

New Migrations in Portugal: Labour Markets, Smuggling and Gender Segmentation

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ABSTRACT

In the last three decades, Portugal has undergone deep changes regarding international migration. Firstly, it has become an important receiver of foreign international migrants from Africa, namely the ones coming from the ex-colonies, now independent countries. Secondly, it witnessed a growing presence of Brazilians, which turned from a narrow middle-high class group of immigrants, to a very large number of middle-low and low class immigrants. Thirdly, it observed a progressive diversification of national origins, mainly represented by the recent and vast Eastern European community, but also visible in dozens of other growing foreign nationalities. In this paper, the focus will be on the role played by labour markets in the growth of new migrations, particularly in what is linked to the importance of smuggling and gender segmentation. Regarding smuggling, the strong recent expansion of the Portuguese economy, accompanied by frequent informal relationships in the labour market, largely explain the surge in the number of immigrants. These migrants often entered the country in an irregular way, using the services of smugglers and traffickers, and performing the bottom jobs of the professional ladder. Given the demand for a flexible labour force and the government's restrictive immigration policy, the objective needs of the labour market were often met by irregular channels of migration. Gender was also a part of the process, since the segmentation of the labour market was increasingly based on ethnic and gender lines. The growth of female related jobs, from domestic and industrial cleaning to caring, and including the sex industry, explained why gendered avenues were built for labour immigration. Although most of the recent labour cycles were dominated by male workers, an increasing fraction was composed of women. Except for the case of trafficking, where exploitation is persistent, women may have acquired in this immigration process an increased but problematic autonomy.

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INTRODUCTION¹

In the last three decades, Portugal has undergone deep changes regarding international migration. Firstly, it has become an important receiver of foreign international migrants from Africa, namely the ones coming from the ex-colonies, now independent countries. Secondly, it witnessed a growing presence of Brazilians, which turned from a narrow middle-high class group of immigrants, to a very large number of middle-low and low class immigrants. Thirdly, it observed a progressive diversification of national origins, mainly represented by the recent and vast Eastern European community, but also visible in dozens of other growing foreign nationalities. Many of these changes were quick, and sometimes unexpected. Despite the fact that immigration revealed the slow operation of a structural turn in the Portuguese society, some of the flows expressed a rapid dynamic cutting across the country.

The first moment of considerable foreign immigration was abrupt. As related by Baganha and Góis (1998/1999), the process of decolonization, consequent from the Portuguese revolution of 1974, led to the change of the nationality law, the retrospective loss of Portuguese nationality for many of the African native population, and the rapid surge of “foreign” inflows after 1975. In fact, these flows were either the continuation of former waves, started in the late 1960s, or the result of decolonization. After this moment, inflows of foreigners coming from the Portuguese ex-colonies became self-sustained, as a consequence of the network effect of immigration, the structural need of foreign manpower in the Portuguese labour market, and push factors in sending countries. The increase of inflows from Brazil resulted from similar factors, including a slowly operating network effect. Immigration from Brazil dates from as far as the beginning of Portuguese emigration to this country, and many of the immigrants that arrived before the 1990s displayed some form of previous contact with the country. It was mostly in the late 1990s that another rapid change occurred. A very strong upsurge in inflows to Portugal was characterized by a new and diverse wave of migration from Brazil and a wide diversification of origins. Particularly, Eastern European immigration in Portugal was vastly unexpected, acquiring a large quantitative volume in a short time span.

With time, research on foreign immigration increased, almost at the same pace as immigration itself. Many references today are available about African inflows to Portugal, including the processes of integration

and the specific issue of the second generation (see, for example, Machado, 2002). Brazilian immigration has remained less studied, maybe because of the social, cultural and ethnic continuities of the first inflows. However, the more recent “second wave” of Brazilians, which started in the late 1990s and displayed different characteristics from the former, has been the object of greater scrutiny (Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, 2004; Padilla, 2005 and 2006). Other recent inflows have progressively been studied, including the Eastern European one (Baganha and Fonseca, 2004; Baganha, Marques and Góis, 2004). Baganha and Góis (1998/1999) and Pires (2003) discuss the overall increase of foreign immigration into Portugal. More recent studies, such as Fonseca et al., (2005) and Malheiros (2005) are also essential for the understanding of the flows, given the rapid obsolescence of empirical data in this field. The upsurge in research is evidenced by the bibliography recently edited by Machado and Matias (2006), which display a considerable amount of references for the period 2000–2006.

It may be argued that recent immigration to Portugal, namely the inflows that started after the late 1990s, is very much in line with the trends in recent international migration in other European and developed countries. In other words, “new migrations” into Portugal share many of the characteristics of other recent migration flows, despite the very different paths, rhythms and contexts known in different countries and regions. The characteristics of recent migrations have been examined under diverse perspectives. In a well-known text, Castles and Miller (2003: 7–9) figure out recent flows as marked by globalization (more and more countries are affected), acceleration (growth of migrations, including irregular ones), differentiation (different types of migrants in the same country), feminization (more important and complex role of women migrations) and growing politicization of migration (national and international politics are affected). All these characteristics are relevant to describe recent inflows to Portugal. The same can be said about the treatment of “new migrations” in Europe, as captured by Koser and Lutz (1998), which consider many of the traits described before.

