immigrants, against 7.7% in the total population.

Graph 1.3.2 - Population of Azores by level of education in 2001 (%)

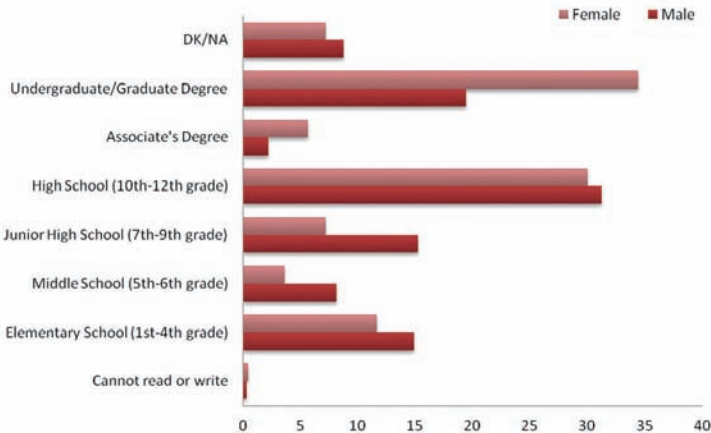


Source: INE, 2001 Census

The difference is too great for us not to wonder about the causes and effects of this diversity and particularly the insertion of the immigrant population in the employment market, either because they are filling gaps in local people's knowledge or because they are doing jobs that demand fewer skills than they possess. We will look at these issues in Chapter 2.

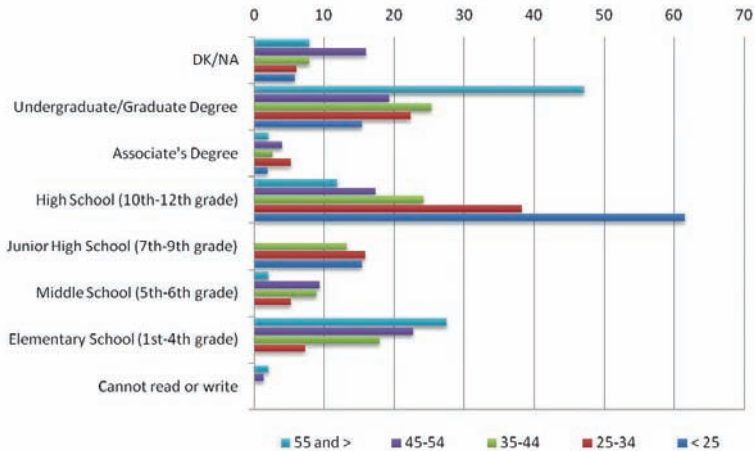
If we look at the educational profile of each gender, we find that the females have higher qualifications, as more of them have upper secondary and mainly higher education. Almost 35% of immigrant women said they had undergraduate degrees.

Graph 1.3.3 - Immigrants by gender and level of education (%)



About 60% of the under-25 age groups has completed upper secondary school, followed by the 9th grade and higher education with very similar values, accounting for around 15% of immigrants in this age group. While a higher percentage of the oldest immigrants have undergraduate degrees, at around 47%, there are also quite a large number who only have elementary schooling - 27.5% of those aged 55 and over. This wider division indicates the existence of two distinct groups of older immigrants, one with low levels of school attainment and another with college educations.

Graph 1.3.4 - Immigrants by age group and level of education (%)

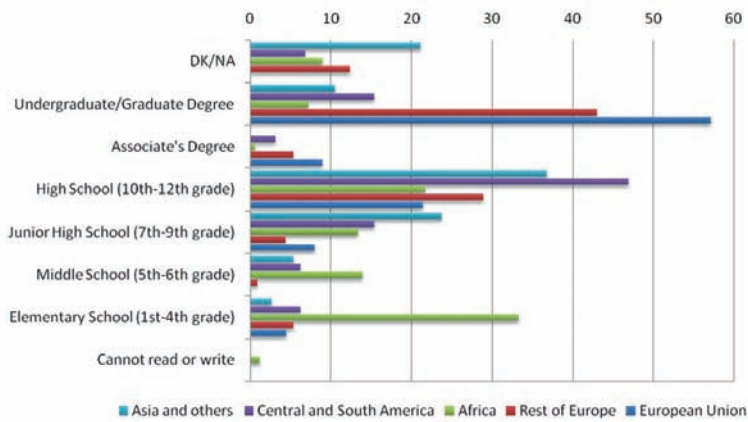


Graph 1.3.5 confirms the higher school attainment of immigrants from the European Union. More than half of them have an undergraduate degree, followed by those with a high school diploma, at 21.4%. Those who have low school attainment are much fewer in number at 12.5% and there are none who do not know how to read or write. The situation of immigrants from Eastern Europe is quite similar, although there are fewer with secondary education than higher education, at 28.9% and 43% respectively. We must point out that there was a considerable percentage of non-respondents in this last group, 12%, which may indicate lower levels of qualification, in contrast with those from the European Union, with a 100% response rate.

The profile of the immigrants from Africa is very different. The majority, around 33%, has only completed elementary school and more than 60% have the 9th grade or lower. Very

few, 7.2%, have a undergraduate degree. However, it is this group that is most similar to the Azorean population, whose levels of education are actually lower, as we saw above.

Graph 1.3.5 - Immigrants by geographical origin and level of education (%)

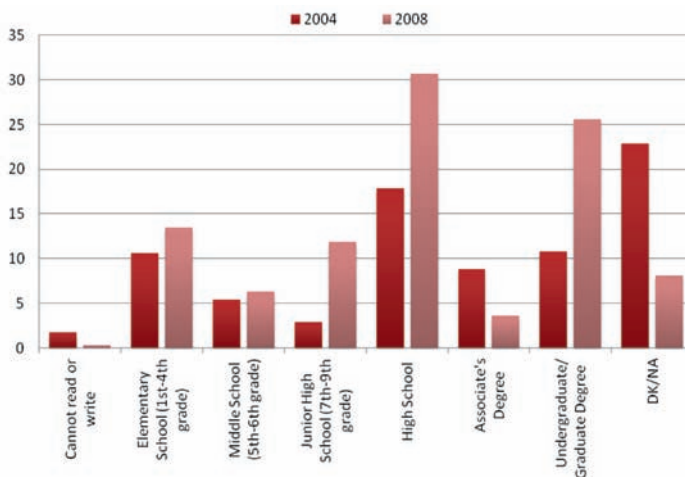


We can say that the immigrants from Central and South America, most of whom are Brazilian, have an intermediate level of education, as almost half have completed 12th grade followed by 15% with the 9th grade and 15% with undergraduate degrees. This is similar to the situation of those from Asia, although with fewer people with the 12th grade or a undergraduate degree. There was a high number of non-responses among the Asians, at 20%, which probably means that their levels of education were low.

Considering the immigrants from the three most representative regions, Europe, Africa and Central and South America, we find that the highest levels of education predominate among the Europeans and the lowest among the Africans. It is

intermediate levels that stand out among the Central and South Americans. Once again, we should note that, among those with the lowest academic achievement, such as the Africans, the levels of schooling are higher than the Azores population as a whole.

Graph 1.3.6 - Immigrants by level of education in 2004 and 2008 (%)



From 2004⁶ to 2008 there was a substantial increase in immigrants' levels of education, mainly in those with the 12th grade and undergraduate degrees, with figures for this last category more than doubling. Although those with lower school attainment also increased in number, it was much lower than among those with higher levels. There was also a decrease in non-responses from 22% to around 8%.

⁶ In the 2004 report, the education categories are different and so we tried to match them to those used in 2008. There may therefore be some slight differences in the figures shown here, though they do not affect our analysis.

With regard to immigrants' occupations, we found the situation to be polarized with services and sales on the one hand and unskilled and manual jobs on the other, i.e. intermediate and low-qualified jobs, at 17% and 22%, and also senior positions in companies and public administration and professionals, at 18%.

Graph 1.3.7: Immigrants by occupational group (%)

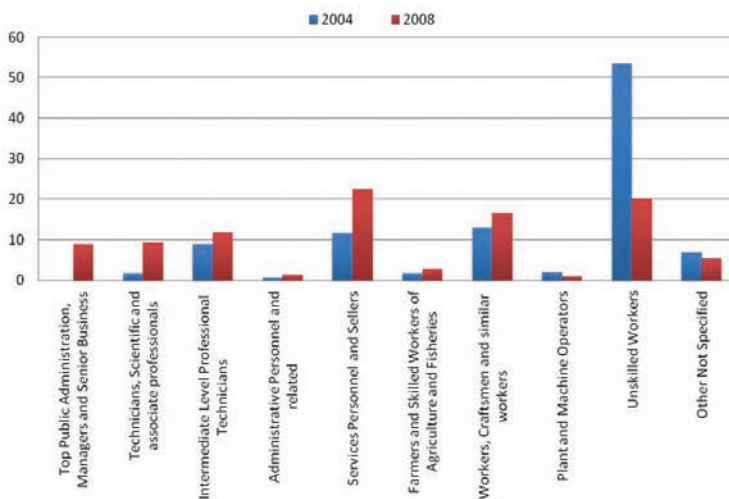


In line with the scenario for academic qualifications, in which we find groups with very different levels of education, we also found occupations of fairly different statuses, though they reflect three relatively distinct social categories. The first is intermediate and practically equal to the others, like manual workers, some specialized others not, and highly qualified occupations.

In evolutionary terms, the change is quite significant. It is safe to affirm that between 2004 and 2008 there was a socially relevant change in the occupational profile of immigrants in

the Azores. While in 2004 there were hardly any immigrants in highly qualified occupations, this was not the case in 2008. There was also a significant increase in intermediate occupations. The opposite was the case in the unskilled occupations, especially among laborers.

Graph 1.3.8 - Immigrants by occupational group in 2004 and 2008 (%)

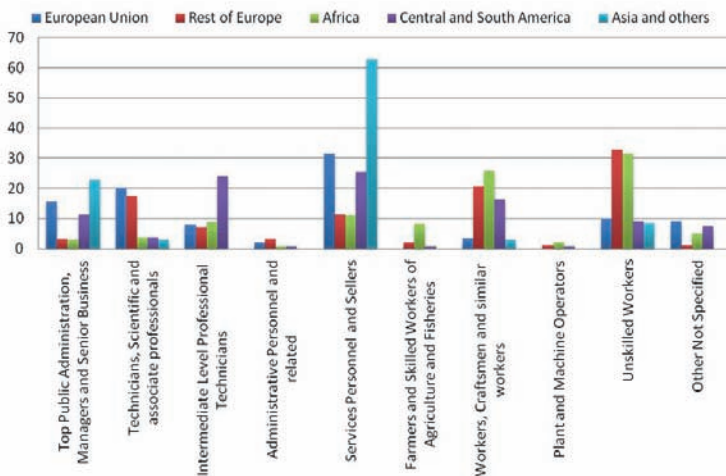


If we look at immigrants by occupation and geographical origin, what stands out most is the high number of Africans in unskilled jobs, i.e. laborers, which account for over 30%, followed by industrial workers, craftspeople and similar, at 25%.

The situation of the immigrants from the Rest of Europe is not very different from that of the Africans in the above categories, in which they show greater weight. Among immigrants from the Rest of Europe, as with those from Africa, more than

half are in the first two categories. The most significant differences are in the 17% who work in more prestigious jobs e.g. as scientists and professionals. This group, which consists mainly of Ukrainians, is more heterogeneous than the Africans in terms of occupation and seems to display a discrepancy between education and occupation.

Graph 1.3.9 - Immigrants by geographical origin and occupational group (%)

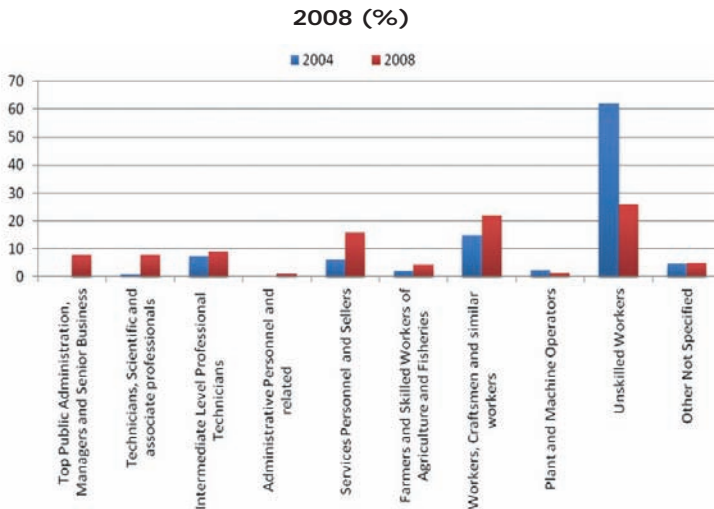


We find that the immigrants from Central and South America, mostly Brazilians, can be found primarily in the intermediate occupations, especially services and sales and the mid-level professions, which account for 50% of these immigrants. There are still a considerable number of industrial workers, at 17% and even those in high-ranking positions, at around 11%. The Asians show less dispersal and most of them are in services and sales, at 63%.

The situation of European Union nationals is very different and much more varied. They are the group with the highest percentages in more highly qualified occupations, although they have the greatest weight, over 30%, in services and sales.

The male and female profiles differ considerably. There are more women than men in occupations that society regards as more prestigious. We find most women in services and sales and men in unskilled jobs. Nonetheless, this does not mean that there are not more top-ranking men than women, which confirms gender inequality in the immigrant population too, as in the rest of the population of the Azores. Indeed, this applies to the country as a whole.

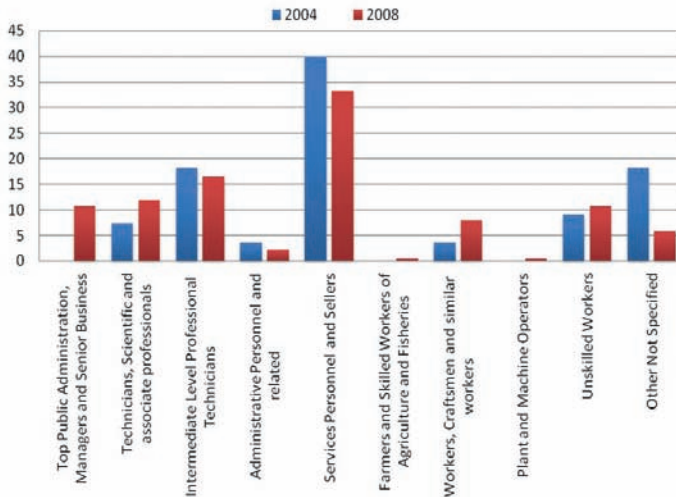
Graph 1.3.10 - Male immigrants by occupational group in 2004 and 2008 (%)



If we look at the each gender's role with regard to changes in occupation between 2004 and 2008, we find that in 2004 the

men were largely concentrated in the undifferentiated worker category while in 2008 there was greater diversification. They were represented in all the other categories, including the most qualified. The women, however, display a different pattern of change, even though in 2008 they display more diversity, with more women in occupations requiring both greater and lesser degrees of skill.

Graph 1.3.11 - Female immigrants by occupational group in 2004 and 2008 (%)

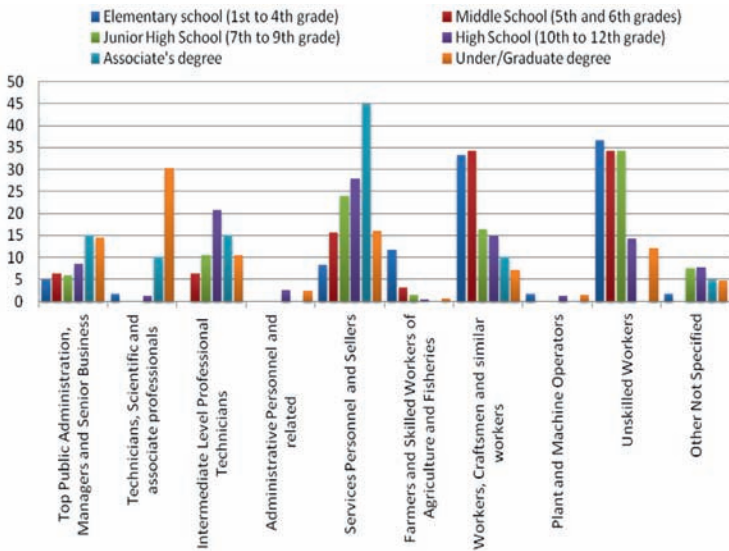


If we consider age and occupation together, we find that it is mainly immigrants over 55 who are most represented in the most prestigious occupations, although they can be found in almost all the job categories. More than 60% of the younger immigrants work in intermediate occupations, although they can also be found in the lowest category - other unspecified activities - which indicates unqualified, possibly more unstable jobs. The immigrants in the

other age groups are found mostly in the lowest or the intermediate categories, especially those aged 35 to 45, who account for the highest number of industrial workers and craftspeople.

One of the aspects we find most interesting in this characterization chapter, is the relationship between level of education and the occupational qualifications required.

Graph 1.3.12 - Immigrants by level of education and occupational group (%)



As we can see in Graph 1.3.12, which cross-references these two variables, in most cases there is a positive relationship between them. In other words, a lower or higher level of schooling corresponds to a less or more qualified occupation, respectively. Nonetheless, there are exceptions, as there are highly educated people working in poorly qualified jobs. More than 20% of immigrants with the 12th

grade and over 16% who claim to have a college education are in the category unqualified workers and unspecified jobs, for example. We find the same percentage of college graduates working in services and sales, an intermediate category.

In the case of people with comparatively high levels of education, especially females and older individuals, we find that - among the immigrant population in the Azores - qualifications do not always match up with occupations. This is the case particularly among those from Eastern Europe, where there are a substantial number of people in less qualified jobs, although the majority have completed secondary school or have a college education.

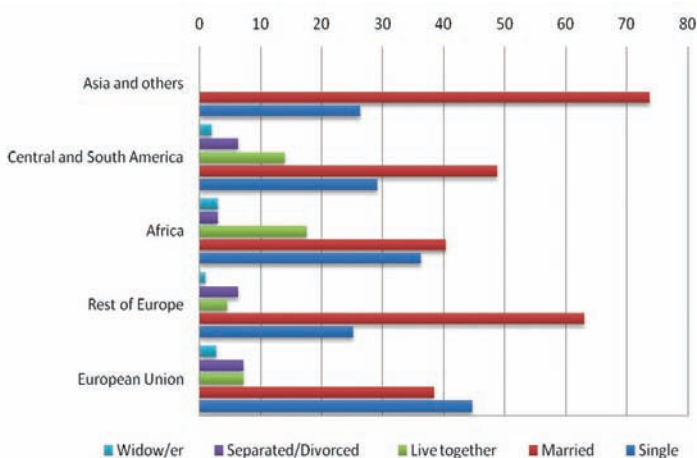
1.4 – Family situation

In this chapter characterizing and identifying profiles, we feel that it is useful to ascertain the family framework and forms of cohabitation, because of the repercussions they have on the immigrants' social integration and even their perception of the host country. As expressions of social relationships, they can also be a factor conducive to the immigrant's remaining in the region.

If we look at marital status, we find that around half of immigrants are married, followed by those who are single, with a similarly high percentage. The remaining categories, which include widows or widowers, are considerably smaller.

The European Union and Africa are the regions of origin with the greatest balance between single and married immigrants, while married persons predominate in the others regions studied.

Graph 1.4.1 - Immigrants by geographical origin and marital status (%)



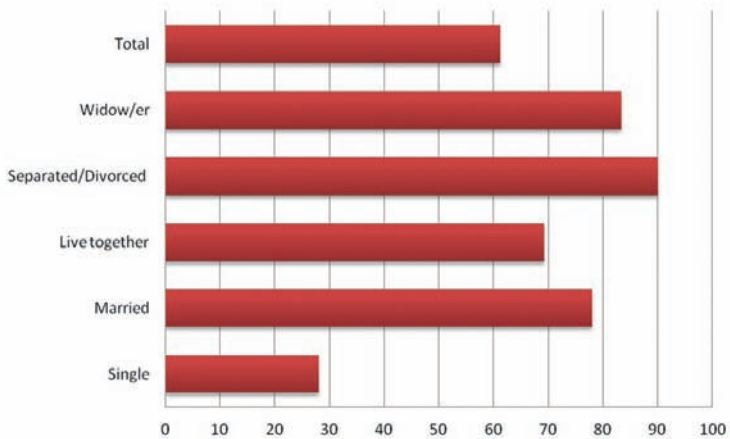
Marital status is quite balanced between genders, though there are slightly more women who are divorced, separated or widows. Marriage is closely linked to age, and so the percentage of single immigrants is naturally higher among the younger age groups and there are logically more widows and widowers among the older immigrants.

Around 60% say that they have children, and this applies to all marital status categories, even single people. As is the case with the Azorean population and most industrialized societies, the respondents have few children. Around 74% have a maximum of two children, which is significant, especially if we are conducting an in-depth analysis of immigrants’ contribution to demographic rejuvenation.

Around 57% of married immigrants live with their spouse, sometimes with children and other family members.

However, about 15% live alone and 18% with friends or co-workers.

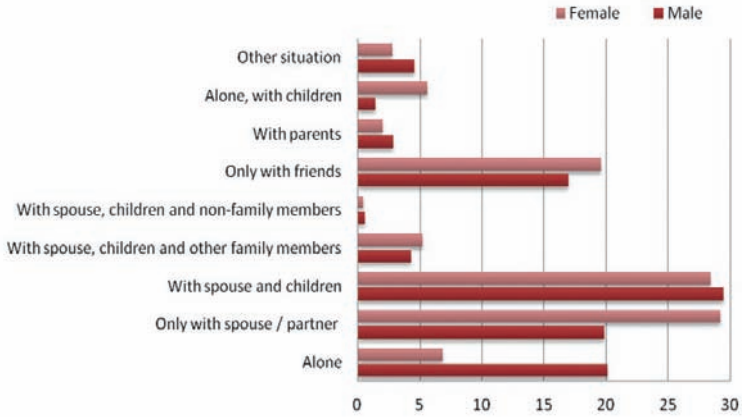
Graph 1.4.2 - Immigrants with children by marital status (%)



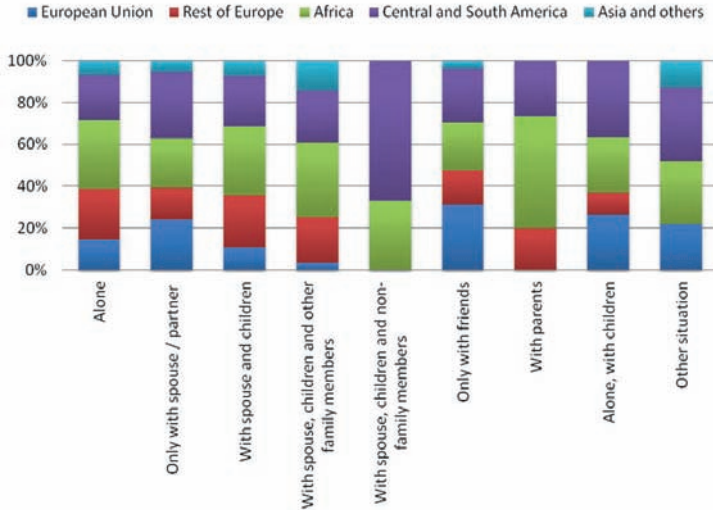
Regarding differences between gender, it is mainly the male immigrants who live alone - around 20% - while only 7% of women do so. Slightly more women live with friends and coworkers. There are also more women living only with their children and there are more immigrant women than men living as single parents.

There are immigrants from the different age groups in practically all types of living arrangements, except residing with parents, a category that naturally does not include older immigrants. We find the inclusion of all ages, especially those over 25, among those who live alone or with coworkers or friends significant, as it shows the absence of a family framework at ages when this is generally the rule.

Graph 1.4.3 - Immigrants by form of cohabitation and gender (%)



Graph 1.4.4 - Immigrants by form of cohabitation and geographical origin (%)



It is only African and Central and South American immigrants who live in broader settings that include not only

spouse and children but also other people, which may indicate greater financial and housing difficulties. Of the immigrants who live alone, there is also a higher number of those from the rest of Europe, as people from the European Union and Asia show lower percentages in this category. Living with coworkers and friends is significant not only among Africans and Brazilians but – to an even greater degree – among immigrants from the EU, which can possibly be attributed to their youth.

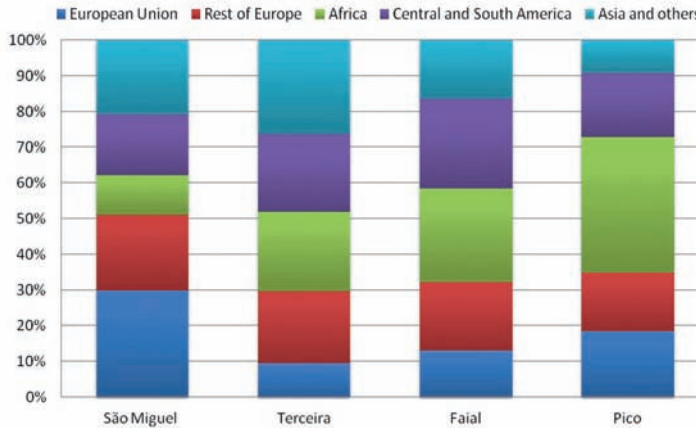
When we equated the form of cohabitation with marital status, although the percentages were low, what stood out was the group of married people and those in common law marriages living alone or with friends or coworkers. This can probably be explained by the fact that their spouses or partners have remained in their countries of origin. However, most immigrants in these marital status categories live with their family, which demonstrates that this is the dominant type of living arrangement among immigrants in the Azores.

1.5 – Characterization by island

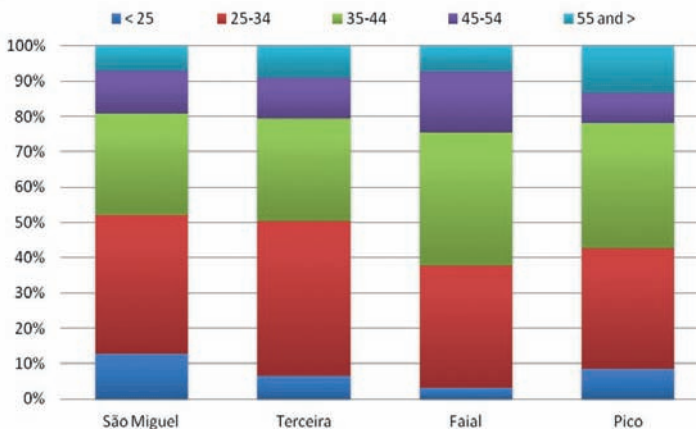
Given the different size and population of the islands considered, the number of immigrants differs considerably on each one. However, the difference is greatest on the smallest islands, Faial and Pico, with much higher relative percentages than that of the population of these islands in the archipelago as a whole. The opposite is the case in S. Miguel and Terceira, especially in the former, where they account for 40%, which is considerably lower

than the more than 50% of the Azorean population living there. One of the most significant differences is the relative weight of immigrants from the different regions on each island.