In a recent paper, Phizacklea (2006) discusses some other characteristics of recent inflows. According to her, immigration has been fulfilling the purpose of labour market flexibility for some decades. The “guestworker” programme, well developed in Europe the 1960s, already had some elements that allowed the easy recruitment and dismissal of foreign labour, as well as its movement between sectors. Those elements were

fully developed in recent years, even after the relocation of many industrial activities to lower-wage developing countries, which changed previous labour demand. The “constant search for more flexible and casualised labour” on the part of employers increasingly leads to immigration and the recruitment of irregular immigrants. On the one hand, this occurs in “unmovable” jobs: immigrants fill up some segments of the service sector, including caring, cleaning, health services and catering, as well as construction. Some of these segments are associated with female labour, which explains the growing feminization of flows. On the other hand, immigrants are employed in the remaining manufacturing and agriculture firms, “which fight competition from the global market through ever more casualised working practices” (*ibid.*, 4).

It can be argued that another specific element of new migrations is the development of the migration industry, which often displays irregular patterns. As stated by Salt and Stein (1997), migration is increasingly becoming a business. Although organized networks and specialized firms have been active for a long time in the international migration field, their role has strongly increased in recent times. The complexities of legal migration procedures, the increasing restrictive stance of host countries governments, and the multiplication of sending and receiving areas, act as causes for the increase of the number of intermediaries. As admitted by Salt and Stein, trafficking and smuggling appear as the informal and underground part of this business. Also, Phizacklea (2006) argues that the recourse to the services of “intermediaries”, including employment agencies, smugglers, and traffickers has become widespread, given the globalization of migration and the political barriers hindering movement and employment in a foreign country.

In this paper, the focus will be on recent foreign immigration to Portugal, namely those inflows that started after the late 1990s. Particularly under scrutiny will be the role played by labour markets in the growth of new migration flows, and their connection with processes of smuggling and the incidence of gender segmentation. My underlying claim is that structural processes in the Portuguese society, particularly labour market dynamics, explain a large part of recent immigration. The role of many other causal factors cannot be neglected: immigration policy changes, the informal networks effect, the growth of organized intermediaries (including smugglers), as well as numerous push-factors in sending countries. However, it may be argued that the Portuguese labour market played a central role in the process, illustrated by the fact that most of the adult age immigrants got rapidly a job. Indeed, labour

market transformations must be combined with those factors to explain the precise outcomes of migration.

In the first section of this paper, mention will be made of the importance of smuggling in channelling immigrants to Portugal since the late 1990s. Organized intermediaries fuelled the structural need for labour existing in the country, and were thus responsible for the rapid increase of several inflows, particularly the Eastern European and a fraction of the most recent Brazilian migration. As often occurs with these kinds of flows, blurred borders emerged between smuggling and trafficking. In the second section, the gendered patterns of recent inflows will be examined. Foreign immigration in Portugal has always been characterized by an important component of female migrants. They were not a majority in the new labour cycles, but have always represented a large proportion. Either through the process of family reunion or through independent migration, most migrant women targeted the labour market. Again, they found an easy insertion into work. Sometimes trafficking also affected women, as clearly occurs in the case of sex industry. To finalize, some concluding remarks will be made.

MIGRANT SMUGGLING AND TRAFFICKING

Trafficking and human smuggling in contemporary societies has received considerable attention in recent years. Scientific research on these issues sharply increased, accompanying the worldwide growth of these flows. One of the recurrent debates in the literature has focused on conceptual issues: despite the conscience that largely different types of movements occur on this field, the characterization of trafficking of human beings, at the one hand, and smuggling of migrants, at the other, often overlaps (Aronowitz, 2001; Salt, 2000). Some theoretical consensus, concerning the main differentiation of flows, has already been reached. In 2000, the United Nations set clear-cut definitions of smuggling and trafficking: for the UN, smuggling is a kind of flow that mostly involves support to irregular migration, whilst trafficking involves exploitation, violence and fraud.² In our view, these complementary definitions represent a useful orientation, since they allow a better understanding of different types of movements. However, some difficulties remain, since the empirical observation of flows reveals a continuum of extremely dynamic situations. It is often not easy to differentiate services provided to illegal migrants from the systematic abuse of human rights.

Another focus of theoretical discussion is related to the duality between inquiries that point to a mostly passive attitude of migrants, leading to an emphasis on victimization, and others that suggest more active behaviour (Aronowitz, 2001; Kyle and Koslowski, 2001; Anderson and Davidson, 2003). In our view, the theoretical understanding of flows still needs to go further on this point, capturing more clearly the agents' strategies in this field. It may be argued that it is the conjunction of individual aspirations for migration, stringent migration policies, and the interests of organized intermediary agents and of prospective employers that leads to the surge of dynamic modalities for channelling flows. The fact that each agent actively interacts with the others explains the continuing changes in the process. For this reason, a concrete flow, occurring in a given time and place, can only be understood by highlighting the different rationales and strategies involved. In other words, it is the simultaneous evaluation of individual migration strategies, the institutional framework – particularly state policies –, intermediary agents' strategies, and employers' interests that can lead to a systematic understanding of smuggling and trafficking modalities.

It can be argued that the perception of concrete forms of smuggling and trafficking, as well as the modes of development, needs a comprehensive approach of that type. Indeed, these processes are extremely dynamic, reflecting the fact that individual and collective agents must be continuously adapting to the behaviour of others. Several agents are involved: individual potential migrants and their families, state officials, smugglers and traffickers, and labour employers. The ultimate outcome of smuggling and trafficking is to build channels for migration, which must respond to the individual motives and the general framework. In this process, the desire of individuals to migrate must combine with the lucrative business purposes of intermediaries, in a context of institutional policies and labour market requirements.