Graph 1.5.1 - Immigrants by geographical origin on the different islands (%)

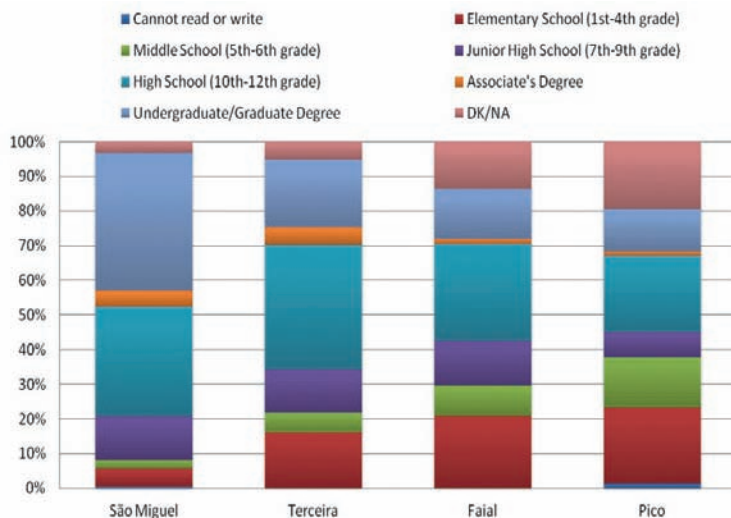


Graph 1.5.2 – Immigrants by age on the different islands (%)



S. Miguel has a more equal distribution of immigrants from different geographical origins. Terceira is different in that it has a lower percentage of immigrants from the European Union and more Africans, which is even more the case in Faial and especially Pico. Immigrants from Central and South America, mostly Brazilians, as we know, are found in largest numbers in Terceira and Faial.

Graph 1.5.3 - Immigrants by level of education on the different islands (%)

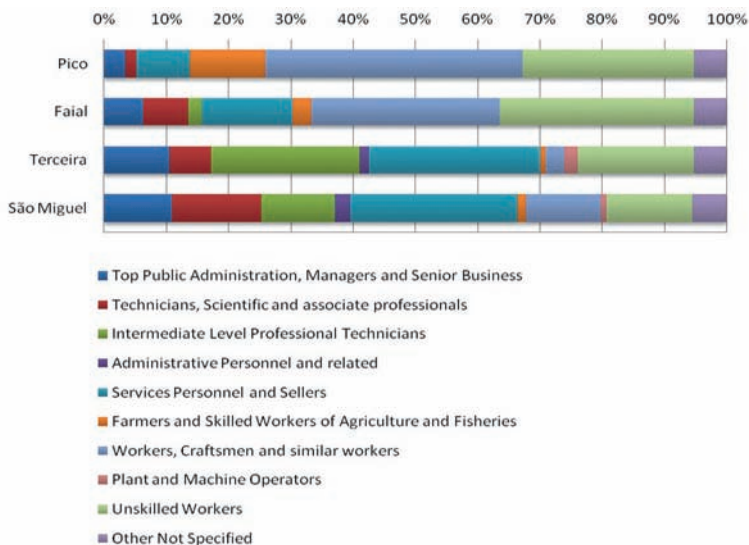


If we look at the division by gender, we find a significant difference between S. Miguel and the other islands, as it is here that there is a relative balance between the number of men and women. On the other islands, there are far more men, with differences of 30 to 40 percentage points, especially in Pico.

If we look at age, we find older immigrants in Faial and Pico, at the base and the top. Terceira is not much different from these islands, unlike S. Miguel where the relative weight of the youngest is higher and that of the oldest is lower.

Where level of education is concerned, as with the other variables (understandably, as they are sociologically linked), S. Miguel has the largest percentage of immigrants with highest school attainment, as around 40% have college degrees and more than 30% have completed high school, which comes to a total of 70%. On the other hand, in Pico and Faial around 44% of immigrants have gone no further than the 9th grade. There was also a high number of non-responses on these islands, which normally means lower levels of education.

Graph 1.5.4 Immigrants by occupational group on the different islands (%)



Education is necessarily reflected in occupations, as there is a correlation between these two variables. We find that it is in S. Miguel and to a certain extent in Terceira, the immigrants have the most highly qualified occupations and social status, although most of them are intermediate, such as sales and services. In Faial and Pico, the highest numbers are among industrial and unqualified workers at 61.5% and 69% respectively. There are even very few service personnel and salespeople, who are in larger numbers in S. Miguel and Terceira, as mentioned above.

We therefore have quite different immigrant profiles on each of the four islands. The most pronounced difference is between S. Miguel and Faial and Pico. In S. Miguel there is a greater balance between men and women and between the different regional origins. The immigrants are younger and better educated and have more qualified jobs. On the other hand, in Faial and Pico the immigrant population is older and there is a greater imbalance between the number of men and women. Immigrants with low levels of education and low-qualified jobs prevail.

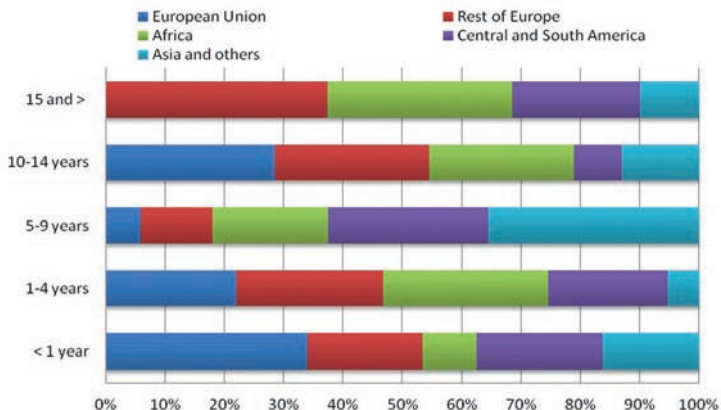
1.6 – Length of stay

As immigration is a recent phenomenon in the Azores that only gained momentum in the late 1990s, immigrants' length of stay in the region cannot be very great and does not go far beyond 15 to 20 years.

While there are few who have been in the archipelago for less than a year, which shows a slowdown in the entry of foreigners, the great majority, or 85%, have lived in the Azores for less than 10 years and 43% for less than five years. Only 15% have been there longer - 8% for 15 or more years and 7.5% between 10 and 14 years.

If we look at geographical origin, we find that the most recent immigrants, those who have lived in the Azores for less than one year, basically come from the European Union and Brazil, at 40% and 33%, respectively. There are far fewer from the rest of Europe (17.5%) and Africa (10%).

Graph 1.6.1 Length of stay in the Azores by geographical origin (%)



This finding follows the trend found in the previous period with regard to those who have lived in the Azores for more than one and less than five 5 years, which contrasts sharply with the situation at the beginning of the immigration process. If we look

at the origin of those who have been in the region for 10 or more years, we find that most are from Africa and very few are from the Americas.

The most immediate conclusion seems to be a change in the origin of flows, i.e., a reduction in Africans and an increase in Americans, essentially Brazilians.

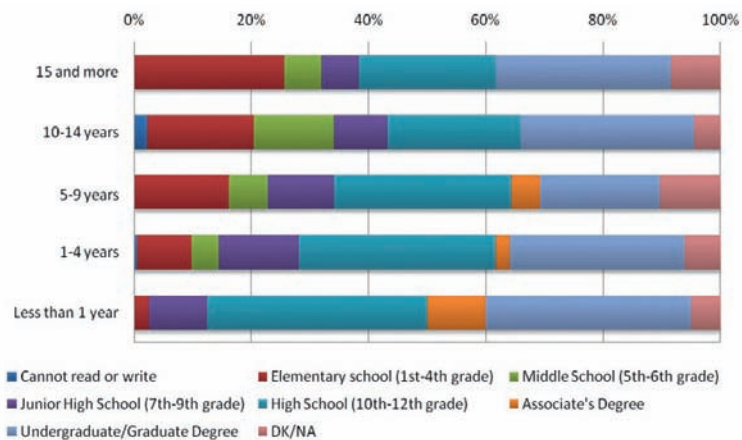
We can also confirm the recent rise in female immigrants in the last five years. There is a particularly significant difference in the gender of those who have been in the region for less than five years (date of survey). Therefore, there has been a clear turn-around in the trend which had been essentially male-dominated, even though there are still more men, as we have said. However, most of the women immigrants have been in the region between one and 10 years.

The majority of immigrants who have not been in the Azores for long are young, which can be explained in terms of mobility theory, especially international mobility, and by the effects of the generational pathway identifiable in the age variable. This also explains the predominance of older immigrants with longer stays. However, the latter's relative weight is significant, especially in the categories of one to four and five to nine years. In other words, some immigrants aged 55 or over have lived in the Azores for a relatively short time, which confirms the existence of recent flows of people over 50.

Where level of education is concerned, intermediate and higher levels prevail among those who arrived less than one year ago. However, it is also interesting to see the situation

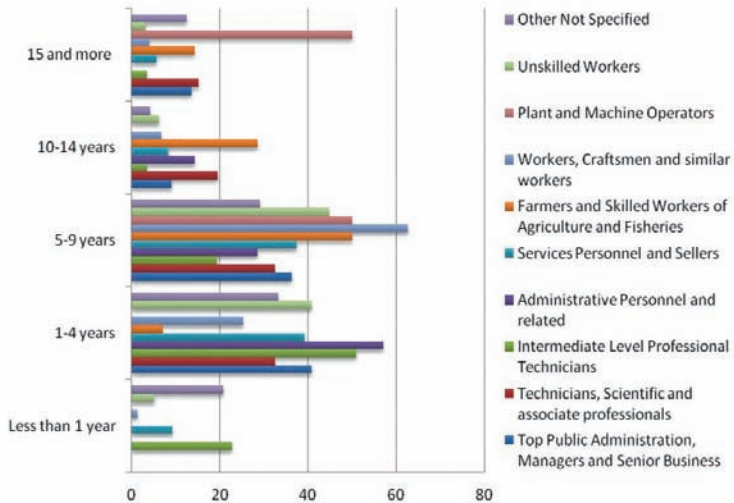
of those who have been in the archipelago longer, for more than 10 years. The importance of academic qualifications in this last case indicates that the immigrant population has the possibility of furthering their studies and earning high-level qualifications. The other part, however, continues to have low school attainment and no expectations of economic or social advancement.

Graph 1.6.2 - Length of stay in the Azores by level of education (%)



In addition to what we have just pointed out, the immigrants are polarized in two main groups with very different levels of education and occupation. There are both poorly and highly qualified individuals among the immigrants who have been on the islands longer and others who are much better qualified among those who have lived in the Azores for less time. This confirms the change in the types of flow coming to the archipelago in recent years.

Graph 1.6.3 - Length of stay in the Azores by occupational group (%)

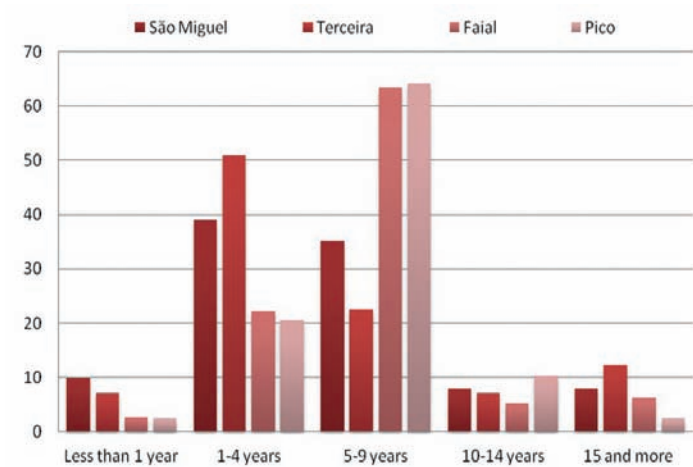


It is important to note, however, from the analysis of education and occupation, the possibility that some immigrants have improved their qualifications during their time in the Azores, which shows a high degree of integration and upward economic and social mobility, an essential factor in any decision to emigrate.

With regard to the situation on each island, we find very different conditions that, in general terms, can be characterized by marked differences between S. Miguel on one hand and Pico, on the other. In S. Miguel immigrants with a shorter length of stay predominate, while in Pico we find those with a longer time of residence, especially 15 years or more. The characteristics in Faial are closer to those in Pico, while Terceira is in an intermediate situation, with more people who have been there between one and nine years, especially five to nine. Terceira

does not seem to have attracted the most recent immigrants and also does not have a significant number of the longest-term immigrants.

Graph 1.6.4 - Length of stay in the Azores by island (%)



Although these data refer to arrival in the Azores and not pathways, which is analyzed in the following point, it seems clear that Pico and Faial were the choice of immigrants who arrived the longest time ago while S. Miguel's attraction has increased in recent years within the regional setting.

1.7 – Migratory pathways

It is important to ascertain the migratory route between country of origin and the Azores to find out to what extent the

Region itself was attractive as a destination. The fact that, in the design phase of this work, we were expecting to find a part of the population that came directly from their country of origin, justified discussing this point before coming to immigrants' professional pathways or their evaluation of their experience as immigrants.

Where this evaluation is concerned, a host region's greater or lesser ability to hold on to a considerable part of its immigrant population depends a lot on whether the expectations of people and their families are met, among other factors.

As we are not talking only about expectations built during the stay but also those at the time of the decision to emigrate, immigrants' experience in their first host country is often extremely important. This is particularly true when the first destination is the one chosen by the person or family. We feel that it is therefore very important to understand the migratory pathways of the population in question and in particular of the immigrants who came directly from their country of origin to the Azores.

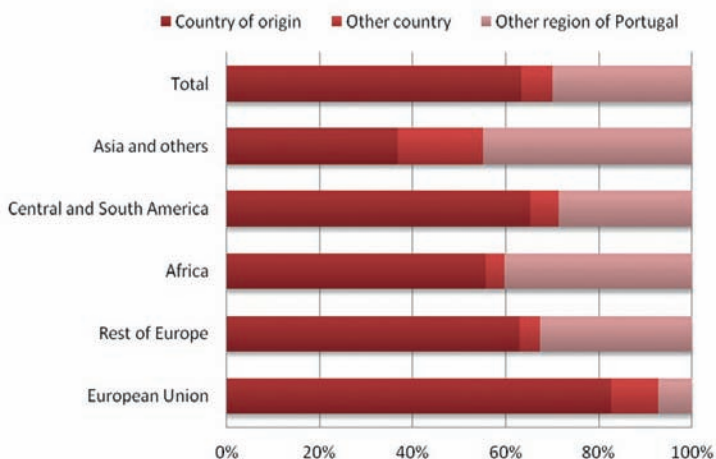
In addition to a brief description of these itineraries, on the basis of current island of residence and first destination, thereby achieving an idea of the rationale behind internal mobility, we also analyze the difference between pathways in terms of immigrant characteristics and main reasons for taking a certain route.

The reason for this distinction is the need to achieve a better understanding of the role played by the regional employment market and social networks (families and others) as factors of

attraction that bring immigrants from their country of origin to the Azores.

Starting with geographical pathways, we find that almost 2/3 of the respondents (63.3%) came directly from their country of origin to the Azores, while most of the rest, around 30%, lived first in mainland Portugal, in the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas. In other words, only 6.7% of the immigrants interviewed lived in a country other than their own before coming to the Region, mainly in the European Union. Of the groups considered, European Union nationals were those who most often came straight to the Azores, at 82.6%, while a scant 7.3% lived first in other regions of Portugal.

Graph 1.7.1 - Place of residence before coming to the Azores, by geographical origin (%)



It is no surprise that this is due, on one hand, to the type of mobility of most of these immigrants, for whom the Azores is more a place for a certain alternative lifestyle than a migratory destination in the classic sense, i.e. for monetary and work reasons.

However, as this group from the European Union has been growing younger and has included people with jobs, we cannot exclude the hypothesis that, in addition to direct access to information on the region facilitated by European institutions, the social networks set up in the meantime by those who have lived longer in the Azores may have encouraged people to come directly to the archipelago.

Regarding the other geographical origins, which are essentially linked to immigration for work reasons, we can find some significant differences. As far as we can see from their answers, it is mainly immigrants from Brazil and Eastern Europe who come directly to the Azores, compared to very few Asians. Most Asians and Africans settle in the Azores only after a period in mainland Portugal, which we feel is the result of the growing influence of support networks for the two communities in recent decades in mainland regions, where there are more immigrants.

But it is the existence and consolidation of these networks that seem to be responsible for a difference in the main trends in immigrants' pathways in the Azores in the early 2000s. According to the 2004 survey (Rocha *et al.*, 2004: 87-90), the geographical pathway of the main groups of origin were very

similar to those described above, with the exception of people from Central and South America (mostly Brazilians, then too). The percentage of immigrants in the Azores today who say that they came directly from their country, is over 10 percentage points higher than four years before, at 65.2% and 54.1%, respectively. The opposite was the case with immigrants who lived first in mainland Portugal, 28.6% now and 33.8% in 2004.

This is a sign that the archipelago's ability to attract immigrants in their country of origin has increased. If we combine this with the fact that there was a significant increase in the number of Brazilian immigrants in the region between the two years, it is reasonable to assume that one of the possible factors behind this change is a gradual consolidation of interpersonal and support networks for immigrants at the regional level.

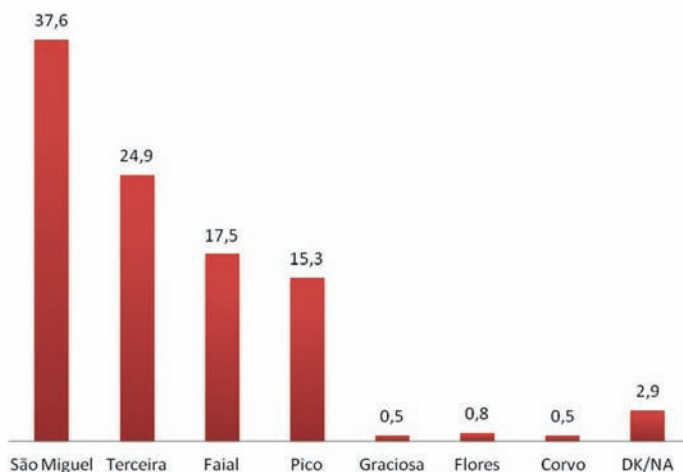
In any case, although coming directly to the Azores seems to be a growing option for the above-mentioned community in recent years, this type of pathway predominates in the other groups as well. The only exception, as mentioned above, is the Asians, 63% of whom lived elsewhere before coming to the Azores.

The large number immigrants of all ethnic origins who settled in the region immediately after leaving their country of origin inspires us to learn more about the role played by certain islands in recent years in attracting immigrants directly or through internal mobility.

If we look at the distribution of the respondents who came directly to the Azores by first island of residence, as shown in Graph 1.7.2, we once again clearly see the importance

of S. Miguel, Terceira, Faial and Pico as destinations in the Azores. Around 95% of the respondents arrived from their own countries and settled on one of these four islands. This shows not only the statistical importance of each one in terms of their stock of immigrants, but also their simultaneous role as geographical intake units par excellence.

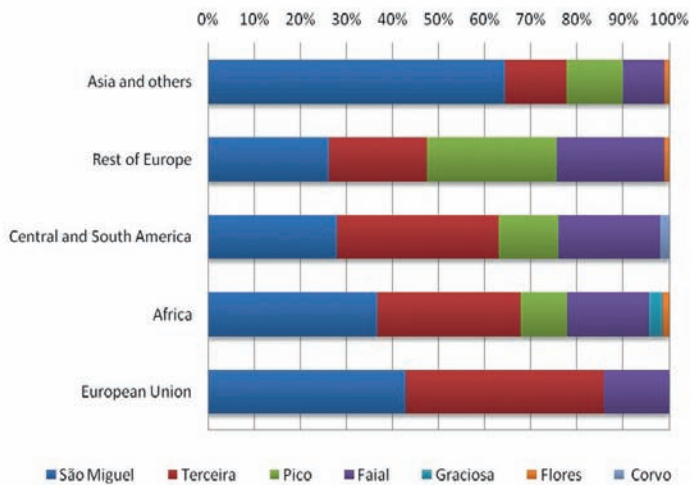
Graph 1.7.2 - Immigrant population coming to the Azores directly from their country of origin, by first island of residence (%)



However, if we take into account the immigrants' geographical origin, the division of these new arrivals by the different islands has not been homogeneous, as shown in Graph 1.7.3. Fifty one point six percent of the respondents from African countries, more than all the other groups, said that they had settled immediately in Faial and Pico. This can be explained largely by the importance of these communities in the construction

sector and the dynamics of these two islands after the July 1998 earthquake.

Graph 1.7.3 - Immigrant population coming to the Azores directly from their country of origin by geographical origin and first island of residence (%)



S. Miguel and Terceira are the first places of residence of most of the immigrants from the rest of Europe and Central and South America, 68% and 63%, respectively. This is most likely associated with the importance - not only of construction - but also other sectors in the employment of these two groups, especially services in general and hotels and restaurants in particular. For the Asian immigrants, on the rare occasions when they come directly from their country of origin to the Azores, S. Miguel and Terceira are also their two main destinations.

Nonetheless, the predominance of these four islands is more symbolic than real. Their power of attraction, particularly in the case of Faial and Pico, has been changing in recent years and so the graph shows a reality that is somewhat outdated. It is, above all, the fact that a high percentage of respondents (around 41%, as seen in the previous point) have been in the Region for between 5 and 10 years that explains the figures for Faial and Pico as islands of first residence, as in the late 1990s and early 2000s, they were two of the main entry points for immigrant workers.

Table 1.7.1 - Immigrant population coming to the Azores directly from their country of origin by first island of residence (4 main ones) by year of arrival (%)

First island of residence	2000 to 2004	2005 to 2008	Total
S. Miguel	48,7	51,3	100,0
Terceira	46,6	53,4	100,0
Pico	83,3	16,7	100,0
Faial	80,0	20,0	100,0

Table 1.7.1 corroborates this idea, as it shows these two islands' dwindling power of attraction in recent years. Only 20% and 17% of the respondents, respectively, who said Faial and Pico were their first islands of residence, came after 2004. This is not the case for S. Miguel and Terceira, where around 50% of the immigrants who settled there on arrival in the archipelago came in the last 4 years.

The preponderant role of S. Miguel and Terceira in the direct reception of immigrants to the Region, although the flow has slowed down, does not seem to be reflected in immigrants' internal mobility. Although it is not easy to define these flows accurately, Table 1.7.2 gives us an idea of the main trends in immigrant mobility between islands.⁷

Table 1.7.2 - Immigrant population by island of survey and first island of first residence (%)

First island of residence	Current island of residence							
	São Miguel		Terceira		Faial		Pico	
	%	N	%	n	%	N	%	N
São Miguel	95,8	139	1,1	1	2,8	2	-	0
Terceira	2,1	3	98,9	89	1,4	1	1,7	1
Graciosa	0,7	1	-	0	1,4	1	-	0
Pico	-	0	-	0	13,9	10	80,0	48
Faial	0,7	1	-	0	79,1	57	13,3	8
Flores	0,7	1	-	0	1,4	1	1,7	1
Corvo	-	0	-	0	-	0	3,3	2
TOTAL	100,0	145	100,0	90	100,0	72	100,0	60

We can therefore see that the settlement rate among those living in S. Miguel and Terceira is quite high, at 95.8% and 98.9%, respectively. It is important to note that cases of previous residence in other islands, especially Faial and Pico, are very few. In Faial, however, 21% of the respondents lived

⁷ Internal mobility is based on cross referencing the variables *island of survey* (assuming that it is that of current residence) and *first island of residence*. One of the main limitations was ignorance of other possible intermediate locations of residence.

first on another island. In this case, 14% (10 people) came from Pico and the other 7% (5 people) from other islands. Similarly, in Pico the percentage of people who lived in Faial before is comparable to the opposite cases, 13.3% (8 respondents).

Although the available information does not enable us to pinpoint the cases in which there were other, different places of residence in between, we feel that we can say that the apparently high propensity for settling in S. Miguel and Terceira together with the fact that a considerable percentage of immigrants living there arrived more than one and less than four years ago indicates that these two islands are more attractive than the others to immigrants coming directly from their country of origin. It seems that this is not the case with Faial and Pico, where based only on the data from the survey, there is a trend towards internal mobility between the two islands.

We can therefore reasonably assume that the return to their country of origin or other previous places of residence (other countries or even mainland Portugal) was more frequent among immigrants who settled in Faial and Pico than for those who settled first in S. Miguel or Terceira.

Another dimension of immigrants' itinerary, which complements those mentioned above, is the relationship between the pathway followed and the main reason for emigrating. Whether immigrants came directly or indirectly to the Azores can be explained, and was therefore influenced, by the three main reasons for choosing the region as a destination: job opportunities, joining family and better quality of life.

Table 1.7.3 shows that immigration to the Azores, involving previous residence in and not only passage through mainland Portugal, has to do with work factors. A total of 60.3% of the respondents in this category mentioned the opportunity of employment as the main reason for choosing to move to the archipelago.

Table 1.7.3 - Immigrant population by first destination and main reason for choosing the Azores (%)

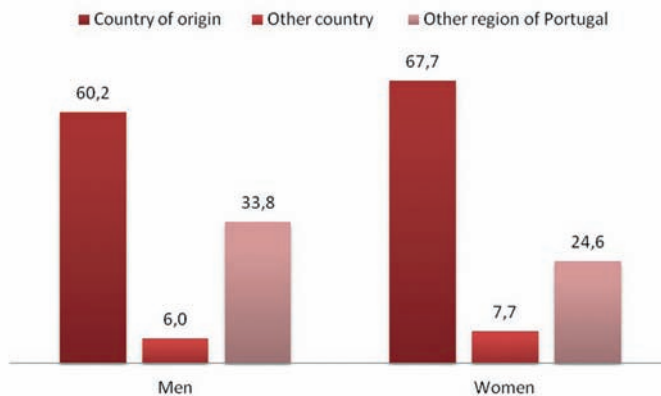
Main reason	First destination			Total
	Azores	Other regions of Portugal	Other countries	
Job Opportunity	42,2	60,3	35,9	47,3
Family reunification	22,0	12,8	20,5	19,2
Better quality of life	19,4	14,5	20,5	17,9
Opportunity to be with friends and compatriots	5,0	3,9	10,3	5,0
Others	11,4	8,4	12,8	10,6
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

For those who came directly to the archipelago from their country of origin, this percentage goes down to 42.2%, while 22% of those in this group said that their main reason for coming was family reunification and 19.4% said it was better quality of life. The latter cases are associated primarily with immigrants from the European Union.

In other words, in addition to this last situation, we can say that direct migration to the Azores depended considerably on family reasons, though economic and work reasons were the

most important. Graph 1.7.4 shows that this applies particularly to women, who are more numerous than men in this type of flow among immigrants who came directly to the Azores, and who are fewer than men among immigrants who lived first in mainland Portugal—67.7% against 60.2% and 24.6% against 33.8% respectively.

Graph 1.7.4 - Immigrant population by previous place of residence and gender (%)



Going back to Table 1.7.3, in the case of those who lived in one or more foreign countries before settling in the Region, it is interesting to note that job opportunities are less important (35.9%) than in the other two groups, although family reunification (20.5%) and better quality of life (10.3%) seem important to those who came directly. The similarities between these two groups only reinforce the idea that migratory routes to the Azores via the mainland are mainly for work reasons.

Coming indirectly to the Azores does not always mean more explicit forms of recruitment and the direct involvement of some of the main players who are often behind labor flows such as employers at the place of origin or economic players at the point of destination. Although these are migrations for work reasons the decision mechanisms are based on individual and family initiative. A total of 88.3% of the respondents who live in mainland Portugal said that they came to the Azores as a result of an individual or family decision. On the other hand, significantly more emigrated directly to the Region for work reasons (14.4% as opposed to 7.8% of the previous group). This indicates that, in addition to family reunification and better quality of life, mechanisms for the circulation and recruitment of workers also influence direct immigration to the Azores.

Table 1.7.4 - Immigrant population by first destination and main impulse in the migratory process (%)

	First destination			Total
	Azores	Other regions of Portugal	Other countries	
Own or family initiative	82,2	88,3	95,0	84,6
Employer at point of origin	4,2	1,1	5,0	3,5
Recruitment by a Portuguese employer	10,2	6,7	-	8,4
Other	3,4	3,9	-	3,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

A final aspect to consider in this point is the apparent association between the main types of itinerary and the immigrants' financial conditions in their place of origin. The percentage of those who said that they had set out for their first destination using their own money is higher among those who came directly to the Azores – 67.7% against 56.2% (other regions in Portugal) and 59% (other countries). At the same time, 40% of those who lived in another Portuguese region before coming here began their journey with borrowed money (mainly from family), which is 16 percentage points higher than the previous group.

Table 1.7.5 - Immigrant population by first destination and main source of finance for initial journey (%)

Form of financing the journey	First destination			Total
	Azores	Other regions of Portugal	Other countries	
Own money	67,7	56,2	59,0	63,7
Money borrowed from family	18,7	34,3	17,9	23,3
Money borrowed from others	3,7	4,5	2,6	3,9
Bank loan	1,3	1,1	-	1,2
Other source of financing	8,5	3,9	20,5	7,9
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In practice, it is difficult to dissociate this aspect from the idea of a more solid, subjectively more predictable and controlled migration plan in those who came directly to the Azores (the

indications of more support can also be interpreted as a sign of this) and of a more sinuous, perhaps less certain plan, among those first stayed longer in mainland Portugal.

The greater financial weakness on setting out of many of the immigrants in this second group is very different from those who, even without having lived in another Portuguese region, did not come directly to the Azores from their country of origin, i.e. those who lived in another country. In addition to the fact that the percentage of those in the latter group who borrowed money for their trip is half that of the former (around 20%), another 20% said that they had used other forms of finance. With the exception of some students who used grants for the purpose, we are looking at situations in which it was their employers who paid for the journey.

To end this first chapter, we would like to highlight the following:

Immigrants in the Azores:

- 1) Come mainly from the Union European, Brazil, Cape Verde and Ukraine;
- 2) Are mostly young, though with accentuated age differences by region of origin;
- 3) Are mainly men, although there is no great disparity between gender;
- 4) Are better educated than the local population although there is a considerable heterogeneity among the nationalities;
- 5) Particularly those from Eastern Europe show some disparity between occupation and academic qualifications;

- 6) Those who come directly to the Azores are better educated and occupy more qualified jobs;
- 7) A large number have been in the Region for some time.

The Azores:

- 1) Seem to be an attractive destination for immigrants and a large percentage of immigrants come directly from their countries of origin;
- 2) There is a trend towards settlement and renewal of immigrant flows on islands with a more developed economy.

Between 2004 and 2008:

- 1) The numbers of Brazilians grew, while the number of Ukrainians fell and that of Cape Verdeans stabilized;
- 2) There was a degree of demographic aging and a greater balance between gender;
- 3) There was a considerable increase in levels of education and qualifications of immigrants' occupations.

CHAPTER 2

THE LABOR MARKET AND OCCUPATIONAL PATHWAYS

Eduardo Ferreira

This chapter analyzes immigrants' relationship with the labor market in the Azores. We first describe the market's development in recent years, looking not only at the socio-professional structure of the population in question, thereby complementing the brief occupational profile drawn in Chapter 1, but also at the state of the relationship today. We focus on immigrants' situation with regard to activity and employment, their distribution in the different sectors and how they are conditioned by their occupation, type of contract, work regimen, additional activities and even over-time.

We also assess their employment history, including their situation in their country of origin in the last year they were there, the first six months after arriving in the Azores, and their current status. In short, we use an articulated analysis of the immigrants' work position, conditions and pathways to explain some of the issues addressed in the next chapter, such as their assessment of the present and expectations for the future.

2.1 – Recent trends in the Azorean labor market and immigration

Since they began, the new migratory flows to the Azores have mainly been for work reasons. The 2004 study showed this trait in the relationship between the structural and circumstantial conditions behind migration and the socio-professional composition of the immigrant population (Rocha *et al.*, 2004: 21-27; *idem*: 91 et seq). Not only Portugal's economic situation at the time but also some local factors made the Azores (as a part of Portugal but also developing in its own right) the destination of a substantial contingent of foreigners coming to find work and better pay. This was proven by an analysis that showed an immigrant population that, when compared to the local population, had a high degree of insertion in the labor market demonstrating a more or less discernible pattern.

Four years after the study, occupations and the labor market can still be expected to be the focal points of the social characterization of immigrants in the Azores. Otherwise it would be extremely difficult to understand - not only any changes in the phenomenon - but also the current stocks of immigrants in the Region, especially at a time when they cannot be explained only by the main factors detected in the late 1990s, the most obvious example being the reconstruction on some islands, especially Faial, after the 1998 earthquake.

A brief look at the most important socio-economic and sectoral indicators for more recent years shows some of the dynamics in the Azorean labor market.

Table 2.1.1 – Evolution of some labor market indicators in the Azores (2000-2007)⁸

	Activity rate (%)	Employment rate (%)	Unemployment rate (%)
2000	41,8	40,6	2,9
2001	42,4	41,5	2,3
2002	43,5	42,4	2,6
2003	43,8	42,6	2,9
2004	45,0	43,5	3,4
2005	45,4	43,6	4,1
2006	46,0	44,3	3,8
2007	46,1	44,1	4,3

Source: SREA, *Indicadores Estatísticos* (several).

After warning about comparisons, mainly due to the different calculation methods used for some figures, we can say that regional labor market's absorption capacity tends to be greater now than in the late 1990s and early 2000s. The average activity rate has been rising progressively since then. The average for the last three years was 3.8 percentage points higher than the 42% for 2001 and the estimate for the last quarter of 2007 pointed to around 46.3%. This positive variation

⁸ The figures are the average of quarterly figures in several years' employment surveys (Inquérito ao Emprego). As they are the result of sampling, which involves a certain margin of error, they must be treated with due reservations.

in level of activity was accompanied by growing occupation of jobs, around 44% between 2005 and 2007.

In this scenario, the number of women with jobs in the Azores has been increasing, a trend that had already been noted in the last inter-census period and has been highlighted repeatedly in analyses of employment in the Region.⁹ In the three years from 2004 to 2007, their relative weight in the employed population rose around 2 percentage points, unlike the male population.¹⁰

Reinforcing the employment market's absorption trend, with some fluctuations in annual averages, the unemployment rate has been lower than that which served as a reference in the first study of immigration in the Azores, which was 6.7% in 2001. As of 2004, quarterly estimates suggest annual averages of between 3.8% and 4.3%, although the rate in the first half of 2008 was around 5.5%.¹¹

However, as there is no information on the unemployment by age group, we must point out that, between 2004 and 2007, there was a decrease from 15.3% to 12.4% in employment in the youngest age group (15-24), which is usually the most qualified. Even though this aspect may be influenced by increasingly longer times devoted to education at these ages, it seems to tally with

⁹ Among others, see Tomás, 2003.

¹⁰ From 2005 to 2007, the increase in the percentage of women in the total employed population aged over 15 was about the same, 2 percentage points, from 39.2% in 2005, to 41.3%, in 2007 (INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego*, several).

¹¹ More precisely, the unemployment rate for the first and second quarters of 2008 was 5.6% and 5.4%, respectively (INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego*, 1st and 2nd quarters).

the age structure of unemployment in the Region in recent years. One of its main characteristics is the fact that unemployment is at its highest among younger people looking for their first job.

Table 2.1.2 – Estimated employed population in the Azores by gender and age group (2004-2007) (%)¹²

	Men	Women	15-24	25-34	35-44	45 +
2004	63,6	36,4	15,3	28,9	27,4	28,4
2005	63,3	36,7	15,2	29,2	27,0	28,6
2006	62,1	37,9	14,4	29,6	26,9	29,1
2007	61,4	38,6	12,4	29,8	27,0	30,8

Source: INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego* (several).

The latest distribution of the Azorean labor force in the main occupational groups is also slightly different from 2001¹³ though we still find a structure that is generally marked by a high concentration of people in jobs requiring low levels of education and qualifications.

In the categories that have grown, with the exception of company directors, there are some corresponding to activities that are usually less valued in economic and social terms such as machine operators and assembly workers or industrial workers, craftsmen and similar. Curiously, this trend does not extend to unqualified workers, which in 2004 together with industrial

¹² Mean annual values based on trimestral calculation.

¹³ Table 2.1.3 shows data from sources using different methods of gathering information.

workers, craftsmen and similar and services and sales personnel, accounted for almost 80% of employed immigrants in the Azores.¹⁴ In these three groups, only the fall in unqualified occupations corresponds to an about face against the 1990s. According to the latest data, jobs in services and sales and industrial work confirm this older capacity to attract the labor force.

**Table 2.1.3 - Azorean labor force by occupational group
in 2001 and 2006**

Occupational groups (C.N.P. /1994)	2001	2006
	%	%
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	4,1	5,2
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	7,1	5,1
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	8,8	8,4
Administrative Personnel and related	10,2	9,7
Services Personnel and Sellers	13,7	16,3
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	10,0	11,3
Workers, Craftsmen and related others	19,4	21,4
Plant and Machine Operators	5,6	6,1
Unskilled Workers	20,0	16,5
Army	1,1	0,5
TOTAL	100,0	100,0

Source: INE, 2001 Census and INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego* 2006.

There seems to be a connection between these changes and some business activities that have been directly responsible for providing jobs for immigrants in the Azores, such as construction

¹⁴ The 2004 study showed immigrants mainly in these three groups: "unqualified workers" (53.5%); "industrial workers, craftsmen and similar" (13%); "services and sales personnel" (11.6%).

and hotels and restaurants. We believe that the 17.5% drop in unqualified workers and the 19% increase in services and sales personnel can be regarded as a partial reflection of the slowdown of the construction sector and of the ongoing growth of the hotels and restaurants sector (Table 2.1.4).

While there have been some fluctuations in activity and employment in the first in recent years, with figures a little lower than earlier in the decade (particularly those for 2004), this is not the case in the second.¹⁵ Even though the data for 2006 in Table 2.1.4 are preliminary, the value of goods and services produced at the end of the year in hotel and restaurant activities is the result of an ongoing positive economic performance since at least 1998, which marked the beginning of more intense immigration to the Azores. This growth was accompanied by a tendency for the sector to take in larger volumes of labor, although the lack of more recent information prevents us from seeing the direction of the drop from 2005 to 2006.

In view of the above, the question is whether the influx and presence of immigrants in the Azores in the last five years can be dissociated from the more recent panorama in the regional labor market. In spite of its ability to affect the latest figures in terms of stocks and flows of immigrants, understandably the region's economy is not the only or even the most important

¹⁵ Since a decline between 2002 and 2003, cement sales in the Azores have remained relatively stable, which demonstrates different behavior of the construction sector from that in the late 1990s. See SREA, *Indicadores Estatísticos* (several).

factor to be taken into account, for its position at national level, if nothing else. The mobility of the labor force in Portugal regarded in light of recent trends in the national employment market is something that cannot be classified as secondary.

Table 2.1.4 – Evolution of GVA and employment in the Construction and Hotels and Restaurants sectors (1998-2006)

Year	Construction		Hotels and restaurants	
	Gross value added (GVA) (a)	Employment (b)	Gross value added (GVA) (a)	Employment (b)
1998	129	-	59	-
1999	130	-	63	-
2000	132	15.0	69	3.4
2001	166	18.1	75	4.6
2002	172	18.1	76	4.9
2003	161	17.7	82	5.0
2004	173	16.7	95	5.5
2005	162	16.1	105	6.4
2006 (c)	164	15.4	113	5.1

(a) At base prices; unit EUR millions; source: SREA, *Principais Indicadores Estatísticos* (several).

(<http://estatistica.azores.gov.pt/pt/pl/%7B0f465182-d97a-4546-8c74-5e1fa25aeb6e%7D.htm>)

(b) Unit – thousands; source: SREA, *Anuários Estatísticos* (2000-2006) (http://estatistica.azores.gov.pt/conteudo/Relatorios/lista_relatorios.aspx?idc=392&idsc=404).

(c) Preliminary data

The truth is that in recent years, the Portuguese employment market has become more precarious, as shown before, which makes it easier for immigrant labor to penetrate.

Of the main trends described in the White Paper on Labor Relations (MTSS, 2007), two other factors can be added to

growing evidence of atypical forms of employment and continued low salaries. On one hand, although the unemployment rate is lower than in other EU Member States, it has shown an upward trend since 2003. From 2003 to 2007, it grew in almost all the age groups and levels of education, but the duration of unemployment has been longer among people with lower levels of schooling (9th grade or less) than among younger workers, who are normally more qualified. This means that, because of this increase in the length of unemployment periods in these groups, some employment segments that easily attract immigrant labor, which is both cheap and flexible have jobs to offer.

On the other hand, in the Portuguese employment market there has been an increase in jobs with fixed-term contracts, which have been the only source of growth in employment in Portugal in the last five years. This resulted in a rise in the job insecurity that was making itself felt in Portugal at the turn of the century. This, in conjunction with the fact that immigrant labor is cheap and adapts easily to different situations, means that available employment is shared between the local population and immigrants.

In addition, although the immigrant population in Portugal, continues to replace the local labor force in poorly qualified sectors such as construction and domestic services (OECD, 2007), there is no indication that this is the predominant principle in immigrants' current position in the Portuguese employment market. The same Ministry of Labor and Social Security document (MTSS, 2007), which we have been using, points to a

reduction in self-employment since 2003. This may increase the likelihood of immigrant labor competing directly with the local workforce and disputing lower, more flexible salaries and job insecurity.

In short, in the Azores the absorption capacity of the regional employment market has grown, especially with regard to the female labor force and older age groups. As in 2004, the expectant condition of more qualified young people that results from the difficulty they experience in finding albeit insecure jobs suited to their qualifications does not seem to clash with the possibilities opening up for immigrants of jobs that do not require high qualifications.

However, while this situation is not very different from the context in which immigration to the Azores intensified at the beginning of the century, the same cannot be said for the sectors that have traditionally taken in most of these immigrants. As mentioned above, this panorama has changed slightly. These variations raise some issues, starting with possible changes that may have occurred in the ethnic and cultural structure of the employed immigrant population. In view of the correspondence between certain jobs and immigrants' geographical and ethnic origin detected four years ago, there seem to be some effects resulting from the changes in the socio-professional composition of the population in question. In addition to this possibility, we also have to consider possible changes related not only to the immigrants' profile, as we saw in the previous chapter, but also to their current working conditions.

2.2 – Labor market and immigrants’ socioprofessional structure

As mentioned at the beginning of the previous point, the main reason for foreigners coming to the Azores in the early 2000s was work and salaries. This survey confirms this characteristic and shows that substantially more immigrants are engaged in the labor market than the Azorean population in general. Based on the information gathered, immigrants’ activity rate (84.6%) is almost 40 percentage points higher than the estimated rate in 2007 for the entire Azorean labor force (46.1%). If we compare it by gender, we find a greater difference especially among women, for whom it is 44 points, (as opposed to 32 points for men).¹⁶

The essentially economic and work nature of the immigration can also be seen in the large proportion of immigrants whose work status is *employed* (81%) although this percentage is slightly lower than in 2004 (85%). If considered as an average, this proportion mitigates the contrast that separates men from women, as actual occupation of jobs in the case of the men is higher than for women (85.4% against 74.8%). Nonetheless, this inequality is much smaller than four years ago, when the difference between gender in the *employed labor force* category was around 25 percentage points.¹⁷ This is

¹⁶ The differentials in question were obtained using as a reference the average activity rates calculated for the four quarters of 2007: 56.3% for men and 36% for women (INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego*, 4th quarter).

¹⁷ In the previous study, the percentage of employed men was 90.2% as opposed to 65.5% for women.

more in line with the socio-demographic and work model that usually characterizes the first waves of this type of immigration, i.e. an immigrant population in which it is mostly men who hold jobs.

It is therefore clear the female contingent has grown over time when it comes to immigrants with jobs in the Region, in terms of activity and employment, which does not rule out the remaining gender differences, which are also felt when we look at the other component of the labor force, the *unemployed*. Of the approximately 80% of female labor force women at the time of the survey, almost 5% said that they were unemployed, while for men the figure was 3%. As we found in the first study, and as is the case for the Portuguese labor force in general, unemployment among immigrants in the Azores tends to affect women more. Not only is its incidence higher among women than four years ago (1.2%), but the difference between women and men has also gone up around 1.5 percentage points.

The increase in the percentage of unemployed female immigrants is a trend that reflects the situation of men and women together from 2004 to 2008, in which it went from 0.7% to 3.6%. It also occurs in the male labor force, going from 0.6% to 2.8%. While this can be interpreted as a sign of a closer relationship of immigrants, in general and by gender, with the Azorean employment market, we must mention one of the most pertinent questions today regarding immigrants and the job market. It is the need to ascertain the impact on immigrants of some dysfunctions in economies, such as unemployment.

**Table 2.2.1 – Immigrant population by occupational situation
and gender (%)**

Items	Men & Women	Men	Women
	%	%	%
Employed	81,0	85,4	74,8
Unemployed	3,6	2,8	4,8
Domestic Worker	2,1	0,0	5,2
Retired/Pension beneficiary	5,3	4,5	6,4
Student	4,0	3,4	4,8
Working student	0,7	0,5	0,8
Disabled/incapacitated	-	-	-
Other	3,3	3,4	3,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

As mentioned in an OECD report (2007), there are still a substantial number of immigrants who are unemployed or working in insecure jobs. On the other hand, on a par with the more qualified segments of the immigrant population, immigrant women are one of the groups in which these situations are found most. This largely explains the fact that they often find informal forms of socio-economic insertion outside the patterns found among the male immigrants (Peixoto, 2006).

In light of these observations, although the above figures on the scale of unemployment in the immigrant labor force currently living in the Azores do not reflect a situation that can be classified as disturbing, we feel that the trend detected here should be taken into account when considering the development of immigration in the Region. When calculating the overall

unemployment rate from the number of cases (absolute figures) justifying the percentages in the above table, we reached a figure of 4.3%, i.e. identical to the estimated unemployment rate for the entire Azorean labor force in the four quarters of 2007. In other words, we find that immigrants are more represented in the employment market than the local population, though there are some questions about apparent imbalances between supply and demand for work.

Although the scarcity of the figures in the category in question conditions valid statistical processing, using appropriate methods to suggest a typology of unemployed immigrants, of the 22 cases of unemployment detected when gathering information, half of them had been living in the Azores between five and nine years. These situations were unequally distributed among the islands selected for the study.¹⁸ On the other hand, the phenomenon was experienced most among immigrants in the 25 to 34 age group¹⁹ and particularly in those from Central and South America,²⁰ which explains why more than 1/3 of unemployed immigrants had completed the 12th grade.²¹ In addition, repeated unemployment was not unfamiliar to the respondents in the category in question and around 1/3 of them said that they

¹⁸ S. Miguel (9 cases), Faial (6 cases), Pico (4 cases) and Terceira (3 cases).

¹⁹ 12 cases (54.5%).

²⁰ Of the 22 unemployed interviewed, nine (40.9%) were from this group and five (22.7%) were from the rest of Europe and another five (22.7%) from Africa.

²¹ The relative weight of unemployment among those with the 12th grade was 36.4% (8 cases).

had not found a job in the first six months after arriving in the Azores.²²

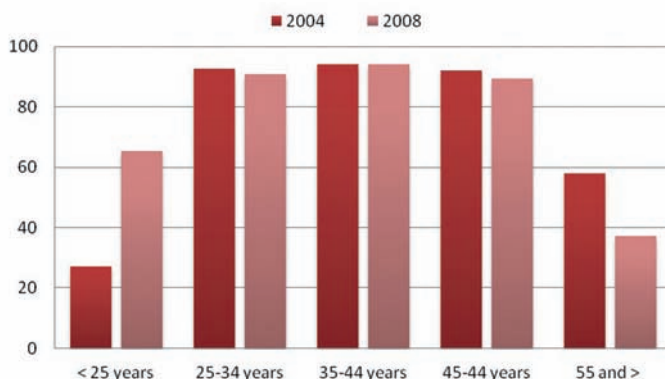
Understandably, a more accurate interpretation of this aspect requires different information that is not taken into account here but is worth including in institutional and scientific settings in which knowledge about immigration and immigrants in the Azores is monitored and produced. This information should not only be comparable over time but must also include data on the duration of unemployment and dependence or not on subsidies.

In contrast to the more negative aspects of some of the above observations, especially because their trends may require attention and monitoring, the truth is that the Region seems to benefit from a younger active immigrant structure than in 2004 (Graph 2.2.1). If we look at the relative weight of the employed and unemployed immigrant population in the different age groups we find that the increase between 2004 and 2008 in those aged under 25 was accompanied by a decrease in those aged over 55. This rejuvenation of active immigrants, which curiously contrasts with the general aging of this population in the period in question (see Chapter 1), seems to indicate not only greater ease in finding jobs at fairly young ages²³ but also the Region's greater capacity to attract and keep older, non-working immigrants.

²² 7 cases (31.8%).

²³ Compared to 2004, for example, the percentage of students fell from 10.6 to 4%.

Graph 2.2.1 - Immigrant labor force by age group in 2004 and 2008 (%)



These are signs that point to positive evolution in immigration in the Azores, although, as seen in Chapter 1, these are the two most poorly represented age groups among all foreigners currently living in the Region. We also cannot ignore the fact that the type of immigration in question is still mostly for work purposes. Moreover, this dual rejuvenation of the immigrant labor force refers mainly to foreigners from European Union countries since, as demonstrated above, around 25% of them are aged over 55. They are also the group most represented among those aged under 25. This is also an aspect that must be taken into account in light of the high level of education of most of these foreign nationals in the general context of immigrants.

In addition to our findings with regard to the work and employment situation of immigrants in the Region, the importance

of the economic and employment components can also be seen in immigrants' activity and distribution by sector (Table 2.2.2). Although the results of the survey show that immigrants in the Azores work in almost all sectors, we find polarization very similar to that encountered in the previous chapter with regard to their socio-professional structure.

This is to be expected due to the connection between the two variables (occupation and activity). We find that almost 65% of the employed immigrants in the Azores are in construction (31%), hotels and restaurants (10.6%) and economic services (22.7%). This once again reflects their high concentration in mid-level and even low-level occupations.

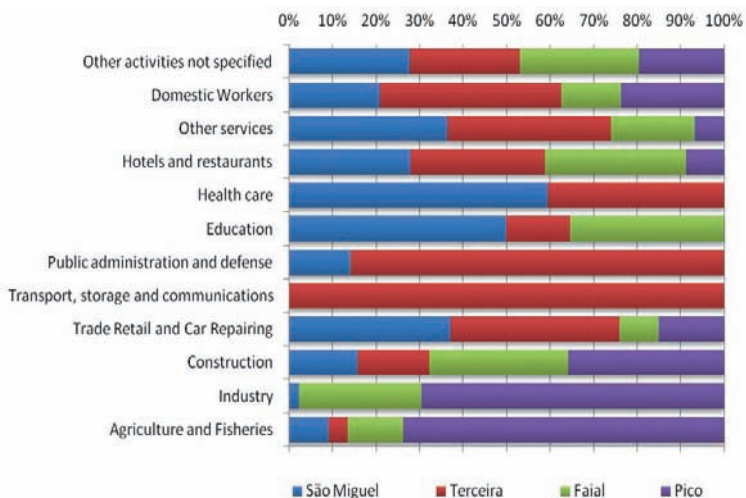
Table 2.2.2 - Immigrant population by activity sector and gender (%)

Sector	M&W	M	W
	%	%	%
Agriculture and Fisheries	2,6	3,9	0,5
Industry	3,3	1,0	7,0
Construction	31,0	48,7	2,1
Trade Retail and Car Repairing	10,2	8,6	12,8
Transport, storage, and communication	0,8	1,3	-
Public administration and defense	1,0	1,0	1,1
Education	6,5	3,6	11,2
Health Care	2,6	3,0	2,1
Hotels and restauransts	10,6	9,9	11,8
Other Services	22,7	14,1	36,4
Domestic Workers	1,8	-	4,8
Other Activities Not Specified	6,9	4,9	10,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

In overall terms and in this tripartite distribution some aspects are worthy of note. Firstly, the distribution by sector shown in the survey is much more in line with that of the country as a whole in the early 2000s than that in the study four years ago. We reach this finding by comparing the general figures in Table 2.2.2 and those in Table 2.2.3, which show that there is greater parity in construction, hotels and restaurants and retail. This reinforces the idea that immigration in the Azores has been characterized by a time lapse in relation to national trends.