One implication is that most individual migrants play an active role in the migrants' smuggling and trafficking processes. The discourse on the victimization of migrants has often been criticized in the literature, and this is supported by this view. Except in extreme cases of violence and exploitation, individual migrants involved in smuggling and trafficking play some active role in searching for and choosing between different modes of migration. The restrictions created by immigration policies do also have an important role in explaining illegally organized modes of entry (although not all forms of trafficking are illegal – see Anderson and Davidson, 2003).

To understand the processes of smuggling and trafficking, the role of demand in the host country's labour market must always be stressed. As argued by diverse authors, an explanation centred on demand is central to understanding trafficking and smuggling, as well as most irregular immigration (Anderson and Davidson, 2003; Koslowski, 2006). It is the concrete need for flexible and cheap labour, on the part of the employers, that explains the easy incorporation of immigrants into a society, particularly those with irregular status. The pervasiveness of the informal economy, defined by the absence of contracts and the negligence of workers' rights, reinforces these processes. Low skilled and low paid "non-moveable" jobs, in sectors such as construction, cleaning, caring, and agriculture, as well as in industries subject to global competition, are in the centre of this labour demand (Phizacklea, 2006). Very often, the interests of employers meet with the objectives of migrants and smugglers to provide workers for those sectors.

This analysis results from a research project about smuggling and trafficking of immigrants in Portugal, carried out by the author in 2004. This project addressed the issues of smuggling and trafficking of workers and women for sexual exploitation. The rationale behind the project was the fact that, between the late 1990s and the early 2000s, Portugal witnessed large flows of that kind, specifically the smuggling and trafficking of labourers from Eastern Europe, and the trafficking of women for sexual exploitation from Brazil. The project adopted a multi-dimensional methodology. In order to have an informed view about the phenomenon, several steps were taken: theoretical and documental analysis, including media and legislation analysis; research of several judicial cases, covering trials (in process or finalized) about smuggling and trafficking related crimes; interviews with several governmental and non-governmental institutions involved in the field (police, government agencies, NGO, religious institutions, immigrants' associations); and the collection of life histories (extracted from the media, judicial cases and resulting from some personal interviews with convicted criminals). Given the scarcity of previous knowledge about the theme (this was the first extensive research project on the topic in Portugal) and the short time span in which the project was developed (only one year), the project primarily adopted an "indirect" approach. Direct contact with victims, smugglers, and traffickers was very limited. This shortcoming must naturally be overcome in further research about the theme (for a whole view of the project, see Peixoto et al., 2005).

The importance of smuggling and trafficking processes for overall immigration in Portugal is high. Taking the official figures, the number of

immigrants almost doubled in the early 2000s: in 2000, 207,587 legal foreigners (holders of residence permits) were registered, reaching around 2 per cent of the total population; in 2005, a total of 369,297 legal foreigners (holders of residence permits and permits of stay) were counted, reaching around 3.5 per cent of total population (Table 1). The flows were particularly strong between 2000 and 2002, and decreased significantly afterwards. They resulted in the large increase of irregular immigration in the country at the turn of the century, a large part of which was regularized, mainly during the regularization programme set in 2001 (which conceded temporary “permits of stay”, valid for one year and renewable after that).³ It is known that a large part of these irregular flows was, directly or indirectly, related to smuggling and trafficking. During this period, the operation of organized networks was extremely dynamic, which explained the rapid surges and profound changes within a few years.

The main results of the research project were as follows. Regarding smuggling and trafficking of labour, immigrants mainly came from Eastern Europe. The strongest flows were registered in the late 1990s and early 2000s, with a peak in 2001, and the main nationalities involved were Ukraine (most migrants), Moldavia, Russia and Romania. Eastern European migration was a completely novel migration to Portugal, and the absence of former social networks set the stage for the involvement of organized intermediaries (Baganha and Fonseca, 2004; Baganha, Marques, and Góis, 2004). In the sending countries, the modes of operation of organized networks were similar. Often, a “migration package” was bought, including a tourist visa (short-term) to a Schengen country (since Portugal has been a part of the Schengen area since its creation in 1995), travel arrangements, and a contact person in Portugal. This contact person was responsible for providing housing and helping finding

TABLE 1
FOREIGN POPULATION, 1990–2005

	Residence permits			Permits to stay			Total		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
1990	107,767	–	–	–	107,767
1995	168,316	98,441	69,875	–	–	–	168,316	98,441	69,875
2000	207,587	118,271	89,316	–	–	–	207,587	118,271	89,316
2005	275,906	148,700	127,206	93,391	66,966	26,425	369,297	215,666	153,631

Source: INE/SEF.

job upon arrival. After arrival, “smuggling” cases very often became “trafficking” ones, since elements of the networks operating in well-defined areas of the territory were responsible for extorting immigrants. They demanded a “subsidy” for protection, usually independent from the initial debt and often used violent means.

Regarding the full range of operations, different types of networks were found. On the one hand, small and loose networks, displaying a weak degree of organization, finished the interaction with immigrants soon after arrival (this operation may be depicted as a simple case of smuggling). On the other hand, large and well-organized networks, displaying formal hierarchy and job division, and having ties with criminal activities in the sending country, continued the interaction with immigrants after arrival, usually through extortion (a situation that configures a case of trafficking). In both cases, immigrants were mostly men targeted for low-skilled jobs in civil construction, and women targeted for domestic service and, occasionally, the sex industry. This situation reveals the strong effect of labour demand on smuggling and trafficking processes. Immigrants’ level of education was often considerable, with the majority possessing a complete secondary level education. The evidence showed that the smugglers’ and traffickers’ services were freely sought by the immigrants in the sending countries, usually through contacting a “travel agency”. Whilst some of the immigrants, after completing payment to the agent, ran a normal life as economic migrants in Portugal, others had severe problems getting rid of traffickers, being coerced and exploited after arrival. All kinds of networks’ reduced their operations after the early 2000s, following a decrease in job demand in the Portuguese labour market – reflecting again the role of demand in smuggling and trafficking –, stricter control of such illegal activities in the territory, and better integration of immigrants.