A second important point is the considerable differences shown by this distribution by sector when we consider their geographical location by island.

Graph 2.2.2 - Immigrant labor force by island and activity sector (%)



Graph 2.2.2 shows that immigrant labor in S. Miguel and Terceira is not only absorbed by more diverse sectors but

is also more evenly distributed among the main sectors in which the process takes place. On each of these two islands, concentration in construction and services is very similar (around 20% to 30%) and in retail and hotels and catering, varying between 10% and 14%. This is not the case in Faial and Pico, where construction is the main occupation of around half the immigrants surveyed there (46% and 52%, respectively). This highlights the important role that the building sector has played among immigrants on these islands since the first influxes to the Azores. The difficulty in integrating this workforce via the tertiary sector is seen most in Pico, where 80% of the jobs occupied by them are in agriculture and fishery (12.1%), industry (15.5%) and construction (51.7%).

Table 2.2.3 - Immigrants in Portugal by activity sector in 2001 (%)

	%
Agriculture and Fisheries	2,7
Industry	14,0
Construction	36,1
Hotels and restaurants	12,9
Trade Retail and Car Repairing	7,8
Company-based services	15,0
Other activities Not Specified	11,6
Total	100,0

Source: Ferreira, Rato and Mortágua, 2004.

These data not only demonstrate the apparent positive relationship between the degree of development of the islands' economic structure and the greater or lesser diversity of

employment of the immigrant labor force in the Azores, but also oblige us to focus on another aspect. This distribution can be interpreted as additional proof of the attractiveness of S. Miguel and Terceira for work purposes compared to the other two islands. The excessive concentration in construction in Faial and Pico suggests that the expectations of the immigrants there are based on future prospects of occupational immobility.

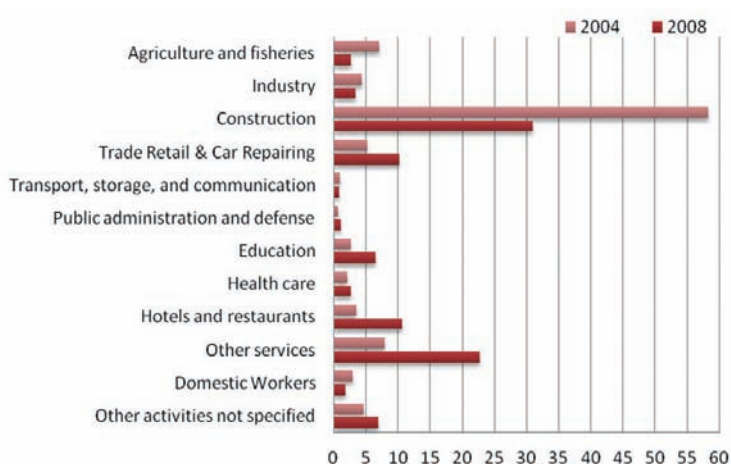
Going back to Table 2.2.2, the third point that is worthy of note is the highly significant changes between 2004 and 2008, in immigrants divided by sector in the Azores (Graph 2.2.3). Over the period, there was a substantial loss in construction (from 58% to 31%) in favor of tertiary activities, such as retail (from 5% to 10%) and particularly economic services, which was where the main change occurred in terms of concentration of the immigrant labor force (from 12% to 33%).²⁴ This was not the case in social services, such as education and health, where there was a variation of 5% to 9% in employed immigrants. This helps to demonstrate that there are still relatively few foreigners in highly qualified occupations.

Considering the two main variations mentioned above, construction and services, and going back to the question raised at the start of this chapter, this seems to be a clear sign of the influence of the regional employment market on the structure

²⁴ These figures regard only hotels and restaurants and other services. In fact, the amounts in question may actually be higher than those shown due to possible increases in other unspecified activities.

of employed immigrants in the Azores. This structure seems to reflect the slowdown in construction in recent years and the vitality of some general sales and services activities.

Graph 2.2.3 - Immigrant population by activity sector in 2004 and 2008 (%)



The last aspect warrants a particular note, after comparing the figure for hotels and restaurants (10.6%) and other services (22.7%). The unequal division of representativity in the two items unequivocally proves the diversity that marks the integration of employed immigrants (at least from an economic standpoint) in the tertiary sector and accounts somewhat for the excessive importance that is sometimes given to the hotels and restaurants component.

While it is true that research into immigration in Portugal has shown that this branch absorbs a considerable proportion of

the foreign labor force (AAVV, 2002; Kovács, 2005; Pires, 2006), especially for some groups, like Brazilians (Malheiros, 2007; Padilla, 2005), it is curious to note that the distribution of these immigrants in the services sector is marked by considerable variety in occupations. According to the data collected, this applies not only to personal services²⁵ but also those related to assistance for companies and other organizations²⁶ and some social and cultural areas.²⁷

Nonetheless, in addition to the diversity in question, where services in general are concerned, there is a significant concentration of respondents in two specific subsectors. The first is tourism activities, where we mainly find foreign nationals providing services to travel agencies, most of them working as guides. This subsector carries considerable weight, around 20%, in the other services item, although no more than 5% of the immigrants surveyed worked in the Azores. The other subsector which attracts even more foreign labor than the previous one with almost 10% of all employed respondents, is artistic, entertainment, sports and recreation activities. Its relative weight in other services is around 37%. The highest number of respondents in this subsector was employed in nightclubs and sports.

²⁵ These respondents include immigrants who work at hair and beauty salons, gyms and spas.

²⁶ In this area, we mainly find immigrants who are not in the construction sector (at least not permanently), but work in more specialized, technical activities, such as electricians, air conditioning technicians, telecommunications technicians or laboratory technicians.

²⁷ Mainly people in the area of cultural events, and those who provide assistance to the elderly, children and other immigrants.

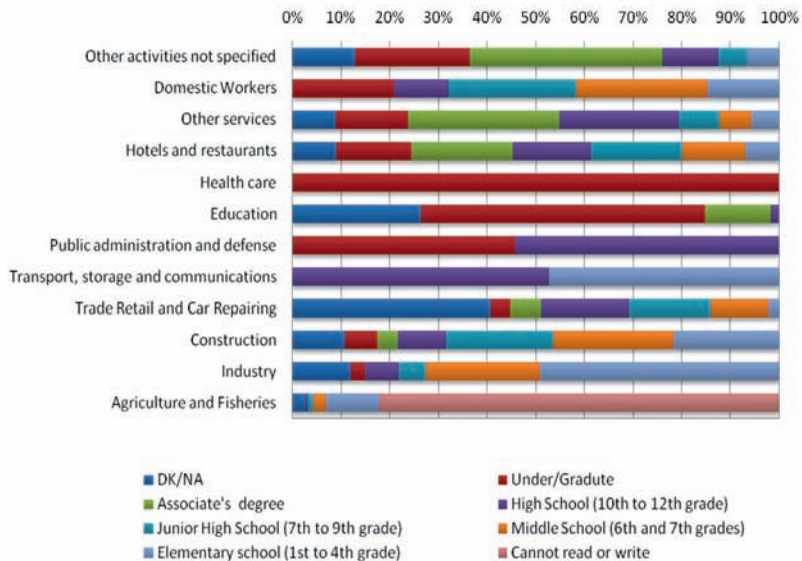
The positive evolution between 2004 and 2008 of the immigrant population's socio-professional structure in the Azores and its distribution on the map of the different sectors must be interpreted in light of the significant increase in levels of education that took place over the period, as highlighted in Chapter 1. This does not, however, mean that we can talk of total correspondence between education-related skills that immigrants have acquired and their work and occupations.

Graph 2.2.4 confirms the possibility that some immigrants are overqualified for the jobs that they are doing. The weight of those with the 12th grade or even an undergraduate degree working in construction (24% for the former and 16% for the latter) is clearly still substantial. This is particularly serious if we take into account that more than half of the respondents have these levels of education. On the other hand, although these figures are not as high as those of immigrants with the 9th grade, around 55% of whom work in construction, the truth is that, if we combine them with the considerable presence of more educated groups in hotels and restaurants and other services, we are not likely to find an effective correspondence between higher qualifications and suitable jobs. This is because, as we know, vocational qualifications are highly heterogeneous in these two sectors.

From a more optimistic point of view, the graph shows that employed immigrants with the 9th grade (i.e. without taking other variables into account) are less likely to find jobs in less socially and professionally prestigious sectors, such as construction. In fact, the difference of having high academic qualifications may

represent a real possibility of accessing mid-level jobs such as services in general, in spite of the amalgam of qualifications found in this sector.

Graph 2.2.4 – Immigrant labor force by level of education and activity sector (%)



Considering that the Azores continue to receive immigration for work reasons and there is some disparity between academic capital and type of job and work, as we mentioned at the start, this generic trend of access to mid-level employment, based on a certain level of education or at least not totally ruling it out, must be interpreted as a sign of some recognition of qualifications by employers among immigrants with mid-level schooling. This confirms something that we had already noticed

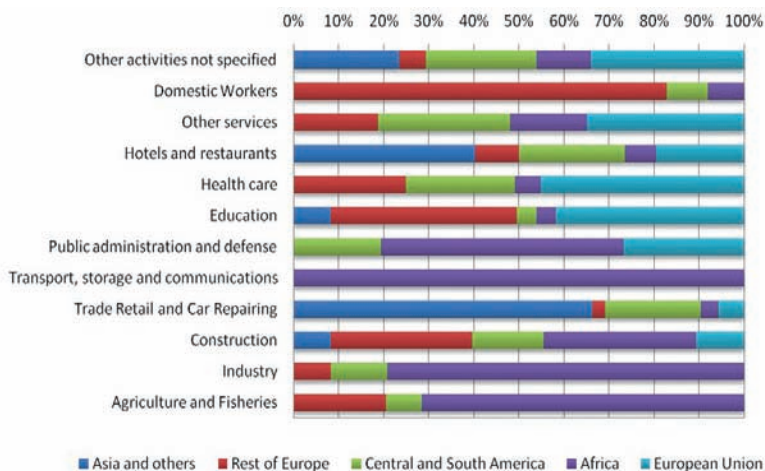
in the socio-demographic characterization of the respondents, i.e. that a positive correspondence between level of education and occupation cannot be totally ruled out.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that, if this recognition actually exists, it does not mean that there is true equity between the different immigrant communities, especially if we consider those in a situation of relative equality in terms of certain important resources for finding jobs, such as level of education. We feel that the case that best illustrates this aspect is based on a comparison of immigrants from Central and South America and the Rest of Europe in the different sectors (Graph 2.2.5). Although the latter are in larger numbers than the former in terms of higher education, they clearly find it difficult to find work in the tertiary sector, with the obvious exception of those in highly specialized sectors like education and health. While around 60% of immigrants from the other side of the Atlantic (mostly Brazilians with mid-level schooling) work in retail and services, only 27% of non-EU Europeans do so. Curiously, if we wish to find the only services sector requiring medium or low qualifications in which they are more numerous, we must look at domestic activities, which is where we find the highest number of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe (7.2%), as opposed to negligible figures for immigrants from Portuguese-speaking Africa and Latin America (both under 1%).

Taking into account the high level of school attainment of Eastern European immigrants, their disadvantage with regard to *level of education versus type of work* can be detected from another two angles. One is their percentage similarity to the numbers of

Africans working in construction (43% and 47%, respectively) and the other is the disparity with regard to European Union citizens in other services (19% against 35%).

Graph 2.2.5 – Immigrant labor force by geographical origin and activity sector (%)



This means that under-use of skills (at least educational ones) among immigrants from non-EU European countries in specific sectors may be a subject for thought and correction by the authorities interested in immigration in the Azores.²⁸

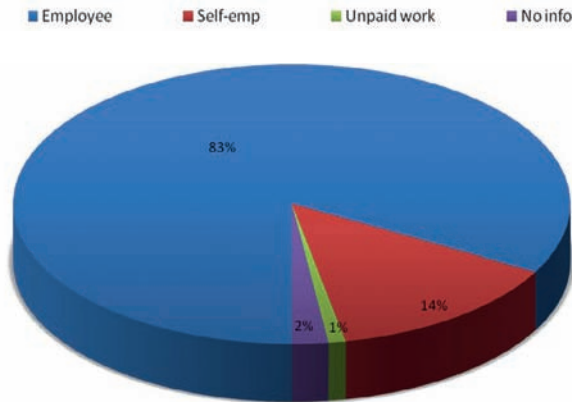
²⁸ Contrary to what we might think, this is not a “problem” that arises so much between men and women. Women might be expected, because of their higher levels of education and their recognized vulnerability in terms of work, to stand out more in situations of disparity between qualifications and work. However, this is not the case. Even though there is some discrepancy in this respect, the labor market seems to favor immigrant women and they find jobs in sectors that are traditionally less associated with physical strength, such as retail and mid-level services (other services, 36.4%; hotels and catering, 11.8%; retail, 12.8%). On the other hand, the domestic workers category contained less than 5% of the female respondents. This, together with the fact that around 12% are in the health sector, does not place women at such a disadvantage as immigrants from the Rest of Europe.

This trend is found in the immigration panorama in Portugal (Baganha e Fonseca, 2004; Marques e Góis, 2007) and is not new information even in the Azores. This aspect had already been detected in the study prior to this one (Rocha *et al.*, 2004) and indicated that the high qualifications of most Eastern European nationals was not enough to get them into jobs or sectors of higher economic and social value. On the other hand, we should not forget that this factor competes with others that almost always take precedence, such as initial language difficulties or the fact that the Azorean economy is very closed in on itself, which is one of the main obstacles to immigration for work purposes.

In order to complement the main facets of immigrants' relationship with the employment market in the Azores, we will now look at the working conditions that characterize this connection. Employment contracts, work regime and overtime are some of the indicators in this area. Before doing this, however, we would like to point out that the data on the subject refer to an immigrant population that is mainly (83%) in the employ of others and therefore subject to an asymmetrical labor relationship with a formal or informal agreement (Graph 2.2.6).²⁹

²⁹ The figures on the respondents' work situation are very close to those for the employed Azorean population in 2007, i.e. some time before the information was gathered for this study. Employees represented 80.4% of the total employed Azorean labor force, while the remaining 19.6% were self-employed (INE, 2007, *Inquérito ao Emprego*, 4th quarter).

Graph 2.2.6 - Employed immigrant population by employment status (%)

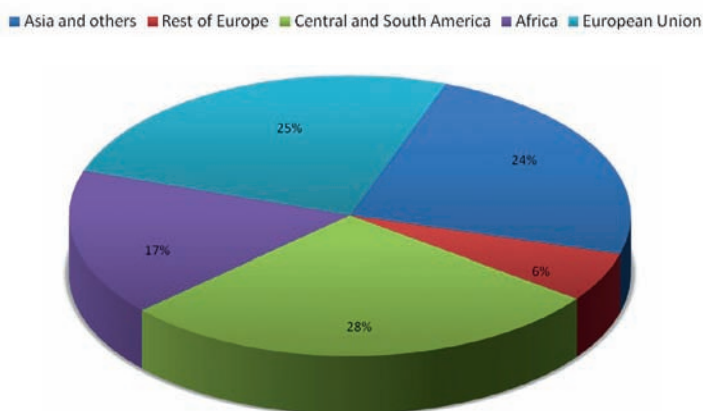


Most of the other foreign nationals who were not in the employee category (around 14%) were freelance workers and self-employed (with or without employees) and are the most visible face of a phenomenon that has gradually been gaining ground in the Azorean immigration scenario – ethnic entrepreneurship. In either case, immigrants’ relationship with work is almost always different from that of employees, though this does not mean that the job insecurity factor can be totally excluded.

Within the trends that currently characterize the self-employed foreign subpopulation in the Region since the study we conducted four years ago, freelancers who are mostly European Union citizens working in tourism, and family strategies and ethnic solidarity, such as the Chinese community’s specialization in retail and restaurants, are still worth highlighting. Nonetheless, this does not seem to be the only or even the most representative, group of self-employed immigrants working

in the Azores, which is a sign of the appearance of other forms of entrepreneurship in foreign communities other than the Chinese.

Graph 2.2.7 - Self-employed immigrants by geographical origin (%)³⁰



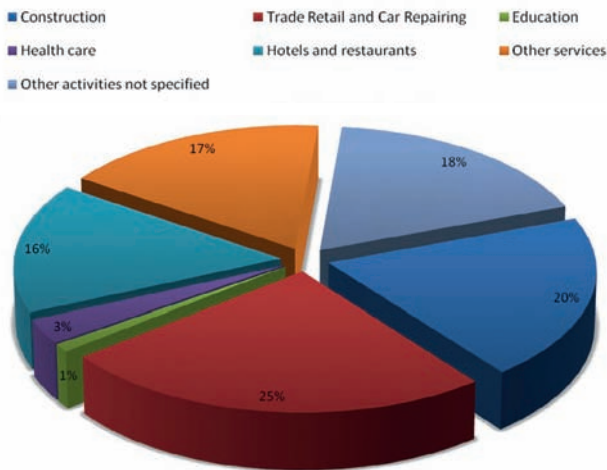
This is what a comparison of graphs 2.2.7 and 2.2.8 tells us for example. The significant incidence of self-employed workers in construction (19.7%) and especially services (32.4%),³¹ plus the fact that it also applies to Brazilian (28.2%) and Cape Verdean (16.9%) immigrants, suggests that these groups work in these sectors without being employees, such as setting up their own businesses. The Brazilian community shows signs of true entrepreneurial initiative, as illustrated by the existence

³⁰ Of a total of 71 self-employed respondents, 18 were from the European Union, 4 from the Rest of Europe, 12 from Africa, 20 from Central and South America and 17 from Asia and other regions.

³¹ The sum of other services and hotels and restaurants.

(mainly in S. Miguel) of small cafés and pastry shops, spas and hair and beauty salons set up and run by Brazilian immigrants, most of whom have employees. Most self-employed Africans work in construction (mainly stonemasonry) and building repairs and maintenance (electricity and painting, for example). This trend had already been found in research that has looked further into the immigrant population and the employment market in Portugal. It shows, for example, that “experience acquired in construction and a high demand for labor are reflected in the proliferation of contractors and subcontractors, mostly from Cape Verde but also from other Portuguese-speaking African countries” (Baganha *et al.*, 2002: 117).

Graph 2.2.8 - Self-employed immigrants by main activity sector (%)³²



³² The number of cases are as follows by sector of activity: construction – 14, retail – 18, education – 1, health – 2, hotels and restaurants – 11, other services – 12 and other unspecified activities – 13.

**Table 2.2.4 - Employed immigrant population by type
of contract and gender (%)**

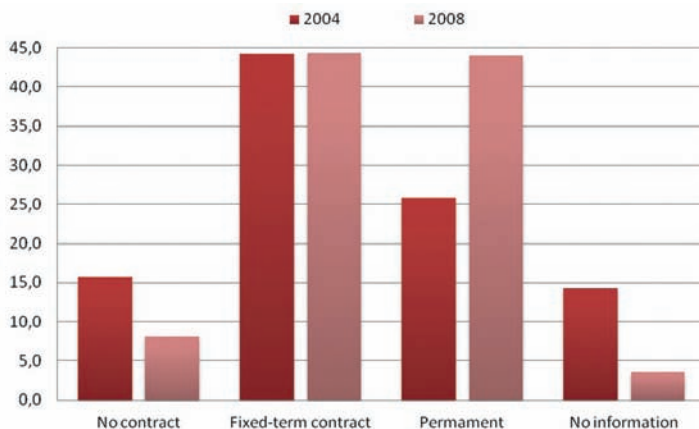
Type of contract	M & W	M	W
	%	%	%
Without contract	8,1	7,8	8,5
Fixed-term contract	44,3	46,9	40,2
Permanent contract	44,0	42,5	46,3
No information	3,6	2,8	5,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

In spite of the singularity of some of these situations in terms of work conditions for most immigrants, we cannot ignore either the general picture or certain contrasts within it. Starting with the existence or not of a formal work contract, Table 2.2.4 shows that the degree of insecurity is significant, especially when compared to the host society. Contrasting with 82% for the Azorean population according to data for the end of 2007 (INE, *Inquérito ao Emprego*, 4th quarter), only 44% of the immigrant respondents had a permanent work contract and there were no major differences between men and women (42.5% and 46.3%, respectively). Although this disparity may be overestimated, as the official calculation of the 82% for the Azorean population took into account only fixed-term and indefinite contracts and not informal work situations, the contrast is worthy of note, especially since it reinforces the generally accepted association between immigration and job insecurity.

However, if we look at the division of the variable in question by the different categories, we find that, between 2004 and 2008, there was an improvement in immigrants' contract

status. Not only did the number of those who said that they had no contract go down from 15.7% to 8.1%, but the number of those who said that they were on the permanent payroll increased substantially from 25.8% to 44%. The number of immigrants with fixed-term contracts was much the same as four years previously and the above differences tend to be the result of transfers between the two categories and, as shown in Graph 2.2.9, fewer “no answers” to the question (from 14.3% to 3.6%). Though this may signify fewer cases of informal labor, it is still an additional sign of improvement in immigrants’ work contract conditions between 2004 and 2008.

Graph 2.2.9 - Employed immigrants by type of contract in 2004 and 2008 (%)



There are also other noteworthy aspects of these changes. Table 2.2.5 leaves no doubt that the differences between the previous study and this one are a direct result of an improvement

in immigrants' contract situation on the basis of their length of residence in the Region. Looking only at immigrants who have been there for 1-4 and 5-9 years, as it is in these two groups that we find around 88% of the respondent,³³ we find that the degree of job insecurity tends to fall with time of residence, particularly when they move on from a fixed-term to a permanent contract.

Table 2.2.5 - Employed immigrant population by type of contract and duration of residence in the Azores, 2008 (%)

	Less than 1 year	1 to 4 years	5 to 9 years	10 to 14 years	More than 15 years
Without contract	8,8	8,0	7,1	9,8	10,8
Fixed-term contract	82,4	55,1	37,3	29,3	18,9
Permanent	5,9	36,4	51,9	58,5	64,9
No information	2,9	0,5	3,7	2,4	5,4
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Table 2.2.6 - Employed immigrant population by type of contract and gender in 2004 and 2008 (%)

Type of contract	2004			2008		
	M&W	M	W	M&W	M	W
Without contract	15,7	12,1	29,8	8,1	7,8	8,5
Fixed-term contract	44,2	50,5	20,2	44,3	46,9	40,2
Permanent	25,8	25,7	26,2	44,0	42,5	46,3
No information	14,3	11,8	23,8	3,6	2,8	5,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

³³ Most of the categories referring to the remaining groups involve a very small number of respondents, and so their percentages are merely indicative.

Secondly, in spite of the above-mentioned trend, this development was not homogeneous, especially if we consider some of the possible divisions of the immigrant population, such as by gender and geographical origin. During the period in question, the percentage of women with fixed-term contracts went from 20.2% to 40.2%, although this type of contract remained more or less the same for all immigrants (Table 2.2.6). This negative sign is mitigated by a decrease between 2004 and 2008 in the importance of women with no contract (from 29.8% to 8.5%) and an increase in those with a permanent contract (from 26.2% to 46.3%). However, while we said at the beginning of this point that the number of female immigrants with jobs had increased in the Region in terms of activity and employment, this increase in those with fixed-term contracts casts some doubt on their current situation. It is the men who abide more closely by the trend towards an improvement in immigrants' contract situation.

Regarding the differences between respondents on the basis of geographical origin and considering only the three main groups that usually head immigration for work purposes in Portugal (Africans, Eastern Europeans and Brazilians), we must first highlight the disadvantageous position of immigrants from the Rest of Europe among those who have no formal contract. As shown in Table 2.2.7, their relative weight went from 6.3% to 12.1%, going in the opposite direction to the other two groups. African immigrants are in a better position basically as a result of a substantial increase in those with permanent contracts. Employed Africans in this specific category went from 22.3% to 46.9%

between 2004 and 2008, representing a variation of 110.3%, i.e. much higher than immigrants from the Rest of Europe and Central and South America (39.5% and 35%, respectively).

Table 2.2.7 - Employed immigrant population by type of contract and geographical of origin in 2004 and 2008 (%)

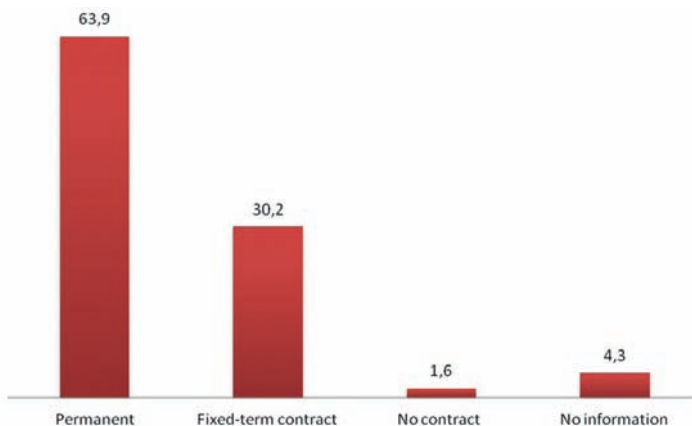
		Type of contract			
		Without contract	Temporary but regular	Permanent contract	No information
Africa	2004	12,0	47,0	22,3	18,7
	2008	8,1	45,0	46,9	4,1
European Union	2004	40,8	10,2	24,5	24,5
	2008	5,7	48,3	42,5	3,5
Rest of Europe	2004	6,3	58,6	26,1	9,0
	2008	12,1	50,5	36,4	1,0
Central and South America	2004	17,6	41,9	33,7	6,8
	2008	7,6	42,8	45,5	4,1
Asia and others	2004	57,1	14,3	28,6	-
	2008	6,1	30,3	60,6	3,0
Total		100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

At the same time, in an attempt to understand job insecurity in its broader sense, if, instead of looking at isolated categories, we consider all answers with no contract or with fixed-term contracts, we once again find that Eastern European immigrants are at a disadvantage in relation to the other groups (62.6% against 53.1% for Africans and 50.4% for Brazilians). This difference already existed in 2004 (64.9% against 59% and 59.5%, respectively), but is now greater in both cases. Moreover, even though after four years all three groups had improved in this respect, this progress was not as significant among Eastern European immigrants as for

the Africans or particularly the Brazilians. It is enough to look at the differences in percentage points for each group between 2004 and 2008: Central and South America - 15.3 percentage points lower, Africa - 10 percentage points lower and the Rest of Europe only 3.5 percentage points lower.

Over the four years, there was a substantial reduction in the no contract category for Asian immigrants (from 57.1% to 6.1%) and this seems to have resulted in a significant increase in the number of respondents with fixed-term contracts (from 14.3% to 30.3%). We believe that a reasonable, though hypothetical explanation for this change is the regularization of work contracts of a considerable percentage of the community, especially in retail.

Graph 2.2.10 - Employed immigrant population by regime of work (%)



In addition to the type of contract in achieving better understanding of immigrants' working conditions, the main forms of work are also of interest (Graph 2.2.10). The results

of the survey are quite surprising in this area, as a considerable percentage of immigrants (30%) said that their work was temporary but regular, while only 1.6% said that it was occasional. This type of work affects men a little more than women and is at its highest among the communities from Eastern Europe (35.4%) and South America (37.8%), while it is understandably negligible among Asian immigrants (Table 2.2.8).

Table 2.2.8 - Employed immigrant population by regime of work, gender and geographical origin (%)

	Permanent	Temporary (regular)	Occasional work	Dk/Nr	Total
Total	63,9	30,2	1,6	4,3	100,0
Men	63,4	32,5	1,0	3,1	100,0
Women	64,8	26,7	2,5	6,0	100,0
European Union	71,3	26,4	2,3	-	100,0
Rest of Europe	59,6	35,4	1,0	4,0	100,0
Africa	60,4	30,9	2,7	6,0	100,0
Central and South America	59,3	37,8	0,7	2,2	100,0
Asia and others	93,9	6,1	-	-	100,0

If we consider the distribution of the answers by main economic sector, since the small number of respondents in some might bias the interpretation, it is easy to see that temporary work occurs mainly in construction (33.7%) and services (34.5%) (Table 2.2.9). In services, 21.4% of the answers referred to sports and entertainment which, as we have seen, play an important role for a considerable percentage of immigrants in the Region.

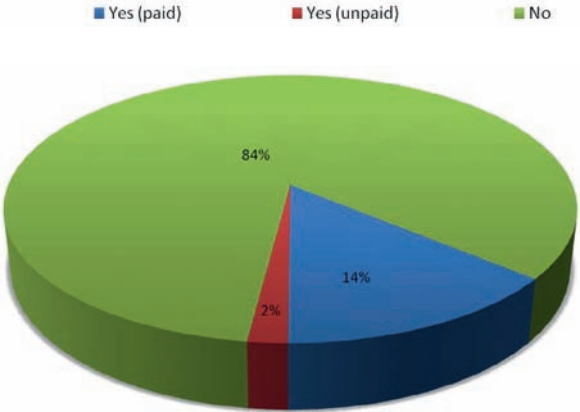
We therefore cannot rule out the possibility of temporary work resulting from agreements between the workers and the agents that employ them, with a view, for example, to turnover within small groups of immigrants specializing in certain types of jobs. In our opinion, this may tend to happen most in construction (where the supply of work has tended to fall) and particularly in certain groups (such as Ukrainians and Brazilians), where feelings of ethnic belonging and often cohabitation are responsible for less individualistic attitudes.

Table 2.2.9 - Employed immigrant population by regime of work and activity sector (%)

Sector	Permanent	Temporary (regular)	Occasional	Dk/Nr
Agriculture and Fisheries	2,2	2,8	-	13,3
Industry	2,9	4,8	-	-
Construction	30,3	33,7	25,0	13,3
Trade Retail and Car Repairing	14,0	2,8	-	13,3
Transport, storage and communication	1,3	-	-	-
Public administration and defense	1,6	-	-	-
Education	8,6	2,8	-	6,8
Health care	3,5	1,4	-	-
Hotels and restaurants	10,2	11,0	25,0	-
Other Services	17,1	34,5	25,0	33,3
Domestic Workers	1,0	2,1	25,0	-
Other Activities Not Specified	7,3	4,1	-	20,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

In addition, while the above figures highlight the insecurity in these sectors and subsectors (due to periods without work during the year), they also show niches of employment that demonstrate some capacity to respond to a type of workforce that might otherwise only find work occasionally and experience longer periods without work than at present.

Graph 2.2.11 - Employed immigrant population by existence of a second job (%)



From the figures in Graph 2.2.11, we can easily see that only a small percentage of immigrants in the above conditions find other work to make up for periods of inactivity. Only 16% of the respondents said that they had more than one job (fewer than the 30.2% with temporary jobs). Of these, 2% receive no type of pay. In other words, around 84% of the employed immigrant population with a higher or lower standard of living has only one job as a source of income (at least through work). Although this

information does not allow a clear interpretation of the fact, as there may be many reasons – not *needing*, not *wanting* or not *being able* to find a second job – it seems to be more a question of individual preference for having two or more jobs than insufficient income.

Table 2.2.10 - Employed immigrant population by existence of a second job, gender, parenthood and geographical origin (%)

	Performs a second job			Total
	Yes (paid)	Yes (unpaid)	No	
Total	14,0	1,9	84,1	100,0
Men	14,6	1,6	83,8	100,0
Women	13,1	2,3	84,6	100,0
With children	15,4	1,9	82,7	100,0
Without children	11,8	1,8	86,4	100,0
Permanent	14,0	1,8	84,2	100,0
Temporary	15,4	2,4	82,2	10
Occasional	-	-	100,0	100,0
European Union	12,2	2,7	85,1	100,0
Rest of Europe	9,3	3,5	87,2	100,0
Africa	15,0	-	85,0	100,0
Central and South	17,8	2,4	79,8	100,0
Asia and others	12,0	-	88,0	100,0

Table 2.2.10 proves this to a certain extent, as we can see that it is not because immigrants have a children to support, have temporary work or are female (usually subject to greater job insecurity) that they tend to have more than one job. The likelihood of working two or more jobs in any of these circumstances is very similar to that of persons who have no children, have permanent

jobs or are men with added advantages in the employment world. This is not the case, however, when we analyze the immigrants' regions of origin.

The respondents from Central and South America, mostly Brazilians, are represented more than the other immigrants with more than one job (20.2% against 15% of Africans and almost 13% of Eastern Europeans). Although the Brazilian community is not the one that suffers from the highest job insecurity based on type of contract and it is one of the two where there is most temporary work, this discrepancy, particularly in relation to immigrants from the Rest of Europe, who are the most affected, is an indication that having two or more jobs may not necessarily be part of a strategy to make up for shortcomings in their main job. As there is no exact correspondence between this interpretation and reality, everything seems to indicate that we are looking at one of two situations: unequal opportunities between the two groups in question (Brazilians and Ukrainians) in access to the regional employment market or the existence of different strategies for making money for different reasons (remittances, returning home sooner, etc).

Based on only 32 answers, Table 2.2.11 still illustrates the nature of additional jobs held by immigrants. In spite of the scant absolute figures, we find a degree of correspondence in each group of origin between some of these second jobs and those that best characterize each one from a work point of view. This indicates that what in most situations can be called "odd jobs" occurs in a context of little flexibility between sectors. For example, Brazilians

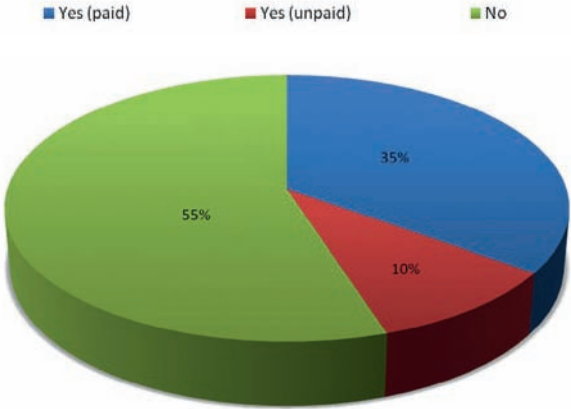
add to their main jobs music, dancing and gym lessons and work as shop assistants or waiting at tables, while Eastern Europeans do cleaning work or other, more specialized jobs in construction (carpenters, electricians or stonemasons).

Table 2.2.11 - Specification of some secondary professional activities complementing a main profession (absolute figures; N=32)

Activities	European Union	Rest of Europe	Africa	Central and South America	Asia and others	Total
Translation	-	1	-	-	-	1
Music	2	-	1	-	-	3
Education (music, dance, exercise)	-	1	2	3	-	6
Sales (retail, restaurants, street vending)	-	-	-	3	1	4
Personal services (massage, personal counseling, sewing)	-	-	-	3	-	3
Construction, maintenance and repair of equipment (carpentry, electricity, masonry)	1	3	-	1	-	5
Craftsmanship	-	-	1	1	-	2
Agriculture	1					1
Cleaning	-	2	1	-	-	3
Other activities not specified	1	-	2	1	-	4
TOTAL	5	7	7	12	1	N=32

While only 14% of the respondents seem to have a second job to boost their income, this is not the case with regard to overtime. Around 35% said that they regularly worked more hours a week than stipulated and received extra pay for them (Graph 2.2.12). However, this percentage is not representative of all the immigrants who work overtime, as another 10% also do so but are not paid. In practice, this means that the Azores may currently have an employed immigrant population in which around half works beyond the legal number of hours a week, in some cases as many 20 hours' overtime a week.

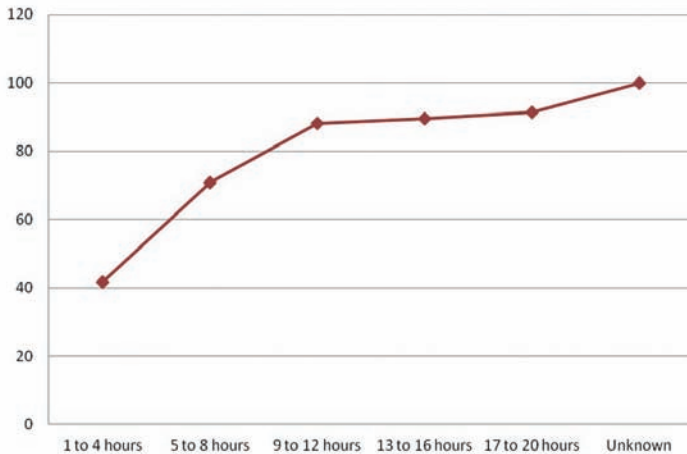
Graph 2.2.12 - Overtime in main job (%)



Indeed, Graph 2.2.13 is highly elucidative of this situation and we find that a significant majority of the respondents (88.2%) said that they worked up to 12 hours' overtime a week, which means, if we consider a six-day working week, that they work an extra 2 hours a day to a total of 10. Even so, in general

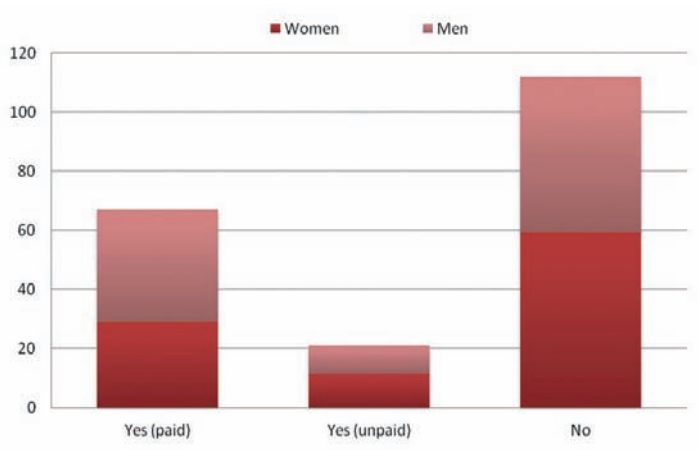
most of the answers were fewer than 4 hours' overtime, so we believe that, in most cases, they work around 9 hours a day.

Graph 2.2.13 - Hours of weekly overtime work (paid and unpaid)
(cumulative %)



Perhaps because there is a considerable percentage of work in activities that are propitious to overtime, such as construction, there are more men than women among the immigrants who work overtime– 47.6% and 40.5%, respectively (Graph 2.2.14). However, if we look only at those who work unpaid overtime, the numbers of for men and women are very close, though women tend to do slightly more 11.4% against 9.7%. In spite of the minuscule difference, this aspect should be added to some of the signs of job insecurity for immigrant women that we have pointed out in this chapter with regard to unemployment and type of contract.

Graph 2.2.14 - Employed immigrant population by overtime work and gender (%)



As is to be expected, overtime occurs basically in the three main sectors that employ most immigrant labor – construction (41.7%), services (18.9%) and hotels and restaurants (13.7%). This does not mean, however, that they all (and especially the first two) are equally important when we distinguish between paid and unpaid overtime. It is in construction that overtime abides by more formal, legal criteria although even here there is still a certain lack of transparency.

This conclusion can be drawn from Table 2.2.12 and a comparison between “Yes (paid)” and “Yes (unpaid)”, with regard to the answers in the construction and services sectors. Around 45% of situations of paid overtime refer to construction and only 16% to services, while unpaid overtime in construction goes down to 32% and goes up to 30% in services. This aspect, along

with the others that we have pointed out, leads us to stress the importance of services among immigrants in the Azores. In other words, it is a niche for studies and essential political and social action in order to improve immigrants' conditions.

Table 2.2.12 - Employed immigrant population by overtime work and activity sector (%)

Sector	Yes (paid)	Yes (unpaid)	No
Agriculture and Fisheries	0,7	-	2,6
Industry	4,1	2,3	3,0
Construction	44,5	31,8	21,4
Trade Retail and Car	6,2	9,1	13,0
Transports, storage and communication	-	2,3	1,3
Public Administration and Defense	0,7	-	1,7
Education	5,5	4,5	8,3
Health Care	4,1	2,3	2,6
Hotels and restaurants	13,7	13,6	8,3
Other Services	15,8	29,6	28,2
Domestic Workers	-	-	2,2
Other Activities Not Specified	4,7	4,5	7,4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

After analyzing the main indicators of the conditions experienced by immigrants in the Azorean labor market, we will now look at their occupational pathways.

2.3 – Occupational and sectoral mobility

Immigrants' integration in their host societies depends a lot on their occupational pathways. Poor integration and the

wish to change or break the migratory cycle by returning to their country of origin or seeking a new destination is often based on prolonged inclusion in more insecure sectors of the employment market. On the other hand, an upwardly mobile career almost always reduces the probability of immigrants' social exclusion and fosters their integration (see, among others, Portes, 1999).

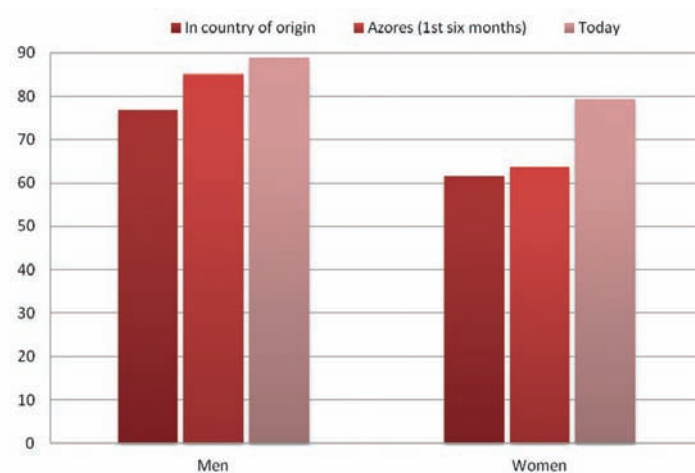
As we saw in the previous chapter, the immigrant population in the Azores stays for a considerable length of time, which prompts us to try and identify the main aspects of occupational mobility of those with jobs. We can try to reconstitute the respondents' occupational pathway at three different times in their career paths: the last year in their country of origin, the first six months after arriving in the Azores and the time of the survey.

Table 2.3.1 - Immigrant population by main source of income in country of origin and in the Azores (first 6 months after arrival and at the moment of survey) (%)

Main source of income	Country of origin	First 6 months after arrival at the Azores	At the moment of survey
Work	69,3	74,4	83,3
Unemployment benefits	1,5	0,8	0,8
Depending on family	21,5	11,1	5,4
Pension/ Social benefits	0,7	2,3	3,0
Student grant	2,8	4,6	2,6
Personal income	2,0	3,0	2,1
Other	0,6	1,3	0,8
Dk/Nr	1,6	2,5	2,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

If we first analyze the respondents' main source of income at these three stages, we find that for around 14% of them, emigration was an opportunity for insertion (or reinsertion) in the labor market (Table 2.3.1). Along with the importance of work over time in these immigrants' lives, we find a decrease in dependence on family, which was 21.5% in the country of origin but is 5.4% now. In addition to the immigrants for whom emigrating meant finding work, we can also add other situations, such as immigrants who were minors when they arrived and now have jobs or those who came to the Region to study but no longer do so.

Graph 2.3.1 - Immigrant population for whom work is their main source of income by gender (%)

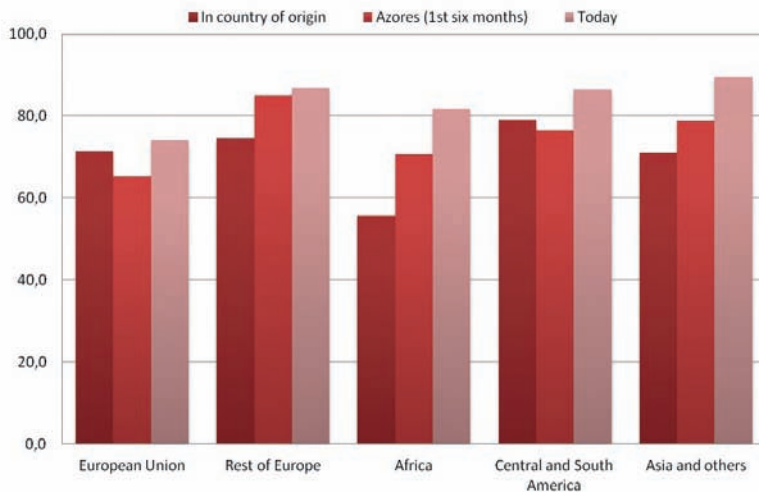


It is also curious to note that this growing relationship with paid work on the part of the respondents over the period

in question is unevenly distributed in terms of the immigrants' gender and geographical origin (Graph 2.3.1 and Graph 2.3.2).

For men and for Africans, Eastern Europeans and Asians, work is a gradual process, as the phase immediately after arriving in the Azores, is very much like a small step up in the immigrant's insertion within the labor market. For women and immigrants from Latin America, the process is less gradual and thus more fixed in time. In fact, many of these immigrants only find work a while after they arrive in the Azores.

Graph 2.3.2 – Immigrant population for whom work is their main source of income by geographical origin (%)



It is hard not to associate the differences between these two groups with some of the conditions mentioned in the previous chapter as some of the reasons and pathways that

best characterize them. The fact that women do not find work immediately may well be because many of them came to the Azores for family reunification. Where Brazilian immigrants are concerned, we believe that the data observed here confirms the hypothesis raised in Chapter 1 that there has been a gradual consolidation of social support networks in this community in recent years. After arriving in the archipelago, some of these immigrants may have managed to survive through different forms of ethnic solidarity for some time before finding work. We therefore feel that that these are the reasons why these two groups usually immigrate directly to the Azores from their country of origin and postpone finding a job as a main source of income after arriving.

With regard to immigrants' mobility between sectors and considering the same reference times used above, Table 2.3.2 clearly shows a not-unexpected convergence of workers not only in the construction sector but also other services and hotels and restaurants in the country of origin the first months after arriving in the Azores, with variations of 119%, 17% and 13%, respectively. In general, all the other sectors in the country of origin lose the weight that they had among the respondents before settling in the Region.

After six months in the Azores and until the survey, we find that the three sectors continued to be the main sources of immigrant employment, though we can also add retail, given its 52.2% increase over the period in question.

Table 2.3.2 - Immigrant population by activity sector in country of origin and in the Azores (after arrival and at the moment of survey) (%)

Sectors	Country of origin	First 6 months after arrival at the Azores	Δ%	At the moment of survey	Δ%
Agriculture and Fisheries	6,6	3,5	- 47,0	2,6	- 25,7
Industry	3,9	2,3	- 41,0	3,3	43,5
Construction	16,8	36,7	118,5	31,0	- 15,5
Trade Retail and Car Repairing	10,9	6,7	- 38,5	10,2	52,2
Transport, storage and communication	2,7	0,9	- 66,7	0,8	-11,1
Public administration and defense	3,6	1,4	- 61,1	1,0	- 28,6
Education	10,5	6,9	- 34,3	6,5	- 5,8
Health care	4,4	2,5	- 43,2	2,6	4,0
Hotels and restaurants	7,5	8,5	13,3	10,6	24,7
Other services	19,7	23,0	16,8	22,7	- 100,0
Domestic Workers	1,0	2,3	130,0	1,8	- 21,7
Other activities not specified	12,4	5,3	- 57,3	6,9	30,2
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	-	100,0	-

The fact that they are divided mainly among these sectors does not, however, conceal the loss of relative importance (from 36.7% to 31%) of construction for some of the immigrants who on arrival found the sector to be the only (or at least the main) source of employment. The trend in recent years has therefore been for the workforce to spread out from construction into other sectors.

This gives us a clearer view of two matrixes of mobility between sectors. The first (Table 2.3.3) shows immigrants'

moves between a sector in the country of origin in the last year there and their main activity in the first six months in the Azores. The second (Table 2.3.4) refers to the subsequent period, i.e. moves between sectors between the first months in the Region and the time of the survey.

For the first period of time, in addition to confirming that construction, services and hotels and restaurants were the sectors where most found jobs on arrival, we see that high absorption capacity comes not only from the amount of labor that each manages to take in (particularly construction), but also from their ability to attract immigrants from a diversified range of sectors of origin.

In the second period, we find that these sectors continue to be sources of employment par excellence (to a lesser degree than in the other two periods), and that they are employment niches that are able to keep a high percentage of immigrants starting work there on arrival in the Azores. In terms of sectors worked in by the immigrant population, this means, firstly, that a reasonable number of the respondents who found work in other sectors on arrival (such as agriculture, industry or transports), eventually converged on them. Secondly, we find no inter-sector mobility at all for a high percentage of immigrants, as they found work and stayed in one of these three sectors the whole time.

Along with these two situations, there is another form of sectoral pathway that seems to characterize the remaining respondents after an initial period working in the Region. This is a propensity for moving between the three main sectors. We

find many cases of exchanges between hotels and restaurants and services. Some immigrants also move from construction to one of these two, though rarely in the opposite direction. Of the three sectors, construction is the one with the lowest capacity for dissemination after some time in the Azores, which, despite the low capacity for mobility and higher job insecurity, may indicate the existence of cases in which working in the sector is considered gratifying (especially from a financial point of view).

Table 2.3.3 - Matrix of sectoral mobility between country of origin (last activity) and the Azores
(first six months after arrival) (%)

Origin / Azores (after arrival)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	7	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Agriculture and Fisheries	40,0	-	52,0	-	-	-	-	-	4,0	4,0	-	-	100,0
2 Industry	-	30,8	53,8	-	-	-	7,7	-	-	7,7	-	-	100,0
3 Construction	2,8	2,8	90,2	-	-	1,4	-	-	2,8	-	-	-	100,0
4 Trade Retail and Car Repair	-	6,1	18,2	42,4	3,0	-	-	-	3,0	9,1	12,1	6,1	100,0
5 Transport, storage, and communication	-	-	40,0	-	20,1	-	13,3	-	13,3	13,3	-	-	100,0
6 Public Administration and defense	-	-	54,5	-	9,1	-	9,1	-	-	18,2	-	9,1	100,0
7 Education	-	-	3,6	-	-	-	67,9	-	14,3	10,7	3,5	-	100,0
8 Health care	-	-	14,3	-	-	-	-	71,5	7,1	-	7,1	-	100,0
9 Hotels and restaurants	-	-	16,7	-	-	-	-	-	66,7	8,2	4,2	4,2	100,0
10 Other services	4,2	-	30,6	4,2	1,4	-	4,2	-	6,9	41,7	4,2	2,6	100,0
11 Domestic Workers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50,0	-	50,0	-	100,0
12 Other activities not specified	-	-	38,1	4,8	4,8	-	14,3	-	-	9,5	-	28,5	100,0

Table 2.3.4 - Matrix of sectoral mobility between activity in the first six months after arriving in the Azores and current activity (%)

Origen / Azores (after arrival)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
1 Agriculture and Fisheries	60,0	6,7	26,6	-	-	-	-	-	-	6,7	-	-	100,0
2 Industry	-	87,5	12,5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
3 Construction	0,7	0,7	92,6	2,0	-	-	-	-	3,3	-	-	0,7	100,0
4 Trade Retail and Car Repair	-	-	-	91,4	-	-	-	-	4,3	-	-	4,3	100,0
5 Transport, storage, and communication	-	-	100	-	80,0	-	10,0	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
6 Public Administration and defense	-	-	-	-	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
7 Education	-	-	-	-	-	-	91,2	-	-	5,9	-	2,9	100,0
8 Health care	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	92,3	-	-	-	7,7	100,0
9 Hotels and restaurants	2,8	2,8	5,6	2,8	-	-	2,8	-	72,1	2,8	-	8,3	100,0
10 Other services	-	1,3	-	5,2	3,9	-	2,6	-	11,7	72,7	1,3	1,3	100,0
11 Domestic Workers	-	-	5,9	-	-	5,9	-	-	17,6	5,9	58,8	5,9	100,0
12 Other activities not specified	-	-	10,0	-	-	5,0	-	-	10,0	-	75,0	-	100,0

In addition to providing information other than that shown by immigrants' moves between sectors, the question of occupational mobility is a decisive aspect in their integration in the host society. There is a theoretical consensus that, in the context of labor migration, there is often a reduction in immigrants' socio-professional status between their last job in their country of origin and the first in the host country. Then in the second phase the situation tends to be reversed (Chiswick *et al.*, 2005). This recovery obviously depends on different variables and the difference between the two pathways in question. For example, when immigrants' qualifications are suited to an easy transition between society of origin and destination, the decline and recovery are gentler and mitigate some negative aspects of occupational mobility experienced by immigrants.

In this case, the data from the survey show that, for most immigrants the months immediately following arrival in the Azores entail lower qualified jobs than in their country of origin. This recomposition of occupational structure at origin, as shown in Table 2.3.5, takes the form of a reduction in the weight of more qualified occupations, such as the professions, and the consequent increase in the importance of unqualified occupations. Moving on now to the respondents' socio-professional structure at the time of the survey and comparing it to the situation in the country of origin, we find that, although time has reversed some cases of lower qualified jobs, there are still imbalances and an excess of lower qualified groups and very few top occupations.