The Brazilian inflow was also related to smuggling, although to a much lesser degree. As referred to above, Brazilian immigration displayed a strong upsurge after the late 1990s, a process that was later called the “second wave” of this migration (Casa do Brasil de Lisboa, 2004). The characteristics of the migrants also changed, coming more frequently from middle-low and low social strata in Brazil and more often targeting low-skilled jobs in Portugal (Padilla, 2005 and 2006; Peixoto and Figueiredo, 2007). Many of these new migrants lacked well-established informal networks in Portugal, which explains the role of smugglers. Smuggling networks mostly displayed a small and loose character. Given that a visa is not required for the entry of Brazilian citizens in Portugal,

operations primarily consisted of providing travel arrangements and a contact person in Portugal who was responsible for providing housing and helping to find a job. Given the weak organization of these networks and the comparatively easier insertion of Brazilians into the Portuguese society, interaction with immigrants totally ceased after arrival.

Trafficking of women for sexual exploitation was found mainly linked to Brazil. Although its exact dimension is hard to evaluate, inflows increased in the late 1990s, accompanying the growth of the sex industry all over the country (both urban and non-urban locations). Again, the role of demand must be stressed to explain the movement. Traffickers' networks mostly convened Portuguese owners of night-bars and clubs, contacts in Brazil (often women, with previous experience in prostitution in Portugal or not) and other contacts in Portugal. The networks structure was mostly loose and flexible, linked to the small dimension of these groups. Some evidence was gathered about the women involved in the flows: most of them came from low and low-middle classes in Brazil; many did not have previous experience in prostitution in the home country; many knew the general kinds of activities they would find in Portugal (although the degree of "deception" in this field is a matter of dispute—some were contacted to work as "dancers" and "escort" girls); and most held some control over their destiny after arrival (scarce evidence of severe violence or imprisonment was found). The heterogeneity of women's conditions in these cases, ranging from a more autonomous to a more controlled living, has already been addressed in other studies (for example, see Campani, 2000).

Combining all the flows under study, the evidence gathered in the project suggests that multiple causes, at the macro level, were active in the smuggling and trafficking processes. These causes included push factors for emigration (in Eastern Europe and Brazil), European Union (EU) migration regulations (particularly, the Schengen agreement), pull factors for immigration (job demand in low-skilled and scarcely regulated jobs – mostly civil construction, cleaning and sex industry), and Portuguese immigration policy (including the scarcity and slowness of legal means for regular immigration, the government's restrictive immigration stance, and special legalization programmes). At the micro level, several agents were involved in these processes and a dynamic interaction between them took place. Relevant agents included migrants (often active and accountable in the process), intermediaries (more or less organized smuggling and trafficking networks), employers (civil construction, cleaning, night-bars, etc.), non-governmental associations (which

struggled for legalization and immigrants' rights), and government and public authorities in Portugal.

Regular interaction between these agents took place. As a result, there was a permanent creation and (re)adaptation of strategies for individuals and groups. This led to large variations in the type of intermediation (smuggling and trafficking), the quantitative volume of flows, and the modes of operation. For example, smugglers' and traffickers' networks realized that they could benefit from the opening of the Schengen space, the labour demand in certain Portuguese sectors, and the opportunities for regularization existing in Portugal in 2001, as well as from the emigration potential of the sending countries. This explained the abrupt increase of flows in that period. However, following the decrease of labour demand and the stricter police control of their activities in recent years, such networks sharply reduced their activity. Given a high demand and supply of migrants, a context of restrictive immigration policies, and the near absence of informal social networks, it can be said that the stage was favourable for the creation and strengthening of "formal" and organized networks, providing support for individual migrants in their legitimate migratory strategy and also exploiting migrant vulnerability.

In the Portuguese case it can be said that the mutual adaptation of agents' strategies led to a profound change in immigration patterns in recent years: the appearance of new sending countries (coming from the outside of the Portuguese-speaking area – the traditional Lusophone migratory system), a very strong increase of immigration in a short time span (between 2000 and 2002), and a strong decrease in the rates of migration afterwards. Additionally, many of the traffickers' networks activities were linked to short-term economic and policy changes (including legalization programmes) and were modified afterwards. This dynamic interaction between different agents created a very changeable profile of immigration (rhythms and characteristics), a situation largely different from the traditional channels of migration, based on the slow functioning of informal social networks.

IMMIGRANT WOMEN

The study of international migration does not always consider the gender perspective. Very often, migratory flows are dealt with in a way that does not include gender as one of the main variables of character-

ization, or assumes that the patterns found for male-dominated flows may be generalized for the universe. In the international literature, gender variables or, with a similar outcome, the particular study of female immigrants, became more frequent after the late 1970s. Authors such as Phizacklea (1983), Morokvasic (1984) and Simon and Brettell (1986) have been prominent in this field. They emphasized the need for an approach that could overcome the usual perspectives in migration studies, which ignore the gender dimension: the rational economic approach, whereby migrants move following individual consideration of economic costs and benefits; and the structural approach, whereby migration results from structural economic and social trends and not from individual agency. The understanding of gendered aspects of migration calls, alternatively, for an approach that integrates economic with non-economic variables, and mixes the individual agency of men and women with contextual structures of action (see also Kofman, et al., 2000). Following the same line of reasoning, intermediate structures such as the family, social networks and the organized migration industry become relevant, explaining why different patterns of migration may be found when observing gender.