Table 2.3.5 - Immigrant population by occupational group in country of origin and in the Azores (on arrival and at the moment of survey) (%)

Group	Country of origin	First 6 months after arrival in Azores	Δ%	At the moment of survey	Δ%
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	6,3	2,5	-60,3	9,0	260,0
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	19,8	8,8	-55,6	9,4	6,8
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	5,6	13,4	139,3	11,8	-11,9
Administrative Personnel and related	6,1	0,7	-88,5	1,4	1,0
Services Personnel and Sellers	24,6	21,9	-11,0	22,4	2,3
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	6,3	3,7	-41,3	2,9	-21,6
Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	11,5	12,5	8,7	16,5	32,0
Plant and Machine Operators	2,7	1,2	-55,6	1,0	-16,7
Unskilled Workers	10,0	30,5	205	20,2	-33,8
Army	0,7	-	-	-	-
Other Not Specified	6,3	4,8	-23,8	5,3	10,4
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	-	100,0	-

The use of two matrixes very similar to the previous ones (Table 2.3.6 and Table 2.3.7), consisting not of sectors of activity but socio-professional groups shows us the main *spaces for mobility* – upward (in green) and downward (in white) – in which the respondents have moved. Most of the immigrants who had high or mid-level qualifications in their country of origin, with

the exception in the latter case of services and sales personnel – followed a downward path to the Azores (Table 2.3.6). The distribution of people originally belonging to the first two groups of occupations in those below them is clear and there is a high degree of convergence on unqualified workers. On the other hand, as is to be expected, there are hardly any cases of upward mobility between the country of origin and the first six months in the Azores. Moreover, in situations where this seems to be the case, they are rather dubious, as the pathways in question are very similar to those in the country of origin.

Concerning the respondents' mobility between the initial adaptation period and the time of the survey (Table 2.3.7), *downward mobility* is less common than in the previous matrix, which reflects the slight recovery shown in Table 2.3.5. It is natural that the restoration of the professional status in some of these cases is due to recognition of the immigrants' qualifications from their country of origin, especially those of medium level. These qualifications, which apply to a large percentage of the immigrant population, are easily transferrable to the regional employment structure. Nonetheless, there are cases in which, after six months in the Region, there is still a trend towards downward mobility, as in, for example, mid-level professionals and services and sales personnel.

Table 2.3.6 - Matrix of socio-professional mobility between country of origin (last activity) and the Azores (six months after arrival) (%)

Origin / Azores (after arrival)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
1	Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	31,6	15,8	10,5	5,3	-	-	5,3	-	26,3	-	5,3	100,0
2	Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	-	51,8	3,6	-	17,9	-	5,4	1,8	17,9	-	1,8	100,0
3	Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	-	-	89,5	-	-	5,3	5,3	-	-	-	-	100,0
4	Administrative Personnel and related	-	-	15,8	5,3	31,6	5,3	5,3	-	26,3	-	10,5	100,0
5	Pessoal dos Serviços e Vendedores	2,4	1,2	3,5	-	57,6	-	8,2	-	22,4	-	4,7	100,0
6	Services Personnel and Sellers	-	-	-	-	4,3	43,5	4,3	-	47,8	-	-	100,0
7	Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	-	2,4	2,4	-	2,4	4,9	56,1	-	31,7	-	-	100,0
8	Plant and Machine Operators	-	-	9,1	-	9,1	-	18,2	9,1	54,5	-	-	100,0
9	Unskilled Workers	-	-	-	-	7,9	-	10,5	-	81,6	-	-	100,0
10	Army	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	100,0
11	Other Not Specified	-	-	15,0	-	15,0	5,0	-	-	40,0	-	25,0	100,0

Table 2.3.7 - Matrix of socio-professional mobility between activity in the first six months after arrival and current activity (%)

	after arrival and current activity (%)											
Origen / Azores (after arrival)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	Total
1 Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
2 Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	5,6	94,4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
3 Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	3,4	3,4	81,0	-	6,9	-	-	5,2	-	-	-	100,0
4 Administrative Personnel and related	-	-	-	100,0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
5 Services Personnel and Sellers	7,7	2,2	4,4	1,1	76,9	1,1	2,2	-	3,3	-	1,1	100,0
6 Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	-	-	6,3	-	6,3	62,5	18,8	-	6,3	-	-	100,0
7 Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	2,0	-	-	-	-	-	98,0	-	-	-	-	100,0
8 Plant and Machine Operators	-	-	-	-	-	-	40,0	40,0	20,0	-	-	100,0
9 Unskilled Workers	4,9	0,8	0,8	0,8	8,2	-	10,7	-	69,7	-	-	100,0
10 Army	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100,0
11 Other Not Specified	15,0	5,0	-	-	-	-	10,0	-	-	-	70,0	100,0

Now that we have sketched the main trends in the respondents' mobility between sectors and occupations, in order to highlight the most important aspects of this chapter, we can summarize the main facets of immigrant employment in the Azores as follows:

- 1) High proportion of working immigrants and rejuvenation compared to 2004;
- 2) Greater integration of female immigrants in the Azorean employment market between 2004 and 2008;
- 3) Low unemployment in the general immigrant population
- 4) High percentage (over 80%) of immigrants in the employ of others;
- 5) High concentration of immigrant workforce in construction (31%), services (22.7%) and hotels and restaurants (10.6%), although there was a considerable transfer from the first to the other two between 2004 and 2008;
- 6) Growing importance of immigrants in the services sector of tourism and entertainment, sports and recreational and artistic activities;
- 7) Discrepancy between the immigrants' qualifications from their country of origin and their jobs in the Azores, especially among those from Eastern and Central Europe;
- 8) Reduction since 2004 in the percentage of immigrants with no work contract and very similar proportions of those with fixed-term and indefinite contracts – 44%
- 9) Significant increase in those with fixed-term contracts for women and immigrants from Eastern and Central Europe;
- 10) High percentage of immigrants with only one job, though in the Brazilian community there is a trend towards having a second paid job;

- 11) Overtime work for almost half the employed immigrants, almost all of which is paid;
- 12) Most immigrants between the last year in their country of origin and the first six months in the Azores find work in construction, services and hotels and restaurants, with high internal mobility and absorption capacity over time;
- 13) In terms of occupational status, the transition from country of origin to the Azores brings downward professional mobility for most immigrants.

CHAPTER 3

THE AZORES AND THE INDIVIDUAL MIGRATORY PROJECTS

Gilberta Pavão Nunes Rocha

Octávio H. Ribeiro de Medeiros

Eduardo Ferreira

In line with the goals of the study, in this chapter we examine the respondents' migration projects, particularly the possibility of their staying in the Azores or returning home. This decision is linked to the immigrants' opinion of their immigration experience and satisfaction with their reception by and integration into local communities.

From the point of view of the host society, immigrants have almost always been considered more as economic agents than social players (Machado, 2002: 12), owing not only to their reasons for leaving but also the impact that they normally have on their host labor market. Indeed, employment reasons are widely recognized in any theoretical approach.

In this case, we are interested in the possibility of immigrants staying in the Azores and their alternative plans, which are related to job security, salary and relationships with the local population, at work (in particular), and housing.

We feel we should not separate their possibility of staying from a positive assessment of their current situation and a

feeling of belonging to their host society. Integration is always a complex, multifaceted process and can be defined as a “process of interaction, adjustment and mutual adaptation between immigrant and host society, in which the new arrivals and local population form an integrated whole over time” (Fonseca, 2003:118). As Pena Pires says, “The term integration is currently used in sociology literature to describe, from a micro point of view, the way in which players are incorporated into a common social space and, from a macro point of view, how different social subsystems find compatibility” (Pires, 2003:13).

When talking about the integration of immigrants, a variable that must be associated with the wish to leave or stay in the Azores, it is important to mention that local incorporation systems have had a greater impact or been more effective in integrating immigrants in their host societies than national political systems. In fact, without the acceptance of the host society, integration policies can be blocked (Fonseca, 2003 - 110) and help weaken integration or satisfaction.

Having said this, as a working hypothesis, we feel that the immigrants’ wish to stay in the Azores permanently is more valued the greater their original intention to leave the country for good. For the groups who planned only to stay temporarily, because they either wanted to go back home or settle somewhere else, we can expect the wish to return home to be greater, regardless of their evaluation of their time in the Region. Another plausible hypothesis is that there is some association between the way in which the respondents regard their future and their expectations

of the work situation for immigrants in general and themselves in particular, as this issue is decisive when they first think of emigrating.

We must also remember that family reunification is an important factor in the migration process. A SEF (Portuguese Immigration Department) report in 2006 said, "Throughout the history of immigration in Portugal, there have invariably been more male than female immigrants, although this trend has been mitigated by family reunification in the last two years" (SEF, 2006:15).³⁴ "Family reunification often results in an extension of the stay in Portugal sometimes as far as permanent settlement." (Almeida *et al.*, 2004:14).

Family reunification is recognized for foreign nationals residing legally in a Member State and is a right granted by their immigration policies in application of the new provisions of the European Union Treaty. It is inspired by full respect for human rights and family and children's rights and important international acts and conventions (Rosa *et al.*, 2002:265).

In the analysis below, we have chosen some variables that we consider pertinent and explanatory, starting with demographic indicators such as gender, age, level of education, occupation and geographical origin. Cross-references of these variables will help us to interpret the future plans of immigrants in the Azores.

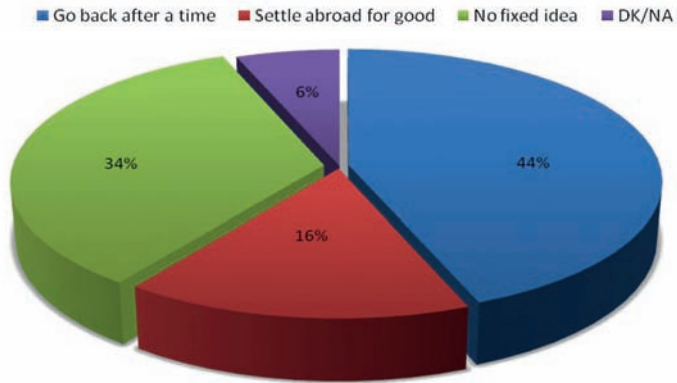
³⁴ Family reunification is, today, one of the main forms of immigration into the European Union. More than 75% of the annual influx consists of spouses, offspring and other family members (Carneiro, 2005:25). The right to family reunification should be regarded not only as a right but also as a social instrument.

3.1 – Continuities and alternatives

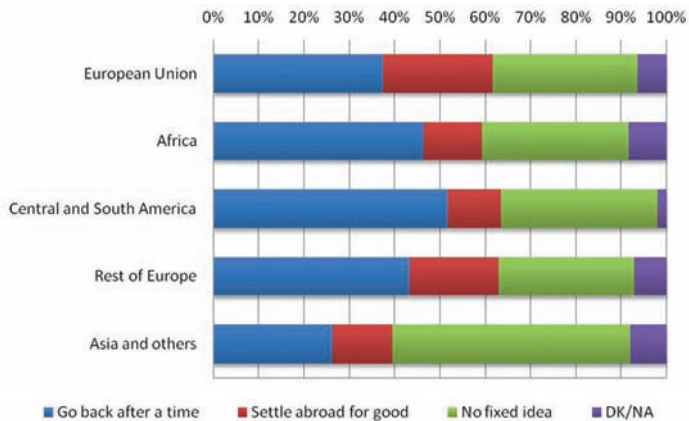
Emigrants do not leave their country without having expectations, even if they are not aware of the entire situation or know that not everything will go the way they want. In most cases, before leaving they have a more or less clear idea of their goals and the duration of the migration that each individual or family will choose. Indeed, these are essential factors in the decision process and are responsible for these people's predisposition to start the whole process. In this case, we find that, before leaving, a high percentage of respondents (44%) planned to return home after a time and there were no great differences by gender. On the other hand, just over one third (34%) said that they had emigrated without any fixed idea on the subject and so we must think that, more than the other groups, this one's assessment of their migratory experience may be a decisive factor in their decision as to whether or not to settle in the Azores. The possibility of staying in the Region for good seems more viable among the 16% who said that they left their country of origin with the idea staying away for good.

It seems that the respondents' wish, on leaving, to return to their country of origin is not significantly different among the three groups of work immigrants. The percentage of Africans, Latin Americans and Eastern Europeans who emigrated with an idea of returning is over 40% in all cases, i.e. very close to the above overall percentage.

Graph 3.1.1 – Initial predisposition to return to country of origin (%)



Graph 3.1.2 - Initial predisposition to return to country of origin by geographical origin (%)



In these groups, it is not by chance that the initial intention to return is more expressive among immigrants from Central and South America (52%), most of whom, as we know, are from Brazil. This statistic gives us the idea that most of these

immigrants are determined to return to their country of origin one day after achieving essentially monetary targets. Indeed, this intention was clear in the previous chapter, when we analyzed their relationship with the employment market.

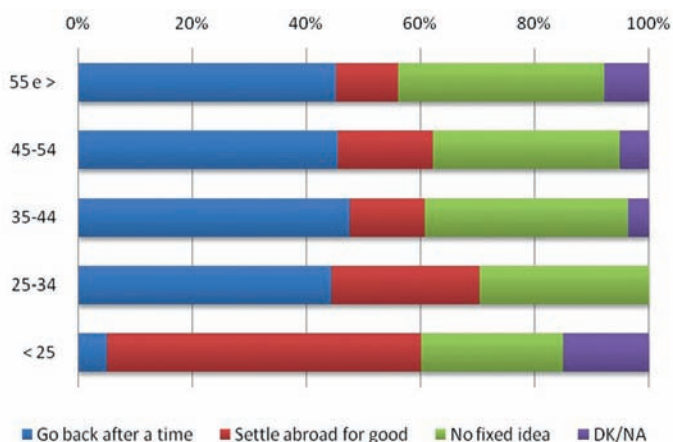
The greater diversity in profile of European Union nationals in recent years (compared to 2004) may explain why almost 40% left their countries without the intention of settling abroad for good. As we pointed out in Chapter 1, we are no longer looking at a group consisting almost exclusively of retirees; it now includes younger people who are in the Azores to gain new professional experiences or earn money. In any case, this is the group in which the wish to live abroad was most visible at the start of the migratory process. In our opinion, this wish comes from those who regard settling in the Azores as part of their plans for a new phase in their lives – retirement.

In the Asian group, it seems that there was more uncertainty as to the future when they emigrated, as just over 50% said that they had left their countries with no concrete idea of when they would return. We believe that this characteristic may be due, to a great extent, to the type of migration in question, which is almost always family-based and therefore with less room for maneuver and individual decisions.

A comparison of the results on respondents' initial predisposition to return to their country of origin on the basis of their age corroborates the abovementioned *origin effect*, rather than adding new information to the issue of original intention. Indeed, although Graph 3.1.3 seems to show a certain uniformity in the

relationship, it is important to point out that in most cases there is a significant time lapse between the age of the respondents when they emigrated and the time they answered the survey. Let us not forget that only 7% of the respondents had been in the Region for less than one year and 41% between 5 and 9 years, not to mention the 16% who had been there for more than 10 years.

Graph 3.1.3 - Initial predisposition to return to country of origin by age group (%)



Even if we admit that the youngest age group (under 25) consists mainly of immigrants who arrived in the Azores most recently, it is important to point out that the significant percentage who said that they would eventually return home (around 45%) tends to be largely influenced by the groups of origin in which the wish was greater when they emigrated, especially the Brazilians, but also Africans and Eastern Europeans

and also, possibly, the more recent, younger contingent from the European Union. On the other hand, we also tend to find the *origin effect* in the respondents aged over 55, in which 55% said that they intended to live abroad for good. Even though some of these people may have come to the Azores some years ago as work immigrants, and this was their reason for coming in the first place, we must consider that a significant percentage are from the European Union, are older and chose the Azores to settle after retiring.

When we analyze immigrants' initial predisposition to return to their country of origin by level of education, we find that the intention to settle abroad permanently tends to increase with their school attainment, though the reverse is not necessarily true. Nonetheless, the figures for settling abroad for good in the highest levels of education cannot be dissociated from the immigrants' origin. As shown in Graph 3.1.2, those from the European Union (25%) and Eastern Europe (20%) were those displayed less desire to return home when they first emigrated. These are also the two groups with above-average levels of education among immigrants in the Region, which explains the abovementioned relationship between the variables.

Table 3.1.1 also shows the weight of no fixed idea in terms of levels of education. This was an aspect that was not properly highlighted when we mentioned overall figures for initial predisposition to return to their country of origin (Graph 3.1.1, 34%), but is perhaps worth underscoring as it has come to the fore once again. In fact, going against the idea that migratory

projects usually include the idea of *going back* (even if this does not actually happen), we can say that, among work immigrants, there is also a great deal of uncertainty as to the future and the path that migration will follow.

Table 3.1.1 - Initial predisposition to return to country of origin by level of education (%)

Expectation	Elementary School (1st to 4th grade)	Middle School (5th and 6th grades)	Junior High School (7th to 9th grade)	High school (10th to 12th grade)	Associate's degree	Undergraduate / Graduate degree
Return after a time	50,0	44,7	40,3	47,8	36,4	35,5
Settle abroad	13,4	13,2	16,4	11,8	22,7	22,6
No fixed idea	34,1	34,2	38,8	33,9	36,4	34,8
Dk/Nr	2,4	7,9	4,5	6,5	4,5	7,1
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Since, as we have seen, immigrants' socio-professional status is connected to their level of education and geographic origin, it is no surprise that we find some links between the wish to remain abroad for good and the respondents' occupational group. In general, and only in the largest categories, the wish to settle permanently tends to be more evident in the mid-level and higher groups, with the exception of mid-level practitioners and service and sales personnel, which are the ones with a large percentage of Brazilian immigrants and those who assumed that they would eventually return home. The same cannot be said,

however, for the less qualified categories, such as industrial workers, craftsmen and similar and unqualified workers, where around 50% of the respondents left their country of origin with the idea of going back later.

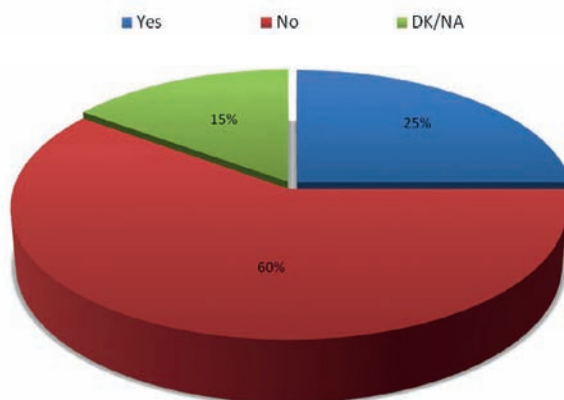
Graph 3.1.2 - Initial predisposition to return to country of origin by geographical origin (%)

Occupation	Return after a time	Settle abroad for good	No fixed idea	Dk/Nr
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	27,3	36,4	36,4	0,0
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	31,6	21,7	36,8	7,9
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	46,6	8,6	39,7	5,2
Administrative Personnel and related	0,0	33,3	66,7	0,0
Services Personnel and Sellers	37,9	14,7	38,9	8,4
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	50,0	12,5	31,3	6,3
Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	49,1	9,4	32,1	9,4
Plant and Machine Operators	80,0	0,0	0,0	20,0
Unskilled Workers	49,2	18,9	29,5	2,3
Other Not Specified	61,9	4,8	33,3	0,0

From our analysis, we can safely say that migrants' predisposition to settle abroad for good on leaving is much

clearer among those who do not really fall into the category of *work immigrants*, such as foreigners from the European Union, who have decided to live in the Region as an alternative to their own country. With most of those classified as *work immigrants*, the decision to emigrate is usually based (and its costs somehow offset) on the prospect of returning home one day, even though, as we have seen, a considerable percentage of these people emigrate with no fixed plans. However, even among those who emigrate for monetary reasons, the initial intention to return differs, especially on the basis of region of origin and, apparently, a greater or lesser guarantee that their academic and professional attainment can be easily transferred to their host country.

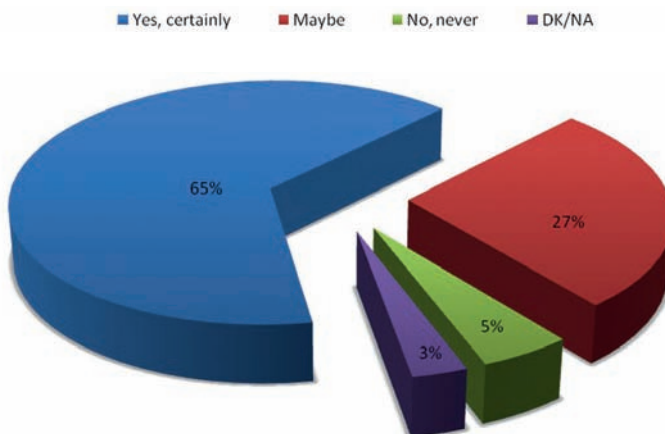
Graph 3.1.4 - Predisposition to leave the Azores at the moment of survey (%)



If we analyze immigrants' predisposition at the time of the survey to leave the Azores (if they decide to return home or

emigrate somewhere else), we find a large discrepancy between their initial plans and their current wishes. Although only 16% of the respondents said that they had no intention of returning to their country of origin when they emigrated, we find that 61% do not wish to leave the Azores. We feel that this figure may reflect good experiences on the part of the immigrants, in spite of the 25% who say that they will definitely leave the islands. In addition, of the 34% who said that they had no plans to return, only 15% were still not sure. This indicates more certainty about their migratory projects, which we feel can be attributed to their lives as immigrants in the region.

Graph 3.1.5 - Predisposition to choose the Azores for new migration plans (%)



In addition to the positive experience for immigrants shown by the above figures, the respondents are quite explicit about their satisfaction with the Azores as a destination (Graph

3.1.5). When asked if they would choose the archipelago again as a destination, 65% said they definitely would and 27% said maybe. Only 5% said that they would not.

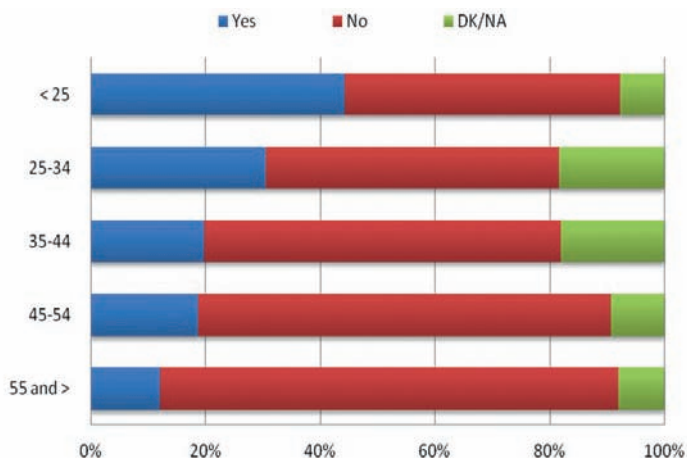
In addition to the above, Table 3.1.3 allows us to cross-reference immigrants' more recent plans when it comes to staying in the Region or not with their original predispositions. Of those who do not plan to leave the Azores (around 2/3 of the respondents), 38% emigrated with the idea of returning home and 35% were undecided. In other words, while many of the immigrants changed their minds completely, others went from uncertainty to a decision (to stay in their host region). While in either case it would not be unreasonable to assume that their experience as immigrants contributed to their decision, we cannot rule out the possibility that some immigrants had a more negative opinion about the economic and social situation in their country of origin and were therefore reluctant to return.

**Table 3.1.3 - Predisposition to leave the Azores
(at the moment of survey) by original plans (%)**

Predisposition at origin	Leave the Azores			
	Yes	No	Dk/Nr	Total
Return after a time	64,5	37,6	38,0	44,5
Settle abroad for good	5,9	21,9	9,8	16,0
No fixed idea	24,3	35,1	43,5	33,7
Dk/Nr	5,3	5,3	8,7	5,8
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Two-thirds (65%) of those who said that they planned to leave the Azores for good planned to do so when they emigrated, which also demonstrates the importance of initial predispositions and decisions throughout the migratory process.

Graph 3.1.6 - Predisposition to leave the Azores (at the moment of survey) by geographical origin (%)



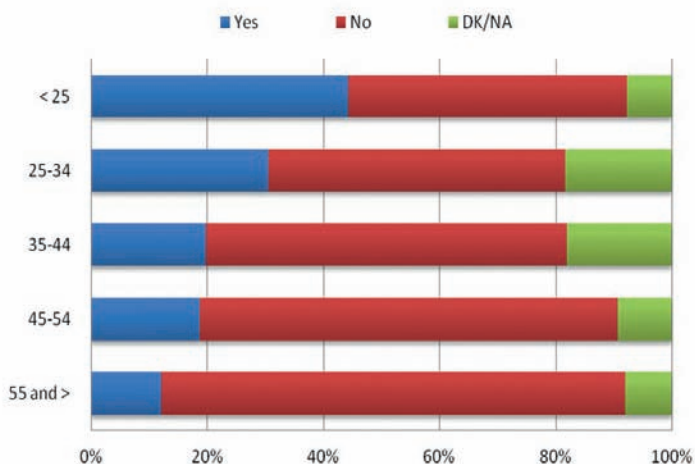
Having said this, and knowing that 61% of the respondents planned to settle in their host region, and that 25% plan to leave and 15% are undecided, we must now try to understand how these current predispositions vary on the basis of the immigrants' groups of origin and social characteristics. Starting with geographical origin, we find that the wish to remain in the Azores is dominant in the five groups considered, with the figures varying from 50% in the Rest of Europe to 66% for the countries of the European Union. In spite of the low absolute

figures, it is important to note the uncertainty shown by Asian immigrants, clear from the number of non responses (34%), which may be linked to the high degree of mobility that normally characterizes them.

Contrary to expectations, from our analysis of the respondents' predisposition before emigrating, it was not the immigrants from Central and South America who most expressed the wish to leave the Region. In Graph 3.1.2, about 52% of the immigrants in this group initially planned to return to their country of origin, but the figure is now 26%. This is the group with the largest change from their original plans, which can be interpreted as a sign of this community's successful integration into the host society.

This does not, however, detract from the Brazilians' apparent determination to return to Brazil. This new figure merely places this decision at the time of departure rather than today, and to a certain extent goes against our hypothesis in the preamble of this chapter where we state that settling for good in the Region tends to be valued more in proportion to the immigrants' original intention not to go back to their country of origin. The degree of economic and social integration they attain while in the host society seems to play an important role. Where the Brazilians were concerned, this aspect was reflected in the previous chapter, for example, by the substantial percentage who worked in jobs requiring mid-level or higher qualifications, and who have relatively solid ties to their employers.