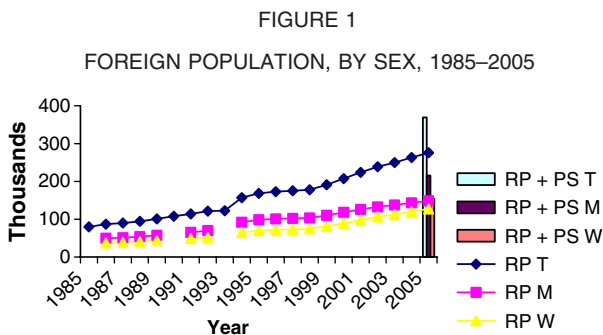
Another relevant theoretical point is that one of labour market segmentation, related to the existence of different modes of incorporation in the labour market (Piore, 1979; Portes, 1981). The main issue under consideration is that segmented labour markets exert different appeals to nationals and foreigners, as well as to specific sub-groups in each population, and create diverse obstacles to mobility. Typically, citizens from the host country occupy jobs in the “primary” market (well-paid, stable and career-oriented jobs), whilst immigrants are targeted to the “secondary” market (badly paid, precarious and socially-disliked jobs, often inserted in the informal economy). Ethnic segmentation often combines with gender segmentation in this process, since some jobs are considered to be appropriate for women. This is the case of cleaning and caring sectors, where the presence of immigrant women is usually overwhelming in developed host countries.

For Portugal, the literature addressing immigration and gender segmentation in the labour market is not abundant. Most references are case studies, rarely using a generalizing approach to the theme. This was the background faced by a research project on the modes of incorporation of immigrant women in the Portuguese labour market, developed by the author during 2004 and 2005. The research methodology was plural. In the first phase, extensive quantitative information was sought, in order

to provide a full picture of conditions in the labour market for immigrant women. One of the main sources explored was the population census of 2001, from which a database on foreign population was extracted and explored in-depth. In the second phase, qualitative material was obtained, through interviews with institutional agents (governmental and non-governmental institutions, government agencies dealing with gender issues, NGOs, and immigrants' associations) and in-depth interviews with immigrant women. In this qualitative phase, three national groups were chosen as the main target of research. Particularly, about 18 interviews were carried with women from Lusophone African countries (PALOP), Brazil, and Eastern Europe (for a whole view of the project, see Peixoto et al., 2006).

The first set of project results regarded volumes and phases of immigrant women in Portugal (or, to be more precise, foreign women, since most databases were built on the basis of citizenship). In quantitative terms, the number of foreign women living in Portugal was always on the increase, accompanying the overall growth of the foreign population (Table 1 and Figure 1). The most important momentum dates from the early 2000s, following the surge in new migrations. The relative proportion of women among all foreigners was always high. Taking the figures on residence permits, between 1986 and 2005 the proportion of women increased from 43 per cent to 46 per cent. This reflected their strong incorporation in foreign immigration flows, either by family reunion or other motives. Taking the compound of residence permits and permits of stay, the proportion decreased to 42 per cent by the end of the period.

In fact, when considering the permits of stay, the new legal status granted in 2001 to irregular migrants, the relative proportion of women attained its lowest level. The new and very strong flows that occurred from the late



1990s displayed a higher male component: the proportion of women that got permits of stay valid in 2005 was 28 per cent. The relative decrease of the female proportion, compared to the figures on residence permits holders, shows, on the one hand, that the start of new labour migration cycles is still a male dominated fact. But, on the other hand, it must not conceal the absolute increase of foreign women during the period, their still substantial relative number, and their commitment to work (the permits of stay were granted on the basis of labour contracts). Indeed, this suggests that women have been an important part of the new migrations that started in Portugal in the late 1990s, even taking into account the delayed effect of diverse cycles of family reunion.

Further findings relate to the socio-economic insertion of foreign women. The following set of data comes from population census results (which disregard the legal situation of foreigners) for 2001. As for their participation in the labour force, the activity and participation rates of foreign women are high (Table 2). This demonstrates not only the high proportion of immigrants in active adult ages, but also the high economic motivation behind most inflows. The available evidence in the census shows that almost 85 per cent of adult women (15 to 64 years old) immigrants from Eastern Europe, had a job, followed by 76 per cent of adult migrant women from Brazil and 73 per cent of migrant women from PALOP countries. These figures confirm the heavy

TABLE 2
FOREIGN WOMEN WITH ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, BY PARTICIPATION
IN THE LABOUR FORCE AND NATIONALITY, 2001 (%)

	<i>From which:</i>					Total (Portugal)
	Total (foreigners)	EU/15 (except Portugal)	Eastern Europe	PALOP	Brazil	
Activity rate (a)	55,3	42,7	79,1	60,8	64,6	42,0
Participation rate (b)	68,4	56,7	84,7	72,5	76,0	63,1
Unemployment rate - broad sense (c)	12,8	9,7	9,4	14,7	12,3	8,7
Unemployment rate - strict sense (d)	5,4	3,3	5,0	6,3	6,0	...

Notes: (a) Labour force as a percentage of total population.

(b) Labour force as a percentage of adult age population (15–64 years)

(c) Unemployed individuals regardless of active search for employment during the last 30 days.

(d) Unemployed individuals that were engaged in an active search for employment during the last 30 days.

(e) Source: INE, Census 2001.

dependency on labour income on the part of foreign women. Unemployment, however, also affects these groups. Women from PALOP displayed the highest unemployment rate among migrant women – taken in its broadest sense –, at 15 per cent, followed by 12 per cent for Brazilian women, and 9 per cent for Eastern European women. These latter numbers may reflect different educational backgrounds (a subject that we will return to later), different aspirations (given the various phases of the migratory cycle), and higher discrimination against Africans. Women from PALOP are also the ones that, among the former groups, display the highest dependency on public subsidies and family support – a situation that is also linked to their degree of settlement, as well as to a higher proportion of residence permit holders.

The modes of incorporation of foreign women, particularly from the national groups under analysis, in the Portuguese labour market display many similarities but, also, some discontinuities. The main resemblance is an overall insertion in some of the more unskilled and undesirable segments of the labour market – or, in other words, low-income and low social status jobs, requiring unskilled or, at the maximum, low-skilled workers. Looking at the main occupations of foreign women (Table 3), we notice a disproportionate presence in “elementary occupations”, which represent the least skilled components in every economic sector. More than half of PALOP women are engaged in these occupations (57%), followed by Eastern Europeans (41%) and Brazilians (25%).

The detailed analysis of occupational groups reveals which jobs are occupied by immigrant women in Portugal. In the service sector, by far the largest receiver, the main occupations are domestic cleaning (paid by the hour and, in a much lesser degree, live-in), industrial cleaning, low-skilled jobs in catering, hotels and commerce, as well as caring (care for the elderly and children, often on a live-in basis). Furthermore, some occupations are available in the manufacturing sector, again at the low-skilled level, and in agriculture, also unskilled and low-skilled. The cross-cutting of data by moment of arrival shows that it is mostly recent arrivals that are targeted for low-bottom jobs. This is exemplarily the case of Brazilian women (which display the lesser amount of “elementary occupations” amongst the three main immigrant groups). Former inflows, dated from the 1980s and the early 1990s, were targeted for technical jobs at the intermediate level of the social ladder and even highly skilled jobs. The more recent wave, however, is overwhelmingly represented in the unskilled and low-skilled service jobs referred to

TABLE 3
FOREIGN WOMEN WITH ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, BY OCCUPATION
AND NATIONALITY, 2001 (%)

	<i>From which:</i>					Total (Portugal)
	Total (foreigners)	EU/15 (except Portugal)	Eastern Europe	PALOP	Brazil	
Legislators, senior officials and managers	4,1	9,1	1,5	1,2	4,7	4,9
Professionals	9,2	20,6	9,7	3,1	11,4	11,0
Technicians and associate professionals	7,5	13,8	4,4	3,6	11,3	10,2
Clerks	7,3	10,6	3,1	5,6	8,7	15,3
Service workers and shop and market sales workers	24,6	19,7	22,4	23,6	31,4	18,7
Skilled agricultural and fishery workers	1,4	2,2	4,2	0,8	0,8	2,9
Craft and related workers	5,3	8,2	10,5	3,5	4,5	10,0
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	2,6	4,1	2,9	2,1	2,0	4,8
Elementary occupations	38,0	11,7	41,4	56,5	25,2	22,3
Armed forces	0,0	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: INE, Census 2001.

above. This means that recent female immigration, from every national origin under consideration, is mostly represented in the “secondary” segment of the labour market, and often in jobs traditionally attributed to women.

Other similarities may be found among immigrant women, particularly those coming from PALOP, Brazil (the most recent wave) and Eastern Europe. This is the case of precarious work contracts. The available evidence shows that informal labour relations are common, since contracts do not exist or, when existing, are often short-term or are not fully complied with, mainly in terms of excessive working hours. However, it must be noted that, in certain segments, contractualization is even higher than the usual national standards. This occurs in domestic service, an occupation that is usually performed informally but that, given the requirement of contracts to legalize immigrants, has been increasingly contractualized. The possession of contracts may not be a priority for many immigrants, since temporary projects of migration and income maximization strategies are not necessarily benefited by them; however, the need

to get legal status has led to an increasing number of formal relations in this sector.

Another common condition is the work overload of many immigrant women. The observation of the 2001 census data about the number of working hours per week showed that, for every national group under analysis, women often worked more than 45 hours per week, a figure significantly higher than the national average. These data suggest a large amount of jobs with formally extended working hours, excess of working time in relation to contracts, and accumulation of jobs. For example, many immigrant women work simultaneously in industrial and domestic cleaning, therefore having long working days and severe problems combining work and family needs.

Some differences between the modes of labour incorporation of immigrant women must also be cited. Besides levels of workforce participation and unemployment, three other differences have been observed. In the first place, they regard the specific occupations fulfilled by women. Although, with the partial exception of Brazil, immigrant women are inserted in low-income and low-status occupations, differences exist regarding specific jobs. African women, since the beginning of their migration, and Eastern European women are relatively more represented in domestic and industrial cleaning. Also, Eastern European women are clearly over-represented in the manufacturing sector and agriculture. Brazilian women, on the other hand, display a higher concentration in service jobs within catering, hotels and commerce. Furthermore, and as referred to above, they are more represented in the sex industry (followed distantly by Eastern European women). As mentioned before, it was mostly the second wave of Brazilian immigration that was targeted to these set of jobs.