Graph 3.1.7 - Predisposition to leave the Azores (at the moment of survey) by age group (%)



However, more than a question of the immigrants' geographical origin, the plan to leave or settle for good in the Azores depends a lot on age, as shown in Graph 3.1.7. It shows that the wish to stay in the Azores increases progressively with age (from 48% in the youngest age group to 80% in the oldest). At the same time, there is no great margin for uncertainty. The issue of indecision is, indeed, a characteristic that we find mainly in the intermediate age groups. Associated with the fact that the wish to return home is higher in the youngest group (44%), this suggests that in some cases, and particularly for those who emigrated when they were quite young, they may be at the juncture between the desire to leave and the certainty that they will stay.

The main reason for coming to the Azores and time of residence tend to be the two main factors that explain why 80%

of the answers in the group of respondents aged over 55 said that they wished to remain in the Region. On the other hand, this age group comprises a significant percentage of European Union nationals for whom the Azores have always been an attractive destination for reasons other than monetary ones. However, if we consider people who have lived there for a long time, are nearing or have reached retirement age and have had a positive experience as immigrants, it is easy to see why the idea of returning to their country of origin or settling somewhere else is not a very plausible alternative in their lives. As we can see in Table 3.1.4 on the respondents in general and not only the age group in question, longer residence seems to contribute considerably to ruling out the idea of returning home or reducing their uncertainty as to their future plans.

Table 3.1.4. - Predisposition to leave the Azores
(at the moment of survey) by length of stay in the Azores (%)

Predisposition to leave the Azores	Time of arrival	
	1990-97	1998-2008
Yes	22,2	25,6
No	69,5	58,3
DK/DA	8,3	16,1
Total	100,0	100,0

In addition to age and length of residence, it is also important to gauge the weight of immigrants' school attainment and current occupational status in their desire to stay or leave. We are focusing on these two factors because they are both easily perceived by

the immigrants as constituting a potential constraint or stimulus when considering whether to stay in the Azores, choose a new host society, or return to their country of origin.

**Table 3.1.5. - Predisposition to leave the Azores
(at the moment of survey) by level of education (%)**

Levels of education	Predisposition to leave the Azores		
	Yes	No	Dk/Nr
Illiterate	50,0	50,0	0,0
Elementary School (1st to 4th grade)	22,0	68,3	9,8
Middle School (5th and 6th grades)	16,2	70,3	13,5
Junior High School (7th to 9th grade)	21,1	57,7	21,1
High school (10th to 12th grade)	32,3	57,0	10,8
Associate's degree	27,3	63,3	9,1
Undergraduate/Graduate degree	22,9	54,9	22,2

We can say that, in general, the predisposition to settle permanently in the Azores is found more among immigrants with low levels of education (essentially elementary school and 6th grade) than those with higher school attainment. The percentages in Table 3.1.5 show that this difference occurs mainly among those who said that they would not like to leave the Azores, as among the “yeses”, the wish to leave is distributed more or less equally throughout these two main groups.

Within this more generic framework, the exception is the group who completed the 12th grade, which includes a large number of Brazilians. Around 32% of respondents with this level

of schooling said that they wanted to leave the Region, while only 23% of those with a university degree or elementary school said the same. However, this does not mean that immigrants with this level of education are less predisposed to stay in the Azores, as 57% said that wanted to remain. School attainment therefore confirms what we have been saying about Brazilian immigrants in this chapter, which is that a substantial percentage of them wish to settle in the Azores, even though the dominant wish before emigrating was to return to their country of origin.

There are also different situations in terms of non-responses, which are quite frequent among the respondents with university degrees (22%). Although there may be various explanations for this, we cannot rule out greater uncertainty on the part of more qualified immigrants, especially if we consider that many of them are overqualified for the jobs that they are doing. For many, uncertainty about a possible change in the situation may explain their hesitation, as they have no guarantees that there will be a transfer of competences and that they will be able to achieve social and economic progress in their chosen destination.

When we introduce the socio-professional group variable (Table 3.1.6) into the analysis, we find that, with regard to education, the differences do not occur so much between extreme situations but within the two main groups, i.e. occupations requiring mid-level or higher skills and poorly qualified occupations. Referring only to the categories with the largest numbers, we find that, in the first group, most of the immigrants in management and supervisory positions (directors

and senior managers) say that they want to stay in the Azores (77%), while very few are undecided (7%). This is not the case for members of the intellectual and scientific professions (52%) or mid-level practitioners (42%), both of which display a level of uncertainty that comes to roughly 30%. We feel that this discrepancy may lie in the greater independence and exceptional working conditions that directors and senior managers normally enjoy when compared to the other two groups.

Table 3.1.6. - Predisposition to leave the Azores
(at the moment of survey) by occupational group (%)

Occupation	Predisposition to leave the Azores		
	Yes	No	Dk/Nr
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	16,3	76,7	7,0
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	19,6	52,2	28,3
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	31,6	42,1	26,3
Administrative Personnel and related	14,3	85,7	0,0
Services Personnel and Sellers	20,2	62,4	17,4
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	57,1	28,6	14,3
Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	22,2	67,9	9,9
Plant and Machine Operators	20,0	40,0	40,0
Unskilled Workers	26,5	58,2	15,3
Other Not Specified	42,3	42,3	15,4

We find another difference when we compare unqualified workers and industrial workers, craftsmen and similar workers,

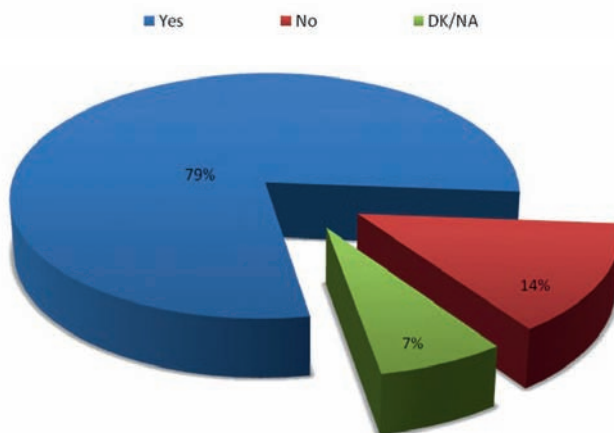
most of whom work in construction in this case. A comparison shows that the preference for staying in the Region is higher in the second group (68% of the answers), which includes immigrants working in highly specialized jobs, like carpenters, electricians and those working with heavy machinery. Fewer respondents in less specialized jobs, with high competition and job insecurity planned to stay in the Azores. Of this group of unqualified workers, 58% said that they did not plan to leave the Azores.

We can infer from this that the wish to stay in or leave the archipelago depends not only on whether immigrants have manual or white-collar jobs but also more on each group's current working conditions and future prospects.

After analyzing how immigrants' predispositions to stay vary on the basis of country of origin and social characteristics, we would now like to examine the main choices in terms of destinations and timings of the 25% of respondents who said they wanted to leave the Azores. Graph 3.1.8 shows that there is a close association between the intention to leave the Region and the desire to return to their country of origin (79%). To some degree, this connection indicates that most of the respondents who do not want to settle permanently in the Azores may be basing their decision more on their original plans when they emigrated (i.e. return almost unconditionally to their place of origin) than on any dissatisfaction with their lives as immigrants at their chosen destination. On the other hand, we cannot make this assumption even with the

14% who say that they do not plan to return to their starting point, because migratory processes and pathways are often made up of stages and what may seem like a destination at one point may turn out to be a springboard for access to other destinations.

Graph 3.1.8. - Intention to return to country of origin among respondents planning to leave the Azores (%)



This is shown by these respondents' preference for the European Union as a future host region. In general, although we must consider the 14% non-responses, around 38% of the immigrants wishing to leave the Azores want to go to another EU country. As we can see from the regions of origin, this is not a choice favored only by immigrants from the Azores (50%), but is one made by all the other groups, particularly Africans (44%).

Table 3.1.7. - Destinations chosen by respondents planning to leave the Azores (%)

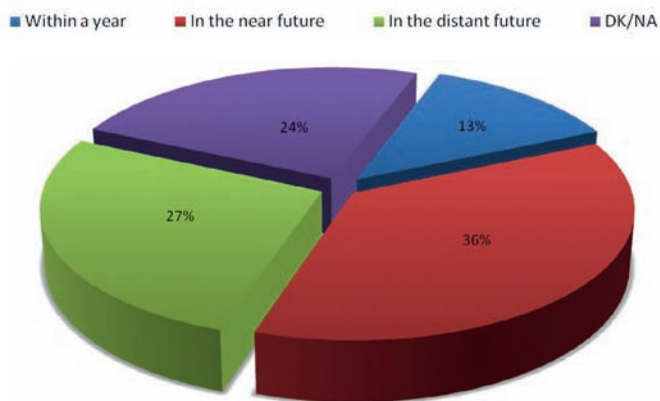
Geographical origin	Chosen destination					
	Africa	Central & South America	European Union	Rest of Europe	Ásia & others	DK/DA
European Union	12,5	6,3	50,0	6,3	0,0	25,0
Rest of Europe	0,0	3,3	30,0	40,0	0,0	26,7
Africa	43,6	0,0	43,6	1,8	0,0	10,9
Central & South	0,0	60,5	28,9	2,6	2,6	5,3
Asia & others	0,0	0,0	50,0	0,0	50,0	0,0
Total	18,4	17,7	37,6	10,6	1,4	14,2

As we have said, most of the respondents who do not wish to remain in the Azores plan to return to their region of origin, especially those from Latin America (60.5%). Apart from a preference for the European Union, very few say that want to move to other parts of the world. The exception of European Union nationals in this area, such as the 12.5% who say they plan to go to Africa, is not easy to explain but this is a group with particular characteristics with different reasons for moving than most work-motivated immigrants.

Although many said that they wanted to leave the Azores and return to their country of origin (79%), few plan to do so within one year (13%). However, a substantial percentage of respondents (36%) say that wish to leave in the near future (in two to five years), while 27% only plan to go after five or more

years. Around 24% of those who wish to return to their country of origin have not yet decided when to do so. This is a characteristic common to most migratory projects and results from the fact that the desired return does not always materialize.

Graph 3.1.9 - Time until returning to country of origin (%)



In view of the above, before completing this part of the analysis, we would like to say that we believe that most immigrants in the Azores plan to continue their migratory projects, particularly regarding their chosen destination, in spite of the differences between the point of origin and their current phase. In the situations in which they have alternative plans, we do not feel that this is because of a negative assessment of their lives in their host society, but rather their wish to realize some of the ambitions they held when they decided to emigrate, such as leaving their country on the condition that they would one day return.

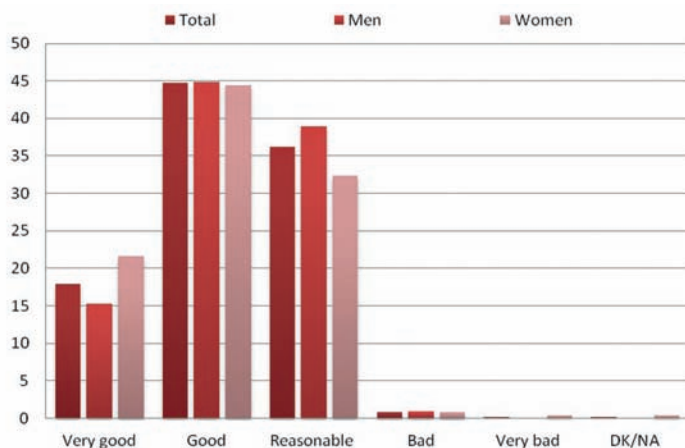
3. 2 – Evaluation of the immigration experience

For a more accurate interpretation of the respondents' assessment of their life in the Azores, we must remember that around 63% of the those polled said that they had come directly from their country of origin (though this does not necessarily mean that this was their first emigration),³⁵ while 29% said that they had first lived in mainland Portugal. This information, which seems to be unimportant to the point in question, stresses the possibility that it may conceal some diversity of reasons for choosing the Azores as a destination and that we are looking at two groups that may have had different expectations from their experience as immigrants in the Region.

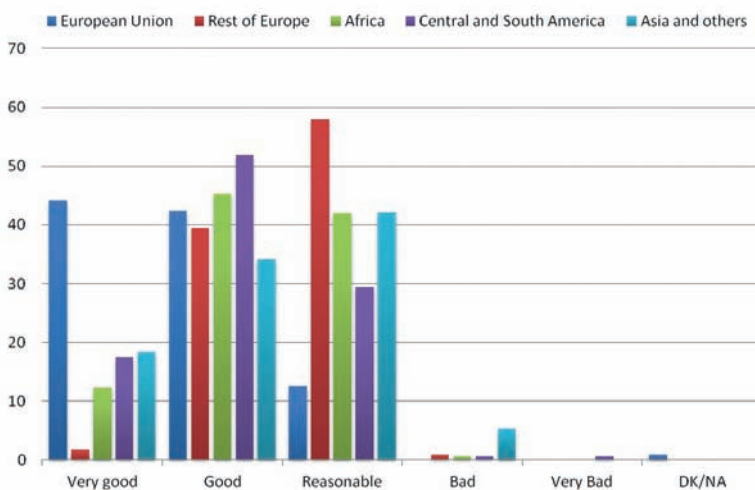
Graph 3.2.1 shows that the immigrants' assessment of life in the Azores can be considered generally positive. Almost 63% classified it as "better than reasonable," with 17.9% saying "very good" and 44.7% "good," while 36% said it was "reasonable." There may, however, be a correspondence with the large percentage of respondents who do not plan to go elsewhere or return to their country of origin – 61%, as shown in the previous point. There are no significant differences between gender, although slightly more men said "reasonable" and slightly more women said "very good."

³⁵ Most of them are from the European Union (82.6%) followed by Central and South America (65.2%), the Rest of Europe (62.8%), Africa (55.7%) and Asia and others (36.8%).

Graph 3.2.1 – General evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores by gender (%)



Graph 3.2.2 - General evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores by geographical origin (%)



This is not the case, however, with regard to immigrants' geographical origin. Firstly, there is a very clear trend towards

finding respondents from the European Union at the extremes of the scale ("very good" – 44.1% and "good" - 42.3%), which shows a much higher degree of satisfaction than in the other groups. Very few of them are represented in the "very good" category, never exceeding 20% and at 2% for the Rest of Europe. This specificity of the evaluation made by many EU citizens cannot be dissociated from their reasons for coming to the Azores, which, as we have seen, were not economic in nature.

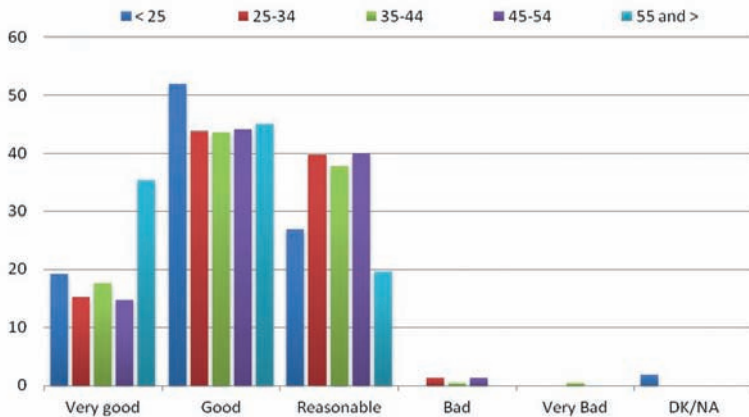
On the other hand, nationals from Central and Eastern Europe and Africa are the most moderate in their positive evaluation. The Rest of Europe, for example, is the group with most answers in the "reasonable" category (58%), followed by Africans and Asians with around 42% each. The fact that the first two groups are in the middle of the scale may be related to their work situation, as more of them work in unqualified jobs or with fixed-term contracts than the Brazilians for example.

The immigrants from Central and South America show considerably higher satisfaction than the others. Almost 70% answered "very good" or "good," with 52% saying "good." If we exclude the European Union group, this is the one with most positive assessment of their stay in the Region.

Once again, we believe that we cannot ignore some work-related factors, such as the fact that many Brazilian immigrants work in services and in high or medium to high status jobs. This is also a community that has achieved the best adjustment between academic qualifications and occupation. It is also the group that made the most progress in terms of labor contracts between 2004

and 2008. Their level of satisfaction may also come from other factors, such as social support, which has been increasing in this community through the expansion and consolidation of informal support networks, as mentioned in the previous chapters.

Graph 3.2.3 – General evaluation of the immigration experience in the



If we analyze the effect of age on immigrants’ general assessment of their experience in the Azores, there are signs of greater satisfaction in the extreme age groups, as about 35% of the respondents aged over 55 were in the “very good” category and 52% of those under 25 were in the “good” category.

However, this is a statistic that does not come directly from the immigrants’ age groups, but rather from their geographical origin. As we saw in Chapter 1, around 25% of the respondents aged over 55 are from the European Union, which is also the case for those under 25. This does mean that we cannot associate this higher degree of satisfaction with immigrants from other

regions (Africans and Brazilians for those aged under 25) or even those who have been in the Azores for longer, such as a percentage of those in the oldest age group.

The differences are minimal among the immigrants aged between 25 and 54 (almost 80% of the population surveyed) and most of them answered “good” or “reasonable.”

Table 3.2.1. - General evaluation of immigration experience in the Azores by level of education (%)

Item	Illiterate	Elementary School (1st to 4th grade)	Middle School (5th and 6th grades)	Junior High School (7th to 9th grade)	High school (10th to 12th grade)	Associate's degree	Under/ Graduate degree	Dk/Na
Very good	0,0	12,2	13,5	13,9	14,7	36,4	27,7	10,4
Good	0,0	41,5	51,4	41,7	48,4	45,5	46,5	31,3
Reasonable	100,0	45,1	35,1	44,4	35,3	18,2	24,5	56,3
Bad	0,0	1,2	0,0	0,0	1,6	0,0	0,0	2,1
Very bad	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,6	0,0
Dk/Nr	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,6	0,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

As with age, level of education does not seem to act alone in the immigrants’ evaluation of life in the Azores. In addition to the threshold formed by the 12th grade (not unconnected to the fact that the group of reference is immigrants from Central and South America, as we will see), we are far from being able to say that satisfaction increases in direct proportion to school attainment.

Not even in the lowest or highest scales is it possible to find linearity indicating a direct relationship. For example, immigrants with elementary school and the 9th grade have very similar opinions and just over 85% of their answers are “good” (42%) and “reasonable” (45%). Those with the 6th grade tend to give a slightly more positive assessment, with 51% answering “good” and 35% “reasonable,” as in the case of those with the 12th grade. In this last group, the relationship with region of origin cannot be ignored, as almost 50% of this category consists of Brazilian immigrants whose evaluation shows 52% answering “good,” (as shown in Graph 3.2.2.).

If we now look at levels of education above High School, we once again find that satisfaction does not increase in direct proportion to schooling. There are more answers showing the highest level of satisfaction (“very good”) among those who had completed associate’s degree (36%) than those with a university degree or more (28%). Once again, it is reasonable to assume that the influence of the respondents’ geographical origin - especially due to the subtractive effect that may result from a lower satisfaction expressed by immigrants from Eastern Europe who, along with those from the European Union, have the highest academic qualifications - does not help supplant the assessment by respondents with associate’s degrees.

As mentioned above, the small size of some occupational categories obliges us to consider some figures from a relative point of view. Instead of reading Table 3.2.2 as a whole, a comparison of the largest occupational groups shows that, unlike

age and education, occupation tends to have a direct influence on the respondents' generic assessment of immigration in the Region.

Table 3.2.2. - General evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores by occupational group (%)

Occupations	Very good	Good	Reasonable	Bad	TOTAL
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	36,4	36,4	27,3	0,0	100,0
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	13,2	60,5	26,3	0,0	100,0
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	13,8	46,6	39,7	0,0	100,0
Administrative Personnel and related	66,7	33,3	0,0	0,0	100,0
Services Personnel and Sellers	21,1	40,0	37,9	1,1	100,0
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	0,0	37,5	62,5	0,0	100,0
Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	13,0	46,3	38,9	1,9	100,0
Plant and Machine Operators	40,0	40,0	20,0	0,0	100,0
Plant and Machine Operators	11,5	39,7	48,1	0,8	100,0
Other Not Specified	19,0	61,9	19,0	0,0	100,0

A progressive reduction in satisfaction from “very good” to “reasonable” occurs as we go from groups with higher occupational status to those in poorly qualified jobs. This is particularly evident in the first three groups at the top of the table, but is even more so when we include unqualified workers in the comparison, as almost half have answers that go no higher than “reasonable.”

In the largest categories, 21% of the service and sales personnel group answered “very good,” which enables us to infer that the adjustment between qualifications and occupation that we tend to find in this group tends to contribute to a feeling of general satisfaction for the immigrants in it.

Although it is generally positive, the respondents’ assessment of immigration in the Azores is quite heterogeneous when we look at some specific factors. We find differences, for example, between employment and their relationship with the host society or if we introduce immigration policies or the way in which public authorities receive and help immigrants.

Of all the items chosen for evaluation (Table 3.2.3) making up the above three dimensions, we found that, where relations with the local population were concerned, the respondents considered those at work to be the best, with around 70% answering “good.” Also in this category, but more than 20 percentage points lower, we find considerable satisfaction with housing (47%) and job stability (40%). If we add these figures to those who answered “reasonable,” the points valued most are the same – relations with the local population (91%), in the workplace (86%), housing (88%) and job stability (80%).

Where work was concerned, although satisfaction with the prospect of staying in their current jobs was high, the respondents gave a more moderate assessment of their salaries. Only 18% consider them “good” and around half (53%) think they are “reasonable” within their current needs and their monetary goals as immigrants. Another 18% classify their pay as less

than “reasonable,” which confirms that wages are the item that causes the immigrants greatest dissatisfaction with their work.

**Table 3.2.3. - Evaluation of the immigration experience
in the Azores in specific fields of social life (%)**

Item	Good	Reasonable	Poor	Bad	Dk/Na
Job stability	40,3	39,1	7,8	7,8	10,3
Salários auferidos	18,2	52,6	12,2	5,3	11,7
National immigration policies	18,8	43,4	15,0	6,6	16,2
Regional Government's handling of immigration	26,6	34,2	13,9	5,9	29,4
Relationship with the local population	68,3	22,9	3,3	1,3	4,2
Relationships in the workplace	68,6	17,7	1,0	1,7	11,0
Housing	46,7	40,8	5,3	3,0	4,2

As for immigration policies and the work of public authorities in receiving and supporting immigrants, the respondents' appraisal is also moderate. As a result, 15% of them consider national policies to be insufficient (“poor”) and 7% think them “bad.”

However, around 19% classify them as “good”, which shows some balance in the extreme opinions.

Immigrants' satisfaction with the actions of the Regional Government is generally higher than at national level. Even though the figures are very close to those mentioned above in the categories “insufficient” (14%) and “bad” (6%), there is a transfer of opinions to the positive end of the scale. When asked about the performance of the regional authorities with regard

to immigration, 27% of the respondents' answers are better than reasonable ("good"), which is higher than the result for Portuguese immigration policy (19%).

In short, we can say that, of the three categories chosen to evaluate the respondents' experience, it is social relations in which they show highest levels of satisfaction. Their opinions on social integration are most likely one of the factors that best explain why almost 2/3 of immigrants do not wish to leave the Azores, as demonstrated in the first point of this chapter. Even so, their assessment of the other two dimensions does not show dissatisfaction on the part of the majority, which merely shows that there are aspects that the immigrants feel require improvement and that, in isolation, would be unlikely to cause them to leave.

Table 3.2.4. - Evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores in specific fields of social life by gender (%)

Ítens	Good		Reasonable		Poor		Bad	
	H	W	M	W	M	W	M	W
Job stability	38,6	44,7	46,3	30,7	6,9	9,4	2,6	2,5
Salary earned	18,0	20,4	59,0	49,6	12,4	13,3	5,6	5,4
National immigration policies	20,0	19,4	48,2	41,8	18,8	11,4	5,9	8,4
Regional Government's handling of immigration	29,8	24,6	38,0	32,1	17,0	10,8	6,1	6,3
Relationship with local population	70,4	71,9	24,6	22,7	2,9	4,1	1,8	0,8
Relationships in the workplace	74,0	68,5	18,6	18,3	1,2	0,8	2,7	0,4
Housing	43,7	55,4	46,9	36,0	5,6	5,4	2,9	3,3

When we analyze the different items by gender, we find some important differences. One of the fields in which this difference is relevant is understandably work, where a certain dissimilarity between men and women, as found more objectively in the previous chapter, is also confirmed from an evaluative point of view. If we add the figures for “good” and “reasonable,” we find, for example, that 85% of the men expect to remain in their current job, as opposed to 75% of the women. In addition, 77% of the men are satisfied with their pay, while only 70% of the women say the same.

On the issue of immigration policy, still considering the sum of the two positive categories, we find once again that the men tend to have a more positive evaluation than the women. On the subject of national policies, 68% of the men and 61% of the women had favorable opinions. This difference increases with regard to the actions of the Regional Government with regard to immigrants – 68% and 57%, respectively.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this point, the overall assessment of more than 60% of the respondents on their experience as immigrants in the Azores shows a level of satisfaction higher than reasonable. This statistic allows us, for the sake of a simple analysis, to focus only on those who answered “good” when examining the differences between some of the variables used most in this survey. Even though we know that, in many situations, few answers at this point in the scale (“good”) does not necessarily mean a negative assessment by

the respondents, as there is also a significant trend towards reasonable, we get a clearer idea of exactly who is more or less satisfied with each of the items assessed.

**Table 3.2.5.- Evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores
in specific fields of social life by geographical origin**

(% only those who answered "good")

Item	European Union	Rest of Europe	Africa	Central & South America	Ásia & others
Job stability	43,2	38,4	31,8	51,0	44,7
Salary earned	20,7	14,4	12,2	27,0	27,0
National immigration policies	22,3	19,1	18,2	19,6	21,6
Regional Government's handling of immigration	28,6	20,7	34,7	20,8	40,5
Relationship with local population	76,8	60,6	72,8	78,1	47,4
Relationships in the workplace	75,7	58,2	73,8	79,2	60,5
Housing	53,2	38,2	44,5	59,6	39,5

Looking first at the immigrants' geographical origin, we find that, although there is a degree of uniformity with regard to national immigration policies, not all the groups are as satisfied with the other aspects analyzed. On the subject of remaining in the same job, for example, the respondents from Central and South America are by far the most optimistic, with 51% of the answers in the category in question. Fewer immigrants from the Rest of Europe and Africa classify the prospect as "good," 38% and 32%, respectively. The Brazilian community seemed more

satisfied with social relations with the local population (78%) and co-workers (79%), housing (60%) and salary (27%). In all these items, the EU nationals come closest to the above figures and it is important to stress that we are not talking only about Europeans settling in the Region for retirement but also those who are fully integrated into the regional job market.