In the second place, differences remain regarding the relative levels of de-skilling or, in other words, the mismatch between educational credentials and jobs performed. The group where a highest equilibrium exists is the one of African women, since its educational levels have been consistently low (Table 4). Following the 2001 census, more than half (58%) of PALOP women aged 15 years or older possess either no education or, at the maximum, an equivalent to primary education. However, recent waves of Brazilian and Eastern European immigrant women display a different condition. The number of Brazilian women with complete secondary level education was of 31 per cent, followed by 19 per cent with complete tertiary level education (these figures mix the

TABLE 4
FOREIGN WOMEN, BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL AND NATIONALITY, 2001 (%)

	<i>From which:</i>					Total (Portugal)
	Total (foreigners)	EU/15 (except Portugal)	Eastern Europe	PALOP	Brazil	
No education	11,9	4,7	3,7	19,7	5,5	22,3
1st and 2nd cycles	29,1	20,9	14,1	38,4	23,8	40,5
3rd cycle	21,3	19,6	14,4	23,0	20,2	14,7
Secondary education	22,5	28,0	30,5	15,0	31,1	13,1
Medium level education	0,9	2,5	0,4	0,3	0,5	0,8
Higher education	14,3	24,2	37,0	3,5	18,9	8,6
<i>Total</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>

Source: INE, Census 2001.

traditional and recent waves of migration). The highest level of deskilling is clearly that of recent Eastern European immigration, since 31 per cent of these women possess complete secondary level education, and 37 per cent a tertiary level diploma.

Finally, regarding modes of occupational insertion, a specific segment merits attention. It is the case of occupations related to the sex industry, including prostitution, a sector that is usually excluded from official statistics. Interest in this sector is still higher because the intersection with trafficking, mentioned in the previous section, is evident. In our view, this type of occupational insertion is relevant, since it displays a growing consumer demand and several job offers to migrant women. It can be considered, as Agustin (2006) argues, that this sector is unduly forgotten in most research about international migration and related labour opportunities. Indeed, a significant part of potential migrants, in this case women, find some opportunities here, given the high demand, high incomes and informal character of the industry. Too often, the unregulated character of this sector and the irregular condition of immigrants is exploited by traffickers, who profit from the business and the vulnerability of migrants. Also in Portugal, as mentioned in the previous section, a fast-growing sex-industry in part explains the growth of foreign female inflows.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Recent immigration to Portugal, particularly the flows started in the late 1990s, deeply changed its portrait as an immigration country. Some of

the main changes were the following. In the first place, there was a wide diversification of national origins of immigrants. One of the main characteristics of foreign immigration in Portugal, from the mid-1970s to the mid-1990s, was its insertion in what may be termed a Lusophone migratory system (Peixoto, 2002). During this period, most immigrants came from the ex-colonies in Africa and Brazil. Since the mid-1990s, a wide increase in national origins was evident, with the largest group coming from Eastern European countries, whilst others came from Asiatic countries (mainly China) and non-Lusophone African ones.

Secondly, and in a related way, the country became involved in the global labour market and a growing international migration industry. The conditions existing in Portugal, including a fast-expanding economy at the time and the EU membership, called the attention of individual potential immigrants and organized intermediaries. Since migration became a “business” (Salt and Stein, 1997), the inclusion of the country in a wider international sphere was largely the result of organized strategies of intermediary agents. Here, smugglers and traffickers are major players, as they operate in the face of scarce legal ways for migration. The organized character of many flows, through active networks of smugglers and traffickers, is the best explanation for such a rapid increase and diversification of immigrants’ national origins. It must be reminded that no previous significant connection united Portugal and Eastern European immigrants, before the huge inflows started.

Thirdly, labour market dynamics, on the demand side, was crucial for the evolution of flows, given the increasing availability of low-skilled jobs and the diffusion of flexible forms of work. This had to do with several factors. On the one hand, foreign labour demand resulted from the growth of low-skilled jobs in labour intensive industries, both in the expanding service sector (commerce, hotels and catering, cleaning and caring) and in other economic sectors (construction and, in a lesser degree, manufacturing and agriculture). Many of these are “unmovable jobs”, where demand is on the increase in all European host countries. On the other hand, foreign labour demand had to do with an increasing shortage of native manpower to perform those kinds of jobs. This shortage corresponded to classical factors such as social mobility, higher aspirations and higher education of locals, but also to demographic decline and continuing emigration. In fact, Portuguese out-migration never ceased in the last decades, and emigrants usually perform similar types of low-bottom jobs in destination countries (Baganha and Peixoto, 1997; Baganha and Ferrão, 2002; Marques, 2006).

Moreover, foreign labour demand is connected with the increasing flexibility of the labour market (Kovács, 2005). Recent data about the incidence of “atypical” or “flexible” forms of labour in diverse economic sectors show that many of the most affected are those that recruit immigrants. Considering flexibility as the conjunction of short-term labour contracts, temporary agency workers, part-time jobs, and self-employment (often “false” individual employment of persons working as regular wage workers), the more affected economic sectors are construction, commerce, hotels and catering, services to firms, and health (Cerdeira, 2006). The immigrant presence in the flexible labour market is still more impressive if we consider sectors and jobs not included in the surveys leading to the afore-mentioned results. The surveys do not include sectors such as agriculture and domestic work. Yet the informal economy, including the absence of labour contracts, is pervasive, and affects many of the former and latter sectors.

Fourthly, recent immigration has meant different geographies of arrival. Regional labour markets were differently affected by new migrations. Whilst traditional immigration, until the mid-1990s, was targeted in a large proportion to the great urban area of Lisbon, recent inflows spread throughout the territory (Malheiros, 2002). Census data confirm that, in 2001, African immigrants (including women) were overwhelmingly concentrated in Lisbon, whilst Brazilians and Eastern Europeans were present in other urban and non-urban areas, both in the more and less developed regions of the country. This fact results from the available job opportunities and from the actual channels of migration: the local demand, the absence of previous informal family and social networks, and the operation of organized intermediaries explained why some immigrants were so mobile in the territory.

Fifthly, recent immigration waves made evident the increasing feminization of flows. Indeed, female immigration was a minority amongst recent labour inflows (although it may have represented around a third of the total). However, its quantitative volume in the new labour cycle, as well as the kind of jobs that women rapidly got, probably mean that the stage is set for a steady and voluminous future female migration. In fact, recent inflows demonstrated the structural growth of some activities in the labour market, particularly cleaning and caring, as well as other services. As widely accepted, many of these jobs are traditionally attributed to women, and they are performed by immigrant women. The growing presence of these activities, with an increasing offer of low- to medium-skilled jobs in the future economy cannot be overlooked. Such service

jobs result from the overall modernization of the economy and the consequences of demographic ageing and decline, and they will call for further immigration.

Moreover, these jobs also seem more stable, that is, relatively immune to the cyclical nature of other economic activities performed by men, particularly civil construction. In this sense, “female” activities will maybe grow steady and consistently, as opposed to “male” occupations (such as construction), and this will give them the potential for a prolonged appeal to labour. The rapid insertion of immigrant women in the workforce and the stability of their jobs compared to their male counterparts may give them increased autonomy and a more central role, both with regards to the nuclear family and towards their transnational families back home. However, this larger autonomy may constitute a dilemma for women. Their increasing centrality in the economic strategy of migrant households is obtained through the fulfilment of low-income, low-status and time-consuming jobs, allowing them a narrow space to explore their individual capabilities and enjoy family and social life (Peixoto and Figueiredo, 2006).

In sum, new migrations in Portugal display many of the characteristics of recent migrations in several other contexts. First and the foremost, from the point of view of this paper, they reveal the role of an increasingly segmented labour market and the quest for flexibility on the part of many employers. In this sense, demand was central to explaining inflows. Furthermore, they were linked to a worldwide extension of sending countries, to an increasing role for smugglers and traffickers networks, and to a growing feminization of flows. However, the similarity of traits must not conceal the specificity of the Portuguese context. The latter includes the linkages between new and old inflows, given the continuity of the Lusophone migratory connections in recent years; the effects of the EU membership, represented by the Schengen agreement and the EU-induced economic growth; the spread of the informal economy, a situation also typical to other Southern European countries; and specific contextual factors, such as continuing emigration and the interdependence between out- and inflows (Baganha and Ferrão, 2002).

It is uncertain whether some traits of the new migrations were the result of short-term or long-term factors. The current economic downturn of the Portuguese economy, during the first decade of the new century, is revealing a decreasing trend of inflows from new source countries and the continuity of traditional inflows, that is, the old Lusophone character

of international migration into Portugal. In this sense, some authors have argued that many recent immigrant inflows in Portugal, particularly the Eastern European ones, are bound to disappear, given the short time motives that led to their growth (Góis, 2006). Following this line of reasoning, the “usual” immigration to Portugal, linked to the Lusophone migratory system, would continue after some years of trouble.

Although partially favouring this argument, I argue that recent immigration was clearly an upheaval in traditional immigration patterns in the country. All these changes produced a new profile of Portugal as an immigration country and will possibly determine future inflows. Besides the new world context in which Portugal is inserted, which may cause other global streams, the path-dependence character of migrations will exert its role. Social networks and new social contexts are both a consequence and a cause for future flows, acting as “cumulative” factors. In just three decades, Portugal underwent changes that usually took much more time to occur in more developed host countries. These fast changes lead the country to the forefront of some current global changes. It may be admitted that this situation also challenged migration policy responses, since old recipes tested in other contexts are no longer effective. In this latter aspect, Portugal now has the potential to develop migration policy solutions that can be accepted as innovative worldwide.

NOTES

1. This paper results from two research projects carried by the author during 2004–2005, about migrant trafficking and immigrant women in Portugal. These projects were funded by the FCT (Foundation for Science and Technology), in cooperation with ACIME (High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities) and CIDM (Commission for Equality and Women’s Rights), respectively. Some sections of the paper draw on previous documents where the research results were presented: the section on smuggling and trafficking draws partially on a paper published by the author in *Migration Letters* (Peixoto, 2006); the section on immigrant women uses some excerpts from the conclusive section of the final report of the project (Peixoto, et al., 2006). The paper was presented at the Conference “Migration and the Lusophone World”, held in 17–18 November 2006, at Georgetown University, Washington, DC; and at a seminar held in 21 March 2007, at ISEG, Technical University of Lisbon, Portugal. I thank the researchers in both research projects, the editors of *Migration Letters*, and the participants of those meetings for their input, comments and suggestions. Errors and shortcomings are only my responsibility.

2. Protocols related to the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime: Protocol Against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, and Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children.
3. The real inflows in this period have been higher than the numbers indicated. In fact, a total of 183,833 permits of stay have been issued between 2001 and 2003. However, only around half of these permits (93,391) were still valid in 2005. This is probably explained by the return or re-emigration of many of the immigrants, or by their fall in an irregular status, given the inability of renewing the permits.

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