More than the other groups, the Africans are highly satisfied with the actions of the regional authorities in assisting immigrants (35%) and are among the groups (along with Latin America and the European Union) that give the highest score to social (73%) and work relations (74%). The immigrants from Eastern Europe did not take a very positive position in any of these items and were those with the lowest opinion of social and work relationships.

Although this lineup of positions is based on only one particular level of satisfaction, it confirms one of the main conclusions drawn from each groups' overall evaluation of their experience as immigrants in the Azores. In general, the assessment tends to differ between groups who emigrated for work purposes and is much more positive among Brazilian immigrants and less so among those from Central and Eastern Europe.

As we demonstrated when assessing immigrants' overall experience, there is a correspondence between geographical origin and average level of education, which largely explains the differences in Table 3.2.6. For example, the greater optimism expressed by the Brazilian community can be seen in the highest figures in almost all the items for those with the 12th grade and associate's degrees. In addition, the respondents with a

university degree are a little more restrained in their assessments, which we believe is because this level of education is held by a considerable number of immigrants from the Rest of Europe. Another example is the high percentage of answers from respondents who have completed the 6th grade regarding the Regional Government's handling of immigration. As we can see in Table 3.2.5 this is an important aspect for the Africans (who account for more than half the respondents with this level of education).

Table 3.2.6 - Evaluation of immigration experience in the Azores in specific fields of social life by level of education (% only those who answered "good")

Item	Levels of education					
	Elementary School (1st to 4th grade)	Middle School (5th and 6th grade)	Junior High School (7th to 9th grade)	High school (10th to 12th grade)	Associate's degree	Under/Graduate degree
Job stability	24,7	35,1	35,2	47,5	63,6	42,6
Salary earned	5,2	11,1	18,6	22,3	36,4	22,6
National immigration policies	21,1	11,1	14,3	18,9	9,1	25,2
Regional Government's handling of immigration	29,9	48,6	26,8	26,1	13,6	24,5
Relationship with local population	65,8	67,6	66,2	73,9	81,8	71,6
Relationships in the workplace	67,9	69,4	69,0	78,2	81,8	66,9
Housing	48,1	40,5	38,0	50,0	45,5	57,8

Based on some of the main occupational categories, it is easy to see that it is the top occupations that most value and have hopes regarding work-related issues (Table 3.2.7). Not only directors and senior managers but also intellectual and scientific professionals give a high score to job stability and salary.

**Table 3.2.7 - Evaluation of the immigration experience in the Azores
in specific fields of social life by occupational group
(% only those who answered "good")**

Occupations	Items						
	Job stability	Salary earned	National immigration policies	Regional Government's handling of immigration	Relationship with local population	Relationship in the work place	Housing
Top Public Administration, Managers and Senior Business	54,5	31,8	20,5	25,0	70,5	84,1	52,3
Technicians, Scientific and associate professionals	63,0	35,6	13,6	22,2	77,8	84,4	64,4
Intermediate Level Professional Technicians	39,7	22,4	20,7	15,5	69,0	77,6	46,6
Administrative Personnel and related	42,9	14,3	0,0	14,3	100,0	85,7	57,1
Services Personnel and Sellers	49,1	24,1	18,5	20,4	77,1	85,3	55,0
Farmers and Skilled Workers of Agriculture and Fisheries	7,7	0,0	9,1	25,0	41,7	41,7	16,7
Workers, Craftsmen and similar workers	51,3	17,9	24,7	43,6	69,2	71,8	51,3
Plant and Machine Operators	60,0	0,0	20,0	20,0	60,0	80,0	40,0
Unskilled Workers	35,4	16,3	13,5	30,9	60,8	69,4	30,6
Other Not Specified	34,6	8,0	20,0	20,0	68,0	76,0	36,0

The differences noted among occupational categories appears again in the group of unqualified workers with regard to housing, on which they are more reticent, even though we are talking about a high degree of satisfaction in all groups. This difference also extends, though to a lesser degree, to social relations, as both of the items in this area have lower percentages of answers from those in less unqualified jobs, unlike the findings gleaned from top and mid-level professionals.

We believe that we can infer something that the general evaluation of experience as immigrants only hinted, which is that their degree of satisfaction with social and workplace relations tends to depend on their occupation. This suggests that issues such as greater harmony between qualifications, occupation and social status subjectively influences the immigrants' assessments.

In conclusion, we think it reasonable to assume that there is a connection between the high percentage of immigrants who plan to stay in the Azores and their positive evaluation of their experience in the archipelago. We believe that this positive result is fundamentally due (notwithstanding other factors that have not been included in this analysis) to social relations and, for many immigrants, the prospect of maintaining a job situation that they subjectively assess in a positive light.

Even so, this general assessment is still quite heterogeneous, due to factors like the immigrants' geographical

origin and occupational status. Of the foreign nationals who are most satisfied with their experience in the Region, first come those from the European Union, followed by Latin America, most of them Brazilians. The African immigrants and those from Central and Eastern Europe show more moderation in their evaluations. This factor may explain their lower predisposition to settle permanently in the Azores, as we saw in the first point in this chapter.

It is difficult not to associate these differences in assessment to the way that the immigrants assess their work situation as individuals and groups. Neither the occupational status nor the work conditions of most of the immigrants from Africa and Central and Eastern Europe compare to those of a considerable percentage of Brazilians living in the Azores. In addition to the fact that more immigrants in the first two groups work in jobs that are more physically demanding and poorly valued from a social point of view, among immigrants from Eastern Europe, there is a clear discrepancy between their qualifications and the majority of tasks they perform. This is reflected in the more negative evaluation they give to these items (clearly shown by the greater pessimism on the part of Africans and those from the Rest of Europe on their future work situation) and we cannot reject the idea that they condition the way in which the immigrants regard their future.

Even so, taking into account what we said in the first point of this chapter, the desire to leave the Azores expressed by 25% of the respondents does not seem to depend so

much on their assessment of life in the Azores or their relations with the local population, but rather on the fact that almost half of the immigrant population left their country of origin with the intention of returning one day.

From our analysis, we can therefore conclude:

- 1) Almost half of the immigrants planned to go back home, essentially the Brazilian immigrants.
- 2) The European Union citizens, on the other hand, had already decided to settle in the Azores for good.
- 3) The wish of immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe to return at the time of emigration tends to be smaller than among other groups.
- 4) In spite of the high percentage of immigrants who originally planned to return to their country of origin, almost 2/3 of respondents plan to settle in the Region.
- 5) Most of the 25% or so who say that they want to leave the Azores would prefer to go back to their country of origin (particularly the Brazilians), while others would like to move to another European Union country, mainly immigrants from Africa and the rest of Europe.
- 6) Generally, the assessment of their experience as immigrants in the Azores is quite positive. Apart from the EU nationals, who give the highest score, the Brazilians are the ones who rate the standard of living in the archipelago the highest, unlike the immigrants from the Rest of Europe.
- 7) There is not necessarily an association between the assessment made and the wish to stay in or leave the Region. For example, the positive

assessment of the immigrants from Central and South America does not rule out their wish to emigrate to a new destination or even return to their country of origin.

- 8) The highest opinions regard social relations, housing conditions and job stability, while the lowest go to national immigration policies.

- 9) The desire to leave the Region tends not to depend on a negative assessment their experience as immigrants but rather on the fact that their plans on emigrating were to return to their country of origin.

CONCLUSION

A fairly recent development in the Azores, immigration began as a continuation of the phenomenon in mainland Portugal, where the first immigrants were mainly from the former colonies in Africa. This confirmed the theories and practices in several European countries in which immigrants are mainly attracted by former colonial empires where they seek better economic and social conditions, rather than looking for them in other developed countries when emigrating. The justifications are not only cultural and linguistic ties and a past with some affinities - even though there have been periods of conflict - but also facilities resulting from bilateral agreements and policies between the countries of origin and host countries. This shows the importance of international political relations in migration.

This helps us understand the initial importance of Africans to the whole country, especially those from Cape Verde, an archipelago that has a special relationship with the Azores, and more recently the trend among Brazilians, also in accordance with legislation and special facilities between Brazil and Portugal.

However, in line with the trend throughout the country, it extends to other regional groups, such as immigrants from Central and Eastern Europe, as the Azores seem to be following on from developments in the mainland, albeit with a certain time lapse. These immigrants' reasons for emigrating are no different from those of most migrants and are essentially economic and work-related. There is no justification based on the historic relationship mentioned above; their motivation is the sudden change in the political, economic and social structure of their countries of origin resulting from the dismembering of the USSR and the emergence of new, independent states. Western Europe in general and the European Union in particular naturally appear to these immigrants to be a real or imagined place for improving their material and social conditions. Portugal is also a host country in this context and, by extension, so are the Azores. The sojourn of these immigrants is therefore for other reasons, in which we must not minimize the importance of other European countries, their geographical and cultural proximity, or even their membership in the EU and possible changes in the economy and society of origin.

With some similarities and differences, we find a similar justification for the growth in the number of Asians, especially Chinese, a growing community over most of the industrialized world, which has also chosen Portugal as a place to carry out the activity they engage in nearly everywhere else— retail.

While some of these groups first went to mainland Portugal, those who came to the Azores remained in contact with those

who had stayed in their countries of origin, which made it easier for them to come directly to the archipelago, which is the norm these days.

Something different seems to have happened in the case of European Union nationals, whose choice of the Azores had nothing to do with the situation on the mainland, although they are well represented there.

In all cases, one must highlight the importance of social networks and the information that they generate in encouraging immigrants to stay and others to come, and the important support provided upon the immigrant's arrival and the resulting social, cultural and economic integration of the newcomers.

The demographic characteristics of age and gender of most immigrants in the Azores are those most typical of all immigrants. In other words, they are of working age and mainly men, although the number of women is increasing in contemporary society in general and in the Azores in particular, as more women find jobs and therefore gain independence. There has been a relative reduction in the arrival of women for the purpose of family reunification.

The immigrant population is tending to age in the Region. This is linked to a slowdown in immigration in recent years, longer stays, especially on the part of the first ones to arrive, with a possibility of better social and occupational integration for many of them, and the existence of older immigrants with particular characteristics, such as those from European Union countries.

The social and economic structure of the Azores cannot be considered typical of an industrialized country, for a start because a large part of the population has a low level of education and works primarily in poorly qualified jobs. If the tertiary sector carries some weight, it is due not only to the Azores' situation as an archipelago, which makes public services very important, but also to a traditionally incipient industrial sector. There has also been an increase in the number of Portuguese women in the Azorean job market, many of whom work in lower-end tasks requiring skills that have been learned in the home.

In any case, in recent years, there have been some changes in this trend, which have made the services sector more modern and innovative and in which new pursuits have appeared, especially those associated with new communication technologies, urban culture, and leisure time activities.

We cannot therefore espouse the theory that immigrants are recruited to do jobs that the locals do not want to do, because they are too qualified or because they consider them demeaning. This has been the case in many more developed countries, today and for many decades in the past, and reflects the situation of most Azorean emigrants, who began to go to North America in the mid 1960s.

In general, the immigrants are much better qualified than most of the Azorean population and there can be little doubt that they find jobs due to relatively recent needs of the Region's economic and business structure, such as the construction

industry and to the development of a wide range of tertiary activities, some of which are the immigrants' own initiative.

The construction sector is no longer as dominant as it was at the beginning of this decade. Nonetheless, it still carries considerable weight in absorbing foreign labor, even immigrants with higher levels of education, not only for those seeking their first jobs in the Region, but also those who, on arrival find work in sectors that find it difficult to hold on to immigrant labor, such as agriculture, transports, etc.

The tertiary sector has also been challenging construction for the status of main employer of foreigners in the Azores, which is the reason for a profound change in the sectors employing immigrants in recent years. The growing importance of the hotel and restaurant sector and economic services in general seems to be due to an increase in the number of Brazilian immigrants, who have skills and qualifications that are easily adapted to these sectors, and to job mobility of a large percentage of immigrants who have lived in the Region for almost a decade.

We can say that immigrants' jobs in the construction and services sector in the Azores seems to be the result of employers' preferences. Employers find that immigrants are more willing to work long hours and are less demanding in terms of contracts. They also find they have more specific skills and are more flexible, in some cases because of higher academic qualifications. This is the particular case of those from Eastern Europe, among whom the discrepancy between qualifications and work is the widest.

However, it is immigration from Africa, except Cape Verde, and Eastern Europe that has tended to decline in recent years, especially between 2004 and 2008, when the surveys were conducted. Nonetheless, some more qualified immigrants also hold better jobs, filling gaps that local people cannot, although they may have achieved this position after some time in the Azores, through recognition of their skills and qualifications.

Once again, we believe it is important to highlight the fact that Brazilians and some immigrants from the European Union have jobs in tertiary activities (such as sales, hotels and restaurants) which are compatible with their cultural resources and are expanding in the Region. They are also given preference by employers, for the reasons mentioned above. Indeed, as shown by some indicators on immigrants and their work, some Brazilians seem willing to hold down a second job or to work overtime.

As we mentioned earlier in this work, some of the immigrants from the European Union – an influx that has been growing in recent years - come to the Azores for reasons other than work. These are normally older people, more women than men, and the reason for emigrating seems to be better quality of life rather than factors of an economic or financial nature.

Although immigrants are generally satisfied with their social integration and relations with the local population, while still critical of national immigration policy, their decision to remain in the Azores does not seem to depend only on these assessments. Other factors also seem to carry weight, such as

decisions taken upon emigrating – to leave temporarily or for good - or the real possibilities of finding work in line with their expectations of economic and social advancement, in which we feel it is the Eastern Europeans whose expectations are thwarted more than other immigrant groups. They are not only the group that displays the clearest discrepancy between the work they do and their academic qualifications, but also the one with the most job insecurity, especially in terms of contracts, thereby making their situation quite vulnerable.

It is therefore no surprise that the number of these immigrants is falling in the Azores, as it is in mainland Portugal. Although for different reasons, the same seems to be happening with Africans, mainly those in an undiversified, unqualified segment of the employment market, where Cape Verdeans may be an exception, due to relative stabilization in their numbers. The justification here seems to be closely associated with social relations with Cape Verdeans on the mainland, where some have lived for several years. However, we cannot ignore recent difficulties in the employment market and particularly the slowdown in the construction sector, which until recently has been the main source of jobs for male immigrants from Cape Verde.

The possibility of an imminent reduction in the Brazilian population, which has not yet occurred (actually quite the contrary), may be due to their reasons for leaving their country of origin. In other words, even if they are working in occupations compatible with their academic qualifications, at the end of some

time in a changing economic structure, many of them ultimately want to return home. We can therefore understand this group's acceptance of longer working hours or holding down more than one job. While more immigrants are still coming, this does not mean that many of them will actually be settling in the Azores permanently.

Nonetheless, our surveys of immigration in general have shown that many immigrants plan to return to their country of origin when they first decide to emigrate, but change their minds after achieving integration in their host society. Their country of origin becomes an ever-postponed dream, while their host region and its power of attraction play a fundamental role.

The desires of immigrants from the European Union and Asia are different. Their status seems to be more solid due to the characteristics of their employment and their motivations upon emigrating; while a significant role is also played by their relationships in the host region where their dealings with the local population are seen in a very positive light, as they are by most other groups of immigrants.

Therefore, existing and new immigration depends largely on what immigrants can achieve, especially in terms of employment. In the Azores, the fundamental question is their ability to find work, compatibility between their skills and know-how and the actual job that they have to do, their contract and working conditions and the social transformation associated with them, since there do not seem to be any social reasons for

exclusion, in spite of the dissatisfaction with national and to a lesser extent regional immigration policies.

The diversity of the societies on the different islands means that they exert different degrees of attraction. Only the larger islands seem to have any kind of future as host areas, as they are economically more diversified and have undergone greater social and cultural transformation, such as Terceira and particularly S. Miguel.

We feel that a particularly important course of action is to define and implement measures for recognizing academic qualifications, not to mention social measures, regulations and work inspection that will contribute to greater social and economic integration of immigrants.

These kinds of measures would first simplify recognition of diplomas obtained in the immigrants' country of origin and would also foster better adjustment between the supply of and demand for employment, particularly in the more qualified population segments of the immigrant population. This would make it easier for immigrants to find specialized occupations, in line with the economic, social and cultural development trends emerging in parts of the Azores.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: Questionary

Quest. N.º | _ | _ | _ |



UNIVERSITY OF THE AZORES
Center for Social Studies



Regional Government of the Azores

IMMIGRANTS IN THE AZORES: EVALUATION OF THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Geographical Origin	Africa	Central and South America	E.U.	Rest of Europe	Asia and Others				
	_	_	_	_	_				
Island of Interview:	(SMA-1) _	(SMG-2) _	(TER-3) _	(GRA-4) _	(SJO-5) _	(PIC-6) _	(FAI-7) _	(FLO-8) _	(COR-9) _

I - CARACTERIZAÇÃO

1. Gender: Male | _ | (1) - Female | _ | (2)

2. Country of Origin _____

2.1 Where did you reside before coming to the

Azores? _____

3. Year of Birth ¹⁹ | _ | | _ |

3.1. Age:

Present

When you left country of origin

When you arrived in the Azores

| _ | | _ |

| _ | | _ |

| _ | | _ |

4. Marital Status

1. Single

2. Married

3. Live together/couple

4. Divorced/Separated

5. Widow/er

When you left origin

Present

| _ | (1)

| _ | (2)

| _ | (1)

| _ | (2)

| _ | (1)

| _ | (2)

| _ | (1)

| _ | (2)

| _ | (1)

| _ | (2)

5. Do you have any children?

1- Yes | _ | (1)

1.1. How many? | _ | | _ |

1.1.1 How many came with you?

| _ | | _ | (1)

2- No | _ | (2)

1.1.2 How many joined later?

| _ | | _ | (2)

1.1.3 How many were born in the Azores?

| _ | | _ | (3)

6. Total of relatives who accompanied you when you left country of origin? | _ | | _ |

7. Education level (self and partner) before leaving country of origin and current:

Before

Current

7.1. Self

7.2. Partner

8. Currently, who do you live with (family situation)?

1. Alone

| _ | | (1)

2. Only with spouse/partner

| _ | | (2)

3. With spouse and children

| _ | | (3)

4. With spouse, children and other relatives

| _ | | (4)

5. With spouse, children and others (non-relatives)

| _ | | (5)

6. Only with friends/colleagues

| _ | | (6)

7. With parents

| _ | | (7)

8. Only with children

| _ | | (8)

9. Other situation. Specify? _____

| _ | | (9)

II – LABOUR MARKET

The answers to the questions in this section are mandatory and should be filled "in column", thus following the Migratory Project of the respondents (from Column I to Column III)

	Column I	Column II	Column III
1. SHORTLY DESCRIBE WHAT YOU DID	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
2. MAIN MEAN OF LIFE	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Work	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
2. Unemployment Benefits	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
3. Retirement	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
4. Scholarship	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
5. Family supported	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
6. Own Income	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
7. Other cases (specify)	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
3. EM,PLOYMENT STATUS	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Employed	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
2. Unemployed	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
3. Domestic Worker	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
4. Retirement	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
5. Student	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
6. Student-Worker	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
7. Disabled/Incapacitated	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
8. Other. Specify?	_____	_____	_____
	_____	_____	_____
4. WORK SCHEDULE	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Full-time	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
2. Temporary, but regular (Seasonal)	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
3. Very irregular/occasional	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
4. Does not apply	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
	_____	_____	_____
5. PROFESSIONAL SITUATION	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Salaried worker	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
2. Self-employed with employees	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
3. Self-employed with out employees	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
4. Non salaried family worker	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
5. Other (specify)	_____	_____	_____
6. Does not apply	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
	_____	_____	_____
6. WORK CONTRACT	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Open-ended contract	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
2. Time period-specified contract	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
3. With out any contract	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
4. Does not apply	_ (1)	_ (2)	_ (3)
	_____	_____	_____

7. WAY IN WHICH YOU GOT THE JOB	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Through friends/Portuguese acquaintances	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
2. Through relatives/friends from country of origin	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
3. Direct contact with Portuguese employers	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
4. Direct contact with employers from country of origin	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
5. Answer to ad	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
6. Public Contest	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
7. Registration at a job center	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
8. As a result of professional workshops	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
9. Created own job	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)
10. Other situations (specify)	_____	_____	_____
11. Does not apply	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)

8. EXTRA HOURS	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Yes, paid (weekly average of hours)	__ ____Hours	__ ____Hours	__ ____Hours
2. Yes, not paid (weekly average of hours)	__ ____Hours	__ ____Hours	__ ____Hours
3. No	__	__	__
4. Does not apply	__	__	__

9. OCCUPATIONAL ACTIVITY COMPLEMENTING MAIN PROFESSION	Country of Origin (during last year)	Situation in the Azores(first 6 months after arrival)	Current Situation
1. Yes, paid (specify)	__	__	__
2. Yes, not paid (specify)	__	__	__
3. No	__	__	__
4. Does not apply	__	__	__

III – REASONS

1. What is the main reason you left country of origin? (Indicate main, only one answer).

- To accompany/join family |__| (1)
- Financial reasons/employment |__| (2)
- Study |__| (3)
- “Adventure spirit” |__| (4)
- Other reasons. Which? _____ |__| (5)

2. In the country of origin, was the job you were engaged in enough to support you and/or your family? (select only one answer):

- Fully |__| (1)
- Reasonably |__| (2)
- Not enough |__| (3)

3. Departing your country was (only one answer):

- One/Family decision |__| (1)
- As result of my employers’ strategies |__| (2)
- Through recruiting by Portuguese employers |__| (3)
- Other situation . Which? _____ |__| (4)

4. How did you depart your country? (Select only one answer)

- 1. Own finances |__| (1)
- 2. With money borrowed by relatives |__| (2)
- 3. With money borrowed by other people |__| (3)
- 4. Resorting to a loan |__| (4)
- 5. Other |__| (5) 5.1. Which? _____

IV – TYPE OF IMMIGRATION AND MIGRATORY PATHWAY

1. What year did you leave country of origin? |__| |__| |__| |__|

2. What was your first destination?

- 1. Mainland Portugal |__| (1)
- 2. Azores |__| (2) 2.1. Island _____
- 3. Other Country. |__| (3) 3.1. Which? _____

3. What year did you arrive in the Azores? |__| |__| |__| |__|

4. What is the main reasons you chose the Azores as an emigration destination?

(Indicate main; only one answer).

- 1. Family reunification |__| (1)
- 2. Job opportunity |__| (2)
- 3. To be close to people from country of origin |__| (3)
- 4. Better life quality for self / family |__| (4)
- 5. Other reason. Which? _____ |__| (5)

V – EVALUATION OF PRESENT AND FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

1. How do you evaluate your stay in the Azores ,ion regard to the following aspects:

(only one answer per line)

Aspects	Good	Reasonable	Not enough	Bad	DK/NA
1 Job stability	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
2 Salaries/Pay	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
3 National level immigration policies	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
4 Regional Government's actions in regard to immigration	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
5 Relationships with local population	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
6 Work place relationships	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
7 Social Security	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)
8 Housing	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)	__ (5)

2. What were your expectations when you left country of origin?

- 1. Return after some time |__| (1)
- 2. To live abroad permanently |__| (2)
- 3.No pre-conceived plan |__| (3)
- 4.DK/NA |__| (4)

3. What do you think your job status is going to evolve in the Azores? (only one answer per line)

Status	Will improve	Will worsen	Will maintain the same	DK/NA
Of immigrants in general	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)
Self	__ (1)	__ (2)	__ (3)	__ (4)

4. In general terms, how do you evaluate your life in the Azores? (only one answer)

- 1. Very good | ___ | (1)
- 2. Good | ___ | (2)
- 3. Reasonable | ___ | (3)
- 4. Bad | ___ | (4)
- 5. Veru bad | ___ | (5)
- 6. DK/NA | ___ | (6)

5. Would like to leave the Azores?

- 1. Yes | ___ | (1) 5.1. To where? _____
- 2. No | ___ | (2)
- 3. DK/NA/Nr | ___ | (3)

5.2. If yes, why?

6. Do you think about returning to country of origin?

- 1. Yes | ___ | (1) 6.1. If yes, why? _____
- 2. No | ___ | (2) _____
- 3. DK/NA | ___ | (3) _____

6.2. If yes, in how long?

- 1. In a year | ___ | (1)
- 2. In the near future | ___ | (2) 2.1. How many years? | ___ | ___ |
- 3. In the distant future | ___ | (3) 3.1. How many years? | ___ | ___ |
- 4. DK/NA | ___ | (4)

7. If you could turn back time, would still leave your country of origin?

- 1. Yes, no doubt | ___ | (1)
- 2. Maybe | ___ | (2)
- 3. No | ___ | (3)
- 4. Never thought about it | ___ | (4)
- 5. DK/NA | ___ | (5)

8. If you answered to option 1 or 2 (of question 7), would you choose Azores as your destination?

- 1. Yes, no doubt | ___ | (1)
- 2. Maybe | ___ | (2)
- 3. No | ___ | (3)
- 4. Never thought about it | ___ | (4)
- 5. DK/NA | ___ | (5)

Thank you for your collaboration!

Interviewer: _____

Date: _____

In case we need to confirm the answers, could you provide your contact?

Contact: _____ **or Address:** _____

Appendix II: Immigrants by country of origin (%)

Countries	%
The European Union	18,5
Germany	3,6
Austria	0,2
Belgium	0,3
Bulgaria	0,2
Denmark	0,7
Spain	1,3
Estonia	0,3
Finland	0,8
France	2
Greece	0,3
Netherlands	0,8
Italy	2,3
Lithuania	0,2
Poland	0,2
United Kingdom	1
Romania	1,3
Sweden	3
Rest of Europe	18,9
Croatia	0,3
Georgia	0,2
Moldova	1,5
Norway	1
Russia	4,1
Switzerland	0,2
Ukraine	11,6
Africa	29,9
Angola	4,3
Cape Verde	21
Ghana	0,2
Guinea	1,3
Mozambique	1,7
Nigeria	0,2
São Tomé and Príncipe	0,8
Senegal	0,2

Zimbabwe	0,2
Central and South America	26,9
Argentina	0,2
Brazil	24,8
Chile	0,2
Cuba	1,2
Nicaragua	0,2
Venezuela	0,3
Asia and Other	6,3
Bangladesh	0,7
China	3
India	0,8
Japan	0,5
Pakistan	1,3
Total	100,0